

Czech University of Life Sciences Prague

Faculty of Economics and Management

Department of Humanities



Bachelor Thesis

Political Economy and Social Movements:

The Anti-globalisation Movement

Luara Khaburdzaniya

© 2019 CULS Prague

BACHELOR THESIS ASSIGNMENT

Luara Khaburdzaniya

Economics and Management

Thesis title

Political Economy and Social Movements: The Antiglobalisation Movement

Objectives of thesis

This thesis will consider the connections between social movements and political economy through a focus on the so-called 'antiglobalisation' movement. Alongside traditional political actors like states and parties, social movements are increasingly considered as important drivers of both political and economic change. A political economy approach to social movements raises various significant questions, including what material interests drive people to participate in such movements, what resources are available to movements, what economic models and ideas are implicit and explicit in their goals and demands, and the longer term consequences of such movements for economic policy.

The antiglobalisation movement provides a useful example through which to examine these questions, since it by definition involved a criticism of a particular economic model ('globalisation'), and implied some sort of alternative. The thesis will thus investigate what motivated participants in the movement, how they understood globalisation, and what they understood to be the alternative.

Methodology

Develop a literature review on the question of social movements and political economy. Case study research into the antiglobalisation movement, focusing in particular on the protests in Prague against the WTO in 2000, through the use of interviews and documentary analysis.

The proposed extent of the thesis

40-50 pages

Keywords

Social Movements, Political Economy, Antiglobalisation

Recommended information sources

AMENTA, Edwin, et al. The Political Consequences of Social Movements. *Annual Review of Sociology*. 2010. 36:287–307

STANLEY, Jason and GOODWIN, Jeff, 'Political Economy and Social Movements', in *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social and Political Movements*, London: Wiley Blackwell, 2013.

TARROW, Sidney. *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.

Expected date of thesis defence

2018/19 SS – FEM

The Bachelor Thesis Supervisor

Daniel Rosenhaft Swain, Ph.D., MA

Supervising department

Department of Humanities

Electronic approval: 6. 11. 2018

prof. PhDr. Michal Lošťák, Ph.D.

Head of department

Electronic approval: 12. 11. 2018

Ing. Martin Pelikán, Ph.D.

Dean

Prague on 13. 03. 2019

Declaration

I declare that I have worked on my bachelor thesis titled "The Anti-globalisation movements" by myself and I have used only the sources mentioned at the end of the thesis. As the author of the bachelor thesis, I declare that the thesis does not break copyrights of any their person.

In Prague on 15/03/2019

Luara Khaburdzaniya

Acknowledgement

I would like to thank Daniel Swain for his help, advice, unconditional support and patience during my work on this thesis.

Political Economy and Social Movements: The Anti-globalisation Movement

Abstract

This Theoretical part of this thesis is about Anti-globalisation movements. It involves some basic definitions of social movements, how and why they form. Describes the different theories of social movements explaining the aim of the different movements. Briefly focuses on people involved in movements, what are their motives, what changes they seek to reach. Describes how politics can affect economy and why government forces are important in economic development of countries.

Thesis explains what globalisation is, involves some definitions suggested by sociologists. Describes what are the advantages in disadvantages given by globalisation and explains how these aspects affect people's life. Emphasises the effects of capitalism and inequality in society, distinguishes between different social classes: Ruling class and Working class.

Defines Anti-globalisation, why people would support Anti-globalisation movements. Distinguishes differences among terminologies of anti – alter globalisation and anti-capitalism. Lists events through anti-globalisation movement. Practical part of this thesis is divided in two parts: Case study and Interviews. Case study describes anti-globalisation movement in Prague,2000 in details giving more in depth data and evaluates this movement through the interviews about anti-globalisation movements. Interviews aim to give more insights from people about their attitudes and thoughts about anti-globalisation movements, globalisation and anti-globalisation.

Keywords: Political Economy, Social Movements, Anti-globalisation, Globalisation, World Trade Organisation, International Monetary Fund, World Bank, Capitalism, Anti-capitalism, Alter- globalisation, Inequality, Anti-globalisation Movements.

Politická ekonomie a sociální hnutí:

Anti-globalizační hnutí

Abstrakt

Teoretická část této práce se zabývá anti-globalizací. Tato část zahrnuje některé základní definice sociálních hnutí, proč a jak vznikají. Práce popisuje různé teorie sociálních hnutí, které vysvětlují cíle ostatních hnutí. Ve stručnosti je zaměřena na osoby zapojené do těchto hnutí, jaké jsou jejich motivy a jakých změn se snaží dosáhnout. Popisuje, jak politika může ovlivnit ekonomiku a proč vládní síly jsou důležité pro hospodářský rozvoj zemí.

Práce vysvětluje, co globalizace znamená, zahrnuje některé definice navrhnuté od sociologů. Popisuje, jaké jsou výhody a nevýhody daných globalizací a vysvětluje, jak tyto aspekty ovlivňují život lidí. Zdůrazňuje účinky kapitalismu a nerovnosti ve společnosti, rozlišuje mezi různými společenskými třídami: vládnoucí třídy a dělnické třídy.

Definuje anti-globalizaci, proč by lidé měli podporovat hnutí anti-globalizace. Rozlišuje rozdíly mezi terminologiemi anti-globalizace a anti-kapitalismus. Jsou zde uvedeny seznamy událostí prostřednictvím anti-globalizačního hnutí. Praktická část této práce je rozdělena do dvou částí: Případová studie a rozhovory. Případová studie popisuje anti-globalizační hnutí v Praze 2000, v detailech dává data rozebrané více do hloubky a hodnotí myšlenku hnutí anti-globalizaci. Rozhovory mají za cíl poskytnout další poznatky od lidí, o jejich postojích a myšlenkách o hnutí anti-globalizace a globalizace.

Klíčová slova: Politická Ekonomie, Sociální Hnutí, Anti-globalizace, Globalizace, Světová obchodní organizace, Vnitřní měnový fond, Světová Banka, Kapitalismus, Anti-kapitalismus, Alter-globalizace, nerovnost, Anti-globalizační hnutí.

Table of content

1 Introduction	10
1.1 Summary	10
2 Objectives and Methodology	13
2.1 Objectives.....	13
2.2 Methodology	13
3 Literature Review	14
3.1 Social Movements	14
3.1.1 Emergence of Social Movements	14
3.1.2 Types of Social Movements	15
3.1.3 Types of Change	15
3.1.4 Theories of Social Movements	16
3.1.5 Political Economy and Social Movements	17
3.2 Globalisation	21
3.2.1 Advantages and disadvantages of globalisation	22
3.2.2 Global issues of globalisation	23
3.2.3 Effect of globalisation on working conditions.....	25
3.3 Anti-globalisation.....	27
3.3.1 Anti – alter globalisation.....	28
3.3.2 Anti-capitalism.....	30
3.3.3 The essence of anti-globalisation.....	30
3.3.4 Violent protests	33
3.3.5 Events through anti-globalisation movement	34
4 Practical Part	36
4.1 Research methods.....	36
4.2 Case study of anti-globalisation movement in Prague	36
4.2.1 Violence in Prague movement.....	37
4.2.2 Analysis	38
4.3 Interviews	38
4.3.1 Output	38
4.3.2 Outline of findings	44
4.3.3 Summary of results	46
5 Conclusion	47
6 References	48
7 Appendices	54

List of figures

Figure 1: Types of forced labour in developing countries.....27

Figure 2: Awareness of anti-globalisation movements.....39

Figure 3: Attitudes towards anti-globalisation movements40

Figure 4: Anti-globalisation movements and violent behaviour of activists42

Figure 5: Justification of violent behaviour of anti-globalisation movement activists.....43

Figure 6: Attitudes towards Anti-globalisation movments in Prague (2000).....43

Figure 7: Anti-globalisation movements and terrorism.....44

1 Introduction

The debate about benefits and issues of globalisation has been one. Globalisation, integration in economic, technological and political fields is the most important development of our time. Engaging in global production gives business organisations big chances and opportunities for success and better future development as globalisation offers lot of technological progress and promotes innovation. However, globalisation is often accused of establishing a huge gap between social classes: ruling class (rich) and working class (poor) by benefiting just rich people while people from lower classes face exploitation. As debate about globalisation has been astonishing, anti-globalisation activists started conducting protest movements at meetings of organisations such as IMF (International Monetary Fund), WB (World Bank), WEF (World Economic Forum), G8 and WTO (World Trade Organisation).

This thesis aims to research the question of political economy focusing on anti-globalisation movements. Theoretical part (section3) covers all detailed information of social movement, political economy including globalisation and anti-globalisation.

Practical part (section4) focuses on anti-globalisation movement in Prague, Czech Republic (2000) and uses research through interviews to evaluate Czech peoples' thought and attitudes towards globalisation, anti-globalisation and anti-globalisation movements.

Thesis aims to cover advantages and disadvantages of globalisation to explain why people would start engaging in anti-globalisation movements. Practical part (section4) includes research methods which tend to evaluate and examine points discussed in theoretical part (section3) through old records and documents from anti-globalisation movement in Prague and semi-structured interviews to demonstrate better understanding of peoples' perception of globalisation and anti-globalisation.

1.1 Summary

Theoretical part of thesis is divided in 3 parts:

- Social movements
- Globalisation
- Anti-globalisation

First chapter 'Social movements' (Section3.1) contains information about type of social movements relying on sources from Ryan Cragun (2010); William Little, (2014);

(*Encyclopaedia Britannica*). Additionally, to different types of social movement, some of different changes are discussed in following subchapter combined with different theories of social movements (Brown, Khanacademy).

To link chapter of ‘Social Movement’ (Section 3.1) to chapters ‘Globalisation’ (Section 3.2) and ‘Anti-globalisation’ (Section 3.3), ideas from work by Stanley, Jason and Goodwin, Jeff, ‘*Political Economy and Social Movements*’ (2013) is used analyses some points of political economy and explains how politics can influence economy.

Second chapter of theoretical part is called ‘Globalisation’ (Section 3.2) that explains globalisation in detail constantly relying on work by Ray Kiely (2005) ‘*The Clash of Globalisation*’. First subchapter of ‘Globalisation’ (section 3.2.1) covers basic advantages of globalisation and uses literature from Mike Collins (2015) to emphasise problems caused by globalisation related to unemployment. Following subchapter (section 3.2.2) uses work by Ray Kiely (2005) ‘*The Clash of Globalisation*’ to justify points mentioned in section 3.2.1 and states several other specific problems that are the sharpest issues caused by globalisation. Next subchapter (Section 3.2.3) focuses on the most important problem for society that led to emergence of anti-globalisation movements – wage distribution and working conditions. Data given in this chapter is evaluated by statistics from International Labour Organisation (ilo).

The last chapter of literature review is called ‘Anti-globalisation’ (Section 3.3) It examines terminologies such as ‘Anti-globalisation’; ‘Alter-globalisation’ and ‘Anti-capitalist’ movements. Emphasises the existence of violent behaviour in anti-globalisation movements and leads to detailed evaluated work in practical part of the thesis how people perceive this violent action, whether it can be justified or not. Section (3.3.5) from this chapter lists the events through anti-globalisation movements and emphasises the role of WTO (World Trade Organisation), WB (World Bank), IMF (International Monetary Fund) in these protests.

Practical part of this thesis aims to analyse all most of the point mentioned above through semi-structured interviews and case study of anti-globalisation movements in Prague, Czech Republic (2000).

Case Study gives some insights to anti-globalisation movement which took place in Prague, Czech Republic (26/11/2000) using old radio records from Radio Praha and old articles from 2000 iDnes.cz involving interviews from the day of the movement. Also, there is detailed schedule of the protest events before and during summit in September

2000 (Appendix 1; *Císař & Slačálek, 2007*). Case study evaluates some points discussed in theoretical part such as violent behaviour of activists, purpose of opposing globalisation etc.

Interviews – offer more qualitative data about Czech people’s attitudes towards globalisation and anti-globalisation. Graphs illustrated in practical part (Section 4) show detailed representation of answers how people perceive anti-globalisation movement and if they share activists’ interests and motives. Moreover, interviews focus on points stated in case study such as justification of violent behaviour in anti-globalisation movements. The main aim of the interviews was to get in depth qualitative data and establish following points:

- Understanding the nature of anti-globalisation movements
- Profitability of anti-globalisation movements
- Attitudes towards globalisation & anti-globalisation
- Violence in anti-globalisation movements
- Justification of violence in anti-globalisation movements

2 Objectives and Methodology

2.1 Objectives

This thesis will consider the connections between social movements and political economy through a focus on the so-called ‘anti-globalisation’ movement. Alongside traditional political actors like states and parties, social movements are increasingly considered as important drivers of both political and economic change. A political economy approach to social movements raises various significant questions, including what material interests drive people to participate in such movements, what resources are available to movements, what economic models and ideas are implicit and explicit in their goals and demands, and the longer-term consequences of such movements for economic policy.

