

Mario Pianta Federico Silva

Globalisers from Below

A Survey on Global Civil Society Organisations

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October 2003
Globi, via Salaria 89, 00198 Rome

This Report is available on the websites of
Lunaria
www.lunaria.org
and of Tavola della Pace/Peace Roundtable
www.tavoladellapace.it

Cover design: Stefano Molino
Printed by: Impressioni Grafiche, Acqui Terme
(Al), Italy

Acknowledgements

The idea of undertaking a survey of global civil society organisations was an ambitious one; the fact that we succeeded in carrying it out without funding attests the importance attached to it by all those involved - respondents, authors and collaborators - who have offered a large amount of their time.

This survey has been made possible by the large number of civil society organisations that have accepted to share information on their activities and their views, and have filled and returned the questionnaire; they are listed at the end of the Report. We thank them for their interest in this effort and for their trust; we hope that this Report repays them with additional understanding and equal commitment.

Special thanks are due to Gianandrea Rossi who has sent and collected a large amount of questionnaires of the survey. In the analysis of data Alessandro Messina has offered useful advice. In the production of this Report, Christian Eccher has helped in assembling the tables, Kim Bizzarri and Ann Goodridge have improved the English text. We thank them all.

We are indebted to Giulio Marcon, president of Lunaria, and Flavio Lotti, coordinator of the Tavola della Pace/Peace Roundtable who have supported this project from the start and discussed ideas and results. We warmly thank the staff of both organisations for their help in sending and collecting questionnaires and disseminating this Report.

We hope organisations and activists of global civil society will find this study useful for continuing and improving their work. We also hope that researchers and policy makers will listen more closely to the voices of global civil society here expressed.

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Introduction and summary

Seattle (1999), Prague (2000), Porto Alegre (2001-2003), Quebec City (2001), Genoa (2001), Johannesburg (2002), Florence (2002), Hyderabad (2003), Cancun (2003), Perugia (1995-2003): the names in this long list of cities are often used as a symbol of the global awakening to the consequences of neoliberal globalisation and of the search for alternatives. But what is there behind such symbols? Who came to these cities, and why? Which ideas and policies have emerged there?

This Report tries to answer some of these questions. It provides a picture of organisations that are active in global civil society and of movements that have developed on global issues. Their aims, actions and impact, their vision and policy proposals are examined in this Report.

The Report is based on a long (English language) questionnaire survey (see page 61) directed to organisations participating to global civil society meetings. It has been circulated at events from mid 2001 to 2002 and to more than 1,000 e-mail addresses.

The 147 returned questionnaires that were considered in the Report come for one third from European organisations and for about a fifth each from Asia, the Americas and Africa. They reflect the presence of well structured organisations of different orientation and field of work, while ad hoc coalitions and more radical groups are less present. A list of the organisations that have responded to the questionnaire is in the Appendix.

The concepts needed to understand global civil society and global movements are presented in **section 2**, where an overview of their development is provided and the key issues for research are discussed.

National and international associations, NGOs, networks, trade unions, and other types of organisations responding to the questionnaire are portrayed in **section 3** that looks at their profile in

terms of model of organisation, resources, membership.

Ends and means of global civil society organisations are presented in **section 4**, showing first their fields of activity. Four-fifths of the respondents are active on the issues of development, human rights, peace, democracy and economic policies.

The organisations have a young face. Half of them were set up in the period 1995-1999, between the UN Conference on Social Development and the WTO Millennium Round in Seattle. The organisations come in all sizes: one-fourth has more than one thousand members, 40 per cent less than the one hundred. Two-thirds of the organisations are linked to an international network and all of them are involved in campaigns on peace, human rights, development, etc.

With generally limited resources, organisations use *networks* for building alliances and *campaigns* for pressuring global powers on issues drawing attention of public opinion.

International events are another key point of the action of global civil society. Parallel summits and global civil society meetings are increasing rapidly. In 2001-2002 half of the organisations have taken part to gatherings of global civil society, 40 per cent of the organisations have participated to UN conferences, less than one-third has participated to economic parallel summits (G7/G8, IMF, WB) and the same share has been involved in regional summits. Before 1988 less than 10 per cent of the organisations took part to such events, while since 1992 an exponential growth of the initiatives of global civil society has begun.

The objectives of participation to civil society initiatives are twofold. On the one hand there is the *internal* objective on strengthening global civil society, building networks (two-thirds of answers), common identities and competences. On the other hand, there is the *external* objective of developing alternative proposals (half of answers), working the media, pressuring institutions, and protesting (one-fifths each).

Visions and practical proposals are combined in the analysis of **section 5**, where the vision on the issue of globalisation and the attitude on economic globalisation are discussed.

In more than one-third of the cases the respondents share the vision of a Globalisation from below; *Humanised globalisation* follows, while one-sixth of the answers choose a focus on

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Understanding global civil society and global movements

the local/national dimension. 11 per cent of organisations call for a *Governance of globalisation* while just 4 per cent declare themselves *Anti-globalisation*. While this category is probably underrepresented, such results confirm how inappropriate the term ‘anti-globalisation’ is for global movements.

Facing neoliberal globalisation, the dominant orientation within global civil society appears to be a perspective of *globalisation from below*, putting at the centre society and people, with a search for a just economy and a participatory democracy. How is it possible to realise such a vision? A variety of policy proposals have been developed by global civil society and are discussed at the closing of the Report. They include strengthening global civil society; supporting development by cancelling debt and increasing aid; assuring peace and justice; balancing the power of capital and labour; democratising international institutions; controlling global finance; protecting the environment and granting rights to immigrants.

The conclusions, in **section 6**, summarise the strategies for change developed in global civil society. They include protest, lobbying, the production of policy proposals, the production of practical alternatives.

This study has been designed and carried out by the GLOBI project on globalisation and its alternatives. Work has been done in association with Lunaria, a research and action centre in Rome, and with the Tavola della Pace/Peace Roundtable, a coalition of civil society groups that since 1995 has organised the Assembly of the Peoples' United Nations in Perugia.

Further analyses on global civil society based on the evidence gathered here will be produced in the near future.

February 15, 2003 has been one the first truly global days of civil society action, in protest for peace and against the war on Iraq that was being prepared by the United States and the United Kingdom. More than 600 cities all over the world hosted record demonstrations with the participation of tens of millions people. While no single ‘world event’ took place, this was the start of a new generation of global civil society actions, advancing a common political agenda in most countries of the world and reflecting—according to all available polls—the consensus of a majority of world public opinion: what the *New York Times* described as the birth of a ‘second superpower’ (Tyler, 2003).

Such a dramatic rise of civil society action has been matched by a systematic lack of attention - by media, international institutions and national policy makers - to the deeper social changes that have made such development possible. Global civil society has so far received a short lived and superficial media attention at the peak of its mass events, and no attention in their aftermath, as if they were unexpected noisy interruptions in the orderly course of events, expected to go away as soon as they are over.

But global civil society and the global movements that agitate it are now a permanent player on the world scene. They have emerged as a result of the process of globalisation and deserve to be properly understood.

First, some *definitions* are required (see Pianta, 2001b). The emerging *global civil society* can be defined as the sphere of cross-border relations and activities carried out by collective actors that are independent from governments and private firms, operating outside the international reach of states and markets.

Global movements have been key players in the emerging global civil society, representing cross border social mobilisations and networks of organisations active on international issues. Their

origins lie in the social movements developed around the themes of peace, human rights, solidarity, development, ecology, and women's issues. Starting with their own specific issues, they have developed an ability to address problems of a global nature, build information networks, stage actions, find self-organised solutions across national borders, interacting in original ways with the new sites of supranational power (see Lipschutz 1992; Keck and Sikkink 1998; Waterman, 1998; Della Porta, Kriesi, and Rucht 1999; Florini 2000; Cohen and Rai 2000; O'Brien *et al.* 2000).

In most countries civil society organisations that are increasingly engaged in international activities have emerged. But global civil society activism has to be set in the context of three major contrasting projects of globalisation (see Pianta, 2001a).

Neo-liberal globalisation. Global civil society has challenged the dominant project of *neo-liberal globalisation* that has emerged as the dominant force of the past two decades. Moving from economic processes, from the strategies of multinational corporations and financial institutions, it has affected the decisions of governments and international institutions, pressing most countries to follow in the policy prescriptions of liberalisation, privatisation, deregulation, reduction in taxes and public expenditures.

Unregulated markets, dominated by multinational corporations and private financial institutions, mostly based in the West, have been the driving force of global change, reducing the space for autonomous state policies in most fields.

Neo-liberal globalisation has institutionalised the overwhelming power of economic mechanisms - markets and firms - over human rights, political projects, social needs, and environmental priorities. The result is that in recent decades political activity has lost much of its relevance and appeal; social inequalities have become dramatic; and the environmental crisis has deepened (see UNRISD 1995; UNDP 1999).

Globalisation of rights and responsibilities. The emergence of global problems, and the necessity to confront them in a context that goes beyond national states, has led to a second important project, the *globalisation of rights and responsibilities*, with a view favouring a *humanised globalisation*, or a *governance of globalisation*.

Some of the more 'enlightened' states and international institutions, social organizations, and labour and environmental groups have sustained a project of universalizing human, political, and social rights, along with the recognition of the responsibility that countries, governments, and people have in facing these new global problems.

This project has built on common values and has defined the understanding of major global problems, having a large influence on the agenda of the UN summits on human rights, women's rights, the environment, social development, food supply, and the creation of the International Criminal Court. Among the results are new norms for international rights, declarations of principles, a new space for democratic processes, greater attention by states to the respect of rights and some innovative policies, and a broader political cooperation on a regional or global level – the case of European integration being the most significant.

Civil society has asked governments and international institutions to take initiatives in this direction. In many countries, policies that supported this project were developed in parallel to economic policies of neoliberal orientation. However, when a conflict emerged between these two projects, neoliberal strategies have always prevailed; the project based on *rights and responsibilities*, therefore, has had a limited influence on the direction of the processes of globalisation.

Globalisation from below. The increasing visibility, voice and activism of the emerging global civil society has led to an alternative project on globalisation. It has developed from the work of organisations operating across national borders, advocating change, opposing current processes or policies, proposing alternative solutions to global issues.

According to Richard Falk, who has introduced this concept, *globalisation from below* has the potential to “conceptualize widely shared world order values: minimizing violence, maximizing economic well-being, realizing social and political justice, and upholding environmental quality” (Falk, 1999:130. See also Brecher and Costello, 1998, Brecher, Costello and Smith, 2000; Pianta, 2001a,b,2003).

Even if these values of global civil society remain far from representing a coherent alternative, they have inspired the actions of

new global movements and are at the base of the resistance against the project of *neoliberal globalisation* and of the pressure for *global rights and responsibilities*.

Such a vision for the future may inspire a new generation of policies on global issues by governments and international institutions by putting at the centre not just the affirmation of rights, but their implementation in economic and social relations; not just the principle of democracy, but its introduction in international decision making and its development in a participatory perspective. This calls for addressing the *roots* of global injustice and inequality and for a different *quality* of global policies, empowering civil society. In that, this project moves beyond a perspective of *global governance* associated to global rights and responsibilities.

Global movements are active in all continents on a great variety of issues. Moving from protest against official summits, they have developed their own agenda, where the critique of neoliberal globalisation is joined by the proposal of alternatives and the exploration of new forms of political action. They have shown a great organisational capacity in preparing global events and a growing autonomy in charting their own course, independently from the pressure of the policy agenda of international institutions and from the short term considerations of national politics. Even the surge of terrorism with the attacks of September 11, 2001 against the United States, and the ensuing wars in Afghanistan and Iraq did not slow down global activism of civil society; rather, this had led to greater attention to the issues of peace, war and violence.

The concepts for investigating global civil society organisations

The above definition and views of the main conflicting projects concerning globalisation provide the background to the survey that has been carried out on global civil society organisations.

In spite of the range and width of the global movements we should resist the identification of the new *global movements* with the action of *global civil society*. The latter contains a variety of collective agents, operating on the basis of diverse, often conflicting projects.

What identifies *global movements* is that their crossborder actions move within global civil society with a broad common project demanding:

- global democracy and peace to the *state* system,
- global economic justice to the *market* system, and
- global social justice and environmental sustainability to *both* systems.

Beyond such commonalities among the thousands of organisations and networks animating global movements, there is a wide variety of views and activities investigated in this survey. In order to account for the heterogeneity of actors, of the fields of interest and of the political projects within global civil society this survey will test, in particular, the relevance of difference **visions** and **attitudes** towards globalisation within civil society organisations.

In terms of **vision**, the following models are examined in the survey:

- anti-globalisation
- globalisation from below
- humanised globalisation
- governance of globalisation
- focus on local/national activities

On the basis of the **attitude** towards economic globalisation, the survey will distinguish:

- *reformists* with the aim to 'civilise' globalisation;
- *radical critics* with a different project for global issues;
- *alternatives* who self-organise activities outside the mainstream of the state and market systems.
- *resisters* of neoliberal globalisation.

Outside this range of perspectives typical of global movements, we can find in global civil society two other perspectives:

- *supporters* of the current order, stressing the benefits brought by globalisation;
- *rejectionist* of global processes, favouring a return to a national dimension, often with a reactionary, nostalgic attitude.

These are the basic concepts that may guide the empirical investigations of the survey; several other typologies will enrich the picture of the profile and strategies of global civil society described in the next three sections.

3

The survey: a profile of global civil society organisations

Investigating the nature, ideas and activities of global civil society organisations requires a systematic documentation and an empirical base of evidence. Therefore a questionnaire was designed, addressed to global civil society organisations that have participated to international events, asking them to describe their profile, activities, priorities, and views on policy proposals.

Our previous experience with a survey of Parallel summits of global civil society (Pianta 2001a,b, Pianta and Silva 2003) and with a smaller survey of participants to the first Assembly of the Peoples' UN (Lotti e Giandomenico 1996) was of great help in identifying the key issues.

An important previous survey was conducted by the Benchmark Environmental Consulting (1996) on 500 participants to the UN Social Development Conference in Copenhagen in 1995. More, recently, a series of questionnaires to participants to the Genoa Social Forum and the Florence European Social Forum have been carried out identifying the social and political profiles of the individuals participating to major events (Andretta et al, 2002; Della Porta and Reiter, 2003; Andretta and Mosca, 2004). A few references are made in this Report to such previous works; a more extensive comparison of results will be carried out in future analyses.

Our questionnaire has been circulated among international organisations participating to the Genoa Social Forum in July 2001 in Genoa, at the 4th Assembly of the Peoples' UN in Perugia in October 2001 and at the Second World Social Forum held in Porto Alegre, Brasil, in January 2002. Over that period the questionnaire has been also sent by e-mail to more than one thousands e-mail addresses of organisations participating to parallel summits and to NGO lists such as those represented at the ECOSOC of the UN and the members of Civicus, Social Watch and other

international civil society networks. A file copy of the questionnaire was available in that time to Internet users on the websites of Lunaria and Tavola della Pace.

The results presented here are based on 147 respondents, representative of all continents, types of organisations, and fields of action. While no criteria for statistical representativeness exist in the field of global civil society organisations, the distribution of respondents appears to provide a rather balanced perspective from all continents. The share of organisations based in the North (41 per cent) is little different from the share of global civil society events taking place in the North (44 per cent) over the period in which the questionnaire was compiled (Pianta and Silva 2003).

The group of respondents covers all size classes in terms of members of civil society organisations (about 10 per cent are not membership organisations). More than a quarter of respondents are large associations with more than 1,000 members; the rest are equally spread between very small units (up to 20 members), small groups (21–100 members) and medium-sized organisations (101–1,000 members). Such a composition ensures that a diversity of experiences and perspectives is represented in the results.

In which continent are based the civil society organisations that have responded to the questionnaire? According to **Figure 3.1**, the national location of respondents was 35 per cent in Europe, 22 per cent in Asia and the Middle East, 22 per cent in Africa, 6 per cent in North America and 14 per cent in Latin America. Such a geographical distribution assures a balanced presence of all continents and reflects the growing presence of civil society groups in the countries in the Southern Hemisphere.

In order to get a measure of the level of experience of the respondents a series of demographic questions were elaborated. As **Figure 3.2** shows, among the respondents to the survey 58 per cent were male, 37 per cent were female and 5 per cent of the respondents did not answer. The questionnaire has been filled up mainly by mature and influential people.

As **Figure 3.3** shows, the majority of the respondents, 43 per cent, were people aged between 36 and 50. Another 17 per cent were people over 50 and only 28 per cent between 20 and 35.

According to **Figure 4.4**, the major part of the respondents hold a high position within the organisations surveyed, as members of the leadership ('Director' and 'President' were the

most frequent qualitative answers provided for that question). There was a slight predominance of males in higher positions, while close to 30 per cent of the female respondents being staff members. On the whole, this data denotes the high level of experience of the respondents and provides credibility to the survey results.

The type of organisation is a crucial starting point for the analysis of global civil society activities. According to **Figure 3.5**, 18 per cent of the respondents were international NGOs, 40 per cent were national associations or NGOs, about 13 per cent each international and national networks or campaigns; the rest mainly comprised local groups, trade unions, and research centres.

When did it all start? According to **Figure 3.6**, the majority (44 per cent) of the civil society organisations surveyed were set up between 1995 and 1999. About 15 per cent were established during the periods 1980-1989 and 1990-1994. One tenth were old civil society groups which date back from before 1968, followed by the youngest organisations – founded after 2000 - and groups founded between 1968 and 1979 with 8 per cent each.

On the whole, global civil society has a young face reflecting the growth of globalisation and its impact on society; the emergence of these organisations however predated the Seattle protest of 1999 and the associated media and public opinion attention.

The group of respondents covered all sizes classes in terms of members of civil society organisations. As **Figure 3.7** shows, about 10 per cent of them were not membership organisations. More than a quarter of respondents were large associations with more than 1,000 members; the rest were equally spread between very small units (up to 20 members), small groups (21–100 members) and medium-sized organisations (101–1,000 members). Such a composition guarantees that a diversity of experience and perspective is represented in the results.

According to **Figure 3.8**, organisations were equally divided in terms of full time staff. There was a slight predominance of very small organisations with a staff of less than five persons. Organisations that employ more than 26 people were 27 per cent of all the respondents, while groups in which between 6 and 26 people work follow with 25 per cent of the total.

The establishment of formal organisations, focused on a specific mission and with generally limited resources (as shown by the small staff available) is not the only form of organisation used by global civil society.

Networks - informal, sometimes temporary alliances of national and international groups pooling their resources, knowledge and coordinating actions – are very important; over two thirds of the organisations surveyed were linked to an international network, as **Figure 3.9** shows. **Figure 3.10** suggests that those organisations which declared to be national or international networks, tend to be large coalitions, 40 per cent of them coordinating more than 26 groups, and 34 per cent with more than six.

Another form of organisation used by global civil society is the setting up of **campaigns** focused on policy relevant issues with the potential of drawing the attention of public opinion. Campaigns tend to be limited in time, using the resources and actions of a wide alliance of organisations usually in several countries. Their relevance will be discussed below.

What is the relationship between size and type of organisation? According to **Table 3.1**, membership tends to grow with the international orientation of organisations. International NGOs and networks are more likely to have more than 1,000 members (6 and 13 per cent of the total), while national associations often have between 101 and 1000 members (15 per cent of the total) or less.

On the other hand, in **Table 3.2**, national associations appear well distributed with regards to the number of staff, but there is a prevalence of small ones, with up to five (full time equivalent) paid staff. International NGOs and networks are more likely to have a small staff, reflecting either a general lack of resources or a preference for more agile and less bureaucratic organisational forms.

A comparison with data on Parallel Summits

Additional sources of evidence are provided by other surveys carried out on these issues. The figures presented below extend the analysis on Parallel Summits of global civil society (Pianta 2001b, Pianta and Silva 2003).

In previous works we have collected information on global civil society events taking place after 1980 using a simple questionnaire and through websites, newspapers and magazines which now devote extensive attention to such gatherings. 110 cases have been identified from 1988 to the first three months of 2003, and can be considered representative of the range of events, topics and locations.

Figure 3.11 shows the distribution of the Parallel Summits that took place between 1988 and 2003. Six per cent of the Parallel Summits examined

took place in the pioneering years 1988-1991. The period characterised by the large UN World Conferences - 1992 to 1995 - accounts for 13 per cent of the total. A small rise takes place in the next three years, between 1996 and 1999, but it is only after Seattle (late 1999) that an exponential growth of Parallel Summits takes off. The sole year 2000 accounts for 16 per cent of the total, 2001 for 19 per cent, and 2002-2003 (first three months) for close to one-third of all the events registered since 1988.

These events always include an international conference and, in most cases, a street demonstration, in addition to several fringe and media-oriented initiatives.

A look at the geographical distribution of Parallel Summits in **Figure 3.12** highlights that parallel summits over the whole period have taken place for 45 per cent of cases in Europe, while North America accounted for 19 per cent and countries of the South for 38 per cent.

In recent years however the picture has deeply changed. In 2002-2003 the majority of global civil society meetings has taken place in the South, with 38 per cent of events in Latin America, close to a third in Europe, 12 per cent in North America, 9 per cent in Asia and in Oceania.

A major driver behind the growth of Latin American meetings has been the Porto Alegre (Brasil) model of Social Forum, which has been replicated at national and regional levels with events in Argentina, Colombia, Uruguay; additional meetings have addressed Pan-Amazonian issues and the contested project of the Free Trade Areas of the Americas. Further diffusion of global civil society meetings in the South is coming from the organisation of the Fourth World Social Forum in Mumbai/Bombay, India in January 2004.

Figure 3.13 shows the types of Parallel Summits. The labels *IMF/WTO meetings*, *G7/G8* and *Regional summits* (e.g. EU) indicate the type of official summit paralleled by civil society actions. The label *UN conference* refers to the NGO Forums that accompany them. The label *No official summit* refers to civil society initiatives, e.g. social forum, organised independently from the venues of international institutions.

One third of the parallel summits held between 1988 and 2003 were set up regardless of the global powers' timing and agenda; one-fifth were UN conferences; 14 per cent of them were parallel summits to IMF/WB/WTO meetings; slightly fewer regional meetings and G7/G8 summits.

The temporal dimension fleshes out that parallel summits, shadowing official meetings of

governments, have given way to independent global civil society meetings. Considering the period 2002-2003, 58 per cent of all events have no corresponding 'official summit' (the share was 10 per cent between 1988 and 2001). In the last year and a half, 12 per cent of parallel summits have dealt with regional conferences (European Union, American or Asian government meetings) and 21 per cent concerned summits of the United Nations, G8, IMF, World Bank or WTO. From 1988 to 2001 these events accounted for almost two thirds of all cases.

