



CENTRE FOR EUROPEAN POLITICAL COMMUNICATIONS

European Political Communication
Working Paper Series
ISSN 1477-1373

Issue 8/04

**Horizontal Networks vs. Vertical Networks within Multi-
Organisational Alliances: A Comparative Study of the Unemployment
and Asylum Issue-Fields in Britain**

Dr. Manlio Cinalli
Centre for European Political Communications
Institute of Communications Studies
University of Leeds

M.Cinalli@leeds.ac.uk
<http://ics.leeds.ac.uk/eurpolcom>

September 2004

This working paper draws on two large European comparative research projects on the contentious dimensions of asylum and unemployment politics in Europe. These studies have been funded by the EU (HPSE-CT-2001-00053) and by the British Economic and Social Research Council (R000239221). In Britain, these projects conducted by the Centre for European Political Communications (EurPolCom Centre) at the University of Leeds. I am grateful to Dr. Paul Statham, the director of the EurPolCom Centre, for sharing his ideas and knowledge on the topic throughout the elaboration of this paper. I also wish to sincerely thank all the staff at the EurPolCom Centre, and in particular, Ms Emma Dickens, Ms Vibha Mehta, and Ms Vicky Yiagopoulou for their contribution to the collection of empirical information. My empirical data have mainly been obtained through the use of an interview schedule which is currently employed in three main comparative research projects at the EurPolCom Centre (see http://newmedia.leeds.ac.uk/eurpolcom/research_projects.cfm for further details).

1. Asylum and Unemployment in Britain: An Introduction

Asylum and unemployment have stood out as two crucial and controversial issues in Britain. Long term and unskilled unemployed have faced the continuous erosion of their welfare entitlements, as well as increasing deprivation in their own neighbourhoods, with little prospect of finding work [Jackman and Layard, 1991; Van den Berg and Van Ours, 1994; Hildreth *et al.*, 1998]. The New Labour government has promoted significant reforms to the labour market in order to move more people from welfare to work. These include the working families' tax credit, changes to the system of national contribution, a national minimum wage, and the New Deal, which started as a specific policy directed at young people, but was soon extended to older people, single parents and the disabled. In particular, a new principle of conditionality can be seen at the core of New Labour's welfare to work agenda. Within the existing New Deal, failure to take up one of the four work/training options leads to punitive benefit cuts and suspensions [CESI, 2002]. Policies based on conditional entitlement are becoming so central to New Labour's vision that some scholars have argued that the very idea of 'welfare rights' is systematically undermined [i.e. Dwyer, 2002].

As regards asylum, since 1997 there have been substantial reforms to the legal system which have not improved the condition of those who flee persecution. Two main pieces of legislation have come into force, namely, the Immigration and Asylum Act 1999 and the Nationality, Immigration and Asylum Act 2002, which have emphasised the government's negative agenda of deterring new arrivals rather than its positive will to provide full entitlements and protection. In particular, the 1999 Act has extended penalties on carriers, introduced the voucher scheme as main instrument of welfare support, extended policies preventing arrivals at UK ports, and made provision for a new system of compulsory dispersal to reduce asylum seekers' presence in London and the South-East of England. The 2002 Act has followed on the footsteps of the 1999 Act, extending the application of non-suspensive appeals and establishing the withdrawal of welfare supports for in-country applicants. The introduction of restrictive measures has also been matched by an increasing politicisation of the issue, with MPs regularly throwing facts and figures at each other about arrivals, applications and deportations.

In sum, asylum seekers and the unemployed share some similarities. They both have been the objects of restrictive reforms implemented by the last two New Labour governments. They have also faced resentment in the public discourse with disputes taking place with regard to 'bogus' and 'welfare scroungers'. Yet, collective action across these two issue-fields have been characterised by their limited involvement. Although they have engaged in direct protests against government throughout the 1980s and the first half of the 1990s, the unemployed have not voiced their claims beyond the local level during the last decade, mobilising only occasionally and as result of specific industrial disputes. This weakness has also prevented the British unemployed from playing any active role during the recent and widespread marches of the unemployed across Europe [Chabanet, 2002]. As regards asylum seekers, they have rarely mobilised visibly in the public domain. With the exception of a few symbolic protests [Guardian, 31 May 2003], they have usually contained their (invisible) action within grassroots and community groups at the local level.

Given their relatively small size, marginal political position, and ownership of very few resources for autonomous mobilisation, asylum seekers and the unemployed have thus had to rely on the direct support of organisations willing to act on their behalf. This working paper focuses on these 'altruist' social actors (movements, non-governmental organisations and

voluntary groups), and in particular, on the web of ties forged by pro-asylum and pro-unemployed organisations through 1) their horizontal networks amongst themselves and with civil society organisations in the public domain, and 2) their vertical networks with policy-makers and institutional actors in the policy domain. Indeed, research on mobilisation on behalf of the poor and weak has so far relied on relatively few empirical accounts that are informed by original comparative data [Giugni and Passy, 2001; Passy, 1998; Statham, 2001], and has received limited attention by scholars of social movements, where the tendency is to focus on collective action when the beneficiary of the political goal does not differ from the constituency group that mobilises.

In particular, this paper aims to assess the meaning and function of networks for collective action on behalf of the weak and poor. Sub-sets of research questions can be formulated along the two main dimensions of investigation. As regards the first dimension consisting of horizontal ties: What is the precise nature of horizontal ties in each of the two fields and how are they differently sustained? Is horizontal network density similar across the two fields of asylum and unemployment? Are these ties based on identity, regular exchange of information, short-lived issue coalition, or are they merely limited to loose contacts based on simple cohabitation within the same issue-field? As regards the second dimension consisting of vertical ties: What is the precise nature of these vertical ties in each of the two fields and how are they differently sustained? In this case, it is also crucial to focus on the correlation between patterns of networks at the horizontal level and at the vertical level. Is the different density and nature of horizontal networks in the public domain related to different patterns of vertical ties with institutional actors in the policy domain? This focus on meaning and function of networks will thus enable me to integrate the large volume of scholarly research that has considered dense or close networks to be the means by which cognitive frames can develop, collective action can be advanced, and organisational strengthening can be achieved. Yet, it is crucial to investigate, rather than assume, this requirement about closure or density of social networks, paying attention to the fact that at least since the 1970s research has also stressed the importance of ‘bridges’ in strengthening influence and facilitating flows of information. My analytical distinction between horizontal and vertical networks draws indeed on the scholarly treatment of these bridges, which have also been defined as ‘structural holes’ or ‘weak ties’ [Burt, 1992; Granovetter, 1973 and 1982; Lin *et al.*, 1981].¹

Finally, it is also crucial to investigate the conditions under which vertical networks are preferred to horizontal networks and vice-versa. It is thus crucial to proceed with the following: taking the two different network patterns, built by pro-asylum and pro-unemployed organisations respectively, as a dependent variable and explained them by drawing on theories of political opportunities structure [i.e. Eisinger, 1973; Kitschelt, 1986; Kriesi, 1989; Kriesi *et al.*, 1995; Tarrow, 1989 and 1998; Tilly, 1978]. The bottom-up analysis of the first part of the paper will thus be matched by the top-down investigation of explanatory variables accounting for the different decisions which actors take when shaping their web of ties.

Section 2 presents the theoretical foundations on which the analysis of this working paper is based, while at the same time systematically specifying the criteria of my comparative analysis. The following two sections debate the main findings of my research, analysing in detail horizontal networks (section 3) and vertical networks (section 4) between pro-beneficiary groups, civil society organisations, political parties and core state policy-makers. In particular, I

¹ In the literature the main reference is to ‘weak ties’ rather than to vertical networks. The definition of weak ties is based on identification or lack of intimacy, rather than grasp and extent of networks. My definition of vertical (and horizontal) ties is based on the extent to which they cross-cut different levels of power and authority.

focus on the contrasting patterns of horizontal and vertical ties which have developed in the two different issue-fields. Finally, Section 5 takes these different network patterns as a dependent variable, examining the independent variables which explain the decision of pro-asylum and pro-unemployed organisations to build different webs of ties.