The anti-globalisation movement provides a useful example through which to examine these questions, since it by definition involved a criticism of a particular economic model (‘globalisation’) and implied some sort of alternative. The thesis will thus investigate what motivated participants in the movement, how they understood globalisation, and what they understood to be the alternative. Additionally, some topics regarding violence in social movements will be discussed and analysed through the interviews and case study of Prague, Czech Republic (2000)

2.2 Methodology

Develop a literature review on the question of social movements and political economy. Case study research into the anti-globalisation movement, focusing on the protests in Prague against the WTO in 2000, using interviews and documentary analysis. Case study also focuses on the question of ‘violence’ in anti-globalisation movements that is being discussed in theoretical part of the thesis.

Interviews were conducted with Czech people about social movements and anti-globalisation movement in Prague. I have used semi-structured interviews in order to ask respondents any other additional questions apart from structured question.

3 Literature Review

3.1 Social Movements

'It is a large, fairly permanent group of individuals who attempt to influence the future of society by means of popular action, rather than leaving policy decisions to elected legislative bodies' (Steward & Glynn, 1979:245)

A social movement is a movement involving people who share the same interests, norms and values and seek to affect or block social change. Modern sociology suggests that today, in 21st century there are some specific areas that social movements focus on:

- Labour movements that seek to control and improve the workplace in the countries.
- Ecological movements that focus on ecosystem, biodiversity and environment.
- Democratic movements that deal with politics, political and human rights of society.
- Peace movements that emphasise the importance of peace and people's well-being. (Ryan Cragun,2010)

'Social movements' attempts to influence policymaking, but also movement influences on democratic rights, electoral processes, legal decisions, political parties, and state bureaucracies' (Edwin et al.2010)

3.1.1 Emergence of Social Movements

Throughout the time, more and more social movements took place among the population because of the development of education, as people had wider access to literature, also through help of technologies. Education helped people to broaden their knowledge about some specific political or economic topics that in turn lead to willingness to support or even protest against some global topics. This is also connected to urbanisation and industrialisation of society that occurred in 19th century. Researchers support the idea that more and more social movements occur because of economic independence, education and freedom of expression of individuals thoughts and views. (William Little,2014).

3.1.2 Types of Social Movements

According to the book *Introduction to Sociology – 1st Canadian Edition* (William Little, 2014), there are different types of social movements.

First – ‘Reform movement’. Reform movement is a type of social movement that aims to make changes in some laws and legislations, including some norms and values of society. Such movements are usually focused on trade unions and aim to establish some changes and improvements in workers’ rights (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*). Another example of reform movement is the green movement which uses laws for improvement and development of a better ecological environment and nature. (*Encyclopaedia Britannica*). However, not all reform movements focus on trade and environment, some of them can be just orientated on human rights, e.g. right to abortion, or may have religious characteristics. To sum up, reform movements seek complete change in some specific aspect that must be improved due to willingness of citizens. (Little, 2014)

Second type of social movement is called ‘Radical movement’ (Little, 2014), that includes changing systems in a fundamental way. For example, the Civil Rights Movement which was established in USA and resulted full equality and equity among all Americans despite their race. Another example was found in Poland, Polish Solidarity movement that aimed the transformation of a Stalinist political and economic system into a democratic system. These are two main and mostly spread types of social movements. (Little, 2014)

In terms of range, social movements have two divisions: global and local. Global movements include social movements that seek global goals that result in a wider effect for a bigger nation. For example, the World Social Forum and The Peoples Global Action, both of them aimed to interfere society are a global level. Local movement are linked to the most of social movements. They take in consideration just local and regional objectives of nations. For example, protecting specific area or preventing demolition of specific building in area. (Little, 2014)

3.1.3 Types of Change

William Little in his work *Introduction to Sociology – 1st Canadian Edition* also mentions about different types of change activists want to make through the movement. So, the question is: What exactly people may seek through social movements? What kind of change they want to achieve? Little suggest that movement participants can achieve two

types of change: Innovation or conservative. This idea also was supported by other sources, such as video records from *Khanacademy*

Innovation movement seeks to introduce particular norms and values. For example, this kind of movements focus on transformation and innovation on people's lifestyle. Examples of innovation movements are green movements which fight for environment and feminist movements – women rights. (Little, 2014)

Conservative movements are movements that seek to preserve norms and values of the nation which already exist. For this example, we can use the anti-technology movement which took place in 19th century or modern movements which have protested the spread of the genetically modified food (*Khanacademy record.*) Both of these movements tend to compete and oppose with the specific technological changes. (Little, 2014)

3.1.4 Theories of Social Movements

Social movement can be seen as a tool to change the path of society. Movements consists of people who gather together for the common aim and goal whether to encourage or resist the change, both shape the future of society. However, social movement is not just a group of people with the same interest protesting, they have specific characteristics, such as leadership, organisation and resources. As people gather for different interests and goals, there are different types of social movements with relevant goals: Regressive social movements and activist social movements. Regressive (reactionary) social movements goal to resist the change while activist social movements aim to change some aspect of society. (Brown, Khanacademy)

There are different theories which answer the questions of how and why do social movement form. The first theory I will discuss will be Mass society theory – This theory was popular in the 20th century and was perceived as a complex theory. Mass society theory explains social movements by the idea that individuals who feel socially isolated and not being a part of society, are sensitive to the appeals of extremist movements. This theory was filled with the fear of communist and fascist movements in the 1930s and 1940s. That time people seemed to be sceptical towards individuals' motivations who have been involved in social movements. They were considered as irrational, dysfunctional and dangerous. People used to join movements as it gave them sense of unity and community. This specific theory of social movements wasn't reliable for the future as some different

viewpoint took its place. By the 1960s social movements were discussed in more opened and global view which was caused by Civil Rights movement. (Brown, Khanacademy)

The second is theory is called relative deprivation theory – which includes actions of repressed individuals, who have deprived the rights which are enjoyed by others in society. This theory is direct response to inequality in social classes. Theory suggests that there are 3 aspects which have to occur to establish social movements. These aspects are: relative deprivation, feeling of deserving better, and the belief that conventional methods are useless to help. However, there are some limitations of this theory, for example, even though all three factors which are essential for the movement to be established are present, still no social movement is created. (Brown, Khanacademy)

Next theory is resource mobilisation theory, which describes social movements from a completely different angle compared to those theories discussed above. Resource mobilisation theory doesn't consider deprivation of people, it just focuses on factors that hinder or help social movements. These are factors such as access to resources, because in some places act of gathering together individuals with a common and shared goals and ideas are prohibited. So, this theory suggests that just a common goal is not enough to create social movement as there are essential aspects needed such as financing of this movement, access to media to make global impact, political influence and also materials for the movement. Additionally, all types of social movements require a figure as a leader to lead the group and focus on the thoughts and beliefs of each member. Also, a strong organisational base is required for all social movements in order to recruit members of the movement and unite them on the common idea. (Brown, Khanacademy)

The fourth theory is rational choice theory, which holds an idea that people focus on advantages and disadvantages of actions and choose the one which fits them best. The choices in actions of individuals who are trying to do best for themselves shape the pattern of behaviour in society. This theory suggest that all the actions have to be listed in order of preferences and these preferences have to be transient. (Brown, Khanacademy)

3.1.5 Political Economy and Social Movements

Analyses considering the interaction between politics and capitalism have been acknowledged to have crucial role in studies of social movements. Some of these studies were written by Paige 1975; Schwartz 1976; Piven & Cloward 1977; McAdam 1999. (Stanley and Goodwin, 2013). All of them influenced the academic studies of movements

and political conflicts. After these scientific studies were introduced, there was a shift between the field of psychological treatments of political movements to more sympathetic analyses which acknowledged the crucial part of resources, movement opportunities and power. (Stanley and Goodwin, 2013)

Stanley and Goodwin in their work *'Political Economy and Social Movements'* suggest that political economy brings a lot of useful ideas to understand social movements better. They have suggested seven points, which include ideas for a deeper understanding of how political movements can affect country's economy. (Stanley and Goodwin, 2013)

Firstly, they acknowledged that the aim of political economy is to pay attention to material interest of protesters. These material interests are driven from their location in economic and political institutions. For example, material interest for employers is the basic process of reduction labour costs as higher costs encroach the profitability of the firm. Additionally, employees want to increase their salary and improve their working conditions because their health and well-being is directly affected by their work environment. This example shows that the material interests can vary according to structural position of different groups. Goodwin and Stanley also mention that interests are not the same as employees' actions or perception, but they do have some influence on people's thoughts and actions. For example, some of the ideas and thoughts of specific group of people can be eliminated by their material interests. Also, people with the same interest can stand against individuals who share completely different interest, and this may drive them to act against them. Example for these actions is when workers collectively struggle against their employers. (Stanley and Goodwin, 2013)

However, there are some cases when movements are made of groups of people with different interests, for example in the US women's movement two groups participated: working class women and women from elite. But their interests were elided in order to reach the goal of common movements. (Stanley and Goodwin, 2013)

Second important aspect for shaping movement persistence is the market mechanism – the key tool of distribution of resources in capitalist societies. Due to capitalist property rights, the owners of successful assets get much more wealth and power over greater resources compared their workers. Market mechanisms also identify the idea of a stratified working class, which means that some workers earn better salary than the other, for example, a doctor who works in a hospital will earn more than a janitor working in the same hospital. The idea is that understanding how the market distributes resources among

different segments and different assets, helps us to predict variously the emergence, success or failure and trajectories of different kind of movements. (Stanley and Goodwin, 2013)

Third point described in *'Political Economy and Social Movements'* is about the process of analysing the strength of the movement. Political economics differentiates between power driven from the size of the movement, and power driven from the structural position of participants. For example, truck drivers have a serious power as they can bind commerce and traffic and lead to disorganise and interrupt economic and social life of population. On the other hand, unemployed workers are often very organised and settled and motivated with their needs, however, their power to make government or elites to meet their demands are very limited, because unemployed workers do not have a crucial role in the production process. Stanley and Goodwin suggest that by emphasising the difference between these two forces leads to better understanding of why movements with similar size may be or may not be more successful at reaching their goals and interests. (Stanley and Goodwin, 2013)

The fourth point suggested by Goodwin and Stanley holds the idea that political economy is aware of how competition among firms affects and influences social movements. Competitions leads to the adoption of strategies and tactics to overcome and defeat competitors. One of the mostly used tactics, for better competitiveness is introduction of new technology which brings a lot of changes in workers' social life and may disturb or de-skill them. Additionally, another technique used by firms is relocation of production away from expensive workers. Both approaches are believed to trespass on the effectiveness and organisational skills of workers. Competition also causes opposition, for example firms which focus on exports have an interest in a weaker domestic currency to make exports cheaper, but firms which work on import have a completely opposite interest. This kind of difference among interests can lead to further conflict between forces of economic elites and additional political mobilisation. (Stanley and Goodwin, 2013)

The fifth idea of from *'Political Economy and Social Movements'* suggests that political economy tests the applications for movements of the dynamics that are caused from competition among firms. This idea is a logical extension of the fourth point. Simple example would be the existence of economic crisis, although, in recent years, some of industrialised economies and firms have been growing slightly slowly, the procedure is full regression and regrowth that is caused by capitalist competition between the firms. The

theory suggests that both booms and busts - economic cycle of contraction and expansion have their own impact on people's lives and politics. Economic booms lead to more mobilised political economy because of the increase in motivation, sense of optimism and ability to take more risks due to high expectations. Some actions also can be generated through economic busts, as economic crisis causes struggles for employees and challenges members of government to make some changes for improvement. Sometimes, people who have struggled due to crisis, gather together and act through their common interests to push elites for more job opportunities. Such gathering activity and standing by each other's side through tough time promotes a sense of social solidarity – being part of interconnected community. (Stanley and Goodwin, 2013)

The sixth point describes the idea that all governments which have been affected by the reform movements continue to be linked to shared capitalist norms and values. This is because of a features of capitalist democracies. As the government is highly focused and dependent on tax revenue which is driven from private economic forces, it is highly unadvised to apply some reforms which directly have negative effects on private investments and cause decline of revenues. However, if strong movements request such policies and reforms, any kind of drop and decline in investment leads to a higher index of unemployment, a negative effect on tax revenue and other serious negative changes in financing programs. These reasons, however, do not exclude these kinds of policies, but emphasises the importance of basic needs and demands of population and put pressure on government members to acknowledge and apply only successful reforms which will directly cause economic growth and promote better living standards of workers and working environment. In such a way, better working conditions and satisfaction of all relevant needs of workers leads to better result in workplace that automatically causes economic development. (Stanley and Goodwin, 2013)

The last seventh point of Stanley and Goodwin's theory from *'Political Economy and Social Movements'* shows the ability of political economy for better and deeper understanding how it creates new collective identities which usually make a collective action and promote some changes in economy and social lives. The theory suggests that due to increase in number of large-scale factories, many workers have come face to face to individuals with the same exploitative experience, this in turn leads to promotion of more identities of working class. Apart from economic fields, development of capitalism has affected some of collective identities that have relatively small connection to economy. For

example, lesbian, bisexual, gay and transgender movements have been derived from the industrial revolution, later process of urbanisation, and following wars. Because women and men had to leave their own homes and farms and moved to urbanised areas with the better job opportunities in bigger cities. It is not surprising that these changes lead to wider understanding of the bigger world, more independence and more people to communicate with. Some started interactions with individuals of a same sex and that led to creation of same-sex identities in the 20th century and after the period of World War II. In some countries, same-sex movements are still popular, especially the notion of gay marriage is one of the sharpest issues in some undeveloped countries to solve, so nowadays this topic still remains active. (Stanley and Goodwin, 2013)

To conclude all points above, suggested by Stanley and Goodwin, political economy brings some insights and in-depth understanding of some crucial and key features behind movements. Helps to explain differentiation between elites, how people are linked to each other at work and shows how some collective identities, frames, emotions and ideas are thrilling for some specific classes of movement participants at certain period.

