# UC Santa Cruz Mapping Global Inequalities

### Title

Alternative Data for Studying Global Civil Society: Correspondent Networks, Maps and Chronologies

**Permalink** https://escholarship.org/uc/item/468929x1

**Authors** Timms, Jill Stares, Sally

**Publication Date** 

2007-12-04

## Alternative Data for Studying Global Civil Society: Correspondent Networks, Maps and Chronologies

Jill Timms<sup>1</sup> and Sally Stares<sup>2</sup>

London School of Economics and Political Science

Paper prepared for the UC Atlas Conference

'Mapping Global Inequalities: Beyond Income Inequality'

University of California, Santa Cruz, 13-14 December 2007<sup>3</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Jill Timms is the Chronology Coordinator for the Global Civil Society Project at the Centre for the Study of Global Governance, London School of Economics and Political Science, and is on the Editorial Committee of the Global Civil Society Yearbook. (j.l.timms@lse.ac.uk)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Sally Stares is an LSE Fellow at the Methodology Institute, London School of Economics and Political Science, and is on the Editorial Committee of the Global Civil Society Yearbook. (<u>s.r.stares@lse.ac.uk</u>)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> This paper will be present at the UC Atlas conference by Jill Timms.

#### Introduction

Understanding global inequalities necessitates engaging with the complex and multilayered terrain of globalisation and the use of innovative methodology. The concept of *global civil society* is concerned with understanding globalisation 'from below,' from the perspective of ordinary people, and the growth of global civil society activity is a central feature of globalisation processes. In this paper we present several key aspects of our research into developments in global civil society and the data sources we are generating to do this.

As set out in the rationale for this conference, the implications of globalisation for inequality cannot be fully understood through the narrow study of income levels compared at the national level.<sup>4</sup> Globalisation brings a much more complex research terrain, with two particular challenges. Firstly, it is necessary to adopt a perspective of the world that can acknowledge the complex relationships and interactions of processes taking place within and beyond the boundaries of the local, national and regional. This requires us to move beyond a dominant national perspective towards a cosmopolitan one (Beck 2003). Here arises the second challenge: the need to overcome methodological nationalism, to develop research not bounded by comparisons between nation-states and our associated traditions of data collection and analysis.

There are huge challenges to be faced by those seeking to understand globalisation and its implications. The research programme presented in this paper aims to contribute to this by focusing on the growth of global civil society as a key aspect of globalisation. In our globalising world, we increasingly face problems that are not bounded by the nation-state but that are of a global scale, such as climate change. On the other hand, globalisation can offer more and diverse opportunities for communities to confront these challenges and to demonstrate solidarity in relationships that traverse national identities; connections enabled, for example, through the possibilities of increased travel, new forms of media and the Internet.

Our attempts to study and map global civil society activity provide the opportunity for developing the cosmopolitan perspective called for by Beck (2003). The events and campaigns we record also give an indication of the issues of poverty, exclusion and injustice being highlighted by global civil society

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> For the conference rational and aims see <u>http://ucatlas.ucsc.edu/flyer.html</u> (consulted 1 September 2007).

actors and how these change. Indeed, our next book will be themed on the issues of poverty and global civil society. However this research programme also brings the second challenge mentioned above, of seeking appropriate data and methodology for understanding aspects of globalisation. In this paper we present one component of our attempt to meet this challenge.

The paper is divided into five parts. In the first, we set out our definition of 'global civil society' and set the background to the whole research programme. Secondly, we discuss one aspect of our research - the alternative data generated by a network of correspondents, used to develop an annual chronology recording global civil society events. We present the rationale, examples of the data, the network and processes used for data gathering, and the limitations encountered. In part three, we present our research on the role of social forums as a formalised example of how the data can be analysed. This research also highlights the connectedness between local, national, regional and global struggles for social justice and equality. In the fourth part, we locate our efforts of data generation within our wider data programme and the broader agenda of alternative data forms. Finally, we consider the future possibilities of this research, both conceptually and in terms of how our practical plans for the programme are developing.

#### 1. Background: The Global Civil Society Programme

This research programme aims to study, map, measure and contribute to global civil society. Started at the Centre for the Study of Global Governance (CsGG) and the Centre for Civil Society, LSE in 1999, the programme is currently a collaboration between CsGG and the School for Public Affairs, UCLA. This is an ongoing project, involving academics, practitioners and activists worldwide.

The intellectual rationale for the programme developed from a growing awareness of globalisation and its complexities, and the inadequacies of individual disciplines, specialisms, and state-centric approaches, to provide understanding at a global level. A need to explore the notion of 'global civil society' was identified as this is an arena of study on a global scale, and as it can offer an alternative 'bottom up' approach to global problems. The rationale was built on the foundation of two main bodies of literature: globalisation and interpretations of democracy and civil society. The programme therefore questions whether we can talk about the construction of a global public sphere, and whether an emerging public sphere can cross the divide between the global and the local.<sup>5</sup>

#### The Global Civil Society Yearbook

The major output of the programme is the annual *Global Civil Society Yearbook*. The Yearbook aims to present, in an accessible style, the research findings and resultant debates from the different strands of the Global Civil Society Programme. The Yearbook is unique as it combines four aspects of global civil society: debates about the meaning of the actual concept; analysis of pertinent global issues of concern to civil society; examination of its infrastructure; and exploration of the methodological problems of data collection, including the presentation of a substantial data programme for the mapping of elements of global civil society.

The first edition of this Yearbook was published in 2001, with the seventh edition launched in October 2007.<sup>6</sup> A key audience is academia, but the series is also used by policy makers, activists, philanthropic foundations, journalists, and international organisations. Each edition is the outcome of a unique, participatory editorial process, which provides the opportunity for ongoing discussion and exchange among a diversity of people around the world. These include: the academics, practitioners and activists invited to workshops and seminars on central issues; the network of correspondents to be discussed in this paper; the authors of particular chapters and case studies; and guest editors and institutions. The core editors-in-chief are Helmut Anheier, Marlies Glasius and Mary Kaldor, with guest editors joining the team for particular editions depending on their expertise. Individual institutions also collaborate with CsGG and UCLA on specific editions, for example the next Yearbook will focus on poverty and will be in collaboration with the Tata Institute of Social Science, Mumbai.

Further attempts to ensure this is a global project involve our efforts to disseminate the research as widely as possible. Hard copies of each Yearbook are distributed to a range of non-governmental organisations (NGOs), libraries and individuals globally. Previous editions of the complete Yearbook

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> For full details of the intellection rational and the literature it is based on can be found at: <u>http://www.lse.ac.uk/Depts/global/2gcsrationale.htm</u> (consulted 1 October 2007).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> For details see: <u>http://www.lse.ac.uk/Depts/global/researchgcspub.htm</u> (consulted 1 December 2007).

are available as free downloads to anyone with Internet access.<sup>7</sup> Key issues and new findings are debated in a variety of public lectures, panel discussions, exhibitions and launches. These and the expert seminar venues so far include: Cairo, Delhi, Johannesburg, London, Mumbai, New York, Paris, Philadelphia, Porto Alegre, Rome and Washington DC.<sup>8</sup> Compendium versions of the Yearbook which draw together relevant chapters and additional materials are being produced as French and Arabic versions, and translations have been produced in Spanish, French, Hungarian and Korean. Dissemination of research has also been through the individual papers and books of chapter authors, a global civil society discussion group, graduate teaching programmes and the Global Civil Society Summer School.

This is therefore an established and active research project, aiming to engage with and also be part of the sphere being investigated, that of global civil society. In this paper we explore a strand of this research, where we are attempting to develop alternative data through this engagement with civil society, to enable experts, academics, students and also the activists, to contribute to the study globally, by being part of our *correspondent network*. Before explaining this further, it is necessary to be clear exactly what we are trying to understand and so what we mean by the term 'global civil society'.

#### Defining global civil society

Global civil society is a highly contested concept, for which many meanings have been proposed but no agreed definition reached. Far from an obstacle, this ambiguity can be seen as an opportunity. A central aim of the research programme is to consider how the term is defined, to monitor how this changes, and to explore the contested boundaries of what is considered global civil society activity. In the first Yearbook, the editors 'offer this and future Yearbooks as a continuing platform for an exchange of ideas about the meaning of global civil society', as debating what this means 'contributes to the emergence of an animated, open, and self-reflexive global civil society', (Anheier, Glasius and Kaldor, 2001: 17). However at the same time, it is recognised that for this research and the presentation of relevant records to be possible, a starting definition is necessary. Therefore, we defined global civil society, for descriptive purposes, as:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> For downloads of previous Yearbooks see: <u>http://www.lse.ac.uk/Depts/global/researchgcspub.htm</u> (consulted 1 October 2007).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> For details of various past events see: <u>http://www.lse.ac.uk/Depts/global/2gcseventspast.htm</u> (consulted 1 October 2007).

the sphere of ideas, values, institutions, organisations, networks, and individuals located *between* the family, the state, and the market and operating *beyond* the confines of national societies, polities, and economies<sup>9</sup>.

(Anheier, Glasius and Kaldor, 2001: 17)

#### The research

Therefore the concept of global civil society describes an emerging reality of global civic action and connectedness. Our research programme to study this has three components. The topics studied within these have been diverse<sup>10</sup>, and recent editions of the Yearbook have moved towards having a central theme. The 2007/8 version was themed on democracy and communicative power, and the next will be on poverty. In every Yearbook research is presented relating to each of the programme's three components.

The first component relates to concepts, as the programme aims to elaborate the conceptual underpinning of global civil society. As discussed, the term has many meanings and the fact that neoliberals, post-Marxists and Islamicists use the same language, can offer a common platform for the exploration of ideas and projects. Examples of studies conducted as part of this programme include: the relationship between violence and global civil society (Albrow and Anheier 2007); a comparison of global civil society before and after September 11 (Anheier, Glasius and Kaldor 2002); cosmopolitan perspectives on global inequality (Beck 2003); the theoretical shift needed to overcome methodological nationalism (Ezzat 2005); and democracy and globalisation (Kaldor 2008).

A second component of the project relates to case studies, focused on investigating the reality of global civil society. Global issues are explored from the perspective of global civil society and the infrastructure of global civil society is investigated. Case studies of global issues include: the anti-capitalist movement (Said and Desai 2001); HIV/AIDS (Seckinelgin 2002); and economic and social rights (Glasius 2007). Infrastructure studies include: the Internet (Naughton 2001); global civil society and diasporic networks (Sassens 2002); the cartoonists and graphic novelists of global civil society

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> For more discussion on the problems and development of the definition , see Anheier, H., Glasius, M. and Kaldor, M. (2001: 3-22).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> For the contents of each Yearbook see: <u>http://www.lse.ac.uk/Depts/global/yearbook.htm</u> (consulted 1 September 2007).