2. Altruist Mobilisation in Multi-Organisational Fields: Focusing on Networks

While scholarly interest in relational characteristics of collective action and social movements is at least three decades old [Curtis and Zurcher, 1973; Granovetter, 1973; Obershall, 1973; Pickvance, 1975] and it can indeed be traced well back in founding works of classic sociology [Simmel, 1908], it is only in more recent times that social scientists have fully engaged with a research approach which evaluates forms of collective action starting from the appraisal of their structural properties. Scholars of social capital have for example emphasised the importance of resources embedded in social networks, which can be accessed by actors wishing to increase likelihood of success in a purposive action. This type of research has focused on how actors access and make use of social resources embedded in social networks through their connections, both at the individual [Lin, 1982, 1999 and 2001] and at the group level. In particular, scholars have argued that networks of obligations and recognition are the basis on which members of a clear-cut (and privileged) group maintain and reinforce their social capital as a collective asset [Bourdieu, 1986]; that social networks not only sustain individuals within social structures but provide resources (that is, social capital) to the structures themselves [Coleman, 1990]; and that participation, associations and exchanges are indicators of well-being in societies, since they promote collective norms and trust [Putnam, 1993 and 1995]. In sum, social networks enhance the outcomes of collective action. It is indeed through social ties that a wide range of embedded resources can be accessed, thus facilitating the flow of information about choices otherwise not available, influencing the agents who play a critical role in decision-making, as well as reinforcing identity, recognition, public acknowledgment and support. From this perspective, the study of social networks fits in the resource mobilization theory [Obershall, 1973; McCarthy and Zald, 1977], since ties provide a valuable 'resource' which rational actors can use to balance their scarce control of other resources, having evaluated perceived costs and benefits of different strategies.

At the same time, social network analysis has found extensive application in a wide range of research questions, focusing on the impact of urbanisation [Fisher, 1982], occupational mobility [Breiger, 1990], social support [Wellman and Wortley, 1990], centralisation of parties and elites [Padgett and Ansell, 1993], interaction between public domain and policy domain [Broadbent, 1998], and in particular, on specific research questions of social movement analysis and contentious politics, such as inter-organisational networks and overlapping memberships [Diani, 1992 and 1995], processes of mobilisation and counter-mobilisation [Franzosi 1997 and 1999], protest across traditional cleavages in deeply divided societies [Cinalli, 2002 and 2003], the influence of individuals' relational contexts on their decision to mobilise [Klandermans, 1990; McAdam, 1986; Passy, 2001], and the impact of whole communities' network structures on the development of their collective action [Gould 1991, 1993 and 1995]. In particular, it is crucial to emphasise that many of these latter researches have made use of social networks to determine the social and political context within which actors operate, thus offering a different perspective from theories of social capital (which rather consider social networks as an internal resource to mobilise for sustaining collective action). In sum, the analysis of social networks also fits in the political opportunity approach, since ties provide opportunities for altruist actors, impacting upon their action and enabling them to draw resources from the environment.

In this working paper networks will be considered to be both resources and opportunities. The first part of the analysis focuses on the overall multi-organisational issue-fields of asylum and unemployment, demonstrating that pro-beneficiary actors access different resources in the two issue-fields, due to the different shape of their inter-organisational relationships. These different

network patterns also accounts for the most distinctive social processes in each issue-field, such as institutionalisation, mobilisation and co-optation. The second part of the study focuses on actors' decisions, aiming to explain the two different network patterns built by pro-asylum and pro-unemployed organisations. In this case, social networks analysis will provide an additional contribution to the study of the contextual scenario which impacts upon pro-beneficiary actors when they decide to forge their inter-organisational alliances. Hence, it is crucial to provide a more explicit definition of the main tenets of social network analysis, which guide the specific investigation of this working paper. In particular, four central principles distinguish this programme of research from 'standard' social science perspectives. First, actors are interdependent rather than independent units, and the relations amongst them are the most meaningful focus of analysis. Second, the analytically relevant characteristics that can be predicated for these actors can be understood out of their structural and/or relational features. Third, relational ties between these actors are the channels for the flow of both material and non-material resources. Last, the complete web of actors, their position and their linkages, that is, network structure, provides opportunities for (and constraints upon) action.

Put simply, network analysis operationalises a social structure in terms of networks of linkages amongst units, that is, a set of nodes hierarchically related according to the control of and access to embedded resources in their positions, which are entrusted to occupants (that is, actors) acting upon structural constraints and opportunities. Structure and its relational characteristics impact upon social actors, which aim to maintain and gain resources (both material and non-material) through their networks.² I will thus assume that each actor in the two issue-fields can be viewed as a focus from which lines radiate horizontally and vertically to other nodes (actors with which it is in contact), while making reference to some main characteristics of a network and its actors. First, I will define each of my networks as a set of co-operative ties linking a set of social actors (or nodes). In short, my networks depict actors (or nodes) linked by relations of close co-operation. Second, I will refer to a relation between any two actors as an 'edge'. If there is an edge joining two actors these actors are adjacent. A 'path' is a chain of edges that connect two actors. The number of actors adjacent to an actor expresses its 'degree' (or point-centrality), whose measure displays the importance of specific actors within the entire network. Third, the most important structural characteristic of a network, which I consider, is density. A network is relatively dense if a large number of actors are linked to each other. The density of a network (or portion of a network) may be calculated by a simple computation, which expresses the ratio of the total possible links to the total actual links in the network under consideration. Last, my analysis will focus especially on network clusters, that is, segments or compartments of networks which have relatively high density.

As regards the method, the research is based on analysis which is both qualitative and quantitative. sixty in-depth semi-structured interviews have been conducted with core policy-makers, political party representatives, civil society organisations, pro-beneficiary groups and movements. The interview schedule for each category of actors is strictly comparative. It is specifically designed to analyse where they locate themselves in relations to other actors in the field. These interviews include not only qualitative in-depth questions (examining, for example, the framing of their political claims) but also sets of standardised questions, which aim to investigate action repertoires, mobilisation and communication strategies, institutions on which demands are made, as well as relationships of disagreement and co-operation with other actors in the field. In particular, the analysis of inter-organisational networks has been based on the

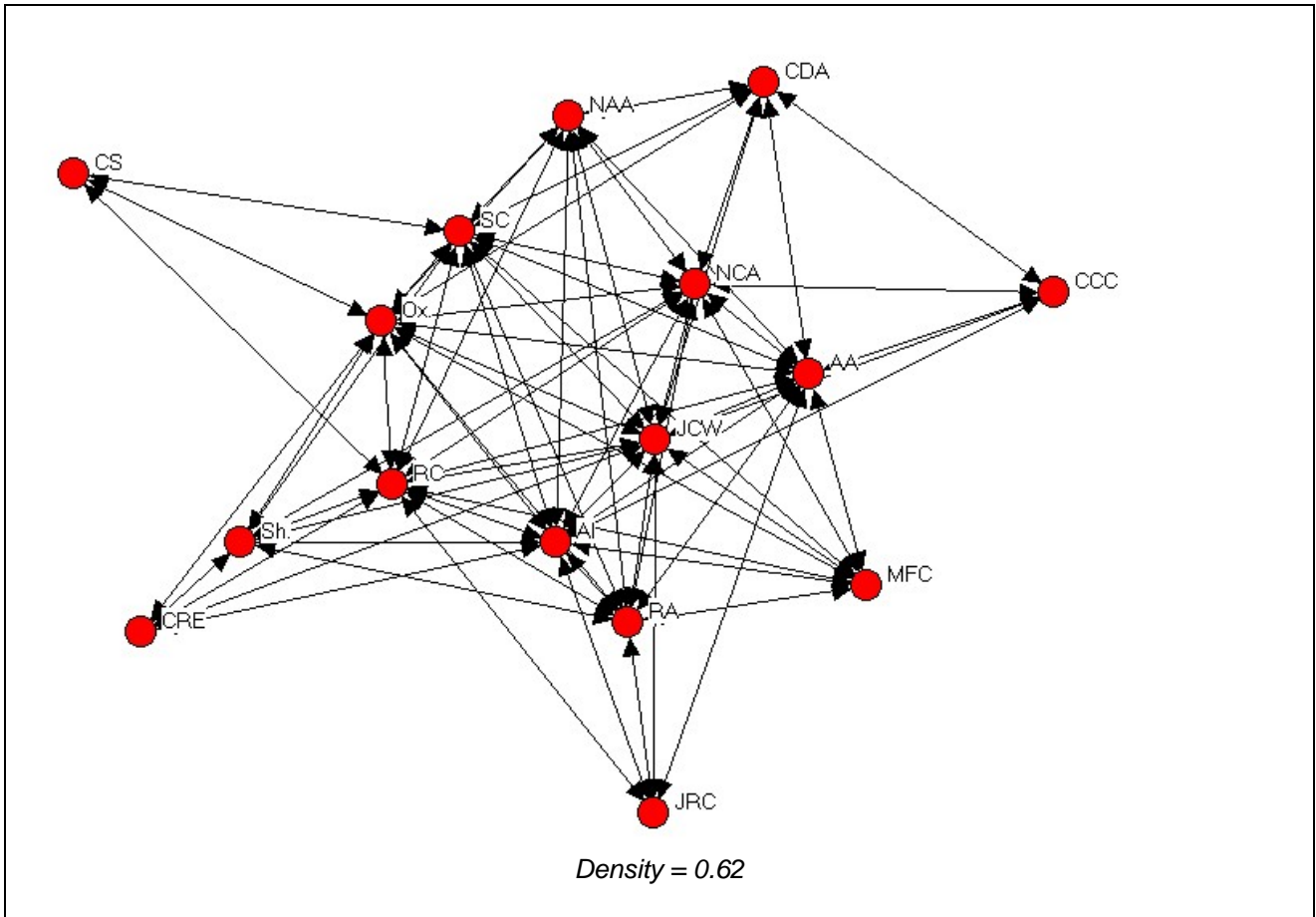
² For a detailed treatment of Social Network Analysis, see Wasserman and Faust [1994]. Some scholars have looked at network analysis with an emphasis on research methods [Knoke and Kuklinsky, 1982]. For an introductory text to social network analysis see Scott [2000].

elaboration of closed lists of actors engaged in the two issue-fields. At the same time, a wide range of secondary sources, such as existing literature, organisations' publications, press articles and official documents from political and institutional authorities, has been used to deepen the analysis of key contextual dimensions.