Figure 3.14 shows that global civil society meetings are large. 38 per cent of parallel summits involve more than 10,000 people and the gatherings counting between 1,000 and 10,000 people amount to nearly 30 per cent of the total. Almost a third of parallel summits have between 200 and 1000 participants and only a few have involved a smaller number of participants.

It is worth spelling out how participation has grown in more recent years. Since January 2002, 55 per cent of events have had more than 10,000 participants; of these, half had demonstrations with more than 50,000 people, and an additional 25 per cent have had between 1,000 and 10,000 people. In the period between 1988 and 2001, events with more than 10,000 people accounted for nearly 30 per cent of all cases.

The increase in the number of events goes hand in hand with their growing size, as they move from being the reserve of small groups of specialists - between 1988 and 2001 40 per cent of events had less than 1,000 people - to becoming a widespread experience with mass participation.

As they move from "parallel summits", organised in coincidence with meetings of governments or international organisations, to independent global civil society gatherings such events are becoming larger (55 per cent had more than 10,000 participants, and 8 events had demonstrations with more than 50,000 people), more coordinated across the globe, and with a larger political agenda, increasingly integrating economic and development issues with demands for democracy and peace (see Pianta and Silva 2003).

4

Ends and means: activities, networks, campaigns

What are the fields of action of civil society organisations involved in global issues? What are their objectives and the initiatives they undertake? The global issues on which civil society organisations are active make a long list. **Figure 4.1** shows that almost half of the organisations surveyed are active on development issues. To this figure another 20 per cent of organisations dealing with economic problems should be added. A quarter of the respondents work on human rights, and organisations concerned with democracy have the same share. Organisations active on peace and conflict resolution come fourth with a share of 20 per cent. Less important among the respondents are the issues of humanitarian assistance, environment and gender. Organisations addressing migration and refugee problems and gay and lesbian issues have the lowest shares.

When we look at the cross distribution between type of organisation and field of activity in **Table 4.1**, the largest bloc of respondents (15 per cent) are national association or NGOs concerned with development. International networks or campaigns dealing with development or other economic issues follow with 6 and 5 per cent. The sample seems on the whole well-distributed covering a wide range of organisations active on a variety of subjects.

Do the size of organisations change according to the fields of action? As **Table 4.2** shows, organisations dealing with human rights generally have more than 1000 members. Organisations active on economic policies and for labour and trade unions also tend to be large ones. Peace organisations are smaller, counting between 101 and 1000 members in more than half the cases. Development organisations are medium-sized but can be very small too, pointing to the local dimension of these actions.

Table 4.3 examines whether dealing with certain global issues is accompanied by an involvement in an international network. Groups dealing with economic policies, development, labour or gender issues are those most involved in international networks. Conversely, human rights, peace and humanitarian assistance are issues that are carried out outside a network in approximately one-third of the cases. Finally, half of the respondents dealing with democracy and environment are not members of international networks. These are fields where the local and national dimension appear as key levels of action.

Figure 4.2 shows the type of activity of the international network the respondents belong to. Close to 25 per cent of the organisations surveyed join networks active on economic policies and development issues. With a share of 4 and 9 per cent respectively Attac and Social Watch are the most common qualitative answers provided in this category. Close to one-fifth of the organisations are linked with networks active on democracy and civil society issues. Such a category includes networks such as Civicus or Idealist that have an adhesion of 6 and 4 per cent respectively of the sample.

Organisations belonging to peace networks follow closely. It is interesting to note the share which accounts for youth networks considering, as it emerges from the above figure 4.1, the relatively small number of organisations dealing with youth and students. This underlines the idea that civil society organisations often are multi-issue groups that address different subjects through various forms of action and organisation, be those networks or campaigns.

This upshot is confirmed by a look at **Table 4.4**. An overlapping emerges between the field of activity of the organisation and the field of action of the network which they are linked to: four-fifths of the peace organisations are involved with networks addressing the same issue. Nevertheless, some cross interests appear. One-third of the organisations active on development are nodal points of networks dealing with democracy and civil society; gender and youth networks pick up their members indistinctly from a variety of fields. Such a mixture of interests and forms of organisations, follow the complex nature of global issues that are addressed by respondents using a variety of competences and actions.

Figure 4.3 shows the nature of the international campaigns the respondents have been involved in. More than 20 per cent of the civil society organisations surveyed are joining campaigns dealing with peace and human rights issues; 11

per cent work on development and childrens' rights. Proposals for reforming global institutions, such as the WTO or the IMF, involve almost one-tenth of the organisations surveyed. The Tobin Tax, which is one of the most well known campaigns, gets 4 per cent of adhesion.

Table 4.5 matches the type of organisations with the field of campaign they are involved in. The majority of national associations or NGOs are involved in campaigns targeted on peace and human rights or on development (respectively 9 and 8 per cent of the total). More than one third of international NGOs is involved in campaigns dealing with peace and human rights. Conversely, international and national networks are mostly involved in economic campaigns such as Debt Cancellation, the Tobin Tax, or Trade/WTO.

Table 4.6 makes it possible to understand whether carrying out particular campaigns calls for a network organisation.

Childrens' rights, environment, gender, nuclear disarmament, the Tobin Tax and trade union rights are campaigns addressed only by organisations that are involved in international networks. Conversely, issues that more directly affect the South, such as health, debt cancellation and education are also addressed by organisations which are not involved in an international network. The same could be said for the organisations campaigning against global institutions such as WTO and IMF/WB that in one third of the cases do not rely on an external structure. One-fourth of the organisations campaigning for peace and human rights are doing it outside the support of an international network.

Table 4.7 matches the field of the organisation with the field of campaign they are involved in. A coherent pattern emerges from the analysis. Development organisations are mostly involved in campaigns targeted on development (one-fifth of them, 6 per cent of the total), or in related subjects such as WTO/Trade, Debt Cancellation and Health. Close to half of the organisations active on human rights declare their support for campaigns on childrens' rights, and a third of them are involved in peace initiatives.

Finally, peace and human rights organisations campaign mostly for peace and on the related issue of nuclear disarmament, landmines and arms trading.

To which type of international meetings did civil society organisations participate in the past? According to **Figure 4.4**, participation to international events shows a general rapid increase. In 2000-2001, 50 per cent of respondents

took part in a global civil society meeting with no corresponding 'official summit', while before 1988 less than 10 per cent did so. A steady rise can also be found in participation to UN conferences, which reached 37 per cent in 2000-2001 against 12 per cent in the early '90s.

An important part of civil society efforts deals with regional conferences (European Union, American or Asian government meetings), which have involved in the last two years almost one third of the organisations surveyed. Less relevant in absolute terms, but still growing regularly, are the data concerning IMF, World Bank, WTO or G8 parallel summits that account for almost one third of all cases between 2000 and 2001. Finally, a slight decrease affects the participation to other types of initiatives, and this is probably due to the pre-eminent role now played by large global civil society forums.

What are the purposes of the civil society organisations participating in international events? **Figure 4.5** shows that for over two-thirds of the organisations the need for building international networks is crucial. The *internal* objective of strengthening the structure of global civil society goes together with three *external* purposes: disseminating public information, raising consciousness and proposing alternative policies. This proves that the outreach to a wider public is increasingly crucial as global movements are able to develop alternative policies to those carried out by governments and international organisations. Less important, but still relevant, are two forms of action - besides advancing specific proposals - put forward by civil society: lobbying and protest strategies which have a share of about 20 per cent each.

Figure 4.6 lists the initiatives planned in civil society meeting. Close to 70 per cent of the sample thought that conferences among organisations are necessary for the success of global civil society forums. Grassroots meetings account for 40 per cent, underlining the need to seek *internal* forms of cohesion.

Conversely, disseminating information through educational events aims to outreach public opinion and put pressure on institutional policy making. Unsurprisingly, much less is granted to conferences with external figures such as experts and policy makers or media events. A much significant role is played by street demonstrations - non violent or with civil disobedience - which add up to 35 per cent.

Figure 4.7 shows how the respondents would distribute (in percentage terms) additional resources of people and money for boosting

international civil society initiatives. Tools needed for disseminating information take priority (35 per cent), followed by the need to allow more people to participate in international initiatives. The share for resources devolved to meetings with other organisations is relevant probably because is associated to the need for networking. Finally, no importance is paid to investing resources on office equipment and a marginal figure is bestowed upon preparation of demonstration.

Similar results have come from the findings of the Benchmark Environmental Consulting survey (1996). In a similar question three major needs in allocating additional resources came up: letting more people and organisations join international events, preparing educational material and setting up pre-meetings with other organisations. In the choice of funding low shares were accorded to the preparation of demonstrations and to expenditure on office equipment (computers, etc.).

5

Visions and impact: attitudes, strategies, and policy alternatives

What lies behind the activities of global civil society? What are the ideas and visions inspiring actions? And what are their effects?

Organisations were asked to describe their broad vision on the issue of globalisation. **Figure 5.1** shows that responses to this question were mainly *Globalisation from below* in 33 per cent of cases and *Humanised globalisation* in 28 per cent of cases; in all, 60 per cent of respondents have a vision of globalisation putting at the centre civil society and human beings.

In contrast, only 11 per cent emphasises the need for a *Governance of globalisation* and just 4 per cent declare themselves *Anti-globalisation*. At the same time, however, one-sixth of respondents declare that their focus is on the *national/local dimension*, playing down the importance of globalisation in their own identity and pressing for a turn towards localisation.

These responses show how inappropriate the long abused term ‘anti-globalisation’ is in identifying the social movements active on global issues.

Figure 5.2 analyses the attitude and approach on economic globalisation. One third of respondents declare to carry out *alternative activities*, outside the processes of economic globalisation, and equal shares - about 25 per cent - demand *radical change* or *reformative* policies, while only 1 per cent declare a *rejectionist* attitude. Less than 10 per cent on the other hand are *supportive* of economic globalisation.

This data qualifies the previous figure, emphasising the autonomy of civil society organisations in carrying out their work on global issues; they also show the presence of different political strategies – both reformist and radical – in global social movements, and confirm how limited the positions rejecting globalisation are in the world of civil society.

Those supporting economic globalisation often emphasise the positive side-effects which are particularly relevant for their activities.

Figure 5.3 shows the main attitude of respondents versus Official Summits. More than half of respondents chose *Active dialogue*, one quarter *Criticism of policies*, 12 per cent *Integration in the Official Summits*, and 7 per cent *Strong conflict*. These answers emphasise the search for dialogue which emerges from civil society groups (with little reciprocity so far from governments and international institutions).

Within organisations active on global issues we may therefore identify - considering the evidence of the figures - a large group of dialogue seekers, a substantial group of radical critics, a small group on the way for cooptation in the mechanisms of global power and a very small (and probably under-represented) group with rejectionist positions.

By matching the attitude towards economic globalisation with the general vision of it, as **Table 5.1** shows, it is possible to identify a set of positions.

The organisations that support *globalisation from below* (33 per cent of the total of all respondents) have two main attitudes towards economic globalisation. The aim of setting up alternative activities is complemented by the search for a radical change in the system, and both these attitudes account for 14 per cent of the total of respondents. This twofold attitude suggests that the search for solutions goes on the one hand in the direction of carving niches - such as fair trade, ethical finance or self-sustaining local communities. On the other hand, it tries to influence the political process with demands for change in international arrangements.

A vision focusing on *global governance* generally calls for reformative policies. The *humanised vision* encompasses all types of attitudes towards globalisation. Finally, those who push for a turn to a *local or national dimension* are mostly involved in building up alternative activities. In fact, experiments in self-sustaining forms of economic activities outside the reach of international markets are often grounded in cooperative and solidarity actions within delimited territorial communities.

As **Table 5.2** shows, fostering a dialogue with Official Summits appears a priority for most visions of globalisation. Nevertheless, some important qualifications should be added. While the supporters of a *humanised globalisation* are mostly (close to two-thirds of them, 19 per cent of the total) aiming at a dialogue with global powers, a relevant share of *globalisers from below* (close to half of them, 16 per cent of the whole) emphasises the criticism of official policies.

The possibility to have a reasonable dialogue with global powers requires institutions capable to grant legitimacy to civil society.

The democratic deficit typical of decision making on global issues represents a major limitation to the prospects of dialogue. The strategy of lobbying often is possible for few accredited, highly specialised NGOs only, while the activist part of global movements remains skeptical, considering dialogue as a slippery sloping path leading to institutionalisation.

Data show that supporters of the project of *global governance* are for an active dialogue with global actors. Pressuring global institutions for reforms of the current system requires close contact with the centres of policy making and implementation, and with the actors leading the major policies.

Organisations with a *local/national* perspective are mostly seeking an active dialogue with Official Summits. The small number of organisations aiming at an integration in the Official Summits declares a variety of visions on globalisation (with the exclusion of the anti-globalisation perspective).

A similar picture emerges from the cross distribution between the attitude on economic globalisation and the attitude on Official Summits. According to **Table 5.3**, 20 per cent of the organisations surveyed pursue *alternative activities* to economic globalisation and at the same time seek, in the Parallel Summit context, an active dialogue with global powers. Again, we find that setting up alternative activities does not mean giving up any form of political confrontation or dialogue with institutions. These organisations seem to believe that dialogue can make practical alternatives to the existing arrangements more visible, helping in pointing out new directions for policy.

20 per cent of all respondents asks for *reforms* in global institutions and pursue active dialogue with them; the same attitude is taken up by two-thirds of the *supporters*. Half of the organisations that focus on criticisms of official summits are groups demanding a *radical change* in the system. They deem that pursuing a strategy of lobbying runs the risk of keeping civil society subordinate to the decisions of governments and supranational powers, removing the resources from protest and conflict. Finally, all the *rejectionist* declare to be in strong conflict with Official Summits.

The views across continents

Interesting insights emerge from looking at the regional distribution of the answers in **Table 5.4**.

The majority of *globalisers from below* and supporters of *global governance* are active in Europe and constitute respectively over 14 and 6 per cent of the total of respondents. One tenth of all the organisations surveyed believe in *humanised globalisation* and operate in Africa. While both humanised globalisation and globalisation from below put the people at the centre, in the former a language of rights and an ethical discourse is pre-eminent compared to a political and economic outlook of the latter. *National/local* activists and *antiglobalisers* are evenly distributed across continents.

Table 5.5 shows that those claiming a *radical change* – 13 per cent of the total, half of all the organisations endorsing such a vision – are located in Europe. Half of African and Latin American groups declare to be *Alternatives*. This is not surprising considering that the majority of experiments of local self-sustaining economies have taken place in the Southern hemisphere. *Reformers* are mostly European and African, while the few that declare a supportive attitude are spread across the continents.

From the evidence of **Table 5.6**, half of the organisations that engage in *strong conflict* with Official Summits are European based. Dialogue is in absolute terms the attitude preferred by Europeans, but it also plays an important role for African and Asian groups. Forms of *criticism of policies* come again mostly from European groups while a *supportive attitude* is mostly present in African organisations.

The views over time

Table 5.7 has been built by matching the vision of the organisations with the date of the first participation to an international civil society meeting. On the whole, the share of first participation is well distributed over time. Close to 45 per cent of the organisations interviewed have years of experience behind them having taken part in at least one event before 1995. After the WTO Millennium Round in Seattle about 40 per cent of the organisations surveyed register their first participation in an international civil society meeting.

Humanisers have only recently come into the limelight for the most part - 9 per cent of the total during the period 2000-2001 - while *globalisers from below* have been active since the pioneering years and constantly in the years after that; close to half of them (16 per cent of the total), took part in an international event before 1995. In 1992-1995 - the UN NGOs forum period – globalisation

from below has risen substantially. Organisations committed to a *national/local* view have been active since the beginning and the share of their participation remains fairly constant in the following periods. One-fourth of those for a *governance of globalisation* have not yet attended an international civil society meeting, and on the whole, their participation is quite recent.

With reference to **Table 5.8**, those engaged in *alternative* activities to economic globalisation have attended international civil society meetings since the beginning, but it is between 1992 and 1995 that a quantitative leap occurs. A significant number of organisations demanding a *radical change* took part in their first meetings before 1988 (6 per cent of the total, the highest percentage shown in that period). A steady flow of new participants emerged in the following decade.

On the contrary, one-third of *reformative* organisations attended their first meeting only in the aftermath of Seattle. The period of rapid expansion that took place between the years 1999 and 2001 is characterised by consolidation of networks, capacity to mobilise globally, obtain mass participation and receive attention by media. This has led the involvement of a series of more moderate actors that were only at that stage discovering the potentialities and the innovative character of global civil society. But their involvement was also favoured by the perception that politics was opening up to new civil society voices.

Table 5.9 shows that the *criticism of policies* reached a peak in the post-Seattle period climbing up to the share accorded to the attitude of *dialogue*, about 10 per cent of the total. Also, following the same trend, organisations in *radical conflict* with the Official Summit started to attend civil society meetings after the period of the UN conferences and continued to have new participants in the following years. In the aftermath of Seattle there is a strong presence of organisations choosing radical change or criticism of policies. Finally and not surprisingly, a high percentage - 10 per cent of all respondents - declare an *active dialogue* with international institutions between 1992 and 1995.

As noted above, that period was marked by the UN World Conferences of Rio, Vienna, Copenhagen, Cairo, Beijing where the NGO forums were organised (and funded) alongside the UN official meetings. Organisations integrated into the Official Summits are well distributed across the periods.

Visions, networks, campaigns

What is the relationship between the vision of civil society groups and the involvement in global networks or campaigns? **Table 5.10** shows that while *globalisers from below* belong to international networks dealing mostly with economic policies or development (more than one-third of them, 12 per cent of the total), organisations for *global governance* and *humanised globalisation* are mainly part of networks active on civil society and democracy (4 and 7 per cent respectively of all respondents). Humanisers are highly active on peace and human rights (7 per cent of the total), while organisations with a focus on a *local/national* dimension are equally distributed in all the relevant international networks with a slight predominance of those dealing with development.

A partially different story emerges when we look at the global campaigns. **Table 5.11** highlights that a third of *globalisers from below* – 10 per cent of all respondents – are involved on peace and human rights campaigns, while *humanisers* – 6 per cent of the total – are active on development. It is interesting to note the high percentage of humanisers involved in campaigns on children's rights, 5 per cent of the total. Campaigning against WTO is of interest to all categories. It is remarkable that the IMF and WB are targeted only by *globalisers from below* and groups for *governance*. The latter are also concerned with youth, development and debt cancellation. Finally, those focusing on a *local/national* dimension are spending their efforts mainly on the issues of children's rights and gender issues.

Data shows that the field of activity of the networks and the themes of the international campaigns organisations carry out do not overlap. Networks match more coherently the main field of activity of organisations and probably are the preferred model of global action, while campaigns are more flexible and suitable for addressing the global emergencies of the time, or subordinate interests. This shows that global issues are intimately interconnected and that civil society organisations take up a wide-ranging outlook.

Ends and means

Table 5.12 analyses how the choice of the aims inherent to the setting of a civil society initiative varies across the different vision of globalisation. It is possible to expect that those who believe in an institutional design of global governance trust the function of lobbying much more than those

entrenched in an antiglobalisation perspective do. While almost two-thirds of the organisations of each category deem as highly important the *internal* objective of reinforcing civil society, a few differences pop up concerning the means by virtue of which political results can be obtained, i.e. through the strategies of lobbying, protesting or proposing alternatives.

Organisations concerned with humanised globalisation trust much more than the *globalisers from below* the possibility to lobby decision makers. Conversely, fleshing out alternative proposals to the dominant policies, reflects the view of *globalisers from below*. It is worth noting that protest does not get too much attention with the exception of antiglobalisers (whose opinion is underrepresented in our sample). This is probably because protest is implicit in the very idea of a parallel summit as a forum of civil society facing an international meeting. Again, it is worth noting that, on the whole, the need of learning about global issues comes before that to provide public opinion, politicians and media with information. Almost half of the organisations committed with a *local/national* dimension are looking for new knowledge from international civil society meetings.

As shown in **Table 5.13**, no major differences appear in the actions and initiatives undertaken by global civil society organisations (see Fig. 4.6) across the different visions of globalisation. Conferences of experts for policy discussion are crucial for over half of the organisations believing in a project of global governance – more than one-fifth of the total answers. The project is the most institutional one and has to rely on small conferences where lobbying is viable or could develop, while low emphasis is laid upon media events. On the other hand, street demonstrations are considered much more important by the activist side of global civil society, i.e. *globalisers from below* and anti-globalisation groups. Education is very relevant for those concerned with a *local/national* dimension.

By comparing objectives and attitudes to economic globalisation, **Table 5.14** shows that the primary aim for all respondents appears to be the *internal* objective of a more solid civil society fostering new alliances and building networks. Radical changers seem more committed to develop alternative proposals than reformers and alternatives are as they are more centred on raising consciousness. As expected, lobbying is crucial for the reformist attitude, while the need to have international meetings for giving voice to their dissent is prerogative of the radicals.

As **Table 5.15** shows, the internal aim of strengthening civil society that appears from Fig. 4.5 is pursued through setting up conferences for civil society organisations that could favour an exchange of information or build new linkages. But also by the emphasis laid upon the need for grassroots meetings. Both objectives get a high percentage across the various attitudes.

Those calling for a radical change show a more marked activist component. Their siding with non violent street demonstrations or with civil disobedience, is in this sense significant. The favour they grant to media events (more than two-thirds of them) - and to its potential in boosting spectacular actions - is due to their role in catching the attention of public opinion. Conversely, none of the two aims seems relevant to the reformist view, which is instead more focused on the idea of meeting with experts and building policy discussion. The need to reform the current institutional arrangement involves encouraging technical competence, expertise and the preference of institutional actors as main interlocutors.

Impact, strengths and weaknesses

Do global movements have an impact? **Figure 5.4** provides the judgements expressed by respondents, and should be treated with due caution. From the evidence available, the strongest impact appears to be on civil society itself: 35 per cent of organisations consider that a strong or very strong effect has been achieved. Another 45 per cent of organisations think there has been a medium impact. Second in importance is the impact on public opinion, with almost 30 per cent of the organisations claiming a strong effect.

Third, some specific national policies changes can be seen as a result of the pressure from global civil society, while the impact on international policies has been much weaker. International media appear mostly unaffected by the actions and voices raised by civil society. Finally, organisations judge to have had no major effects on the official summits of governments and on the decision taken there.

