

# Social Movements and the Diffusion of Tactics and Repertoires: Activists' Network in Anti-globalism Movement

Kyoko Tominaga

**Abstract**—Non-Government Organizations (NGOs), Non-Profit Organizations (NPOs), Social Enterprises and other actors play an important role in political decisions in governments at the international levels. Especially, such organizations' and activists' network in civil society is quite important to effect to the global politics. To solve the complex social problems in global era, diverse actors should cooperate each other. Moreover, network of protesters is also contributes to diffuse tactics, information and other resources of social movements.

Based on the findings from the study of International Trade Fairs (ITFs), the author analyzes the network of activists in anti-globalism movement. This research focuses the transition of 54 activists' whole network in the "protest event" against 2008 G8 summit in Japan. Their network is examined at the three periods: Before protest event phase, during protest event phase and after event phase. A mixed method is used in this study: the author shows the hypothesis from social network analysis and evaluates that with interview data analysis.

This analysis gives the two results. Firstly, the more protesters participate to the various events during the protest event, the more they build the network. After that, active protesters keep their network as well. From interview data, we can understand that the active protesters can build their network and diffuse the information because they communicate with other participants and understand that diverse issues are related.

This paper comes to same conclusion with previous researches: protest events activate the network among the political activists. However, some participants succeed to build their network, others do not. "Networked" activists are participated in the various events for short period of time and encourage the diffusion of information and tactics of social movements.

**Keywords**—Social Movement, Global Justice Movement, Tactics, Diffusion.

## I. INTRODUCTION

RECENTLY, a significant amount of research has examined 'temporary clusters' of people who work in the same industries. Many scholars have noted that clusters provide opportunities to create networks among participants. For example, Reference [1]-[5] argued that International Trade Fairs (ITFs) bring firms together and create temporary geographical proximity for intense periods. ITFs provide periodic and recurrent events in which individuals can interact and learn about novel products and new technologies [2].

Reference [6] suggests that meetings and conventions activate networks among specialists. It argued, 'Information and ideas thus flow more easily through the specialty, giving it

some "sense of community", activated at meetings and conventions. Maintenance of weak ties may well be the most important consequence of such meetings'.

His argument can be applied to firms, customers, and markets, as well as to social movement organizations (SMOs), activists, and social movement industries [7]. Many studies have argued that participants construct networks by engaging in social movements. Moreover, tactics and information are transmitted and diffused through these networks among the activists [8]-[11]. However, very little empirical information is known about 'temporary clusters' that develop among activists. These clusters function as arenas that activate weak ties among activists.

A temporary cluster is a meeting among people who work in the same industry that occurs in limited space and time. The theory of social movements mainly focuses on not temporary but persistent clusters, organizations, and communities. However, temporary clusters also play important roles: they diffuse and transmit information among activists.

This research investigates whether arguments presented by Reference [1]-[6] could be applied to social movement industries. The current study focuses on 'protest events' and examines networks that develop among participants. In particular, this paper presents a case study that investigates social networks developed among the protest participants against the 2008 Hokkaido Toyako Summit held in Toyako (and Sapporo), Hokkaido, Japan. G8 summit protest is one of the "summit protests" [12]. Enormous crowds were involved in summit protests around the world. Protesters insisted on alter-globalization and global justice for international institutions such as the World Trade Organization (WTO), the International Monetary Fund (IMF), and international ministerial conferences such as the G8 Summit and COP (Conference of Parties). Many studies have noted that this movement focuses on multiple issues (e.g. the environment, women, trade, and anti-war efforts). Hence, various actors from many lands tend to gather in places that host movements. They comprise the global social movement. Yet, each separate movement groups conducts their own events in limited spaces within certain periods.

A few studies empirically examined this issue. Social movement scholars consider summit protests opportunities to construct networks among activists engaged in various issues and organizations [12]-[14]. Only a limited number of studies have empirically examined this issue. Reference [12] argued that organizational networks developed the summit protest

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process and successfully mobilized increasing numbers of participants. In summit protest, media activist groups played as a role of brokers between radical activists' groups and formal NGOs. During summit protests, environmental NGOs, anarchist groups, labor unions, and black blocks cooperate to create 'festivals' comprised various activists' sectors. Reference [12] revealed that the network plays as the role which involves more activists in protest events.