3. Horizontal Networks in the Two Issue-Fields of Asylum and Unemployment: Pro-Beneficiary Actors and Civil Society Allies

Having divided the two issue-fields in comparable network clusters, it is possible to focus first of all on the analysis of inter-organisational linkages which pro-asylum and pro-unemployed actors have decided to build amongst themselves in their respective issue-field. Figure 1 shows the map of edges between 16 main pro-asylum organisations, where each edge indicates the existence of a relationship of close co-operation between a pair of these actors. The first evident characteristic of this (portion of) network amongst pro-asylum organisations is its high density, owing to the fact that a large number of actors are linked to each other. They have thus built an extensive web of linkages and exchanges with other pro-beneficiary groups in the same field. In particular, the majority of these organisations have successfully forged ties of co-operation with more than half of the actors in the network, and some of them (namely, the Joint Committee for the Welfare of Immigrants, Refugee Council, Amnesty International and Oxfam) stand out for their remarkable point-centrality. At the same time, all the organisations with lowest point-centrality (namely, the Children's Society, Jesuit Refugee Centre, Campaign for Closing Campsfield and the Commission for Racial Equality) interact directly with two or more organisations with the highest point-centrality, and hence, they are no more than one single edge away from any other organisation within the network. This particular shape combines together the main properties of a 'star' and a 'clique', thus promoting not only a fast and efficient flow of information amongst the different nodes but also the strengthening of reciprocal solidarity amongst the organisations, as well as a wider sense of belongingness within the overall network.

Fig. 1: Inter-Organisational Networks within the Pro-Asylum Field



Clearly, pro-asylum organisations can access, exchange, and develop a wide range of material and non-material resources through their extensive web of inter-organisational links. On the one hand, these ties seem to be particularly useful for increasing flow of information across the nodes, for facilitating allocation of responsibilities and flexibility of action, and hence, for their instrumental nature. Accordingly, many of the organisations objects of my analysis have decided to engage actively in the Asylum Rights Campaign, which functions as an information-sharing umbrella that informs the campaigning work of its members.³ At the same time, it is important to emphasise that the usefulness of networks has been evaluated at the level of single organisations. For example, the Joint Committee for the Welfare of Immigrants has debated for years on its internal structure, emphasising the convenience of a network, rather than a membership organisation. In the words of one of its leaders:

Networks are much more flexible and much more responsive. There's a possibility of dividing the work up much more quickly so we've got people who are in a position to respond quickly [...] The whole asylum agenda has been based on the possibility of establishing, particularly as far as reception issues are concerned, basically a co-ordinated strategy which will strap important NGOs in the process right from the very beginning.

Nevertheless, owing to their clique shape, inter-organisational exchanges have also sustained the strengthening of solidarity and promoted the belief of sharing similar purposes for action,

³ ARC is also a forum for discussion with campaigning strategies in mind, in order to stand against legislative provisions which curtail rights and entitlements of asylum seekers.

thus encouraging the formation and reproduction of ties downward to the level of individual activists. For example, Oxfam has actively worked to promote and sustain a common agenda within the wider pro-asylum voluntary sector, building an extensive network which is based on inter-organizational links as well as overlapping memberships, with many supporters active in more than one organisation at the same time. In the words of one of its leaders:

An Oxfam supporter isn't just an Oxfam supporter. I know myself that I'm a member of Oxfam, a supporter of Oxfam, I support Amnesty, Christian Aid, a variety of different groups but I'm the same person. And I really think that our supporters love it, and I would use that verb, they love it when we work with other people with a common agenda. And they hate it when we're standing up individually.

Likewise, the Refugee Council has also developed links with other organisations which are not directly active on refugee issues, in order to make them aware that refugees are an issue for them.⁴ Furthermore, reciprocal solidarity and sense of common belongingness have at times been mobilised explicitly through these dense networks. In occasion of the voucher campaign, for example, a wide number of pro-asylum organisations stood together to boycott the implementation of the voucher scheme, voicing fervently their political opposition.⁵ Not only has this campaign proved that pro-asylum organisations can successfully unite their efforts to forward political change, but it has especially demonstrated that the instrumental function of networks is only a part, albeit the most evident part, of their meaning, since overwhelming symbolic resources can at times be mobilised through these same networks. The determined participation of the Refugee Council to the campaign of protest - notwithstanding its role of assistant agency under the same Act which had introduced the vouchers - provides an important evidence for this argument.

Moving to the analysis of the (portion of) network amongst pro-beneficiary actors in the issue field of unemployment, it is evident that pro-unemployed organisations have decided to shape their reciprocal linkages according to a completely different pattern. Figure 2 shows the map of edges between 16 main organisations working on behalf of the unemployed, where each edge represents the existence of a relationship of close co-operation between a pair of these actors. This time, the first evident characteristic of this network consists of its very low density, with a large number of actors disconnected with each other or merely related through long paths. Indeed, only a few organisations are characterised by a somewhat significant point-centrality, namely, the Joseph Rowntree Foundation, the Centre for Economic and Social Inclusion, and the Work Foundation. Thanks to a single interaction with one of these latter organisations, many other actors can communicate with each other, even if only through long paths which shape the network in the model of a star. A significant number of pro-unemployed organisations, however, have built no relationship of co-operation with the rest of the network. In sum, although the issue-field is still defined by loose contacts amongst different actors, organisations working on behalf of the unemployed appear to be unwilling to forge a broad web of reciprocal linkages of close co-operation, while aiming to keep some basic degree of information exchange within the network.

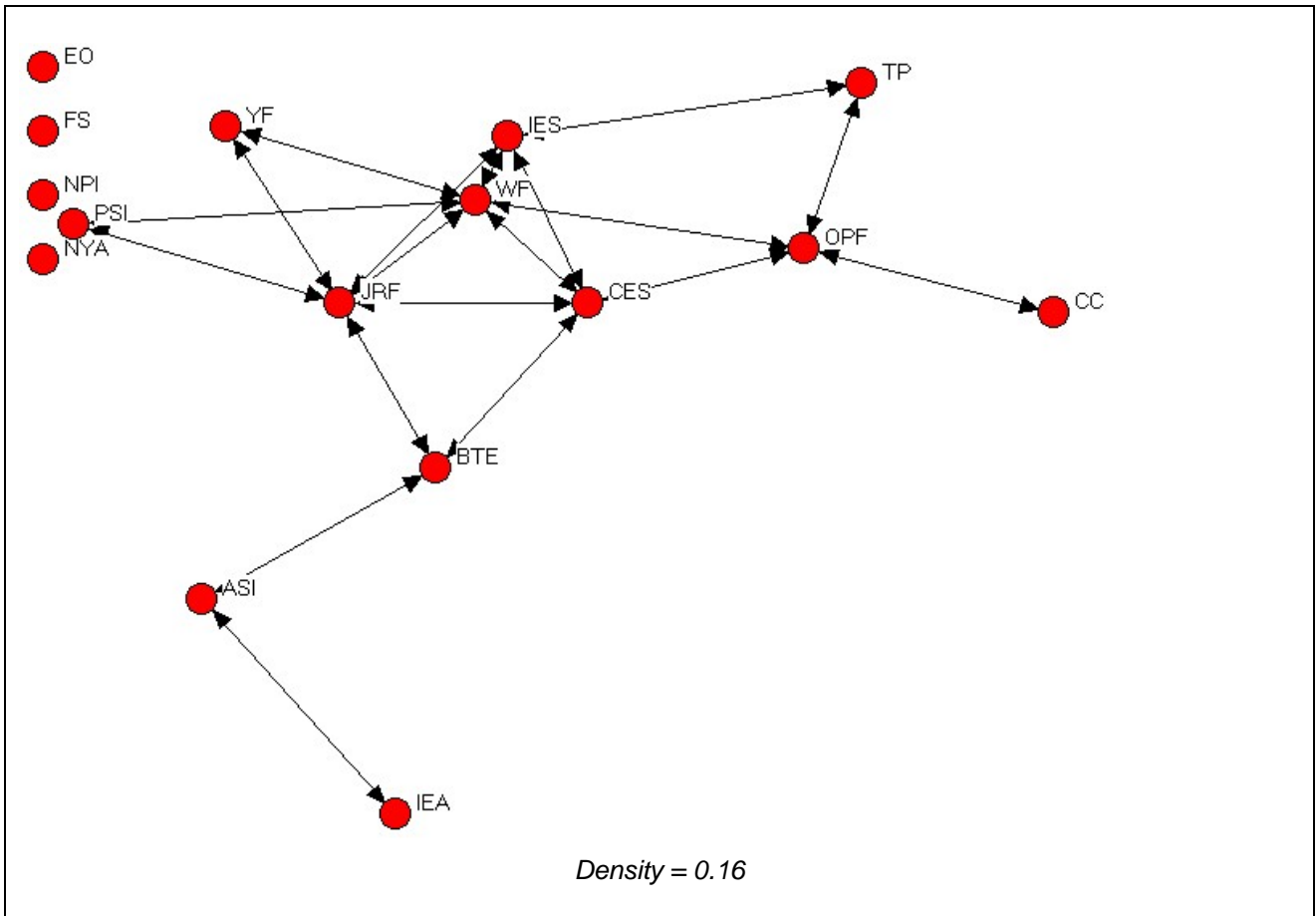
The low structural density of this network seems to provide only specific opportunities for action, encouraging pro-unemployed organisations to specialise in a few specific techniques