It is interesting to compare these results with the findings of the Benchmark Environmental Consulting study (1996) on a similar question. While the impact on NGOs themselves is the highest, in our findings the impact on public opinion has increased. In fact in 1995 much less attention was generally paid to civil society activities.

What were the most important factors of success of international civil society events? According to **Figure 5.5** on the basis of the respondents' judgements (multiple responses are possible here), the presence of a wide international network of organisations is considered the main factor making for success, followed by mass participation, considered as crucial in nearly half of the events.

The emphasis for the former points out that global movements have shown a clear political identity and developed more structured alliances, suggesting a reinforcement of the 'internal' dynamics of global civil society. A strong political alliance among the organisations and the high quality of speakers and events is envisaged in almost one-third of the events. Minor relevance is attached to a high visibility in media while the radical nature of the actions taken has been reckoned as important in 10 per cent of the cases.

What were the most important weaknesses of global civil society events? According to **Figure 5.6**, as global civil society becomes capable to advance alternative proposals and to challenge official policies in front of world public opinion, the major perceived weakness is the lack of attention of policy-makers (or the failure to make them listen to civil society) and the lack of 'external' visibility (or the failure to make media and public opinion listen to the message of global civil society), relevant in 43 and 42 per cent of cases (multiple responses are possible here).

A much lower (and maybe underestimated) number of cases points to 'internal' weaknesses, such as shortfalls in the political message or divisions among organisers. Few answers consider that meetings were weakened by poor participation.

Is there a link between the attitude towards official summits and the evaluation of the impact of actions on global issues? **Table 5.16** provides the answer, showing findings as column percentages (it should be borne in mind that groups for strong conflict and those for integration into official summits account for 7 and 12 per cent respectively of the sample).

What emerges is that the two extremes of the spectrum - that is, open conflict with the official summit or being integrated in it - are the attitude that lead to the perception of a greater impact. One third of the organisations in strong conflict judge themselves as having had a strong or very strong impact on international media. Organisations usually integrated into the official summit consider that they have influenced

national policies, as well as official summits. Patently, having a certain status in terms of resources or organisational structure, being accredited to the major international events, having a specialised knowledge matters in terms of access, ability in the lobbying work with decision makers.

Finally, the organisations that pursue a dialogue with international institutions consider that they have had a strong or very strong impact on civil society organisations.

Democratising civil society

The problems of internal democracy are important as the global reach of civil society becomes wider and more diverse. **Figure 5.7** analyses the way in which global civil society events could be made more democratic and effective.

More than 40 per cent of respondents (which could provide up to three answers) recommended extending the number of organisations and countries involved in global events; a better balance between Northern and Southern organisations; and building a broader common agenda on different issues. The emphasis is therefore in the inclusive capacity of global civil society events to integrate more experiences and more issues.

A second group of recommendations, with 20-27 per cent of preferences, deals with the practicalities of global meetings and the search for effectiveness, including the need for more inclusive discussion on the agenda and documents of meetings, for more information, for building a network of networks, and for more work on common policy proposals.

Insisting on gender/racial balance is demanded by 18 per cent of respondents, while only 14 per cent argue for introducing voting in civil society meetings. In the search for greater internal democracy and external effectiveness, the emphasis is put on the need to broaden the base of civil society groups active on global issues and to stimulate their participation and involvement.

The strong support for building a common agenda and common proposals shows that there is more interest in democratising the content of civil society actions, through consensus building, than in the procedures (such as voting), which may become important in formally established institutions.

When we look at these results combined with the visions of globalisation in **Table 5.17**, the need of strengthening the movement is a feature of the perspective of *globalisation from below*. More

than half of globalisers, 19 per cent of the total, proposes to build a common agenda. The recommendation to extend the work on common policy proposals follows with half of total answers.

These two points are stressed also by other categories but with some differences. *Humanisers* emphasise the necessity of a gender/racial balance, an instance often lacking within global events and increasingly remarked.

Interestingly, this need is expressed in equal shares by both male and female respondents. For all respondents this claim is complementary to the call for a more equal representation between Northern and Southern NGOs.

One of the strongest needs expressed by global civil society has been the practice of participatory democracy based on consensus. From here comes the need to try to get rid of all the factors - such as patriarchy or power - that jeopardise a substantive functioning of such a model.

Organisations looking for *governance of globalisation* are stressing, much more than the others, the need to open up discussion on common policy proposals. The necessity to reform institutions calls for a systematic package of proposals to be put forward within lobbying.

The following **Table 5.18** links the ways for democratising global civil society to the attitudes on globalisation, showing that the views are rather evenly distributed.

Those with a *reformative* and *supportive* view lay more emphasis than those striving for a *radical change*, on the need to extend the number of participating organisations attending international meetings.

The latter are more concerned with the practicalities of opening up discussions on agenda and documents, extending the work on common policy proposals, and building a broader common agenda. *Alternatives* stress the question of democratic access.

By looking at the geographical distribution of organisations, it could be noted that the alternatives are mainly based in Africa and Latin America.

One of the most common internal criticisms to international civil society events has been the excessive role played by Western groups. Therefore, extending the number of participants, finding a fair balance between North and South representation and providing more information on the events are steps that cannot but be prior claims within the agenda of global civil society and of those groups that feel underrepresented.

The agenda for alternatives policies

The survey has asked organisations to judge the relevance of a series of policy proposals. In **Figure 5.8**, a variety of proposals circulating among global civil society groups are listed, concerning different issues and topics. The most frequent answers may be grouped as follows, in order of relevance.

Make global civil society visible and established. This is demanded as “very relevant” by the 60 per cent of respondents who want a permanent Global Civil Society Assembly, modelled on the World Social Forum and by the 55 per cent who want a permanent UN Forum for civil society organisations.

Make development possible. 64 per cent of respondents demanded the cancellation of Third World debt (one of the longest and most successful campaigns of global movements); more than half wanted greater flows of development aid to the South, a greater role of NGOs and support to fair trade and ethical finance.

Assure peace and justice. 59 per cent of respondents asked for nuclear disarmament (in a period when little attention was paid to peace issues) and 54 per cent wanted to accelerate the introduction of the International Criminal Court, but only 43 per cent went as far as demanding a UN standing peace keeping force.

Balance global capital and labour. Half of respondents asked for introducing constraints to multinational corporations and for enforcing labour rights, expressing the need for a more appropriate balance in the global relations between capital and labour. Only 30 per cent however demand labour contracts and wages negotiated at the international level.

Democratise international institutions. A variety of proposals aiming at reforming and democratising international institutions were considered. 47 per cent of respondents wanted the abolition of veto power in the UN Security Council; 42 per cent wanted civil society representatives at the IMF, World Bank and WTO, but only 28 per cent considered very relevant to bring these institutions inside the UN system, while 31 per cent favours a Parliamentary Assembly of the UN. The resulting picture is that such reforms are not generally seen as a priority in terms of feasibility, desirability or effectiveness.

Control global finance. The least attention among economic issues concerned the demands for controlling international financial flows (49 per cent of “very relevant” responses) and for introducing the Tobin Tax on currency

transactions (39 per cent). The remoteness of finance from the experience of social organisations and the specificity of these proposals may explain the low priority they obtained in spite of widespread campaigns such as the one for the Tobin Tax organised in several countries by Attac.

Protect the environment. 45 per cent of respondents demanded strict respect of the Kyoto protocol and the creation of a World Environmental Organisation. These rather low figures are somewhat surprising and again may be explained by the specificity of the proposals advanced on environmental problems and on the limited diffusion of such issues in the agenda of global civil society organisations.

Grant rights to immigrants. 43 per cent of respondents demanded that immigrants be granted citizenship rights, and less than 30 per cent considers as “very relevant” to open the door to immigration flows. While migrations may not be a relevant issue in all countries, these low figures point at the complex and contradictory nature of the immigration problem, especially in the countries of the North, and at the weak mobilisation of immigrants and their organisations in global civil society activities.

Interesting findings are shown in **Table 5.19** in which these different proposals are matched to the vision of globalisation of respondents. There is a remarkable gap between the project of *globalisation from below* and *governance of globalisation* with regard to the priority given to abolishing veto power at the UN, and even more disparity about the creation of a World Environmental Organisation.

Humanisers are more concerned with the internal objective of strengthening civil society and with the external aim of rendering effective its voice; thus the highest percentages are found for the proposals to create a UN Forum for civil society, building a permanent global civil society Assembly such as the World Social Forum, and demanding the introduction of civil society representatives within leading international institutions.

Finally, for the *local and national* views, the crucial goals concern development, cancellation of Third World debt, bringing development assistance to the South and backing up NGOs actions. In fact, the majority of the organisations setting up alternative activities operates in the South.

As **Table 5.20** shows, organisations calling for a *radical change* are mostly concerned with economic proposals: introducing the Tobin Tax, controlling international financial flows, cancelling Third World debt and introducing constraints to multinational corporations are the headlines in this political agenda. But the same groups give priority also to the question of immigration despite the weak mobilisation of immigrants and their organisations in international meetings.

Those who support *alternative* activities are highly concerned with development. Two-thirds of them demand not only the cancellation of Third World debt, but also greater flows of development aid to the South and more support for NGOs activities; most of them are African based.

Finally, *reformatives* trust the work of NGOs asking for a more direct aid for them, and support well-tested forms of the alternative economy, such as fair trade and ethical finance, and ask governments and institutions for disarmament.

While civil society generally acts with a global view, where common objectives overcome specific interests, the national background still matters in setting the priorities of organisations.

Table 5.21 crosses the different policies proposals considered 'very relevant' with the geographical distribution of the respondents.

A clear communality of intent capable to overcome territorial differences is evident but some differences arise. The proposals for the creation of a permanent UN forum for civil society organisations, or increasing official development assistance are judged as very relevant by the organisations in the South, while their receive less attention by North American and European organisations.

Both recommend reforms in international institutions, such as bringing the IMF, WTO and WB in the UN system or abolishing veto power at the UN Security Council. European and Latin American organisation are united in judging very relevant financial issues, the Tobin tax, the need to control international flows of capital and the activity of multinational corporations.

This common intent could be partly explained on the basis of the international activity of Attac, whose groups have been influential in the early Porto Alegre World Social Forums.

Finally, it is interesting to note that North American organisations diverge sharply from the rest on a few proposals. Migration questions do not get much importance and the idea of setting up a civil society assembly is neglected.

A comparison to a previous survey on the UN

An interesting comparison can be made to the results of a smaller survey carried out by the Tavola della Pace/Peace Roundtable in 1995 on 100 civil society representatives participating to the first Assembly of the Peoples' UN in Perugia, Italy on the "Reform and democratisation of the United Nations".

Respondents came from Europe, the Americas, Africa and Asia-Australia in similar proportions. The main areas of activism were human rights (almost 30 per cent), followed by peace, economic issues and development (close to a quarter each).

Considering the focus of the Assembly, questions were asked on civil society's views on the UN and its reform.

Half of respondents had positive views on the UN system, a third had negative or very negative ones. The UN activities that were most appreciated included the protection of human rights and peace-keeping, followed at a distance by economic development and help in peoples' self-determination. Military interventions met with the greatest disapproval, followed by the power of the Security Council, superpower dominance, and bureaucratic ineffectiveness.

In the views of these representatives of global civil society, the most urgent reforms of the UN system had to include reducing the power of the Security Council and eliminating the veto power of some of its members; democratising UN structures, including peoples' representatives; and creating a second Assembly of the UN.

Open questions on the ways in which global civil society could strengthen its role in the UN system were also asked, and the responses pointed out the need for a greater voice and role for NGOs in decision-making, more democratic representation and an NGO assembly at the UN, and direct participation of NGOs in UN-sponsored projects (Lotti e Giandomenico 1996: 170–6).

A variety of activities, visions and proposals for change has emerged from the evidence of this Report, with opportunities to compare the evolution of views and actions of global civil society to previous analyses. The complexity of the dimensions involved means that further work is needed in order to better identify commonalities and differences in activities and outcomes. On the basis of the evidence so far provided we can now move to draw some conclusions, trying to summarise the main strategies for change emerging in global civil society.

6

Conclusions

The rich evidence provided by this Report makes it possible to draw a variety of conclusions and to highlight several key aspects of the activity of global civil society. Here we will focus on the main **strategies** that emerge from the complexity of responses to the questionnaire, set in the context of the evolution of the activism of global organisations.

Four major models of strategies pursued by global movements can be identified: *resistance*, *lobbying*, *production of policy proposals* and *production of alternatives*. These strategies shed new light on the vision and role of global civil society and its relationship to political and economic power.

The politics of resistance. Survey results do not show the relevance that such strategy has had in past years, organisations with an *anti-globalisation* view being a small minority. However actions of resistance are part of the broader political culture of a wide range of groups of global civil society, and have been a necessary step in building up present visions and activities. Resisting the decisions of illegitimate and arbitrary powers in the name of higher values or broader social interests has always been the point of departure of social mobilization and political change.

The demonstrations in Seattle in November-December 1999 have shown the importance of the *politics of resistance* of global movements, a strategy which has culminated in the protests against the G8 summit in Genoa in July 2001 and the EU Council in Barcelona in March 2002, followed by a variety of other protests in all continents. In between we have had dozens of large scale international demonstrations against the summits of the World Monetary Fund and the World Bank, in Washington in April 2000, Prague in September 2000, Washington again in April 2001; against the

European Council meetings at Nice in December 2000 and at Gothenburg in June 2000; against the Summit of the Americas in Quebec City in April 2001; against the WTO meeting in Qatar in November 2001 when major protests were held in more than 50 cities all over the world.

The *politics of resistance* has been successful thanks to the convergence of four factors.

1. The large broadening of the *social base* involved; at Seattle there was an original alliance between environmentalists and US trade unions, local groups and global campaigns; at Genoa there was the Genoa Social Forum's capacity to open up to a new generation of activists and to bring together different forces, ranging from associations to radical 'social centers', from Left organisations and unions, to many Catholic organizations.
2. A *simplification of the issues* at the center of the protest with a strong element of political opposition: at Seattle the "no" to an unjust trade system, at Genoa the "no" to a G8 without legitimacy.
3. The resort to a *form of radical struggle*, like civil disobedience, often successful in effectively obstructing the activities of summits.
4. A strong *resonance in the media* and vast attention from public opinion, thanks to a long effort at public information and, above all, to the visibility of the forms of action and of the repression taking place.

Much of this work was not the action of formal organisations - such as those responding to our survey - but rather the work of informal and local groups, ad hoc coalitions and mobilisations for one specific event that are much more difficult to trace and investigate. However, the success of this strategy of global movements is indisputable, measured not only by the growth from the 60,000 demonstrators at Seattle, to the 300,000 at Genoa and Barcelona.

These successes, nevertheless, have had a high price. Genoa was the culmination of the resistance of global movements, but also the culmination of the arbitrariness of power with the savage police repression carried out by the Italian government and the killing of one demonstrator, Carlo Giuliani. Violence in Genoa was used by a small minority of demonstrators who threw stones, broke glass, and lit vehicles and offices on fire, but violence

was used in a systematic way by the police - even after the arrest of demonstrators - with the aim of making the right to peaceful protest impossible.

Since Seattle, global powers and states have tried to portray global movements as violent extremists against which repression should be exercised. After Genoa, the risk of protests is to become associated with the spiral violence-repression. In order to avoid this, movements in Italy after Genoa, like in Sweden after Gothenburg, have had to devote a large part of their energies to prevent this spiral and defend democratic space.

In any case, after years of rapid expansion, the politics of resistance seems to have initiated its point of descent, and the lack of visibility in the results of this survey confirms this pattern. An excessive media orientation and simplification of issues may lead to an extreme fragility of movements, with a loss of substance and credibility for their proposals for change. The spiral of violence and repression may reduce the extension of the social base involved and lose public opinion consensus. The result might be a fall in participation and a radicalization of limited sectors of the movements, without significant results on the international issues on which they started out to act.

Lobbying. At the opposite of resistance there is the lobbying model, supported by the organisations favouring a *governance of globalisation* and by some of those for a *humanised globalisation*. In this strategy organizations of civil society try to influence the decisions of global powers by a systematic work of documentation, contact with national decision-makers, and presence at international conferences. This work has led important results in recent years, including treaties banning land mines, creating the International Criminal Court, the Kyoto protocol on the reduction of carbon emissions, and many other accords on environmental issues.

Success factors of this pressure are the following.

1. The existence of *legitimate international institutions* with the mission to address particular problems of global importance; they need to be recognized by civil society and need to recognize the role civil society may in turn

play in these issues. Organisations of the United Nations family are typical examples.

2. The concentration, on the part of the non-governmental organizations and associations, on very *specific requests* to well defined decision-makers, based on practical knowledge of the relevant problems and of the most effective potential solutions.

3. A *low intensity action*, in political terms, working in direct contact with those who make decisions, seeking the broadest possible agreements on the specific themes addressed, with a willingness to compromise.

4. The use of *public opinion campaigns*, the only form of mass participation envisaged, in order to build consensus on the general objectives, and to put pressure on policy makers.

This path of change of the global order relies on small improvements from inside the existing institutions, and it is possible only when there is a shared horizon of political action with existing supranational powers. It offers the opportunity to effectively implement necessary changes in global rules and issues, if only minor and partial ones. The risk is to keep civil society subordinate to the decisions of governments and supranational powers, removing the resources of protest and conflict. The experiences of the some recent global summits (on the Kyoto Protocol, in Doha and Monterrey) suggest that the space for a strategy of this type are increasingly limited.

The production of policy proposals. The third path of change is the capacity of global movements to *produce alternative policies*, autonomous from the actions of governments and traditional politics. This is the strategy favoured by *globalisers from below* and emerges as a key priority in several responses to our survey. Examples include the campaign for a Tobin Tax, and the rapid growth of Attac as a global movement demanding its introduction; the mobilisation around the Jubilee 2000 campaign to cancel the debt of Southern countries; the campaigns to reform the IMF and the World Bank; the request for access to drugs by poorer countries, in particular those for the AIDS epidemic; the rejection of genetically modified organisms in Europe; the efforts on energy issues and for developing renewable energy sources; the solidarity actions, initiatives for conflict

resolution and constructions of peace in the Balkans.

Ideas for alternative policies are generally present, to some extent, also in the initiatives of resistance, and in *lobbying* efforts. However, specific initiatives for developing alternatives have increasingly characterised the action of global movements and parallel summits since 2001, as seen above, with major international meetings such as the World Social Forums and the five Assemblies of the People's United Nations in Perugia.

A strategy focusing on alternative policies combines in an interesting way some features of *the politics of resistance* and of *lobbying*.

1. The alternative policies proposed by global movements target the *weak points of international institutions*, asking for radical reforms (for example of the International Monetary Fund) or for the creation of new organisms (for example to administer a Tobin Tax) able to deal with global problems. They confront well-defined international institutions, pointing out their limits and proposing ways to move beyond existing arrangements; in this way such a strategy avoids the risk of subordination, typical of *lobbying*, and the limits of a resistance without proposal.

2. Policies of global movements combine *a broad political vision with specific demands*; moving from a concrete knowledge in the relevant fields (for example on the effects of the lack of access to AIDS drugs in Africa), the appropriate proposals for solving them are advanced, changing existing power relations and institutional arrangements (e.g. modifying the norms on patents and on the prices of drugs set by companies).

3. The campaigns present a *high politicisation and a high participation* because they must build a broad social base supporting their alternative project. For example, the opposition to genetically modified organisms has been transformed from an issue for biotechnology specialists to a problem for all citizens, constructing alliances among scientists, environmentalists, farmers and consumers, and raising fundamental questions to society and politics on what should be produced and consumed.

4. The construction of the *consensus of public opinion* is essential to these campaigns in order to mobilise a diversity of social forces, and to create pressure, as *lobbying* does, on decision-makers in national governments and

supranational organisms. For example, the success of the Jubilee 2000 debt campaign is associated firstly to the huge involvement of the media, the churches, all sorts of civil society organizations; secondly to its presence in dozens of parallel summits - G8, IMF-World Bank, European Council, etc. - and thirdly to its influence on political forces and governments which has led to positive steps and legislation in several countries.

Such developments have taken place entirely *outside* the mechanisms of institutional politics, which continues to ignore the elaboration of global movements. This confirms the *autonomy* of global movements, but at the same time reveals a major weakness in this route to change: the lack of an effective, contractual *power* - of civil society, of social movements, for change 'from below' - against existing global powers.

In all sorts of fields - the requests to reform and democratize the UN, for non-military solutions to conflicts, for protection of workers and immigrants in the global economy, for the Tobin Tax, etc. - global powers have always responded in the same manner: 'It is not possible'. Whence the immediate popularity of the radical statement that *another world is possible*, used as a common banner by global movements.

In contrast to this stalemate, the modest ambitions of *lobbying* show that small changes are, in fact feasible, and the protests of *the politics of resistance* show that the global powers cannot escape radical criticism. The proposals for alternative policies coming from global movements - important as they are - risk being *innocuous* to global powers, as long as they can afford to ignore the role, ideas and influence coming from civil society.

The production of alternatives. The results of the survey suggest that a distinct strategy is emerging mainly in countries of the South, one combining a vision focusing on alternative activities and on local/national dimensions. While this may not directly address global issues or challenge global powers in their key policy making events, this strategy is exploring ways to find local solutions to global problems. Such a strategy is less visible, more difficult to assess in its strengths and weaknesses, achievements and failures. However its main strengths are the following.

1. It is highly *consistent* with the way of operation of civil society groups in the South and with the search for changes in individual and group behaviour in the North.

2. It represents a *deepening* of the search for alternatives that is bound to strengthen the autonomy of civil society and the outlook for global movements.

On the other hand, a few weaknesses may emerge.

1. Moving from widespread concern on immediate economic and social conditions, this strategy can develop with a *low politicisation* of issues and can find it difficult to address large policy questions, drawing energies away from the challenges of political change.

2. At the *international* scale, such a strategy may result into the break up of the links now emerging in social activism across national borders, refocusing priorities on national or local issues.

More reflection is needed on the potential and risks of this strategy, which may provide a more radical departure from the traditional forms of political actions which have so far characterised the activities and events of global civil society.

What next?

The challenge of a more democratic global politics concerns not only global movements, but the question of global democracy itself and has important consequences for the prospects of effective governance of global problems. The findings of this survey and the recent experience of global civil society activism point at three main directions for change.