(Holland, ed. 2008); transnational peasant networks (Edelman 2003); and trade union internationalism (Waterman and Timms 2005).

The third component of the project is the most relevant to this conference paper. This is a records section and aims to give substance to the concept of global civil society through the empirical mapping of elements of global civil society. It is acknowledged that to measure a phenomenon with a contested definition presents challenges, but our collection of data provides a glimpse of the contours and expansion of this sphere, and helps us to develop our understanding of the phenomenon and how we operationalise it. Indeed our continual efforts to overcome the challenges and to find innovative ways to map, measure and understand global civil society, are documented and explored as part of our research. This is presented in the Records Section of the Yearbook, which frequently accounts for half the publication.

In each edition, the Records Section begins with a methodological essay to document and update on our efforts to find ways of recording global civil society, and has included: the Global Civil Society Index (Anheier and Stares 2002); network approaches (Anheier and Katz 2005); and comparativehistorical methods (Anheier and Katz 2006). The majority of the section is made up of the Data Programme. Here our work has involved collecting existing data sets covering globalisation, the extension of international law and various measures of global civil society. The latter include data on international NGOs and social values from a range of data sets. We are in the process of reviewing our work on the data programme and have recently moved towards the use of thematic indicator suites. This allows for more congruence between the data and the theme of the Yearbook and the suites lend themselves to more accessible graphical representations of the data. Examples include: economic globalisation; governance and accountability; social and economic rights; international actors; and democracy and freedom. Rather than presenting only the raw data, each indicator suite summarises the characteristics and trends apparent in the data (see Katz 2008: 258-9). Our plans for the data programme are still in developmental stage, and are discussed further in the final two sections of this paper.

As part of this third component of the research programme, we also work to generate our own alternative data form. This contributes to the final part of the Records Section, the Chronology of

Global Civil Society Events. It is this alternative form of data, the events chronology, the global network of correspondents involved, and the analysis possible, that we will now focus on in more detail.

#### 2. Alternative data: Chronologies of global civil society

The Chronology of Global Civil Society Events is produced on an annual basis as part of the Yearbook and seeks to document a broad range of civic activity around the world, including, for example, demonstrations, rallies, campaigns, petitions, social forums and vigils, as well as landmark legal rulings and other victories/defeats for civil society. These are defined as global civil society events if they have a global significance in terms of theme, participants or resonance. The chronology forms an integral part of our records programme and offers a reference tool being built up over the long term.

Chronologies of the year published elsewhere usually focus on events and personalities from the North/West and depend on media coverage which tends to be biased against civil society activities, or at least certain types. Our aim is to provide a different type of chronology. In this chronology we present an insight into the diversity of events taking place around the world, the activities of a vast array of groups and organisations, which can be described as part of global civil society in the broadest understanding of the concept. Importantly, we are able to record events that have occurred in places often not reported in the mainstream media. We are also able to include events which do not necessarily get included in statistics on the growth of civil society activities and organisations, either because of their unusual nature, the difficulty of representing them quantitatively or because their existence is rarely formally recorded.

### The data

The events included in the chronology are of many different types, varying greatly in terms of their size, aims, focus and format. One category can be described as annual international days of action, when on a globally agreed date different groups draw attention to or celebrate an issue. Each day might include vastly divergent events in many different places, but are coordinated by their focus and the date, such as International Labour Day on 1 May and International Women's Day on 8 March. This example entry is taken from the latest chronology:

**8 March 2007** International Women's Day is marked around the world by over 500 events in at least 49 countries. These include a silent protest in Taipei, a march for equality in Brazil, an assembly of Manitoba chiefs in Canada, and a Right to Play campaign in Tanzania to promote female inclusion in sport. In Iran, a strong police presence disperses women trying to gather outside the parliament in Tehran to demonstrate the arrests of 33 women earlier in the week. These detained women are now on hunger strike over their treatment when they tried to protest against discriminatory laws.

(Timms, ed. 2008: 379)

As well as annual dates, simultaneous protests in different parts of the world take place in response to particular issues, both local and global. These would include for example global days of action called against military campaigns, such as the large coordinated protests against the war in Iraq. Responses to the actions of a government or company can also result in simultaneous demonstrations, often with the country's embassy or the company's offices or outlets in different countries becoming a focal point for the protests. An example would be the global eruption of demonstrations against the publication in a Danish newspaper of satirical cartoons of the Prophet Muhammad in 2005. An example coordinating action against a local issue, involving a company is:

**14 February 2007** Labour activists in Wales step up a global campaign against the closure of a Burberry factory in Treorchy, the Rhondda Valley. Demonstrations under the banner 'Keep Burberry British' are held simultaneously in London, New York, Chicago, Strasbourg and Las Vegas. The campaign brings together anti-corporate and labour rights groups and focuses on harnessing the global media, often via celebrities. The protesters argue that moving the factory to China is not only unethical, because the Treorchy plant is working at a considerable profit, but conflicts with the 'Britishness' which Burberry stresses throughout its marketing.

(Timms, ed. 2008: 378)

Local issues are often similar to ones being faced in other parts of the world, and so some such events can have global significance. Some also draw together activists and experts on the issue from other parts of the world. These might include individual or local cases of, for example, human right abuses, environmental degradation and disputed indigenous lands, with the case being taken up by international as well as local campaigners. Sample entries of this type include:

**23 July 2003** In Juarez City, Chihuahua, 40 Mexican and international NGOs, as well as observers from the UN, meet with the ministers of the Interior and Social Development, the national judicial authorities, the governor and the mayor, to demand an end to the violence against and murder of women and children in the city.

(Timms, ed. 2005: 355)

**13 December 2006** Indigenous rights groups and the Kalahari San Bushmen celebrate victory as the High Court in Botswana rules that their eviction from ancestral lands in the Central Kalahari Game Reserve was both unconstitutional and unlawful. The government had evicted the Bushmen four years ago, and although the case was fought by the poorest citizens of Botswana, it was the longest and most expensive in the country's history.

(Timms, ed. 2008: 377)

The above is also an example of how we are able to record the achievements of global civil society, when represented by a particular event. In a similar way, events that present challenges to the development of global civil society are also recorded, such as the restrictive legislation controversially adopted to control NGO activity in Russia, which was later amended following pressure from the EU and an international campaign. This is recorded below, followed by an example of a significant victory.

**27 December 2005** The Russian parliament legislates to increase control over NGOs, amid claims that foreign spies are using charities as a cover for intelligence work.

(Timms, ed. 2007: 368)

**1 July 2002** The world's first International Criminal Court (ICC) comes into existence in The Hague, empowered to prosecute individuals anywhere in the world (with the provision that the country has ratified the treaty) for genocide, war crimes, and crimes against humanity. Civil society organisations, including women's groups, religious and human rights organisations, and peace activists, were seen to be instrumental in the drafting of the treaty, and their involvement has been seen as a significant success for global civil society. By this date, 74 countries have ratified the treaty; campaigners continue to put pressure on countries such as the USA and Russia, China, and Israel, which are refusing to do so.

(Timms, ed. 2003: 403)

As these examples show, the use of qualitative description means we are able to record diverse events. Quite unusual forms of activity can be included, to give a flavour of the creativeness of global civil society. These are too numerous to include here, but examples are:

**9 June 2007** Over 1,000 anti-violence demonstrators dress in black and line the boardwalk in Copacabana, Brazil. The protestors lie down, playing dead, to represent the number of murders committed in the city so far this year.

(Timms, ed. 2008: 371)

**2-30 October 2004** A Monster Tomato Tour takes place in Turkey as part of a European anti-GM campaign, organised by a coalition of 30 Turkish civil society groups, united in the 'No to GMOs Platform'.

(Timms, ed. 2006: 475)

**20-21 December 2002** A Global Day of Disobedience is organised in solidarity with the people of Argentina *[suffering economic crisis at the time]* and to protest against consumerist culture, on the retailers' busiest days of the year. In London's Oxford Street, The Wombles with other groups organise a 'free shop' where books, CDs, toys, and clothes can be 'bought' for free, a mobile kitchen gives away free vegetarian burgers and free dancing lessons are offered. Similar actions are organised by Disobbedienti in Italy, JNM in Belgium, Yomango in Spain, Black Revolution in Switzerland and others in Jordan, Finland, the US and Germany.

(Timms, ed. 2003: 410)

The locations included in the chronology are also very varied, and we are continually aiming to expand our coverage. The last edition of the chronology detailed activity involving some 71 countries. Some example records from countries we cover that are not frequently reported on by mainstream media or where the media is under state-control, include:

**1 May 2006** One hundred farmers in China's Guangxi province join an international relay hunger strike focusing on rights violations in China. Launched in February by human rights lawyer Gao Zhisheng, the relay hunger strike is for months joined by human rights activists and Chinese people across 29 provinces as well as members of Chinese communities overseas.

(Timms, ed. 2008: 369)

**6 January 2003** In Bahrain, a sit-in of 70 women at the Ministry of Justice calls for a unified civil-status law, the right to housing, the raising of the marriage age to 22 for both women and men, and women's right to divorce.

(Timms, ed. 2005: 351)

**17 November 2005** In the Kurigram District of Bangladesh, thousands of peasants occupy government-owned fallow land, demanding that it be distributed to the landless people in the area.

(Timms, ed. 2007: 368)

**8-9 December 2003** Civil Society groups in Mongolia work with international organisations to host the International Civil Society Forum's Fifth Conference of the New and Restored Democracies. This takes place in Ulaan Baatar, the capital of Mongolia.

(Timms, ed. 2005: 356)

The last entry above is also an example of another major type of events in the chronology, international meetings of global civil society organisations. These are often arranged thematically, in response to a particular problem or as parallel/counter-summits to meetings of international institutions such as the World Bank, G8 or UN. For example:

**10-14 September 2003** The Fifth Ministerial Meeting of WTO is held in Cancun, Mexico, surrounded by thousands of civil society activists. For the first time, the WTO allows the participation of civil society groups, which express their serious concerns about globalisation and free trade; and campaign for neglected rural areas. The WTO is also accused of being undemocratic, anti-development and obsolete. Particularly critical are organisations such as Our World is Not For Sale, Public Citizen, and the International Forum against Globalisation, as well as Food First, among many others. Parallel to the formal meetings, several direct action groups rail against the police. A Korean peasant leader, Lee Kyung Hae, stabs himself to death. He wears a sign 'The WTO kills peasants'.