⁴ For example, RC has co-operated on housing with Shelter, while encouraging Age Concern to take up the issue of older refugees.

⁵ The scheme introduced a new system of subsistence benefits for asylum seekers in the restrictive form of vouchers. Furthermore, supermarkets were entitled to keep the change when asylum seekers used their vouchers. Oxfam and the Refugee Council have successfully led the campaign. Amongst the many actions, they devised a supermarket action card, distributing over 100,000 of these cards to groups across the country.

which are exclusively employed at the national level. Indeed, the unemployment voluntary sector is occupied by two main kinds of actors: 1) organisations which consider the promotion, production and dissemination of research and knowledge to be the major means to intervene on unemployment policy (for example, the Institute of Economic Affairs and the Joseph Rowntree Foundation), and 2)

Fig. 2: Inter-Organisational Networks within the Pro-Unemployed Field



organisations which, albeit also engaged in research, have decided to play a direct role in the formulation, implementation and development of government policies (for example, the Centre for Economic and Social Inclusion and the Institute for Employment Studies). Low structural density and the complete lack of clique-shaped relationships in any part of the network are also matched by a lack of significant connections with groups of beneficiaries at the grassroots level. Clearly, the National Unemployed Centres Combine (CC) stands out as the only organisation which actually involves unemployed people in its own organisational activities, working for the bottom-up promotion of their interest rather than for the elaboration of top-down solutions to tackle unemployment. CC also campaigns directly on behalf of the unemployed, linking together various local ‘unemployed workers centres’ across Britain.

Further examination of horizontal networks, however, implies to broaden the focus of this network analysis, moving from within to outside the pro-beneficiary sector. Indeed, it is important to assess the extent to which pro-asylum and pro-unemployed have respectively decided to forge linkages with potential allies in the wider civil society, matching the shape of these relationships with the network patterns hitherto examined in each issue-field. In this case, it is crucial to measure relationships of co-operation between pro-beneficiary actors on the one hand, and main trade unions, political parties, churches, professional and non-governmental

and new political conditions, which have forced groups to demobilise, strengthen their links with the unions, and to adapt to government strategies. While some of these centres have dealt with the restrictive legislation of three successive New Right governments,⁸ other centres have decided to support actively government policies since the election of New Labour in 1997.⁹ Thus, CC has worked to strengthen its ties with trade unions, churches and other civil society organisations in order to fill in its distance from the main policy-makers.¹⁰

On the other hand, the network structure built by pro-asylum organisations (left box of fig. 3) stand out for its high density, owing to the fact that they are linked with a wide range of civil society allies. In particular, it is worth noticing that JCWI and RC, which were also characterised by high point-centrality within the pro-beneficiary cluster, also score a high degree in this larger portion of network. This indicates that they emerge as the most important organisations for pulling resources horizontally across the pro-beneficiary sector and civil society. At the same time, it is crucial to emphasise that the Council for Racial Equality occupies a strategic position of contact with civil society allies, and hence, should be considered to be an authoritative organisation within the overall voluntary sector, in spite of its limited linkages with other pro-beneficiary actors. In sum it is clear that pro-asylum organisations have decided not only to interact inwardly amongst themselves, but to forge at the same time a burgeoning web of horizontal ties which extends outwardly to all the main organisations of civil society. Likewise reciprocal horizontal networks, these 'external' horizontal networks have further facilitated flow of information and definition of common beliefs. I have already mentioned the widespread campaign to 'scrap the vouchers'. This was the most visible episode of protest on behalf of asylum seekers, which brought together a wide range of organisations united not only in their moral disdain for government, but also in their concern for justice and rights. In particular, it is crucial to emphasise that a key union, namely, the Transport and General Workers' Union, has indeed led this campaign (together with RC and Oxfam), while national and local churches have played an important role alongside professional organisations (such as the British Medical Association), associations of local authorities, and other voluntary organisations commonly not engaged in the asylum issue field (such as Barnardos and the Body Shop).

However, it is at least worth emphasising other data which, albeit hidden in the quantitative presentation, are particularly useful in demonstrating co-ordinated intervention between civil society and pro-beneficiary groups. First, Asylum Aid works in partnership with the Central London Advice Service and with the Refugee Education and Training Advisory Service in the Rope project. While RETAS gives guidance on employment and access to education, CLAS has provided further advice on accessing the National Asylum Support Service. Second,

⁷ Although several centres have continued to engage regularly in forms of mobilisation under the direction of CC, the last significant episodes of direct protest were organised in 1995, when three marches were organised to protest against the introduction of the 'job seekers allowance' by the Conservative government. One took place between Newcastle and Sheffield; another took place between Liverpool and Sheffield; while a local march was organised between Derby and Sheffield.

⁸ Accordingly, these centres became providers of services to the unemployed rather than offering the means to organise and mobilise them per se [Bagguley, 1991].

⁹ For example, the old 'unemployment centre' in Sheffield has changed its name in 'Centre for Full Employment'. It has accepted to co-operate with the New Labour government in supporting programmes that re-engage unemployed people back into the labour market. In particular, the centre for full employment has taken active part in the Intermediate Labour Market (ILM), employing hundreds of people in project of community value and creating work in the third sector of the economy.

¹⁰ At the end of 2003, for example, postcards reporting article 23 of the UN declaration of Human Rights (stating free choice of employment) were sent to each MP at Westminster, while a CC leader participated to the annual TUC conference in order to lobby on the issue of unemployment benefits and welfare reform.

Amnesty International has set up an ad hoc inter-organisational forum for debating and exchanging information on asylum seekers. This 'working group' links AI with the Refugee Legal Centre, the Immigration Law Practitioners Association, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the Jesuit Refugee Service, the Medical Foundation for the Care of Victims of Torture, Friends House, Oxfam, RC and JCWI. AI also co-operates with Liberty and the Law Society, while relying at the same time on a wider web of ties through the action of Reach Out, which has linked AI with the Lawyers' Committee for Human Rights, Oxfam, Save the Children, and the UNHCR's protection unit. Last, the Refugee Council and Refugee Action have been active within a national multi-agency partnership alongside with other refugee voluntary organisations. In particular, RA has developed its relationships especially at the regional level throughout the North of England, building linkages with the North West Development Agency, regional Community Health Council, regional volunteer bureaux, North West Consortium, accommodation providers, Princes Trust, and Learning Direct, as well as hundreds of ties with different organisations at the local level, amongst which refugee support groups, refugee community organisations, education suppliers, and local voluntary actions.