3.2 Globalisation

'Economic globalisation refers to the increasing interdependence of world economies as a result of the growing scale of cross-border trade of commodities and services, flow of international capital and wide and rapid spread of technologies. It reflects the continuing expansion and mutual integration of market frontiers and is an irreversible trend for the economic development in the whole world at the turn of the millennium.' (Gao Shangquan, 2000)

Globalisation means the rise of global connectivity which in turn leads to further economic development of the country. The topic about how world is united was discussed in works of Western researchers of the 19th and the 20th centuries. Researchers like Emile Durkheim, Max Weber, Talcott Parsons and Karl Marx had their opinions and knowledge shared in their masterpieces about globalisation. Karl Marx researched the development of capitalism, the great geographical discoveries and colonial system and of course world wars, that he suggested were consequences of capitalism and globalisation. In his work he emphasised the importance and global nature of human relations.

'In bourgeois society capital is independent and has individuality, while the living person is dependent and has no individuality' (Karl Marx, 1818 - 1883)

3.2.1 Advantages and disadvantages of globalisation

Some sociologists refer to globalisation as an umbrella term which covers many processes which connect people and the biosphere into a united global system. So, what are the results of globalisation? Theories suggest, that globalisation effects 3 main spheres: Industrial, Financial and Economic. Industrial notion means that due to globalisation more people have access to a wider range of goods and services and countries are linked to worldwide markets more tightly. Secondly, financial – globalisation evaluates worldwide financial markets and gives access to extrinsic financing, ability for financing the funds outside of the firms for national and corporate borrowers. Third, the economic field – globalisation brings better and deeper understanding of global market which is based on the exchange of goods. Also, globalisation has some effect in politics by creating regulating the relationships among countries and ensures all rights driven from social and economic globalisation. Additionally, globalisation increases the flow of information and interaction among countries and promotes cross cultural contacts. (Alyson Dickerman, 2012)

There also are some other advantages of globalisation, such as a quick productivity of countries by creating useful goods and services with a comparative advantage and better living standards. Global competition, cheap import prices etc. But others argue that globalisation may bring some negative effect on development and independence of some countries (Tarrow,2011). For example, they suggest that globalisation is based on imperialism, delocalisation, branding and Americanisation. Basically, they think that globalisation holds the idea that ‘The rich get richer, the poor get poorer’. Mike Collins (2015) emphasises the biggest issue of unemployment and wage distribution which is discussed in detail in section 3.2.3. In his article *‘The Pros and Cons of Globalisation’* Collins states that millions of people from the West have lost their jobs because of complications of import regulations or because production shifting. This made them to find new jobs which are not so profitable, and they started to earn relatively less. Other works just live in fear, fear of losing their jobs while they work in big companies which are always operating under competitive pressure. Also, western employees are at risk of losing their job when firms create advanced factories with relatively low range locations and with the same level of productivity.

3.2.2 Global issues of globalisation

Ray Kiely (Boston, 2005) in his work *'The Clash of Globalisation'* clearly identifies some more serious reasons compared to ones mentioned above, why globalisation can benefit society and, in contrast, suggests what are the negative effects of globalisation on peoples' lives. The idea of globalisation was one of the newest notions for sociologists to research that became popular for several reasons. Firstly, the Western world finally got over all the difficulties and economic, social problems driven from the problems and challenges and regained the role of the world's dominant economic power. Secondly, as the technologies developed and people had wider access to information, it helped to connect people and unite different parts of the world quickly and easily. Thirdly, communism has ended, Asia experienced crisis which made an 'illusion of victory' for liberal values on a global extent.

Fourthly, increased cultural exchange among peripheral countries and the 'first world'. Additionally, globalisation brought many other advantages to people, however that was not enough, as there were a range of negative side effects which caused a lot of complications for people's social life and harmed economic and political condition in countries. As technologies developed in Western countries, this promoted 'self-sufficient culture' among people. Post-industrial Western countries got more power over developing countries for raw materials supply as according to statistics, these countries dominate in the field of high, effective technologies. Additionally, according to studies, these countries have achieved dominance in the agricultural field and relatively, nowadays, the cost of American grain is much lower compared to Africa, additionally, the number of exports of agricultural products from America have increased in comparable prices by ten times. All this progress has led to a self-isolation in the post -industrial countries that had affected trends of investments, labour migration and international trade, therefore, globalisation became a big challenge for society. (Kiely,2005)

In 1990 globalisation was a new field for economic, cultural and social spheres and promoted Western values and became a tool to form a global community which guaranteed development of technological and scientific achievements. Every aspect of globalisation involved a specific ideological issue which caused difficulties to people.

Also, theory suggests that globalisation cannot be a completely new sociological phenomenon for international life because according to statistics of some countries, in the 19th century, the index describing the investments, migration flows and also international trade, was relatively higher compared to the beginning of the 21st century. (Kiely, 2005)

Some sociologists argue that globalisation is not a key to build a truly united world. They evaluate that if many years ago, borders of opposing and different worlds were opened and expanding, nowadays, it only spreads Western European norms and values of civilisation, ignoring all other cultural differences. Ignoring cultural differences leads to next point, suggested by sociologists that globalisation does not help cultures to interact more with different cultures or develop as it just builds a Eurocentric world - focuses only on European history and culture and excludes wider view of the world. So, to summarise everything mentioned above, why globalisation might be harmful to people and how it arises global issues we can summarise following points:

- Unemployment due to cheap labour

This is Particularly true for developed countries. Countries in Asia, Africa and in South America have cheaper labour, so people believe that this leads to closing big companies' operations in the host countries. This in fact leads to unemployment of people from developed countries. (Shinwari 2015)

- Cultural export

This point is relatable to developing countries. Anti-globalisation activists believe that along globalisation of trade and economics, culture is also affected. Their argument is based on idea that big influential countries such as United States may have a huge and very powerful influence on smaller countries and cultures in terms of values and traditions, therefore, customs and norms of developing countries may be replaced by American ones – this is called McDonaldisation or Americanisation. (Shinwari 2015)

- Poverty export

Again, point regarding to developing countries. Big companies run their business in poor countries, using their cheap labour. Employees are paid less than minimum wage for their hard work in inhumane working conditions. This is particularly true for the cases in sweatshops, that are used by sport shoe manufacturers such as Nike. (Shinwari 2015)

- Internal Inequality

As already discussed, capitalist values that are promoted by globalisation, create big barrier among rich and poor people in the countries. Government members and elites, big businesses control people from the working class. (Shinwari 2015)

- Brain Drain

Because of common sense and thoughts that developed countries have better conditions for living and more opportunities for better and stable life, that caused moving talented people in rich countries. Brain drain annually costed Africa approximately \$1.4 billion in employment of more than 100 000 expatriate professionals. (Shinwari 2015)

- Environmental degradation

Hazardous waste to the third world countries are exported from the developed industrial countries. For example, one global agrobusiness firm closed a terminal in Brazil's Amazon region for environmentalists. Globalisation causes loss in biodiversity in most of the countries, aggravated pollution. Also, average global temperature is estimated to rise 1 – 3.5 centigrade (33.8 – 38.5 degrees) by 2050. (Shinwari 2015)

3.2.3 Effect of globalisation on working conditions

As already mentioned, unemployment and wage distribution are one of the sharpest problem people face because of globalisation. Gary J. Well (2001) in paper of *The Issue of Globalisation-An Overview* writes how people experience issues not only with wage distribution and unemployment, but also with horrible working conditions, this is particularly true for developing countries. According to statistics, in most countries, income has been reduced significantly and many lost their jobs because of the trade. This of course led to increased index of poverty and bad working conditions for workers. USA still remained a leader during globalisation, however, Americans still experienced some serious fluctuations in terms of their wage distribution and during 1973 to 1992 and managed to reach a stable condition by 1992 and stayed positive for 1996.(Well, 2001) Some economists argue that this was caused by the increased trade between developing countries and USA because these developing countries had low wages and disadvantages American unskilled employers, and this resulted causing unstable income distribution and harmed economy in USA.

However, empirical analysis suggests that the trade component of globalisation is a small factor in observed adverse wage trends. A Congressional Research Service review of the literature identified additional factors influencing this growing wage disparity. They are productivity changes, rates of investment in capital and labour (education), technology, immigration, demographic trends, and the effective bargaining power of unions. (Well 2001)

Some globalisation critics criticise this idea and suggest that the trade may not cause such a big problem for developing countries employment as there are many other reasons which might have stronger influence on economy, such as: investments in capital and labour, immigration and other demographic trends, technology etc. It is believed that international trade influenced American economy and increased imbalance in wages from only 10 – 20 %. This impact can be explained by the labour requirements of the goods. In this case, we have goods from developing countries with low income, adding the goods that are from just 2% of the American workforce. (Well,2001)

Working condition in developing countries – that’s the next issue we will discuss related to employment problems caused by globalisation. Researchers suggest that globalisation promotes slave – like setting in working environment.

Chart below illustrates data how globalisation effects labour exploitation of people in developing countries. According to International Labour Organisation (ILO), developing countries include countries from Africa, Asia and countries from Latin America. According to this chart, more than 90% (18.7 million) of population in developing countries are faced exploitation in private economy by enterprise and individuals. From this 90%, 68 % (14.2 million) are suffering from forced labour exploitation in economic activities e.g. domestic work or construction. 22% (4.5 million) experience sexual violence (more women than men) and 10 % (2.2 million) are in prisons, or work in military/rebel armed forces due to state- imposed forms of forced labour.

