



Anti-Globalization or Alter-Globalization? Mapping the Political Ideology of the Global Justice Movement¹

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Globalization has unsettled conventional, nationally based political belief systems, opening the door to emerging new global political ideologies. While much analytic focus has been on ideational transformations related to market globalism (neoliberalism), little attention has been given to its growing number of ideological challengers. Drawing on data collected from 45 organizations connected to the World Social Forum, this article examines the political ideas of the global justice movement, the key antagonist to market globalism from the political Left. Employing morphological discourse analysis and quantitative content analysis, the article assesses the ideological coherence of “justice globalism” against Michael Freeden’s (1996) three criteria of distinctiveness, context-bound responsiveness, and effective decontestation. We find that justice globalism displays ideological coherence and should be considered a maturing political “alter”-ideology of global significance. The evidence presented in this article suggests the ongoing globalization of the twenty-first-century ideological landscape.

The breakdown of the Cold War order organized around the opposing ideological poles of capitalist liberalism vs collectivist communism and the ensuing wave of globalization have unsettled conventional political belief systems. Across political, social, economic, and cultural dimensions, globalizing forces both generate and respond to new “global problems” beyond the reach of nationally based political institutions and their associated ideologies. These new global problems include financial volatility, climate change and environmental degradation, increasing food scarcity, pandemics such as AIDS and SARS, widening disparities in wealth and well-being, increasing migratory pressures, manifold cultural and religious conflicts, and transnational terrorism. Intrinsically connected to these complex dynamics, nationally based political ideologies have themselves been globalized. This dynamic includes a shift from state-based international governance mechanisms to international organizations and nonstate actors, underpinned by commitment to these

emerging global ideologies. Much-needed assessments of the transformation of the contemporary ideological landscape have largely been confined to what has been variously referred to as “neoliberalism,” “globalization-from-above,” or “market globalism” (Falk 1999; Barber 2001; Mittelman 2004; Harvey 2005; Steger 2009). However, less attention has been paid to “justice globalism,” that is, the political ideas and values associated with social alliances and political networks increasingly known as the “global justice movement” (GJM).

Since the turn of the century, the combined forces of justice globalism have been gathering political strength. This is evidenced not only in the ongoing worldwide mass protests against “corporate globalization” but also in the emergence of informal global governance bodies such as the World Social Forum (WSF) as key ideological sites of the movement. The WSF draws to its annual meetings tens of thousands of delegates from around the world. Proclaiming “another world is possible,” the proponents of justice globalism deliberately set up the WSF as a “parallel forum” to the well-known neoliberal World Economic Forum (WEF) in Davos, Switzerland. Just like market globalists, who treat the WEF as a platform to project their ideas and values to a global audience, justice globalists utilize the WSF as one of the chief production sites of their ideological and policy alternatives. The significance of these two organizations and others like

¹ *Authors' note.* The research presented in this article summarizes findings from the first phase of a research project that maps the ideological structure and policy alternatives of the GJM. The authors gratefully acknowledge the Australian Research Council (ARC) for funding this project with a 2009–2011 Discovery Grant. The 400-page report, *Mapping Justice Globalism: Report on Phase One*, will be released online in mid-2011. The authors also wish to thank James Goodman, the second Chief Investigator for this project, who will direct the policy analysis phase. His comments on and insights into the Phase One data were invaluable in the process of writing this article.

them reinforces the increasingly globalized nature of political contestation and the need to move beyond state-based political actors so as to comprehend the many changes occurring in the global political landscape.

Despite the growing strength of the GJM, evidenced in the emergence of sites like the WSF, many hardcore neoliberals and even some pro-market reformists have dismissed justice globalism as unreflectively “anti-globalization,” alleging that it amounts to little more than a superficial shopping list of complaints that lack a coherent theoretic structure and a unifying policy framework (Friedman 2000, 2005; Stiglitz 2003; Bhagwati 2004; Wolf 2004; Greenwald and Kahn 2009). Employing morphological discourse analysis and quantitative content analysis, this article tests this influential allegation by seeking to identify and critically evaluate the core concepts and central ideological claims of justice globalism. The article specifically engages with the skeptical challenge posed by market globalists: Is the GJM merely an unimaginative collection of disparate “anti” groups (or perhaps a strategic alliance of instrumental single-issue movements), or does it actually possess a mature coherent ideological structure (“justice globalism”) that provides conceptual and practical alternatives to the dominant paradigm of market globalism?

Drawing on relevant data and textual evidence from 45 organizations linked to the WSF, the article identifies a number of core concepts and central claims that suggest justice globalism should be considered a congealing political ideology offering an alternative conceptual framework for collective political action.² Furthermore, the article posits that justice globalism also provides practical policy alternatives to those currently touted by market globalists. The existence of strong ideological and policy components in justice globalism suggests that, contrary to the assertion of neoliberals, justice globalism is not simply *anti*-globalization. Instead, it may be described more accurately as *alter*-globalization, offering a sophisticated alternative vision of global politics at the outset of the twenty-first century.

Globalization and Political Ideologies

Political ideologies are comprehensive belief systems and shared normative mental maps. Comprised of patterned ideas believed to be “true” by significant social groups, ideologies are codified by political elites who contend over control of political meanings and offer competing plans for public policy (Freeden 1996; Schwarzmantel 2008; Sargent 2009; Steger 2009). Indeed, ideologies play a key role in consolidating social forces as political groups. The perpetual struggle over meaning and control places ideologies at the heart of the political process. Consequently, scholars have highlighted the importance of the comparative and trans-disciplinary study of ideologies (Zizek 1994; Ball and

Dagger 2008). For many years, the pioneers of ideology studies have used various qualitative methodologies to analyze and evaluate the historical evolution and conceptual structures of political belief systems. Their efforts have yielded familiar ideal-types: liberalism, conservatism, socialism, anarchism, communism, and fascism/Nazism. Although all political ideologies engage in simplifications and distortions, their functions should not be reduced to such a “critical conception” (Thompson 1990). A more “neutral conception” would also affirm their integrative functions as indispensable mental maps that help people navigate their political universe (Mannheim 1936; Althusser 1969; Gramsci 1971; Ricoeur 1986; Freedman 1996; Steger 2008).

During the last two decades, political and social theorists have researched the impact of globalization on existing ideational systems, arguing that the contemporary transformation of conventional ideologies is linked to the rise of a new social imaginary that casts the world as a single, interdependent place (Robertson 1992; Albrow 1996; Appadurai 1996; Giddens 2000; Sassen 2006; Steger 2008). Like all social imaginaries, the rising global imaginary fosters implicit background understandings enabling common practices and identities (Taylor 2004) as well as providing a prereflexive framework for our daily routines (Bourdieu 1990). But the thickening “consciousness-of-the-world-as-a-whole” does not imply a supposedly impending “death of the nation-state” (Guehenno 1995; Ohmae 1995) or suggest the disappearance of potent localisms or tribalisms. The local, national, and regional persist in symbolic markers, identities, and socio-political systems, but these are increasingly reconfigured and recoded around the global. For example, various micro-studies of “mega-events” of transnational significance such as world exhibitions, major sports events, and international arts festivals show the ideological projection of the global imaginary by means of “condensation symbols” and “condensation performances” in mostly urban “condensation spaces” where those events are staged (Steger 2011).

