# *Abstracts*

## Multilevel Governance and Political Participation: An Introduction

*by Luca Alteri (University of Florence), Fabio de Nardis (University of Salento)*

The introduction draws a picture of the link between multi-level governance and transnational social movement. The Authors moves from the description of governance polity as a system of political opportunities to social mobilization, then they describe both local and global dimensions, regarding as a field of conflict and legitimacy. The fourth paragraph develops a comparative analysis on two *alternative Europe*, the one from above (the institutional building suffering a democratic deficit), the latter from below (the process of collective learning built up by Social Forums). In the end, the last paragraph describes the guidelines of the whole Issue.

*Keywords:* Multilevel Governance; Social Movements; Europe; Globalization; Public Sphere

## Reframing Global Governance: Apocalypse Soon or Reform!

*by David Held (London School of Economics and Political Science)*

The Author analyses the paradox of our times that can be stated simply: the collective issues we must grapple with are of growing extensity and intensity and, yet, the means for addressing them are weak and incomplete. So the paper tries to speak on a necessity of a reframing a global governance in an increasingly interconnected world, where global problems cannot be solved by any one nation-state acting alone. They call for collective and collaborative action – something that the nations of the world have not been good at, and which they need to be better at if these pressing issues are to be adequately tackled. Yet, the evidence is wanting that we are

getting better at building appropriate governance capacity. But to improve the situation we first should emancipate from the parameters of Washington Consensus on both economic and security fields because they obstruct off the development of global institution under principles of solidarity, cosmopolitic democracy, social justice and policy effectiveness.

*Keywords:* global governance; cosmopolitic democracy; Washington Consensus; global challenges; multilevel citizenship

### An Open Method of Coordination in a Transnational Social Movement: Multi-level Governance and the Struggle for a Social Europe

*by Andrew Mathers (University of the West of England)*

This article explores the way that Multi-Level Governance (Mlg) has, or has not, opened up a new Political Opportunity Structure within the European Union which transnational social and political actors can utilise to advance the project for a "Social Europe". It focuses specifically on the 'European Marches against Unemployment, Job Insecurity and Exclusions' which has emerged to challenge the labour market and welfare state restructuring which has resulted from the Lisbon Strategy to achieve a specifically European social model of development in the context of neoliberal globalisation. The article outlines the learning processes through which the EM Network developed an autonomous agenda and a contentious repertoire of action. It concludes by suggesting that the struggle for a "Social Europe", as conducted by the EM Network, was waged in and against the structures of Mlg and can be understood as an open method of coordination within an emergent transnational social movement.

*Keywords:* multilevel governance; social movements; social Europe; Lisbon Strategy; transnational participation

### Policy networks on European Issues: Which place for the public interest groups? A comparative analysis on three European policies at a national level

*by Manuela Caiani (European University Institute)*

In this article, we analyse the impact of Europeanisation on domestic actors, by looking at how Europeanisation affects the *configurations of power* and *coalitional dynamics* at the domestic level. Focusing on the Italian case, with the help of *social network analysis* and on the basis of 80 semi-structured interviews, we shall look at *networks of alliance, disagreement and target* among political actors that mobilise

on European issues within three specific policy areas (European integration, agricultural policy and immigration and asylum policy), focusing in particular on the role that social movements and NGOs play in these networks (are they central? Are they peripheral? Who play a role as 'broker'?). In fact, processes of Europeanisation can destabilise the configuration of power in public policies and the relative structure of policy networks, weakening stable and 'dominant' actors while strengthening others and opening 'windows of opportunity'. We also explore the formation of specific coalitions between social movements and NGOs and the other actors, as well as the cleavages around which the debate on Europe is structured and which can influence the path of Europeanisation of national collective actors. Observing these networks, our research recognises the importance that the multilevel structure of the EU creates in terms of offering new opportunities and organisational resources to actors, yet also acknowledges the crucial importance of meso-levels of decision-making, the dynamics of interaction between actors in the same context, and their subjective interpretations.

*Keywords:* social networks; social movements; Ngo; Europe; multilevel governance

## Social movements and global communication governance: the challenge of participation in transnational decision-making processes

*by Arne Hintz (Central European University, Budapest) and Stefania Milan (European University Institute, Florence)*

New modes of governance increasingly go beyond the traditional intergovernmental approach to include business actors and sections of civil society. Multi-stakeholder processes claim to involve all relevant parties in decision-making. However, a closer look reveals that opportunities of participation are often limited to large professionalised NGOs, while grassroots movements are missing. This paper seeks to identify the challenges and obstacles for these actors to get further involved, but also the opportunities that have emerged in recent policy processes. It will suggest changes in governance systems to open up for wider participation.

The paper looks at two multistakeholder processes: the UN World Summit on the Information Society (Wsis) and the Council of Europe 7th Ministerial Conference on Mass Media Policy. Both processes provide interesting case studies as they attracted a diversity of civil society actors, leading to different layers of intervention. We look specifically at activist media projects and community radio stations that usually do not focus on policy, do not have the financial and structural background of a larger organisation, and that chose to intervene in those processes outside the remit of larger advocacy organisations and coalitions.

Drawing from the two cases, we identify internal challenges (which aspects of activist networks hinder their influence and how can these be tackled?), relations with other civil society actors (how can different tactics and strategies complement each other?) and structural changes in governance systems, in order to enable activist and grassroots networks to participate.

*Keywords*: global governance; media policies; civil society; activists networks; participation.

**Transnational narratives: representations and stories in the alterglobal movements, between cultural translation and activation of protest**

*by Beppe De Sario (Ires-Cgil)*

The article focuses on the role of representations (particularly visual and medial representations), of storytelling (biographical, memory of activism, training to global activism), of personal experience (travels, experience included in counter-summits and protests) and more generally examines cultural practices in the building of basis of mutual recognition and identity for people involved in the networks of alterglobal movements.

Representations, narratives and experience have a decisive role in the developing of a globalization from below, giving a sort of cultural ground to communication and organizational networks. In this sense, the "activist experience" acts as a device of mediation and cultural translation in the emerging alterglobal movements, becoming a fundamental dimension of movements which should be considered "transnational" not only on the level of organization, agenda setting, activation of protest, but also at level of subjectivity.

The article develops in three parts. In the first part, it's the analysis of representations of alterglobal movements in Genoa (counter-summit and protests against G8 summit) emerging from audiovisual products and documentary films. The second one focuses on biographical stories of activists about learning and training to experience activism in the new environment of protest taking place in Genoa. The third part summarizes concepts and theoretical approaches about a culturalist perspective in the study of alterglobal movements.

*Keywords:* alterglobal movements, transnational subjectivity, cultural experience, representations, narratives.