First, states and supranational institutions have to formally recognise the role of civil society on global issues, granting its organisations and movements the right to have a *voice* (not necessarily a *vote*) on global issues, as members, for example, of the delegations of national representatives to UN bodies, regional organizations (such as the EU) and international conferences; some very initial steps in this direction have already been taken in the case of the UN. It should be reminded that one century ago the same route was taken by the labor unions when they obtained formal recognition for the representation of workers from governments and employers.

The **second** way out requires the reactivation of the mechanisms of democracy in national politics; the proposals of the movement should systematically influence the positions of national governments, and in doing so, change the balance of power in international bodies. There are many examples of success using this method: France's decision to block the negotiations for the Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI) at the OECD; Malaysia's decision to control the movements of capital after the Asian financial crisis; South Africa's and Brazil's decision to challenge multinational pharmaceutical companies for anti-AIDS drugs; the European decisions on genetically modified organisms; even the UK decision to arrest General Pinochet. This is the concrete ground where national politics can meet civil society anew.

The **third** road passes through the strengthening of the global organisation of civil society, and movements. Stable arrangements, systematic coordination and regular meetings are important steps, such as the ones that have led to the success of World Social Forums - the next one will be held in early 2004 in Mumbai, India - and the associated Continental Social Forums, with the greater, permanent role taken up by the International Council of its organisers.

More democratic forms of deliberation and participation of civil society also from poorer countries are a continuing challenge for the legitimacy and representativeness of global movements. The definition of a common agenda and the development of common identities, visions and policy proposals are the more difficult, but necessary steps.

The variety of strategies being pursued by social movements in confronting global powers should not be seen as a factor of division and weakness. Successful change in global issues requires a combination of capacity of resistance, radical visions, political alternatives, and instruments that introduce specific reforms. A weakness would emerge if sections of global movements confine themselves to a politics of resistance alone, seen as the way for affirming an antagonistic identity, independent of the objectives of change. Or if other sections are co-opted in a project of global governance, legitimating particular international institutions. Or if the practice of alternative activities leads to isolate national and local experience from global civil society.

The future of global movements remains tied to their roots in society and to the capacity to affirm an alternative vision of global problems. However, much will also depend on the ability of politics to pay attention to civil society, on the response of governments, and on the effective possibilities of reform of supranational organisations.

As this Report has shown, a major hope for the future comes from the growing role of *global civil society* and *global movements for democracy and justice*, which have asked for (and have practiced) a more democratic order, more equal international relations, and a more just economy and society.

Appendix

This survey on global civil society organisations has been carried out with a detailed questionnaire reported at page 61. The focus of the analysis was the individual organisation active on global issues and participating to international civil society events. The questionnaire was prepared to gather data on the profile of global civil society organisations, their activities, priorities, and views on policy proposals.

The questionnaire has been developed on the base of our previous work surveying parallel summits of global civil society (Pianta 2001 a, b; Pianta and Silva 2003) and taking into account other previous experiences such as the survey carried out by Benchmark Environmental Consulting (1996). Due to lack of resources and time, the questionnaire was prepared only in English and this may explain the lower than expected responses from areas such as Latin America.

The questionnaire has been circulated among the international participants to the Genoa Social Forum in July 2001 in Genoa, at the 4th Assembly of the Peoples' UN in Perugia in October 2001 and at the Second World Social Forum held in Porto Alegre Brazil in January 2002. A team of people has distributed the questionnaires and collected answers directly on the spot.

The questionnaire has also been sent by e-mail to a large number of major global civil society organisations, to groups involved in international events and to members of the ECOSOC of the UN and of civil society networks such as Civicus or Social Watch. More than 1000 questionnaires have been sent during the period between July 2001 and February 2002. A file copy of the questionnaires was as well available to Internet users on the websites of Lunaria and Tavola della Pace.

The results presented here are based on 147 respondents, broadly representative of all continents, types of organisations, and fields of action. Twenty per cent of the respondents were international NGOs, 45 per cent were national associations or NGOs, 18 per cent international or national networks or campaigns; the rest includes trade unions, local groups, and research centres; they are mainly active on development, economic policies, peace, human rights, and environmental and democracy issues.

Respondents to the questionnaire are located for 35 per cent in Europe, 22 per cent in Asia and the Middle East, 22 per cent in Africa, 6 per cent in North America and 14 per cent in Latin America. Such a geographical distribution assures a balanced perspective from all continents and confirms the growing presence of civil society groups in the countries of the South. Moreover, it may be noted that the share of organisations based in the North (41 per cent) is little different from the share of global civil society events taking place in the North (44 per cent) over the period in which the questionnaire was compiled (see Pianta and Silva 2003).

The group of respondents covers all size classes in terms of members of civil society organisations (about 10 per cent are not membership organisations). More than a quarter of respondents are large associations with more than 1,000 members; the rest are equally spread between very small units (up to 20 members), small groups (21–100 members) and medium-sized organisations (101–1,000 members). Such a composition ensures that a diversity of experiences and perspectives is represented in the results.

A few questions were addressed to the person compiling the questionnaire (presented in figures 3.2, 3.3 and 3.4) with the intent to assess the experience of the people representing the organisation and assess the reliability of the answers.

A few methodological choices should be reported. In the question of allocation of additional resources (Figure 4.7), given the quantitative nature of the funding choices, the average value has been calculated. In the question on networks (figure 4.2), we have received more than 50 different answers and so the name of individual networks was linked to the field of activity. The question concerning campaigns (see figure 4.3) was treated in the same way, recoding the answers in term of the general field of campaigns.

Finally, with reference to the first year participation (tables 5.7, 5.8 and 5.9), the variable has been obtained through the recoding of the variable presented in Fig. 4.4. In all the report missing values are excluded in the statistics count of the tables, while are recorded for each figure. The list of responding organisations is presented at the end of this Report.

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Figures and tables

Fig. 3.1. In which continent is your organisation/group based?
Percentage composition

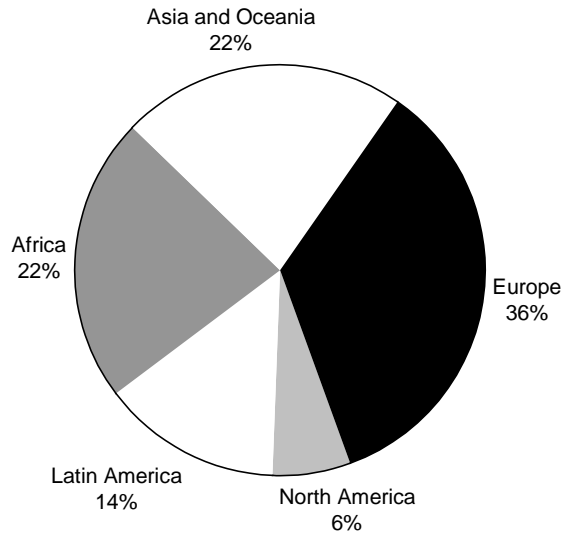


Fig. 3.2. Gender of respondents
Percentage composition

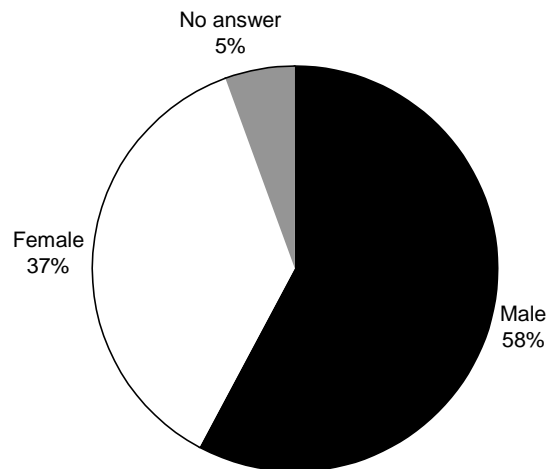


Fig. 3.3. Age of respondents
Percentage composition

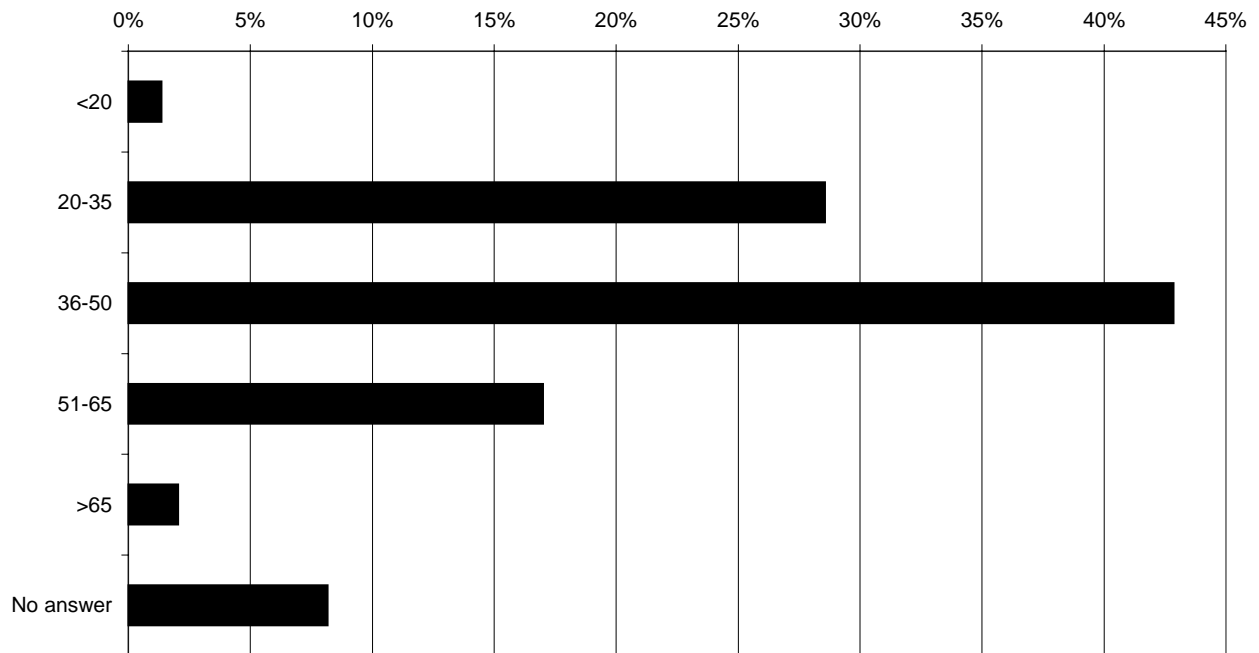


Fig. 3.4. Position of respondents in the organisation
Percentage composition

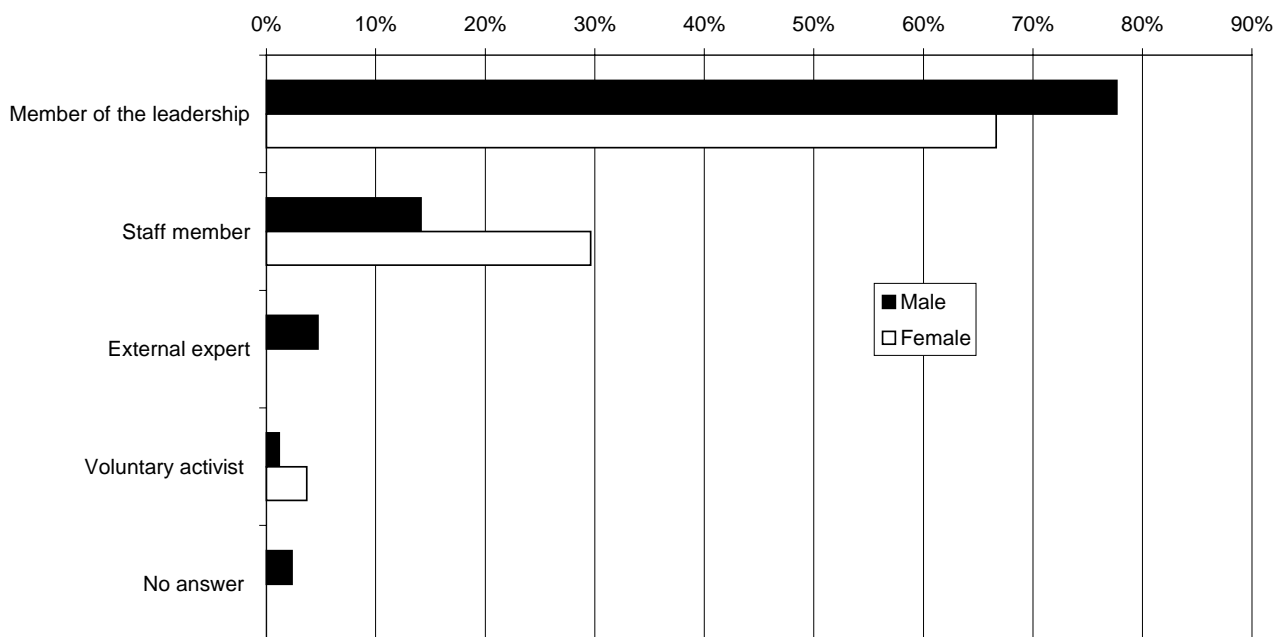


Fig. 3.5. What is the nature of your organisation/group?
Percentage composition

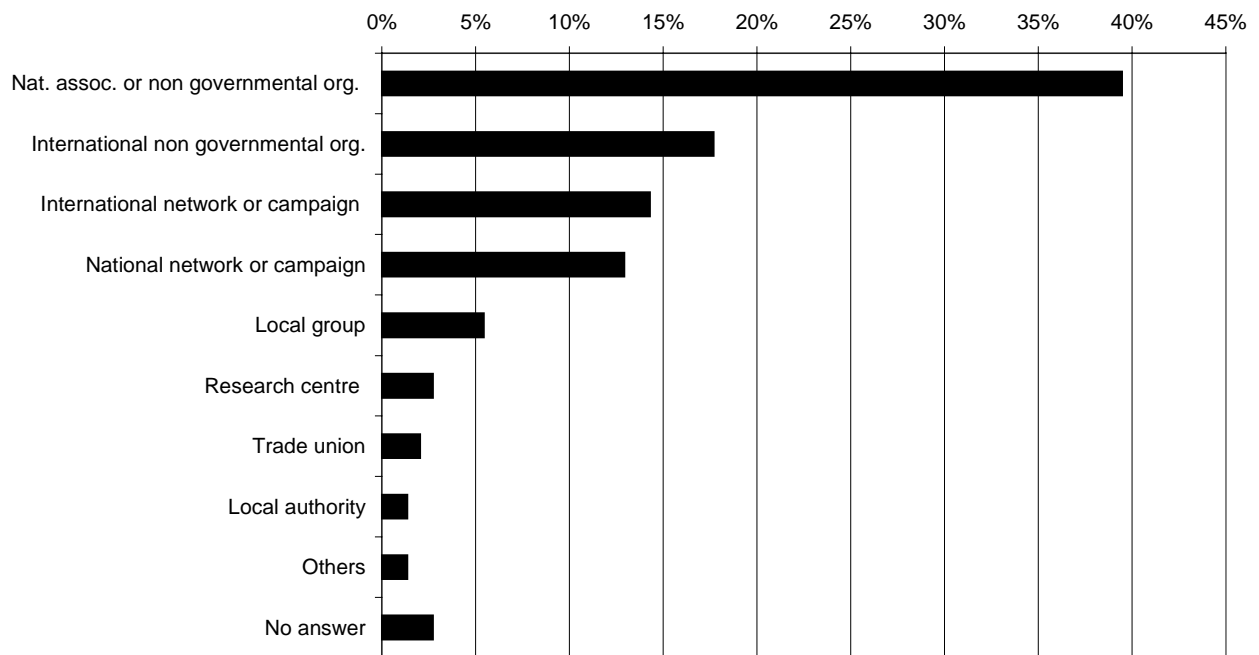


Fig. 3.6. When was it started?
Percentage composition

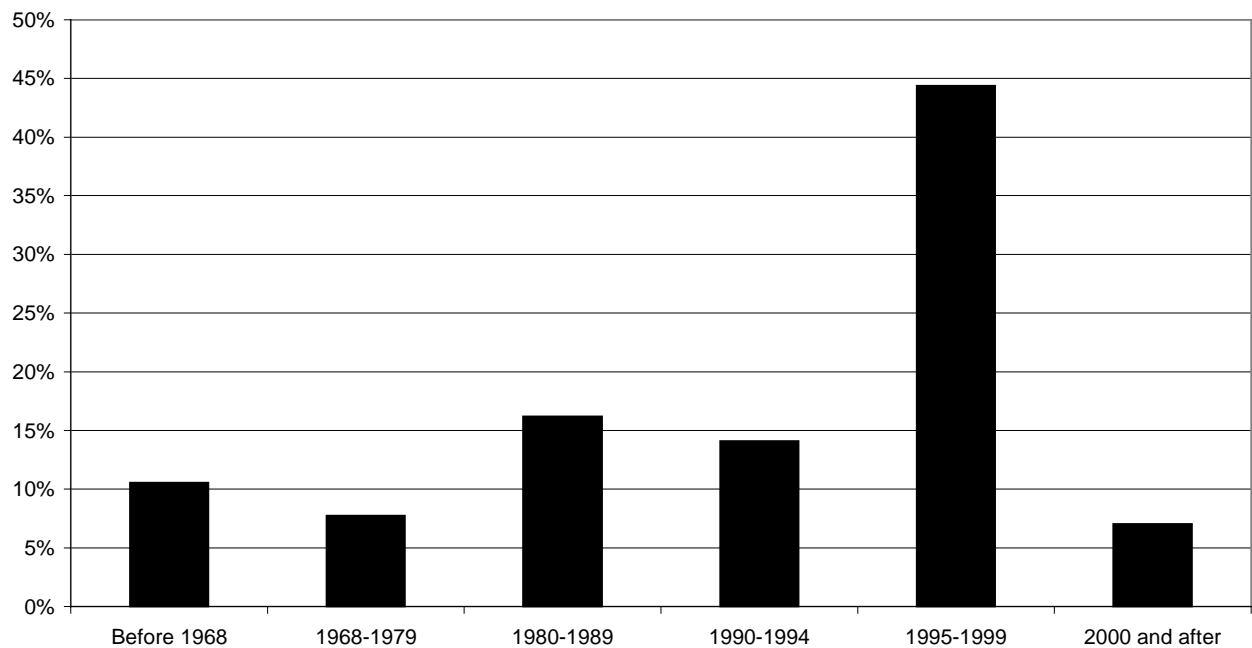


Fig. 3.7. How many members are in your organisation?
Percentage composition

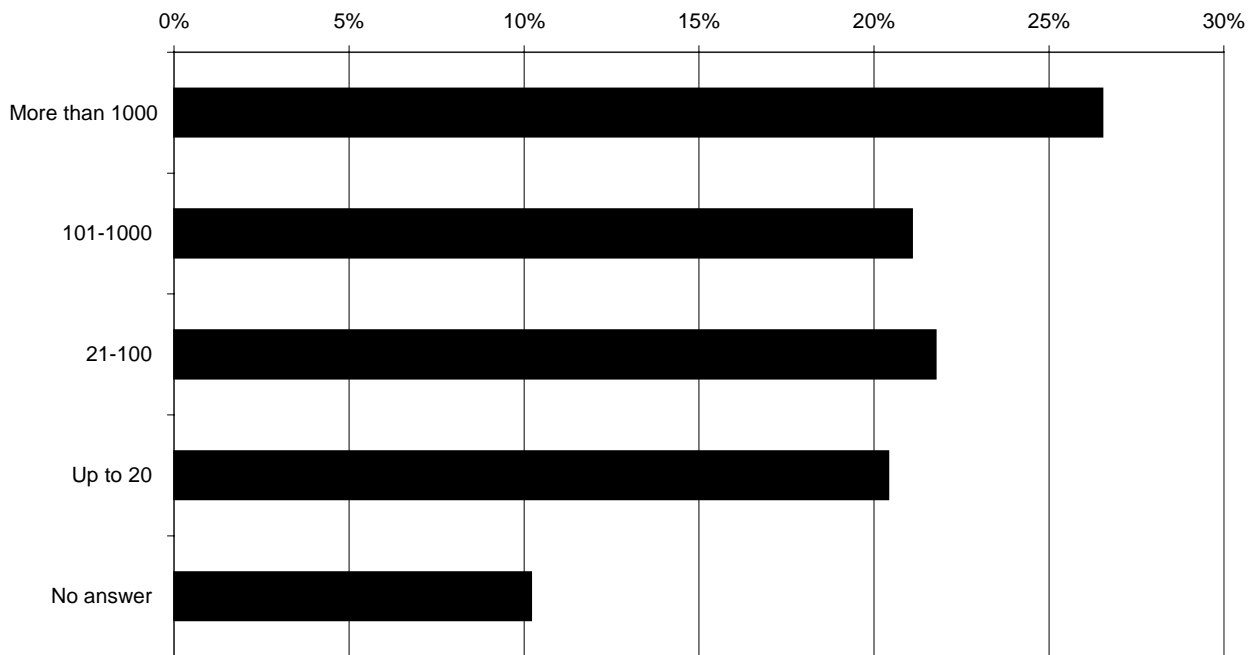


Fig. 3.8. How many people work for your organisation or group (full time equivalent paid work)?
Percentage composition

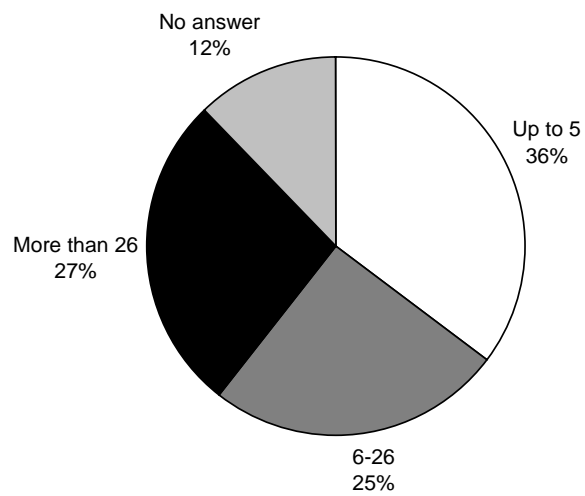


Fig. 3.9. Does your organisation/group belong to an international network?
Percentage composition