Political ideologies translate the largely prereflexive social imaginary into concrete political agendas. Conventional political ideologies have been predominantly linked to national imaginaries, such as Italian fascism, American liberalism, Russian “socialism in one country,” “communism with Chinese characteristics,” “Swedish democratic socialism,” and so on (Anderson 1991; Steger 2008). However, in the twenty-first century, political ideologies are increasingly articulating the emerging *global* imaginary into political programs. Variants of jihadist Islamism, ecologism, and transnational feminism are obvious examples of how the rising global imaginary has provided a novel frame of reference that increasingly destabilizes nationally based ideologies and introduces new ideational formations assembled around the global. This unsettling dynamic is reflected in a remarkable proliferation of qualifying prefixes adorning conventional “isms”: *neo*-liberalism, *neo*-conservatism, *neo*-fascism, *neo*-Marxism, *post*-Marxism, *post*-modernism, and so on. Rather than adding prefixes to outdated political ideologies, however, students of ideology need to create new typologies of

² The report containing the data used in this article is available from the ISQ upon request. The report also expands on the details of our methodology presented here for replication purposes.

political belief systems that more adequately recognize the real source of their ideational novelty: the increasing prominence of the *global* in contemporary political discourse.

Justice Globalism—An Undertheorized Subject

Recent attempts to sketch the morphologies (conceptual structures) of today's political belief systems have focused on market globalism (neoliberalism) and, since 9/11, religious globalisms like jihadist Islamism (Karam 2004; Kepel 2004; Mandaville 2007)—at the expense of justice globalism. This is not to deny the importance of mapping the conceptual contours of market globalism, for it constitutes the dominant ideology of our time (Mittelman 2000, 2004; Rupert 2000; Sklair 2001; Steger 2002, 2009). Moreover, these macro-mapping exercises have succeeded in identifying the World Economic Forum (WEF) as one of the key ideological sites for the production and dissemination of core market-globalist claims and policy alternatives (Patomäki and Teivainen 2004a; Goodman 2007).

Is there a coherent ideological structure of the core ideas that drive the agenda of the GJM? As we noted, there is considerable lack of research on justice globalism, which fuels confusion and speculation over the main claims, objectives, and policy alternatives of the GJM. Previous conceptual mapping exercises have been carried out chiefly to track organizational flows and processes, the geography of global civil society, and the intricacies of North–South relations (Bleiker 2000; Rupert 2000; Carroll 2007). General forays into the ideational composition of justice globalism can be found in the burgeoning literature on new global justice movements (Tarrow 2005; Della Porta, Andretta, Mosca, and Reiter 2006; McDonald 2006). But even in these very useful studies, the focus is more on “issue framing” than on analysis and evaluation of politically potent ideas and claims, leading one observer to describe ideology as the neglected “orphan” of social movement theory (Buechler 2000).

One possible explanation for this neglect of ideology within social movements may be the long shadow cast by the “end of ideology” debates. Erupting in Europe and the United States in the late 1950s (Waxman 1968), the first wave of these debates postulated the exhaustion of both Marxist socialism and classical liberalism. Proponents argued that modern political belief systems were rapidly displaced by a non-ideological pragmatism associated with the Keynesian welfare state. After the sudden upsurge of ideological politics in the 1960s and 1970s discredited this thesis, it was unexpectedly resurrected with the 1989 collapse of communism. A number of influential scholars argued that the passing of Marxism–Leninism marked the disappearance of viable ideological alternatives to capitalist liberalism from the stage of world history, which signified the unabashed victory of an information technology–driven market globalism (Fukuyama 1989, 1992; Furet 2000). However, the emergence of the GJM and the significance of globalized Islam have cast severe doubt on this thesis.

Building on ideological sources from earlier eras, a global political ideology focused on social justice emerged forcefully during the 1990s in response to neoliberalism's unfulfilled promises (Steger 2008:197). Rather than looking for new ways to integrate social justice into nationally based political ideologies, many activists sought to translate their commitments to social justice to the global scale. Academics and activists began to talk of a “new cosmopolitanism” anchored in “the worthy ideals of justice and equality” (Held 1995; Nussbaum 1996:4). Not just social justice but values of global justice and solidarity with people beyond one's own national borders became widespread during the 1990s. Social activists around the world began to engage in what Sidney Tarrow (2005) has referred to as “global framing,” connecting local problems to broader contexts of global injustice and inequality. Key among these thinkers and activists were Walden Bello (1999), Naomi Klein (2000), and Susan George (1976, 2004).

Moreover, a number of events catalyzed the emergence of a global ideologically driven movement focused on rectifying global injustice and inequality. These events included the Zapatista Movement, the widespread devastation caused by the Asian Financial Crisis, and the mass strikes in France in 1995 and 1998, which led to the formation of the hugely significant GJM group, ATTAC (Steger 2008:199–201). Over the course of two decades, progressive thinkers and activists have gradually developed and articulated a form of political ideology that is committed to social justice not just at the national level but increasingly at the global level as well. This is not to say that the global focus of new ideologies like market globalism and justice globalism has replaced the national. Rather, new political ideologies are recognizing the increasing interconnections between the various levels of political life that have developed as a result of processes of globalization. This further highlights the importance of exploring these new ideological forms so as to broaden our understanding of global politics. Mapping the ideological structure of justice globalism contributes to this research imperative.

Mapping Justice Globalism

Although previous literature on the GJM has highlighted the emergence of unifying values of social justice and solidarity, there has not been a complex, in-depth mapping of the core ideological concepts that span across the actors that constitute the GJM.³ In identifying and critically evaluating the core ideological structure of justice globalism, the research presented here utilizes morphological discourse analysis, a methodology introduced by Freedon (1996, 2003) and refined by Steger (2002, 2009). Language is critical to how ideologies distort, legitimate, integrate,

³ These previous studies suggest that there has been a strong degree of ideological convergence around concepts of social justice and solidarity from quite early on in the existence of the GJM. Still, a morphological study of earlier iterations of justice globalism would provide more detail and evidence on this issue.

and, most importantly, “decontest” their core values and claims. Although successfully decontested ideas always require more explanation and justification, they are held as truth with such confidence that they no longer appear to be assumptions at all. Ultimately, the major ideational claims give each ideology its unique conceptual configuration or “morphology.” As Freedden (Freedden 2003:54–55; emphasis original) explains,

An ideology attempts to end the inevitable contention over concepts by *decontesting* them, by removing their meanings from contest. ‘This is what justice means’, announces one ideology, and ‘that is what democracy entails’. By trying to convince us that they are right and that they speak the truth, ideologies become devices for coping with the indeterminacy of meaning....That is their semantic role. [But] [i]deologies also need to decontest the concepts they use because they are instruments for fashioning collective decisions. That is their political role.

Ideological morphologies can thus be pictured as decontested truth-claims that facilitate collective decision making. Their interlinked semantic and political roles suggest that control over language translates directly into political and social power. Consequently, any analysis that attempts to identify, map, and critically evaluate core ideological claims must focus on the use of language. Morphological discourse analysis is a qualitative method for a contextually sensitive mapping and assessment of the structural arrangements of political ideologies (in terms of core claims) that attribute meanings to a range of mutually defining political concepts.

The key difference between Freedden’s methodology and that developed and applied by Steger (2002, 2009) concerns the proper conceptualization of basic ideological units that carry meanings. Unlike Freedden, who disaggregates ideational systems into relatively static elements according to levels of decreasing contestation (from “core concepts” to “adjacent concepts” to “periphery concepts”), this research evaluates the ideological status of justice globalism on the basis of its ability to arrange concepts of roughly equal significance into meaningful “decontestation chains” or “central ideological claims.” This adjustment captures the dynamic and changeable character of ideational systems (Steger 2002, 2009).