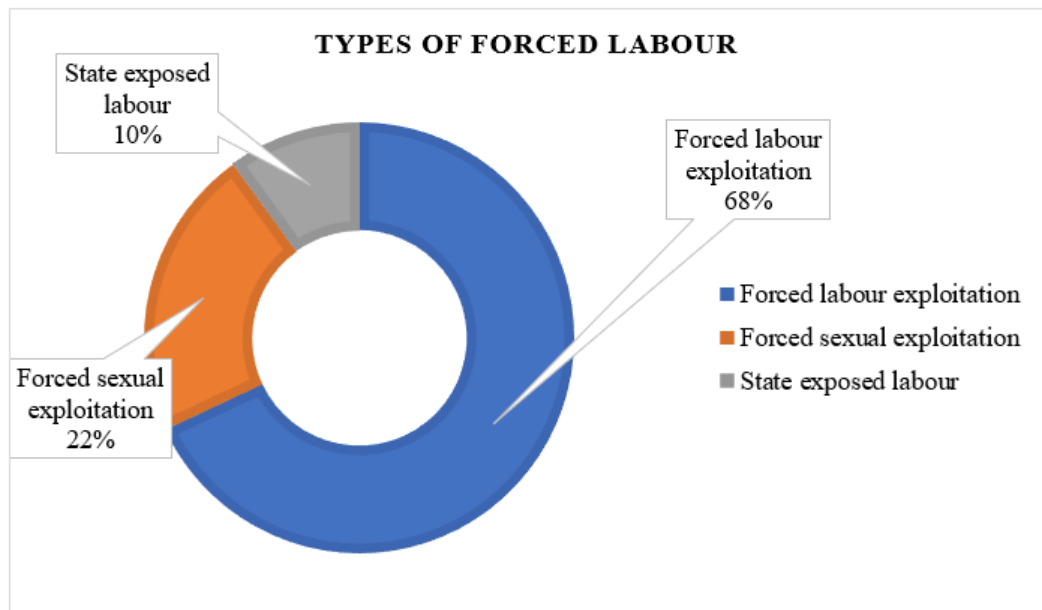


Figure 1: Types of forced labour in developing countries

Source: International Labour Organisation (ILO)

3.3 Anti-globalisation

As some main points of globalisation were already discussed, the second part of the discussion will be focused on now Anti-globalisation and Anti-globalisation movements. Anti-globalisation movements were firstly mentioned in 1980s and were described as movements that involved people reacting against capitalism and negative effects of globalisation. Similarly, to other movements, anti-globalisation also aims to reach some changes in society. Their case holds the idea to achieve social and economic goals that will lead to positive consequences of capitalism and abolishes its negative aspects. The term 'Anti-globalisation' is sometimes associated to other similar notions such as: 'Anti-capitalist' and 'Alter-globalisation'. All of them hold similar ideology but not all the sociologists agree that all these three terms define the same ideology of movements. This part of the thesis will distinguish the difference between all these terminologies.

According to BBC News article (UK,2001), anti-globalisation is an 'umbrella' term for different protests such as:

- Third world debt
- Child labour

- Environmentalism
- Anarchism
- Anti-capitalism and opposition to multinationals

The targets of anti-globalisation movements focus on meetings of following organisations:

- International Monetary Fund (IMF) that allows countries to get loans when their economies are struggled because of crisis.
- World Bank (WB) which offers long term loans to countries for development.
- World Trade Organisation (WTO) that promotes free trade among countries.

Anti-globalisation activists explain their actions by giving arguments how globalisation leads to exploitation of working class, poor people in countries. How it harms environment and especially emphasise negative effect of globalisation on workers' wage distribution and working conditions, as discussed in detail above (section 3.2.3)

3.3.1 Anti – alter globalisation

Firstly, let's discuss the difference between the terms anti- globalisation and alter-globalisation. Research suggests that there are many concepts that describe the movement against globalisation. Apart from the notion of 'Anti-globalisation' we can have 'alter-globalisation'.

According to Mark Engler (2007), word 'Alter- globalisation' was firstly used by non-governmental organisations (NGOs) such as Association for the Taxation of financial Transactions and Aid to Citizens (ATTAC). Researchers suggest that compared to the term 'Anti- globalisation' the concept of 'Alter- globalisation' is clearer and understanding for society in terms of defining main ideas and points opposing the influence of 'hijacked globalisation'.

Engler suggests 'Alter' and 'Anti' may have the same meaning for most of us, however, these two concepts do not have the exact same meaning. They both have similar interests, and both provide several ideas how people can cope with the negative effect of globalisation however people who are engaged in alter-globalisation movements, alter-globalisation activists, do not want to be called as anti- globalisation activists, as they suggest that the concept of anti- globalisation is 'ambiguous' – has more than one meaning. As already mentioned above, the term anti-globalisation means to 'oppose

globalisation'. However, in real life, anti-globalisation activists do not oppose the whole process of globalisation, they just want to emphasise and abolish the negative effects of it, aiming to protest how government uses its economic and political power driven from globalisation for their own interests. Additionally, anti-globalisation movements developed by relying on the effective and positive effects of globalisation itself e.g. the cultural interaction in the world, so for most of the people, the prefix 'anti' make a slight misunderstanding. (Engler, 2007)

In order to avoid some confusion, most of the Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) such as Association for the Taxation of financial Transactions and Aid to Citizens (ATTAC) started to use the term 'alter- globalisation'. They suggest that usage of this term is better for a clear understanding how people act against the 'hijacked globalisation'. In comparison to anti- globalisation activists, the alter-globalisation activists promote other ideas and viewpoint how global economy and human rights are affected. They act against neo-liberalism. The concept of neo- liberalism was firstly introduced in USA and uses concepts like 'democracy' and 'freedom of choice' in order to maintain the protection of peoples' human rights and interests. Alter-globalisation activists argue that in order to cope with the modern issues caused by globalisation, people need to make some new modern approach which will make successful economic order. They suggest, that, nowadays, globalisation does bring some positive aspect and improvements in peoples' lives, however, still some changes in the approach have to be made. In contrast with anti-globalisation, alter-globalisation focuses how to offer people some tools in order to decrease all the issues driven from negative effect of globalisation and how to make people emphasise some humanitarian values, while Anti-globalisation just acknowledges all the negative side effects of economic globalisation and suggest some radical actions need to be taken. Some popular alter-globalisation movements are promoted by Association of the Taxation of financial Transactions and Aid to Citizens (ATTAC) and World Social Forum (WSF). These movements were initiated because of the protests by NGOs, which act against present consumerism and productivism. For example, in order to manage and balance wealth distribution among society better, 'ATTAC' proposes a Tobin tax (discussed in 3.3.3.).

Even though there are some differences between these two concepts of 'Anti-globalisation' and 'Alter-globalisation', it is worth to acknowledge that both of these approaches have something in common. The both desire the economic field of present

situations in countries. They both support each other idea of ‘hijacked globalisation’ suggesting that the power is taken by enterprise bosses, global government and elites in benefit of their own economic interests.

3.3.2 Anti-capitalism

According to article by Joshua Keating in Foreign Policy (FB, 2009), term anti-globalisation is sometimes replaced by anti-capitalism. Keating states that the change of terminology happened because activists became more radical, and there was a shift of their motives and interests from a critique trade to an objection of capitalism. (Keating, 2009).

Sociologists suggest that terminologies anti-globalisation and anti-capitalist movements are similar and share most of the ideologies. However, according to the article from Lib.com (2005) anti-capitalism is more about opposing the war and terrorism. This shift was caused because of terror attack in USA on 11.09.01 and ‘*The war on terrorism has been declared*’, (Lib.com, 2005). The connection between terrorism and the movements was also discussed in practical part, section 4.3, (Interviews).

3.3.3 The essence of anti-globalisation

In order to fully understand the essence of anti-globalisation, we need to fully understand the essence of globalisation. Globalisation tends to rise and improve united economy of the world that has suffered after the collapse of Soviet Union. Anti-globalisation theory suggests that their main aim is to protest this global trend, as united but Western values spread to world’s economic system leads Western powerful businesses and governments to apply their neo-imperialist rules and regulations to everyone, and these policies tend to increase Western power over the world in every way. (Kiely, 2005)

Anti-globalisation activists are dissatisfied because big Western companies have moved a huge part of their production to other countries where it is much easier to control and exploit people, therefore, caused an increased trend of unemployment in developed countries, where salaries are higher compared to developing countries.

Anti-globalisation activists also challenge the fact that due to inequality in the world, biased and unregulated cash flows around the world, which in turn leads to a serious cause of financial crisis and many other problems that society faces. Most importantly, as anti-globalisation activists do not support Western models of economic development and also

have some unstable thoughts towards American system as well, they are very concerned about the future of Western democracy. Their concerns are getting bigger because some of the politicians in America and European countries are collaborating and want to join European Union and NAFTA (North American Free Trade Agreement), and these organisations are not considered as democratic ones. (Kiely, 2005)

Additionally, Anti-globalisation movement activists criticise living standards in Western countries as Western companies and businesses interests suppress concern for the peoples' cultural and social needs. Also, they are against the capitalist systems and organisations and suggest that transnational corporations are one of their main enemies of democracy.

There are numerous cases how people are exploited on their workplaces in Asian countries for example, also cases of inhumane treat and murder of Africans who lived in mineral rich territories. Additionally, anti-globalisation activists mention about causes of indignation, such as rise of obsessive marketing technologies in developed countries. For example, while watching TV, movie/show is interrupted several times by advertisement and people are forced to hear a lot of undesirable announcements. (Kiely, 2005)

In addition, anti-globalisation activists have some concerns about international organisations such as World Bank and IMF (International Monetary Fund) for the attitude toward poor countries - as these poor countries are seen as debtors, activists also fight against economic policies that have caused disastrous outcomes for these poor countries, economic case in Argentina (2001) is one of the examples for this.

World Trade Organisation (WTO) is one of the most important reasons why Anti-globalisation movements became so popular. Anti-globalisation fights against WTO that collaborates with almost all Western countries. The main aim of WTO is to establish stable international trade relations among the countries and have effective trade policies for future successful development, however, anti-globalisation activists argue that some WTO activities have other purpose and outcome for society. Activists oppose the way how WTO organisation regulates the policies regarding the safety of foreign investments. They suggest that these applied policies can lead to violation of social laws in countries by foreign companies. This was the main reason of anti-globalisation movements in USA, Seattle in 1999 (discussed in 3.3.5). Activists fought against economic system which was based on capitalist values, they argued that these values harm the environment and ruin traditions and social connections in most of the countries (Bhagwati,2004). Anti-

globalisation activists emphasised most of the limitations of capitalist culture, but it is worth acknowledging that compared to old activists, nowadays, anti-globalisation activists have some other and different points that are used as a criticism of capitalism because throughout the years, society has changed, as did rules and regulations. According to research, anti-globalisation activists have developed a specific guidance/framework that helps them to fight global capitalist culture. They focus on:

- Balancing the global system
- Developing new international rules regarding loans/debts, that avoid the imposition of conditions
- Western countries responsibilities to keep records about each country's debt/loan cases (Bhagwati, 2004)

Some of anti-globalisation activists are generally against globalisation negative side effects, considering the government to be the most important force in society, while others are talking about disagreement with the American conditions, with the propaganda of the American way of life and American mass culture.

In Western Europe, the first movements of anti-globalisation took place in the early 1990s, they dealt with the were inverted trailers which delivered cheap Spanish vegetables to the markets of other EU member states. (Kiely, 2005)

However, some sociologists argue that anti-globalisation has its origin in France. In June 1998, trade unions and French public associations formed Association for the Taxation of Financial Transactions of the Aid of Citizens (ATTAC). Requirement for this organisation was to have Tobin Tax, tax regulation which was established in 1972 by James Tobin. It holds the idea that 0.1% of financial operations are given to the organisations which deal with poverty and recovery in developing countries.

As mentioned above, throughout the time anti-globalisation activists had several reasons to fight and these reasons could slightly differ among the countries, however, today, the one reason that unites all anti-globalisation movements is that they seek radical reforms of modern international economic system and relations, they emphasise the importance of the main international financial institutions in each country that have to take responsibility to make people's life easier and better but instead, they have just proved their inability to solve major problems that cause economic and social disbalance in the world.

3.3.4 Violent protests

The way how anti-globalisation activists express their feelings and interests towards the state often involves aggressive behaviour like fight with police, crashing everything in the street and other violent actions. Some sociologists suggest that this is not the way people should fight politics: *'Where violence starts, politics ends'* (Fundamentals of Political Science, Daniel Swain). As a democratic regime is legitimate, actions that break its laws and regulations is not justifies, so if activists want to change the law, they need to everything through constitutional means. They suggest that riots and direct action sometimes involve property damage. This is mostly true for anti-globalisation movements, as mentioned above, activists of anti-globalisation feel free to try and damage government buildings and do not feel responsible to their actions, however, even though no one is physically actually hurt, and such kind of aggression is directed to property and not people themselves, it is still considered as violence. (*Fundamentals of Political Science*)

On the other hand, activists do explain their actions as it is a way of self-defence. Some cases describe picture of natural violent behaviour of activists to the police aggression. Therefore, they suggest that their actions were initiated from the forces, and their responsive aggression is just a natural reaction. (*Fundamentals of Political Science*)

The issue is, while watching records of most anti-globalisation movements, people often are irritated by these violent actions and forget or might not even ask what the motive of these movements is. This topic is also discussed in practical part, section 4.3.1 (Outputs of interviews). People think that media uses such an aggressive picture of the movements and makes a 'play' from this case. Therefore, television news reports often do not state the real reason of the activist's actions and do not talk about their motives, they just record and emphasise how aggressive the protest is.