Hence, it is crucial to emphasise that this extensive web has also spread through co-operation with a wide range of actors at the grassroots level, such as community and faith groups, education service and student groups, refugee community organisations and local voluntary groups, as well as asylum support networks that include the beneficiaries themselves. The pro-asylum organisational field is clearly characterised by dense exchanges which have filled in the gap between formal national organisations and local grassroots groups. For example, AA is in close contact with many refugee groups in areas where asylum seekers have been dispersed, working closely with these groups in order to produce a concerted and unified front of refugee organisations. The JCWI relies on a network of more than 2000 groups and individuals throughout Britain, working in direct contact with local groups, committees, and families. Formal organisations cannot affiliate to the National Coalition for Anti-Deportation Campaign, which has built only some selected links of co-operation with other national voluntary organisations to guarantee that the control of its own activities remains firmly the hands of people facing deportation.¹¹ In the words of a NCADC member:

It does constrain us in that the trade union organisations can't really affiliate, can't make donations, which is a bit of a handicap but we can't see a way round it because we are quite adamant that those fighting deportations will stay in control [...] They ultimately are our employers. They can make the decisions.

This practice has facilitated the broadening of links at the local level, where NCADC has forged an extensive web of ties through co-operation with grassroots refugee groups, local committees of the Socialist Workers Party, churches, and trade unions branches.

In addition, Oxfam works with faith-based groups such as Islamic Relief, informal organisations and committees, as well as with local branches of trade unions. In particular, the voucher campaign has enabled Oxfam to develop extensive ties of co-operation with organisations working directly on asylum. In the words of one of its members:

I went to a brilliant group in Newham, the east end of London, Newham Refugee Forum, who were using Oxfam cards in the east end. They had never had any contact with Oxfam, barely knew who Oxfam were, but wanted to part of this campaign [...] The Northern Refugee Centre, again a group with no real links with Oxfam, got in

¹¹ A good relationship of co-operation links NCADC with the Medical Foundation for the Care of Victims of Torture and National Assembly Against Racism.

touch and started distributing thousands of cards in Sheffield [...] And all the cards came back [...] from every part of the country, all political persuasions.

RC stands out for its efforts to re-integrate asylum seekers and refugees within the wider polity.

In the words of a RC member:

Refugees are part of our community and therefore as such the fundamental thing for me is to stop them being marginalised, stop them being seen as a separate thing and to get other people involved [...] It's to try and make sure that we can influence as much of that as possible.

Indeed, RC has intensely worked at the local level throughout the country, alongside local refugee community organisations and a large number of grassroots groups.

4. Vertical Networks in the Two Issue-Fields: Pro-Beneficiary Actors and Policy-Makers

My analysis has so far demonstrated that pro-beneficiary actors can take different decisions when shaping their horizontal inter-organisational networks amongst themselves and with civil society allies. In particular, this examination seems to indicate that network closure is a distinctive advantage in the mobilisation of both material and non-material resources. As regards the asylum issue-field, high density in the pro-beneficiary cluster, and in the larger network portion which connects this cluster with civil society allies, is indeed matched by 1) the substantial and constant flow of information throughout the network, which, in its most visible outcome, has led to the setting up of a national sharing information umbrella, namely, the ARC, 2) the decision to co-ordinate widespread intervention in a multitude of specific actions, which has brought about the mushrooming of numerous ad hoc issue coalitions across the national and the local level, and 3) the gradual development of an unifying sense of solidarity and belongingness in the network, which, in the most visible case of the voucher campaign, has also proved to be capable to prevail on individual actors' pursuit of selective incentives. As regards the unemployment issue-field, linkages of co-operation amongst pro-beneficiary actors are so loose that it is hardly possible to clearly distinguish a defined cluster of organisations co-operating with each other. Organisations working on behalf of the unemployed appear to be interested in sustaining just the minimum amount of horizontal ties (with each other and with civil society allies) to guarantee some basic information flow. They do not share any sense of common belongingness or solidarity, nor do they unite in pervasive common action, or form ad hoc coalitions.

However, further analysis of the network structure has to include the examination of vertical linkages which pro-beneficiary organisations may decide to build with institutional actors and core

Fig. 4 Vertical Networks in the Two Issue-Fields: Pro-Beneficiary vs. Core Policy Actors

<u>Asylum</u>						<u>Unemployment</u>					
	H.O.	NAS	Par.	L.A.	LGA		DWP	Tr.	DTI	L.A.	JCP
AA	0	1	0	0	0	ASI	1	1	0	0	0
AI	0	0	1	0	0	BTE	1	0	1	1	1
CCC	0	0	0	0	0	CC	0	0	0	1	0
CDA	0	0	0	0	0	CES	1	0	0	1	1
CRE	1	1	1	1	1	EO	1	0	1	1	0
CS	0	0	1	1	0	FS	0	0	0	0	0
JCW	1	0	0	0	0	IEA	0	0	0	0	0
JRC	0	0	0	0	0	IES	1	1	0	1	1
MFC	1	1	1	1	0	JRF	1	1	1	0	0
NAA	0	0	1	0	0	NPI	0	0	0	0	0
NCA	0	0	0	1	0	NYA	0	0	0	0	0
Ox.	0	1	0	1	0	OPF	1	0	0	1	0
RA	0	1	0	1	1	PSI	1	0	1	0	1
RC	0	1	0	1	1	TP	1	1	1	1	1
SC	1	1	0	0	0	WF	1	1	1	1	1
Sh.	0	1	0	1	0	YF	0	1	1	1	1

Density = 0.33

Density = 0.49

policy-makers. Having assessed the extent to which pro-asylum and pro-unemployed organisations have forged ties of close co-operation with relevant policy actors, government departments, and local administrations, I will match the shape of these vertical linkages with the shape of horizontal networks. Figure 4 in the previous page compares networks between pro-beneficiary organisations and core policy actors in the two issue-fields by presenting two matrixes of edges, which highlight the occurrence of linkages between different pairs of actors (in each pair there is a pro-beneficiary organisation and a policy actor). In particular, fig. 4 shows a remarkable shift of density structure in both issue-fields, reversing the trend of previous findings on horizontal network patterns. In the asylum issue-field, the high density of horizontal networks in the public domain (mutual ties amongst pro-unemployed organisations and their linkages with civil society allies) suddenly drops if density is calculated vertically on the base of vertical ties of co-operation between pro-asylum actors and core policy actors. This type of shift appears to be even more dramatic in the unemployment issue-field, especially if we assume that strong ties across hierarchically different positions are not the normative expectation. While confirming that pro-asylum and pro-unemployed organisations have taken different decisions when shaping their linkages of co-operation, the data seem to suggest that an inverse relationship between horizontal and vertical networks exists in these two issue-fields. The analysis of (portions of) networks shows indeed that the two directions are not taken at the same time.

Hence, in spite of its importance, it cannot be argued that (horizontal) network closure is a necessary requirement in the mobilisation of resources, as this argument denies the significance of bridges, structural holes, weaker ties or vertical networks. Since the root of preferring different combinations of networks lies rather in actors' interests and concerns, it is empirically more viable to analyse for what outcomes and under what conditions different combinations of horizontal and vertical networks are preferred to generate a better return. From this point of view, pro-unemployed actors no longer stand out as socially and politically marginalised organisations, even if they have decided to build only a loose web of horizontal ties. Mentioning only a few examples, it is evident that pro-unemployed organisations have successfully built an extensive web of ties which brings them crucially close to influential policy-makers. The Centre for Economic and Social Inclusion has closely worked with policy-makers since 1997, when its strategy has changed as a result of the establishment of the New Labour government. CESI no longer aims to target the wider public or grassroots groups of unemployed (a normal practice throughout the long New Right era), but it plays a crucial role beside government bodies in the design and formulation of different measures which aim to increase the employability of the unemployed, such as the transitional programme STEP-UP, the New Deal for young people, and the New Deal for long term unemployed. Likewise, the Institute for Employment Studies works in close contact with the Department of Work and Pension and Jobcentre-Plus, dealing with unemployment and labour market issues with the final objective to influence policy from within, rather than from outside. In the words of one of its members:

We have always worked with policy makers and government, with them and for them. We have very good links with them [...] We find it more fruitful to use the inside track, than the outside track.

In particular, IES has extensively been involved in the elaboration of the New Deal, giving evidence to select committees and circulating most of its work throughout government departments, as well as placing many reports in the House of Commons library and briefing ministers and politicians.

The Joseph Rowntree Foundation has organised and co-hosted seminars with the Department of Work and Pension, bringing together senior policy-makers and researchers to discuss unemployment. JRF has also launched many reports at day conferences, which have been attended by ministers and keynote policy-makers. Tomorrow's People relies on a solid web of ties with government bodies and core policy actors. Indeed, extensive relationships across the policy field are considered to be the best resource to help people excluded from the labour market out of long-term unemployment, welfare dependence, and homelessness into jobs and self-sufficiency. In the words of a TP member:

Speaking to policy makers directly is much more effective [...]The public does not have sufficient technical interest in the issues of concern and it is more effective therefore to deal with policy makers.