In contrast, [14] argued that networks created during protest events are developed to transmit and diffuse tactics among activists. It studied social movement organizations and examined whether transmissions occurred successfully. Based on her results, she argued that discussions among diverse adopters who were reflexive and egalitarian activists led to successful diffusion. Participants' deliberations helped them determine similarities between their situations and the tactics used by previous participants.

Previous research that focused on activists' social networks and summit protests employed network data based on social movement organizations. A study conducted by [12] utilized organizational network data. It did not focus on individual levels. Reference [14] developed and elaborated on [12], [13] arguments. In their arguments, movement tactics were transmitted from one organization to another organization. They applied the theory of social movement organization to classify 'sender' and 'receiver' sides. They solely focused on individual data on the receiver side. She believed senders' characteristics were important to the achievement of successful transmissions. Although findings of [12]-[14] are quite important, we must pay focus on networks that develop among individuals.

As [14] argued, deliberation, discussion, and conversation must occur to encourage networks to develop so that participants can receive tactics. However, deliberation is not solely performed by receivers; rather, deliberation is performed by both receivers and senders. Therefore, we must analyze individual-level communications transmitted during summit protests, as well as the constructions created by each protester. This research focuses on networks created among individuals involved in summit protests by the use of social network analysis.

## II. RESEARCH METHOD

A mixed method was employed in this research: a hypothesis based on social network analysis, as well as an evaluation based on interview data analysis. First, the author conducted a multiple regression analysis based on the number of the days/events and participants' network centrality (social network analysis). Second, the author evaluated the results of the analysis based on interview data (interview data analysis).

In the current study, the author focused on transitions that occurred in 37 activists' whole networks before, during, and after the events organized to protest against the 2008 G8 Summit in Japan. The author examined these networks during three periods: the before-protest event phase, the during-protest event phase, and the after-protest event phase. In Japan, the G8 Summit and summit protests was held between 1 July and 10

July 2008. Additionally, many protesters prepared for the protest events. They created activists' camps (accommodation for participants who came from foreign countries, as well as from other areas in Japan) and participated in many forums and symposiums; they also organized demonstrations and other street activities; and some protesters created a media center. Over 50 events were held by protesters in Hokkaido, Japan. This study focuses on these 'preparatory' activities. Therefore, the 'during-the-summit protest' phase extended between Jan.1, 2007- Dec, 31, 2008. "Before the summit protest" phase covers from Jan. 1, 2005- Dec, 31, 2006 and "After the summit protest" phase the year of Jan, 1, 2009-Dec, 31, 2010.

The author defined the activists' network as 'joining the same event together'. The author asked informants, 'what social movement events did you attend (or summit protest events)? With whom did you participate in events?' For instance, Mr.A and Mr.B participated in the same anti-nuclear march prior to the G8 Summit protest. In this case, we drew the co-presence network that existed between Mr.A and Mr.B during the before-the-summit-protest phase. If Mr.A and B failed to participate in any events after the summit protests ended, we determined that no ties connected them after the summit protest phase. During the G8 Summit protests, various events were held during the week the G8 Summit meetings were held. Moreover, protesters planned and prepared for these events over a one- to two-year period. In the case of Mr.A, a protester, he stayed at the activists' camp, attended the forum, and engaged in discussions with other people. He recorded the demonstration's street events on his camera and broadcast them at the media center. In contrast, Mr.B, the other protestor, negotiated with police and local governments and advertised for other protesters to join in a large demonstration. If Mr.A and B joined a demonstration that was held at the same time and place, they successfully constructed a network. Additionally, Mr.A succeeded to connect the network with participants in a media center, camp and forum, too. Graph modelling and analysis were conducted with the help of UCINET 6.232.

All informants in the study resided in Hokkaido, Japan. It was particularly important to discover whether additional networks were created out of local protesters' networks. First, local activists' networks should not be hindered by geographical situations. Even if Mr.A and B, who resided in remote areas, constructed a network at the summit protest, they would rarely see one another after the protests ended. With respect to local people, they can engage in similar activism more easily. Thus, they can more easily decide to participate with particular individuals because they are located close together. Therefore, without their socio-political situation, they can decide that who do him/her corporate with.