(Timms, ed. 2005: 356)

A significant area of growth in global civil society activity has been the development of social forums. The first of these grew from the idea of an alternative type of counter summit to the annual World Economic Forum, but have since developed momentum at the local, national, regional and world level. We have been including reports on these events in the chronology since the very first social forum in 2001, and this is an area of our data we have been attempting to take further by developing systems of analysis. In part three of the paper we explain how we have been approaching this.

These descriptions of categories of events and the sample entries presented above by no means offer a complete picture of the variety captured within the chronology. We do not claim these chronologies to be a comprehensive record of all global civil society activity. Fortunately there is far too much happening to make that possible. However we believe we are able to offer a flavour of the diversity of events, in terms of the different formats, locations and aims. We turn now to the process of producing the chronology and how this is possible.

#### Data collection: A global correspondent network

The particular aims of our chronology have necessitated innovative processes for collecting the relevant data. The method used is continually evolving. When we set out we knew that we did not want to be limited by the mainstream media. We needed to collect information about a diverse range

of events and did not wish to pre-judge the types of actions relevant. In line with the overall approach of the Yearbook, we also particularly wanted to ensure we could include events in the South and East.

It was felt this challenge could be used to best advantage by viewing it as an opportunity to compliment the largely statistical format of the rest of the records programme. It was also felt that it would be possible to develop a methodology that could serve as a way of engaging directly with global civil society actors, who make up part of our audience as well as our research topic. The Yearbook was always conceived as a dynamic project, aiming to interact with and contribute to global civil society as well as understand and map it.

For these reasons, we have been developing a *network of global civil society correspondents*. Each correspondent in the network contributes on a regular basis, by submitting qualitative descriptions of events that they have participated in or have knowledge of. The coordinator of the network remains in contact with members of the network throughout the year and compiles the final chronology from the entries submitted as well as additional web-based research.<sup>11</sup> For each event the correspondents are asked to provide a qualitative description which includes:

- the exact date of the event
- where this happened
- a description of the aims, format and what happened
- details of the organisers and the people who took part
- details of the numbers involved and the source of this information
- if possible a web reference for following up the information

The total network involves up to 140 correspondents at any one time, and has been built up over the years since the first chronology in 2001. The number of people who submit entries that are actually included in the chronology have ranged from 9 in the first year to up to 40. The chronology section of the Yearbook includes an acknowledgement of each person who has had an entry published, explanatory notes about the rationale of the chronology, and an invitation for readers to become part of the network as a correspondent. Each edition of the chronology then presents the events of the previous year. For example, the latest edition covered events that occurred between 1 May 2006 to 30

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> The Chronology Coordinator for the first Yearbook in 2001 was Marlies Glasius. Since 2002 and currently, the coordinator is Jill Timms.

April 2007 and included a total of 206 entries, each describing a single or multiply events. The first edition included an additional chronology covering the decade from 1989 to 1999.

To encourage participation, all correspondents who submit published entries receive a complimentary copy of the Yearbook and an acknowledgement in the book. We are also in touch with the network throughout the year and are able to keep them informed of other developments in the research programme. Efforts are constantly made to increase the network and invitations are offered in various ways, such as within the book, at relevant forums and websites, within teaching classes and through our authors and other contributors.<sup>12</sup>

A total of 31 correspondents contributed to the final version of the latest chronology, and these represented 21 countries covering the five continents of Africa, Asia, North and South America and Europe. The countries they reported on totalled 71. Of these 31 correspondents, 8 were submitting reports for the first time, whilst 16 were submitting for the fourth or more year in succession. Therefore relationships are built with the core of the network. These are people active in civil society and/or the study of it. The following five profiles offer an insight into the type of people that make up the network. Each correspondents was also asked about their interest in global civil society and why they contribute to the chronology.

#### **Profile of correspondent 1**

Nihad Gohar: Correspondent since 2002.

Geography: Based in Egypt and mainly reports on Arab countries.

**Current work:** Senior Programme Officer for the International Labour Organisation. This involves programming and budgeting for ILO interventions in Egypt, mainly in the areas of youth employment, enterprise development and sector activities.

Educational background: PhD in Political Science, focusing on global civil society and the role of the South.

Particular issues/areas of civil society of interest: Democracy, political participation, development, and the antiglobalization movement.

#### **Reasons for being a correspondent:**

'I like the idea of belonging to a network covering those issues all over the world, I am interested in most of the topics covered by the Yearbook.'

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> If you are interested in becoming part of the network or have suggestions of possible correspondents, please see <u>http://www.lse.ac.uk/Depts/global/correspondents.htm</u> or contact Jill Timms (j.l.timms@lse.ac.uk).

Profile of correspondent 2

Oscar Reyes: Correspondent since 2005.

**Geography:** Reports on the UK and The Netherlands (where based), EU (including bi-regional relations with south east Asia and Latin America) - but also a variety of other events across the globe.

**Current work:** Co-editor of Red Pepper magazine in the UK, which also maintains a regular partnership (called 'Eurotopia') with six other European magazines; and Communications Officer at the Transnational Institute (TNI), based in The Netherlands.

**Educational background:** BA in English Language and Literature, Somerville College, Oxford University; MA Politics (Ideology and Discourse Analysis) University of Essex.

**Particular issues/areas of civil society of interest:** Personally, these are currently agrofuels, carbon trading and intellectual property. Professionally, these include regional and global civil society events and social movement activism, relating to: water justice; regional integration, trade and development (including bilateral Free Trade Agreements and WTO); drugs policy; participatory democracy; EU constitution/reform treaty; and militarisation (especially activism around foreign military bases).

#### **Reasons for being a correspondent:**

'The Global Civil Society Yearbook provides a valuable and, to my knowledge, unique (at least in its scope) survey of civil society organising across the globe. I contribute because I myself find this a useful source of data and analysis of global trends in non-governmental and social movement activism, so I can see the direct benefits of such a survey. There is a second, quite practical reason why I contribute: my work at TNI requires that I stay on top of these trends, and maintain a political diary of events in which TNI itself and its sprawling network of partners (both individuals and organisations) participate. This is quite an effort but, once done, I would rather share this knowledge than have it merely sitting in my head!'

#### **Profile of correspondent 3**

Marcelo da Luz Batalha: Correspondent since 2004.

Geography: Based in Brazil, and reports on Brazil and South American.

**Current work:** Post-graduate student of Political Science at the State University of Campinas, São Paulo, Brazil, researching '*A Real Dream: cyberactivism in Goiânia*'. Also President of the Brazilian Sociology Society.

Educational background: Graduate in social science, Federal University of Goiás.

Particular issues/areas of civil society of interest: The use of Internet for social mobilizations and campaigns of solidarity.

#### **Reasons for being a correspondent:**

'The first meeting I had with Jill Timms was at the 3rd World Social Forum in Porto Alegre. Since then I've been interest in how organizations construct an international structure of mobilization and dialogue. This is, in my opinion, an issue privileged in the Yearbook. In my contributions I've been focusing in events held in Brazil, including manifestations of the WSF [world social forum] and local social forums in Brazil, the campaigns linking international organizations of human rights with indigenous peoples and other social movements such as the MST landless movement. Contributing to the chronology I'm in touch with an important project and network of researchers around the world, and even indirectly contribute to the sense of being involved in a global research perspective, especially when I am based in a semi-periphery university, in precarious conditions of work. So for me the chronology is an important opportunity to contribute with to the Yearbook and to develop my own work oriented by the concepts of the project.' **Profile of correspondent 4** 

Alejandro Natal: Correspondent since 2001 (the first Yearbook).

Geography: Based in Mexico, and mainly reports on Mexico and surrounding countries.

**Current work:** Programme Director of the Interdisciplinary Program for Third Sector Studies at El Colegio Mexiquense. Currently researching accountability and civil society, and the role of the third sector in the fostering of community development. Also President of the College of Graduates and Researchers on Development Studies; Secretary of the National Network for Third Sector Research; member of the Editorial Board of the International Journal Civil Society of the University of California; and Mexican Director of the Consortia for Studies on Public Administration and Civil Society, in Mexico, Canada and the United States.

**Educational background:** PhD and MSc in Development Studies, London School of Economics; M.A. in Political Science, Universidad Autónoma del Estado de México.

Particular issues/areas of civil society of interest: Civil society, citizen participation, community development and new institutionalism.

**Outcomes of being a correspondent:** Inspired by being a correspondent for the chronology, the Centre where Alejandro works launched a project called 'The Observer of Mexican Civil Society'. This replicates the idea of correspondents but focuses on events in Mexico and has now been completed for 2004, 2005 and 2006, despite problems of fundraising. As with the global chronology it is being used by staff and students, especially for ideas for further research. This is linked to the Yearbook research, as suitable events are fed into the Global Civil Society Chronology.

#### Profile of correspondent 5

Hyo-Je Cho: Correspondent since 2001.

Geography: Based in South Korea and mainly reports on North and South Korea, Japan, China and Taiwan.

Current work: Associate Professor of Human Rights and Civil Society Studies, SungKongHoe University in Seoul, Korea.

**Educational background:** Mainly specialises in sociology and social policy. Educated first in South Korea, followed by Masters in Sociology (Oxford) and PhD in social policy (London School of Economics). Visiting Fellow of Human Rights Program at Harvard Law School, September 2006 to June 2007.

#### Particular issues/areas of civil society of interest:

'I am interested in all areas of civil society activities with reference to global issues in a broader sense. Since it is fairly recently that civil society groups in Korea started thinking of their activities in terms of the rapidly changing world I think it important to report any sign of this trend however insignificant it may seem.'

#### **Reasons for being a correspondent:**

'It started as my pet project; then it almost became an annual ritual. I see myself as a minor social historian on this project recording and chronicling large and small events of civil society which may well have been forgotten had it not been for the Global Civil Society Yearbook'.