For the current research project, morphological discourse analysis was applied to 135 key texts generated by 45 organizations connected to the WSF, alongside data collected in 20 in-depth, semi-structured interviews. Quantitative content analysis using computer software was also applied to the texts. The WSF was chosen as a key site of the GJM for a number of reasons. First, there is virtually unanimous agreement in the authoritative literature on the significance of the WSF as the intellectual and organizational epicenter of the GJM (Conway 2004; Patomäki and Teivainen 2004a,b; Sen, Escobar, and Waterman 2004; Della Porta 2007; Goodman 2007; Smith, Della Porta, Mosca, et al. 2007). Supported by influential organizations within these global jus-

tice networks, the first WSF meeting was held in January 2001, in Porto Alegre, Brazil. It attracted 5000 participants from 117 countries and thousands of Brazilian activists. Attendance at subsequent meetings skyrocketed, reaching over 100,000 participants in 2003. Since then, the WSF has met in Mumbai, Nairobi, Porto Alegre (again), and Dakar, Senegal, in 2011. Around the globe, numerous regional, national, and local social forums have also occurred.

Secondly, the WSF constitutes the largest and most diverse organizational umbrella of the GJM. While other large global justice networks exist (for example, the International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, the World Fair Trade Organization, Friends of the Earth International), these organizations are often focused on particular sectoral concerns. The WSF brings together a vast diversity of social sectors, spanning North and South, crossing a range of linguistic divides. The WSF is also politically diverse: unlike other global justice formations (such as People’s Global Action), it draws together a broad range of political orientations and tendencies. Although much of the WSF’s membership is in Latin America, Europe, and North America, there is also significant involvement from African and Asian groups. Indeed, no other global justice coalition comes close to the WSF’s geographic, ethnic, and linguistic reach and diversity.

Thirdly, unlike other large global justice coalitions, the WSF was consciously established as an *ideological* alternative to the market-globalist WEF. Designed as an “open meeting place” (as stated in the first clause in its Charter of Principles; see WSF 2002), the WSF was designed to encourage and facilitate a free exchange of ideas among justice globalists. Hence, one would expect to find a particularly rich source of ideological materials among its membership. Moreover, there has been an animated debate within the GJM as to whether the WSF should remain an open meeting place or become a political action-oriented “movement of movements” (Keraghel and Sen 2004; Patomäki and Teivainen 2004b; Funke 2008). Indeed, the findings presented here offer some insight regarding the possibilities for effective coherent political action emanating from the GJM.

Data Collection and Analysis

A sample of 45 WSF-affiliated organizations was selected for the analysis (see Table 1). Twenty organizations were specifically selected primarily because of their membership in the WSF International Council’s Liaison group, indicating a high level of involvement and commitment to the WSF. The remaining 25 organizations were randomly selected from the list of groups affiliated with the WSF International Council displayed on the WSF website (WSF 2009). As far as was possible, we endeavored to obtain a broad geographic spread among the selected organizations. In this way, we were able to gather a snapshot of the global movement in its various local, national, and

regional iterations, as well as views of activists from both Global North and South.⁴

We conducted background research on each organization by examining their websites and publications. We then selected three texts from each organization for the morphological discourse analysis. These texts included the organization's website, a press release, and a statement or declaration.

The website is the main text through which an organization defines and advertises itself and its activities to the world. It is the primary vehicle through which an organization communicates what its core values, main goals, and priorities are. This makes the website a key place for identifying underlying ideological assumptions that contribute to the identity, aspirations, and actions of civil society actors. We focused in particular on the organization's homepage and pages on the website that outline the organization's mission, values, and history.

We selected press releases and statements as part of the analysis for similar reasons. Both types of texts are relatively short and thus require concise articulation of goals and priorities. Any outline of policies in these documents is also likely to be clearly linked with the overarching goals and values of the organization. This again makes press releases and statements key sites for the articulation of ideology and translation of ideology into political practice.

Where possible, we analyzed texts of no longer than 5–6 pages. This limited the amount of data included in the analysis, given the already large field from which data could be drawn (three texts for each of the 45 organizations equates to 135 texts). Websites varied in length, as some organizations had a number of pages that related to their identity and self-definition (History, About Us, Goals, Principles), whereas others had few or even none (for example, the General Union of Oil Employees in Basra 2010).

The initial criterion for selecting press releases and statements was that they should be recent (issued within the last 2–3 years). Secondly, we gave priority to press releases and statements focused on issues identified in academic literature and popular media as pressing global problems, specifically climate change, the global financial crisis, and the global food crisis (Giddens 2009; Patomäki 2009; Houtart 2010).⁵ Finally, as much as possible, we chose press releases and statements issued independently by organizations and not

in collaboration with another organization or group of organizations.⁶

After selecting the 135 texts, we subjected them to qualitative morphological discourse analysis and quantitative content analysis over a period of 7 months. We firstly provide details of the morphological discourse analysis methodology and findings, followed by a brief overview of the quantitative methodology and findings.

Morphological Discourse Analysis

The morphological discourse analysis included close repeated reading of the texts, with a view to answering the following five sets of questions:

1. What are the core concepts of the organization?
2. How are these concepts used?
3. How is narrative used? What stories is the organization telling? What ideological claims are being made?
4. How is metaphor used?
5. What are the main policy proposals of the organization?

These guiding questions were designed to fulfill three main purposes. Firstly, in order to identify core concepts, analysts needed to highlight value-laden core concepts used and emphasized repeatedly throughout the texts, or that were explicitly identified by the organizations themselves as central values. Examples of such core concepts include equality, justice, diversity, democracy, solidarity, sustainability, rights, and so on. Secondly, analysts had to identify less prominent recurring values and ideas, or adjacent concepts, such as planetary citizenship, autonomy, governance, and freedom. Finally, analysts sought out core claims (“narratives” or “stories”) that linked core concepts to adjacent concepts, into “decontestation chains”—statements that suggest a particular way of understanding and explaining the world that is linked to and premised on the identified core concepts.

“Mature” ideologies are characterized according to three cardinal criteria introduced by Michael Freeden (1996:485–486): (i) their degree of *distinctiveness*; (ii) their context-bound *responsiveness* to a broad range of political issues; and (iii) their ability to produce *effective conceptual decontestations*. Thus, the ability of justice globalism to distinguish itself from other ideologies

⁴ To some extent, this broad snapshot sheds some light on claims of elitism within the GJM. Some authors and critics have questioned whether the political views expressed by the GJM are actually the views of the people they claim to represent. This is not a question that our research engages with directly, and as such we are not able to offer a definitive comment. The diversity of issues, geographical locations, and socio-economic and cultural contexts represented by the sample group do suggest that there is a deepening of justice globalism beyond its intellectual elite, permeating grassroots movements in a variety of areas around the world. However, this is an issue that requires further investigation, which is presently beyond the scope of this project.

⁵ In some cases, owing to the focus of the organization (on a particular issue or geographic region), this was not always possible.

