

Abstracts

Cultures of participatory democracy and Europeanization from below in the Italian, British and German Social Forums

by Nicole Doerr (Free University of Berlin)

To what extent can grassroots activists in different sectors of the global justice movements participate in transnational, Europe-wide social forum meetings held between larger protest events, transnational summits and everyday activism – not only dependent on structural, but also cultural patterns of communication and cooperation in movement groups? This question concerns students of European integration as well as thinkers of democracy beyond the nation state, and activists that seek to mobilize a critical discussion on the future of global and European politics. Social movement researchers and cultural sociologists have pointed to the practical challenges of participatory democracy in asymmetric networks composed of groups with pluralist cultural and material resources. Building on ethnographic data and interviews, this article looks at experiments in “deliberative talk”, or discursive democracy in national level social forum preparatory meetings in three different countries. The aim is to compare the challenges and opportunities of coalition building looking at organizational crisis and conflict in domestic social forum processes in Italy, Germany and the UK. This article shows that place-specific cultures of communication and cooperation in the national level social forum processes conditioned and restricted the quality of grassroots participation in the European assemblies and encounters of the ESF. Finally, the article shows that institutional brokerage helps facilitate transnational grassroots mobilization and a “Europeanization from below” in the case of the ESF process.

Keywords: Deliberative Setting, European Social Forum, Grassroots participation, Europeanization from below, Left-wing parties, Institutional Brokerage.

Towards an Emancipatory Cosmopolitanism. Differences and Conflicts in the World Social Forum

by Giuseppe Caruso (University of Helsinki)

Can global civil society contribute to a genuinely emancipatory cosmopolitanism? Is the World Social Forum a site for creating the conditions of a global convivial existence, based on equality, justice, and non-violence? Its Charter states that the WSF is “a forum open to pluralism and to (...) diversity of genders, ethnicities, cultures, generations and physical capacities”. This statement acknowledges variation within the WSF but remains silent about power and structural imbalances within it. Later, in the practice of the WSF the word “difference”, recognition of the political implications of variance, replaced “diversity”. However, the consciousness of the need for transformative political action to engage the full potential of difference is not fully fulfilled. Instead, the approach to mediation, articulation, and management of differences in the WSF is often politically inconsistent with the Forum’s principles. While difference in unity is one of the slogans of the Forum, the unity is often produced as a form of generic “activist” cosmopolitanism that everyone should be able to understand and fit into comfortably. Whereas at times strategically successful, the reduction of cosmopolitanism to the lowest common denominator between world cultures and specific normative thrusts, may prove counterproductive unless it engages in transformative processes. This article discusses conflict management and transformation in the WSF on the basis of extensive fieldwork material. The case study offers the opportunity to discuss three approaches to conflict mediation: incommensurable, hegemonic and transformative. The evidence presented brings us to conclude that transformative conflict mediation while proved to be more successful in the context discussed is also more consistent with the vision of the WSF.

Keywords: Hegemony, Conflict Management, World Social Forum, Cosmopolitanism, Differences Management, Incommensurability.

Contesting European Policies without being (openly) Eurosceptic? The Political Communication of ATTAC Associations towards European Integration

by Mathieu Petithomme (European University Institute)

This article uses claims-making analysis to delineate the main features of the political communication of four ATTAC associations in France, Switzerland, Italy and Spain. ATTAC associations are more prompt to address demands towards the European level, than to mediate and present the claims of European actors to their

respective national publics. The European Central Bank and the Commission constitute privileged targets, viewed as non-majoritarian institutions far away from citizens' democratic control. The nature of the discourse of contestation promoted by ATTAC associations is essentially related to the European policy-making process, but not necessarily to the EU polity in itself, showing that if the "sleeping giant" were to be awakened, if a left/right dimension of competition were to emerge over European politics, social movements inspired by alter-globalization principles might actively be involved in this process of politicisation of European issues at the national level.

Keywords: European Union, Europeanisation, Claims-making, ATTAC, Political Communication, European Integration.

Spillover or Spillout? The Global Justice Movement in the United States after 9/11

by Jennifer Hadden (Cornell University) and Sidney Tarrow (Cornell University)

This article focuses on a seemingly paradoxical sequel to the 1999 Seattle WTO protests: the weakening of the global justice movement in the United States. While the movement has flourished in Europe, it seems largely to have stagnated in the American context. This outcome cannot be explained by either American exceptionalism or by a general decline in activism in the wake of the tragedies of 9/11 and the Iraq War. First comparing expressions of the American and European global justice movements and then turning to original data on social movement organizing in Seattle after 1999, the article argues that the weakness of the American global justice movement can be tied to three key factors: (a) a more repressive atmosphere towards transnational protest; (b) a politically inspired linkage between global terrorism and transnational activism of all kinds; and (c) what we call "social movement spillout". It is also argued that the strongest movement since September 11th – the antiwar movement – exemplifies a broader trend in the United States towards the "spillout" of transnational activism into domestic protest.

Keywords: Transnational Activism, Internalisation, Spillout Effect, Global Justice Movement, Social Forum, No War Movement.

The transformations of football support in Italy: interpretations and first findings of an ongoing research

by Francesco Antonelli (University of RomaTre)

This article focuses on the sociological dimensions of football support in Italy, as phenomenon of collective mobilization. The article is composed of three sec-

tions: in the first part the problem is introduced and some relevant interpretations on football support as phenomenon are discussed; in the second, on the basis of the previous criticism, a different interpretation is proposed and the methodology used is discussed in order to study the transformations of football support. Lastly, in the third section, first findings of an ongoing research are presented. These data show that football support, during a long process that leads to the birth and the affirmation of hooligan group, takes three social meanings, traceable through the analysis of meaning and orientation of the supporters' action: 1) it expresses an anti-technocratic conflict which refers to the enjoyment of *loisir*, at a time when the entertainment value is politically and economically crucial; 2) it assumes the outlines of a postmodern public sphere; 3) in this new public sphere, it becomes the vehicle for expression of conflict and instances that have not sufficiently achieved "citizenship" in the political parties and new social movements.

Keywords: Football Support, Hooligans, Public Sphere, Collective Mobilization, Anti-technocratic Conflict, *Loisir*.