SOCIAL MOVEMENT CAMPAIGNS: MOBILIZATION AND OUTCOMES IN THE MONTREAL WOMEN'S MOVEMENT COMMUNITY*

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Social movement campaigns help create the networks and collective identities needed to build social movement communities, which in turn support subsequent collective campaigns. This article examines the interactions between movement communities and campaigns using the case of the 2000 World March of Women in Montreal. We find that movement community resources and networks, mobilized by leaders in stable movement organizations and institutions, support campaigns. Centralization, diversity, and size of movement communities affect campaign mobilization. Movement campaigns alter movement communities by creating bonds that form the basis for subsequent campaigns and by keeping movement communities politicized. Prior campaigns generate public consciousness, put issues on the public agenda, create new frames and discourse, forge connections to new constituents, and leave behind new networks, coalition organizations, leaders, and activists. Our research contributes to an understanding of the connections between the submerged networks of social movement communities and the contentious politics of movement campaigns.

In October 2000, more than 5,500 coalition groups from 163 countries and territories led marches in villages, neighborhoods, and cities around the world as part of the World March of Women (WMW). This campaign was a visible demonstration that the contemporary women's movement has endured into the twenty-first century, despite concerns about its survival (Staggenborg and Taylor 2005). To understand how movements remain vital, we need to look closely at the mobilizing structures that give rise to such campaigns and at the outcomes of those campaigns for social movement communities. In examining the World March of Women we ask, more generally, how social movement campaigns mobilize and what effects they have.

Social movements can be viewed as a series of political campaigns involving public and contentious interactions between claimants and their targets (Tilly 2004). Movements can also be seen as submerged networks, ideologically structured actions in various settings, and challenges to different types of institutional authorities (Melucci 1984; Snow 2004; Zald 2000). In this article, we attempt to bridge these varying conceptions of social movements by linking the *social movement campaign* to the *social movement community*, showing how contentious politics are connected to less public venues and actions. Campaigns build on the structures of movement communities and, in turn, create networks and collective identity among groups and individuals that form the basis for subsequent campaigns. While movements consist of more than campaigns, they need campaigns to remain visible and politicized.

Our research focuses on the women's movement community in the city of Montreal and the mobilization and outcomes of the 2000 World March of Women. We begin with a theoretical discussion of movement communities and campaigns, followed by a brief history

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of the WMW campaign and its precursor, the 1995 Quebec Women's March Against Poverty. After a description of our data, we analyze how characteristics of the Montreal women's movement community affect mobilization of collective campaigns, and how campaigns alter the movement community and create cultural and political change.

MOVEMENT COMMUNITIES AND CAMPAIGNS

Both social movement communities and campaigns are critical to the endurance and influence of movements. Social movements grow and survive within community networks and institutions, and campaigns keep movement communities vital and connected. In the absence of visible campaigns and political movement organizations, movement communities may endure for long periods of time, quietly advancing movement goals. Yet a community that is no longer engaged in *any* visible protest would likely be considered a subculture that has lost its movement connections (Buechler 1990: 43). Although movement communities vary in the extent to which they engage in contentious action, with some regularly mobilizing protest actions and others engaging in only sporadic collective actions, their networks must be capable of erupting into protest from time to time. The connections of community structures to movement activities and interpretive frames are critical to the advancement of movement goals (McVeigh et al. 2006), and issue-oriented movement campaigns keep communities connected to movements. To explain how movement communities mobilize for collective action, we need to look at how movement communities and campaigns affect one another.

Social movement scholars typically define *campaigns* as temporally bounded and strategically linked series of events and interactions directed at common goals (e.g. della Porta and Rucht 2002: 3; Keck and Sikkink 1998: 6; Marwell and Oliver 1984: 12). Arguing for the tactical importance of campaigns, Richard Rorty (1995: 56) defines a campaign as "something finite, something that can be recognized to have succeeded or to have, so far, failed. Movements, by contrast, neither succeed nor fail. They are too big and too amorphous to do anything that simple." Charles Tilly (2004: 4) sees the campaign as a critical element of social movements, which "extends beyond any single event" and links claimants, their targets, and a public. Tilly (2008) argues that campaigns affect subsequent campaigns by altering political opportunities, available models of "contentious performances," and connections among potential activists. Thus, campaigns concentrate movement energies on specific goals, providing concrete victories or resulting in visible defeats, and they have important impacts on movement networks and subsequent campaigns.

While movement campaigns are displays of unity aimed at demonstrating to authorities that the claims of activists are important to large numbers of people, social movements are typically neither unified nor unitary (Tilly 1984; 2004). They consist of multiple actors connected by networks, including activists in institutions and cultural groups as well as political movement organizations (Curtis and Zurcher 1973; Diani 1992; Gerlach and Hine 1970; Katzenstein 1998; Klandermans 1992; Melucci 1989). Melucci's (1984: 829) characterization of the social movement as "a network of small groups submerged in everyday life" that emerges on occasion to engage in overtly political actions recognizes that movements are not only political actors, but also social entities that create new cultural codes and collective identities. Because movements are decentralized networks of groups and individuals, rather than unified actors, their ability to come together for collective action requires explanation.

The concept of a *social movement community* (Buechler 1990; Staggenborg 1998; Taylor and Whittier 1992) helps to capture the diffuse and often hidden nature of social movements and to link cultural and political aspects of movements. Social movement communities consist of groups and individuals engaged in ideologically structured action (Zald 2000), whether in movement organizations, political parties, mainstream institutions, or alternative institutions that provide services, education, and entertainment to participants in the community. Various

actors within movement communities are inspired by movement ideology, and different types of groups and activities help to spread movement frames and accomplish movement goals.

