

Collective Action Dilemmas with Individual Mobilization through Digital Networks

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ABSTRACT

This paper approaches political individualization through the lens of collective action. Contemporary protests—such as the global anti-Iraq war protests—that are taken to be characteristic of individualized collective action are frequently impressive in terms of the numbers and diversity of people mobilized, as well as the short term focusing of attention on issues. Nevertheless, the very features that are so impressive also raise key concerns regarding the quality of action produced. While digital technology may facilitate organizing, critics doubt that loose multi-issue networks that are easy to opt in and out of can generate the commitment, coherence and persistence of action historically achieved by successful movements. This paper addresses the concerns arising at the interface between different action modes by linking the issues of collective action focus and capacity to questions about how organizational signals to individuals and each other affect the organization of a shared protest space. We propose the concept of an *ecological collective action space* (ECAS) in order better to assess the arrangements among actors in a particular political space. This conceptualization of action space directs attention to ways in which collective action configurations can shape the coherence, impact, and prospects of future actions: It highlights, first, how multiple organizational modes of communicating with individuals play out in the same event space, and second, how these patterns of communication affect the ways in which organizations, coalitions, and individuals negotiate, willfully or not, the qualities of the action space which they mutually constitute. We develop these ideas by analyzing the ecological space shared by two umbrella protest coalitions at the 2009 G20 London summit.

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Introduction

Several broad trends are associated with the globalization of many social and economic issues such as labor market inequities, trade practices, and climate change. First, government control over many issues has become both complex and dispersed, reflecting the need for social pressure to be applied to diverse national and transnational governing institutions, as well as to corporations that have used global business models to gain autonomy from government regulation. Second, both within nations and transnationally, political issues are interrelated in ways that may cut across conventional social movement sectors: labor and human rights often occupy common agendas, and economic development initiatives may align with environmental causes. The resulting organizational incentives for greater flexibility in defining issues and protest strategies are magnified by a third factor involving the growing autonomy of individuals in late modern societies in terms of separation from traditional bases of social solidarity such as parties, churches, unions, and other mass organizations.

One sign of this growing individual autonomy is the tendency to engage with multiple causes (often independent of parties or conventional political organizations) by filtering those causes through individual lifestyles (Giddens 1991; Bennett 1998; Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002; Putnam 2000; Inglehart 1997; Micheletti 2003; della Porta 2005). The organization of individual action in terms of meanings assigned to lifestyle elements (brands, leisure pursuits, friend networks) results in personalization of such things as climate change (in relation to personal carbon footprints), labor standards (in relation to fashion choices), or consumption of food (associated with fair trade practices or the slow living

movement). The personal filtering of issues and related political activities makes individuals' own narratives important elements of the mobilization process, often requiring organizations to be more flexible in their definitions of issues and open to interactions with individuals who may resist formal membership but join in selected actions (Bimber, Flanagin & Stohl, 2005; Flanagin, Stohl & Bimber, 2006).

This growing demand for personalized relations with causes and organizations makes various digital media technologies increasingly central to the organization and conduct of collective action. Digital technologies enable loosely tied relations between individuals, causes, and organizations, while often giving individuals considerable autonomy in making choices about how, when, where, and with whom to affiliate and act. The individual control of such connections to the terms of action creates the potential for more diverse and personalized identifications than may be characteristic of the collective framing of identifications commonly associated with social movements based on more organization-centered and leader-driven collective action (della Porta, 2005).

These political, organizational, personal, and technological qualities of contemporary protest politics make collective action spaces both rich and complex. The spaces in which individualized collective action occurs may be geographically dispersed, ranging from stores where politically motivated shopping occurs, to public protest rallies addressing the same labor, environmental or trade issues. The connections that enable individuals to navigate these spaces and find meaningful ways of behaving in them can be dense and chaotic, as consumers make independent choices about which foods or fashion to buy based on lifestyle considerations involving impacts on climate, working

conditions in far off factories, or sustainable local communities where coffee or cacao are grown. At the same time, those individual choices, along with decisions about joining protest actions, may be affected by how movement organizations communicate about their causes, policy agendas, and campaigns to various target audiences. Both levels of organizational coordination and individual participation in various collective action spaces may depend on uses of social technologies that link organizational agendas with individually expressive communication and action opportunities. The analysis of websites, facebook pages, twitter feeds, email lists, and viral flows of images and messages may help explain how various organizations share political spaces with each other and with individuals who selectively choose which organizational signals to take up and, in turn, share with their own social networks.

This paper explores these “digital paths of political individualization” by analyzing the ways in which digital media sites that aim to mobilize action for the same events or causes may invite very different forms of individual or collective identification. Since it is relatively easy to create a variety of social technologies, from individual blogs and videos to sophisticated organization and coalition sites, there is typically a dense network of digital media surrounding most events and causes. To simplify the initial theorizing of how these media networks may help organize collective action, we will look primarily at different communication strategies employed by broad organizing coalitions engaged in protest organization, with particular focus on whether the narratives offered to motivate protest are more open to individuals’ writing their own personal scripts for

engagement, or more likely to impose collective action frames in the form of ideological narratives about the nature of a problem and its preferred resolution.

Observations of different kinds of collective action, from anti-war protests (Bennett, Breunig & Givens, 2008), to globalization campaigns (Bennett 2003), to fair vs. free trade policies (Bennett, Foot & Xenos, forthcoming) lead us to think that highly diverse strategies for individual mobilization are often in play within the same events. As a result, finer grained analysis of collective action may reveal multiple, and often highly personalized narratives being expressed in the same physical and virtual spaces (Bennett, 2005). This recommends developing models that look beyond organizations or coalitions in isolation in order to better assess the arrangements among organizations, coalitions of organizations, and individuals within the action space. Toward this end, we propose the concept of an ecological collective action space (ECAS) which draws on the work of Monge and others discussed below (e.g., Monge and Contractor, 2003; Schumate, Fulk & Monge, 2005) in order to emphasize the interrelations of different actors in a particular political space. We are interested in patterns of co-occupation or co-habitation within these spaces, and the “ecological” effects to be found in the ways actors adapt to sharing the collective action space. In particular, the ways in which different collective action configurations entail groups and individuals forming coalitions, expressing conflict, or merely being co-present can shape the coherence, impact, and prospects for future actions. In developing these ideas, we will discuss the ecological space shared by two different umbrella coalitions at the 2009 G20 London summit protests. In particular, we look at the various digital

narrative traces offered by organizations to individuals who might be shopping for pathways to personally comfortable engagement.

Collective Action and Shared Action Spaces

Large-scale mobilizations such as the Battle of Seattle in 1999, the global anti-Iraq war protests in 2003 or the protests about the global financial crisis at the 2009 G20 London summit all suggest similar properties of a collective action landscape marked by political individualization. The characteristics of late modern societies sketched earlier appear distinctly in the background of these protests, accounting for their scale, flexibility and recurrence, and also for their lack of organizational residue, sustained thematic focus, or clear recruitment of individuals to organization-led causes.