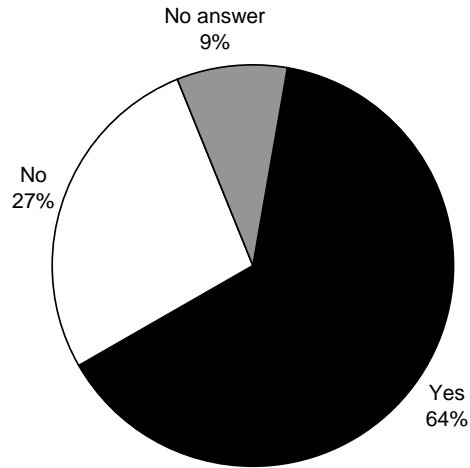


Fig. 3.10. If you represent a network, how many groups belong to your network?
Percentage composition

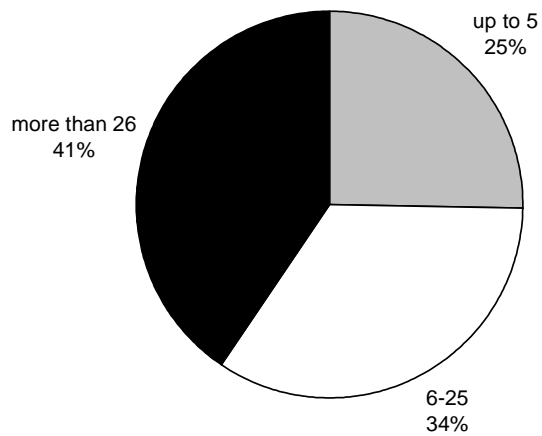


Table 3.1. Number of members by Type of organisation

% of the Total

Number of members	Type of organisation					Total
	International NGO	National association or NGO	Int. and nat. network or campaign	Local group	Others	
Up to 20	4	10	6	2	1	23
21-100	4	9	5	2	4	24
101-1000	4	15	4	1		24
More than 1000	6	5	13	2	3	29
Total	18	39	28	7	8	100

Table 3.2. Number of staff by Type of organisation

% of the Total

Number of staff	Type of organisation					Total
	International NGO	National association or NGO	Int. and nat. network or campaign	Local group	Others	
Up to 5	9	15	12	2	3	41
6-25	6	13	8	2		29
More than 26	6	12	6	1	6	30
Total	20	40	26	6	9	100

Fig. 3.11. Growth of Parallel Summits
Percentage composition

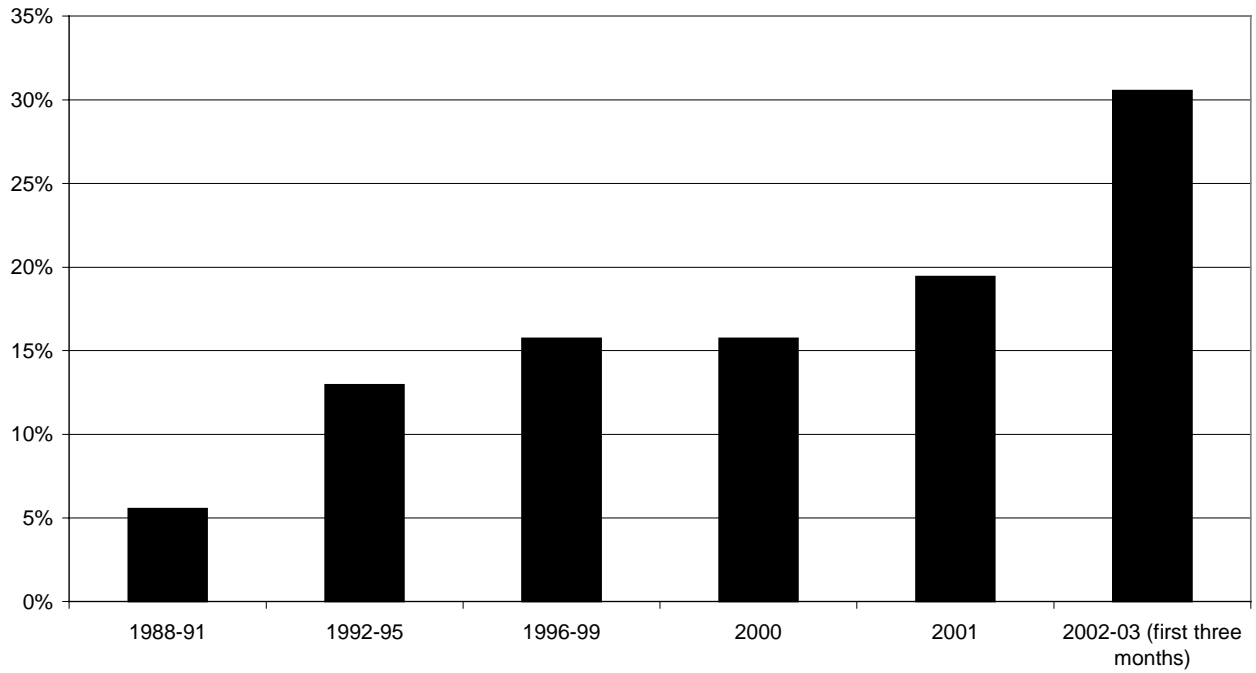


Fig. 3.12. Location of the Parallel Summits, 1988-2003
Percentage composition

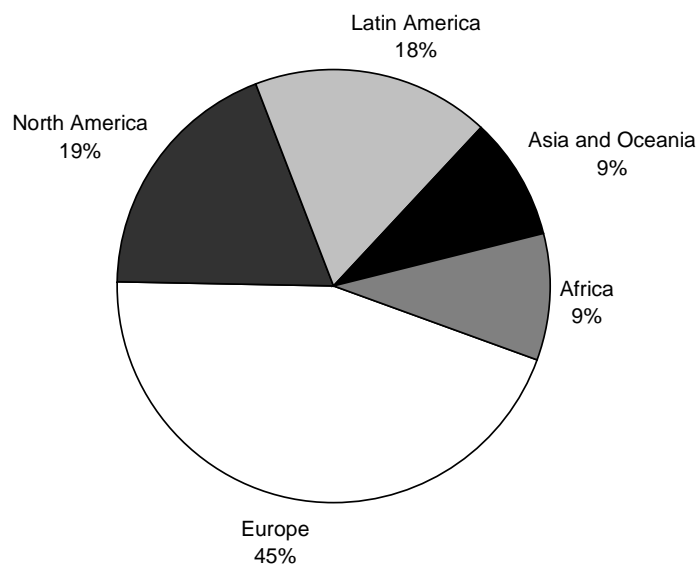


Fig. 3.13. Types of Parallel Summits, 1988-2003
Percentage composition

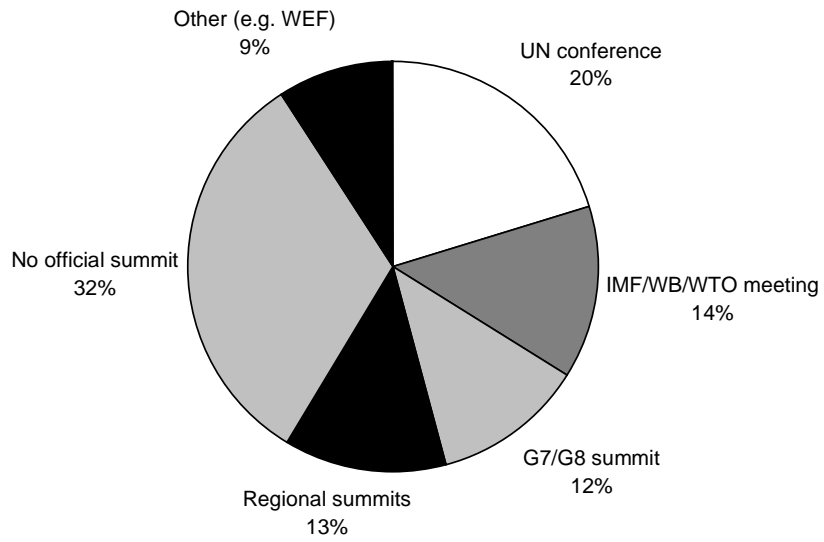


Fig. 3.14. Number of participants to Parallel Summits, 1988-2003
Percentage composition

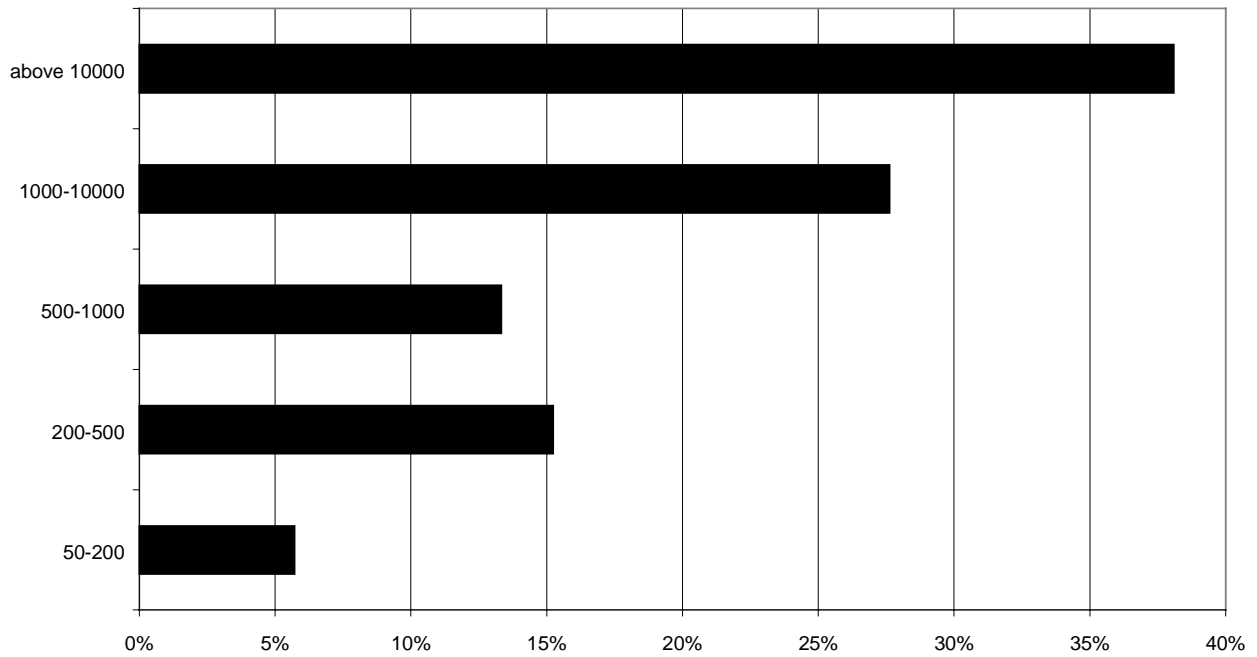


Fig. 4.1. Main fields of activity of your organisation/group
Percentage composition

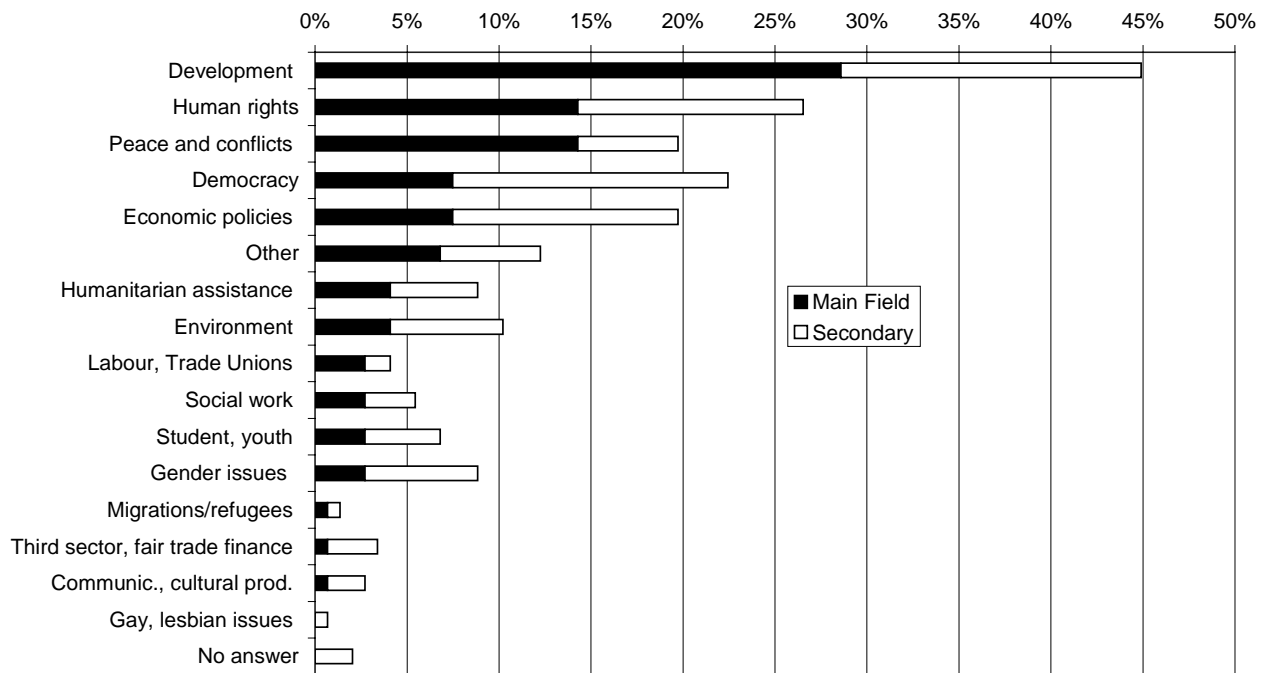


Table 4.1. Field of activity by Type of organisation

% of the Total

Field of activity	Type of organisation					Total
	International NGO	National association or NGO	Int. and nat. network or campaign	Local group	Others	
Human rights	3	4	6	1	1	15
Democracy	2	4			1	8
Peace and conflicts	3	5	3	1	1	13
Humanitarian assistance	1	2	1			4
Development	5	15	6	1	1	29
Economic policies	1	2	5		1	8
Labour, Trade Unions	1				2	3
Social work		1	1	1		3
Environment		1	2	1		4
Student, youth	1	1	1	1		3
Gender issues		2	1			3
Other	2	3	2		1	8
Total	18	41	28	6	8	100

Table 4.2. Field of activity by Number of members

% of the Total

Field of activity	Number of members				Total
	Up to 20	21-100	101-1000	More than 1000	
Human rights	3	2	1	8	14
Democracy	2	3	1	2	8
Peace and conflicts	2	3	5	2	13
Humanitarian assistance	1	2	2	1	5
Development	8	5	9	5	27
Economic policies	2	2	1	5	9
Labour, Trade Unions				3	3
Social work	2	1		1	3
Environment	2	2	1	1	5
Student, youth		1	2	1	3
Gender issues	2	1		1	3
Other	1	2	4	2	9
Total	23	23	24	30	100

Table 4.3. Field of activity by Involvement in an international network

% of the Total

Field of activity	Involvement in an int'l network		
	Yes	No	Total
Human rights	9	4	13
Democracy	3	3	6
Peace and conflicts	10	5	14
Humanitarian assistance	2	2	4
Development	23	7	30
Economic policies	8	2	9
Labour, Trade Unions	3		3
Social work	2	2	3
Environment	3	2	5
Student, youth	2	1	3
Gender issues	2		2
Other	4	5	8
Total	71	29	100

Fig. 4.2. Main fields of activity of the international network your group/organisation belongs to
Percentage composition

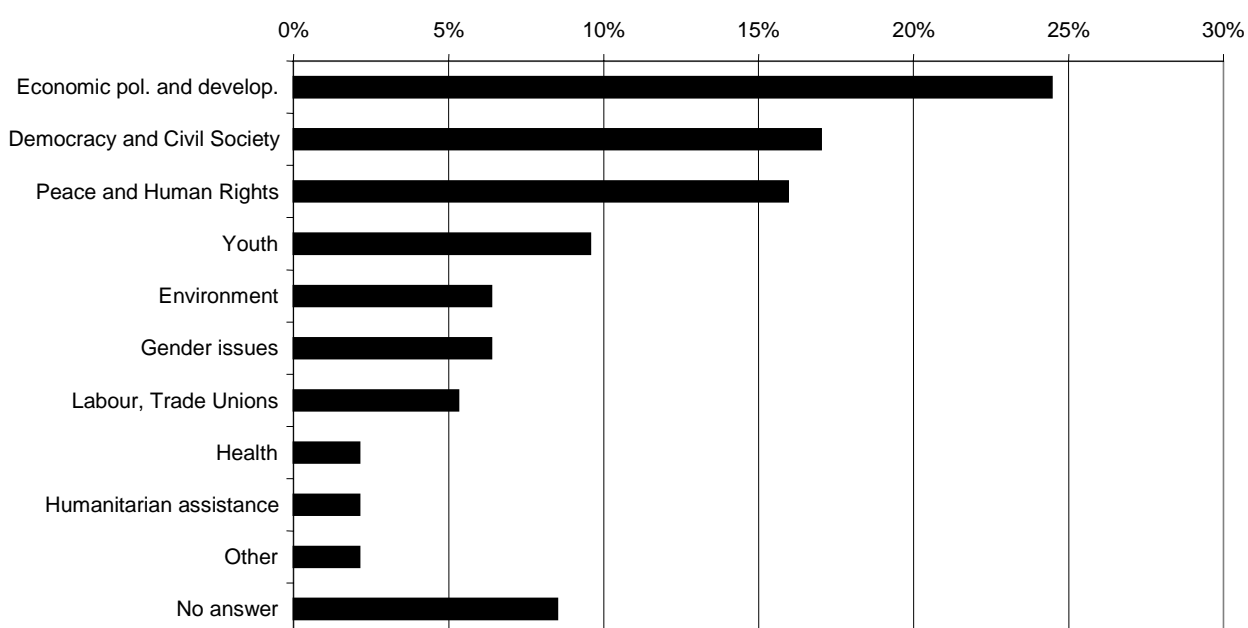


Table 4.4. Field of activity by field of network activity
% of the Total

Field of activity	Field of network activity										Total
	Democracy and Civil Society	Economic pol. and dev.	Environ.	Gender issues	Human. ass.	Labour, Trade Unions	Peace and Human Rights	Health	Other	Youth	
Human rights	3			1			2	1		5	13
Democracy	2		1	1							5
Peace and conflicts					1	1	13				15
Humanitarian assistance				1					1	1	3
Development	10	16	2	1						1	31
Economic policies		8	1	1							10
Labour, Trade Unions						5					5
Social work		1								1	2
Environment	1		1							1	3
Student, youth			1		1					1	3
Gender issues	1	1		1							3
Other							2	1	1		5
Total	19	27	7	7	2	6	17	2	2	10	100

Fig. 4.3. In which international campaigns is your organisation/group most involved?
Percentage composition

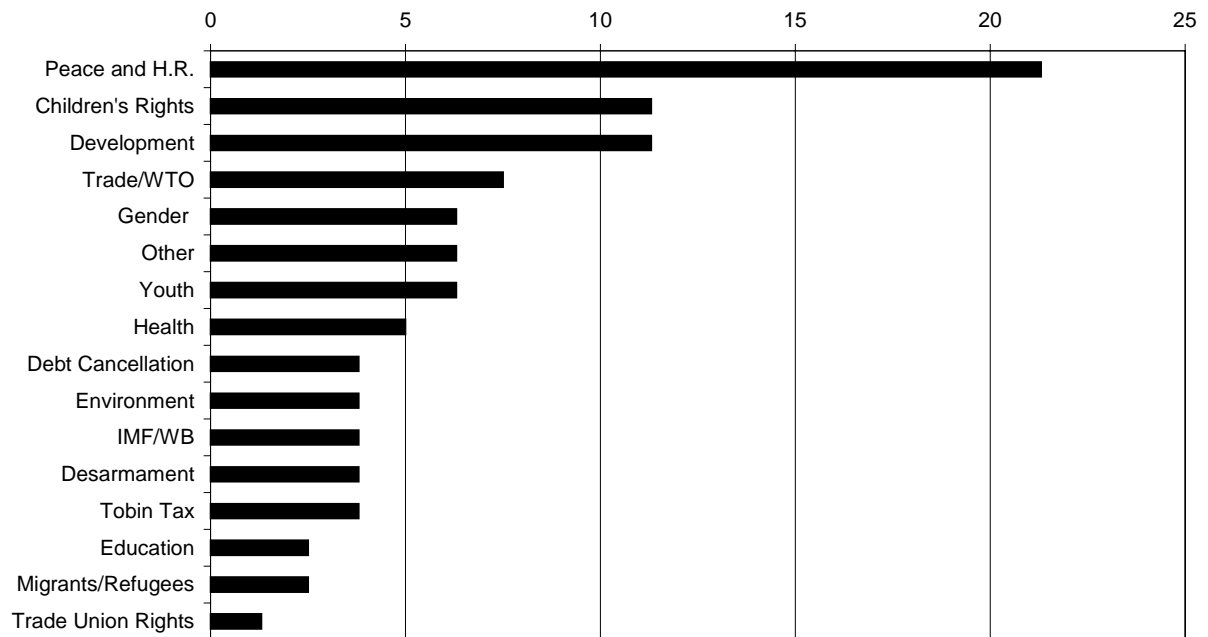


Table 4.5. Field of campaign by Type of organisation

% of the Total

Field of campaign	Type of organisation					Total
	International NGO	National association or NGO	Int. and nat. network or campaign	Local group	Others	
Children's Rights		6	4	1		11
Debt Cancellation			4			4
Development	1	8	3			11
Education		1	1			3
Environment			1	1	1	4
Gender issues	1	3	3			6
Migrants and Refugees			1		1	3
Nuclear disarm., landmines etc.	1		1		1	4
Peace and Human Rights	6	9		4	3	22
Tobin Tax			4			4
Trade/WTO	1	3	4			8
Trade Union Rights	1					1
Health	1	1	1			4
IMF/WB		3	1			4
Other		5	1			6
Youth	1	1	4			6
Total	15	39	33	6	6	100

Table 4.6. Field of campaign by Involvement in an international network

% of the Total

Field of campaign	Involvement in an int'l network		
	Yes	No	Total
Children's Rights	10		10
Debt Cancellation	3	1	4
Development	10	1	12
Education	1	1	3
Environment	4		4
Gender issues	6		6
Migrants and Refugees	1	1	3
Nuclear disarm., landmines etc.	3		3
Peace and Human Rights	17	5	22
Tobin Tax	4		4
Trade/WTO	5	3	8
Trade Union Rights	1		1
Health	3	3	5
IMF/WB	3	1	4
Other	5	1	6
Youth	5	1	6
Total	81	19	100

Table 4.7. Field of activity by Field of campaign

% of the Total

Field of activity	Field of campaign																
	Chil. Rights	Debt Canc.	Dev.	Educ.	Env..	Gen.	Migr. and Ref.	Nucl. disarm. etc.	Peace and H.R.	Tob. Tax	Trade and WTO	Trade Union Rights	Health	IMF And WB	Oth.	Youth	Tot.
Human rights	5			1					4	1	1						13
Democracy	1								1								3
Peace						1	1	4	8								14
Humanit. ass.	1					1							1				4
Development	3	4	6		1	3					4		3	1	6	1	31
Economic pol.			3		1				1	3	1			1			10
Labour.					1				1			1					4
Social work			1														3
Environment																	3
Youth	1								1							1	4
Gender iss.			1			1			1								4
Other				1			1		4		1		1	1			10
Total	11	4	11	3	4	6	3	4	21	4	8	1	5	4	6	6	100

Fig. 4.4. In which type of Parallel Summits did your organisation/group participate in the past?