Lastly, the National Council for One Parent Families focuses most of its efforts in strengthening direct contacts with policy-makers and civil servants, in order to participate to the development of policies and final bills. In particular, OPF works closely with the Employment Service on the New Deal for Lone Parents and it has been responsible for training New Deal for Lone Parents advisers. It has co-operated with the Treasury and Inland Revenue in the development of the tax credits system. OPF has also influenced social security legislation and the 1998 Welfare Reform and Pension Bill, briefing MPs for ad hoc debates.

In the asylum issue-field, it has already been emphasised that pro-beneficiary actors have decided to privilege the building of horizontal ties amongst themselves and with civil society allies, rather than vertical linkages with policy-makers and state actors. Yet, the data in fig. 4 suggest that pro-asylum organisations, albeit opposing government policies, do not overlook the potentialities of pulling resources through direct linkages with nodes in the policy field. Mentioning a few examples, the CRE has built an extensive web of vertical ties, owing to the special acknowledgement of its functions under the terms of the 1976 Race Relations Act. In particular, the organisation works actively with public bodies to promote laws, policies, and practices which take full account of the Race Relations Act and the protection it gives against discrimination. SC plays a key role in the Young Unaccompanied Asylum Seekers stakeholders group,¹² while participating at the same time in other stakeholders groups where the groundwork for legislation is made and policy is affected. SC also chairs the Refugee Children Consortium¹³ while working with the Children and Families from Overseas Network.¹⁴ The RC is one of the assistant agencies set up in the aftermath of the 1999 Immigration and Asylum Act. In particular, RC is part of a multi-agency partnership with other refugee voluntary organisations, which aim to plug asylum seekers into the NASS providing them with support and independent advice on a wide range of relevant issues.¹⁵ RC also works with local authorities to provide a service of home-hostels.

Therefore, my findings can be summarised as follows. In the asylum issue-field, I have detected some important linkages across the public and policy domains. These vertical networks have enabled pro-beneficiary actors to increase depth and extension of their intervention on behalf of

¹² This is a Home Office working group which brings together SC, RC, the National Children's Bureau, representatives from the Home Office and the Department of Health, as well as many local authorities. SC has also set up together with RC and Barnardos a panel of advisers that is funded by the Home Office.

¹³ This network was set up in the aftermath of the 1999 Immigration and Asylum Act to work for the safety of refugee children and young people.

¹⁴ This is a forum which guarantees a regular contact between voluntary organisations and local authorities across London.

¹⁵ These organisations are the Scottish Refugee Council, Welsh Refugee Council, Refugee Action, Refugee Arrivals Project, and Migrant Helpline.

asylum seekers, while guaranteeing the acquisition of important resources such as influence, visibility, and financial means. However, my analysis has especially emphasised that pro-asylum organisations have decided to forge a very dense web of mutual relationships, as well as strong ties of co-operation with civil society allies, thus promoting two main outcomes of interest. First, these horizontal networks have had the important function of increasing flow of information and exchange of material resources. For example, the combination of findings demonstrates that horizontal networks are also useful to reach policy-makers, even if only through long paths, thus guaranteeing a convenient allocation of resources, tasks, and responsibilities. Second, horizontal networks have also been suitable for sustaining symbolic and expressive actions, which are based on reciprocal recognition amongst pro-beneficiary organisations and mutual acknowledgment to reciprocate respective concerns. Indeed, in the most critical moments, pro-asylum organisations with important links in the policy field have preferred to support the other actors in the pro-beneficiary field, in spite of strong selective incentives to show allegiance to institutions and policy-makers. Furthermore, pro-asylum organisations have demonstrated to be capable to merge their own efforts within a unified front, drawing at the same time on the support of grassroots groups of beneficiaries and civil society allies.

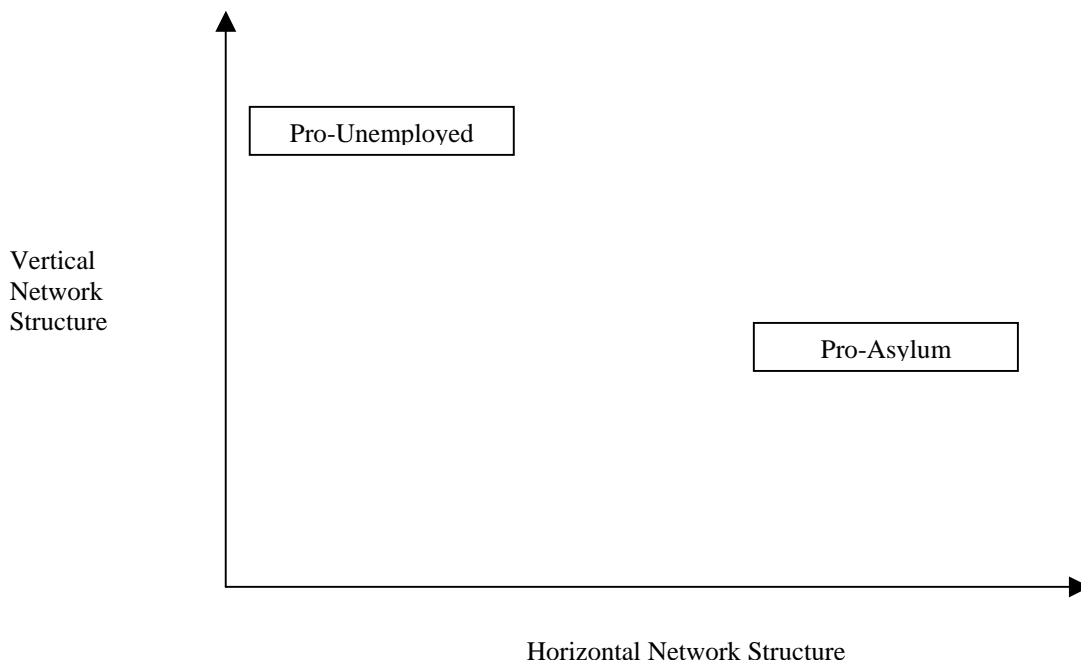
As regards the unemployment issue-field, I have demonstrated that horizontal inter-organisational relationships are extremely loose, with only a minimum amount of ties of co-operation forged in the public domain (amongst pro-beneficiary organisations and with civil society allies). Accordingly, actors working on behalf of the unemployed do not share any sense of common belongingness or solidarity, nor have they ever united in pervasive common action, or formed ad hoc coalitions. Rather, the entire issue-field is dominated by the development of extensive vertical ties, which link organisations across the public and policy domains. Indeed, it is important to emphasise that in this issue-field organisations aim to access different social positions in order to acquire additional resources. On the one hand, policy-makers are interested in the support which pro-unemployed voluntary organisations can provide in terms of welfare services, production of knowledge, sharing of expertise, and public legitimisation. On the other hand, pro-unemployed organisations obtain in exchange a privileged access to higher political positions and financial resources, thus reinforcing their organisational strength and public acknowledgement. In sum, the entire issue-field is 'vertically' stretched, with increasing competition amongst pro-unemployed actors to reach the top level of the policy domain and gradual detachment of the beneficiaries (the unemployed themselves) at the bottom of the public domain.

5. Explaining Choice: Comparing Network Patterns in the two Issue-Fields

This analysis of inter-organisational linkages in the two issue-fields of asylum and unemployment in Britain has focused on two distinct patterns of networks which can be forged by pro-beneficiary actors. On the one hand, the issue-field of asylum is characterised by the predominance of a network pattern which is horizontally stretched, since pro-beneficiary actors have developed strong horizontal ties in the public domain and weak vertical ties in the policy domain. On the other hand, the issue-field of unemployment is characterised by the predominance of a network pattern which is vertically stretched, since pro-beneficiary actors have built weak horizontal ties in the public domain and strong vertical ties in the policy domain. Figure 5 makes clear this distinction by presenting the results of my analysis in a typology of horizontal and vertical networks. Indeed, the space within the Cartesian axes could be simplified in four main areas representing the coupling of 1) a particular type of interaction (dense/loose) which pro-beneficiary organisations forge in the public domain amongst themselves and with civil society allies and 2) a particular type of interaction (dense/loose) which the same actors forge with actors in the policy domain. This typology could also be useful to integrate research on collective action along the Cartesian axes of the graph.¹⁶ Having examined these two distinct patterns of networks, it is now possible to analyse the broad set of factors that has influenced pro-beneficiary organisations in the two issue-fields in the building of their linkages and in the choice of their allies.