Protests in this era of more relaxed individual affiliation have often been impressive in terms of speed of mobilization, scope of multiple issues, and short-term focusing of attention on those issues. These capacities have been linked with the potential of so-called loose tie networks facilitated by digital technologies. Organizations certainly continue to play a central role in coordinating contemporary protests (Fisher et al., 2005). Yet, the increasing inclination towards individualized participation nevertheless creates mobilization issues for conventional social movement organizations that may formerly have been stronger in terms of membership, member discipline and collective action framing of messages. As noted earlier, some organizations consequently strive to mobilize individuals through more personalized appeals that enable autonomous expression and invite personal network activation within the context of

coordinated collective action. Bimber, Flanagin & Stohl (2005) have termed this an organizational move toward fostering entrepreneurial relations with individual supporters. The relaxation of participation requirements may simultaneously invite individuals to use their own technology resources to recruit their own social networks. For example research on the massive global anti-war demonstrations on the eve of the Iraq invasion suggests that digitally managed interpersonal networks played an important role in contributing to the speed and scale of the mobilizations (Bennett, Breunig and Givens, 2008).

At the same time, the very features of contemporary protest events which have been so impressive raise key concerns about the political qualities of the collective action typical of a politically individualized society (Bennett, 2003). While digital technology may facilitate organizing, critics doubt whether loose multi-issue networks that are easy to opt in and out of can generate the commitment, coherence and persistence of action required to produce political change (Tilly, 2004; cf. Bennett, 2005). However, the very qualities that make the communication-based networks vulnerable to lack of focus may also lend them certain kinds of durability, as can be seen for example in the “permanent campaigns” which persist beyond the control of particular organizations (Bennett, 2003). The question most commonly put is nonetheless whether digitally networked protest action ultimately can be identified with collective action and politics of the kind produced by an apparently unified and sustained collectivity, especially given the firmly established historical importance of (the appearance of) unity in collective identity and claim-making in democratic contexts (Tilly, 2004; McAdam et al., 2001).

Our perspective encourages moving beyond these either-or viewpoints in order to see that loose organizational affiliations with individuals may or may not necessarily diminish the policy or thematic focus of traditional organizations. Enabling individuals to engage on personal terms may still result in mobilizations that demonstrate strength of public commitment to their causes. At the same time, organizations and coalitions sending different kinds of narrative signals (from individually open to ideologically closed) may be careful about how they co-occupy the ecological collective action space.

The ECAS idea also enables us to shift from an organizational to an individual perspective. Choices among different kinds of narratives of involvement may come from various network poles within the protest space. Thus, individuals may have various choices about how, where, and when to enter the ECAS, whether through digital interactions with select sites, attending particular demonstrations, avoiding others, or sending twitter feeds from the midst of a battle with police. The increased capacity to personalise one's place within the ECAS may enhance the message coherence and audience reach of collective action in some cases and contribute to noise and lack of attention in others.

One element that seems important for understanding the range of outcomes from different collective episodes is how the various networks operating in a space coordinate the narrative signals offered to potential participants, and whether they cooperate in the planning of activities within the space. In the case of the G20 protests, the two dominant coalitions sent very different messages to potential participants, yet managed to find points of thematic linkage. The G20

ECAS was further organized by the choice of different days on which to stage very different sorts of demonstrations.

This approach to collective action avoids analyses that posit opposing organizational poles such as conventional organizations with centralized hierarchies and membership structures as one extreme, and distributed networks with dynamic participant affiliations as the other. Flanagin, Stohl and Bimber (2006) usefully move beyond polarized positions by introducing the concept of a collective action space as an analytical tool for categorizing organizations according to the individual's experience of the organizing. They envisage the collective action space as defined by two dimensions of relationship to an organization: the mode of interaction (running from personal to impersonal) and the mode of engagement (running from low to high expectations of individual responsibility encouraged in the participant). This allows them to compare centralized organizations with organizations which invite some degree of entrepreneurial responsibility in their participants. At the same time, particular organizations may move through this space across time or strategic episodes, sometimes offering impersonal modes of interaction and sometimes enabling more personalized relations among individuals, as when a hybrid organization such as Moveon solicits emails to politicians in one moment of a protest sequence, and then invites people to meet each other in localities to coordinate a different form of action. In principle, particular individuals may also move through different sectors of the space, behaving more or less entrepreneurially and more or less personally in relation to different organizations. This way of conceiving collective

action space captures important variations within and between organizational efforts to mobilize and coordinate action.

Our notion of an ECAS moves in a somewhat different direction by setting multiple organizations and individuals in motion as they engage in particular activities together. This builds on the perspective of Bimber, Flanagin and Stohl by introducing two other aspects of thinking about collective action. First, instead of arraying different organizations abstracted from their issue or events, we propose looking at how multiple organizational modes of communicating with individuals play out in the same event space. Our analysis of the G20 shows how different organizations communicated about the same protest events by offering various opportunities for personal and impersonal interactions (sometimes emanating from the same organization), and varying degrees of individual entrepreneurship or autonomy in relations with organizations. Second, we would like to think about how these patterns of communication affect the ways in which organizations, coalitions, and individuals negotiate, willfully or not, the qualities of the action space which they mutually constitute (e.g., message consistency or noise; participation in common actions; scheduling and spacing of separate actions, establishing strong or weak network ties, etc.). This approach bridges the perspective on organizational relations with individuals set out by Bimber, Flanagin and Stohl and the body of work discussed in the next section by Monge and others on the relations among organizations in complex ecologies.

An Ecological Perspective on Collective Action Spaces

This paper develops the idea of an ecological collective action space as a step towards conceiving the complex dynamics of collective action in the individualized participation landscape. As discussed above, we take our starting point in the concept of the collective action space developed by Flanagin, Stohl and Bimber (2006), but push it in the direction of an ecological network perspective. In this move we draw broadly on recent work by Peter Monge and colleagues which traces an evolutionary approach to communication networks in organizational communities. They do two things: they integrate an evolutionary perspective into network analyses and a network perspective into studies of the evolution of organizational communities (Monge and Contractor, 2003; Monge, Heiss and Margolin, 2008; Bryant and Monge, 2008; Monge and Poole, 2008; Shumate, Fulk and Monge, 2005; cf. Powell et al., 2005). Both points are important for the present notion of the ecological collective action space.

The community ecological perspective at the heart of their argument focuses on the processes creating change in human social systems. It takes a comprehensive view of such processes, positing the coevolution of the actors, their relations to each other and the environment of resources within which they act (Hawley, 1950; Astley, 1985; Aldrich, 1999; Baum and Singh, 1994). Monge and colleagues further emphasize that these processes take place on multiple levels, and that influence runs both upwards and downwards in a heterarchical dynamic (Kontopolous, 1993). The approach thus shifts focus away from snapshots of single entities and single-dimension, single-level relationships towards the developing dynamics involved in the complex mixture of diverse actors in a defined area over time.

Monge and colleagues infuse their evolutionary approach with a network perspective. They argue that a full understanding of the evolution of organizational communities requires insight into not only organizations but also their networks, since networks can themselves be locales of evolutionary processes (cf. DiMaggio, 1994; Powell et al., 2005). Links, not just nodes, are subject to the evolutionary processes of variation, selection and retention (Campbell, 1965). Accordingly, there are link- and network-specific dimensions of fitness, the propensity of a relationship to sustain itself. Moreover, an evolutionary perspective on networks reveals a relational carrying capacity, the number of linkages a community can support, which is distinct from the more familiar carrying capacity related to the resource niches supporting a community. Findings suggest that the relational and resource (or member) carrying capacities are not linearly related. Networks bring an evolutionary dynamic of their own into the comprehensive ecological picture. The approach in this aspect moves away from concentrating solely on actors in isolation.