#### The contributions and limitations of the chronology

Through the process described above, the chronology makes a valuable contribution to the Global Civil Society Programme. It offers an alternative type of record to compliment the statistics and other forms of quantitative data compiled in the Data Programme of the Records Section of the Yearbook. The qualitative nature of the chronology data gives a real flavour of the diversity of civil society actions. We are able to build up a record of the kinds of actions as well as major areas of focus for global civil society actors, including issues of injustice, inequality and poverty. Many of the events included would not otherwise be recorded, sometimes because the location is rarely covered in the media or because these events do not easily fit with other data collected for statistical comparisons. Indeed the chronology offers an important balance to the other quantitative data recorded in the Yearbook, so that together a fuller picture can be appreciated.

Furthermore, the chronology also helps to fulfil another central aim of the research programme: to engage with and contribute to global civil society. Our correspondent network ensures that the production of the chronology is an interactive project, with many of the reports being sent by activists involved in the events recorded. Input is therefore valued from global civil society and the readers of the Yearbook. The network and relationships being built up have great potential for expanding the coverage and depth of the chronology, and other possible future uses that are still being developed.

It is important to note though, that there are several key limitations of the correspondent network and alternative data of the chronology. Firstly, we are keen to acknowledge in the introduction to each chronology that we present a sample of events to achieve our aims. Due to the nature of the data and the myriad events taking place within the sphere of global civil society, we do not intend or claim to offer the chronology as a comprehensive record of all global civil society actions. Rather we hope this resource will draw attention to the diversity of activity and offer an indication of major themes and sites of struggle.

Secondly, we recognise the problem of definition. What counts as a global civil society event is open to interpretation. We use a broad criterion, including events which have significance globally, either in terms of theme, participation or resonance. This is continually being tested and developed as the project progresses. It is also worth noting that we are only able to record events that can be located to a particular date or range of dates. There are many long-running and continual campaigns that contribute to the sphere of global civil society that do not easily lend themselves to being recorded in a chronology of events. In reality, the events selected for inclusion are partially determined by what the correspondent network reports, the quality of data, and the global significance attached to each potential entry by the correspondents and the coordinator. We also have the usual limitation of time constraints, funding, and available publication space.

Regarding the correspondent network itself, this is in no way a representative sample of global civil society actors and does not cover the whole world. The network has been built up over time through contacts, via the coordinator, editorial committee of the Yearbook, previous authors and current correspondents. We rely on the commitment and availability of a network of very busy people! We are also limited by the availability of information, often via the Internet, for confirming reports. This and the relationships built up with the correspondents, are further constrained by the accessibility of language.

We recognise these limitations and as we develop the project we aim to overcome these issues wherever possible. However we also believe that as this alternative form of data is presented in conjunction with the more formalised data in the Records Section, we are able to contribute an interesting, useful and often motivating insight into the depth and range of global civil society activity.

#### **3.**Charting the social forum phenomenon: A formalised example of the data analysis

A major category of event recorded in the chronology is the social forum. The Yearbook has been reporting on the development of the social forum movement since the original World Social Forum (WSF) was held in Brazil in 2001. Our entry at that time read:

**25-30 January 2001** The first World Social Forum is held in Porto Alegre, Brazil, as an alternative to the World Economic Forum being held in Davos, Switzerland. 11,000 activists gather to protest against neo-liberalism and discuss alternatives to capitalist globalisation under the banner of 'Another World is Possible'. The event is organised by a number of civil society organisations, including many progressive Brazilian ones such as the Landless Movement and trade union groups, with ATTAC-France also being prominent. It is decided during the forum that the event will be held annually.

(Timms, ed. 2002: 380)

Since then, our network of correspondents has reported on the growing significance and spread of forums. The chronology has provided us with an opportunity to chart the development of the social forum phenomenon, which we argue has come to contribute a significant infrastructure to global civil society, or at least some parts of it (Glasius and Timms 2006). We explain here how we have used the data on social forums from the chronology to provide a formalised example of how the alternative data can be taken forward and analysed rather than only recorded.

It has long been recognised within the Yearbook that social forums are an important issue within the sphere of global civil society. The 'model' of a social forum is based on the unique Charter of Principles instigated for the WSF and now adopted by forums operating at the regional, national, thematic or local level.<sup>13</sup> A social forum can be understood as, 'a space that facilitates people coming together, either in person or virtually, to engage with each other on political issues' (Glasius and Timms 2006: 190). However, more than this, social forums uniquely bring together characteristics to make them particularly interesting for those studying global civil society and issues of inequality, poverty, democracy and the voiceless in society. Social forums can be seen as 'experiments in organisational form. They give rise to uneven attempts to practise politics in horizontal, network-based ways that are meant to be more participatory and democratic than conventional structures', Glasius and Timms 2005: 190). Also, by virtual of the Charter of Principles, social forums are against the dominant neo-liberal globalisation and for, an alternative globalisation based on social justice. The Principles prioritise the non-party political and the non-commercial, and so social forums are very clearly located within the sphere of action our research programme defines as global civil society.

Therefore we have been interested in researching this phenomenon, the stages of development and the implications for global civil society. Monitoring has been done through the recording of social forums within the chronology. In each chronology we have been able to record information on format, participation, location, and focus, for individual social forums. Sample entries of forums operating at different levels of communities – respectively local, national, regional, thematic, and global - are:

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> For the full Chapter of Principles see Glasius and Timms (2006: 36-37) or the WSF official website: <u>http://www.forumsocialmundial.org.br/main.php?id\_menu=4&cd\_language=2</u> (consulted 1 October 2007)

**25-7 April 2003** The Uppsala Social Forum takes place, the fourth social forum in Sweden to date, with 3,000 participants from 63 organisations. The possibility of establishing a Nordic regional social forum is discussed.

(Timms, ed. 2005: 353)

**1-3 October 2005** The Danish Social Forum is held in the Christianshavn neighbourhood of Copenhagen. Approximately 1,000 people take part in a range of activities including marches, discussions, workshops and a cultural programme of film, music and theatre.

(Timms, ed. 2006: 475)

**1-5 December 2005** In Guinea, the fourth regional African Social Forum is held in Conaky. A major aim is to create new ideas and strategies to promote a just globalisation, while reviving and updating African values. The growing contribution of the forum, through the upcoming African section of the Polycentric World Social Forum next month, is a major theme, with the implications for the African Social Forum debated.

(Timms, ed. 2007: 368)

**1-2 September 2006** The Social Work Social Forum takes place in Santiago, Chile, the first to focus on the theme of social work. Events are organised under the banner 'Another world is possible and social work makes its contribution'.

(Timms, ed. 2008: 373)

**16-21 January 2004** The Fourth World Social Forum is held in Mumbai, India, the first time the event has been hosted outside Porto Alegre. 100,000 people from 132 countries register at the event, with strong representation from groups of all backgrounds across India. For the first time an organised counter-event, Mumbai Resistance 2004, is held at a site directly opposite the main forum. Mumbai Resistance 2004 is critical of the social forum process.

(Timms, ed. 2005: 359)

These examples hint at the connectedness of the different levels of forums, the aims feeding into each other and participants linking the local, national, regional and global. Over time we are able to build up a picture of how these connections develop and to document changes to individual forums, such as:

**15-18 November 2002** The Uruguay Social Forum is held in the country's capital, Montevideo. The event starts with a march against the FTAA *[Free Trade Area of the Americas]* from the Plaza Libertad to the Esplanade of the University in Montevideo. During the three days, more than 100 events, including workshops, debates, and cultural events take place.

(Timms, ed. 2003: 408)

**16-19 September 2004** The Uruguay Social Forum is held in Montevideo for the third time. It attracts several thousand participants, and for the first time is held in decentralised location in Montevideo-West rather than the usual city centre, with discussion of further decentralisation to promote the spread of the forum elsewhere in Uruguay.

(Timms, ed. 2006: 474)

The chronology has also charted other major related events, for example:

**8 December 2006** One of the key activists in the conception of the World Social Forum, Chico Whitaker, is presented with the Right Livelihood Honorary Award. The awards, described as an alternative to the Nobel prize, aim to honour the vision of those working on behalf of the planet and its people.

(Timms, ed. 2008: 376)

In addition to the chronology, we have regularly considered the importance of social forums when reviewing the state of global civil society in the introductory chapters of the Yearbook. A chapter in the first Yearbook considered the development of parallel summits, and as part of this, the origins of the WSF were put into context by Pianta (2001). Recognising the growing significance of the movement, in 2004 a conceptual chapter was commissioned on the direction of the WSF, written partly by key members of the WSF International Council (Whitaker, Santos and Cassen 2006). Furthermore we recognise that the participants of these social forums make up part of the audience for the Yearbook as well as being part of the sphere being researched. Therefore members of the Yearbook, and to freely distribute copies, for example at the European Social Forum (ESF) in Paris 2003, the WSF in Porto Alegre, Brazil 2003 and the WSF in Mumbai, India 2004.

In 2003 it was recognised that as well as the social forum phenomenon constituting a significant aspect of global civil society, it also presents an opportunity for some of the chronology data to be taken forward and explored further. A chapter was commissioned to build on our reports from the correspondent network and other sources, as well as our own experience of attending social forums. Research was undertaken to gain a deeper insight into the phenomenon, and the results of this offer a formalised example of how data of the chronology can form a foundation for developed analysis.

#### Social justice and equality: Connecting local, national, regional and global forums

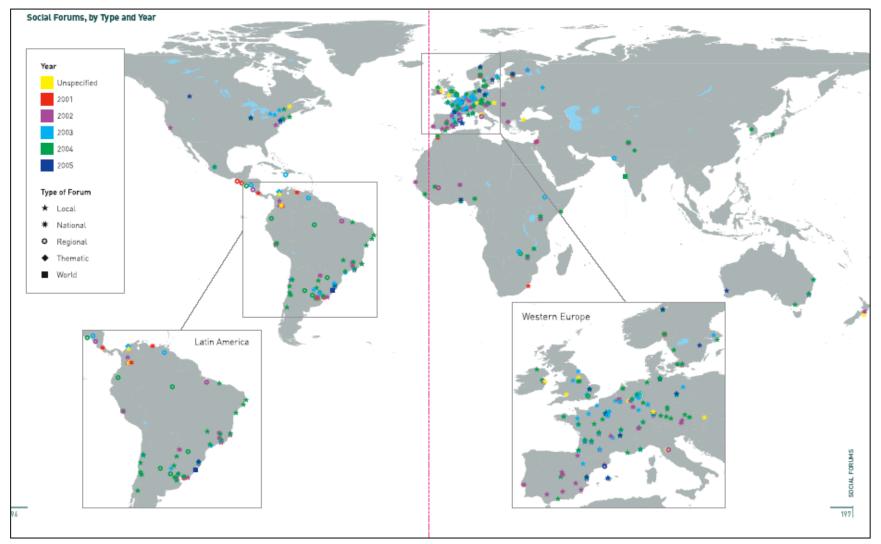
The social forums research project focused on three main areas. Firstly, we were interested in documenting the growth and spread of social forums, so this aspect of the research involved studying reports from correspondents, web-research and mapping of the results. Secondly, we wanted to understand the diverse forms social forum activities takes. The research for this involved the analysis of reports, interviews with forum organisers and participants, and observations through attendance at forums. Thirdly, we were interested in the diversity of focus at the forums. To research this we completed a content analysis of the programmes of sample social forums.