The 2008 G8 Summit protest was held in Hokkaido, Japan. Many local activists joined the protests. Hokkaido is a northern Japanese island that is located in a relatively rural area. About 100 residents participated in preparations for the summit protests [15]<sup>1</sup> The author choose informants from local

<sup>1</sup> This information was provided during A30's interview, which was conducted 28 July 2010 in Tokyo, Japan.

participants based on their diverse ages, occupational types, genders, marital status, and educational levels. Among the 37 respondents, 11 were women. Five individuals who participated in the summit protests were in their 20s. Of the remaining participants, 14 were in their 30s, six were in their 40s, eight were in their 50s, and four were in their 60s. Out of all participants, 12 worked full-time. Six participants were bachelor, masters, and doctoral students who attended universities. Four participants were housewives and 15 participants were employed part-time.

Based on interview data, the author investigated the transformations that occurred in participants' networks before, during, and after the protest events occurred. Each interview relied on a common protocol comprised open-ended questions that aimed to discover (1) individuals with whom participants joined to participate in events; (2) changes in participants' networks; and (3) the types of overall interrelationships that developed between participants' networks and their participation in the summit protests. Interviews lasted between one and five hours. Interviews were recorded on an audio device and were fully transcribed. Interview transcriptions were coded on UCINET Spreadsheet.

### III. GRAPH MODELLING AND MULTIPLE REGRESSION

This study analyzed ordinary multiple regressions. All network data were unweighted. The independent variables assigned were activists' genders/sexes (dummy variable), occupational types (dummy variable), issues participants engaged in (Feminism/Human Rights, Environment, Peace/Anti-war, Development, all were dummy variables), ages, the number of events in which they participated, and the number of days they participated (all were numeral variables). The assigned dependent variable was degree centrality.

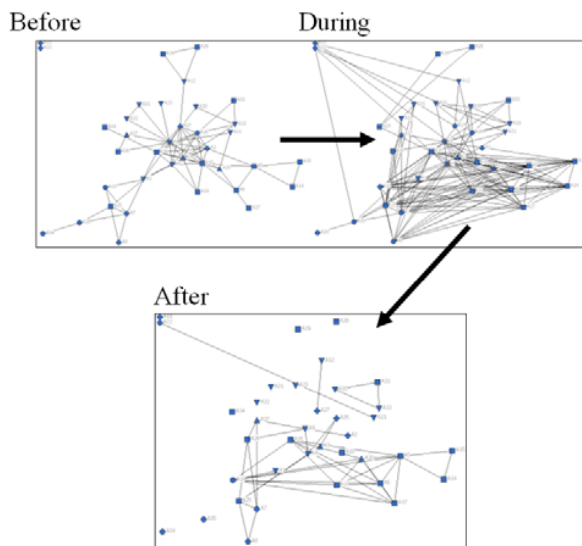


Fig. 1 Graph modelling before, during, and after the summit protest phases

In this section, the author describes the results of the graph

modelling before, during, and after the summit protests, as well as the results of the multiple regressions with UCINET 6.232 and Netdraw 2.089. First, the graph shown below illustrates the networks developed between activists.

Each node depicts a generation: circle nodes are informants in their 20s, square nodes are informants in their 30s, diamond nodes are informants in their 40s, inverted triangle nodes are informants in their 50s, and triangle nodes are informants in their 60s.

Before the summit protests, almost all activists were connected with some other activities. The chart shows two isolated protesters. Activists in their 50s and 60s played central roles in local social movement communities. They were strongly connected with one another. Protestors who were relatively young (in their 20s, 30s, and 40s) operated in the periphery around central protesters.

During the summit protests, informants' collaborative networks became more active and their densities increased. In particular, young activists in their 30s engaged in active cooperation with one another. Networks between younger informants in their 20s showed limited changes. Networks of older informants maintained their centrality.

After the summit protest ended, activists' networks changed dramatically. The number of ties totally decreased in comparison with during and before the summit protests. Seven activists were isolated. Most of the other informants also lost their ties. Only informants in their 30s maintained networks they had developed during the summit protests.

During the summit protest, all participants had to collaborate and communicate with one another. Thus, they developed their ties. We anticipated that these collaborative ties would not be maintained after the summit protests ended because each participant usually engaged in different sectors and issues. In comparison to the before- and after-summit phases, informants' networks contained fewer ties than before the protests held. This finding is incompatible with the results of previous studies in social movement theory [12], [13] and studies that focused on temporary clusters in certain industries [1]-[4].