Drawing on this work, the ecological collective action space is here conceived as an ecosystem of actors, their actions and their environment in which there are multiple processes of adaptation and co-adaptation. The collective action space of the G20 protests, for example, is constituted by the interaction of diverse entities at multiple levels. These entities include both oppositional protest actors and actors that are the targets of protest: umbrella coalitions, organizations and individual participants, but also for example media organizations, corporations, government and intergovernmental organizations. Importantly, these spaces are constituted as much by relations between actors as the actors themselves. Monge

and colleagues stress the evolutionary dynamics related to communication networks.

While specific episodes of collective action such as protests often reflect long developing ecological relations among various actors and networks of actors, they also have immediacy, focus, and situated rationales. We propose that what typically connects the evolving relations among participants to their action choices in particular episodes are the narratives they fashion to provide both consistency of identities over time and specific scripting in the moments in which collective actions occur and play out. In the case of contemporary protests we suggest it may be revealing to examine specifically the narrative networks that are digitally fused into the collective action space. Shedding light on these networks promises insight into the cohabitation of the protest space, including the “ecological” effects of sharing the space.

Narratives and Network Connectivity in the ECAS

Narrative elements embedded in the digital and physical artefacts of protest spaces are signals to and from individual participants and organizations about who is likely to take what kinds of action and who it may be more or less comfortable to associate with. In the next section we discuss the presence of a loose thematic consensus—something of a master frame—in the G20 protests around the broad idea that governments and financial institutions should Put People First in addressing the financial crisis. Yet there were two very different clusters of narrative-driven action positioned under that rather broad and relatively unobjectionable slogan. The G20 Meltdown coalition gathered more

radical organizations aligned with a story of rapacious capitalism than had characteristically ruined the lives of working people in greedy pursuit of profit. Many slogans emanating from this master narrative called for the eradication of capitalism itself. Protesters associated with this network cluster gathered around familiar slogans such as “Eat the Rich.” By contrast, the Put People First coalition member organizations were typically more mainstream economic development and social relief NGOs that gathered around the story that the political and banking systems had failed to behave responsibly, and needed to be reformed. The main coalition website was so loose in its narrative requirements that individuals were encouraged to tell their own stories in personal communication emailed to the authorities.

Each broad coalition organized substantially different kinds of protest events on different days and in different places in London during the week before the 2009 G20 meeting. The core story elements distinguishing the two networks enabled organizations and individuals to sort themselves out fairly cleanly, and, perhaps more importantly, to plan protest activities separated in time, space and dramatic scripting. Perhaps not surprisingly, the different narrative signals sent by the two networks in the G20 ECAS also cued the mainstream press to report dramatically different stories about the two different days of protest: coverage of the Put People First demonstration centered on responsible citizens engaging in peaceful expression of demands to authorities, while the G20 Meltdown coverage portrayed violent demonstrators disrupting public life and clashing with police.

As narratives may help organize very different kinds of activities in the collective action space, from protest actions to media coverage of them, they also

provide means of tracking and assessing the strengths of network ties in the ECAS. For example, we will see that although the surface impressions of the two dominant G20 protest coalitions indicated stark and opposing differences, other elements of the stories—particularly secondary protest themes about the relationship between economic policies and the environment—created points of coordination across the large activist networks. Indeed, finer grained analysis of network ties based on web crawls reported below indicate far greater overlap in network memberships than one would have guessed either by inspecting the two coalition sites, or by reading the disparate news accounts of the protests organized by the different coalitions. We suspect that these loosely tied networks enabled coordination of different events and actions within the ECAS.

This analysis suggests that communication links established by digital media, and narrative cues in particular, are integral to the formation and maintenance of networks that help channel action in an ECAS. Narratives order events into evolving wholes, and present a basis for self-identity and action by making sense of past, present and projected events. They locate actors in relation to action (Polletta, 1998; Boje, 1991, 1995; Czarniawska, 1998). In the individualized collective action landscape an important contingent of these are digitally inscribed. Organizations undertake narrative work for example when using their websites to signal to other organizations, the general public and potential participants about who they, their affiliates and their participants are. In the G20 ECAS, the Put People First coalition helped individuals develop their own narratives, whether by sharing their concerns in an open forum or distributing their own 'Obama-ized' likeness and slogan by way of a widget offered on the Put

People First website. The G20M coalition initially seemed to embrace sharing participants by listing schedules and contact details for activities hosted by other organizations. But they nevertheless offered few opportunities for individuals to engage directly with any of the issues: while the individual is encouraged to roam between member organizations and sponsored activities, she is not invited to produce messages on her own. To the contrary, the G20M site contains comparatively radical anti-capitalism messages that are not offered up for individual negotiation.

In these ways, clusters of organizations form around broad umbrella organizations, and narrative signaling becomes an important means of demarcating key network properties. Organizations may for example alter network boundaries by adjusting stories or outlinks to include or deflect allies (Shumate, Fulk and Monge, 2005; Bennett, Foot & Xenos, forthcoming). In most complex spaces, no one narrative permeates the space as a whole. Instead, patterns emerge that structure (impede, enhance, raise the volume of) flows of information, identification and action across networks.

Narrative networks are made up of diverse links such as individual testimonials about why they participate in a cause, slogans that may be shared across different narrative communities, and icons, logos, or dramatic props around which stories may be constructed. As noted above, one of the broad framing slogans used in the London G20 demonstrations was Put People First, which was also the name of one of the two prominent coalition websites. This slogan traveled far in a broad protest network with different groups and individuals crafting diverse stories around it. In this manner, stories constitute

dynamic points of connection or contention between actors. These narrative relationships can make or break network connections, revealing structural network properties such as closeness, betweenness, and centrality (Bennett, Foot & Xenos, forthcoming).

Elements from which narratives can be constructed, bridged, and shared can be found in public digital forms such as organizational websites. Fragments or sloganized versions of narratives may also be displayed in public as mottoes, logos or trademarks on physical objects (e.g., fair trade trademarks on goods). Actual protest events also become physical spaces where digital traces are filled in. Placards, chanted slogans and theatrical performances bring these elements out into the streets, while the events themselves may yield prominent digital motifs such as photos, videos or twitter feeds posted from demonstrations. Publicly inscribed narrative elements of these kinds may function as non-human actors, or 'actants' (Latour 2005), in the formation of networks. All of this suggests that digital links and other traces are analytically useful in that they can be observed, measured and tracked over time.

The digital traces of narratives should not be regarded merely as passive residue of deeper communication flowing through networks. The active ongoing construction of narratives becomes important in the constitution of networks themselves (Bennett and Toft, 2009; Bennett, Foot & Xenos, forthcoming; Pentland and Feldman, 2007). Actors negotiate the challenge of sharing space both by making adjustments to converge on shared narratives and by seeking distance (even seeking other collective action spaces) when those adjustments prove impossible. Organizations can be seen negotiating narratives for example when

signaling on their websites to publicize causes, affirm affiliation and to recruit participants. Guidelines for identification and action can be found in statements about who “we” are and what “we” do under tabs such as About Us and Mission Statement. Statements about the envisaged participant and her role in the space may be equally significant given that organizations share space not only with other organizations but with individual participants as well. Recruiting individuals with opportunities to express their personal narratives through invitations to DIY participation may be a strategic move on the part of an organization. At the same time, this strategy of inviting DIY participants to inscribe their own personalized narratives on the website may blur the strategic edge of the organizational meta-narrative (cf. Polletta 1998).