The results were published in the chapter '*The Role of Social Forums: Radical beacon or strategic infrastructure?*', (Glasius and Timms, 2006). It is worthwhile drawing out some of the major findings, however these represent only examples of the research presented in the chapter. They highlight the major areas of inequality and social justice being focused on by sections of civil society and here serve to show the possibilities of analysis.

### a. Growth and spread

Our first research aim was to map and understand the spread of social forums as comprehensively as possible. The original International Council of the WSF had no intention of linking to other social forums at any level. However, partly due to pressure from Italian delegates and from the use of the title 'social forum' at several key events – such as the G8 counter summit in Genoa in July 2001, the International Council agreed to systems being set up for regional and thematic social forums. These did not include provision for local and national forums, and so although reports from these can be linked to the official WSF website, these forums are inspired by, rather than authorised or accountable to the WSF committees, (Glasius and Timms 2006: 195).

From the information provided to us by chronology correspondents and through web-based research, we have produced maps to detail where social forums have been happening and whether they are local, national, regional, thematic or world. We had made previous attempts to do this, with our first map of social forum activity presented by Kaldor, Anheier and Glasius, (2003: 20-21). This was updated and developed in the social forums chapter, reproduced in Figure 1.



## Figure 1: Global mapping of social forums

(Glasius and Timms 2006: 196-7)

This map demonstrates the spread of forums over time and by type. There are however several important points to note about the data. Due to the nature of social forums, they are not registered anywhere. To know of their existence we relied on information from correspondents, contact with those involved and Internet research. This therefore excludes any social forums without a website or that have not been reported on a website. However this does tend to be a very web-based movement in most parts of the world. We are limited further by the issue of language, and so not able to identify or read the websites of forums not written or translated into one of the languages we (or our researchers) can read, for example Persian. Furthermore, although steps are taken to verify information wherever possible, there is no guarantee that a report of a social forum is accurate or up to date.<sup>14</sup> Despite these issues, we hope to be able to offer a picture of the growth of forums over time.

One additional part of the research relevant here involved documenting the increased participation levels at the WSF. Figure 2 shows the growing numbers at the WSF reported in the chapter, and details the different types of participation.

·····, -···								
2001	2002	2003	2004*	2005				
4,702	12,274	27,000	74,126	155,000				
20,000	68,000	100,000	111,000	200,000				
500	5,000	n/a	1,653	6,872				
117	131	123	132	135				
1,870	3,356	4,094	3,200	6,823				
860	400	650	800	3,100				
51	n/a	n/a	180	533				
n/a	n/a	n/a	13	16				
2,000	16,000	26,000	5,000	35,000				
458	718	1,372	1,470	2,157				
	4,702 20,000 500 117 1,870 860 51 n/a 2,000	4,702 12,274 20,000 68,000 500 5,000 117 131 1,870 3,356 860 400 51 n/a n/a n/a 2,000 16,000	4,702         12,274         27,000           20,000         68,000         100,000           500         5,000         n/a           117         131         123           1,870         3,356         4,094           860         400         650           51         n/a         n/a           n/a         n/a         1/a           20,000         16,000         26,000	4,702         12,274         27,000         74,126           20,000         68,000         100,000         111,000           500         5,000         n/a         1,653           117         131         123         132           1,870         3,356         4,094         3,200           860         400         650         800           51         n/a         n/a         180           n/a         n/a         13         13           2,000         16,000         26,000         5,000				

#### **Figure 2: Growing WSF participation levels**

Table 6.2: Statistics of the World Social Forum, 2001–5

\*The method of registration in Mumbai was different from that in Porto Alegre and the youth camp was situated at a distance from the main event. This may account for the reduction in the number of organisations and youths.

Sources: World Social Forum; Intercontinental Youth Camp (usc)

(Glasius and Timms 2005: 200)

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> The challenges of the data are explored further in the chapter, Glasius and Timms (2005).

#### b. Diversity of form

A second aim of the research was to understand the diverse forms of social forum activity. We were interested in what was happening at social forums, the types of events taking place. It is important to understand that the social forum model is designed to be a continuous space for debate and action, and so this might involve the bringing together of people, but in different ways, and may be annually, weekly or only ever virtually. This involves a diverse range of organising forms. The research included the analysis of descriptions of forums submitted by correspondents, website research, and interviews with forum participants. The authors also attended several different social forums.

At the world level, the WSF was the original forum. The way this is organised has continually been developing through the reflections of the International Council, who also seeks input from participants worldwide.<sup>15</sup> The continual consultation process also involves: the themes of the programme, discussed later; the recording of a Library of Alternatives where proposals and documents can be shared;<sup>16</sup> and a Memorial section to build up a collective memory of each WSF<sup>17</sup>. The main meeting of the WSF was held annually in Porto Alegre, Brazil, for the first three years 2001-3. In 2004 it took place in Mumbai, India, and in 2005 was again in Porto Alegre. A departure from the usual model was taken in 2006 and a polycentric WSF was held in three venues to represent Africa, Asia and South America. The rationale was to encourage more local action and to widen access to participation. So the sixth WSF took place simultaneously in Bamako, Mali and Caracas, Venezuela, and nearly two months later in Karachi, Pakistan, the latter being postponed due to the earthquake suffered late the previous year. The latest WSF was again held at one venue, Nairobi, Kenya, and in 2008 a global day of action is being coordinated with events across the world, before the WSF will be held centrally again, in the Amazon region, Belém, Brazil, in 2009.

The national, regional, thematic and local social forums are all at very different stages of development. Some regional and thematic ones, such as the African and European, follow more closely the format of the WSF, having systems of preparatory meetings and direct links with the WSF committees.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> For a full explanation of the organising process, the International Council and committees of mobilisation, see: <u>http://www.forumsocialmundial.org.br/main.php?id\_menu=3&cd\_language=2</u> (consulted 1 November 2007).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> See: <u>http://www.forumsocialmundial.org.br/main.php?id\_menu=13&cd\_language=2</u> (consulted 1 November 2007).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> See: <u>http://www.forumsocialmundial.org.br/main.php?id\_menu=14&cd\_language=2</u> (consulted 1 November 2007).

Thematic forums have often been built on existing networks and 'have adopted the social forum title as an indication of their affinity with the forms (exchange of experience and debate) and the politics (global anti-neo-liberalism) of the World Social Forum', (Glasius and Timms 2005: 206). An example is the World Education Forum, the third edition of which in 2005 organised 1,200 workshops for the 22,000 participants from 47 countries.

The national and local level forums have tended to be more linked, with the possibility of providing mutual support and coordination. The growth in these has been a significant development, in part initially advanced by the defining of the G8 counter-summit as a social forum, as mentioned earlier.

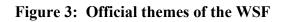
More than 200,000 people, mainly Italians, united in Genoa, and many carried away with them to idea of a social forum. There are now at least 180 local social forums in Italy. Since then, the idea has spread from southern to northern Europe, from Porto Alegre to the rest of Latin America, from South America to North America, to Australia, and most lately also to Africa.

(Glasius and Timms 2005: 207)

Some forums adopt the format of the WSF, holding workshops and panel discussions over a few days. However others are experimenting with the format, and the chapter described some of these. For example the programme for the Brisbane Social Forum was not pre-determined but evolved from the participants on the day, and some forums are very focused on the Charter of Principles and have developed participatory systems and consensus-based decision making. Therefore a picture was built up of the diversity of forms.

#### c. Diversity of focus

The third aim of the research was to investigate the focus of the social forums, what was being debated and how this was changing. This also served to highlight the particular issues these global civil society actors were most concerned with and working on. Firstly, we compared and recorded the official themes of the WSF, decided through their participatory systems. This is presented in Figure 3.



WSF 2001	<ol> <li>Production of wealth and social reproduction</li> <li>Access to wealth and sustainability</li> <li>Asserting civil society and the public realm</li> <li>Democracy and citizen power</li> </ol>
WSF 2002	<ol> <li>Production of wealth and social reproduction</li> <li>Access to wealth and sustainability</li> <li>Civil society and the public are na</li> <li>Political power and ethics in the new society</li> </ol>
WSF 2003	<ol> <li>Democratic sustainable development</li> <li>Principles and values, human rights, diversity and equality</li> <li>Media, culture and counter-hegemony</li> <li>Political power, civil society and democracy</li> <li>Democratic world order, fight against militarism and promoting peace</li> </ol>
WSF 2004*	<ol> <li>Militarism, war and peace</li> <li>Media, information, knowledge and culture</li> <li>Democracy, ecological and economic security         <ol> <li>Debt, finance and trade</li> <li>Land, water and food sovereignty</li> <li>Labour and world of work in production and social reproduction</li> <li>Social sectors - food, health, education and social security</li> </ol> </li> <li>Exclusions, discrimination, dignity, rights and quality         <ol> <li>Nation, State, citizenship, law and justice</li> <li>Caste, nace and other forms of descent/work-based exclusions</li> <li>Religion, culture and identities             <ol></ol></li></ol></li></ol>
W5F 2005°	<ul> <li>A. Autonomous thought, reappropriation and socialisation of knowledge and technologies</li> <li>B. Defending diversity, plurality and identities</li> <li>C. Arts and creation: weaving and building people's resistance culture</li> <li>D. Communication - counter-hegemonic practices, rights and alternatives</li> <li>E. Assuring and defending Earth and people's common goods - as alternative to commodification and transnational control</li> <li>F. Social struggles and democratic alternatives - against neoliberal domination</li> <li>G. Peace, demilitarisation and struggle against war, free trade and debt</li> <li>H. Towards construction of international democratic order and people's integration</li> <li>I. Sovereign economies for and of people - against neoliberal capitalism</li> <li>J. Human rights and dignity for a just and egalitarian world</li> <li>K. Ethics, cosmovisions and spiritualities - resistance and challenges for a new world</li> </ul>

for all the associated events.