⁶ Readers will note that, aside from the interview data, the texts analyzed are primarily drawn from the Internet. This is in part a recognition of the significant role the web plays in contemporary global social movements, but also in part pragmatic, given the ready availability of information. This does not mean, however, that the Internet is the only way in which ideologies are globalized in contemporary international relations. At this stage, our analysis does not explore in detail how ideologies become globalized. We suggest this occurs through web-based mediums, including websites, chat rooms, online forums, blogs and wikis, email newsletters, and so on, but also occurs through mega-events or global meetings, such as the World Social Forum itself, and through the work of academics and activists who publish in a variety of mediums and give public talks. However, this is speculation based on our research date and needs to be explored further elsewhere.

TABLE 1. Names, Locations, and Areas of Focus for 45 Organizations Included in Analysis

<i>Name of Organization</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Areas of Concern/Focus</i>
Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU)*	Melbourne, Australia	Workers' Rights
<i>Association pour une taxation des transactions financières pour l'aide aux citoyens</i> (Association for the Taxation of Financial Transactions for the Aid of Citizens (ATTAC))*	Paris, France plus multiple regional offices	Tobin Tax, reform of global financial institutions and infrastructure
American Federation of Labor—Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO)	Washington, DC, USA	Workers' Rights
Articulacion Feminista Mercosur (Southern Common Market) (AFM)*	Montevideo, Uruguay	Rights of women, indigenous people and marginalized
Alternative Information Development Centre (AIDC)	Cape Town, South Africa	Promote social justice through the production and dissemination of alternative knowledge
Associazione Ricreativa Culturale Italiana—Italian Cultural Recreational Association (ARCI)*	Rome, Italy	Social development organization which uses the arts to promote democracy
Africa Trade Network (ATN)	East Legon, Accra, Ghana	Trade and investment issues in Africa; reform of global financial system
COMISSÃO BRASILEIRA JUSTIÇA E PAZ—Brazilian Commission/Organization for Justice and Peace (CBJP)*	Rio de Janeiro, Brazil	Catholic Church initiative promoting research and action on social change, human rights, democracy and justice
Confédération Européenne des Syndicats/European Trade Union Confederation (CES/ETUC)	Brussels, Belgium	Workers' rights
Coordinadora de Centrales Sindicales Del Cono Sur—Coordinator of Trade Unions of the Southern Cone (CCSCS)	Montevideo, Uruguay	Workers' rights, democracy, human rights, representation of trade unions in economic integration of South America
Consejo Latinoamericano de Ciencias Sociales—Latin American Council of the Social Sciences (CLACSO)*	Buenos Aires, Argentina	Collaborative research network promoting good governance, equality and democracy
Canadian Labour Council (CLC)	Ottawa, Canada	Workers' rights
Council of Canadians (CoC)	Ottawa, Canada	Protecting Canadian independence in policy areas of trade, clean water, energy security, health care
Corpwatch	San Francisco, California, USA	Human, environmental and worker rights at the local, national and global levels; transparency and accountability into global finance and trade
Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU)*	Johannesburg, South Africa	Workers' rights, protection of democracy, promoting African development at an international level
Central Trabajadores Argentina—Argentina Workers' Centre (CTA)	Buenos Aires, Argentina	Workers' union concerned with International Relations, health, migration, disability, human rights, poverty, famine, energy, culture and youth
Central Unica dos Trabalhadores—Central Workers' Union (CUT)*	Sao Paulo, Brazil	Workers' rights, equality and democracy
Environmental and Development Action in the Third World (ENDA)*	Dakar, Senegal	Development in Africa, economy, rights of women and children
Food First International Action Network (FIAN)	Heidelberg, Germany	Promote the right to food, food sovereignty and food security around the world
Federation Internacional Direitos Humanos—International Federation for Human Rights (FIDH)	Paris, France	Promote human rights around the world as outlined in international human rights treaties, declarations and covenants
Focus on the Global South*	Manila, Philippines; Bangkok, Thailand; Delhi, India	Policy research, advocacy, activism and grassroots capacity building; critique of corporate-led globalization, neo-liberalism and militarization
Friends of the Narmada River	India and Global	Campaign against dam project on Narmada River; rights of indigenous people, environmental degradation; democracy and transparency
General Union of Oil Employees in Basra	Basra, Iraq	Workers' rights; equality between workers and administrators
Grassroots Global Justice (GGJ)	California and Florida, USA	Rights of workers and the poor locally and globally
Global Progressive Forum (GPF)	Brussels, Belgium	Political organization, promoting justice, equality, sustainability, rights of workers in policy circles
Hemispheric Social Alliance Alianza Social Continental (HSA)*	Rio de Janeiro, Brazil	Strengthen civil society, promote rights, especially workers' rights

Table 1. (Continued)

<i>Name of Organization</i>	<i>Location</i>	<i>Areas of Concern/Focus</i>
Institute Brasileiro de Analises Sociais e Economicas—Brazilian Institute for Social and Economic Analysis (IBASE)*	Rio de Janeiro, Brazil	Promote democracy, active citizenship and economic, social and cultural rights
International Forum on Globalization	San Francisco, USA	Think tank providing critique of neoliberal globalization; emphasize developing alternate global trade and commerce that promotes interests of people and environment
Institut Panos Afrique l'Ouest—Panos Institute West Africa (IPAO)	Dakar, Senegal	Free speech, participatory democracy, active citizenship
Instituto Paulo Freire (IPF)*	Sao Paulo, Brazil	Right to education globally
International Trade Union Confederation (ITUC)*	Brussels, Belgium	Promotion and defense of workers' rights and interests globally
Jubilee South	Manila, Philippines	Debt cancellation, reform of global financial rules and institutions, redistribution of wealth and resources
Korean Confederation of Trade Unions*	Seoul, South Korea	Promote and protect workers' rights; democracy; support reunification of North and South Korea
Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra (MST)*	Brazil	Reform of land use; rights of indigenous people and marginalized poor; promote equal access to food, shelter, health care, education, a healthy, sustainable environment and gender equality
OneWorld Foundation	London, UK	Information organization; facilitate networks among organizations committed to justice, equality, democracy, action on climate change, poverty, development and resource distribution
Palestinian Grassroots Anti-Apartheid Wall Campaign (PGAAWC)	Jerusalem	End construction of wall in West Bank; promote global action against imperialism, racism and human rights abuses. Focus on violations of economic rights of Palestinians
People's Health Movement (PHM)	Cairo, Egypt	Advocacy for provision of public health care and circumstances that enable good health—clean water and sanitation, shelter, electricity, education and food
Poor People's Economic Human Rights Campaign (PPEHRC)	Minneapolis, USA	Promote access to basic public services such as health care, education, welfare for the homeless and traditionally marginalized in US—African-American and Hispanic communities
Terre des Hommes (TDH)*	Brussels, Belgium and Geneva, Switzerland	Focus on the rights of children globally
Transnational Institute (TNI)	Amsterdam, The Netherlands	Network of activist-scholars promoting democracy, equality and environmental sustainability on a global scale.
Third World Network (TWN)*	Penang, Malaysia	Non-profit international network focused on needs and rights of peoples in the Third World, fair distribution of resources, and forms of development that are ecologically sustainable and fulfill human needs
Via Campesina*	Jakarta, Indonesia	Promote the rights and entitlements of peasants, landless people, rural women and youth, indigenous people and agricultural workers around the world.
World Council of Churches (WCC)	Geneva, Switzerland	International body representing the Christian ecumenical movement. Focus on rights, poverty, climate change, unequal economic and political relationships
World Fair Trade Organization (WFTO)	Culemborg, The Netherlands	Focus on building relationships of respect, dialogue and partnership across trade pathways from production to sale; promote sustainable agricultural production practices and investment in social welfare provision
World March of Women (WMW)*	Sao Paulo, Brazil	International feminist action movement; seek to address structural inequalities that keep women oppressed and marginalized through advocating political, economic and social change

*Member of WSF Liaison group/specifically chosen organization.

through distinct core concepts and core claims and respond to a broad range of political issues (such as global climate change, the global financial crisis, or the global food crisis), and its ability to present deconstructed explanations of the current global context all provide evidence for whether justice globalism may be

considered a maturing (and thus relatively coherent) political ideology.