Movement communities differ from one another in ways that affect their ability to mount campaigns, including the number and type of organizations they include, the strength and density of ties among participants, the extent to which they are institutionalized, and the presence of movement centers capable of bringing together the community (Staggenborg 1998). Highly submerged and decentralized movement communities are less capable of collective action on a regular basis than more visible and centralized communities. Campaigns also vary in ways that alter their impact on movement communities, including size, scale, and longevity. All campaigns involve multiple events around common goals, but some have more specific goals than others, affecting their collective action frames and mobilization potential. The World March of Women qualifies as a campaign because it involved not only a single march, but also years of planning and events leading up to and following the 2000 World March.

As we will see in the case of the World March of Women, some campaigns have their greatest impacts in movement communities, creating new bonds and keeping communities connected to movements. To carry out large-scale campaigns, organizations typically need to engage in coalition work, sometimes involving cross-movement as well as intramovement cooperation. Thus, characteristics of movement communities that influence coalition work also affect the ability to mobilize campaigns. Where "general" social movement communities exist, featuring cross-movement overlaps (Staggenborg 1998), multimovement coalitions are likely to form. The history of cooperative relations in a community influences new coalition efforts (Levi and Murphy 2006; Meyer and Corrigall-Brown 2005; Van Dyke 2003), and campaigns, successful or not, affect subsequent coalition work. Overlapping memberships in movement organizations and network ties across organizations and movements promote coalition work, while resource scarcity and competition inhibit cooperation (Zald and McCarthy 1980).

Shared collective action frames, cross-organizational ties, and cross-movement ties support campaign coalitions and increase trust and cultural understanding among activists (Carroll and Ratner 1996; Croteau and Hicks 2003; McCammon and Campbell 2002). When movement organizations frame their concerns more narrowly in order to distinguish themselves in the competition for scarce resources, they have difficulty finding coalition partners (Obach 2004). "Mesomobilization actors," which are groups and organizations that coordinate other groups, play a key role in bringing together diverse actors in campaign coalitions by providing a unifying collective action frame (Gerhards and Rucht 1992). Campaigns with broad concerns and inclusive frames are most likely to attract a variety of coalition partners. Preexisting relationships and network ties increase the likelihood that potential participants will share common frames and find one another trustworthy. In the absence of prior cooperation and networks, "entrepreneurial brokering" by leaders can help to overcome deficits in trust and understanding (Levi and Murphy 2006: 665-66). Leaders who serve as "bridge builders" or "coalition brokers" are particularly important in overcoming cultural differences in cross-movement and cross-class coalitions such as environmental and labor coalitions (Obach 2004; Rose 2000).

Because successful mobilization of protest campaigns is most likely when it builds on existing networks with dense ties and overlapping group memberships, previous campaigns are important in creating necessary infrastructure in movement communities. Tarrow (2005: 177) notes that even short-term "event coalitions" can endure by producing "new institutional forms" such as the World Social Forum. The more past experience activists have with successful protest activities, the more likely it is that they can successfully mobilize a new campaign (Gerhards and Rucht 1992: 571). Besides creating networks and new institutional forms, previous success in coalition work is likely to promote the ideological flexibility and inclusive collective action frames that encourage broad-based participation.

In addition to building coalitions, campaigns create new roles for participants, mobilizing previously inactive movement supporters and strengthening individual commitments to a movement community. Kleidman (1993) describes how three campaigns in the American peace movement all succeeded in mobilizing grassroots support and uniting various groups behind them, creating peaks of activity in an ongoing movement. This mobilization occurred even in the absence of an active protest cycle, and in two of the campaigns there was actually an advantage to "working a fairly empty field" where "demands mobilized people and networks that, in retrospect, were ready to protest but had not been reached by existing movements and demands" (Kleidman 1993: 195). Downton and Wehr (1991) describe an "involvement network" consisting of different levels of support for a movement, ranging from inner core activists to sympathizers who participate from time to time. One of the ways in which campaigns enhance individual commitments to movement communities is by expanding leadership and organizational roles in the movement, making room for more people in the involvement network to become actively engaged. This "increases people's investments and sacrifices, which has the effect of both intensifying their personal commitments and drawing them more tightly into the community network" (Downton and Wehr 1991: 124).

Movement campaigns can have both positive and negative effects, as well as short- and long-term outcomes for movement communities, subsequent campaigns, and public policy. Even when they fail to achieve policy goals, collective campaigns can aid future mobilizations by building movement community ties and organizations, providing leaders, creating new coalitions, and introducing new issues, frames, and forms of action that can be used in subsequent campaigns. But campaigns can also create conflict among groups, break down bonds within movement communities, and sap the energies of activists without building lasting coalitions or making tangible gains. Both solidarity and division created within coalitions can carry over from one campaign to another, and the outcomes of particular campaigns can affect the overall direction of the movement. As Kleidman (1993: 201) notes, there may be conflicts between immediate campaign goals and larger movement goals; both short-term gains and losses can decrease the momentum for longer-term goals.

Research on social movement outcomes points to the importance of looking at a variety of different types of outcomes over time and assessing the impact of the changing movement infrastructure on movement success (Andrews 2004). Findings regarding the impact of protest on public policies are mixed, with some research suggesting that movement protest has the greatest impact on the extent to which governments focus on the issues championed by protesters (King et al. 2007). Political opportunities influence movement success in bringing issues to public attention and effecting changes, but movement strategies and organization, resources, and frames affect the ability to recognize and exploit opportunities (Amenta et al. 1992, 1994; Cress and Snow 2000; McCammon et al. 2001; Soule et al. 1999; Soule and Olzak 2004). Networks among organizations and participants, both within and across movements and levels of organization, allow activists to exploit opportunities and devise effective tactics (Banaszack 1996; Ganz 2000). Thus, changes in the structures of movement communities, such as increases in the density of network ties, are an important type of outcome, which may eventually bring about other types of changes.