While it is hard to imagine exhaustive documentation and analysis of spaces that are so broadly defined (DiMaggio, 1994), we aim to use the following kinds of digital traces as windows on those spaces: website content, protest images and icons, downloads of slogans and paraphernalia, messages to individuals, interactive features that may engage those individuals, and patterns of links and notable absences of links among organizations on their websites, twitter feeds or indymedia reports from participants in demonstrations, and other digital materials.

In the rest of this paper we seek to explore and illustrate some of our theoretical propositions in a case study of the protests at the 2009 G20 London summit. We focus on two umbrella coalitions. These can be analyzed as narrative hubs to examine similarities and differences in the signals they send to potential participants in proposed G20 actions. Although they shared the general frame of

Put People First, the two coalitions organized around very different networking narratives producing considerable differences in terms of who they linked to, what protest roles and messages they offered to individuals, and ultimately, how they divided the physical protest spaces in the City of London into different kinds of events occurring at different times and locations.

Protesting the Global Financial Crisis: The G20 Meeting in London

The world's twenty leading economic nations, the G20, met in London on April 2, 2009 amidst a global financial crisis (<http://www.g20.org/>).ⁱ Their announced intention was to address the “greatest challenge to the world economy in modern times” through common actions to “restore confidence, growth, and jobs,” “repair the financial system...” and “build an inclusive, green and sustainable, recovery.” (<http://www.g20.org/Documents/final-communique.pdf>).ⁱⁱ

Two large protest coalitions challenged the G20 over past policies that created the crisis and future policies that might resolve it in more just and equitable terms for humans on the planet. The coalitions differed considerably both in composition of groups and protest tactics. The Put People First (PPF) coalition was described as a civil society coalition of more than 160 development NGOs, trade unions, and environmental groups (BBC, 2009; Wikipedia, 2009) that staged a march for “Jobs, Justice and Climate” on March 28, drawing an estimated 35,000 protesters. The G20 Meltdown (G20M) coalition gathered more radical anarchist and anti-capitalist groups for a series of Financial Fools Day activities on April 1, the eve of the G20 meeting. Those activities included: a Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse street theatre march of an estimated 5,000 people from the old gates

of London to the Bank of England; a Climate Camp encampment of 2,000 – 3,000 in the heart of London; a smaller Stop the War coalition anti war march; and an alternative public G20 summit featuring various academics, activists and politicians (Wikipedia, 2009).

Co-occupying the protest space

Although the two coalitions shared the same general protest space, they differed fairly clearly in terms of messages, tactics, relationships, and uses of time and space (including cyberspace). One result was to partition the space into differently defined actions on different days, attracting differently sized, clad, and scripted collectivities of participants. Differences in the tone and scripting of actions organized by the respective coalitions appeared in news framings of the events. The main BBC story on the protests clearly assigned greater legitimacy to the Put People First demonstration (including reporting the core protest message frame) in its lead story on the March 28 activities:

The Put People First alliance of 150 charities and unions walked from Embankment to Hyde Park for a rally.

Speakers called on G20 leaders to pursue a new kind of global justice.

Police estimate 35,000 marchers took part in the event. Its organisers say people wanted the chance to air their views peacefully.

Protesters described a "carnival-like atmosphere" with brass bands, piercing whistles and stereos blasting music as the slow-paced procession weaved through the streets. (BBC 2009a)

The G20M Financial Fools Day action on April 1 received a very different tone of coverage as the BBC reported on the violence against banks, not the message of the protesters:

Demonstrators launched missiles and forced their way into the bank after clashes with police in the capital. A branch of HSBC also had windows broken. Climate change activists pitched tents and anti-war campaigners held a rally. There have been 63 arrests, with some police and protesters injured. Later, a man died after collapsing, police said. (BBC 2009b)

Activists' own event coverage in *indymedia london* included the more radical message frames favored by the Meltdown coalition and reported the violence as police instigated:

The day started with a big banner reading Smash Capitalism hung near Tower Bridge and a Critical Mass bike protest. Despite hysterical media coverage thousands of people took to the streets occupying the square outside the Bank Of England. The G20 Meltdown Party saw people flood the area, some avoiding attempts by police to prevent them reaching the Bank. Amidst an escalating police operation banners were hung, graffiti sprayed, effigies burnt and RBS invaded to chants of "Whose Bank, Our Bank!".

With riot police encircling thousands there were repeated attempts to push through police lines and indiscriminate police baton charges leading to many injuries, several serious. Later in the evening it emerged that a man had died after collapsing inside the police cordons near the Bank of England. Later identified as Ian Tomlinson, it was unclear what had happened to him [Eyewitness statement]

One major break out from the police lines saw scuffles spreading across the city as the streets were filled with protestors and police rushing to block them. Horses, dogs, and cs spray were all used. Despite the streets of the City of London being occupied by protestors very little property damage occurred with the surrounding shops left untouched and HSBC getting one window smashed. (*indymedia london* 2009a).

What is clear is that the two coalitions managed to occupy the same collective space at different times and in different ways, without much sharing of issue framing, protest strategies or demonstration tactics. Only at the most general level did they converge on broad message themes of Jobs, Justice and Climate, echoing the themes of the G20 itself. However, the differences in protest frames were more pronounced than the similarities. For example, the Meltdown coalition site (G20

Meltdown 2009) emphasized an anti capitalism theme and echoed the diggers movement of 1649 in exhorting people to take over the city of London. By contrast, the Put People First site displayed a far more moderate message urging reform of banking, finance and trade systems: “Our future depends on creating an economy based on fair distribution of wealth, decent jobs for all and a low carbon future.” (Put People First, 2009)

The two coalitions also signaled their differences in the images that animated their websites. The PPF site featured a banner of feet wearing rather middle class footwear walking together, as shown in Figure 1. By contrast, the G20M site featured dark clouds with a black horse and rider coming from the Bank of England, shown in Figure 2.



Figure 1: Put People First coalition home page



Figure 2: G20 Meltdown home page.

Beyond stark differences in the imagery and political tone of the two sites, the two coalitions clearly divided the ECAS by claiming sponsorship and taking charge of publicity for the different days of action. The PPF coalition sponsored the March 28 march, and the G20M site focused on the Financial Fools Day activities with “storm the banks” images such as those in Figure 3.

EMERGENCY EDITION

CITY FINAL

STORM THE BANKS!



**APRIL 1ST 12 NOON
BANK OF ENGLAND**

WWW.G-20MELTDOWN.ORG



Figure 3. Images of April 1 events available for download from the G20M site.

The protest space was further delineated by the differences in mutual recognition of each other's events. The PPF made no mention of the April 1 actions, while the G20M listed the March 28 march planned by PPF and provided links to the various organizers. This pattern of the G20M linking to the PPF activities but not receiving reciprocal links in return is an interesting dynamic that suggests the care with which the more mainstream coalition protected the legitimacy of its protest space. At the same time, the linkage from the G20 coalition to the more mainstream coalition suggests a respect for the boundaries and definitions that the PPF put on the ECAS. This asymmetrical negotiation of the space was further reflected in the differing behaviors of G20M groups who crossed over to join the peaceful march on March 28, while later storming the Bank of England on April 1.

In its own reporting on the March 28 action, the PPF site emphasized the broad jobs, justice and climate themes and the peaceful nature of their march:

Our thanks to everyone who turned out from all over the UK and even further afield for today's Put People First March for Jobs, Justice, Climate.