Source: World Social Forum

(Glasius and Timms 2005: 211)

To research the focus further and to include local, national and regional levels, we completed a content analysis of the programme of workshops held during sample social forums. At the global level we studied the WSF 2003-5; at the regional level we studied the African Social Forum 2002-4; at the national level we studied the Uruguay Social Forum 2002-4; and at the local level we studied the Pay du Dôme Social Forum in France, 2002-4 and the Skåne Social Forum in Sweden, 2002 and 2004 (as this is bi-annual).

Therefore the events programmes of 14 individual social forums were analysed. The aim was to classify the words in the text into a smaller number of categories. A total of 27 categories were identified, and a system of scoring was developed whereby each workshop in the programme was given a value of three. These three points were assigned to the categories which most reflected the workshop title. When the analysis was complete, we were able to identify four overall areas which served to group the results for the 27 categories. These were: emancipation; environment/science/health; economy; and politics/law/governance.

Again there are several problems with the research, mainly that: the official printed programme might not have reflected the actual number of workshops that took place; it is impossible to know how well the content of the workshop reflected the printed title; and other events take place as part of social forums which are not included in the analysis, such as opening and closing ceremonies, youth camps, and public meetings.<sup>18</sup> Figure 4 presents some of the findings.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> For full details of the methodology and acknowledged problems of the data, see Glasius and Timms (2005: 210-8).

## Figure 4: The focus of sample world, regional, national and local social forums

#### Table 6.4: Content analysis of social forum programmes\*

World Social Forum <sup>a</sup>		2003		2004	200	
Democracy and governance	144	5.1%	241	5.7%	452	6.2%
Human rights	47	1.7%	248	5.9%	449	6.2%
International institutions	55	2.0%	86	2.0%	180	2.5%
Indigenous people/race/ethnicity	42	1.5%	110	2.6%	121	1.7%
Violence and non-violence	55	2.0%	76	1.8%	139	1.9%
War and peace	109	3.9%	257	6.1%	359	5.0%
Politics/Law/Governance		16.1%		24.1%		23.5%
Alternative and solidarity economy	111	3.9%	177	4.2%	369	5.1%
Debt	7	0.2%	27	0.6%	40	0.6%
Labour	87	3.1%	190	4.5%	322	4.5%
Marxism/socialism/revolution	74	2.6%	75	1.8%	166	2.3%
Multinational corporations	41	1.5%	84	2.0%	151	2.1%
Poverty and development	144	5.1%	103	2.4%	188	2.6%
Public services	76	2.7%	74	1.8%	108	1.5%
Trade and finance policy	163	5.8%	103	2.4%	198	2.7%
Economy		25.0%		19.7%		21.3%
Agriculture/food/water	170	6.0%	238	5.6%	321	4.4%
Environ ment	107	3.8%	149	3.5%	292	4.0%
Health	81	2.9%	91	2.2%	204	2.8%
Science and technology	15	0.5%	55	1.3%	160	2.2%
Environment/Science/Health		13.3%		12.6%		13.5%
Activism and networking	73	2.6%	212	5.0%	351	4.9%
Children and youth	81	2.9%	112	2.7%	313	4.3%
Education	155	5.5%	78	1.8%	331	4.6%
Gender	93	3.3%	189	4.5%	298	4.1%
Media and communications	60	2.1%	79	1.9%	162	2.2%
Religion/spirituality/ethics	55	2.0%	108	2.6%	235	3.2%
Social forums	13	0.5%	74	1.8%	106	1.5%
Emancipation		18.8%		20.2%		24.8%
Cultural events	712	25.3%	911	21.6%	1047	14.5%
Other	44	1.6%	74	1.8%	171 <sup>d</sup>	2.4%

Total events counted	24		16		25	
Other <sup>r</sup>	12	16.7%		0.0%	2	2.7%
Cultural events	9	12.5%	3	6.3%		0.0%
Emancipation		12.5%		12.5%		30.7%
Social forums		0.0%	3	6.3%		0.0%
Religion/spirituality/ethics		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%
Media and communications		0.0%	3	6.3%	6	8.0%
Gender	9	12.5%		0.0%	3	4.0%
Education		0.0%		0.0%	6	8.0%
Children and youth		0.0%		0.0%	3	4.0%
Activism and networking		0.0%		0.0%	5	6.7%
Environment/Science/Health		0.0%		12.5%		8.0%
Science and technology		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%
Health		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%
Environ ment		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%
Agriculture/food/water		0.0%	6	12.5%	6	8.0%
Economy		33.3%		43.8%		37.3%
Trade and finance policy	10	13.9%	5	10.4%	7	9.3%
Public services"	2	2.8%	2	4.2%		0.0%
Poverty and development		0.0%	8	16.7%	8	10.7%
Multinational corporations		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%
Marxism/socialism/revolution		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%
Labour		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%
Debt	6	8.3%	3	6.3%	4	5.3%
Alternative and solidarity economy	6	8.3%	3	6.3%	9	12.0%
Politics/Law/Governance		25.0%		25.0%		21.3%
War and peace	6	8.3%	6	12.5%	6	8.0%
Violence and non-violence		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%
ndigenous people/race/ethnicity		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%
nternational institutions	3	4.2%	6	12.5%	7	9.3%
Human rights	3	4.2%		0.0%		0.0%

2002

6 8.3%

2003

0.0%

2004

3 4.0%

SOCIAL FORUM S

212

SOCIAL FORUMS

African Regional Social Forum

Democracy and governance

### Figure 4: The focus of sample world, regional, national and local social forums (continued)

#### Table 6.4 continued

Uruguay National Social Forum		20029	1	2003 <sup>h</sup>		2004
Democracy and governance	21	5.2%	15	5.3%	19	6.2%
Human rights	18	4.4%	12	4.2%	17	5.6%
International institutions	5	1.2%	3	1.1%	2	0.7%
Indigenous people/race/ethnicity	14	3.5%	10	3.5%	6	2.0%
Violence and non-violence	10	2.5%	1	0.4%	1	0.3%
War and peace		0.0%	4	1.4%		0.0%
Politics/Law/Governance		16.8%		15.9%		14.7%
Alternative and solidarity economy	26	6.4%	18	6.3%	31	10.1%
Debt		0.0%		0.0%	3	1.0%
Labour	22	5.4%	10	3.5%	21	6.9%
Marxism/socialism/revolution	7	1.7%	5	1.8%		0.0%
Multinational corporations		0.0%	3	1.1%	3	1.0%
Poverty and development	12	3.0%	9	3.2%	7	2.3%
Public services	4	1.0%	6	2.1%	8	2.6%
Trade and finance policy	10	2.5%	22	7.7%	3	1.0%
Economy		20.0%		25.6%		24.8%
Agriculture/food/water	18	4.4%	14	4.9%	27	8.8%
Environ ment	20	4.9%	5	1.8%	10	3.3%
Health	21	5.2%	25	8.8%	16	5.2%
Science and technology	6	1.5%	1	0.4%	0	0.0%
Environment/Science/Health		16.0%		15.9%		17.3%
Activism and networking	15	3.7%	25	8.8%	22	7.2%
Children and youth	22	5.4%	10	3.5%	16	5.2%
Education	15	3.7%	19	6.7%	7	2.3%
Gender	34	8.4%	14	4.9%	16	5.2%
Media and communications	17	4.2%	6	2.1%	16	5.2%
Religion/spirituality/ethics	9	2.2%	18	6.3%	14	4.6%
Social forums	3	0.7%		0.0%		0.0%
Emancipation		28.4%		32.3%		29.7%
Cultural events	39	9.6%	21	7.4%	29	9.5%
Other	37	9.1%	9	3.2%	12	3.9%

Puy de Dôme Local Social Forum (France)		2002		2003		2004	
Democracy and governance	8	11.1%	2	4.2%		0.0%	
Human rights	1	1.4%	4	8.3%		0.0%	
International institutions	2	2.8%	1	2.1%	3	7.1%	
Indigenous people/race/ethnicity		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	
Violence and non-violence		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	
War and peace	1	1.4%		0.0%		0.0%	
Politics/Law/Governance		16.7%		14.6%		7.1%	
Alternative and solidarity economy		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	
Debt		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	
Labour		0.0%		0.0%	3	7.1%	
Marxism/socialism/revolution		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	
Multinational corporations		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	
Poverty and development		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	
Public services		0.0%	3	6.3%	3	7.1%	
Trade and finance policy		0.0%		0.0%	3	7.1%	
Economy		0.0%		6.3%		21.4%	
Agriculture/food/water	2	2.8%	5	10.4%	7	16.7%	
Environ ment	1	1.4%	3	6.3%		0.0%	
Health		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	
Science and technology		0.0%		0.0%	1	2.4%	
Environment/Science/Health		4.2%		16.7%		19.0%	
Activism and networking	3	4.2%		0.0%	3	7.1%	
Children and youth	4	5.6%	2	4.2%		0.0%	
Education		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	
Gender	2	2.8%		0.0%		0.0%	
Media and communications		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	
Religion/spirituality/ethics		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	
Social forums	3	4.2%		0.0%		0.0%	
Emancipation		16.7%		4.2%		7.1%	
Cultural events	45	62.5%	29	58.3%	19	45.2%	
Other		0.0%		0.0%		0.0%	
Total events counted	24		16		14		

SOCIAL FORUMS

(Glasius and Timms 2005: 212-215)

This research allowed us the opportunity to make some comments on the major themes the social forums have been developing. For example:

The most significant theme identified for workshops in the 2005 WSF is what we have called 'emancipation', with 27.8 per cent of the total and around a quarter of the workshops in both 2003 and 2004. Within this category, 'activism and networking' is the most important topic. The percentage would be even higher if 'social forums' was not a separate topic. This suggests that in the actual workshops, self-reflection and sharing of experience and skills on the methods of doing politics, have become the main items on the agenda. In the African Social Forum, too, 'emancipation' has reached parity with politics and the economy, whereas in Uruguay it has consistently been the largest category. In the local forums it is significant but overshadowed by the related category of culture.