In the case of the 2000 World March of Women, there is little evidence of much direct impact on public policy (see also Dufour and Giraud 2007a). Although we provide some speculation as to why this was the case, our primary focus in this article is on how the campaign mobilized and impacted the movement community. This focus allows us to address a gap in the literature regarding the connections between the key concepts of movement campaigns and movement communities. We contribute to an understanding of how characteristics of movement communities affect the mobilization of campaigns and we show how campaigns alter communities in ways that affect subsequent campaigns. In doing so, we bridge the gap between the contentious politics focus on public interactions between

movement activists and their targets (see Tilly and Tarrow 2007) and alternative approaches focusing on the less visible network, cultural and institutional infrastructures of social movements.

THE 2000 WORLD MARCH OF WOMEN CAMPAIGN: A BRIEF HISTORY

The idea for a World March of Women in the year 2000 came out of the experience of the 1995 Quebec Women's March Against Poverty, known as the Bread and Roses March. The earlier campaign was initiated and coordinated by the Fédération des femmes du Québec (FFQ), a large feminist umbrella organization founded in 1966, which had long been central to the Quebec women's movement. The march lasted ten days and brought together some forty regional and provincial organizations, including women's groups and centers, community groups, and unions. Organizing committees were set up in fourteen regions of Quebec to welcome marchers and to mobilize women to participate in the march. Arriving at the Quebec provincial capital on June 4, 1995, the demonstrators demanded changes such as pay equity, an increase in the minimum wage, a tuition freeze, immigration rights for women, the creation of new low-income housing units, and access to improved services and job training programs. The march received broad public support as an estimated 20,000 people waved bread, roses, and purple ribbons as they waited for some 800 marchers on the lawns of the legislative buildings in the capital city. Twenty women from countries such as Cameroon, Nicaragua, and the Philippines, who had been invited to attend by international development groups, also joined the crowd of supporters for what proved a memorable day. Beyond its successful mobilization, organizers considered the march very successful in that they obtained many positive responses from the provincial government on specific demands such as a retroactive change in the immigration laws that helped immigrant women, a rise in the minimum wage, and a law on pay equity (Rebick 2005: 245-51).

The success of the Bread and Roses March was inspiring to Quebec feminists, and FFQ members discussed the idea of a World March with the participants from countries outside Canada, who agreed that there was a potential for global solidarity. Three months later, at the 1995 United Nations (UN) World Women's Conference in Beijing, FFQ members led a session on the Bread and Roses March, which was greeted with great enthusiasm by conference participants. Subsequently, an international coalition, including representatives from more than fifteen countries and led by the FFQ, was formed to organize a second campaign, the World March of Women. On March 8, 2000, International Women's Day, the WMW was launched in Montreal (headquarters of the WMW), New York (headquarters of the UN), and Geneva (headquarters of several UN agencies). The general goals of the campaign, as promoted by the FFQ and the international coalition, were to stimulate a vast movement of grassroots women's groups in the global women's movement and to force governments and others to address the issues of poverty and violence against women around the world.

The FFQ worked with the international coalition on worldwide organization of the campaign, coordinated the provincial organization of the event in Quebec, and participated in the Canadian World March committee. In Quebec, regional committees or coalitions, called Comité régional d'organisation de la Marche (CROM), were formed in each of the 17 provincial administrative regions. In most regions, the CROMs worked closely with regional women's group councils called *tables de concertation des groupes de femmes*. In Montreal, as in other regions of Quebec, a CROM was created, a coordinator hired, and subcommittees of the coalition formed around tasks such as finance, popular education, and outreach to "cultural communities." The Montreal CROM held monthly assembly meetings to establish and coordinate committee activities, which were open to all and included unaffiliated individuals as well as representatives of many women's groups and centers, various union

women's committees, and a few community groups. Local WMW committees were also created in neighborhoods around the city and many community-level *tables de concertation* were formed.

The WMW campaign successfully organized a large number of feminists around the world for a show of global solidarity among women in October 2000. In Montreal, an estimated 30,000 people turned out for the main march and for smaller neighborhood marches during a week of activities. The international WMW organization, led by the FFQ, continued to meet after the 2000 World March, maintaining a number of branches worldwide and organizing ongoing meetings and activities, such as the relay of a Global Charter for Humanity around the world in 2005 (see Conway 2008; Dufour and Giraud 2007a, 2007b; http://www.marchemondiale.org). The WMW was successful in building a global identity and, in Quebec, activists were able to "reactivate networks that supported the 2000 mobilizations" to participate in the 2005 campaign (Dufour and Giraud 2007b: 317).

DATA AND METHODS

Our study of the World March of Women came out of our more general interest in understanding what has happened to the women's movement in Montreal since the 1960s. We began to map the shape of the women's movement community in Montreal using secondary sources (e.g. Clio Collective 1987) and primary documents to find feminist organizations active at different times.[1] We also relied on existing theory about movement communities to guide us in looking for feminism in places such as universities, unions, community organizations, women's centers, and cultural events, in addition to movement organizations. As we began researching the local movement community in the late 1990s, we learned of planning underway for the 2000 WMW, and decided to engage in participant observation. Along with participant observation, we employed documentary evidence and in-depth interviews to study the WMW and the movement community that supported the campaign.

Josée Lecomte became active in the regional organization of the WMW, as a member of various committees of the Island of Montreal Coalition, thereby gaining an insider's perspective on the movement. Over a period of eleven months, from February 2000 to January 2001, she spent more than 800 hours in the field, attending meetings and organizing various activities with other members of the Montreal Coalition. Participation in these structures and activities resulted in extensive field notes recording first-hand observations on a variety of factors pertaining to the women's movement in Montreal, including the number and type of groups involved, networks and interactions among movement activists and groups, elaboration of demands and activities, relations between various levels of movement activity (local, regional, provincial, national, and international), organizational structures and strategies, framing and ideology, and negotiations with government authorities and the media. This extensive participant observation was an excellent way to see how the submerged networks of the women's movement community were mobilized for a collective action campaign. We also learned of the importance of the previous Bread and Roses March for the WMW from participants in both campaigns.