Therefore, some anti-globalisation activists propose, that people cannot ignore the main aim of their actions, as their movements are based on the protest against the increasing injustice of the modern world, domination of big businesses of the countries. They tend to abolish the inequality, social classes' division into rich and poor.

3.3.5 Events through anti-globalisation movement

'There may be times when we are powerless to prevent injustice, but there must never be a time when we fail to protest.'

— *Elie Wiesel*

Anti-globalisation activities included disruptions of meetings of the world's leading governments, crashing the government buildings and offices. Their nature of the movements has been changing since their creation in 1994.

According to the video recording published by Whitehead Byron, the first anti-globalisation meeting was conducted in 1996. Later, in 1998, activists created a big informal coalition of civic initiatives and social movements, named - the Global People's Action.

Same year, in May, the first coordinated actions took place in several countries and after successful and influential movements in Geneva and Birmingham, all subsequent meetings of IMF (International Monetary Bank), WB (World Bank), WTO (World Trade Organisation) and G8 (The Group of Eight) government were accompanied by active interference from the globalisation opponents. (*Whitehead Byaron*)

Later, the World Carnival against Capitalism was held and involved more than 40 cities of the world. It is called 'carnival' because movement participants were wearing masks, where they had printed specific text, that illustrated their protests.

In 1999, on November 30th, was one of the most important anti-globalisation movements in the history as in USA, Seattle, the World Trade Organisation lead to activists' big protest. Movements was so violent that it was the most active and massive protest in USA since the beginning of the 1970s. People acted very violently, crashed the streets in Seattle screaming and expressing their protest in aggressive way, even several accidents with police force happened, activists tried to break into the government building and broke the offices of large influential businesses. (Tarrow, 2011)

After Seattle, in 2000, again in USA, in Washington another anti-globalisation movement happened. This time activists attacked WB (World Bank) and IMF (International Monetary Fund), movement involved more than 20 000 people. (*Whitehead Byaron*)

On May 1st, 2000, the day against Capitalism took place in most of European countries. In Paris and London anti-globalisation activists attacked buildings of IMF (International Monetary Fund) and WB (World Bank). Later in 2000 in Melbourne, several thousands of activists interrupted the meeting of the International Economic Forum. Again in 2000, anti-globalisation movement also happened in Prague, Czech Republic, when activists broke through the building where the world's elite members met. (Císař & Slačálek, 2007)

In 2001, approximately 200 000 anti-globalisation activists in Genoa held the movement with the flags of anti-globalisation activists. After, in 2004, massive protests took place in New York and Washington against American forces in Iraq. (Tarrow, 2011)

Additionally, anti-globalisation activists always conducted personal movements against individual enemies. The most influential and successful was the campaign against Nikes. Activists got the positive outcome of the movement and they managed to improve slavery conditions on workplace. Especially, huge improvements were made in relation to 12 years old children who worked in Malaysia for Nike. Some politicians suggest that, nowadays, the same problem is with 'Coca-Cola'. The company is accused in hiring people for suppression of strike on one of the factories.

4 Practical Part

4.1 Research methods

As mentioned in introduction of the thesis, (Section 1.), the main goal of the practical part of this thesis is to identify whether people think that anti-globalisation movements are helpful for society and if globalisation is something we should fight against.

To get as much in-depth, detailed and valid data as possible, I have analysed more information connected to Anti-globalisation movement in Prague, 2000 to conduct a case study about given movement. Usage of official documents, articles and old audio records from this event explains more about participants' motives, thoughts and the result of the movement. Detailed schedule of events connected to movement in Prague is written in Appendix 1 (Císař & Slačálek, 2007)

To analyse peoples' attitudes toward globalisation and anti-globalisation I have conducted several semi-structured interviews (Appendix 2) which will give more qualitative data with peoples' feelings and attitudes towards given topics which were discussed in this thesis.

4.2 Case study of anti-globalisation movement in Prague

In September 2000 the Annual Meeting of the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB) Group took place in Prague. This was the reason of gathering 12 000 anti-globalisation activists together to disturb the meeting as they suggested that these organisations caused serious economic problems which they were facing. (discussed in chapters 3.2 & 3.3)

Czech audio records from radio (2000) suggest that Czech anti-globalisation protestors had the same ideas connection to globalisation and international organisations as from section 3.2.2 & 3.2.3

According to the article from iDnes.cz News, activists of movement on 26th of September, 2000 where at Wenceslas Square when they began to close the access to Prague Congress Centre in order to disturb the opening of the summit. Police forces tried to take control over situation, however, their involvement led to more aggressive behaviour of activists who started attacking policemen and journalists as well. Such violence made

police forces to use tear gas in order to stop group of people who wanted to stop the meetings of the global financial institutions. Despite involvement of polices and other forces and their quite aggressive behaviour which are shown in the most saved video recordings from that movement (2000) anti-globalisation activists still succeeded and broke up the last day of summit. According to statistical data from Czech articles 900 activists were arrested that day and more than 50 policemen injured due of violent actions of protestors. According to Touchig Sion, activists were screaming and their slogans such as: ‘Our world is not for sale’ / ‘Náš svět není na prodej’

According to audio record (Carey, 2000) the movements on next following days were not so violent. On Wednesday, 28th, Carey recorded that activists stated that they wanted to conduct non-violent movement and their intention was not to destroy the city. Some witnesses of the protests, however, mentioned about the violence not from the side of the activists, but from the police forces. But others said that police reaction was very natural, and usage of tear gas was the only way to stop the aggression of activists. Similar answers are discussed in the second part of the practical part (section 4.3, Interviews) when respondents state about violent behaviour from both sides, police and activists themselves. More detailed schedule of the protest events before and during summit in September 2000 (Appendix 1).

4.2.1 Violence in Prague movement

‘The demonstrators in Prague were described as hooligans who did not know what they wanted, while the events in Belgrade were termed a popular uprising.’ (Kargalitsky)

Boris Kargalitsky in his work *‘The Lessons of Prague’* highlighted the theme of ‘violence’. After anti-globalisation movement on 26th of September, some of the NGOs that were represented in Prague labelled this movement as a ‘defeat’. They suggested that violent behaviour of activists of the movement resulted in discreditation of their true interests and motives.

Kargalitsky states: *‘This tactic stemmed from experience, over many years, which showed that the international financial elites simply did not react to traditional forms of protest such as demonstrations, pickets and press statements. Meanwhile, disrupting meetings and blockading buildings inevitably presupposed a certain element of violence.’*(Kargalitsky)

4.2.2 Analysis

According to old interview records, anti-globalisation movement in Prague (2000) definitely included some violent actions from the both, police and activists' sides. Most of the witnesses suggest that no kind of violence can be acceptable and both sides can resolve the issues on peaceful terms, without aggression. (Kargalitsky).

According to Appendix 1, there were following events after 26th of September in 2000, again in Prague, but not as violent as Carey (2000) reported. For detailed events after and before 26th of September see Appendix 1.

4.3 Interviews

For the second half of the practical part for this thesis, interviews have been conducted. As mentioned in section 1.1 interviews aimed to find if people knew what anti-globalisation movements were, what was the purpose/result, if they thought they were helpful etc. I have made several semi-structured interviews with Czech people. Czech sample was chosen because of related case study mentioned above as some of the questions have been related to the anti-globalisation movement conducted in Prague, 2000.

I have interviewed 10 people with minimum age 21 and maximum 25. All interviews had exactly same questions, basic information about participants, including name/surname, age and academic status was recorded. Every participant was given information about the topic of interview and everyone had a chance to skip the question if they wanted to and ask any additional questions if needed.

4.3.1 Output

From interviewed people I have found that more than the half, 80% knew about the anti-globalisation movement. Most of them knew about movements from the internet.

One of the respondents stated:

'Of course, I know there are many people in Czech Republic, who are against globalisation. This relatively big group includes several extremist political subjects. But I would say that they are willing to consume the benefits of globalisation, usually they wear world brands clothes, while refusing to accept the disadvantages. Last few years our membership in EU is a big topic for them, as well as the migration. Generally, Czechs are

not used to these changes. Maybe it is because just 30 years ago we were communistic country with closed borders.'

The rest of interviewed people, 20% stated they have heard about the term anti-globalisation movement but could not understand its definition, e.g. the goals of the movement. Data describing awareness of anti-globalisation movements among interviewed people is illustrated in the graph. (Figure 2).

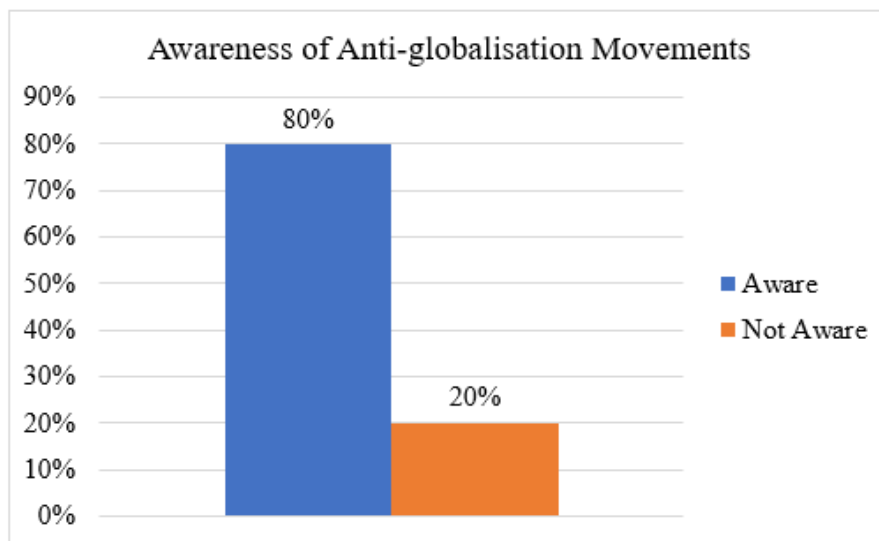


Figure 2: Awareness of anti-globalisation movements

Source: own creation

From people, who knew about anti-globalisation movements and understood their nature, have different perception and attitudes towards the actions of anti-globalisation activists. 10 % of people interviewed said that they do not have specific judgmental attitude towards this kind of movements, and they stated to be neutral towards them. 60% said that they do not support the movements and conducted to have a negative attitude towards them. 30% stated their positive and supportive attitude and pointed out that some of their ideas are relevant to them. This data is illustrated in the chart below (Figure 3).

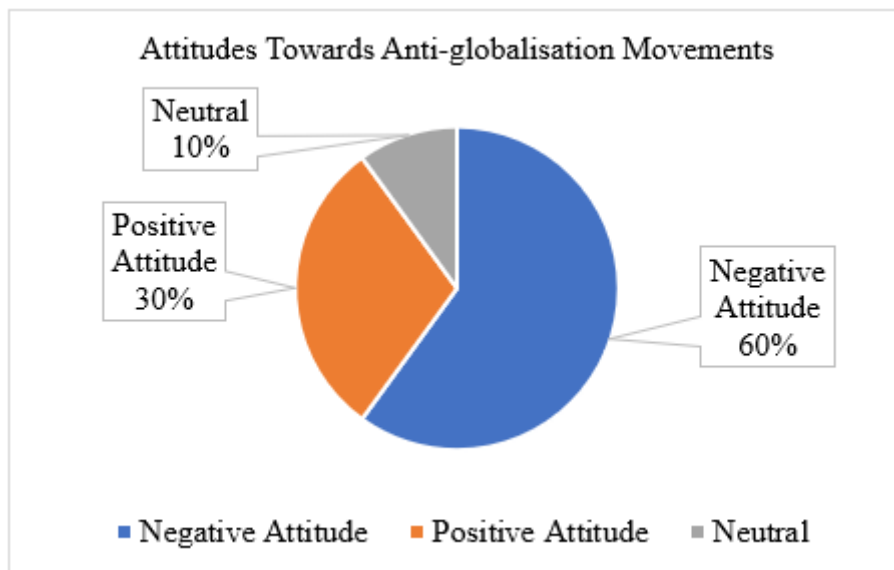


Figure 3: Attitudes towards anti-globalisation movements

Source: own creation

Additionally, from the further discussion during the interviews, participants were able to expand their thoughts, giving more in-depth understanding of their perception. One part of interviewed people, who did not fully understand the idea of anti-globalisation activists, saw them as ordinary people who aimed to fight against some forces, however, they couldn't state what exact forces were anti-globalisation activists opposing.