To ensure methodological consistency, four sets of texts were independently analyzed by three analysts trained in the general method, while an additional eleven sets were independently analyzed by two analysts.

The findings from each independent analysis were then compared to ensure consistent application of the methodology. This follows Coe and Domke's (2006) model for ensuring methodological consistency in discourse analysis. A high degree of correlation was found across the independent analyses, with only occasional minor discrepancies.⁷ This suggests that the morphological discourse analysis methodology was applied consistently, thereby increasing the reliability of the findings.

Emerging Core Ideological Concepts

The initial list of core concepts that was generated focused only on the concept, for example democracy, justice, equality, and so on, without using any descriptive or qualifying words. Yet as the results of the discourse analysis were compiled, it became clear that justice globalists focus their narratives on the concepts of change, democracy, diversity, equality, justice, rights, solidarity, and sustainability in particular ways, which differ from their ideological competitors, such as market globalists.⁸ In addition, while all the concepts we discuss here were present in the texts of a majority of organizations, they were not all consistently present across all of the organizations examined. There were also other values that emerged as significant for some organizations, which we have not included here, since they did not feature either centrally or marginally in the texts of a majority of organizations. This situation suggests that while a common set of values exists within justice globalism, organizations differ with regard to the priority given to those values. In Freedman's (1996) terminology, concepts that are core or central for one organization may be adjacent or peripheral for another, but nonetheless constitute part of the justice globalism ideological formation. Here, we discuss only those concepts that emerged as core or adjacent concepts for a majority of the organizations assessed. We do not include concepts that were predominantly adjacent or peripheral concepts. Most importantly, however, all of these concepts tend to be mediated by terms like "global" or "globalization," thus highlighting the conceptual centrality of the rising global imaginary—a finding dramatically confirmed by the quantitative content analysis. Let us now turn to the idiosyncratic usage of these concepts as an indicator of justice globalism's overall distinctiveness and thus ideological maturity.

Transformative/Paradigmatic Change

Change and its related concepts of alternatives and transformation are core themes across 27 organizations. Change is predominantly characterized as positive and necessary. There is a sense of urgency to the call for change in some organizations—change must occur in order to avoid disaster, especially in relation to climate change:

If we are to *avert calamitous climate change*, we know we cannot continue 'business as usual.' We must end our addiction to nonrenewable fossil fuels and learn how to live in harmony with the natural systems that we depend on. *This transformation will require deep restructuring, not just the adoption of green lifestyles by those who can afford it.* It will require systems that do not depend on the exploitation of nature and people. *It will require a shift from a throw-away consumer culture*, in which certain peoples and lands are seen as expendable. It will require new ways of defining wealth and the American Dream that de-link our well-being from over-consumption of Earth's resources. (Grassroots Global Justice 2009; emphasis added)

Some organizations place a moral imperative on change—we must change because it is morally right to do so. "People need to rethink and change their lifestyles so that everyone may have life with dignity within a context of respect for the creation" (World Council of Churches 2009). Change has to occur at the policy level, but the fundamental values that drive decision making by individuals, institutions, and governments must also change. Thus, change must occur within the very paradigms and frameworks through which we make sense of the world.

Participatory Democracy

Democracy is understood as a method of political organization (representative democracy), a philosophy or normative principle underpinning political activity (participatory democracy), or a combination of the two. Of the 29 organizations for which democracy was identified as a core concept, 20 define it as participatory. An additional four organizations emphasize democracy as both participatory and representative. Two organizations use democracy in a mainly representative sense, while three do not provide closure regarding their definition.

Democracy is further conceptualized as a source of legitimacy for GJM organizations or the movement itself, for governments and international regimes (the more democratic they are, the more legitimate they are; if they are not democratic, they are less legitimate and therefore their policies and decisions are less binding).

Organizations that understand democracy as participatory see it as a principle that should underpin all areas of society, not just politics. In particular, organizations promoting participatory democracy as a core concept often call for democratic control and regulation of financial markets. In these cases, democracy is closely tied to principles of transparency and accountability:

Basic concepts of *participatory democracy* and community empowerment should be at the heart of all international decision-making structures and processes. (Corpwatch 2002; emphasis added)

ETUC thinks that democracy is necessary to control the economy. So if you have strong economic politics then you need a strong politics to control this, so you need a strong parliament. (Moreno 2009)

⁷ This might have been disagreement over the presence of one core concept in the texts, or slightly different wording of the main stories/ideological claims of the organization.

⁸ The authors would like to thank James Goodman for his insight in developing this point.

Demanding *transparency* from elected representatives and managers of public funds; insisting on *ethical behavior and social accountability* from business sectors; and establishing strategic alliances to *promote democracy* and to strengthen civil society and planetary citizenship, linking the global to the local: these too are fundamental steps in *building a truly democratic society* (Ibase 2009; emphasis added)

There is also a strong link between participatory democracy and rights. Rights, such as access to information and the right to protest, are considered fundamental to a healthy, functioning, effective democracy. At the same time, participatory democracy is seen as critical to protecting and promoting individual rights. By extension, then, participatory democracy and rights are mutually reinforcing: “Until people living in marginalized communities are empowered through participatory media supporting participatory politics, their human right to a climate-friendly future will be at risk” (Vittachi 2007).

A similar, though less clear, link is suggested between democracy and justice. Justice must form the foundation of democracy, while democracy is necessary for the preservation and realization of justice: “A SOCIAL MOVEMENT for DEMOCRACY: KCTU is committed to building a truly democratic and just society” (KCTU 2009; emphasis original).

Equality of Access to Resources and Opportunities

Two dominant conceptions and usages of “equality” emerged throughout the morphological analysis. Both conceptions relate to fairness: fairness of access to resources (economic and ecological; fair distribution of wealth, through equal pay or through redistribution to address the inequities of neoliberal globalization) and fairness of access to opportunities (ending discrimination and marginalization, recognition of rights of all people).

Equality is also related to the concept of diversity, being used to promote the social, political, and economic inclusion of traditionally marginalized peoples: women, migrants, indigenous groups, people with disabilities, the young, and the aged. However, gender and economic equality are the main emphasis of most organizations. “The principal objective of La Via Campesina is to develop solidarity and unity among small farmer organizations in order to promote *gender parity* and social justice in *fair economic relations*” (Via Campesina 2009a; emphasis added)

Eleven of the 28 organizations for whom equality was identified as a core concept specifically emphasize both gender and economic equality. A further five highlight economic equality alone. Six of the organizations specifically stress equality with regard to gender, ethnicity, sexuality, religion, culture, age, and ability. There is an emphasis on equality within nations among individuals and communities as well as equality across nations, specifically across “North” and “South” global divisions.

Equality is explicitly linked to democracy, rights, and especially justice. Equality of access to resources

and opportunities are inextricably linked to the realization of just processes and outcomes.