The author carefully scrutinized correlations between participants' attributes and their degree centrality by performing a multiple regression analysis.

TABLE I  
MULTIPLE REGRESSION ANALYSIS OF LOCAL PARTICIPANTS (N = 37):  
DEGREE CENTRALITY BEFORE, DURING, AND AFTER THE SUMMIT PROTEST  
(STANDARDIZED COEFFICIENTS)

Variables	Before the protest	Centrality During the protest	After the protest
Number of events in which informants participated	.284	.342**	.331***
Number of days informants participated	.320	-.040	-.173*
R <sup>2</sup>	.127	.163	.256

\*\*\*p < .01; \*\*p < .05; \*p < .001.

Table I provides the results of a multiple regression analysis that explores the effects of the number of events and days protesters participated in the summit protest for their degree

centrality. The results revealed that centrality during the summit protest, protesters who participated in many events during the summit protests showed strong centrality.

Both variables in this model that attributes to participants' centrality are significant after the summit protest ended. Activists who participated in various events retained their strong centrality during the summit protests. In contrast, activists who participated in protests for longer periods showed weaker centrality than other participants did.

The multiple regression analysis revealed that network centrality and the number of events in which informants participated showed positive correlations in the during-the-event phase. In the after-the-event phase, the number of events in which informants participated continued to correlate with centrality. Furthermore, the results revealed that the number of days informants participated showed negative correlations with network centrality.

#### IV. DEEP PROTESTERS AND ACTIVE PROTESTERS: THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN THEIR PARTICIPATION IN PROTESTS AND THEIR NETWORKS

Graph modelling and a multiple regression analysis revealed that the issues in which participants engaged, their occupational types, the number of events in which they participated, and the length of time they participated in the summit protests were significant predictors of their networks. In this section, the author analyzes why these valuable effects to centrality with interview data analysis.

This study classifies informants into two categories based on the number of days and the number of events in which they participated. Individuals assigned to the first group were classified as 'active protesters' who joined various events for short periods. Individuals assigned to the second group were classified as 'deep protesters' who committed to participate in the summit protests for longer periods, however, these individuals participated in fewer events.

##### *A. Active Protesters Participated in Shorter, but More Diverse Protests*

The typical participants in summit protests are exemplified by the following dialogue provided by Ms A5, a young woman who works in a grocery store that sells eco-friendly goods. Ms A5 is one of many active protesters who created networks with other activists during the summit protests. In the past, she engaged in social movements related to environmental issues. During G8 summit protest, she was involved in several demonstrations and stayed in activists' camps in short period of time. After the protest, she began to engage in social movements in diverse areas. Ms. A5 stated,

Before the summit protests, I was only interested in environmental issues. However, now I go to anti-poverty, human rights, and feminist protest events. During the G8 Summit protests, I spoke with feminists and minority activists. I noticed that diverse problems are based on globalism. Although these activists are in a difficult position in Japan, they became activists for the right reasons. I saw their activities with my own eyes during

the summit protest ... My values changed significantly.<sup>2</sup>

During the summit protest, 'active' protesters noticed that diverse issues/activists were highly connected with one another. This changed not only their understanding of certain social problems but their tactics of social movements. Informant A20 appeared to be a typical 'active protester'. He belonged to human rights NGO. During the protests, he performed several roles: He served as one of the secretary-generals in the anti-G8 Summit group and he prepared and joined in some events during the summit protest. When A20 joined the summit protest, he struggled to cooperate with other NGOs. A20 stated,

We were unaware of the importance of other social problems – for instance, the importance of the environment. However, other NGOs were unaware of human rights issues. Moreover, we did not realize that our misunderstandings caused significant difficulties when we tried to engage in social movements. [Omitted by the author.] After the G8 Summit protest ended, we understood the importance of being aware of other issues. For example, when sea levels rise, Bangladeshi people suffer from increased poverty ... We knew this fact but we did not act on it. For us, the G8 Summit protests were opportunities to perform feasible actions.<sup>3</sup>

After the G8 summit protest, A20 started new project in his NGO. He published a pamphlet that includes various complex issues in globalizing world. He said that it is a result of his "awareness" in the summit protest.

This finding has been verified by other studies. Global justice movement may be considered the social movements as "umbrella-issues" movements that have various issues are convergence [13]. 'Active protesters' such as A5 and A20 realized that all problems – and activities and movements – are interconnected.