Percentage of events, multiple responses possible

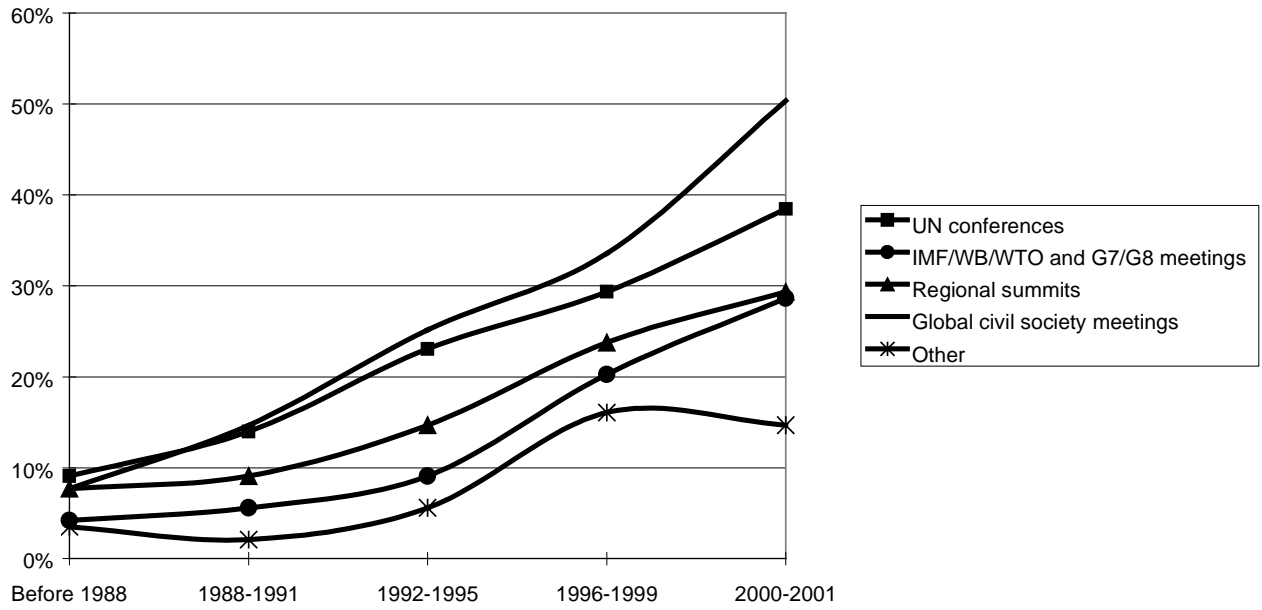


Fig. 4.5. Why does your organisation/group participate to international civil society events?

Percentage of events, multiple responses possible

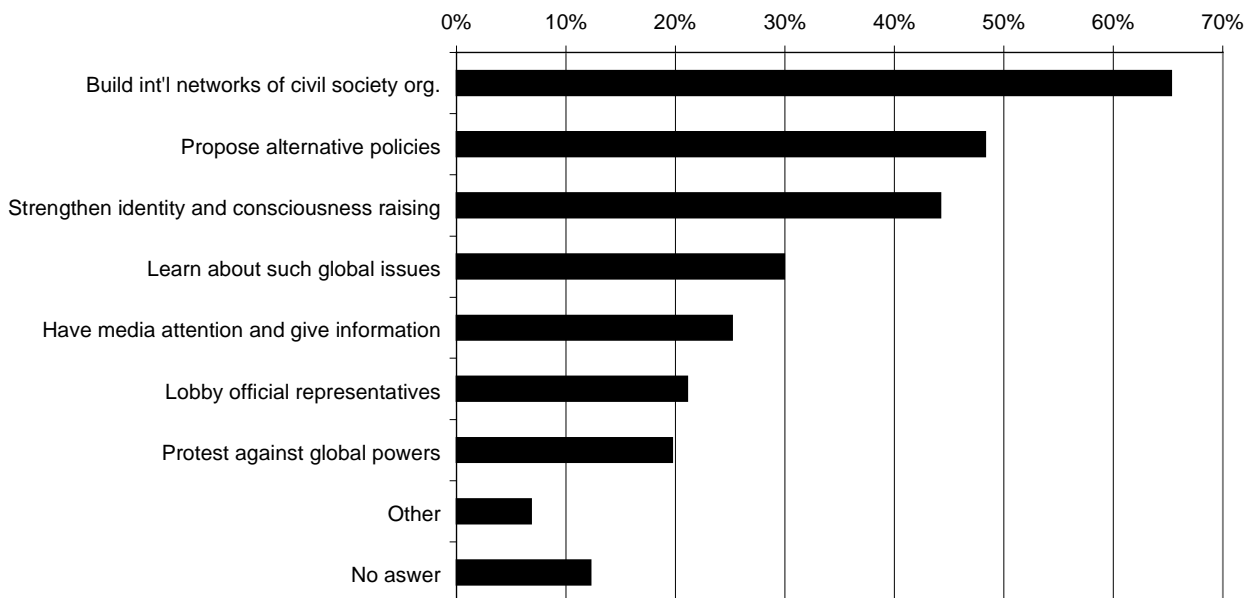


Fig. 4.6. What are the initiatives you think most appropriate and effective in order to achieve the above aims?

Percentage of events, multiple responses possible

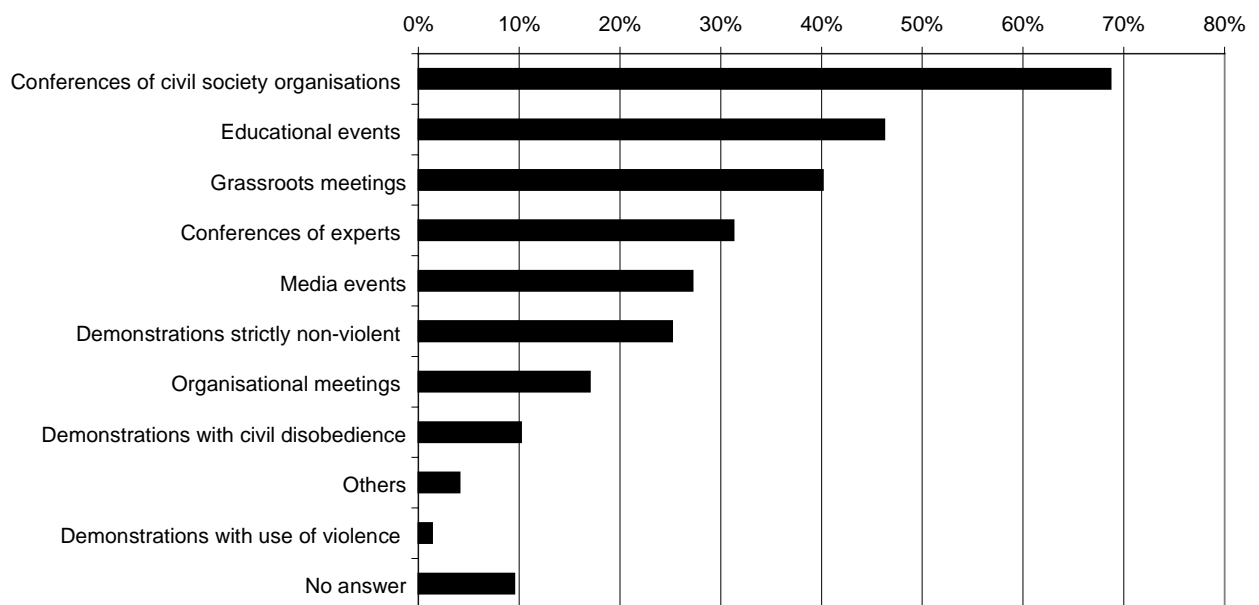


Fig. 4.7. If you had twice as many resources (both people and money) to participate to global civil society events, how would you use them?

Percentage composition

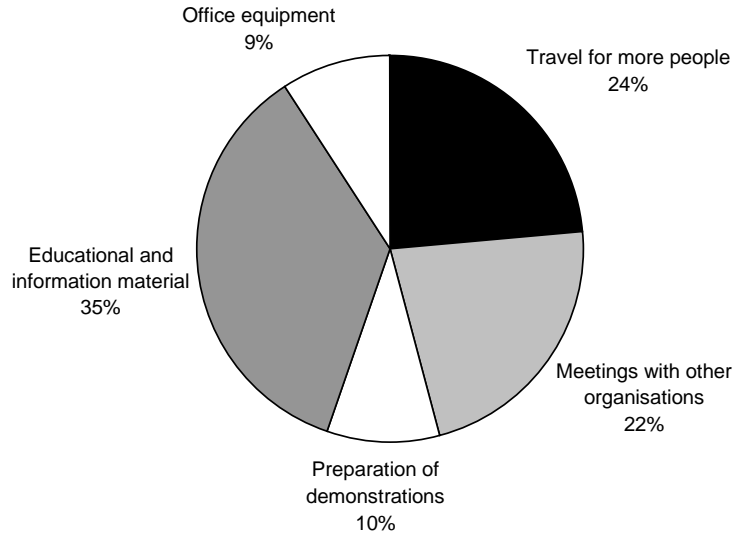


Fig. 5.1. What is the broad vision of your organisation/group on the issue of globalisation?

Percentage composition

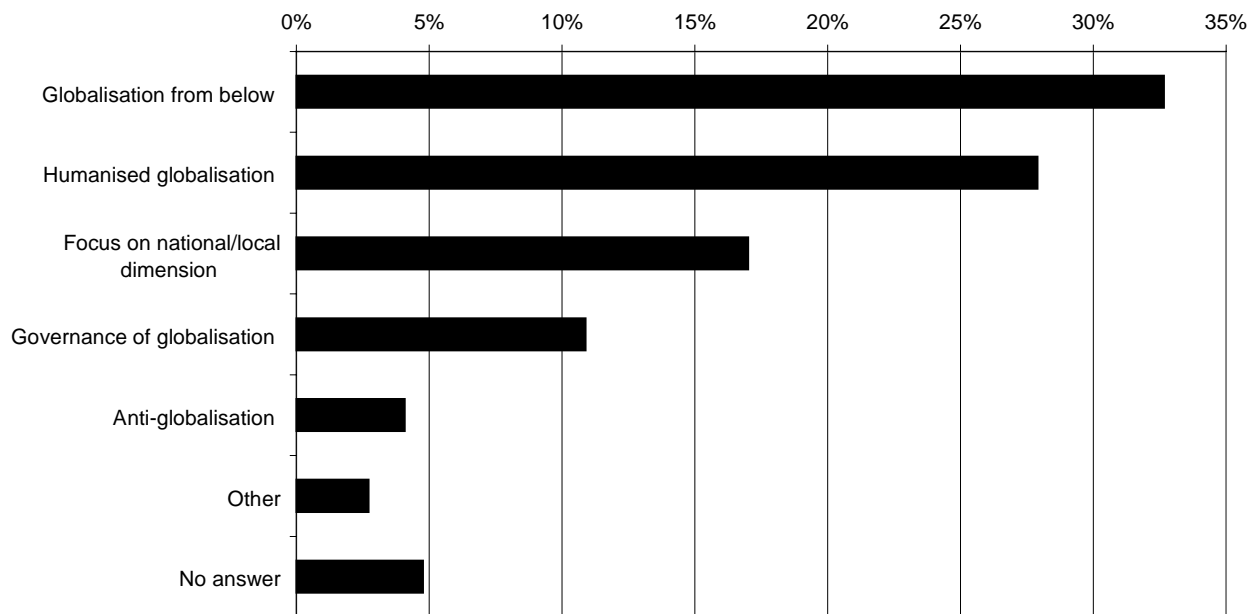


Fig. 5.2. What is the best definition of the attitude and approach of your organisation/group on economic globalisation?

Percentage composition

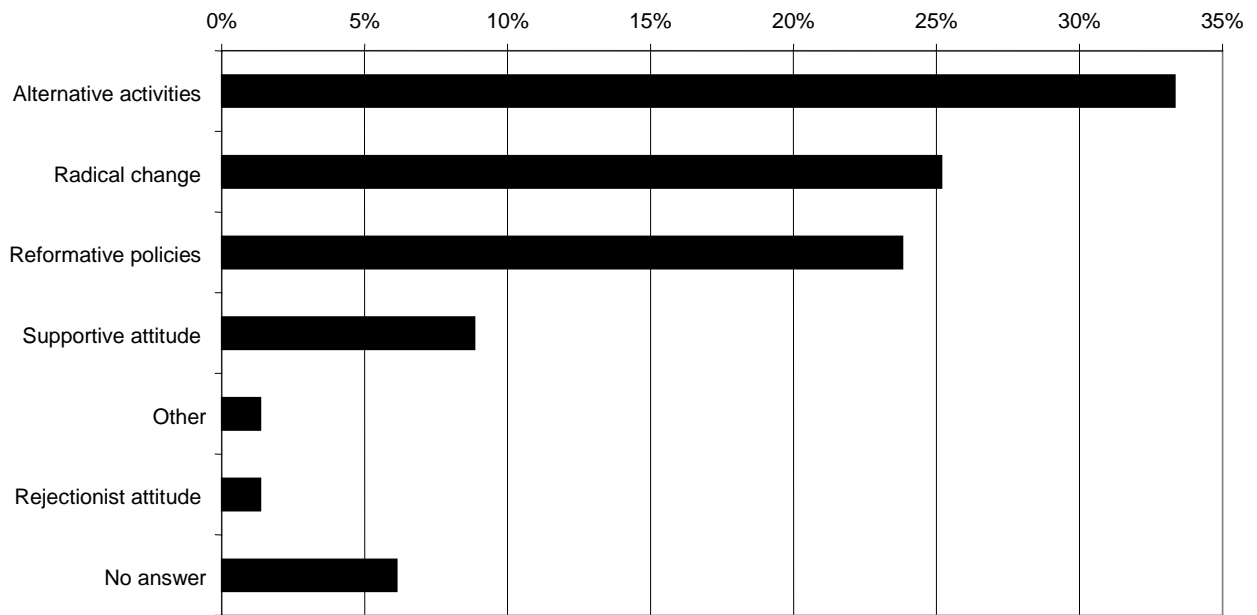


Fig. 5.3. What is the main attitude of your organisation/group on Official Summits?

Percentage composition

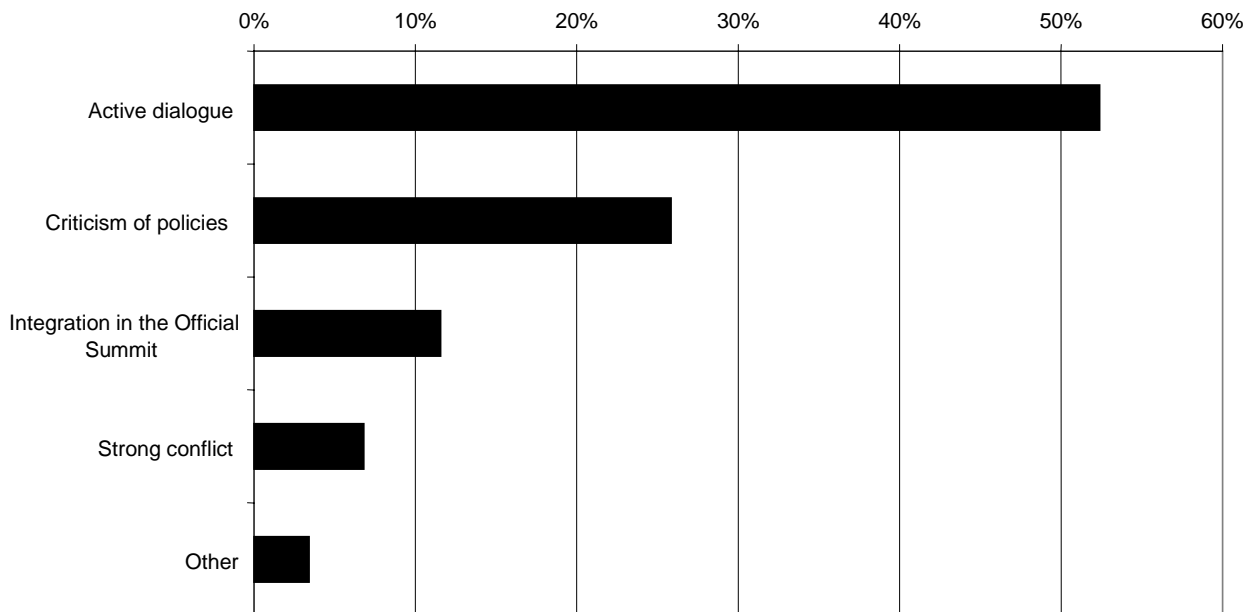


Table 5.1. Attitude on economic globalisation by Vision on globalisation

% of the Total

Attitude on economic globalisation	Vision on globalisation						Total
	Anti-globalisation	Globalisation from below	Governance of globalisation	Humanised globalisation	Focus on national/local dimension	Other	
Rejectionist attitude	1					1	2
Radical change	2	14	2	6	2	2	26
Alternative activities	1	14	2	9	10		36
Reformative policies	1	4	6	9	5	1	25
Supportive attitude		1	2	5	2		10
Other		1			1		2
Total	5	33	11	29	19	3	100

Table 5.2. Vision on globalisation by Attitude on Official Summits

% of the Total

Vision on globalisation	Attitude on Official Summits				Total
	Strong conflict	Criticism of policies	Active dialogue	Integration in the Official Summit	
Anti-globalisation	1	1	2		4
Globalisation from below	3	16	12	3	33
Governance of globalisation		1	8	2	12
Humanised globalisation		7	19	4	30
Focus on national/local dimension	1	2	12	4	18
Other	2		1		3
Total	7	28	53	12	100

Table 5.3. Attitude on economic globalisation by Attitude on Official Summits

% of the Total

Attitude on economic globalisation	Attitude on Official summits				Total
	Strong conflict	Criticism of policies	Active dialogue	Integration in the Official Summits	
Rejectionist attitude	1				1
Radical change	5	13	8	1	27
Alternative activities	1	11	21	2	35
Reformative policies		2	19	5	26
Supportive attitude		1	6	3	10
Other			1	1	1
Total	7	27	54	12	100

Table 5.4. Continent location by Vision on the issue of globalisation

% of the Total

Continent location	Vision on the issue of globalisation					Other	Total
	Anti-globalisation	Globalisation from below	Governance of globalisation	Humanised globalisation	Focus on national/local dimension		
Africa	1	6	2	10	4		24
Asia and Oceania	1	7	1	8	4	1	23
Europe	1	14	6	8	5	1	34
Latin America	1	5	1	2	4		14
North America		3	1	1		1	6
Total	4	34	11	29	18	3	100

Table 5.5. Continent location by Attitude on economic globalisation

% of the Total

Continent location	Attitude on economic globalisation						Total
	Rejectionist attitude	Radical change	Alternative activities	Reformative policies	Supportive attitude	Other	
Africa		3	10	8	2		23
Asia and Oceania		6	9	4	3	1	23
Europe	1	13	9	8	3	1	34
Latin America	1	1	7	4	1		13
North America		4	1	1	1		7
Total	1	27	36	25	9	1	100

Table 5.6. Continent location by Attitude on Official Summits

% of the Total

Continent location	Attitude on Official Summits				Total
	Strong conflict	Criticism of policies	Active dialogue	Integration in the Official Summit	
Africa		4	15	5	23
Asia and Oceania	1	3	16	1	22
Europe	4	12	17	2	35
Latin America	1	6	4	2	14
North America	1	2	2	1	6
Total	7	27	54	12	100

Table 5.7. First participation to an international civil society event by Vision on globalisation

% of the Total

First participation to an int'l civil society event	Vision on globalisation						Total
	Anti-globalisation	Globalisation from below	Governance of globalisation	Humanised globalisation	Focus on national/local dimension	Other	
Before 1988	1	6	3	4	1	1	17
1988-1991		2	1	3	3		9
1992-1995	2	9		4	3		18
1996-1999	1	7	4	5	4	1	22
2000-2001	1	9	1	9	4		23
Not Attended		1	3	4	2		10
Total	4	34	12	29	18	2	100

Table 5.8. First participation to an international civil society event by Attitude on economic globalisation

% of the Total

First participation to an int'l civil society event	Attitude on economic globalisation						Total
	Rejectionist attitude	Radical change	Alternative activities	Reformative policies	Supportive attitude	Other	
Before 1988	1	6	3	5	1	1	17
1988-1991		2	4	1	1	1	10
1992-1995		5	7	3	1		16
1996-1999	1	7	7	4	3		21
2000-2001		6	8	8	1		23
Not Attended		1	5	4	2		13
Total	1	27	35	26	10	1	100

Table 5.9. First participation to an international civil society event by Attitude on Official Summits

% of the Total

First participation to an int'l civil society event	Attitude on Official Summits				Totale
	Strong conflict	Criticism of policies	Active dialogue	Integration in the Official Summit	
Before 1988	1	6	9	1	17
1988-1991		1	6	1	9
1992-1995	1	4	10	2	17
1996-1999	2	7	8	4	22
2000-2001	2	9	10	1	23
Not Attended		1	10	1	12
Total	6	27	54	12	100