Following the 2000 World March, we conducted twenty-five in-depth interviews with activists involved in the 1995 and 2000 campaigns as well as other feminist activities and groups in the Montreal women's movement community. Informants included individual activists, participants in local women's centers, members of union women's committees (Fédération des travailleurs et travailleuses du Québec, Confédération des Syndicats Nationaux, Centrale des syndicats du Québec), and activists in provincial organizations (Fédération des femmes du Québec, Collectif des femmes immigrantes, Le Regroupement des centres de femmes du Québec), regional coalition groups (Table des groupes de femmes

de Montréal, Table des centres de femmes de Montréal), and community and women's groups (Habitation Réseau Femmes, Projet MAP, Clinique communautaire de Pointe Saint-Charles).

INFLUENCES ON CAMPAIGN MOBILIZATION

Our account of the World March of Women shows how prior campaigns and key characteristics of movement communities affect the organization of collective campaigns. We first examine how the 1995 Women's March Against Poverty campaign affected the movement community in Montreal. We then look more broadly at how the types of organizations and networks available, and the extent of institutionalization in the movement community, affected mobilization of the Montreal women's movement community for the World March campaign.

Prior Campaign

The 1995 Quebec Women's March Against Poverty was important to the 2000 campaign in a number of ways. It created roles for leaders and participants who later became involved in the 2000 campaign. It also strengthened networks within the movement community and created new connections among individuals and organizations, including new coalition organizations. Framing poverty as a women's concern, the Bread and Roses campaign helped to unite activists and raise public consciousness around the issue, which was then passed on to the 2000 campaign. The 1995 campaign gave feminist organizations new exposure among community activists and helped to build feminist and community organizations. It provided a learning experience regarding coalition work and helped to build some trust, as well as some misunderstanding, among activists who had not previously worked together.

Many long-time activists, including veterans of the 1995 march, became leaders and participants in the 2000 campaign. In some instances, women who became involved in the World March met particular organizers, such as FFQ members, in the 1995 campaign, and these same organizers were instrumental in securing their participation in the 2000 campaign. Coalitions created during or after the Bread and Roses March also helped to organize the 2000 campaign. One provincial coalition that became a major organizer for the 2000 World March, the National Coalition of Women Against Poverty and Violence Towards Women, was initially created by the 1995 Bread and Roses campaign. In Montreal, coalitions were also created at the neighborhood level as a result of participation in the 1995 campaign. In Pointe St.-Charles, about 15 community organizations joined other groups to participate in the 1995 march. According to a community leader, this participation resulted in a new focus on women's concerns and an ongoing coalition organization, which included a variety of groups such as the local women's center, a shelter for battered women, an educational center, a group of young mothers, and an anglophone group based in the United Church (interview with activist in the Clinique communautaire de Pointe St.-Charles, June 27, 2001). The coalition formed after the 1995 march, the Concertation de femmes de Pointe St.-Charles, started preparing for the WMW two years in advance of the event. The coalition organized activities such as International Women's Day events and created a larger WMW organizing committee, which brought together various community groups in Pointe St.-Charles.

The issue of poverty, central to the 1995 campaign, became one of the key themes of 2000, and, together with the concern for violence against women, helped unite feminists around the world. Activists report that, following the 1995 Bread and Roses campaign, there was a new public discourse about poverty and the economy, which helped to counter the neoliberal discourse that had dominated the public policy agenda in Canada. As an informant involved in the 1995 and 2000 campaigns described:

> If I think of 1995, basically, it's with the march that all the debate on the social economy really took place publicly. We had some demands concerning the social infrastructure, that was a novelty . . . it was the Bread and Roses March that gave a public place to the idea that there isn't just one type of economy . . . here in Quebec, we could begin to question a little the economic model. . . . That's why the march had significance for social movements in Quebec. (Interview with FFQ activist, January 9, 2002)

Activists also reported that they themselves developed a new consciousness about the issue and a new feeling that they had the ability to speak as a community on the subject. In Pointe St.-Charles, a community activist suggested, "For poor women, a new consciousness came perhaps with the March in 1995. They knew that they were poor, but they hadn't previously developed a discourse on poverty specifically for women" (interview with activist in the Clinique communautaire de Pointe St.-Charles, June 27, 2001).

In preparation for organizing the World March, the FFQ sponsored forums involving numerous community and women's groups to discuss the sorts of demands that the WMW should make. The poverty issue raised by the 1995 campaign helped the 2000 organizers to attract community organizations and activists who were not explicitly concerned with feminist issues. Feminist organizations, including the FFQ, gained positive exposure beyond their core feminist constituencies and a sense that it was possible to work together with many groups throughout Quebec. The groundwork for this accomplishment was again laid by the 1995 campaign, when the FFQ had begun to reach out to community organizations and women's centers, such as the South Asian Women's Community Centre (SAWCC) in Montreal. Contact with community organizations and women's centers at the time of the 1995 march expanded the perspective of World March organizers, which aided organization for the 2000 campaign. As the SAWCC coordinator recalled in an interview, her organization helped to make the demands of the 1995 campaign more relevant to immigrant women:

> When the FFQ asked us to be part of [the Quebec Women's March Against Poverty] as an ethnic community, we became part of it—from having the meetings to organizing the march, we participated in that. And when we participated we realized that Quebec women didn't know what immigrant women [needed]—immigrant women's demands, immigrant women's difficulties…so their eyes were on us, saying what is the difference between your demands and our demands? All these demands that we put in are not all concerning you? We said yes, they are, but there are certain [others] that are not concerning you but concerning us. (Interview with SAWCC coordinator, July 31, 2002)