Because their networks were constricted during the summit protest, protesters' issues became broader and more diverse. A5, A20, and other active protesters became friends with other participants. They learned about global social problems from one another. After the summit protest ended, they could continue to address these issues and problems through the networks they created.

Moreover, active protesters became friends with other activists. Their networks related to social movements, as well as to their private lives. Their networks became increasingly dense because they engaged in communications related to activism and their private lives. A6 is a carpenter in his 30s who resides in Hokkaido. During the summit protest, he joined some forums, participated in some demonstrations, and stayed at an activist camp. A6 stated,

I made friends with other attendees during the summit protest ... Now I spend my leisure time with them. For instance, we go to picnics and spas. Before the protests, we would only hold workshops, attend demonstrations, or something ... I felt sympathetic to them because we share similar thoughts and identities. I became familiar

<sup>2</sup>This interview was conducted on 16 March 2010 in Hokkaido, Japan.

<sup>3</sup>This interview was conducted on 17 July 2010 in Tokyo, Japan

with other activists' ideas during the summit protest.<sup>4</sup>

A6 is one of several friends who attend picnics with A5. A5 stated that their picnics resulted from their participation in social movements and the summit protest. A5 stated,

For example, we had "alternative picnics" as one of our social movements. Campsite fees are quite expensive so we went to areas near campsites to eat and drink. During my picnic, we argued, "We have the right to use public spaces for free! Reclaim these spaces"! Usually, our lives are affected by capitalism. However, we can be freer if we live without capitalism. I learned this from the summit protest, especially from the activists' camp and the demonstrations. These experiences can make our lives, leisure times, and businesses more dramatically 'activistic'.<sup>5</sup>

Active protesters enjoy attending picnics, parties, and other leisure activities together. During the summit protest, they created relationships as 'activists', as well as 'friends'. Limited time and space during the protests created a type of intensity and mutuality among activists. They shared movement identities and realized them by participating in leisure activities after the summit protest ended.

Because of the relationships these participants constructed during the summit protest, participants could transmit ideas, issues and tactics related to social movements. These activists continued their communications after the protest and their leisure activity transformed into activism. It is a kind of tactics. Moreover, it is definitely transmitted from other participants.

However, we could expect that these features are applied to the behavior of deep protesters. Why only active protesters do enlarged their issues and sustain their friendship? Why deep protesters do not keep their network?

#### *B. Deep Protesters Participated in Longer, but Less Diverse Protests*

The results of the interviews revealed that 'deep protesters' seemed to burn out after the summit protest ended. Their commitments appeared to be so deep that their resources became depleted.

A27 works for an NPO. He played an important role because he established the 'media centre'. It took about six months to prepare the media centre. Usually, media centres are established to support summit protest and other anti-globalism movements. In this particular media centre, participants could record and broadcast any information they possessed. The center required significant amounts of equipment, space, and people to organize it. A27 stated,

I had some conflicts with other protesters during the summit protest [long silence] even now ... For example; some activists and I competed for funding. We couldn't set up the media center without funding; therefore, I raised about 100,000 Euros. But, the other participants didn't like my fundraising ... We were on bad terms for several years ... after the G8 protest.<sup>6</sup>

To prepare and hold the events needs a lot of resources. And summit protest is formed by many events. Therefore, protesters have to compete to get resource: member, money and place. He could not stop leaving from setting up the protest until to finish the summit protest. The relationship which is in good terms before the summit protest became crucially deteriorated because activists had conflict over a limited resource. And it has affected their terms after the G8 summit protest.

A7 is a doctoral student. He is a typical 'deep protester' who organized summit protest for over a year. He directed the activists' camp and managed diverse tasks. He arranged various activist groups' schedules and developed several movement goals. He considered himself a businessman during the summit protest process, rather than an activist. A7 stated,

Unlike before, I don't actively participate in social movements. Becoming involved in the summit protest was a difficult experience for me ... I had to mail things for other activists, hold innumerable meeting, and make trips around the world ... Anyway, we were pretty busy and became quite tired. I want to fight for neo-liberalism, but my position is quite similar to a businessman in both capitalism and neo-liberalism ... Therefore, I prefer to engage in activism rooted in life ... That kind of movement is easy for me. It doesn't cost too much [laughing].<sup>7</sup>

Moreover, protests that lasted for long periods exposed participants to a certain type of risk. In particular, policemen are great enemies of activists. In Japan, policemen follow participants in social movements and testify as witnesses to their participation. These policemen are known as 'Kouan' (security police). They are feared by protesters.