The police estimated thirty-five thousand of us marched peacefully through London today. That's a strong, clear signal, calling for a radical break with the failures of the unfettered free market.

Faith and women's groups, trade unions, development and climate campaigners were all mixed together on one of the most colourful demonstrations in years. Not even sleet showers and heavy rain put off the thousands who made it the four miles through central London to Hyde Park, to hear the speakers, films and music.

Thanks especially to everyone who covered today's events on the internet - so people all round the world have a record of what happened in London today. Check our Twitter buzz page, where you'll find some links to great videos, photos and text reports. (Put People First, 2009)

Sample photos from the PPF site showed the images of peace, joy and diversity in the crowd, as illustrated in Figure 4.



Figure 4. PPF images of the March 28 events.

Although factions of the G20M coalition joined in the same PPF march, the narrative perspective used to describe their participation contrasted sharply with the PPF coverage above. Even when they occupied the same physical space, the two coalitions introduced starkly different images and narratives to define their positions within it. Figure 5 illustrates in indymedia coverage of the March 28 event, using very different pictures and tone than found in the PPF coverage of the same event (indymedia served as a primary news and publicity outlet for the G20M coalition.) The headline on the March 28 protest in indymedia UK read: “The Summer of Rage Starts Here – Call from London Anarchists,” as illustrated in Figure 5.

Upcoming Coverage[View and post events](#)**Upcoming Events UK****March 28th - April 2nd**

The Summer Of Rage Starts Here! - Call from London Anarchists

April 1st, City of London
Climate Camp hits the City of London | G20 Reclaim The Streets**Apr 25th, London**
World Day for Lab Animals National March**April 27th**
No Borders national day of action for Gaza**May 4th, Brighton**
Mayday Against EDO MBM/ITT**Ongoing UK****Parliament Sq Protest:**
see topic page**Ongoing Global****Rosspport, Ireland:** see topic page**Iraq Occupation:**

Electronic Iraq

Israel-Palestine: Israel[Indymedia | Palestine](#)[Indymedia](#)**Oaxaca:** Chiapas[Indymedia](#)**The Summer Of Rage Starts Here! - Call from London Anarchists**

London Anarchists | 07.03.2009 14:59

THE SUMMER OF RAGE STARTS HERE!*G20 London Summit: A rebellious call for days of action
March 28th - April 2nd 2009*

MARCH 28/09 // MILITANT WORKERS: DIRECT ACTION BLOC
"Put People First" Anti-G20 demonstration, 11am Central London

As the financial crisis has spurred a global economic recession the reality of the situation is being faced I

Figure 5. Indymedia covers the March 28 events from the G20 Meltdown perspective.

Thus, even when both coalitions occupied the same physical space and nominally used the same collective action frame, it was not with the same meanings attached. Although the indymedia photo in Figure 5 was captioned with "Put People First Anti-G20 demonstration" the story talked about "Putting working class anger first" and took a swipe at unions who marched with the PPF factions on March 28:

Putting working class anger first

The recent wildcat strikes at the Lindsay Oil Refinery saw workers take action for themselves, without union backing. Thousands of workers across the country walked out in sympathy strikes – a practice still outlawed under the Thatcherite anti-trade union laws (indymedia london, 2009)

It seems clear that the two coalitions partitioned the ECAS very differently around contrasting narrative strategies. The next section shows how these different narrative designs were offered to individuals to help with their choices about how, when, where, and with whom to affiliate with the protests.

Differences in narrative signals to individuals

Digital media have been at the core of protest coordination at least since the advent of indymedia coverage and cellphone coordination of demonstrations in the battle of Seattle during the WTO protests in 1999. Both of the main coalition sites in the G20 ECAS contained various options for visitors to follow events with social networking technologies such as Twitter and Facebook. The PPF site also invited bloggers to cover the protest events. As one CNN account put it, both protesters and police used these communication tools to coordinate activities:

Social networking Web sites are set to play a crucial role in protests ahead of next week's G-20 meeting of world leaders in London as demonstration organizers and police use Twitter and Facebook as key sources of real-time information and intelligence.

Flyers and posters for next week's G20 Meltdown protests urge participants to "Storm the banks!"

Metropolitan Police leaders have warned that the city faces an "unprecedented" wave of protest in the run-up to Thursday's summit talks on the state of the global economy and are set to deploy huge numbers of officers to maintain public order.

Thousands of protesters are expected to march through the streets this Saturday in a rally organized by trade unions and left wing groups.

But it is plans by anti-capitalist and environmental protesters to converge on the Bank of England next Wednesday -- April 1 -- for a "mass street party" dubbed "Financial Fools Day" that have prompted most concern.

The protest, organized by an umbrella group called "G-20 Meltdown," will feature four separate "carnival parades," each led by giant "Horseman of the Apocalypse" puppets. A flyer for the event, carries the slogan "Storm the

Banks!" and features images of French revolutionaries storming the Bastille in 1789 and a mannequin of a banker hanging from a noose.

Marina Pepper, one of the organizers of G-20 Meltdown, said that Twitter, the blogging tool that allows short updates to be filed, published and read via cellphones, would be used to coordinate the protests -- and warn participants of possible trouble.

"In terms of mobilizing people and shifting them around, Twitter will be used next week," Pepper told CNN. "We can also keep people empowered, because information is power."

But Commander Simon O'Brien, one of the senior officers involved in policing security around the G-20, said social networking sites would also be a "key area of our intelligence gathering." (CNN 2009)

Although both coalitions used a variety of digital media to interact directly with individuals, the narratives transmitted through those media were very different. The groups in the G20M coalition joined around more radical uncompromising messages that give individuals less personal freedom to negotiate their own meanings. For example, the G20M site proclaimed the bold goal of ending capitalism with this manifesto:

- Can we oust the bankers from power?
- Can we get rid of the corrupt politicians in their pay?
- Can we guarantee everyone a job, a home, a future?
- Can we establish government by the people, for the people, of the people?
- Can we abolish all borders and be patriots for our planet?
- Can we all live sustainably and stop climate chaos? Can we make capitalism history?

YES WE CAN! (G20 Meltdown, 2009)

There were no opportunities on the G20 Meltdown site for individuals to engage directly with these ideas or propose their own messages. Even though indymedia served as an open communication space for the G20M collectivity, it did not contain much debate about common goals or ways of expressing them. The

focus was more on activist accounts of events and police violence (indymedia london 2009b).

Although the PPF site called for an end to business as usual and proposed a 12 point reform agenda, there were few radical slogans or indictments of capitalism. In contrast to the G20M site, the PPF site offered individuals a chance to propose their own agendas and send their own messages to the G20. As shown in Figure 1, the most prominent aspect of the front page of the PPF site was a text box inviting visitors to send their own message to the G20. In addition, the PPF site invited bloggers to express their views. One blogger operating under the name of legofesto (<http://legofesto.blogspot.com/>) recreated a Lego sculpture of the incident of police action resulting in the death of a bystander on the blog as shown in Figure 6 (this was posted on May 15 on Whiteband, which hosted the PPF blog <http://www.whitebandaction.org/en/g20voice/blog?page=1>). The example of legofesto indicates that the PPF protest space was open to individuals acting in ways that were personally expressive in narrative terms, but may have had little programmatic affiliation with the PPF coalition or its related organizations.