Thus, the 1995 campaign was a learning experience for organizers who had little contact with immigrant women. Significantly, a bilingual leader of the SAWCC served as a broker who helped to connect members of her community with the francophone women's movement, despite a lack of network connections and prior coalition work to create trust. With SAWCC's input, some key demands of immigrant women were added to the 1995 campaign, and SAWCC became involved at an early stage in helping to formulate demands for the 2000 World March of Women. Despite SAWCC's involvement, however, the 1995 campaign's lack of more extensive linkages to ethnic communities made it difficult for the 2000 campaign to involve many women of color from ethnic communities. Many immigrant women felt excluded from the 1995 march, and there were misunderstandings between francophone feminists and women from ethnic groups that carried over to the 2000 campaign (interview with World March of Women activist, March 27, 2001).

Nevertheless, the 1995 campaign created links among a number of groups within the local movement community and it also helped to connect Quebec feminists to the global women's movement. After the success of the 1995 Bread and Roses March, the FFQ became committed to working on a World March of Women and, in 1997, the coalition that had coordinated the 1995 event became a regular committee of the FFQ. At this point, as an activist described, the FFQ felt confident that "we really had a mandate from our members to

work on the World March. That's when we really came to understand the links between women and globalization, the impact of globalization on poverty and on violence against women" (Interview with FFQ activist, August 9, 2002).

Organizations and Networks

The women's movement community in Montreal is extremely extensive, complex and diverse—qualities that made resources plentiful but also difficult to mobilize. The large number and variety of feminist groups and activities in the Montreal women's movement community meant that money, skills, and participants were all available to the WMW campaign. The presence of stable organizations such as the FFQ, pre-existing feminist affiliations of individuals, and linkages among feminist groups in Montreal were critical to the mobilization of thousands of women and numerous groups for the 2000 World March. Yet, extensive resources and networks, though necessary, are not sufficient to mobilize such a large and diverse movement community. Mesomobilization actors and centralized gathering places are required, but the size and diversity of the movement community in Montreal made adequate mesomobilization structures difficult to establish.

As the largest city in Quebec, Montreal has long been the hub of operations for many provincial feminist organizations as well as a wide variety of regional and local women's groups and networks. In addition to the FFQ, provincial coalition groups include an organization of women's centers, comprising about 20 centers in Montreal, and a coalition of women's shelters in Quebec. There are also regional groups concerned with various issues such as health and social services and employment. In Montreal, the Table des centres de femmes brings together women's centers and the Table des groupes de femmes de Montréal consists of various women's groups. The many local feminist groups in Montreal include general women's centers, women's shelters, women's health centers, union women's committees, a chapter of the Mouvement contre le viol et l'inceste, and other groups defending the rights of constituencies such as homeless women and sex workers. The four university campuses in Montreal (two French and two English) also support a number of feminist groups, such as campus women's centers.

The Montreal-headquartered FFQ, with about 152 member organizations and over 800 individual members, is a well-established feminist organization that provides strong leadership at the provincial level by representing and supporting the actions of its members. Concerned with a wide variety of feminist issues, such as poverty, violence against women, cultural communities, lesbian rights, young women and feminism, women and globalization, peace, and sex work, the FFQ had previously developed connections to local Montreal feminists through grassroots organizing efforts. Home to the coalition that organized the Bread and Roses March, the FFQ spread word of the new campaign to its membership. Other provincial and regional organizations headquartered in Montreal also provided pre-existing networks that World March organizers could utilize. Locally, networks existed among activists working in community groups and women's centers and other feminist groups, many of which are members of regional and/or provincial organizations.

Despite the type of infrastructure present in Montreal, however, it was no easy task to bring together the various elements of the community for the 2000 World March. While the large number and range of movement organizations, operating at different levels (local, regional, and provincial), all attempt to advance the goals of the women's movement, they represent different types of interests and actors, many oriented toward particular issues and services, operating in different fields. The Montreal women's movement community is also divided by language and ethnicity, with the closest ties among white, francophone activists. The community has multiple centers in different parts of the city and in various communities, with some networks among them. The FFQ was in a position to provide some help to the Montreal community for the WMW, but the organization could not take a leadership role in

local organizing given its commitments on the international, Canadian, and Quebec levels. The Table des groupes de femmes de Montréal and the Table des centres de femmes de Montréal serve as types of coalition organizations for the movement community. However, they lack sufficient staff and resources to bring together all of the city's women's groups, and the large number of coalitions or "tables" makes it impossible for groups to participate in them all. Thus, an extremely extensive and diverse movement community is difficult to mobilize in its entirety for a single campaign such as the World March.

The Quebec WMW campaign attempted to solve the problems created by decentralization and diversity with regional coalition organizations or CROMs, which were responsible for the organization and coordination of activities in their regions. The Montreal CROM did succeed as a regional coordinating body insofar as it mobilized resources, created linkages and communication between different groups and organizations, and provided a meeting ground for the exchange of resources and ideas. However, the Montreal CROM was only partially successful as a mesomobilization actor. Membership in the CROM was quite fluid, with different individuals and representatives of organizations showing up for each meeting, and some groups were never well integrated into the coalition structure. Because the strongest ties in the community are among white, francophone feminists, it was particularly difficult for the coalition to achieve much variation by language and ethnicity. Some members of ethnic communities, whether individual activists or representatives of community or women's groups, did participate in the CROM from time to time, but some active members also left the group because of internal conflicts. Very few anglophone individuals or groups participated in CROM activities, which were conducted in French. Nevertheless, CROM organizers were able to coordinate the multiple centers of the Montreal women's movement community to some extent, and decentralized organizing for the World March also took place.