All human beings and peoples are equal in all domains and all societies. They have equal access to wealth, to land, decent employment, means of production, adequate housing, a quality education, occupational training, justice, a healthy, nutritious and sufficient diet, physical and mental health services, old age security, a healthy environment, property, political and decision-making functions, energy, drinking water, clean air, means of transportation, technical knowledge and skills, information, means of communication, recreation, culture, rest, technology, and the fruit of scientific progress. (World March of Women 2004)

Justice and equality were blurred or used interchangeably by five of the organizations for whom equality was a core concept. One example of this is the way the organization *Coordenadora de Centrais Sindicais do Cone Sul* (CCSCS) defines equality as being inter- and intra-generational. “To accomplish our objective of attaining a sustainable society, we believe it is fundamental to ensure that *inter and intra-generational equality* and climate and socio-environmental justice be promoted, and, as a part of this effort, that issues linked to climate change be considered transversal topics” (CCSCS 2009; emphasis added). In contrast, Jubilee South defines justice, rather than equality, as inter- and intra-generational (Jubilee 2008)

Restorative and Redistributive Justice

There is a clear emphasis on justice as restorative, accepting responsibility and taking action to address past wrongs. Organizations used justice in this sense when referring to corporations, governments, and international financial institutions that have pushed neoliberal policies resulting in widespread extreme poverty. They also employed it in relation to climate change—developed countries have a responsibility to developing and underdeveloped countries who will suffer most for climate change yet have done the least to cause it:

In consequence and in view of the pressures that the most industrialized societies exercise and exert on the world’s environment, *developed countries should assume the responsibility that is theirs in the international search for sustainable development, in the transfer of environmentally friendly technologies and in the provision of the financial resources necessary to combat the consequences of climate change.* (CCSCS 2009; emphasis added)

Organizations concerned with problems such as poverty and climate change tend to have a restorative, moral/philosophical understanding of justice, while organizations focused specifically on human rights (such as *Federacion Internacional Derechos Humanos* [FIDH 2009]) often have a primarily redistributive and legalistic/judicial understanding of justice.

Several groups use an understanding of justice that is both moral/philosophical and legal/judicial (the Transnational Institute is one example). A total of 18

out of 35 organizations for which justice was a core concept appear to use an understanding of justice that is moral/philosophical rather than legal. Only four organizations seem to use an explicitly legal conception of justice. Those that utilize a moral/philosophical understanding of justice also for the most part understand justice as restorative, promoting reconciliation, rebuilding of relationships and cooperation moving forward. Sometimes a combination of both retributive and restorative understandings of justice is used. This understanding is particularly prominent in discussions of “climate justice.” Rich countries are encouraged to address past wrongs toward the climate and poor countries through reparations and technology transfers. Both CCSCS and OneWorld Network provide examples of this. At the same time, poor countries are encouraged to take responsibility for their own contributions to climate change. Moral/philosophical understandings of justice focus on justice among nations and justice among multinational corporations and poor communities, particularly in the developing world. Legal/judicial understandings of justice are often more focused on individuals.

Justice is clearly linked with other core concepts of democracy, diversity, sustainability, and especially rights and equality. An emphasis on rights often informs the organization’s view of justice and how justice is to be pursued or realized in practice. Justice may even be understood as the recognition and realization of rights—human, political, civil, economic, social and cultural, workers’ rights, and the many other types of rights that are talked about among the organizations.

Seventeen organizations either explicitly link or blur equality and justice. “Justice has a number of components . . . it really is about equality. It is certainly not about uniformity. It’s also about diversity, embracing diversity, celebrating diversity . . . So if you think about justice, it is that all are valued. None are valued less than the other, and justice is about the balance of that. If you think about the scales of justice, scales are about balance” (Kennedy 2009). Consequently, it is possible to think of justice and equality as mutually dependent and reinforcing.

Power is also important to consider with regard to justice and equality. A small number of organizations explicitly mention power in their texts, particularly with reference to relationships between workers and corporations, populations and their governments, and in the context of control over and access to resources and opportunities, suggesting that power is related to equality. The General Union of Oil Employees in Basra (2010) seeks to address power imbalances between workers and corporations, while other organizations such as the Transnational Institute, WCC, and ATTAC are concerned with redistribution of power at a global level. Rights are also important in discussions of power. Food First International Action Network (FIAN), for example, implies in its slogan that the concept of rights is a “weapon” that can be used to “fight” against hunger. This suggests that the notion of rights possesses power, in theory, law and practice.

Arguably, notions of power lie at the heart of questions of justice and equality. When organizations demand justice or equality, they are often advocating a redistribution of power, be it economic power or political influence. Occasionally, organizations may even be proposing alternative *conceptions* of power, recognizing that power does not simply come from money or military might or influence in international political and financial institutions, but power can and does exist in other areas and other forms, such as popular social movements, “power of the people,” or theories and practices around notions of “rights.” *Central de Trabajadores Argentinos* (CTA 2009; emphasis added) provide an example of these different conceptions of power: “Today it is clear that power groups are trying to use the economic crisis to halt the progress in the *advancement in popular power* that was seen in recent years in Latin America.”

Universal Rights

Almost all the organizations are focused on protecting, promoting, and enforcing respect for rights. “Rights” encompasses all types of rights—workers’ rights, human rights, women’s rights, migrants’ rights, and rights of nation-states, especially nation-states in the Global South. There is a relatively even focus on both workers’ rights and human rights more broadly, although there are also somewhat vague references to “environmental rights” which suggest that the planet and the environment have rights. Jubilee (2008) in particular employs this understanding:

South governments in particular must promote alternatives that place *the needs and rights of peoples and the planet* first . . . That would include total and unconditional cancellation of the illegitimate debt claims against South countries and recognizing the sovereign right and obligation of governments to take unilateral action to stop payment or repudiate debts in order to *insure the preservation, protection and promotion of fundamental human and environmental rights.* (Jubilee 2008; emphasis added)

Economic, social, and cultural rights take precedence, with 12 organizations focusing on these rights specifically, while seven focus on civil and political rights. Rights are to be respected, defended, protected, and promoted, implying that rights are both fragile and yet carry authority. Rights are natural, something that people are entitled to, not a privilege and not something that has been invented or constructed. Rather, these organizations hold that rights are basic, fundamental, and innate for all human beings. Their conception of rights is primarily rooted in international human rights instruments (such as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Convention on the Rights of the Child, the International Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights, and the International Labor Organization’s Labor Standards).

An extended quotation from the 2003 Declaration on the Full Realization of Human Rights in the United States from the Poor People’s Economic Human Rights Campaign (PPEHRC) exemplifies this:

Human rights are universal and indivisible. Their realization requires guarantees for all persons—regardless of race, gender, class, age, sexual orientation, disability, immigration, language or other status—of the complete set of rights: *civil, political, economic, social, and cultural...*

Human rights have become the cornerstone of the international political and moral order, and are embodied in a wide array of institutions and practices, which seek the collective betterment of humankind, the equitable distribution of the fruits of progress, and the peaceful resolution of conflicts. (PPEHRC 2003; emphasis added)

The concept of rights is also linked to other core concepts of equality, democracy, diversity, and especially justice.