Figure 6: A blogger named legofesto recreates the death of a bystander

In these various ways, different narrative strategies may help organizations define and arrange themselves in a collective action space and help individuals make personal choices about their affiliations and behavior within that space. It would not be surprising to find corresponding differences in the underlying network relationships among organizations associated with different narrative strategies.

Network composition of the G20 ECAS

In light of the differences in protest narratives and the way they were communicated to individuals, it would not be surprising to find differences in the composition and relationship patterns of organizations in the two coalitions, both in the streets and in cyberspace. The most obvious expectation is that the two coalitions will contain substantially different sets of organizations. Differences in

the general patterns of organizational association were evident just by inspecting the two websites. The G20 Meltdown site listed mostly small local anarchist and anti-capitalist organizations (e.g., Rhythms of Resistance, The Laboratory of Insurrectionary Imagination, The Haringey Solidarity Group). The PPF core members consisted mainly of large, well-established national NGOs working in the areas of development, trade justice and environment (e.g., Cafod, Oxfam, Greenpeace). The more interesting question is how the solidarity networks of the two coalitions are organized. What are the observable patterns of giving and receiving recognition among the range of organizations in the G20 ECAS?

Given our limited access to participants in these protests, we cannot assess network relationships in a fine-grained ethnographic sense (e.g., who regularly calls whom to coordinate actions, what officials or board members attend meetings together, who recommends contacting what organizations for what purposes, divisions of labor among partner organizations, etc.). Even with finer analysis, the existence of two large and very different coalitions could make it difficult to find the points where coordination of the collective action space may occur given all of the possible pathways of contact and avoidance among activists and organizations. In an initial effort to gain some preliminary understanding of network structures and points of potential coordination among these coalitions, we can assess the ways in which recognition is given or withheld in one of the most visible ways in contemporary collective action spaces: through the exchange of links on websites.

In order to find out how organizations positioned themselves in relation to each other through intentional website linkages, we conducted web crawls of the

two networks using a set of starting points that each site defined as core members. The list of starting points for the G20M coalition was a large one (63 mostly local anarchist and radical organizations), taken from the “Who’s Who” page on the site.ⁱⁱⁱ The PPF starting set was much smaller, taken from the list of organizations authorized to speak to the media on behalf of PPF.^{iv} The two respective sets of URLs were placed as starting points, or as a “seed list” into Issue Crawler, a tool made available by Richard Rogers at the University of Amsterdam (for a detailed account of this tool, see http://www.govcom.org/scenarios_use.html and Rogers 2004). The Issue Crawler identifies networks of URLs based on linkages to, from, and among an original list of URLs on the basis of co-link analysis. We followed Rogers’ (2004) recommended procedure for deriving a solidarity network by setting the reach of the crawl at two iterations beyond the starting point links. We also set the crawler to drill two pages deep into the crawled sites beyond the home page, with the intent of capturing the most prominent linkages. This is the procedure that Rogers recommends for deriving a solidarity network that includes links among organizations that extend beyond particular issues into support networks for larger principles (e.g., economic justice, environmental justice, social justice, etc.)

Inclusion in the network was determined by co-linking. A co-link is simply a URL that is linked to or from at least two of the starting points for that iteration. Thus, suppose we begin with Site A, Site B, and Site C, and crawls of the in and out links for each turned up site D, which has links to or from sites A and C. Site D would be included in the network as co-linking with two of the starting points. Suppose that site D also links to site E, which supplies an inlink to Site B. Under

this method, site E would not be included. The crawler visited more than two thousand URLs in each crawl, and rendered a map and a co-link matrix (including directionality of links) consisting of the top (97 PPF and 99 G20M) sites sharing co-links in each network. The maps of the two networks are shown in Figures 7 and 8. The sizes of the nodes correspond to the relative numbers of inlinks a site received from other organizations in the network.

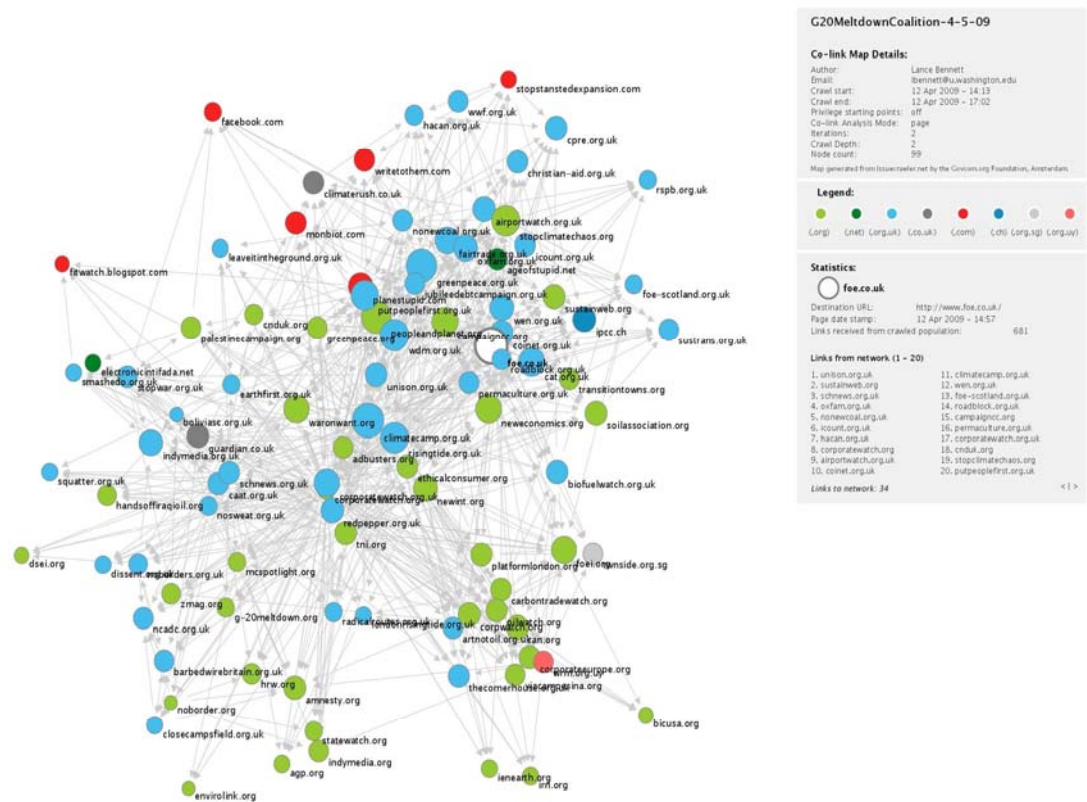


Figure 7: Core solidarity network of the G20 Meltdown coalition, with nodes sized by relative numbers of inlinks organizations received from the network