Institutionalization

The movement community in Montreal is fairly heavily institutionalized in the sense that many groups, such as women's centers and general community centers, are stable organizations that receive government funding to provide services. The community is also institutionalized in the sense that feminist groups exist within institutions, such as unions and universities. The existence of these stable structures clearly aided mobilization of the World March campaign. Women's centers, community centers, and union women's committees used their networks to spread information about the WMW and provided material resources such as office space, volunteers, and staff—in some cases even hiring women to work on the World March.

Institutionalized entities within the movement community are important in maintaining feminist rituals, such as observances of March 8, International Women's Day, and December 6, which is the anniversary of the 1989 killings of fourteen female students in the engineering school at the University of Montreal by an antifeminist gunman. The unions also observe International Workers' Day, May 1. On these occasions, university women's groups, women's centers, community centers, and unions draw attention to feminist issues and expose newcomers, such as immigrant women who use women's centers and community centers, to the traditions and concerns of the women's movement community. These annual rituals help to create a constituency for the local movement, but commemorations of annual events are not equally vibrant from year to year. During preparation for the World March, rituals such as International Women's Day events were explicitly used to publicize and plan for the campaign. Thus, campaigns such as the World March can infuse fresh political content into movement rituals and annual events (Staggenborg and Lang 2007).

Overlaps between the women's movement and labor movement communities were critical to mobilization, as union women's committees were a key source of activists and resources for the World March campaign. Quebec unions have a long history of progressive

activism and, in contrast to unions in some other cities (see Ferree and Roth 1998), Montreal locals are attuned to feminist issues as a result of the activism of women within their unions. Women's committees were formed within the major Montreal unions in the 1970s, and a number of the unions are members of the FFQ. Montreal union women's committees have been concerned with a broad range of issues, such as women's health, poverty, and violence against women in addition to traditional concerns such as pay equity. Women have gained positions of power in major unions, and in 2002 an activist long concerned with feminist issues, Claudette Carbonneau, was elected the first female president of the Confédération des syndicats nationaux (CSN), one of the largest unions in Quebec. In the Centrale des syndicats du Québec, a major Quebec union, women from different locals come together in an informal network or *réseau des femmes*, which one participant describes as an important space where real debates occur:

> We debate the big questions . . . with the women's network (*réseau des femmes*) this is where the women's movement is debated at the Centrale. . . . It is really a network, its functioning is informal; nonetheless, it has a really important influence at the Centrale. (interview with union activist, Centrale des syndicats du Québec, July 10, 2002)

Although the universities might also be expected to have provided major resources to the World March campaign, networks between the university feminist communities and the larger movement community were weak. Campus involvement in the organization of the World March was not very extensive owing to the lack of networks and direct political involvement of campus feminists in the larger movement community. However, students did join in the public marches, and some mobilization did occur on the campuses once the academic year began in September 2000. It may be that in large cities such as Montreal, university feminist communities are less connected to the larger movement community than they are in smaller cities (see Staggenborg 1998), particularly if the movement community is decentralized. The World March created some connections between campus feminists and the broader Montreal women's movement community, but, given the turnover of campus populations and the academic year schedule, lasting ties are difficult to establish.

IMPACTS OF THE WORLD MARCH CAMPAIGN

Movement campaigns are important because they affect movement communities, future campaigns, public opinion and discourse, and government policies. Of course, not all campaigns are equally consequential; past campaigns, structures and resources of the movement community, strategies, and political opportunities all affect campaign outcomes. The 2000 World March of Women campaign had important effects on the Montreal women's movement community, including strengthening of networks and coalitions and enhancing of collective identity and commitment to organizations. The campaign was much less successful in winning government concessions.

Networks and Coalitions

The World March campaign had a strong impact in creating and strengthening ties among different types of groups within the women's movement community, even bringing new actors into the community. In some cases, groups made new contacts with other groups with which they had not previously considered working. As an activist from a women's center noted:

> The march allowed us to meet women that we didn't know, including some that were politically and socially distanced from us, such as religious groups and women from Stella [a

> sex workers' rights organization]. We had allergies to these two groups before the march! (interview with activist from Écho des femmes de la Petite Patrie, November 29, 2001)

The unions, particularly through their women's committees, had worked with some women's groups at the provincial level since the 1970s. However, they had not previously worked closely with Montreal women's centers and groups, nor had they worked with general community centers at the local level. Although feminist women's centers already had connections to general community centers through regional *tables de concertation*, other feminist groups and unions had little contact with community organizations in Montreal. As a smaller provincial campaign, the 1995 Bread and Roses March did not create many such ties. The World March of Women campaign involved more extensive organizing in communities throughout the city and consequently created many new ties among groups. Through their connections to women's centers and groups, other groups within Montreal's highly developed social service sector became involved in the World March campaign.

One important question is how lasting these ties are likely to be. In the absence of new campaigns that require concerted efforts, coalition organizations may be difficult to maintain because they require resources and compete for members and funding with individual organizations (Staggenborg 1986). In Pointe St.-Charles, for example, an activist interviewed several years after the World March talked of the difficulties in keeping the Concertation de femmes de Pointe St.-Charles together:

> What happened after the march in the neighborhood is that they tried to keep this Concertation de femmes, which was the coalition of women's groups, going. And it was really unfortunate because it kind of fell apart. And it was really unfortunate because a lot of those women, who had been involved in those workshops every week, wanted to keep going…it was like people were mobilized for a march, for like something specific outside of the groups, and I mean the groups were there but it was like a common struggle. And then after the march, it was like, well, do you keep this sort of network going outside of the groups? I mean, why would you have this outside network when [the women's center] has its own membership and like whatever has its own membership…Because you need members for funding and everything else, right? And if all of these women are involved in this like sexy network that does actions and the membership [of other organizations declines, it's a problem]. (Interview with World March activist in Point St.-Charles, February 6, 2004)