Table 5.10. Field of network activity by Vision on globalisation

% of the Total

Field of network activity	Vision on globalisation						Total
	Anti-globalisation	Globalisation from below	Governance of globalisation	Humanised globalisation	Focus on national/local dimension	Other	
Democracy and Civil Society	1	4	4	7	4		20
Economic pol. and dev.	1	12	1	5	7		27
Environment		2			4	1	7
Gender issues		1	1	2	2		7
Humanitarian assistance		1			1		2
Labour, Trade Unions		1	1	1			4
Peace and Human Rights		7		7	2		17
Health					1		1
Other		1		1			2
Youth		2	1	5	2		11
Total	2	33	9	30	25	1	100

Table 5.11. Field of campaign by Vision on globalisation

% of the Total

Field of campaign	Vision on globalisation						Total
	Anti-globalisation	Globalisation from below	Governance of globalisation	Humanised globalisation	Focus on national/local dimension	Other	
Children's Rights		3		5	4		11
Debt Cancellation		1	1		1		4
Development	1		1	6	3		11
Education				1	1		3
Environment		3			1		4
Gender issues				3	4		6
Migrants and Refugees		1		1			3
Nuclear disarm., landmines etc.		1		1	1		4
Peace and Human Rights		10	1	6	1	3	22
Tobin Tax		3		1			4
Trade/WTO	1	1	1	1	1	1	8
Health		1		3	1		5
IMF/WB		3	1				4
Other		3	1	3			6
Youth			3	1	3		6
Total	3	29	10	33	22	4	100

Table 5.12. Aims in international civil society events by Vision on globalisation

Multiple responses possible for Aims, percentages

Aims in int'l civil society events	Vision on globalisation						Total
	Anti globalisation	Globalisation from below	Governance of globalisation	Humanised globalisation	Focus on national/local dimension	Other	
Have media attention and give information	2	11	4	8	3		28
Strengthen identity and consciousness raising	2	17	9	14	9	1	52
Build international networks among civil society	1	28	9	21	14	2	74
Propose alternative policies	2	22	4	17	10	3	57
Protest against global powers	3	9	1	6	2	2	23
Lobby official representatives	2	6	5	8	3	1	24
Learn about such global issues	1	9	3	12	9		34
Other		2	2	1	2	1	7
Total	4	34	12	29	18	3	100

Table 5.13. Initiatives in International civil society events by Vision on globalisation

Multiple responses possible for Initiatives, percentages

Initiatives in int'l civil society events	Vision on globalisation						Total
	Anti-globalisation	Globalisation from below	Governance of globalisation	Humanised globalisation	Focus on national/local dimension	Other	
Conferences of experts for policy discussion	2	10	7	8	5	1	33
Conferences of civil society organisations	2	24	9	26	14	1	76
Grassroots meetings		13	5	16	9	1	44
Street demonstrations strictly non-violent	2		2	9	2		29
Street demonstrations with civil disobedience	1	6	13	3	1	1	12
Street demonstrations with use of violence			1		1		2
Media events	2	10	2	10	6		30
Educational events	2	19	4	13	12	1	51
Organisational meetings	1	4	4	5	5		19
Others		2	1	1	1	1	5
Total	4	34	12	30	19	2	100

Table 5.14. Aims in international civil society events by Attitude on economic globalisation

Multiple responses possible for Aims, percentages

Aims in int'l civil society events	Attitude on economic globalisation						Total
	Rejectionist attitude	Radical change	Alternative activities	Reformative policies	Supportive attitude	Other	
Have media attention and give information		6	10	9	3	1	29
Strengthen identity and consciousness raising	2	6	25	11	6	1	51
Build international networks among civil society		19	29	17	8	2	74
Propose alternative policies	2	20	22	10	1	1	55
Protest against global powers		14	5	2	2		23
Lobby official representatives	1	3	9	10	1	1	24
Learn about such global issues		6	13	6	7		33
Other	1	1	2	3			7
Total	2	26	38	23	10	2	100

Table 5.15. Initiatives in international civil society events by Attitude on economic globalisation

Multiple responses possible for Initiatives, percentages

Initiatives in int'l civil society events	Attitude on economic globalisation						Total
	Rejectionist attitude	Radical change	Alternative activities	Reformative policies	Supportive attitude	Other	
Conferences of experts for policy discussion		9	9	12	3	1	33
Conferences of civil society organisations	1	16	29	23	8	1	76
Grassroots meetings	1	9	19	11	5		45
Street demonstrations strictly non-violent	1	11	10	4	2		27
Street demonstrations with civil disobedience	1	6	5				12
Street demonstrations with use of violence			1	1			2
Media events		10	11	6	2	2	30
Educational events	2	9	23	12	5	1	52
Organisational meetings		5	7	2	4		19
Others		2		2		1	5
Total	2	26	37	25	9	2	100

Fig. 5.4. What is the impact of the action of your organisation/group on global issues in the past two years?

Percentage composition

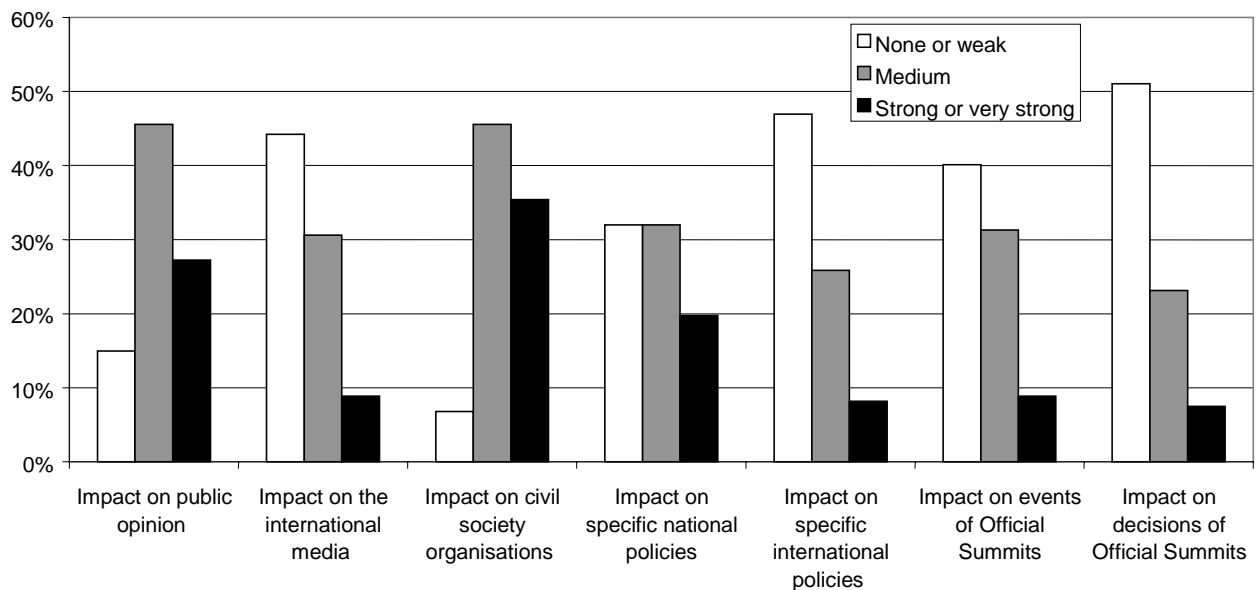


Fig. 5.5. What were the most important factors for the success of international civil society events where your organisation/group participated?

Percentage of events, multiple responses possible

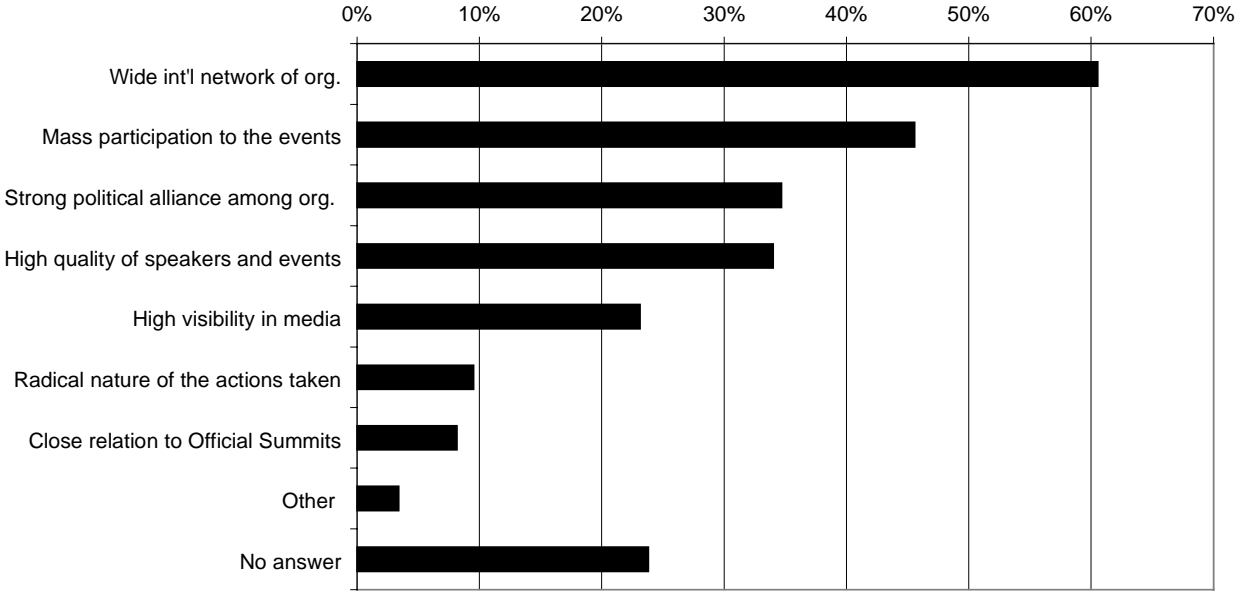


Fig. 5.6. What were the most important weaknesses of global civil society events where your organisation/group participated?

Percentage of events, multiple responses possible

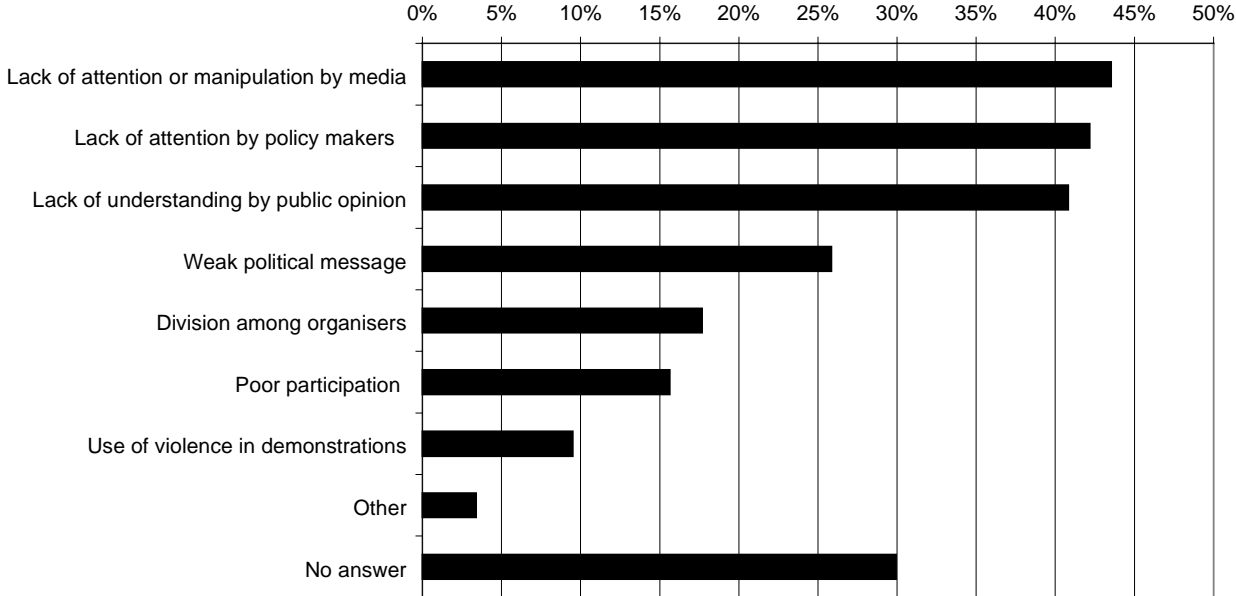


Table 5.16. Impact of action on global issues by Attitude on Official Summits

% of respondents within each Attitude

Impact of action on global issues		Attitude on Official Summits				Total
		Strong conflict	Criticism of policies	Active dialogue	Integration in the Official Summit	
Impact on public opinion	<i>None or Weak</i>	25	9	22	15	18
	<i>Medium</i>	25	63	50	31	50
	<i>Strong or very strong</i>	50	29	28	54	32
Impact on the international media	<i>None or Weak</i>	22	57	57	58	54
	<i>Medium</i>	44	40	36	25	36
	<i>Strong or very strong</i>	33	3	8	17	9
Impact on civil society organisations	<i>None or Weak</i>	22		7	25	8
	<i>Medium</i>	44	69	44	58	52
	<i>Strong or very strong</i>	33	0	49	17	40
Impact on specific national policies	<i>None or Weak</i>	60	41	33	36	38
	<i>Medium</i>	20	35	43	27	37
	<i>Strong or very strong</i>	20	24	24	36	25
Impact on specific international policies	<i>None or Weak</i>	56	64	59	36	58
	<i>Medium</i>	33	27	31	55	33
	<i>Strong or very strong</i>	11	9	10	9	10
Impact on events of Official Summits	<i>None or Weak</i>	22	59	53	27	50
	<i>Medium</i>	44	41	38	46	40
	<i>Strong or very strong</i>	33		10	27	11
Impact on decisions of Official Summits	<i>None or Weak</i>	67	79	57	33	62
	<i>Medium</i>	22	18	31	50	29
	<i>Strong or very strong</i>	11	3	12	17	10

Fig.5.7 Ways to democratise global civil society events

Percentage of events, multiple responses possible

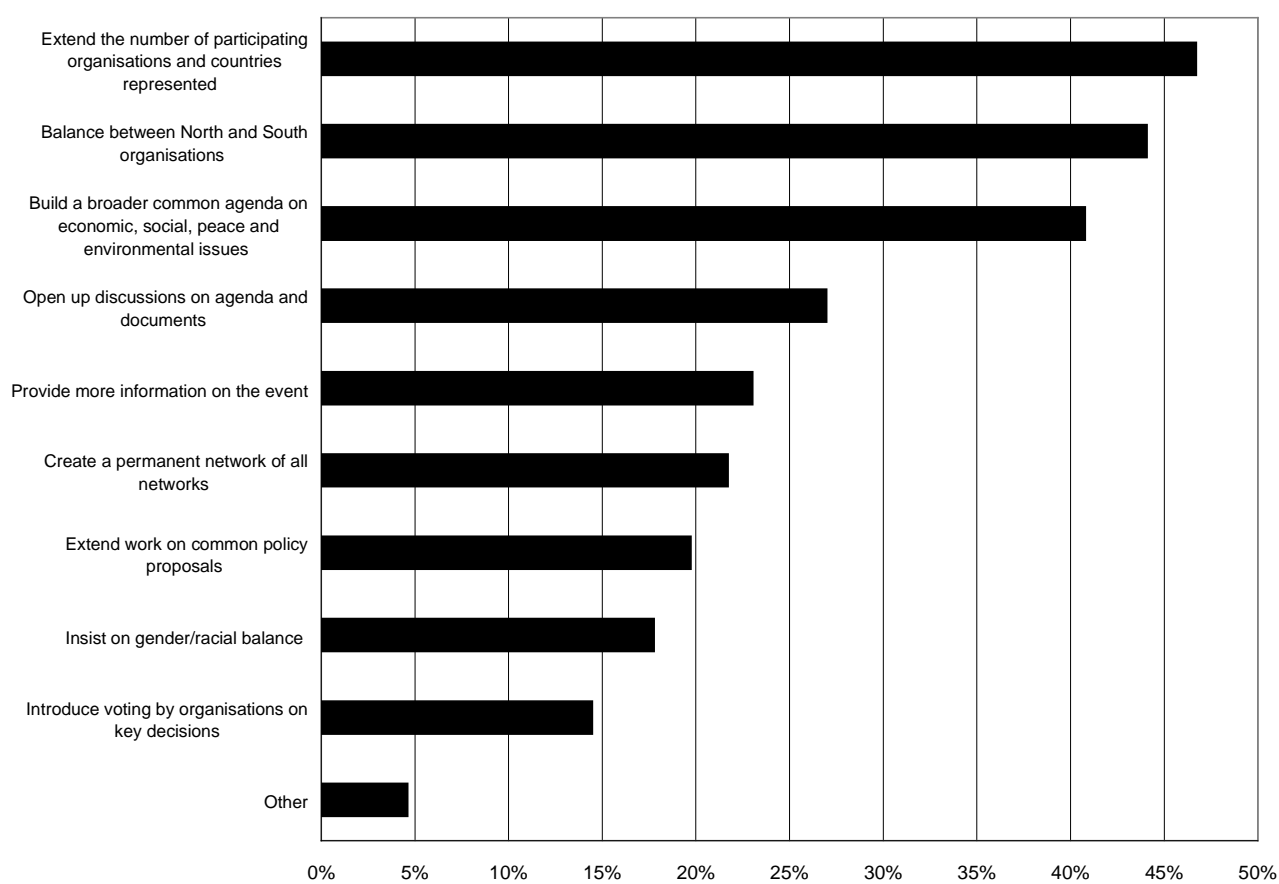


Table 5.17. Ways to democratise global civil society events by Vision on globalisation

Multiple responses possible for Ways, percentages

Ways to democratise global civil society events	Vision on the issue of globalisation						Total
	Anti-globalisation	Globalisation from below	Governance of globalisation	Humanised globalisation	Focus on national/local dimension	Other	
Extend the number of organisations and countries	2	15	7	16	10	2	52
Balance between North and South organisations	2	19	7	13	8	1	49
Insist on gender/racial balance	1	4		10	2	1	18
Provide more information on the event		9	2	7	7	1	27
Open up discussions on agenda and documents	2	7	6	9	6		28
Extend the work on common policy proposals		11	3	5	3	2	23
Create a permanent network of all networks		11	1	7	8	1	27
Build a common agenda on econ., soc., peace and environ.	2	19	6	13	8		48
Introduce voting by organisations on key decisions	1	4	2	6	3		15
Other				1	2	2	5
Total	3	34	11	29	19	3	100

Table 5.18. Ways to democratise global civil society events by Attitude on economic globalisation

Multiple responses possible for Ways, percentages

Ways to democratise global civil society events	Attitude on economic globalisation						Total
	Rejectionist attitude	Radical change	Alternative activities	Reformative policies	Supportive attitude	Other	
Extend the number of organisations and countries	2	9	20	15	6		51
Balance between North and South organisations	1	13	21	10	3	1	49
Insist on gender/racial balance		7	7	6			19
Provide more information on the event	1	6	12	3	4		26
Open up discussions on agenda and documents		10	11	7	3		30
Extend the work on common policy proposals	1	10	8	2	3		23
Create a permanent network of all networks		4	13	6	2		25
Build a common agenda on econ., soc., peace and environ.	1	12	14	16	4	1	48
Introduce voting by organisations on key decisions		3	5	4	3		15
Other		2		3		1	5
Total	2	26	38	24	9	1	100

Fig 5.8. Alternative policy proposals of global civil society organisations

Percentage of events, multiple responses possible

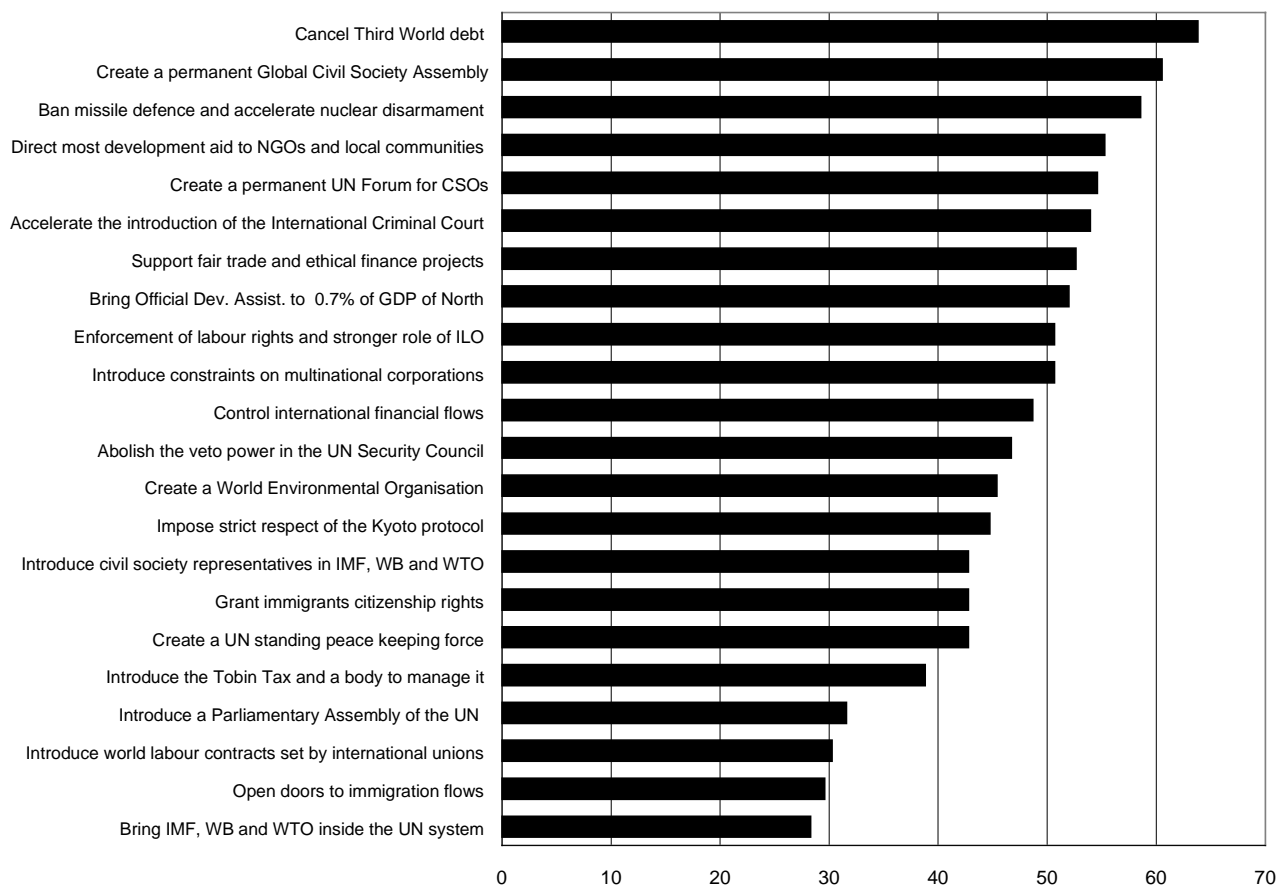


Table 5.19. Alternative policy proposals by Vision on globalisation

% of respondents within Vision stating proposals as very relevant

Alternative policy proposals	Vision on globalisation						Total
	Anti glob.	Glob. from below	Govern. of glob.	Human. glob.	Focus on nat'l/local dim.	Other	
Abolish the veto power in the UN Security Council	80	64	42	52	62	33	58
Create a permanent UN Forum for CSOs	100	63	50	68	82	33	67
Bring IMF, WB and WTO inside the UN		48	39	30	19	33	35
Introduce civ. soc. representatives in IMF, WB and WTO	100	46	46	67	57	33	55
Introduce the Tobin Tax and a body to manage it	33	62	67	35	30	67	49
Control international financial flows	67	68	62	55	48	100	61
Cancel Third World debt	80	76	85	66	83	67	75
Enforcement of labour rights and stronger role of ILO	67	69	46	62	64	33	63
Introduce world labour contracts set by int'l unions	100	38	31	35	45		38
Introduce constraints on multinat'l corporations	100	68	50	68	55	67	64
Open doors to immigration flows	80	32	39	32	36	67	37
Grant immigrants citizenship rights	75	56	46	53	48	67	54
Bring Official Dev. Assist. To 0.7% of GDP of North	67	71	46	63	77		66
Direct most dev. aid to NGOs and local communities	100	66	62	73	74		68
Support fair trade and ethical finance projects	75	60	62	65	61		60
Create a World Environmental Organisation	100	39	75	63	70	33	57
Impose strict respect of the Kyoto protocol	75	59	58	50	59	33	56
Create a UN standing peace keeping force	75	54	54	58	43	33	53
Ban missile defence and accelerate nuclear disarm.	50	73	75	69	67	100	71
Accelerate the introduction of the International Criminal Court	60	66	62	65	62	33	63
Create a permanent Global Civil Society Assembly	100	76	54	87	67	33	74