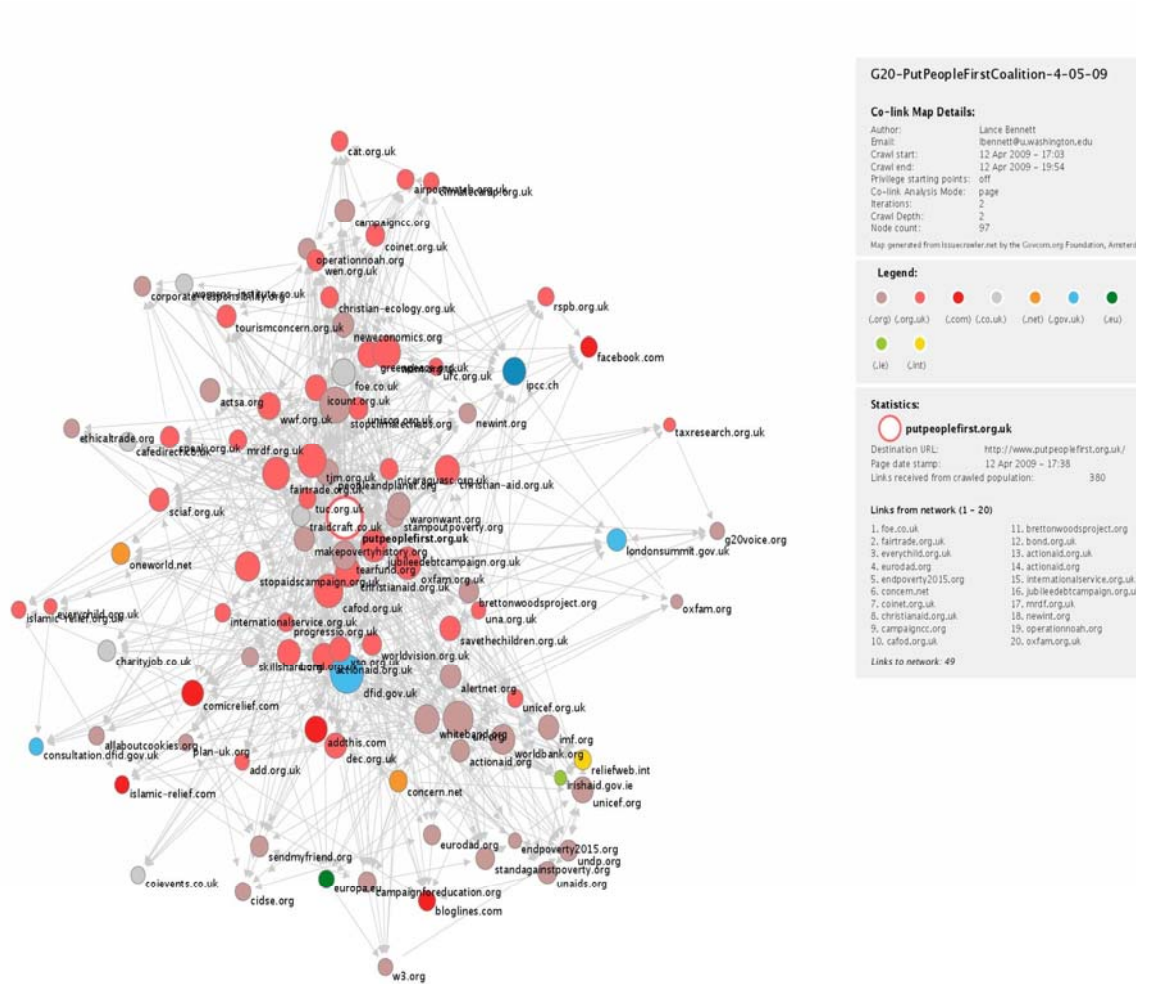


Figure 8: Core solidarity network of the Put People First coalition, with nodes sized by relative numbers of inlinks organizations received from the network.

Several generalizations about these networks immediately become apparent from the crawls. First, many of the smaller local organizations from which we launched the crawl drop away from the core network of the G20M coalition, as more prominent national organizations establish themselves in more tightly linked relationships with each other. By contrast, most of the PPF starting points

remained prominent in the core PPF network. Where just one of the fourteen starting points dropped out of the PPF network, fully 30 of the original 63 failed to appear in the G20M solidarity network. There are several possible explanations for this somewhat surprising result. One possibility is that the G20 consisted of primarily small local anarchist organizations, and it may be that anarchists and local radical organizations do not exchange links as commonly as larger NGOs working for a common cause. This may be because local organizations are in more personal level everyday contact, or even because they fear police surveillance of such disclosures of information. The reasons for the evaporation of substantial numbers of the G20 coalition members exchanging solidarity links merit further exploration. Whatever the causes for the evaporation of so many of the G20M groups in the resulting solidarity network, the appearance of large numbers of PPF network organizations in the G20M crawl may help illuminate three important issues: coalition dominance in the ECAS, coordination of the co-occupation of the ECAS, and relationships between more open and personalized or closed and collectivized political narratives and the properties of networks.

Coalition dominance in the ECAS. The fact that the G20M coalition organizations exchanged relatively low levels of public recognition in their web links provides a rough indicator of the greater dominance of the PPF network. The core nodes of the PPF network shown in Figure 8 are mostly established development and economic justice organizations and their policy campaign sites, including Cafod (Catholic Agency for Overseas Development), Fairtrade Foundation, Trade Justice Movement, Christian Aid, along with several governmental organizations that those NGOs engage in policy negotiations,

including the UK Department for International Development, the United Nations and the World Bank. This suggests both a more established network supporting the PPF coalition that likely transcends this particular G20 collective action episode. Other research on social and economic justice networks in the UK (Bennett, Foot & Xenos, forthcoming) shows a similar pattern involving many of the same organizations surrounding issues of fair trade and development policy. It seems that this network of large, well-resourced NGOs may cooperate in many protest and policy initiatives, and have developed something of a common brand for their actions.

As a further measure of PPF network dominance and prestige, it is interesting that the more radical G20M coalition site linked into the dominant NGO network, but this recognition was not reciprocated in links returned to sites that were exclusive to the G20M coalition. In fact, even the G20M coalition site was not even in the network map of the PPF network. By contrast the PPF coalition site ranked number 8 in most inlinks received (with 21) in the G20M network.

This dominance of the PPF coalition in terms of network prestige was reflected in various ways in the definition of the ECAS, including: the publicity the G20M gave to the PPF march, with little or no return publicity from the PPF for the G20M Financial Fools Day activities); the decision of G20M groups to join the PPF march but to avoid disrupting the peaceful tone; and the marked difference in the framing of news coverage of the different coalition activities, both by their own reports and in the mainstream press. This imbalance in the dominance and mutual recognition between the two coalition networks may shed light on arrangements for mutual occupation and accommodation within the ECAS.

Network coordination of the ECAS. The blatant political differences advertised on the two coalition sites would make it surprising if the two protest coalitions shared the same solidarity networks. Yet it is also interesting that they contained as much overlap as our analysis shows. In thinking about ways in which networks might be configured surrounding collective action spaces containing distinctly different organizational coalitions or clusters, there seem to be three general possibilities: networks may form into mutually exclusive and even polar structures (this pattern is typical of partisan blogospheres); they may merge into fairly close and overlapping relations (this may be typical of “astroturf campaigns” in which sponsoring organizations may seek to appear separate or distant from organizations they covertly sponsor); or they may share some peripheral linkages which provide points of communication and collaboration. This last pattern seems best to characterize the G20 ECAS.