A35 is bachelor who studies at a university. He prepared the activists' camp and provided accommodations in his flat for foreign protesters and guests who came from other areas in Japan. His flat is considered 'a secret base of operations' by activists, as well as by policemen. A35 stated,

To tell the truth, I couldn't take part in the G8 Summit protest in July 2008 [the period during which the G8 meetings were held]. Of course, I spent two years setting up the activists' camp. I coordinated with foreign protesters, city governments, and other Japanese activists ... However; many policemen seemed to follow me after July. I feared "they will capture me during the demonstration".<sup>8</sup>

After the summit protest ended, A35 continued his political activism in secret, however, he continues to check for the presence of security police.

A1 is a man in his fifties. He participated in several social movements, such as students' movements and protests lodged against airport construction. As a veteran activist, A1 joined the summit protest as part of a group. For one year prior to the protests, he organized forums and demonstrations with activists from Tokyo and Hokkaido, Japan. However, he discontinued

<sup>4</sup>This interview was conducted on 7 March 2010 in Hokkaido, Japan.

<sup>5</sup>This interview was conducted on 16 March 2010 in Tokyo, Japan.

<sup>6</sup>This interview was conducted on 10 August 2010 in Hokkaido, Japan.

<sup>7</sup>This interview was conducted on 7 April 2010 in Tokyo, Japan.

<sup>8</sup>This interview was conducted on 16 September 2010 in Tokyo, Japan.

his engagement in social movements after that time. He donated his own resources (e.g. money, time, and labor) to the protests. A1 stated,

I don't remember exactly what problems and issues the G8 leaders discussed because I was tired from organizing the protests. To tell the truth, I felt I had finished all summit processes before I conducted the event ... I suspended social activities for private reasons and ... I was too tired to participate in any activism. I was traumatized during the summit protest. I was so busy working as a nursing assistant. At the same time, I was active in the protests. [Omitted by the author.] Anyway, I was so tired. I was worn out.<sup>9</sup>

In the previous section, the author used the results of a multiple regression analysis to demonstrate how full-time workers struggled to maintain their networks after the summit protest ended. Similar to A7, A1 exhausted his energies and other resources. In addition, he became too busy with his usual work, therefore, he did not participate in any other movements.

During the summit protest, some local 'deep protesters' were required to spend resources that exceeded their capacities. To organize diverse, large events for summit protest, they were compelled to donate their own resources to ensure that the protests would occur. Some local protesters became burned out because they exerted time, labor, and money that exceeded their capacities. Moreover, they were exposed to the risk of arrest for long periods.

#### V. DISCUSSION

This study arrived at the same conclusions achieved by previous researches: Protest events activate networks among political activists. However, although some participants successfully build their own networks, some activists do not. 'Networked' activists tended to participate in various events for short periods.

This analysis provided two results. First, protestors who participated in more protest events built larger networks. In addition, active protesters maintained their networks after protests ended. Based on interview data, it was apparent that 'active protesters' were able to create and maintain their networks because they continued to communicate with other participants and began to understand that diverse issues were related. In other words, they successfully built 'weak ties' [6] during protest events. Furthermore, participants in this category tended to make greater commitments to political activism and diffuse the tactics.

Second, the number of days informants participated was not related to network building. In fact, if protesters participated in summit protest for long periods, they tended to lose their networks after the protests ended. These 'deep protesters' spent their own resources (e.g. time, money, and labour) as part of their involvement in the summit protest. In comparison with 'active protesters', 'deep protesters' tended to remain at risk of arrest, therefore, they sometimes retired from activism. This tendency was particularly strong among full-time workers.

The present study was intended to be exploratory. It employed a limited sample of local participants who engaged in summit protest. The protesters employed in this study were engaged in limited issues and came from generations that differed from the whole population that attended summit protests. The sample included residents of Hokkaido who reflected the sociopolitical situation in Hokkaido, Japan. However, it is important to note that the author's objective was to examine protesters' networks in relation to protest events, rather than to generalize about all social movements. One significant result revealed the existence of 'temporary clusters' of activists.

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<sup>9</sup>This interview was conducted on 27 February 2010 in Hokkaido, Japan.

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