Global Solidarity

Solidarity has a variety of interpretations, but they seem to revolve around notions of cooperation, unity, support, joint action with and for those with common goals and aspirations, across geographic, economic, political, cultural, ethnic, racial, gender, age, and ability boundaries. Twenty-four of the 27 organizations for whom solidarity was identified as a core goal use this meaning of the term. Common goals and aspirations include realization of rights, particularly for workers, ending poverty, and opposition to neoliberalism. Solidarity can be both actual and symbolic (holding widespread demonstrations and marches simultaneously around the world, issuing joint statements, or performing a play or song to support a cause, as in the case of the Palestinian Grassroots Anti-Apartheid Wall Campaign [PGAAWC 2008]). It also incorporates building relationships across groups (Via Campesina 2009a) and standing with those who are oppressed around the world. “The World March of Women believes in the globalization of solidarity. We are diverse women and we work together to ‘build another world’” (World March of Women 2003). Solidarity is linked to other core concepts of justice, change, rights, and diversity, but particularly democracy and equality.

Socioeconomic and Environmental Sustainability

Sustainability is a crucial new concept in global ideological discourse. In the GJM, it is primarily understood as long-term preservation and use of natural resources and the environment. However, the GJM also emphasizes the importance of sustainability for employment, the economy, food production, and development. “Africa’s response to the global crises requires ... the adoption of pro-active policies in the areas of trade, finance, and production to re-position their economies and put them on the path of sustainable development” (Africa Trade Network 2009). Specific emphasis is placed on making resources available to present and future generations (World Fair Trade Organization 2009). Sustainability is also linked to democracy, justice, equality, and rights. In particular, the texts suggest that sustainability must be based on equality.

The dominant ways in which these core concepts are used by representatives of the GJM, for example,

participatory rather than representative democracy and restorative/redistributive rather than retributive justice, suggest a high degree of ideological distinctiveness, the first of Freedman’s (1996, 2003) three criteria for identifying and establishing a coherent mature political ideology. The GJM differentiates itself from market globalism both explicitly but also subtly through its alternative use of the core concepts of change, democracy, equality, justice, rights, solidarity, diversity, and sustainability. This provides some initial insight that justice globalism is not simply anti-globalization but offers a distinct alternative.

Emerging Core Ideological Claims

Each organization had a number of repeated stories or claims they made regarding the current global political, economic, social, cultural, and ecological circumstances. These claims attempt to decontest the causes of current global problems and the meanings of core concepts by linking these ideas together in simple, oft-repeated phrases. These claims or decontestation chains were summarized as part of the analysis for each organization. Once all the qualitative analysis was complete, a list of all the core claims from each organization was compiled around emerging themes. These lists were further analyzed and refined down to the following five core ideological claims that were most common across the 45 organizations included in this study. While these claims rarely appeared verbatim in the texts, they nonetheless are realistic composites reflecting the core concepts and meanings of concrete claims made by each organization.

1. The world is in the midst of serious global crises, brought on by the moral and economic failure of neoliberalism.
2. Market-driven globalization has increased inequalities, injustices, and violations of rights, especially for workers and people in the Global South.
3. Active participation of local and global civil society in international political and financial institutions is essential for developing just and sustainable solutions to the world’s multiple crises as well as for keeping governments and corporations accountable.
4. Democratic and transparent governments have an important role to play in upholding rights and protecting communities from the excesses of the market.
5. Alternative forms of globalization that place the needs and rights of people before corporations are urgently needed to secure a just and sustainable future for people and the planet.

The following quotation from ATTAC provides examples of the core claims and core concepts:

What is needed, *in the interest of the large majority of the people,* are *real changes towards another paradigm,* where finance is forced to contribute to *social justice,* economic stability and *sustainable development.* (...) *The cri-*

sis is not the result of some unfortunate circumstances, nor can it be reduced to the failure of regulation, rating agencies or misbehaviour of single actors. It *has systemic roots, and hence the structure and the mechanisms of the system, in general, are at stake.* New international agreements must put other goals—like *financial stability, tax justice, or social justice and sustainability—over the free flow of capital, goods and services.* (ATTAC 2009; emphasis added)

The italicized phrases in this quotation provide support for core claims one and two and highlight change, solidarity, justice, and sustainability as core concepts of the organization.

Another extended quotation from Focus on the Global South provides support for and insight on core claims one, three, four and five:

We are entering uncharted terrain with this conjuncture of profound crises—the fall out from the financial crisis will be severe. People are being thrown into a deep sense of insecurity; misery and hardship will increase for many poorer people everywhere.

Powerful movements against neoliberalism have been built over many decades. This will grow as critical coverage of the crisis enlightens more people, who are already angry at public funds being diverted to pay for problems they are not responsible for creating, and already concerned about the ecological crisis and rising prices—especially of food and energy.

There is a new openness to alternatives. To capture people's attention and support, they must be practical and immediately feasible. *We have convincing alternatives that are already underway, and we have many other good ideas attempted in the past, but defeated. Our alternatives put the well-being of people and the planet at their centre.* For this, *democratic control over financial and economic institutions* are [sic] required. (Focus on the Global South 2008; emphasis added)

The high consistency and frequency with which these five central claims were employed by the 45 organizations suggests the existence of a coherent ideology we call “justice globalism.”

These findings, combined with the insights from the analysis and identification of core concepts, allow us to respond in the affirmative to the overarching question of this article. We find that the GJM does indeed offer a coherent ideological alternative to market globalism (neoliberalism). Our findings point to the existence of a maturing ideology meeting the primary criterion set out by Freedon (1996, 2003): its ability to produce coherent and effective conceptual decontestations (“claims”), as well as meeting the second criteria of distinctiveness. To be sure, some of the core concepts of conventional ideologies (especially liberalism and socialism) reappear in justice globalism—albeit mostly in revised and hybridized form linked to new core concepts such as “sustainability.” But none of the distinct morphologies of traditional political belief systems are reproduced in what is clearly a new conceptual configuration articulating the rising global imaginary.

Emerging Policies

Identification and analysis of policy proposals of justice globalism enable assessment of its ideological coherence against the third of Freedon's (1996, 2003) criteria: context-bound responsiveness to a broad range of political issues. Contrary to dominant critiques from their neoliberal opponents, most of the organizations analyzed provide clear policy proposals, which include, but are not limited to, the following:

1. Greater openness and accountability of international institutions, especially financial but also intergovernmental. This could be achieved by including more nations and representatives from global civil society in international meetings and decision-making bodies (such as the United Nations Security Council and the G77, rather than the G8 or G20), especially regarding decisions concerning trade, finance, and foreign investment
2. Increasing regulation of financial institutions
3. Promotion and security of workers' rights, particularly in the wake of the global financial crisis and the increased casualization of labor
4. Investments in “green” technology and renewable energy
5. Equal pay and access to employment, education, health, care, and other social services for all, regardless of gender, ethnicity, ability, age, religion, or sexual orientation
6. Changes to Intellectual Property Rights regimes that currently prevent developing nations from having access to life-saving medicines and technologies for climate change adaptation and development.
7. Closure of all tax havens
8. Guaranteed food sovereignty/security

(See, for example, Focus on the Global South 2008; Jubilee 2008; ATTAC 2009; CCSCS (Coordenadora de Centrais Sindicais do Cone Sul) 2009; Grassroots Global Justice 2009; World Council of Churches 2009.)

It is important to note, however, that this list of policies is preliminary. More in-depth analysis of these policy proposals is required. This will occur in the second phase of our ongoing research project. While this preliminary list suggests a strong emphasis on “people-centered solutions” and direct involvement of communities and individuals in decision-making processes, a final assessment as to the coherence of policy alternatives cannot be made in this article. At the same time, however, the emphasis on participation in policymaking relates to the core concepts of democracy, equality, diversity, and justice, and core claims three, four, and five. This indicates that the core concepts and claims of justice globalism could translate into clear policy alternatives that respond to specific political issues.