Reflecting the political differences between the two coalitions—the highest prestige organizations (measured in terms of inlinks) in the PPF network did not rank highest in prestige in the G20M network, and vice versa. Yet there was also important overlap in network membership. If we compare the top 20 most linked to sites in the two networks, fully 14 of the top 20 sites in each network were different. The 6 organizations that appeared near the centre of both networks were: Oxfam, Friends of the Earth, People and Planet, World Development Movement, and Stop Climate Chaos. Comparing the differences at the core of the two networks, we find, not surprisingly that the more prominent non-shared G20M sites were more radical and likely to be focused more on environmental causes (perhaps reflecting that the G20M activities included the climate camp in

the centre of London). This pattern of some overlap, along with clear political differences in solidarity networks may explain how it was possible to work out a fairly clean division of the ECAS space. Each coalition gave the other considerable space to conduct activities without much evident pressure to share messages, protest repertoires, or event sponsorship and coordination. At the same time, there were enough shared solidarity links to avoid open conflict or rejection of the respective actions.

All of this suggests that the different narratives that distinguished the two coalitions are reflected in both the structuring of solidarity networks and the negotiation of the collective action spaces. However, it is not clear whether offering different kinds of narrative engagement opportunities to individual participants necessarily impacted the capacity of the respective coalitions or their organizations to act with coherence or clarity of purpose.

Individual vs. collective narratives and the clarity of action. A third interesting finding of our analysis is that the coalition with far looser appeals to individuals (recall the PPF home page invitation for individuals to send their own messages to the G20) turned out to have a much more coherent organizational network than the G20M coalition with its much stronger collective message that offered little room for individual negotiation. At the same time, the PPF march produced a far larger (35,000) turnout than the Financial Fools Day actions (5,000). This suggests that the tendency of some social movement organizations to “shop” for supporters by inviting more personalized connections does not necessarily end up weakening organizational capacity or network strength. The organizations at the core of the PPF network are large and well resourced. And, they maintain a clear agenda of

policy goals and strategies targeting government and transnational organizations (recall the shared 12 point program that was posted farther into the coalition website). It seems that the basis of solidarity relations among organizations in the PPF network is not necessarily undermined by the far looser signals sent to individuals in the mobilization effort. Conversely, sending more fixed collective signals to individuals does not necessarily correspond to a tighter network among organizations, as we found in the G20M coalition.

One explanation here is that while the PPF narrative was far more open to personalized communication, the digital space was centered on a tightly knit group of core organizations. Organizations and activities outside the PPF core (e.g, organizations listed in the G20M site) were not recognized as co-constitutive of the action space, meaning that visitors to the PPF site were not encouraged to roam abroad. The individual's role within this organizationally constrained space, however, is all the more about voicing her own experiences, reflections, and concerns. While this personalized input may have blurred the public expression of an already broad basic message, the numbers mobilized by PPF were impressive.

Conclusion

Examining digital traces such as links among websites and participant accounts of the G20 demonstrations suggests that PPF and G20M negotiated the ecological collective action space in distinct ways. On a general level, the two coalitions converged on the broad themes suggested by the summit meeting itself (jobs, justice and climate), but different clusters of organizations formed around

different basic frames, with the G20M actions standing for anti-capitalism and PPF actions in the space representing reform capitalism.

The collective action space was also thus divided between a large, resource-rich organization network that offered individuals rather easy and negotiable terms of association based on a reformist agenda, and a smaller, less well organized G20M cluster that invited less individual freedom of expression around more radical anti-capitalist messages. Although it is clear that some subset of individuals co-occupied the same spaces, the accounts of what their actions entailed and what they signified were substantially different, both in their own reports and in mainstream news coverage.

The relative ease of accommodating different organizations and action narratives within the same space may account for the speed and scale of contemporary protest politics, and flexibility to move across targets, issues, and venues. The increasingly complex contemporary collective action scene with its multiple and shifting targets and action opportunities may require the kind of mutual accommodation that the two coalitions examined here were able to produce. Our case also seems fairly typical of a politically individualized action landscape in which mobilization of large numbers of participants in short periods of time may entail somewhat diverse opportunities for personal expression within the same ECAS.

This paper has argued for examining such collective action situations as an ecosystem of actors, their relationships and their environment in which there are multiple processes of adaptation and co-adaptation. Examining ways in which diverse actors co-occupy an ECAS highlights ways in which actors co-adapt to the

shared action space and the networks that support these adaptations. From an ecological perspective, digitally inscribed narrative networks play an integral role in the cohabitation of actors at both the organizational and individual levels in contemporary protest spaces.

In the case of the London summit protests, these digital traces indicated that the umbrella coalitions negotiated the challenge of sharing the space in divergent ways. Not only were the PPF events far larger in turnout, but the invitation for individuals to join was far more open to diverse personal interpretation and engagement than the corresponding traces on the G20M site. It may be the case that if individual association with organizations is becoming increasingly problematic, sustained capacity to attract individual identification with causes and participation in actions may require the sort of loose signaling that we detected in the digital traces of the PPF coalition site. By contrast, the G20M narrative space was more restricted, but the organizational opportunities for affiliation and dramatic expression were more numerous for those who may have embraced the anti-capitalist message.

Examining the dynamics in an action ecosystem may help trace multiple paths through events, potentially contributing to a better understanding of connections between events, actions and actors over time (cf. Diani 2003). Exploring this further would require looking at action and actors over time to establish the evolutionary focus that our attention to a single case necessarily led us to set to one side. Examining protest sequences involving subsets of the same actors and issues may offer more comprehensive views of the capacity of different ecologies of actors to produce sustained and effective action.

Despite its limitations in the areas of evolutionary and ethnographic perspectives, the present case offers some correctives to possible misconceptions about complex collective action. For example, we see that there is no deterministic relationship between the personalization or collectivization of action narratives and the strength or coherence of the networks that support them. In addition, we see that the evident polarization of protest coalitions may not necessarily imply conflict or lack of capacity to share collective action spaces. While our two coalitions produced radically different protest events, they were also able to share the collective action space with considerable degrees of coordination of action and timing. Finally, we see that despite seemingly stark divisions of organizations between the two coalitions, the surrounding solidarity networks contained enough common organizational members to account for some ecological accommodation of activities even if the coalitions themselves were marked by stark political differences.

ⁱ Accessed July 26, 2009.

ⁱⁱ Accessed July 26, 2009.

ⁱⁱⁱ The Labour Party (actually, the alternative labor party)

The Alternative G20 Summit

The Laboratory of Insurrectionary Imagination

Climate rush

Climate Camp

Stop the war coalition

Campaign for nuclear disarmament

Rising tide

London Action Resource Centre

People & Planet

Earth First

Radical Anthropology Group

Haringey Solidarity Group

Hackney Solidarity Network

London Coalition Against Poverty

Day-Mer

Aluna

Transition Towns

People's Global Action

Hands off Venezuela

Radical Activist

SchNEWS

noborder network

Network to End Migrant and Refugee Detention

Roadblock

AirportWatch

Climate Crisis Coalition

Plane Stupid

Transport 2000

Airport Pledge

Permaculture

Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change

Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament

Post Carbon Institute

Campaign Against Climate Change

Greenpeace

Zero Carbon City

Corporate Watch

Corpwatch

The Heat is Online

The Centre for Alternative Technology

The World Alliance for Decentralized Energy

Biofuel Watch
Carbon Trade Watch
Platform
Simultaneous Policy
International Union of Sex Workers
IFIwatchnet
The Last Hours
Socialist workers' party
Government of the dead
Rhythms of resistance
Barking bacteria
Strangeworks
People and planet
Whitechapel anarchist group
Stop arming Israel
Anarchist federation
Class War
The Anthill Social
Reclaiming Spaces
The Land is Ours Campaign
New Sovereignty
People in Common
Project 2012
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