The prominence of this category, which includes workshops about culture but more frequently cultural events featuring song, dance, theatre or film, has been as astonishing as the focus on emancipation. Culture was easily the biggest category at both local forums, with between 45 per cent and 62 per cent at Puy de Dôme and a third or more at Skåne, suggesting that these social forums can be defined as predominantly cultural events. At the WSF culture seems to make up only about 5 per cent of the total, but this may be partly a function of the workshop-oriented nature of the official programme, which would not include impromptu or unofficial events. The focus on culture again suggests a preoccupation with the manner of engaging in politics instead of with substance only. It demonstrates that sit-and-talk is not the only model of activist engagement, and many others are explored.

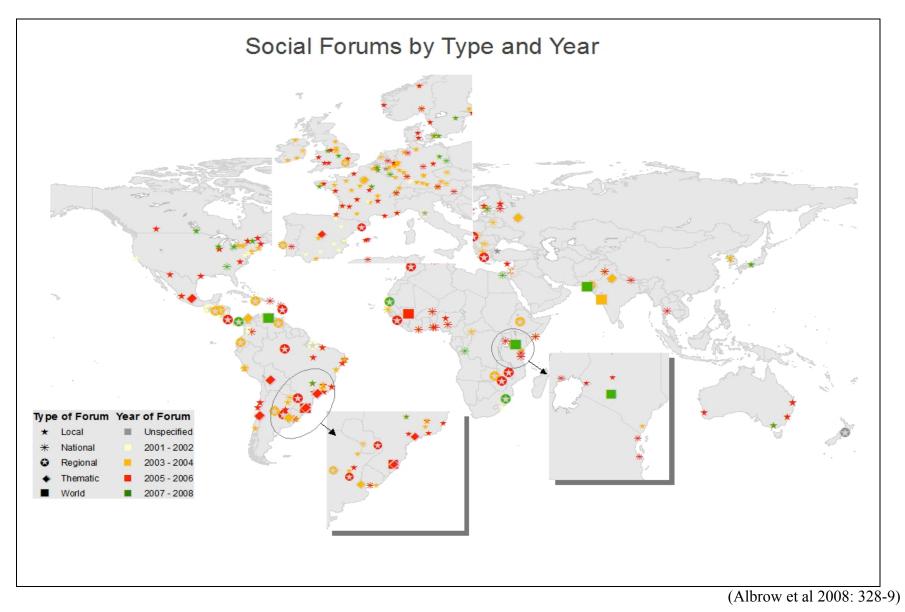
(Glasius and Timms 2005: 218-9)

#### The continuing research

Having researched the spread, format and focus of social forums, we concluded that there is an accumulative building up of ideas, networks and experimental forms associated with the growth of the social forum phenomenon. In some ways this can be seen as a offering a 'radical beacon', guiding global civil society into new areas and forms. However contradictions were identified, for example as social forums claim to be 'open spaces', but have as a pre-set core principle a position against neo-liberalism. Significant sites of tension were also identified: between horizontal and vertical ideologies; between the desire for deliberation versus that for struggle; and between the included and excluded, particularly in relation to the input of political parties, governments and corporations.

On the other hand, there was evidence of a deepening and extending of the links between the different levels of the social forums. Continued growth has been recorded at most levels, and so although the social forums are still such a young phenomenon, they can be seen to make some strategic contributions to the infrastructure of global civil society. It is yet though unclear whether they will survive as an enduring feature of the landscape.

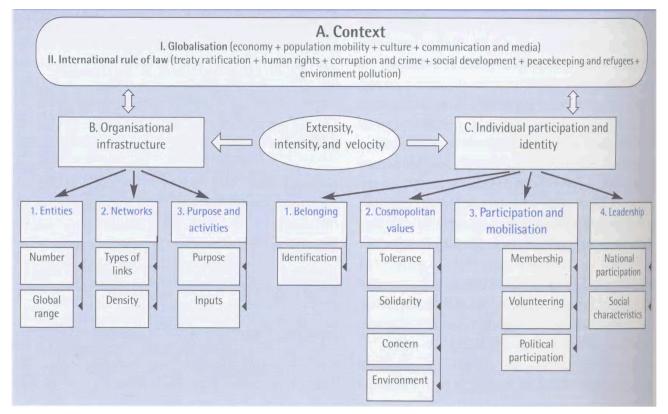
We believe it is important to monitor and understand these developments further.. Therefore we have been formulating methods to continually update the research on the spread of social forums. This is partly being done through the input of our network of chronology correspondents. We also hope to develop a more specialised branch of this network, made up of activists involved in the individual social forums. Our web-based research continues to compliment this, done by the original authors and when possible, an additional team. On this basis, we have been able to produce an updated map of the forums in the latest edition of the Yearbook as part of the Data Programme in the Records Section. It appears within the indicator suite of 'international actors'. See Figure 5. Figure 5: Updated global mapping of social forums



Therefore our attempts to map and study the social forum phenomenon and its role in the sphere of global civil society, continue. We believe this offers an example of how data from the correspondent network and chronology can be further analysed, and we hope to expand the project into other areas of data. We turn now to the wider context of our future plans.

### 4. Contribution to the wider data programme and agenda on alternative data forms

As a source of new data, the chronology of events is a beacon for us in developing our data programme as part of the Global Civil Society Programme. The first Yearbook launched an ongoing discussion about how to use and develop data for the purposes of better understanding global civil society. In that first Yearbook, Helmut Anheier proposed a conceptual scheme for its measurement, summarised in Figure 6. This has played the role of something analogous to a sampling frame for concepts and phenomena in global civil society which are relevant to our points of focus in the Yearbook.





(Anheier 2001: 226)

A few comments on the diagram serve to illustrate some of the challenges for us in our project. The concepts included as part of the 'context' for global civil society are in many cases the province of administrative data collected or collated by centralised national and international agencies. These data often comprise relatively stable counts or ratios of quantities, such as income per country per year; numbers of telephones per capita in a country at a certain point in time; numbers of treaties ratified by countries on a given theme at a given point in time. The data are not without problems, and sometimes the coverage and other aspects of the quality of the data may be in question. Some of these indicators are notoriously difficult to capture accurately - for example, numbers and movements of refugees.

The challenges entailed in measuring these elements of the context of global civil society are to some extent common to all of the concepts in Figure 6. However, there are somewhat different challenges for the concepts that are really central to global civil society, which are included in elements B and C of the diagram: 'organisational infrastructure' and 'individual participation and identity'. The components of these concepts are often not served well by existing data sources, at least not on the same scale or in the same depth as those covering elements of the context of global civil society. Furthermore, many of the concepts are inherently fluid and intangible, and do not lend themselves to presentation in conventional units such as per country per annum, as many of the economic data do.

As regards existing data sources, a remarkable contribution has been made to the field by the Union of International Associations (UIA), based in Brussels, which collects data on international and internationally-oriented NGOs and governmental organisations. The UIA maintains an impressively extensive register of organisations, and collects information on a range of their characteristics, including their geographical locations and reaches, their interests and numbers of members, as well as data capturing the connections between organisations, such as inter-organisation citations in official documents. The UIA has developed its own detailed conceptual scheme and classification for its data. For many years its data have been a key source for us on the organisational infrastructure of global civil society. UIA data are of course limited to those organisations which are well enough established and connected to register themselves with UIA. This makes the Yearbook's network of correspondents, as described in this paper, a vital complementary source for reporting on groups which do not or cannot register their existence with central bodies such as UIA.

Many of the UIA data types can be presented in a standardised, per country per annum format, which may be very useful for purposes of analyses with data on the context of global civil society. However, there remain many fluid and intangible aspects of the space and action of global civil society which need to be captured using other kinds of data. Again, sources such as our network of chronology correspondents are crucial in this regard, for recording ad hoc activities, and events in remote locations. There are in fact a host of other intangible elements of global civil society that are important to our conceptual scheme, but notoriously difficult to measure. For example, social values relating to such principles as tolerance and solidarity are central features of the climate for global civil society. Theoretically speaking these might be captured approximately in survey data. Indeed there are many existing surveys of social values amongst the publics of many countries (Ingelhart et al. 1998), and amongst NGO workers and leaders (Pianta and Silva 2003), and other relevant actors in global civil society (2020 Fund URL). But the cross-cultural comparability of survey data is always an open question, and the costs and other practical difficulties of implementing rigorous survey methodology, especially in new fieldwork settings, are ongoing problems.

In developing our data programme, we have mostly been facing the task of trying to map the sampling frame of concepts depicted in Figure 6 onto pre-existing sources of data collected by other agencies. Re-presenting these data in our own format has in some cases been a very useful and effective exercise for this purpose. With each new Yearbook we aim to be more creative and analytical in the way we use the data. A first step constituted moving from presenting tables of indicators in per country per annum format, towards an increased use of graphics to highlight trends over time, and to throw into relief comparisons between aggregated units – for example, of countries grouped by geographical region or income. In addition to the maps presented in this paper, Hagai Katz has produced numerous maps and network analyses to highlight connections and flows where these are contained in the data. Alongside these, several chapters in the Yearbook have been devoted to new methodologies which might be used to analyse and map global civil society.

The network of correspondents and chronology data are our only specially commissioned data source, to date, and form a type of pilot study for the further development of the data programme.

#### 5. Where can this go? Future possibilities and opportunities

Since our first publication, we have been continuously reviewing the Yearbook project, and as part of this, the data programme. The review process has varied in levels of formality. As well as regular meetings of the editorial committee and authors meetings, it has included, for example, a Yearbook evaluation conference in London 2004, and an expert panel meeting for the data programme in Santa Barbara in 2006. For the eighth edition of the Yearbook we hope to form a specialised advisory group on its theme, poverty and global civil society, to offer expertise relating to data on poverty and to enhance the links between data programme and the aspects of poverty which will be explored in the chapters. In addition, we will take the opportunity to formalise our review process for the data programme in the long term. This will involve Yearbook writers and users in reviewing the development of the data programme to date, revisiting Helmut Anheier's conceptual scheme for measuring global civil society, and planning ways in which we might improve the data programme in the future. We hope to form an online advisory group of selected members of the Yearbook's editorial committee, and a number of experts in the field, with a view to convene a meeting of this group in 2008.