The presence of a relatively stable mesomobilization actor, which can bring together different groups, is important in maintaining coalitions created by campaigns. However, maintenance is more or less difficult, depending on the scale and function of the organizations. At the neighborhood level, it appears more difficult to find long-term mesomobilization actors insofar as individual groups are too involved in providing community services and maintaining their own memberships to play this role. At the provincial level the FFQ, as a large and stable political organization, has helped to maintain coalitions and initiate new campaigns. In coordinating the 1995 Bread and Roses March, the FFQ formed a coalition that included FFQ activists, but also members of other groups such as regional feminist groups and unions, who were not necessarily FFQ members. After the 1995 march, it was difficult to keep the coalition going; as an FFQ activist noted, "It's obvious that if there isn't something very big and stimulating, participation in the coalition diminishes." However, the decision in 1997 to make the former coalition a committee of the FFQ helped to maintain participation, allowing for organization of the WMW (interview with FFQ activist, April 11, 2002). After the 2000 campaign, the FFQ played a key role in maintaining the international World March coalition (see Dufour and Giraud, 2007b).

Informal network connections may be easier to maintain than formal coalition organizations. During the World March campaign, a number of friendships, which might be expected to endure, were forged among activists on CROM committees. Other connections were much weaker, consisting of exchanges of information and telephone contacts in the process of

organizing the logistics of the march. Nevertheless, connections need not be particularly strong to be useful when another campaign is mounted. One union activist who was interviewed recalled meeting someone through the 1995 Bread and Roses campaign and then being contacted by her five years later for the 2000 campaign. In the case of service groups, which have ongoing programs, new contacts are likely to be used much more frequently in their work. Activists in community organizations and women's centers talked of their contacts, including international ones, being broadened by the World March. As one informant reported:

> Now there are women that I know I can phone for various things. . . . We have contacts with women's groups in South Asia that we had before and I think they're stronger now because we were involved in the march. (Interview with activist from South Asian Women's Community Center, December 4, 2001)

The international World March of Women organization, which is a coalition of groups from the many countries and territories that participated in the 2000 campaign, also maintained international ties. Led by feminists from Quebec, the international organization organized events in 2005 around the Women's Global Charter for Humanity, fortifying networks formed in 2000 and building a global collective identity (Dufour and Giraud 2007b).

Collective Identity and Organizational Commitment

Participants in the 2000 WMW reported that working together on such a large project benefited their own organizations, in addition to strengthening ties in the movement community. A number of groups saw increases in their memberships as a result of the World March campaign as individuals who became active in the march coalition ended up joining organizations that they encountered through the campaign. Because the Montreal women's movement community is so extensive, there was no shortage of feminist organizations for these activists to join, and the WMW made them visible. The South Asian Women's Community Center received a great deal of publicity from the march, which brought new support to the center. Despite some frustrations in working with the World March coalition, both the organization and individual participants benefited from the experience, as one leader notes:

> I feel like my life has been changed by contact with the francophone community, the women of the feminist community. And there are women in the francophone mainstream feminist community whose lives have been changed by contact with me or with my organization, and that's really important. We go to each other's parties and we also can call each other if we're in trouble and stuff…As an organization, I think something that our organization got out of it is the similar organizational level, our contacts with other groups, our feeling that we did stuff that made a difference, right? That there are people who are now thinking a little bit differently because of the works that everybody did and that we are thinking a little bit differently because of our contact with other people. (Interview with activist from South Asian Women's Community Center, December 4, 2001)

Participation in the WMW fortified collective identity and commitment to the women's movement community. An activist from a union women's committee commented on the intensity of collaboration in the campaign, which created solidarity among participants:

> We expanded our network of women…I had already assisted with the meetings of the Table of women's groups in Montreal. I had participated in meetings of foundations, etc. But I had never worked in such tight collaboration as I did there. It was really the first time. . . . I consider this the first time because we had a common project that linked, in the end, all the women. (Interview with union activist, Confédération des Syndicats Nationaux, April 17-18, 2001)

Another union activist describes how the campaign provided enjoyment, pride and solidarity:

> I found it was a lot of fun to see everyone come together for the cause…It was an exchange of ideas, an exchange of ways of doing things; solidarity was achieved within all the groups, something that is not always there. Everyone was linked together, in solidarity for the cause. It was also fun to see groups who did not know each other there. There were groups that I did not know in Montreal and we got to working together there. . . . I have great pride in having participated in that, a pride from having been at Montreal, a pride from having been in neighborhood marches, a pride from having been to Ottawa. (Joint interview with union activists, Fédération des travailleurs et travailleuses du Québec, June 21, 2001)

Activists also reported that their participation in the World March campaign had raised their consciousness about issues affecting women throughout the world. The experience of the World March and the issues it raised were deeply felt, and the collective identity of feminists in Montreal was strengthened and expanded as a global feminist identity.

Activists from the WMW also joined new collective campaigns organized in overlapping movement communities, which helped to maintain momentum among feminists following the World March. The presence of an active movement for global justice in the years following the 2000 march, which brought together feminists, environmentalists, labor unionists, and other activists, was particularly important. Following the World March, many activists became involved in the antiglobalization protest at the Summit of the Americas in Quebec City in 2001. Later, the FFQ enlisted activists to participate in demonstrations against the war in Iraq and various other campaigns. François David, the well-known, outgoing president of the FFQ in 2001, began talking about the possibility of creating a new political party supported by left-wing movements following the march—an idea that created a great deal of interest in the movement community and which resulted in the formation of the Option citoyenne (OC) party in 2004.[2] In 2005, Quebec activists mobilized to participate in the WMW's Global Charter for Humanity campaign by reactivating networks employed in the 2000 WMW (Dufour and Giraud 2007b: 317).