Respondent 1 described anti-globalisation activists and their motives in a following way: *'It is not clear what their goals are. I only saw the video on YouTube about their movement in Prague where they protested against World Bank and International Monetary Bank, but they did not look adequate. Wild behaviour and weird clothes, constantly screaming. My point is, Czech youth have more problems than this, so I think they just have nothing else to do'*

More percentage of interviewed people explained their negative attitude towards anti-globalisation by emphasising advantages of globalisation. One of interviewed supporter have stated:

'For me, globalisation is result of freedom. Therefore, I am against Anti-globalisation movements. Of course, we should, for example, support our local producers and companies, but every development is based on diversity, therefore globalisation is useful'

Another supporter of anti-globalisation movement also mentioned:

'I think that globalisation is not a thing that people should fight against.'

Some supportive respondents conducted that movements of anti-globalisation activists are just overexaggerated by society and especially the media. According to our discussion they some of respondents stated similar ideas concerning media bias. They suggested that the actions of anti-globalisation activists have a specific aim, and their protests is not meaningless. However, because of media in 21st century, that aims to just make a ‘play’ from the reality of society’ displays a wrong picture and doesn’t give a valid, accurate representation of situation. Thus, people watching TV, listening to radio and reading news online, only see how anti-globalisation activists harm the environment, crash buildings and streets, oppose police forces but the main message is lost. The goal of this movement, the problems of capitalism and other disadvantages of globalisation that anti-globalisation activists oppose are not shown to people, therefore the wrong representation of information makes wrong perception. This media bias takes place in most of European countries and in USA.

Some people who personally think globalisation is not something to fight against, still expressed their support to anti-globalisation movement activists. They stated that these protests are natural reaction of people who face negative effects of capitalism and globalisation. They understood the reaction of population from poor, developing countries and agreed that if someone want to make their life better, they should.

Respondent 2 stated:

‘I think anti-globalisation movements are useful. People are fighting for their rights and interests and it can bring some improvements. If someone wants to change something, he or she must do something for changes. A lot of people complain but don’t do anything to improve situation. The question is if people who are responsible for our nation such as politicians for example will accept these movements and opinions and will change something. Personally, I don’t see anything bad against globalisation. However, I understand both sides.’

However, some of supporters still pointed out that the protest towards the state can be expressed differently to actions of anti-globalisation activists. Similarly to the sections 3.3.4 (Violent versus nonviolent protests) and section 3.3.5 (Events through anti-globalisation movements) they have stated that the protests may have more peaceful nature and activists do not have to be so violent towards police and should not have such an aggressive behaviour, they don’t have to crash building of influential businesses like McDonald’s or any others. They suggest that the agreement can be reached in better and

more peaceful way, without irritating people around and the members of the state, who, in their mind, will respond worse to such violent behaviour and aggression. Respondent 3 compared anti-globalisation movement activist behaviour to subcultural behaviour – expressing interests of people who do not feel like the part of the unity of the world.

Respondent 3 stated: *'This is a typical example of the subculture'*

However, another respondent stated different opinion, that aggressive behaviour of anti-globalisation activists is natural response to their protests. Respondent 4 pointed out that some activists do not see other ways to express their interests effectively as violent behaviour gets as much attention as possible in a shortest time, thus, the goal of activists could be achieved – *'They may be heard and seen'*

Graph below (Figure 4) illustrates answers to the question: *'Do Anti-globalisation movements involve violent nature of movement activists?'*

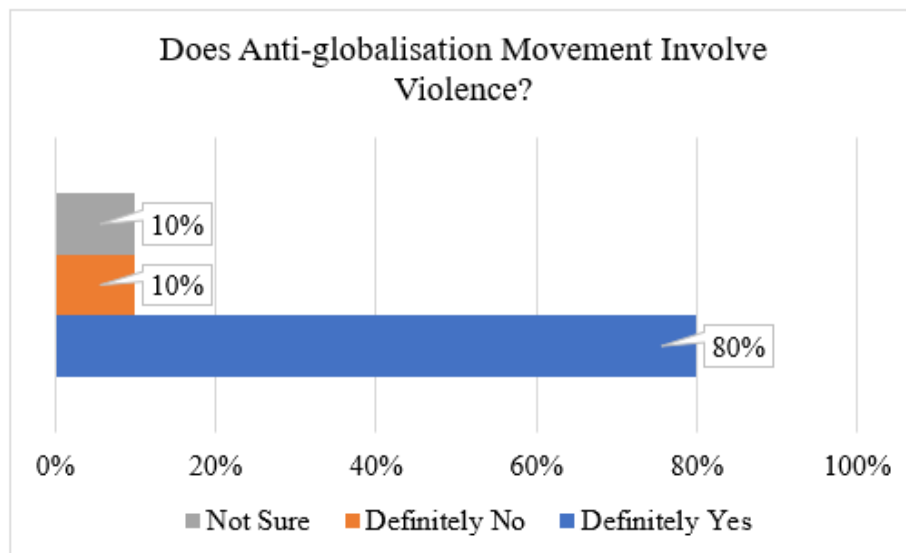


Figure 4: Anti-globalisation movements and violent behaviour of activists;

Source: own creation

This question led to the following question mentioned in theoretical part section 3.3.4, (Violent protests) whether violent behaviour of anti-globalisation activists can be justified. Corresponding answers to this question are described in the graph below (Figure 5).

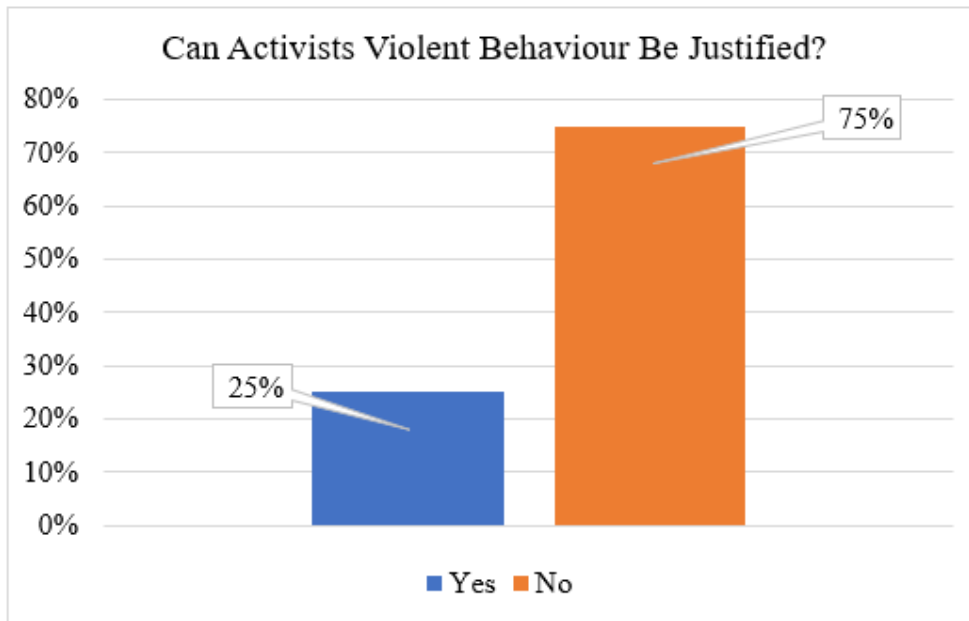


Figure 5: Justification of violent behaviour of anti-globalisation movement activists

Source: own creation

Discussion of violence in anti-globalisation movements resulted in different opinions, however, more people were against violent behaviour and suggested that issues could be solved in peaceful, proper way.

Respondent 4 stated:

'Both sides should be able to compromise and discuss with cool heads, not in anger.'

While asking the question about the movement in Prague, respondents gave answers that can be formed in a following chart (Figure 6):

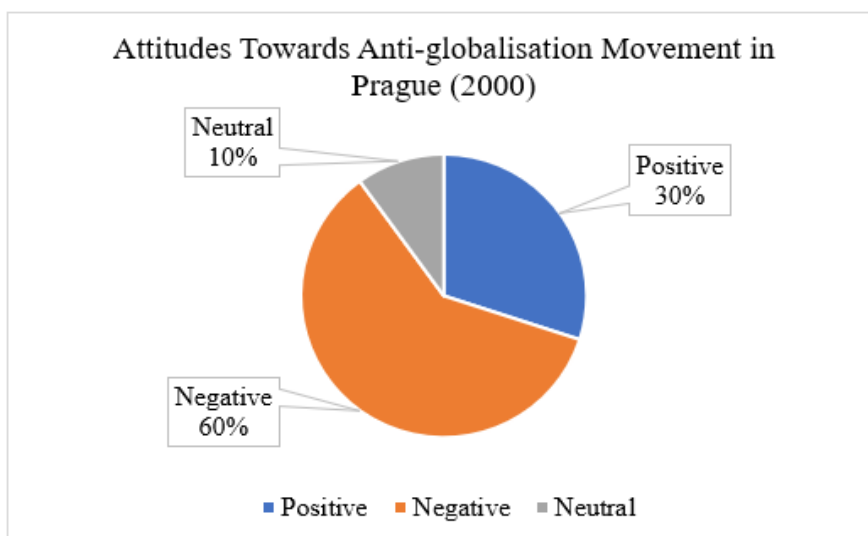


Figure 6: Attitudes towards Anti-globalisation movements in Prague (2000)

Source: own creation

Respondents also gave some insights about terrorism and its connection to anti-globalisation movements and protests with violent behaviour. This question comes from theoretical part (section 3.3.4.). Answers are represented in a bar below (Figure 7).

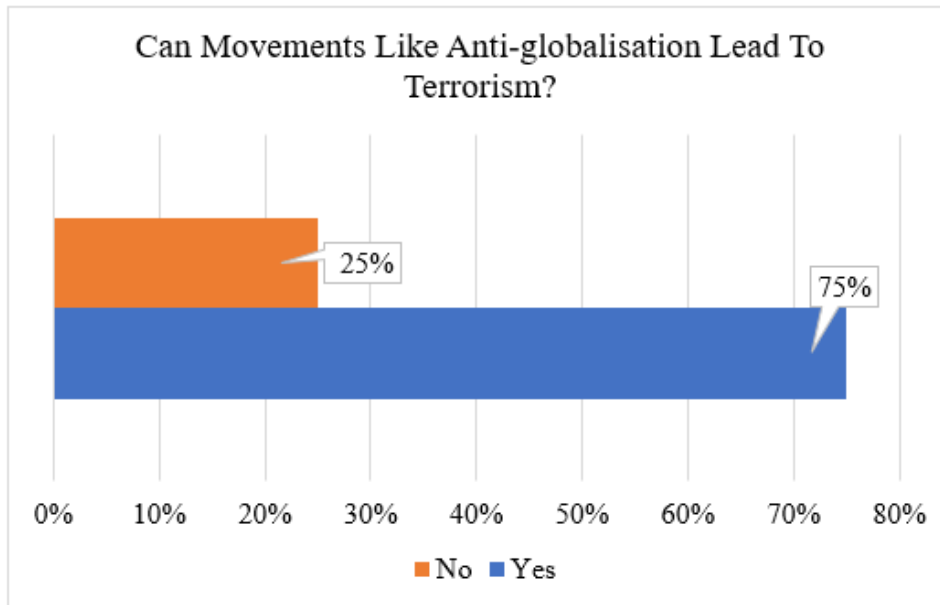


Figure 7: Anti-globalisation movements and terrorism

Source: own creation

4.3.2 Outline of findings

According to research done through interviews and analysing respondents' we can conduct following:

1. Peoples' thoughts about globalisation

From the interviewed people, 60 % stated that globalisation bring more advantages to society than disadvantages. Most of them stated that globalisation is not thing to fight against for, however, 2 of respondents stated that even though personally they do not oppose globalisation, they both sides and suggest that if someone experiences some issues caused by globalisation, they have right to be anti-globalisation activists and fight for their own interests.

2. Peoples' thoughts about anti-globalisation and anti-globalisation movements

- 2 interviewed persons did not fully understand the definition of anti-globalisation and couldn't state why would these movements be conducted.
- People who stated neutral attitude and chose not to be judgmental, conducted that despite their personal thoughts towards globalisation, they do understand activists' motives.
- 30% of interviewed people expressed their positive and supportive attitudes towards anti-globalisation activists and their movements.

3. Peoples' attitudes towards anti-globalisation movements in Prague, Czech Republic (2000)

Similarly, to the point 2 (Attitudes towards anti-globalisation) just 30% expressed positive attitude; 10% stayed neutral; 60% conducted to have negative attitude towards anti-globalisation and anti-globalisation movements.