Table 5.20. Alternative policy proposals by Attitude on economic globalisation

% of respondents within Attitude stating proposals as very relevant

Alternative policy proposal	Attitude on economic globalisation						Total
	Radical change	Reject. atti.	Alternative act.	Reformative pol.	Supportive att.	Other	
Introduce a Parliamentary Assembly of the UN		32	42	46	44		39
Abolish the veto power in the UN Security Council	50	62	64	46	38	50	57
Create a permanent UN Forum for CSOs	50	36	85	65	56	100	65
Bring IMF, WB and WTO inside the UN		54	27	33	11	100	35
Introduce civ. soc. representatives in IMF, WB and WTO	50	44	64	52	56	50	55
Introduce the Tobin Tax and a body to manage it	100	71	50	41			50
Control international financial flows	100	74	67	48	25	100	62
Cancel Third World debt	100	80	77	66	78	50	75
Enforcement of labour rights and stronger role of ILO	100	78	62	66	33		64
Introduce world labour contracts set by int'l unions	50	42	33	46	25	50	38
Introduce constraints on multinat'l corporations	100	93	59	57	33	50	65
Open doors to immigration flows	100	52	29	32	33	100	38
Grant immigrants citizenship rights	100	56	59	54	25	100	56
Bring Official Dev. Assist. To 0.7% of GDP of North		59	81	54	67	50	66
Direct most dev. aid to NGOs and local communities	50	52	74	70	78	50	67
Support fair trade and ethical finance projects	50	55	56	71	67	100	61
Create a World Environmental Organisation	50	44	61	59	50	100	56
Impose strict respect of the Kyoto protocol	100	56	68	54	22	50	58
Create a UN standing peace keeping force	50	46	51	61	11	100	50
Ban missile defence and accelerate nuclear disarm.	100	71	71	76	38	100	71
Accelerate the introduction of the International Criminal Court	50	61	68	76		100	63
Create a permanent Global Civil Society Assembly	100	57	76	89	70	50	74

Table 5.21. Alternative policy proposals by Continent

% of respondents within Continent stating proposals as very relevant

Alternative policy proposals	Continent					Total
	Africa	Asia and Oceania	Europe	Latin America	North America	
Introduce a Parliamentary Assembly of the UN	42	48	30	50	29	39
Abolish the veto power in the UN Security Council	62	46	58	59	71	57
Create a permanent UN Forum for CSOs	78	67	51	94	29	65
Bring IMF, WB and WTO inside the UN	33	27	43	24	50	35
Introduce civ. soc. representatives in IMF, WB and WTO	67	54	36	80	63	54
Introduce the Tobin Tax and a body to manage it	33	38	54	71	63	50
Control international financial flows	48	48	76	71	63	62
Cancel Third World debt	81	62	77	94	50	75
Enforcement of labour rights and stronger role of ILO	76	60	60	59	63	63
Introduce world labour contracts set by int'l unions	29	48	33	44	43	38
Introduce constraints on multinat'l corporations	52	78	66	65	63	65
Open doors to immigration flows	30	42	38	47	14	37
Grant immigrants citizenship rights	56	40	59	77	14	54
Bring Official Dev. Assist. To 0.7% of GDP of North	60	87	64	77	14	66
Direct most dev. aid to NGOs and local communities	75	75	55	89	50	68
Support fair trade and ethical finance projects	63	68	55	83	25	62
Create a World Environmental Organisation	58	50	57	59	43	55
Impose strict respect of the Kyoto protocol	68	50	57	65	29	57
Create a UN standing peace keeping force	67	38	59	38	43	52
Ban missile defence and accelerate nuclear disarm.	70	81	71	69	57	72
Accelerate the introduction of the International Criminal Court	62	69	60	71	71	64

***What do you want from international events?
What do you think should be done here?
Speak out now!***

**Questionnaire on organisations and groups
participating to global civil society events**

*The organisations of global civil society need to know more about themselves,
speak out on their priorities, share views on their policy proposals.*

In order to facilitate this process, this questionnaire has been prepared by **Lunaria**, a civil society research and action centre in Rome, and by **Tavola della Pace/Peace Roundtable**, a coordinating body of 800 Italian associations and local authorities which organises the Assemblies of the Peoples' United Nations and the marches Perugia-Assisi. This questionnaire is circulated among the international participants to the **Genoa Social Forum** in July 2001 in Genoa, at the **4th Assembly of the Peoples' UN** in Perugia in October 2001, and is sent to hundreds of civil society organisations in all countries. The results will be made accessible to all the organisations participating to the survey.

This questionnaire is a follow-up to a previous survey of Parallel Summits, whose results are published in the *Global Civil Society Yearbook 2001* (Oxford University Press). An Italian version is in *Globalizzazione dal basso* (Manifestolibri). The questionnaire and the above text can be downloaded from the website of Lunaria www.lunaria.org. It can be filled and returned either to the e mail address lunaria@lunaria.org or faxed to **39-06 8841859**.

Thank you for taking five minutes of your time for filling this questionnaire. For any information, please contact:



Tavola della Pace, Via della Viola 1, 06100
Perugia, tel. 39 075 5722479, mpace@krenet.it

Lunaria, Via Salaria 89, 00198
Roma, lunaria@lunaria.org
tel. 39 06 8841880



1. Name of your organisation or group

e mail _____@_____

2. In which country is your organisation/group based?

3. When was it started? 19__

4. Is your organisation/group an:

only one answer possible

- 1 International non governmental organisation
- 2 National association or non governmental organisation
- 3 International network or campaign
- 4 National network or campaign
- 5 Trade union
- 6 Local group
- 7 Local authority
- 8 Research centre
- 9 Others (*please specify*) _____

5. How many members are in your organisation?

- 1 up to 20; 3 101-1000;
- 2 21-100; 4 more than 1000

6. If you represent a network, how many groups belong to your network?

- 1 up to 5; 2 6-25; 3 more than 26

7. How many people work for your organisation or group (full time equivalent paid work)?

- 1 up to 5; 2 6-25; 3 more than 26

8. At global civil society events, who does your organisation claim to speak for?

9. Main fields of activity of your organisation/group
only one answer possible for each column

	Main field	Secondary
Human rights	<input type="checkbox"/> 1	<input type="checkbox"/> 1
Democracy	<input type="checkbox"/> 2	<input type="checkbox"/> 2
Peace and conflicts	<input type="checkbox"/> 3	<input type="checkbox"/> 3
Humanitarian assistance	<input type="checkbox"/> 4	<input type="checkbox"/> 4
Migrations/refugees	<input type="checkbox"/> 5	<input type="checkbox"/> 5
Development	<input type="checkbox"/> 6	<input type="checkbox"/> 6
Economic policies	<input type="checkbox"/> 7	<input type="checkbox"/> 7
Third sector, fair trade, ethical finance	<input type="checkbox"/> 8	<input type="checkbox"/> 8
Labour, Trade Unions	<input type="checkbox"/> 9	<input type="checkbox"/> 9
Social work	<input type="checkbox"/> 10	<input type="checkbox"/> 10
Environment	<input type="checkbox"/> 11	<input type="checkbox"/> 11
Student, youth	<input type="checkbox"/> 12	<input type="checkbox"/> 12
Gender issues	<input type="checkbox"/> 13	<input type="checkbox"/> 13
Gay, lesbian issues	<input type="checkbox"/> 14	<input type="checkbox"/> 14
Communication and cultural productions	<input type="checkbox"/> 15	<input type="checkbox"/> 15
Religion	<input type="checkbox"/> 16	<input type="checkbox"/> 16
Other (<i>please specify</i>) _____		

10. In which of the following Parallel Summits did your organisation/group participate in the past?

please specify the name and place of the main events your organisation attended (not you personally)

1. Before 1988

- 1 UN conferences _____
- 2 G7 Summits _____
- 3 IMF/WB meetings _____
- 4 Regional summits _____
- 5 Global civil society meetings _____
- 6 Other (please specify) _____

2. 1988-1991

- 1 UN conferences _____
- 2 G7 Summits _____
- 3 IMF/WB meetings _____
- 4 Regional summits _____
- 5 Global civil society meetings _____
- 6 Other (please specify) _____

3. 1992-1995

- 1 UN conferences _____
- 2 G7 Summits _____
- 3 IMF/WB meetings _____
- 4 Regional summits _____
- 5 Global civil society meetings _____
- 6 Other (please specify) _____

4. 1996-1999

- 1 UN conferences _____
- 2 G7/G8 Summits _____
- 3 IMF/WB/WTO meetings _____
- 4 Regional summits _____
- 5 Global civil society meetings _____
- 6 Other (please specify) _____

5. 2000-2001

- 1 UN conferences _____
- 2 G7/G8 Summits _____
- 3 IMF/WB/WTO meetings _____
- 4 Regional summits _____
- 5 Global civil society meetings _____
- 6 Other (please specify) _____

11. Does your organisation/group belong to an international network?

- 1 Yes 2 No
- Name _____

12. In which international campaigns is your organisation/group most involved?

please list the main three campaigns

- 1. _____
- 2. _____
- 3. _____

13. Why does your organisation/group participate to international civil society events?

please rank the three most important objectives

- 1 Have media attention and give information
- 2 Strengthen identity and consciousness raising
- 3 Build international networks among civil society organisations
- 4 Propose alternative policies
- 5 Protest against global powers
- 6 Lobby official representatives
- 7 Learn about global issues
- 8 Other (please specify) _____

14. What are the initiatives you think most appropriate and effective in order to achieve the above aims?

please rank the three most important initiatives

- 1 Conferences of experts for policy discussion
- 2 Conferences of civil society organisations
- 3 Grassroots meetings
- 4 Street demonstrations strictly nonviolent
- 5 Street demonstrations with civil disobedience
- 6 Street demonstrations with use of violence
- 7 Media events
- 8 Educational events
- 9 Organisational meetings
- 10 Others (please specify) _____

15. If you had twice as many resources (both people and money) to participate to global civil society events, how would you use them?

Distribution in percentage values

- travel for more people _____ %
- meetings with other organisations _____ %
- preparation of demonstrations _____ %
- educational and information material _____ %
- office equipment _____ %
- 100%

16. What is the broad vision of your organisation/group on the issue of globalisation?

only one answer possible

- 1 Anti-globalisation
- 2 Globalisation from below
- 3 Governance of globalisation
- 4 Humanised globalisation
- 5 Focus on national/local dimension
- 6 Other (please specify) _____

17. What is the main attitude of your organisation/group versus Official Summits?
only one answer possible

- 1 Strong conflict
- 2 Criticism of policies
- 3 Active dialogue
- 4 Integration in the Official Summit
- 5 Other (*please specify*)_____

18. What is the best definition of the attitude and approach of your organisation/group versus economic globalisation? *only one answer possible*

- 1 Rejectionist attitude
- 2 Radical change
- 3 Alternative activities
- 4 Reformative policies
- 5 Supportive attitude
- 6 Other (*please specify*)_____

19. Please assess what, in your view, has been the impact of the action of your organisation/group on global issues in the past two years
please tick the appropriate box

	None or weak	Medium	Strong or very strong
Impact on public opinion			
Impact on the international media			
Impact on civil society organisations			
Impact on specific national policies			
Impact on specific international policies			
Impact on events of Official Summits			
Impact on decisions of Official Summits			

20. Please list the main results and successes of the action of your organisation/group on global issues

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

21. What were the most important factors for the success of international civil society events where your organisation/group participated?
please rank the three most important factors

- 1 Wide international network of organisations
- 2 Strong political alliance among organisations
- 3 Mass participation to the events
- 4 Radical nature of the actions taken
- 5 High quality of speakers and events
- 6 High visibility in media
- 7 Close relation to Official Summits
- 8 Other (*please specify*)_____

- 5 Weak political message
- 6 Division among organisers
- 7 Use of violence in demonstrations
- 8 Other (*please specify*)_____

22. What were the most important weaknesses of global civil society events where your organisation/group participated?
please rank the three most important weaknesses

- 1 Lack of attention or manipulation by media
- 2 Lack of understanding by public opinion
- 3 Poor participation
- 4 Lack of attention by policy makers

23. How could global civil society events be made more democratic and effective?
please rank the three most important factors

- 1 Extend the number of participating organisations and countries represented
- 2 Balance between North and South organisations
- 3 Insist on gender/racial balance
- 4 Provide more information on the event
- 5 Open up discussions on agenda and documents
- 6 Extend work on common policy proposals
- 7 Create a permanent network of all networks
- 8 Build a broader common agenda on economic, social, peace and environmental issues
- 9 Introduce voting by organisations on key decisions
- 10 Other (*please specify*)_____

24. How do you judge the relevance of the following policy proposals for global civil society activities?

please tick the appropriate box

	Very relevant	Moderately relevant	Not relevant
Introduce a Parliamentary Assembly of the UN			
Abolish the veto power in the UN Security Council			
Create a permanent UN Forum for Civil Society Organisations			
Bring IMF, WB and WTO inside the UN system			
Introduce civil society representatives in the decision making bodies of IMF, WB and WTO			
Introduce the Tobin Tax on currency transactions and a body to manage it			
Control international financial flows			
Cancel Third World debt			
Enforcement of labour rights and stronger role of ILO			
Introduce world labour contracts and wages negotiated by international unions			
Introduce constraints on the activities of multinational corporations			
Open doors to immigration flows			
Grant immigrants citizenship rights			
Bring Official development assistance to the South to 0.7% of GDP of North			
Direct most development aid to NGOs and local communities			
Support fair trade and ethical finance projects			
Create a World Environmental Organisation			
Impose strict respect of the Kyoto protocol commitments on emissions			
Create a UN standing peace keeping force			
Ban missile defence systems and accelerate nuclear disarmament			
Accelerate the introduction of the International Criminal Court			
Create a permanent Global Civil Society Assembly, such as the Porto Alegre World Social Forum or the Perugia Assembly of the Peoples' UN			

Other specific policy proposals

1. _____
2. _____
3. _____

25. Please tell us something about yourself

Age _____

Gender 1 M; 2 F

Nationality _____

What is the position you have in your organisation/group?

- 1 Member of the leadership
- 2 Staff member
- 3 External expert
- 4 Voluntary activist
- 5 Other (please specify) _____

When did you first participate in an international civil society event? _____

Thank you!

List of organisations responding to the survey

Africa: Adra, Angola; Larhdari, Algeria; Hana Pharmacy Organisation, Angola; C(Ja), Benin; Centres Jeunes Kamenge, Burundi; Development association, Burundi; Mbonweh womens development association Cameroon, Cameroon; Nkong Hill top common initiative group, Cameroon; Coptic evangelical organization for social services, Egypt; Coalition against privatisation of water, Ghana; General agric workers union, Ghana; Africa Peace Point, Kenya; Kenyan coalition against landmines, Kenya; Social development network, Kenya; Development Indian Ocean Network (Dion), Mauritius; National Youth Council of Namibia, Namibia; Afanso: action for a new social order, Nigeria; Centre for constitutionalism and demilitarisation, Nigeria; Civil Resource Development and documentation Centre (Cirdoc), Nigeria; Grassroots empowerment Network, Nigeria; Ibuka, Rwanda; Association pour le develop. economique social environnemental, Senegal; Enda prospectives Dialogues Politiques, Senegal; Groepe d'actions pour le developpment, Senegal; Caritas Makeni, Sierra Leone; Yeouilla Community, South Africa; Kilimanjaro Association for Community Development, Tanzania; Tanzania media and youth development association (Tameyoda), Tanzania; Women's legal aid centre, Tanzania; Volontaire pour la globalisation (Vglob), Togo; Mukono Multi-purpose youth organisation, Uganda; Tweyanze development agency, Uganda; Association Pope John 23nd, Zambia.

Asia and Oceania: Youth and children development program, Afghanistan; Striving towards environmental protection (Step), Bangladesh; Unnayan Shamannay, Bangladesh; Wiam center for conflict resolution, Bethlehem; Amara, Cambodia; Centre for Youth and Social development (Cysd), India; South Asian coalition on child servitude, India; Bat Shalon, Israel; Iflac pave peace: The international forum for the culture of peace, Israel; National council for voluntarism in Israel, Israel; The Israeli communist forum, Israel; Hunger free world, Japan; Peace Depot., Japan; Farah social foundation, Lebanon; Institute for Human Rights, Lebanon; National rehabilitation and development centre (Nrdc), Lebanon; Consumers association of Penang, Malaysia; Front Siwalina of the Moluccas, Moluccas; World Environment and Peace (Wep), Mongolia; Rural reconstruction Nepal, Nepal; Samuhik abhiyan, Nepal; Shewd, Nepal; Indus resource centre, Pakistan; Mehran Resource development foundation, Pakistan; Alram omarbter organisation, Palestine; Palestine national council, Palestine; Palestinian hidrology group, Palestine; Palestinian initiative for global dialogue and democracy, Palestine; Action for economic reforms, Philippines; Centres for alternative development initiatives, Philippines; Children and youth foundation, Philippines; Institute for popular democracy, Philippines; Focus on the global south, Thailand.

Europe: Zartonk-89, Armenia; Lighthouse, Azerbaijan; Youth centre for civil society 'Veras', Belarus; European network on debt and development – Eurodad, Belgium; Pax Christi, Belgium; Vrede, Belgium; Ngo Krajina, Bosnia; Bulgarian gender research foundation, Bulgaria; Centre for development of non-profit organisations, Croatia; Proutist Universal, Denmark; Attac France, France; Civilites, France; Mouvement de la paix, France; Attac Germany, Germany; Foundation for the Rights of Future Generation, Germany; Initiative Netzwerk dreigliederung - Initiative Network Threefolding, Germany; Attac Ireland, Ireland; Social aid of Hellas, Greece; Associazione per la pace, Italy; Campagna per la riforma della banca mondiale, Italy; Cisl, Italy; Cuamm, Italy; Emmaus International, Italy; Fiom, Italy; Italian Consortium of Solidarity, Italy; Italian social forum, Italy; Lega internazionale per i diritti dei popoli, Italy; Manitese, Italy; Campagne tegen Wapenhandel, Netherlands; European center for development policy managment – Ecopm, Netherlands; Transnational Institute, Netherlands; International socialists, Norway; Women and human rights, Norway; Foundation children for children - children for peace, Romania; Inima Pentru Inima (Foundation), Romania; Gorbacev Foundation, Russia; Siberian civic initiatives support center, Russia; Union of North Caucasian Women (Zainap Gachaeva), Russia; Observatorio de la globalizacion, Spain; Civis, Sweden; Attac, Sweden; Action on disability and development, UK; Campeace (Cambridge Campaign for Peace), UK; Northern Friends Peace Board, UK ; Peace Child International, UK; Undercurrents, UK; Council on human rights, Yugoslavia; Women in black (Belgrade), Yugoslavia; International Federation of Tamils, Switzerland; International Metalworkers Federation, Switzerland; Swiss coalition of development organisations, Switzerland.

Latin America: Attac Argentina, Argentina; Women's Issues Network of Belize (Win-Belize), Belize; Central da Pueblo indigena de la Paz, Bolivia; Centro Andino Amazonico de desarrollo indigena "Caadi", Bolivia; Instituto de filosofia de libertad, Brazil; Prefeitura de Porto Alegre, Brazil; Solidarity in literacy program, Brazil; Escola Irma Giuliana Galli, Brasil; Instituto brasileiro para o desenvolvimento sustentavel - Instituto 21, Brasil; Comunidade de Paz de San Jose de Apartado, Colombia; Movimento de ninos por la Paz, Colombia; Asociacion para el Desarrollo Economico y social de Puntarenas, Costa Rica; Networks and Developemnt Foundation (Funredes), Dominican Rep; Asamblea Unidad Cantonal, Ecuador; Fundacion Yanapay, Ecuador; Fundasal, El Salvador; Coordinadora nacional de viudas de guatemala conaviga, Guatemala; Alternativas pacificas, Mexico; Red por los Derechos de la infancia en Mexico, Mexico; Ultimate Purpose, Suriname; Social Watch, Uruguay.

North America: Forum international de Montreal, Canada; Community voices heard, USA; Counterpart International, USA; Development GAP, USA; Institute for policies studies, USA; Liberation Central, USA; Peaceways/Young general assembly, USA; Structural adjustment participatory review, USA; World federalist movement, USA.