The ‘political opportunity structure’ approach [Diani and van der Heijden, 1994; Eisinger, 1973; Kitschelt, 1986; Kriesi, 1989; Kriesi *et al.*, 1995; Tarrow, 1989 and 1998; Tilly, 1978] shares many

Fig. 5 Representation of Combinations of Horizontal and Vertical Networks



¹⁶ Thus, institutionalisation is likely to occur at the top-right of the area (combination of dense horizontal networks and dense vertical networks); co-optation is likely to occur at the top-left of the area (combination of loose horizontal networks and dense vertical networks); conflict is likely to occur at the bottom-right of the area (combination of dense horizontal networks and loose vertical networks) and expressions of counter-cultural action are likely to occur at the bottom-left of the area (loose horizontal networks and loose vertical networks).

common features with the broadly influential ‘neo-institutionalist’ perspective [Hall and Taylor, 1996; March and Olsen, 1984], but it is characterised at the same time by a stronger attention for collective action within the public domain, and hence, seems to be particularly useful to explain the different decisions that pro-beneficiary organisations take in the two issue-fields with regard to their inter-organisational relationships. While different authors have provided different definitions and operationalisations of the concept of political opportunity structure, my attention here is focused on some main dimensions which are particularly relevant in my cross-issue comparative study, namely, legal arrangements, alliance structures, and prevailing elite strategies.

Starting with the analysis of legal arrangements, it is important to emphasise that even if asylum seekers and the unemployed stand out both for their weak and marginal position in British politics and society, these two groups face different degrees of social and economic exclusion. Indeed, asylum seekers and the unemployed access different bundles of legal and political rights, which sanction the ‘privileged’ position of the unemployed through their entitlements of British nationals. In sum, a comprehensive examination of the constitutional and social nature of citizenship in Britain can offer some valuable insights on the relationships between different dimensions of social exclusion [White, 1999] and socially excluded groups such as the unemployed and asylum seekers. Indeed, my analysis demonstrates that the holding of British citizenship (with its entitlements and duties) impacts upon network patterns in the two issue-fields, influencing in particular the building of ties which pro-asylum and pro-unemployed organisations have built with groups of beneficiaries at the grassroots level. Unlike the unemployed, asylum seekers face even high barriers to obtaining official residence rights and are extremely dependent upon pro-beneficiary organisations for their daily needs. Accordingly, pro-asylum organisations need to work actively with local asylum support networks and grassroots groups of beneficiaries, thus filling the gap between beneficiary and pro-beneficiary positions. In sum, different legal and constitutional arrangements change the very substantive content of ‘working on behalf of’, thus influencing the decision of building different ties of co-operation in the two issue-fields.

However, the focus of this paper goes beyond the analysis of (portions of) networks between pro-beneficiaries and beneficiaries, thus entailing the consideration of two further dimensions, namely, the structures of alliances and the strategies of policy actors. As regards structures of alliances, further analysis of political parties seems to be of particular interest, since they are crucial actors intermediating between the public domain and the policy domain. In particular, it is worth assessing the extent to which their particular relational properties impact on the different decisions which pro-beneficiary actors take when shaping their own inter-organisational networks.

Fig. 6 Networks in the Two Issue-Fields: Civil Society, Political Parties, and Core Policy Actors

<u>Asylum</u>										<u>Unemployment</u>									
	BMA	TGW	CAB	TUC	ILPA	Ch.	LP	CP	LD		TUC	TGW	CBI	CAB	FSB	Ch.	LP	CP	LD
H.O.	1	0	0	0	1	0	1	1	1	DTI	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
L.A.	0	0	1	1	0	1	0	0	0	DWP	1	0	1	1	1	0	0	0	0
LGA	1	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	JCP	1	0	1	1	1	1	0	0	0
NAS	0	0	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	L.A.	1	0	0	1	1	1	1	1	1
Par.	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1	1	Tr.	1	0	1	0	1	0	0	0	0
<i>Density = 0.42</i>										<i>Density = 0,49</i>									

Figure 6 draws attention to the relational properties of political parties within / between public and policy domains in the two issue-fields by presenting two matrixes of edges. Although the first most apparent datum consists of the similar density in the two issue-fields, a further analysis of the edges show that this similar density is in fact the result of very different combinations of networks of alliances between civil society, intermediary political parties, and core policy actors. Figure 7 emphasises that political parties through their intermediary position have built different relationships of alliance across public and policy domains in the two issue-fields. In particular, the intermediary role of political parties in the issue-field of asylum is clearly biased towards the policy domain, if this is compared with the same type of data in the unemployment issue-field. Certainly, further investigation of co-operation and alliance structures between civil society, political parties and policy actors needs to be carried out. For example, it is important to appraise whether the extensive networks of co-operative linkages between political parties and policy actors is reinforced by mutual inter-organisational ties between political parties, since elites' agreement is one main dimension of the political opportunity structure. Nevertheless, it is rather evident that the different degree of alliance and inclusion of political parties within the policy domain in the two issue-fields is matched by different network patterns between political parties and pro-beneficiary organisations, as it is clearly shown by the two matrixes in figure 7. Although previous data have shown that pro-asylum organisations have decided to build an extensive web of horizontal relationships amongst themselves and with allies in civil society, the analysis of edges in the two matrixes shows that the specific portion of networks with political parties is characterised by low density (which is just slightly higher than density between pro-beneficiary and policy-makers), as a result of the extensive inclusion of political parties in the policy field.

As regards strategies of policy actors, their specific position is a crucial aspect of the structure of power relationships in the two issue-fields, which certainly impacts on the networks patterns which pro-beneficiary organisations decide to forge.

Fig. 7: Networks between Political Parties and Pro-Beneficiary

<u>Asylum</u>				<u>Unemployment</u>			
	LP	CP	LD		LP	CP	LD
AA	0	0	0	ASI	0	1	1
AI	0	0	1	BTE	0	1	0
CCC	0	0	1	CC	0	0	0
CDA	0	0	0	CES	1	0	0
CS	0	0	0	EO	0	0	0
CRE	1	1	1	FS	0	0	0
JCW	1	1	1	IEA	0	1	0
JRC	0	0	0	IES	0	0	0
MFC	1	1	0	JRF	0	1	1
NAA	1	0	1	NPI	0	0	0
NCA	1	1	1	NYA	0	0	0
Ox.	0	0	0	OPF	0	1	0
RA	0	0	0	PSI	0	0	0
RC	1	1	1	TP	0	1	0
SC	0	0	0	WF	1	1	0
Sh.	0	0	0	YF	0	0	0
<i>Density = 0,37</i>				<i>Density = 0.23</i>			

In the unemployment issue-field, state policy responsiveness and co-optative strategies of policy-makers have discouraged the employment of visible political action in the public domain (to be sustained through dense horizontal networks), strengthening the role of small specialist organisations that target relevant policy-makers. Indeed, the definite demise of the unemployed protest movement in the public domain has occurred at the same time when the New Labour has taken on responsibility for government. Not only has this ‘opening up’ of institutional channels of access led pro-unemployed organisations to strengthen their direct forms of institutional involvement in the political process, but it has attracted a wider range of voluntary organisations willing to seize the new resources, and whose involvement has led to further marginalisation of grassroots groups of the unemployed. By contrast, in the asylum issue-field, pro-beneficiary organisations have generally faced a more restrictive political context, which has not changed with the establishment of the New Labour government in 1997. Indeed, in the last decade there have been five Acts of Parliament and a raft of measures which have increasingly deteriorated asylum seekers’ rights and weakened pro-asylum positions. Pro-asylum organisations have aimed to strengthen their horizontal networks, in order to tie in other campaign organisations and transform the beneficiary-specific claims in visible political demands in opposition to state policy-makers.

In sum, while the issue-field of asylum resembles a classical state-challenger dichotomy in which pro-beneficiary actors aim to develop their horizontal ties through both instrumental and expressive actions in order to strengthen their position against government, the issue-field of unemployment stands out as a pacified multi-organisational field in which there is complete synchrony between state, civil society, and pro-beneficiary actors.