4. Peoples' attitudes towards usefulness of social movements

As respondent 2, (page 43.) mentioned, anti- globalisation movements could be helpful for better changes for people suffering. This thought was also supported by some other respondents, and others, who stated negative attitude towards anti-globalisation did not think they might be helpful for society at all.

5. Peoples' thoughts if social movements involve violence

- 80% of interviewed people stated that violence takes place within the movement.
- 10 % stated that anti-globalisation movement activists' violent actions were just self-defence, so they did not state them as violent.
- 10% conducted that movements they are aware of, did not include violent character.

6. Peoples' acceptance of violence in social movements

- High percentage (75%) of interviewed people stated that violence could not be justified and both sides should be able to make agreement on a peaceful note.
- 25% stated that violent behaviour could be the only way to reach the goal and attract attention, as stated on page 44 by respondent 4.

7. Peoples' thought about the link between terrorism and anti-globalisation?

- 75% suggested that as violence took place within anti-globalisation movements, there might be some cases that police or other forces may not be able to control the whole situation. Therefore because of big opposition of developing countries including their protests of political and social injustice might be a cause of terrorism and cases of war. This topic was also discussed in theoretical part of thesis in section 3.3.2 Anti-capitalism, terrorist attack on 9.11.01 USA.
- 25% conducted that different kinds of protests happen everywhere, however, especially in developed countries, forces are always able to shut down movements which might cause any reason of war or terror attacks. They stated that real reasons of terrorism are more than just anti-globalisation movement.

4.3.3 Summary of results

From outline of results of conducted interviews, I can conclude following:

- 80% of respondents are fully aware of context of globalisation, anti-globalisation and anti-globalisation movements.
- Most people (60%) support globalisation and do not share anti-globalisation activists' interests.
- Relatively little percentage (10%) of interviewed people personally support globalisation, however, do not judge anti-globalisation movement activists and state that activists have all rights to fight for their interests.
- Most people interviewed (80%), suggest that anti-globalisation movement includes violent behaviour.
- Most people (75%) do not support violent behaviour in anti-globalisation movement and state that it is unacceptable from both sides of conflict.
- High percentage (75%) states that such violent actions may become a cause of terrorism.

5 Conclusion

In conclusion, thesis has shown globalisation as a complex process with a big reaching impacts on developing and developed countries. Through all the discussion in theoretical part (section3), by relaying on interviews (section4), we can suggest that in 21st century, globalisation is part of reality that is effective force for transforming the world around us by offering extreme opportunities in global, united world.

Regarding anti-globalisation movement itself, Czech people did not state any supportive attitudes. As most of them support the idea of globalisation, they suggest that anti-globalisation movements could not be enough to oppose such powerful organisations as WTO (World Trade Organisation), IMF (Internal Monetary Fund), WB (World Bank) and especially G8 countries (France, Germany, Italy, Japan, United Kingdom, United States, Canada & Russia).

However, debate is still opened for discussion. According to most of literature used in theoretical part (section 3) globalisation offers wide range of benefits for better development and integration in social, economic and technological fields, but, according to other sociologists, some disadvantages overcome advantages due to the influence of some negative side effects. The gap between rich and poor people existed and will always exist. Relatively, there always will be groups of people with different interests and motives opposing others. One of the issues that must be handled is to abolish cases of such extreme violence in order to avoid more serious cases such as terrorism (USA, 9.11.01) and cases of war.

6 References

1. Article from Lib.com, '*Anti-capitalism as an ideology - and as a movement?*' 2005
<https://libcom.org/library/anti-capitalist-aufheben-10>
2. BBC News article, '*What is anti-globalisation?*' (2001)
http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/1305103.stm
3. Beck Ulrich, '*Beyond Class and Nation: Reframing Social Inequalities in a Globalizing World*' *British Journal of Sociology* 58(4): 679–705.; (2007)
4. Bell Daniel, *The Coming of Post-Industrial Society*, Copyright 2001
https://www.os3.nl/_media/2011-2012/daniel_bell_-_the_coming_of_post-industrial_society.pdf
5. Bhagwati Jagdish, '*Anti-globalization: why?*' *Journal of Policy Modeling* 26 439–463; (2004)
6. Bhagwati Jagdish, '*Coping with Anti-globalisation*' A Trilogy of Discontents (pp2-7)
http://manoa.hawaii.edu/ctahr/aheed/ALex/Bhagwati_Anti-Globalization.pdf
7. Biermann Rafael and Koops Joachim, '*Palgrave Handbook of Inter-Organizational Relations in World Politics*' (London: Palgrave Macmillan). 2017
https://www.ies.be/files/The%20Palgrave%20Handbook%20of%20Inter-Organizational%20Relations%20in%20World%20Politics_Front%20Matter%20and%20Introduction.pdf
8. Brown Lester, '*State of the World 1984 through 2000*' (an annual report on progress toward a sustainable society)
<http://www.worldwatch.org/system/files/EWB13B.pdf>
9. Brown Lester, '*Vital Signs 1992 through*' 1999 (an annual report on the environmental trends that are shaping our future)
<http://www.worldwatch.org/system/files/EWB13B.pdf>
10. Brown Sydney, Khanacademy video about social movement theories
<https://www.khanacademy.org/test-prep/mcat/society-and-culture/demographics/v/social-movements>
11. Burgoon Brian, '*Inequality and anti-globalization backlash by political parties*'. (GINI discussion paper; No. 14). Amsterdam: AIAS.; (2011).
https://pure.uva.nl/ws/files/1159768/132970_DP14_Burgoon.pdf

12. Cameron Rob & Škodová Alena, article '*Czech anarchists express wolidarity with Genoa demonstrators*'. Radio Praha, 24-07-2001
<https://www.radio.cz/en/section/curraffrs/czech-anarchists-express-solidarity-with-genoa-demonstrators>
13. Carey Nick, audio record '*Anti-globalisation demonstrators on Wednesday for the most part peaceful*', Radio Praha, 28-09-2000
<https://www.radio.cz/en/section/curraffrs/anti-globalisation-demonstrations-on-wednesday-for-the-most-part-peaceful>
14. Carey Nick, audio record '*Anti-globalisation protests in Prague*', Radio Praha, 03-10-2000
<https://www.radio.cz/en/section/talking/anti-globalisation-protests-in-prague>
15. Císař Ondřej & Slačálek Ondřej Workshop Paper '*The Alter-globalization Movement and Democracy in the Czech Republic*' 2007
<https://ecpr.eu/Filestore/PaperProposal/a581362e-d513-4e06-a118-4c12b8db7e12.pdf>
16. Collins Mike, article '*The Pros and Cons of Globalization*'. May6,2015
<https://www.forbes.com/sites/mikecollins/2015/05/06/the-pros-and-cons-of-globalization/#5ae61653ccce>
17. Cragun Ryan, *Social Movement* PowerPoint to accompany Introduction to Sociology. Published Jan 26,2010
<https://www.slideshare.net/rcragun/social-movements-2996157>
18. Debating Europe article, '*Arguments for and against globalization*'
<https://www.debatingeurope.eu/focus/arguments-for-and-against-globalization/#.XIhCnShKjIU>
19. Dickerman Alyson, PowerPoint about Globalisation, '*Globalisaton*', Adjunct Instructor at St. Charles Community College, Published on Jul 4, 2012
<https://www.slideshare.net/alysondickerman/globalization-13545906>
20. Drezner W. Daniel, '*The Persistent Power of the State in the Global Economy*', June 6, Catp Unbound- A Journal of Debate, 2007
<https://www.cato-unbound.org/2007/06/06/daniel-w-drezner/persistent-power-state-global-economy>
21. Edwin AMENTA, et al. *The Political Consequences of Social Movements. Annual Review of Sociology*. 2010. 36:287–307
22. Encyclopaedia Britannica, article, '*Types of Social Movement*'

<https://www.britannica.com/topic/social-movement/Types-of-social-movements#ref286661>

23. Engler Mark, *'Defining the Anti-Globalization Movement'*. An entry for the Encyclopedia of Activism and Social Justice. Sage Publications, April 2007.

<http://democracyuprising.com/2007/04/01/anti-globalization-movement/>

24. Eschle Catherine, *Constructing 'The Anti-Globalisation Movement'*. International Journal of Peace Studies, Volume 9, Number 1, Spring/Summer 2004.

25. Eurostat Newrelease Publication, *'Facts and figures about economic globalization- Patterns in EU trade and investment'*. 189/2017 - 12 December 2017

<https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/documents/2995521/8526662/1-12122017-AP-EN.pdf/a9869b95-e475-42fd-b9af-666db6b96456>

26. French Hilary, *'Vanishing Borders- Protecting the Planet in the Age of Globalization'*. Earthscan Publications Ltd, London

<http://www.worldwatch.org/system/files/EWB13B.pdf>

27. Gijbert van Liemt , *'Towards a different kind of globalization, or how the anti-globalists view the world'*. Working Paper No. 38, March 2004

https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/---integration/documents/publication/wcms_079127.pdf

28. Harman Chris, *Anti-capitalism: Theory and Practice* ,Autumn, 2000

<https://www.marxists.org/archive/harman/2000/xx/anticap.htm#int>

29. Hayduk Ron, *'The Anti-Globalization Movement and OWS'*, Occupying Political Science 2013(Chapter Eight, pp 225-245)

30. Huntington P. Samuel , *'The Clash of Civilizations?'* Vol. 72, No. 3 (Summer, 1993), pp. 22-49; Published by: Council on Foreign Relations

https://dl1.cuni.cz/pluginfile.php/447333/mod_resource/content/1/Huntington%201993.pdf

31. iDNES.cz/Zprávy, article *'V Praze proti globalizaci protestovaly stovky lidí'* (2000)

https://www.idnes.cz/zpravy/domaci/v-praze-proti-globalizaci-protestovaly-stovky-lidi.A000416135331domaci_mhk

32. International Labour Organisation (ILO), *'Statistics on forced labour, modern slavery and human trafficking'*

<https://www.ilo.org/global/topics/forced-labour/policy-areas/statistics/lang--en/index.htm>

33. Jarvis S.L. Darryl, *'Ulrich Beck, Globalization and the Rise of the Risk Society: A Critical Exegetic Analysis'*. National University of Singapore, Research Paper Series: LKYSPP08-003, 18 July 2008
34. Juris S. Jeffrey, article *'Anti-globalisation movement'* (pp48-50)
<https://static1.squarespace.com/static/53fde28ee4b0f7be79e00d95/t/53fe9421e4b029a0c8c8e8a5/1409192993348/anti-globalization-movement.pdf>
35. Kargalitsky Boris, *'The lessons of Prague'*; From International Socialism 2:89, Winter 2000.
<https://www.marxists.org/history/etol/newspape/isj2/2000/isj2-089/kagarlitsky.htm>
36. Keating Joshua, article in Foreign Policy, (FB), April 2009
<https://foreignpolicy.com/2009/04/01/when-did-anti-globalization-become-anti-capitalism/>
37. Kiely Ray, *'The Clash of Globalisation'*. Boston, 2005
https://www.slideshare.net/adiemz/theclashofglobalisationsneoliberalismthethirdwayandan tiglobalisation?qid=c271eedb697a494abdbd066462258fbc&v=&b=&from_search=1
38. Kliesen L. Kevin, article *'Crossing Borders: The Globalization Debate'*, Federal Reserve Bank of St. Louis – Central to America's Economy, October 2007
<https://www.stlouisfed.org/publications/inside-the-vault/spring-2008/crossing-borders-the-globalization-debate>
39. Kragalitsky Boris, *'The Lessons of Prague'* - A web journal for other values
<http://www.commoner.org.uk/Kagar2.pdf>
40. Lee Eddy, *'Harnessing globalization for development: Opportunities and obstacles'*. 2008
https://www.ilo.org/wcmsp5/groups/public/---dgreports/--inst/documents/publication/wcms_193242.pdf
41. Little William, *Introduction to Sociology* – 1st Canadian Edition. Chapter 21, 2014
<https://opentextbc.ca/introductiontosociology/chapter/chapter21-social-movements-and-social-change/>
42. McEnchroe Tom, article and audio record, *'November 17 – The Czech Republic's unofficial protests day?'*, Radio Praha, 17-11-2018
<https://www.radio.cz/en/section/special/17-november-the-czech-republics-unofficial-protest-day>
43. Mills Melinda, *'Globalization and Inequality'*, article in European Sociological Review, August 2009