The ongoing review of the data programme will include a discussion about expanding our own data collection. Of course, what we can do will depend on available resources. Presently our data collection relies on the generosity and commitment of our volunteer correspondents. One obvious way to expand our data is to make additional efforts to recruit more of them. We would need to give careful consideration to the strategy we would want to use for this. The current network of correspondents has been developed through a number of means, through the contacts of people involved in the Yearbook project and those who come into contact with it at public lectures, launches, exhibitions and teaching events. This is enlarged by a 'snowball' process, with connections to the correspondents leading to links with further volunteers. We would want to think about whether to attempt to use some kind of formal sampling strategy to expand our data. We might think of sampling correspondents, or we might alternatively think of sampling events. Either way, we would need to define the different strata of global civil society within which we would want to sample – strata which might be defined geographically, thematically, etc. Alongside the development of a sampling frame for correspondents or for events, we should think about the mechanism we would use for seeking out information within each stratum. A classical sampling method would in all likelihood be practically unfeasible. But it

may also be conceptually inappropriate. We might then take the simple aim of collecting a certain critical quantity of information within each relevant stratum. This could become something like the approach of 'corpus construction' (Bauer and Gaskell, 2000), in which such a critical quantity would be 'saturation' of themes – collecting and sampling types of information would continue until no new information was observed, or no new insights provided by the new data.

Another potentially useful approach might be to elaborate on the nature of the data we collect from our correspondents. In the interests of methodological rigour we could consider ways to increase the comparability of information provided by them. For example, we could develop a more extensive set of prompts for particular types of information about the events they report. A web-based form for this purpose has been designed by Sabine Selchow<sup>19</sup>. We could build a coding frame for such information which could be used to create a more formal database of information; such a data set could then be analysed using standard statistical techniques. On the other hand, instead of moving towards standardising and formalising the data from our correspondents, we could adopt a more 'alternative' approach. For example, rich and varied accounts of events of all descriptions are often found on the Internet, in blogs and related formats. Setting up a blog for our network of correspondents could provide the means to generate more and more detailed narrative-based and interactive kinds of data on global civil society events.

These are just two examples of possible avenues to explore for the correspondent network. These rest alongside broader and potentially more ambitious ideas for the Yearbook's data programme overall. Generally we hope in the future to integrate the data from the correspondents and other sources more thoroughly, and analyse them with closer reference to the research questions posed in the Yearbook chapters. We hope that, on a more abstract level, the way we develop the data programme might constitute a useful example for ways of developing novel methodologies for new phenomena which do not lend themselves easily to classical, conventional research methods and methodologies in the social sciences.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> A copy can be viewed at: <u>http://www.lse.ac.uk/Depts/global/globalcivilsocietyevents.htm</u> (consulted 1 November 2007).

#### Conclusions

In this paper we have aimed to contribute to the wider debate on studying aspects of globalisation, by presenting the work of our research programme on global civil society. The study of this civic sphere presents an opportunity for research on a global scale and also provides the basis for investigating connections between and within the local, national and global. Although our focus is broader than the global inequalities theme of this conference, it is clear that understanding the priorities and activities of global civil society actors offers an insight into the issue from a 'bottom-up' perspective. We have now started to investigate the relationship between global civil society and poverty in more detail, as we commission research for the next Yearbook themed on poverty.

The chronology of events, produced in relation to the correspondent network, continues to compliment our wider data programme. The social forums research described, offers a formalised example of how this alternative form of data can be analysed, although there is still much that can be done. Both the chronology and social forums research, and the wider data programme, present significant challenges. Yet the different data streams compliment each other, to offer insights into the changing landscape of global civil society. Therefore, set in the context of our developing plans, we present this programme as an example of how we might attempt the alternative perspectives and innovative methodologies needed, for understanding the implications of globalisation within a complex and multilayered research terrain.

#### **Bibliography**

2020 Fund (URL) *Towards the Future we want for our Children: Report of the First Survey of the 2020 Global Stakeholder Panel*, available at <u>http://www.2020Fund.org/downloads/GSP\_wave1.pdf</u> (consulted 2003).

Albrow, M. and Anheier, H. (2007) 'Violence and the Possibility of Global Civility' in Glasius, M., Kaldor, M. and Anheier, H. (eds) (2007) *Global Civil Society 2006-7*, London: Sage.

Anheier, H. (2001) 'Measuring Global Civil Society' in Anheier, H., Glasius, M. and Kaldor, M. (eds) (2001) *Global Civil Society 2001*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Anheier, H., Glasius, M. and Kaldor, M. (2001) 'Introducing Global Civil Society' in Anheier, H., Glasius, M. and Kaldor, M. (eds) (2001) *Global Civil Society 2001*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Anheier, H., Glasius, M. and Kaldor, M. (2002) 'The State of Global Civil Society: Before and After September 11' in Glasius, M., Kaldor, M. and Anheier, H. (eds) (2002) *Global Civil Society 2002*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Anheier, H. and Katz, H. (2005) 'Network Approaches to Global Civil Society' in Anheier, H., Glasius, M. and Kaldor, M. (eds) (2005) *Global Civil Society 2004/5*, London: Sage.

Anheier, H. and Katz, H. (2006) 'Learning from History? Comparative-Historical Methods and Researching Global Civil Society' in Glasius, M., Kaldor, M. and Anheier, H. (eds) (2006) *Global Civil Society 2005/6*, London: Sage.

Anheier, H. and Stares, S. (2002) 'Introducing the Global Civil Society Index' in Glasius, M., Kaldor,M. and Anheier, H. (eds) (2002) *Global Civil Society 2002*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bauer and Gaskell (2000) Qualitative Researching with Text, Image and Sound. London: Sage.

Beck, U. (2003) 'The Analysis of Global Inequalities: From National to Cosmopolitan Persepctive' in Kaldor, M., Anheier, H. and Glasius, M. (eds) (2003) *Global Civil Society 2003*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Edelman, M. (2003) 'Transnational Peasant and Farmer Movements and Networks' in Kaldor, M., Anheier, H. and Glasius, M. (eds) (2003) *Global Civil Society 2003*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ezzat, H. R. (2005) 'Beyond Methodological Modernism: Towards a Multicultural Paradigm Shift in the Social Sciences' in Anheier, H., Glasius, M. and Kaldor, M. (eds) (2005) *Global Civil Society* 2004/5, London: Sage.

Glasius, M. (2007) 'Pipe Dream or Panacea? Global Civil Society and Economic and Social Rights' in Glasius, M., Kaldor, M. and Anheier, H. (eds) (2007) *Global Civil Society 2006-7*, London: Sage.

Glasius, M. and Timms, J. (2005) 'The Role of Social Forums in Global Civil Society: Radical beacon or strategic infrastructure?' in Anheier, H., Kaldor, M. and Glasius, M. (eds) (2005) *Global Civil Society 2005/6*, London: Sage.

Holland, F. (ed) (2008) 'Voices of Global Civil Society: Caroonists, Comic Strip Artists and Graphic Novelists' in Albrow, M., Anheier, H., Glasius, M., Price, M. and Kaldor, M. (eds) (2008) *Global Civil Society 2007/8*, London: Sage.

Inglehart, I., Basañez, M. and Moreno, A (1998) *Human Values and Beliefs: A Cross-Cultural Sourcebook: Political, Religious, Sexual, and Economic Norms in 43 Societies: Findings from the 1990-1993 World Values Survey*, Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

Kaldor, M. (2008) 'Democracy and Globalisation' in Albrow, M., Anheier, H., Glasius, M., Price, M. and Kaldor, M. (eds) (2008) *Global Civil Society 2007/8*, London: Sage.

Kaldor, M., Anheier, H. and Glasius, M. (2003) 'Global Civil Society in an Era of Regressive Globalisation' in Kaldor, M., Anheier, H. and Glasius, M. (eds) (2003) *Global Civil Society 2003*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Katz, H. (2008) 'Indicator Suites of Global Civil Society' in Albrow, M., Anheier, H., Glasius, M., Price, M. and Kaldor, M. (eds) (2008) *Global Civil Society 2007/8*, London: Sage.

Naughton, J. (2001) 'Contested Space: The Internet and Global Civil Society' in Anheier, H., Glasius,M. and Kaldor, M. (eds) (2001) *Global Civil Society 2001*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Pianta, M. (2001) 'Parallel Summits of Global Civil Society' in Anheier, H., Glasius, M. and Kaldor,M. (eds) (2001) *Global Civil Society 2001*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Pianta, M. and Silva, F. (2003) *Globalisers from Below. A Survey on Global Civil Society Organisations*, Rome: GLOBI Research Report.

Seckinelgin, H. (2002) 'Time to Stop and Think: HIV/AIDS, Global Civil Society and People's Politics', in Glasius, M., Kaldor, M. and Anheier, H. (eds) (2002) *Global Civil Society 2002*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Said, Y. and Desai, M. (2001) 'The New Anti-Capitalist Movement: Money and Global Civil Society' in Anheier, H., Glasius, M. and Kaldor, M. (eds) (2001) *Global Civil Society 2001*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Sassens, S. (2002) 'Global Cities and Diasporic Networks: Microsites in Global Civil Society' in Glasius, M., Kaldor, M. and Anheier, H. (eds) (2002) *Global Civil Society 2002*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Timms, J. (ed) 2002 'Chronology of Global Civil Society Events' in Glasius, M., Kaldor, M. and Anheier, H. (eds) (2002) *Global Civil Society 2002*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Timms, J. (ed) 2003 'Chronology of Global Civil Society Events' in Kaldor, M., Anheier, H. and Glasius, M. (eds) (2003) *Global Civil Society 2003*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Timms, J. (ed) 2005 'Chronology of Global Civil Society Events' in Anheier, H., Glasius, M. and Kaldor, M. (eds) (2005) *Global Civil Society 2004/5*, London: Sage.

Timms, J. (ed) 2006 'Chronology of Global Civil Society Events' in Glasius, M., Kaldor, M. and Anheier, H. (eds) (2006) *Global Civil Society 2005/6*, London: Sage.

Timms, J. (ed) 2007 'Chronology of Global Civil Society Events' in Glasius, M., Kaldor, M. and Anheier, H. (eds) (2002) *Global Civil Society 2002*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Timms, J. (ed) 2008 'Chronology of Global Civil Society Events' in Albrow, M., Anheier, H., Glasius, M., Price, M. and Kaldor, M. (eds) (2008) *Global Civil Society 2007/8*, London: Sage.

Waterman, P. and Timms, J. (2005) 'Trade Union Internationalism and Global Civil Society in the Making' in Anheier, H., Glasius, M. and Kaldor, M. (eds) (2005) *Global Civil Society 2004/5*, London: Sage.

Whitaker, C., Santos, B. and Cassen, B. (2006) 'The World Social Forum: Where Do We Stand and Where Are We Going?' in Anheier, H., Glasius, M. and Kaldor, M. (eds) (2005) *Global Civil Society* 2004/5, London: Sage.