References:

- Bourdieu P. (1986), 'The Forms of Capital', in Richardson J.C. (ed.), Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education, Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, pp. 241-58.
- Breiger, R.L. (1990), Social Mobility and Social Structure, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Burt R.S. (1992), Structural Holes: The Social Structure of Competition, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Chabanet D. (2002), 'Les marches européennes contre le chômage, la précarité et les exclusions', in Balme Richard, Didier Chabanet and Vincent Wright (eds.), L'Action collective en Europe, Paris, Presses de Sciences Po.
- CESI (2002), 'New Deal Sanctions', Training and Employment Network Weekly Briefing, No. 194, London: Cesi, available at www.cesi.org.uk/newsite2002/newdeal/weeklybriefing/brief194.htm.
- Cinalli M. (2002), 'Environmental Campaigns and Socio-Political Cleavages in Divided Societies', Environmental Politics, 11(1): 163-83.
- Cinalli M. (2003), 'Socio-Politically Polarized Contexts, Urban Mobilization and the Environmental Movement: A Comparative Study of Two Campaigns of Protest in Northern Ireland', International Journal of Urban and Regional Research, 27(1): 158-77.
- Coleman J.S. (1990), Foundations of Social Theory, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Curtis R.L. and Zurcher L.A. (1973), 'Stable resources of protest movements: The multi-organizational field', Social Forces, 52: 53-61.
- Dalton R.J., Keuchler M. (1990) (eds.), Challenging the Political Order: New Social and Political Movements in Western Democracies, Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Diani M. and Eyerman R. (1992) (eds.), Studying Collective Action, London: Sage.
- Diani M. (1992), 'Analysing social movement networks', in Diani M. and Eyerman R. (eds.), Studying Collective Action, London: Sage.
- Diani M. (1995), Green Networks: A Structural Analysis of the Italian Environmental Movement, Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Diani M. (2003), 'Social Movements, Contentious Action, and Social Networks: From Metaphor to Substance', in Diani M. and McAdam D. (eds.), Social Movements and Networks: Relational Approaches to Collective Action, Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Diani M. and McAdam D. (2003) (eds.), Social Movements and Networks: Relational Approaches to Collective Action, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

- Dwyer P. (2002), Creeping Conditionality: From Welfare Rights to Conditional Entitlements?, Unpublished Paper, University of Leeds.
- Eisinger, P. K. (1973), 'The Conditions of Protest Behaviour in American Cities', American Political Science Review, 67: 11-28.
- Fisher, C.S., To Dwell among Friends: Personal Networks in Town and City, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982.
- Franzosi R. (1997), 'Mobilization and Counter-Mobilization processes: From the Red Years (1919-20) to the Black Years (1921-22). A New Methodological Approach to the Study of Narrative Data', Theory and Society (Special Issue), 26: 275-304.
- Franzosi R. (1999), 'The Return of the Actor. Interaction Networks among Social Actors during Periods of High Mobilization (Italy, 1919-22)', Mobilization: An International Journal, 4: 131-49.
- Gamson W.A. (1990), The Strategy of Social Protest, 2d ed. Belmont, Calif.: Wadsworth.
- Giugni M. and Passy F. (2001) (eds.), Political Altruism? Solidarity Movements in International Perspective, Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Gould R.V. (1991), 'Multiple networks and mobilization in the Paris commune, 1871', American Sociological Review, 56: 716-29.
- Gould R.V. (1993), 'Collective action and network structure', American Sociological Review, 58: 182-96.
- Gould R.V. (1995), Insurgent Identities: Class, Community and Protest in Paris from 1848 to the Commune, Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Granovetter M. (1973), 'The Strength of Weak Ties', American Journal of Sociology, 78:1360-80.
- Granovetter M. (1982), 'The Strength of Weak Ties: A Network Theory Revisited' in Lin N. and Marsden P.V. (eds.), Social Structure and Network Analysis, Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.
- Guardian, Kurdish poet finds his voice, 31 May 2003.
- Hall P. and Taylor R. (1996), 'Political Science and the three new institutionalisms', Political Studies, 44(5): 936-57.
- Hildreth, A.K.G., Millard S.P, Mortensen D.T., Taylor M.P. (1998), 'Wages, work and Unemployment', Applied Economics, 30: 1531-47.
- Jackman, R. and R. Layard (1991), 'Does long-term unemployment reduce a person's chances of a job? A time-series test', Economica, 58: 93-106.
- Kitschelt, H. (1986), 'Political Opportunity Structures and Political Protest: Anti-Nuclear Movements in Four Democracies', British Journal of Political Science, 16, pp. 58-85.

Klandermans B. (1990), 'Linking the "Old" and "New": Movement Networks in the Netherlands', in Dalton R.J., Keuchler M. (eds.), Challenging the Political Order: New Social and Political Movements in Western Democracies, Cambridge: Polity Press.

Knoke D., and J. Kuklinsky (1982), Network Analysis, London: Sage.

Kriesi, (1989), 'The political opportunity Structure of the Dutch Peace Movement', West European Politics, 12: 295-312.

Kriesi H., Koopmans R., Duyvendak J.W., Giugni M. (1995), New Social Movements in Western Europe. A Comparative Analysis, Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press.

Lin N. (1982), 'Social Resources and Instrumental Action', in Lin N. and Marsden P.V. (eds.), Social Structure and Network Analysis, Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Lin N. (1999), 'Social Networks and Status Attainment', Annual Review of Sociology, 25: 467-87.

Lin N. (2001), Social Capital: A Theory of Social Structure and Action, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lin N. and Marsden P.V. (1982) (eds.), Social Structure and Network Analysis, Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

Lin N., Ensel W.M. and Vaughn J.C. (1981), 'Social Resources and Strength of Ties: Structural Factors in Occupational Status Attainment', American Sociological Review, 46(4): 393-405.

March J. and Olsen J. (1984), 'The new institutionalism: organizational factors in political life', American Political Science Review, 78(3): 734-49.

McAdam D. (1986), 'Recruitment to High-risk Activism: The case of Freedom Summer', American Sociological Review, 92: 64-90.

McCarthy J.D., Zald M.N. (1977), 'Resource Mobilization and Social Movements: A Partial Theory', American Journal of Sociology, 82: 1212-41.

Obershall A. (1973), Social Conflict and Social Movements, Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall.

Passy F. (1998), L'Action altruiste: Contraintes et opportunités de l'engagement dans les mouvements sociaux, Geneva: Droz.

Passy F. (2001), 'Socializing, connecting, and the structural/agency gap. A specification of the impact of networks on participation in social movements', Mobilization, 6: 173-92.

Pickvance C.G. (1975), 'On the study of urban social movements', Sociological Review, 23: 29-49.

Putnam R.D. (1993), 'The Prosperous Community: Social Capital and Public Life', The American Prospect, 13: 35-42.

Putnam R.D. (1995), 'Bowling Alone: American's Declining Social Capital', Journal of Democracy, 6(1), 65-78.

Scott J. (2000), Social Network Analysis: a handbook, London: Sage.

Statham P. (2001), 'Political Opportunities for Altruism? The Role of State Policies in Influencing Claims-Making by British Antiracist and Pro-Migrant Movements', in Giugni M. and Passy F. (eds.), Political Altruism? Solidarity Movements in International Perspective, Lanham, Md.: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.

Tarrow S. (1989), Democracy and Disorder: Protest and Politics in Italy, 1965-1975, Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Tarrow S. (1998), Power in Movement, Second Edition, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Tilly, C. (1978), From Mobilization to Revolution, Reading, Mass.: Addison-Wesley.

Van den Berg, G.J. and J.C. van Ours (1994), "Unemployment dynamics and duration dependence in France, The Netherlands and the United Kingdom", Economic Journal, 104: 432-43.

Wasserman, S. and K. Faust (1994), Social Network Analysis. Methods and Applications, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wellman B., Wortley S. (1990), 'Different Strokes from Different Folks: Community Ties and Social Support', American Journal of Sociology, 96: 558-88.

White P. (1999), 'Ethnicity, racialization and citizenship as divisive elements in Europe', in Hudson R., Williams A.M. (eds.), Divided Europe: Society and Territory, London: Sage.

European Political Communication Working Paper Series

Previous Issues

Paul Statham (2002) *The Contentious Politics of Asylum in Britain and Europe, A Research Outline*, [EurPolCom WPS 1.02](#)

Marco Giugni and Paul Statham (2002) *The Contentious Politics of Unemployment in Europe: Political Claim-making, Policy Deliberation and Exclusion from the Labour Market*, [EurPolCom WPS 2.02](#)

Emily Gray (2003) *Waiting for the Starting Signal: The UK's Pro- and Anti-Euro Campaigns*, [EurPolCom WPS 3.03](#)

Chris Rumford (2003) *Rethinking the state and polity-building in the European Union: the sociology of globalization and the rise of reflexive government*, [EurPolCom WPS 4.03](#)

Julie Firmstone (2003) *'Britain in the Euro?': British newspaper editorial coverage of the introduction of the Euro*, [EurPolCom WPS 5.03](#)

Fritz Groothues (2003) *Television news and the European public sphere: A preliminary investigation*, [EurPolCom WPS 6.03](#)

Paul Statham and Rood Koopmans (2004) *Problems of Cohesion? Multiculturalism and Migrants' Claims-Making for Group Demands in Britain and the Netherlands*, [EurPolCom WPS 7.04](#)