Policy Outcomes

In post-campaign discussions held by the CROM and in our own interviews, activists expressed a great deal of enthusiasm and pride regarding the march. It had been a terrific experience to be part of a worldwide coalition of women, and the march itself was a well-attended, moving event. Yet it had been a huge amount of work to carry off, and participants asked themselves if it had been worth the effort. While recognizing the organizational and solidarity benefits for the movement community, participants were greatly disappointed with the policy outcomes of the campaign. In 1995, the Quebec government had responded positively to the Bread and Roses campaign, and a number of concrete changes resulted. In 2000, activists felt that the government of Quebec largely ignored the campaign, and they could point to few policy changes. Nevertheless, the international World March organization continued to press for demands originated by the 2000 campaign.

While our focus is on effects of the campaign on the women's movement community, we can speculate about a couple of reasons for the limited impact of the WMW on public policies. First, political opportunities were likely a key factor in policy outcomes. In 1995, the Bread and Roses campaign preceded a Quebec referendum on sovereignty, and nationalists were eager to attract feminist support. In 2000, there was no such incentive for the government to cooperate with feminists. Second, the inclusive framing that allowed the WMW to attract more coalition partners may have detracted from the ability to target the provincial government. The demands of the 1995 campaign were specific to Quebec, and therefore more easily addressed. The 2000 campaign deliberately expanded demands to create a large, worldwide campaign. Although the WMW also made specific demands directed at governments in

2000, it was difficult to concentrate on these specific goals while focusing on an international mobilization. Thus, there may be a tradeoff between creating frames that mobilize large numbers of participants and winning specific demands that can be met through limited governmental responses.

CONCLUSION

Our study of the 2000 World March of Women campaign in Montreal highlights the key concepts of *social movement campaigns* and *social movement communities* and demonstrates how the two are connected. The successful mobilization of a collective campaign depends on the shape of the movement community, which is in turn affected by campaigns. Previous campaigns and structural characteristics of movement communities, as well as strategies and tactics, affect the ability to mobilize new collective campaigns.

Prior campaigns alter movement communities and support new campaigns by creating public consciousness and bequeathing frames, issues, and tactics to subsequent campaigns. They also leave behind new coalition organizations, experienced leaders, connections among constituents, and activists who join and strengthen organizations after participating in campaigns. In the long run, these changes in movement infrastructure are likely to result in political and cultural changes. Of course, not all campaigns have positive effects on movement communities; while a successful campaign can revitalize a movement community, a failed campaign can create divisions and misunderstandings that carry over into subsequent campaigns and efforts at coalition work. Moreover, the effects of campaigns are not necessarily lasting; community leaders and structures, such as stable movement organizations, are needed to maintain activism and initiate new campaigns to continue the movement.

The networks, resources, gathering places, and organizations of movement communities affect the mobilization of campaigns by influencing the ability to reach out to a variety of individuals and groups to form coalitions. Mesomobilization actors and centralized gathering places are key to community mobilization, but large and diverse communities are difficult to mobilize in their entirety. In large and decentralized movement communities, mesomobilization actors have difficulty reaching the entire community, and pre-existing ties affect which groups join campaigns. Organizations and institutions within movement communities provide stable resources and mobilizing structures and help to maintain annual events and rituals, which spread movement ideas and keep the movement in the public eye. Campaigns keep community networks and institutions connected to movement frames and strategies.

In the case of the Montreal women's movement community, the 1995 Bread and Roses campaign strengthened connections among groups and individuals in the community, created coalition organizations, and passed on the unifying issue of poverty to the 2000 campaign. Nevertheless, the large number of diverse organizations and activities made it extremely difficult for mesomobilization actors to reach all parts of the community in organizing the WMW. The FFQ, a long-time political umbrella organization, had expanded its networks during the 1995 campaign and, although still limited in its connections to ethnic groups, was thus able to reach many groups in the community. Overlaps among community, labor, and women's movement communities aided campaign mobilization. Stable organizations within the community, notably unions, women's centers, and community organizations, were critical in providing resources and activists for the 2000 campaign in Montreal.

In line with Tilly's (2004) view of the social movement as a series of collective actions by shifting coalitions of actors, movements *need* campaigns to remain visible and relevant. But if successful social movements are necessarily contentious and public—shaping public opinion and the public agenda—as theorists of contentious politics argue, campaigns also depend on the organizational and ideological infrastructure of the social movement community. Our research demonstrates the dynamic relationship between movement communities

and public campaigns in providing places for activists to participate and influence public culture and policy.

Movement campaigns do not always achieve specific objectives, and not all campaigns are equally consequential. Additional research is needed to further specify how the characteristics of movement campaigns and communities affect one another, what different types of impacts campaigns have, and how lasting the effects of campaigns are. For instance, campaigns with specific and limited demands may be most likely to produce concrete results such as policy outcomes. In this article, we have shown how collective campaigns can affect social movement communities and subsequent coalition efforts. By creating coalition structures and organizing tasks, campaigns provide ways for more members of the movement community to become involved than is possible in less active periods. Thus, movement campaigns help to create new leaders and activists. Depending on the prior shape of the movement community, campaigns also create and strengthen connections among activists and they contribute to the development of collective identity. Collective campaigns build on community networks and rituals and they help to keep them active and meaningful. They introduce new ideas, and they shape public discourse, involving citizens in public life.

NOTES

[1] We used a variety of historical documents, reports, newsletters, newspaper and magazine articles, web sites, minutes of meetings, and lists of groups obtained in the Canadian Women's Movement Archives at the University of Ottawa, the Quebec National Archives in Montreal, and in documents provided by groups and individual activists.
[2] In 2005, OC voted to merge with another left-wing party in Quebec, the Union des forces progressistes (UFP), and in 2006 the two parties merged into Québec solidaire (QS).

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