44. Phillips Nicola, *Globalisation and the "Paradox of State Power*, CSGR Working Paper No. 16/98, November 1998
http://wrap.warwick.ac.uk/2109/1/WRAP_Phillips_wp1698.pdf
45. Shangquan Gao, (2000). *'Economic Globalisation: Trends, Risks and Risk Prevention'*, CDP Background Paper No. 1, ST/ESA/2000/CDP/1, 2000
http://www.un.org/en/development/desa/policy/cdp/cdp_background_papers/bp2000_1.pdf
46. Sharma Chandan, PowerPoint, *'Pro-globalisation vs. Anti-globalisation'*, 2014
<https://www.slideshare.net/chandansharma3979/proglobalization-vs-antiglobalization>
47. Shinwari Pamir, PowerPoint, *'Anti-globalisation in the world'* Human Resources at Goa University, Published on Apr 30, 2015
<https://www.slideshare.net/PamirShinwari/antiglobalization-in-the-world>
48. Srivastava Surya, Essay *'Globalisation VS. Anti-globalisation'*, Indian Institute of Foreign Trade
<https://www.scribd.com/document/35342107/ESSAY-GLOBALIZATION-VS-ANTI-GLOBALIZATION>
49. STANLEY, Jason and GOODWIN, Jeff, *'Political Economy and Social Movements'*, in *The Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social and Political Movements*, London: Wiley Blackwell, 2013.
50. Steward & Glynn, 1979:245, PowerPoint, Published on May 9, 2017
<https://www.slideshare.net/RahulMahida1/social-movements-75805563>
51. Swain Daniel, PowerPoint, *'Fundamentals of Political Science – Resistance, Rebellion and Revolution'*, Lecture 4
https://prezi.com/5fl_kt5q7wlr/ss2019lecture4/?utm_campaign=share&token=e4b0b1cc569ae34e8f7cd63e3a521806d63a5fad236fb5c6b17b5b55fb1f749b&utm_medium=copy
52. TARROW, Sidney. *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011.
53. Toffler Elvin, *'The Third Wave'*, 1982
http://www.read.virmk.ru/present_past_pdf/Toffler_Tretiya_volna.pdf
54. Touchig Sion, Anti-globalisation protest at IMF summit
<https://www.gettyimages.co.uk/detail/news-photo/protest-slogan-at-the-anti-globalization-demonstration-in-news-photo/627739430>
55. Warner Adam, *'A Brief History of The Anti-Globalization Movement'*. 1-1-2005
<https://repository.law.miami.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1082&context=umiclr>

56. Well Gary J.' *The Issue of Globalization-An Overview*' Congressional. Research Service. Pp 17- 20. 2001

<https://digitalcommons.ilr.cornell.edu/cgi/viewcontent.cgi?article=1005&context=crs>

57. Woodman Dan & Threadgold Steven & Possamai-Inesedy Alpha, article in *Journal of Sociology* '*Prophet of a new modernity: Ulrich Beck's legacy for sociology*' December 2015

58. Whitehead Byron, Video Record about Anti-Globalisation Movement

<https://slideplayer.com/slide/12070519/>

7 Appendices

7.1 Appendix 1

Detailed events of anti-globalisation movement in Prague, Czech Republic on 26/09/200:

September 22
<ul style="list-style-type: none">– Approximately 250 people gathered on the Palacky Square in protest against the IMF and WB policies (organized by the Humanist Alliance).
September 23
<ul style="list-style-type: none">– The debate of 300 advocates and critics of the international financial institutions (IFIs) took place in the Prague Castle.– Some representatives of environmental NGOs, who participated in the debate, protested in the Prague Castle area against global poverty.– A march of 500 people protesting the institutions’ policies took place (organized by the Antifascist Action, Solidarity, and the Federation of Social Anarchists).– A march of 400-1000 communists protesting the institutions’ policies took place (organized by the ‘Stop IMF!’ campaign).– 150 members of Czech far-Right organizations gathered on Letna.
September 24
<ul style="list-style-type: none">- INPEG organized a demonstration (150 people) in support of YA BASTA! Members who were prevented from entering the country.- An alternative conference ‘Another Report’ on global poverty organized by Jubilee 2000, Friends of the Earth and the Bankwatch Network started.- A march organized by INPEG (500 people at the beginning, 1000 at the end) protested against the institutions and in support of the YA BASTA! members held at the border.- The YA BASTA! activists held at the border shortly blocked all railways on the border station and subsequently planted several fires.- A demonstration in support of the activists held at the border took place in front of the Czech embassy in Rome, Italy.

September 25

- 20 people (Green Party, Communist Refoundation Party) protested in front of the Czech consulate in Milan, Italy.
- 3 activists attached themselves to a bridge approximately 300 meters from the Congress Center, where the IFI's summit was taking place. They attached banners to the bridge construction (People not Profit, Earth First!, an anarchist symbol – A in a circle, End Corporate Rule).
- 100 people gathered on the Fugner Square to protest against the institutions.
- 10 people gathered in the Na Prikope Street to protest against the institutions (organized by the Defense of Environment).

September 26 – S26

6 a.m.

- 70 activists from Finland protested in front of a hotel in the centre of Prague.

6:30 a.m.

- A group of foreign activists shortly blocked a border crossing.

7:45 a.m.

- 500 people gathered on Mir Square.

9-10 a.m.

- Since the morning 1000 people had gathered on Mir Square.
- 300 people marched from Wenceslas Square and 300 from the Mezibranska Street to join the demonstration on Mir Square.

Later on, an additional 1000 YA BASTA! activists marched to Mir Square.

10:00 a.m.

- Several protesters invaded a McDonald's restaurant and damaged the entrance door and the interior.

10:15 a.m.

- 1000-2000 protesters shortly blocked the Anglicka Street.

11:00 a.m.

- There were 5000-7000 activists on Mir Square.

11:30 a.m.

- The activists marched from the Mir Square to the Karlovo Square. Two young Americans were attacked by several protesters.

12:00

- Part of the march changed the direction and turned towards the Congress Center.
- The police forces blocked the access routes to the Congress Center.

12:00-1:00 p.m.

- There were three groups of protesters positioned nearby the Congress Center. The first one with the YA BASTA! activists in the forefront faced police forces on the Nuselsky Bridge that leads to the Center. A second group (1700 people) reached Karlovo Square, then turned to Nusle (a quarter nearby the Center). The third group was on Bratri Synku Square. The police estimate was altogether 5000-6000 protesters.

1:00 p.m.

- The protesters on the bridge attempted to make it through the police forces. The two sides clashed. Water cannons and tear gas were used to pacify the activists. Another attempt to reach the Center was made by the protesters coming through Nusle. Cobblestones, wooden sticks and Molotov cocktails were used against the police, who used water cannons and tear gas in response.

1:30 p.m.

- Clashes in Lumirova Street.

2:30 p.m.

- Protesters forced out of Lumirova Street.

- Several hundred protesters attacked approximately 50 policemen with wooden sticks and tried to make it through the police barriers in Mikulase z Husi Street (100 meters from Congress Center). The police forces employed water cannon, tear gas, and batons. Several activists were taken into custody. A fire was planted by protesters. In neighboring Marie Cibulkove Street a car was demolished, and the entrance door to a hotel destroyed.

- 12 policemen, 5 activists, and a British journalist reported injured in the clashes.

3:00 p.m.

- Already 20 policemen and 10 activists reported injured.

- The crowd in Marie Cibulkove Street was dispersed with the help of tear gas and a water cannon. Some activists were taken into custody. Several hundred protesters in Neklan Street tried to build barricades out of road fence and trash bins. Some of them were set on fire. Cobblestones were used against the police.

3:30 p.m.

- 3000 protesters pulled back from the bridge.

4:00 p.m.

- 300-400 activists remained on the bridge. The rest of the protesters either returned back to Mir Square or dispersed throughout the city.

- 100-200 activists were under the bridge, trying to get uphill to the Congress Center.

- An armored personnel carrier and a water cannon came to the Marie Cibulkove Street.

Two water cannons forced protesters out of the Na Slupi and Svobodova intersection. Clashes continued, with cobblestones and wooden sticks used on the side of protesters; tear gas, batons, and water cannons employed by the police forces.

- 200 protesters made it close to the Center.

4:15 p.m.

- Hundreds of protesters came to Wenceslas Square in the city centre.

4:45 p.m.

- 200 protesters who made it close to the Center were forced out by the police.

- Several hundreds activists marched from Wenceslas Square to the State Opera House.

5:00 p.m.

- Dozens of people injured, including 54 policemen.

- Another group of 300 protesters marched towards the State Opera House.

- Many groups of protesters scattered randomly throughout the city center.

- 30 protesters remained on the Nuselsky Bridge.

- Several hundreds of protesters faced the police at the Corinthia Towers (CT) Hotel near the Congress Center.

5:30 p.m.

- Protesters at the CT Hotel dispersed by tear gas.

- 1000 mostly Greek protesters gathered in front of the State Opera House.

5:45 p.m.

- The demonstration on Nuselsky Bridge ended.

- Traffic in front of the State Opera House was blocked.

- Clashes between the police and small groups of protesters continued throughout the city.

6:00 p.m.

- Several groups of protesters were reported to try to block the Congress Center. In

Petra Rezka Street 200-300 activists were reported, in U palouku Street 200 activists, and in Zateckeho Street 200 activists.

- A Russian delegate to the summit was injured by a bag filled with sand.

7:00 p.m.

- A march of 400 protesters and attacks against public property (street signs, roadfences) reported from Taborska Street.

8:00 p.m.

- Shopping windows of a Czech bank branch office were smashed by 10 protesters in Belehradská Street. Several other attacks on public and private property reported in the city.

- A group of 20-25 Italian and Spanish protesters returned to Nuselsky Bridge. They were accompanied by 10 Czech Punks.

- 10-20 protesters smashed the shop windows of a Kentucky Fried Chicken restaurant, demolished the interior of a McDonald's restaurant, and continued destroying shopping windows of the C&A store and a Czech bank on Wenceslas Square. Trash bins were knocked over and at least one was set on fire.

- Traffic in front the State Opera house was still blocked.

8:30 p.m.

- Police forced protesters out of Wenceslas Square. Cobblestones were thrown at the police, some protesters were taken into custody, tear gas was used. Some protesters returned later and continued in attacks on shop windows (Mercedes Benz, Peugeot).

8.45 p.m.

-200 protesters gathered in front of the place where a reception for the delegates hosted by the Czech Prime Minister was taking place.

10:00 p.m.

- During a robust raid the police forces first forced protesters out of Wenceslas Square, bottled them up in the adjacent streets, and took dozens of them into custody. Activities of undercover policemen as provocateurs of acts of violence against property were reported.

September 27

7:00 a.m.

- 40 activists briefly blocked the Hilton Hotel; they were forced out by the police.

9:45 a.m.

-100-200 activists that gathered on Mir Square were encircled by the police. Some activists were taken into custody, which provoked an attack against the police.

12:30 p.m.

- 200-300 mostly Spanish protesters were on Mir Square. Their march from the square to the city center was blocked in the Anglicka Street by the police. They sat on the ground, sang, and shouted slogans.

3:30 p.m.

- The protesters were returning from Anglicka Street to the Mir Square.

5:00 p.m.

- Charges against 18 out of more than 500 protesters taken into custody the previous day were reported.

5:30 p.m.

- The Prague conference of the Diverse Women for Diversity movement criticized the policies of IFIs.

6:00 p.m.

- The activists gathered on Mir Square decided to move in small groups to Charles Bridge.

7:00 p.m.

- 300 activists from the Mir Square gathered on the Old Town Square.

7:40 p.m.

- The activists reached Charles Bridge.

8:30 p.m.

- The activists returned to the Old Town Square.

11:00 p.m.

- The gathering on the Old Town Square ended.

Source: Ondřej Císař and Ondřej Slačálek (2007)

Paper presented at the ECPR Joint Session of Workshops. Helsinki, Finland, May 7-12, 2007. Workshop 4: Democracy in movements. Conceptions and practices of democracy in contemporary social movements

7.2 Appendix 2

Interview Questions:

1. Have you heard about anti-globalisation movement and do you know what does it mean?
2. What's your attitude towards this movement?
3. Have you heard about anti-globalisation movement in Prague? (2000)
4. What are your attitudes towards the anti-globalisation movement in Prague?
5. Do you think such movements are useful and can bring some improvements in Czech Republic?
6. Do you think that globalisation follows capitalism values and there is something to fight against?
7. Have you heard about anti-globalisation movement in other countries?
8. How would you describe people who participate in anti-globalisation movements? What changes they want to make?
9. Do you think anti-globalisation movements contain violent behaviour?
10. Do you think violent behaviour of activists of the movement can be justified?
11. Do you see any link between anti-globalisation movements and terrorism?