Insights from Quantitative Analysis

Quantitative analysis was added to the morphological analysis to provide an alternative data source for assess-

ing justice globalism's ideological coherence. The 135 texts were processed for word frequency counts using specialized data analysis software (Nvivo) for complex and unstructured non-numerical data. We chose to use Nvivo because of its integrated programming, which enabled analysis of multiple documents of various origin and formats (pdf, doc, and html files) as well as searches of terms across multiple documents. All analysis was conducted in English. Materials from websites not in English (French, Italian, Spanish, and Portuguese) were translated before the analysis was run. Word and Excel were then used to produce tables and charts giving a visual representation of the results of the Nvivo analysis.⁹

Word frequency counts were initially conducted separately for each organization. The texts from each organization were processed using Nvivo, and charts and tables were produced to show the top 20 most frequently used words. A specific emphasis was given to words that were value-laden (justice, rights, equality, and so on) as well as those that highlighted particular focus issues (for example, economy, trade, social, environment, democracy). Further, words that indicated a geographic focus for the organization's activities were also included (local, regional, national, global). Words contained in the organization's name were excluded, except in cases where the words were considered to be value-related or to have significance for any overall ideological structure of the GJM. For example, the "Focus on the Global South" frequency count excluded the words "focus" and "south," but retained "global" for its significance in contexts other than the repeated mention of the organization's name. Words with the same root, but used in the plural ("worker" and "workers"), in different tenses, or with different spelling (for example, "globalization" and "globalisation") were merged in order to develop the most comprehensive overview of word usage across the texts.

Once the word frequency analysis had been conducted for the texts, resulting in separate word frequency tables and graphs for all 45 organizations, these results were compiled to produce findings regarding frequency of word usage for the organizations as a whole. The top ten most frequently used words by the organizations are presented in Graph 1.

Most importantly, the graph shows that there is an overwhelming focus on the "global" in the texts produced by the GJM. Nearly 900 references to "the global" alone were found across the 135 texts. This was 300 more references than the next most frequently used word, "rights," one of the core concepts identified in the morphological discourse analysis. Alongside this overwhelming reference to the global, there were an additional 472 references to the related word "international."

The strong presence of "global" in the texts produced by the GJM, coupled with the fact that "national" does not feature in the top ten words at all, clearly indicates that a shift is occurring in the political ideological landscape of the twenty-first cen-

ture. Alongside the findings of the morphological discourse analysis, this suggests not only that justice globalism is a maturing political ideology, but also that it is a *global* political ideology (globalism). In other words, the core ideas and concepts of contemporary political ideologies increasingly articulate a global imaginary. Political and social theorists will increasingly need to focus on globalization dynamics if they are to develop useful typologies for emerging political belief systems of the twenty-first century.

Conclusion

The research presented in this article suggests that the political ideas of the GJM possess coherence in terms of broadly agreed and effectively decontested core concepts and core claims. Justice globalism is a maturing political ideology with an unambiguous conceptual link to the globalizing dynamics of the early twenty-first century. Yet the analysis also raises further questions and highlights a number of areas for future research.

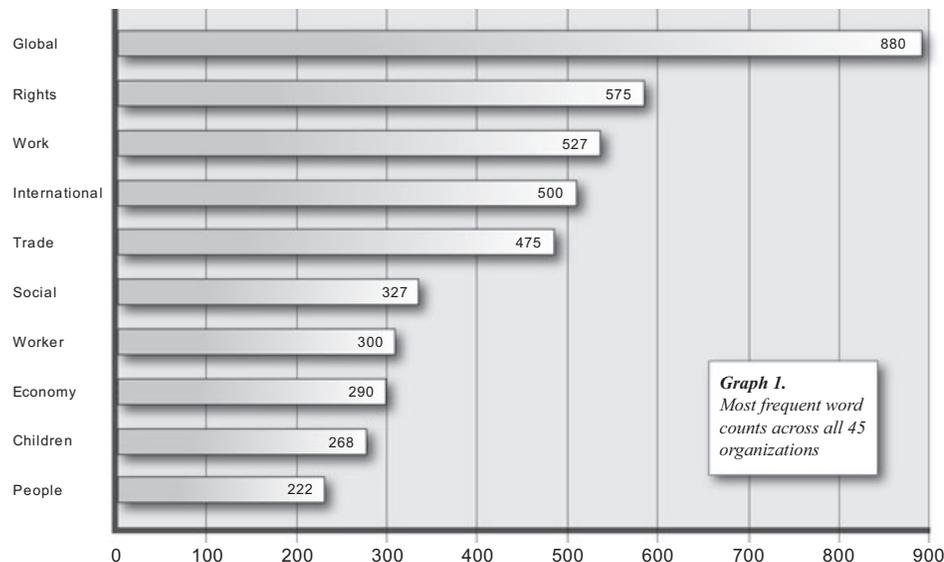
While the morphological discourse analysis has found broad agreement and cohesiveness with regard to core concepts and core claims, the meaning of a number of core concepts is not always explicit in the texts and tends to avoid semantic closure. The focus of this analysis has been on coherence and distinctiveness within and across the organizations affiliated with the GJM. Yet this focus on coherence and distinctiveness must be balanced by attention to the presence of incoherence and ambiguity within justice globalism. Incoherence and ambiguity suggest points at which justice globalism may shift or rupture, with implications for how justice globalism will develop and impact politics into the future. This research will be extended through a deeper engagement with and analysis of policy, providing further data for consideration of incoherence and ambiguity against coherence and distinctiveness. One specific example of this incoherence and ambiguity is the emphasis on local and national solutions within some GJM policy proposals. In relation to the global food crisis, for example, GJM organizations are promoting local and national "food sovereignty," in contrast to control over agriculture and production by transnational corporations and foreign governments (Via Campesina 2009b). While this emphasis on local and national solutions appears to be at odds with the overwhelming emphasis on the global that has been highlighted through the textual analysis, there are a number of possible explanations for the persistence of the local. Indeed, the "global" does not simply erase the "local" or the "national," but the former binds the latter more strongly to its own meaning orbit. Still, further analysis of this local-global nexus is needed.¹⁰

The research presented here focuses primarily on broad macro-structures in global politics. Although this emphasis has enabled recognition of a number of changes to the global ideological landscape, attention to broad structures needs to be complimented by attention to the micro-political contexts of everyday

⁹ The authors gratefully acknowledge the work of Stefan Siebel in conducting the quantitative analysis and assisting with the qualitative analysis.

¹⁰ We would like to thank James Goodman and an anonymous reviewer for highlighting this issue.

Most Frequent Total Word Counts



GRAPH 1. Most frequent word counts across all 45 organizations

life in order to determine the impact of justice globalism at this level. A closer focus on specific policy proposals in future research will address this need to some extent, taking into account the political, social, cultural, historical, economic, and ecological context of each of the individual organizations.

Notwithstanding these pressing tasks for future research, the presence of clear and distinct core concepts, central claims, and policy proposals suggests that the GJM is not simply calling for an end to market-driven, neoliberal economic globalization but is proposing a coherent *global* alternative to this model. The findings presented in this article contradict dominant perceptions of the GJM as uncreatively “anti.” Conversely, we suggest that justice globalism offers also a substantive “alter”-vision capable of informing decision makers in government at all levels.

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