



No pass... no grass no ass! Self-representation of the global-movement in Genoa, 2001

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ABSTRACT

The scientific-methodology and passionate-politics are the main traits which have urged a group of researchers and students at the University of Turin to net with the global-movement late in the 1990s. Later on, some of them founded an affinity-group in order to participate at those demonstrations against the WTO, Genoa July, 2001.

In doing so, the affinity-group stated that a visual approach was useful for participation and the visual culture has been considered strategic for social identification. Grounded-theory and visual-ethnography and biographical approach have been considered useful to underline those social/political dynamics which have not been yet frozen within the social structure. At that time a new social movement arose, and groups and organisations were in a *statu nascenti*, during which individuals and groups are able to merge with others by creating a new collective-identity with a high degree of solidarity. The affinity-group agreed on that a visual research was an option for participation, by collecting information on the movement and militants involved in the protest. The group aimed to face certain research issues by adopting a theoretical question which was connected to the making-sense-paradigm, and it was supposed that by the sole act of participation militants provide sense for action, by creating social and political conflict.

The global-movement has been considered such as a 'youth-movement' which represented a frame for identification for those involved. Yet, practices and lifestyles shared by activists called attention for the role of a new generation of militants informing further actions. The movement was also considered a 'travellers' movement', and the perception of space changed due to the globalization processes, and represented more than a self-portray offering a new 'space-and-place' within which construct a global-collective-identity. The global-movement was also a 'cross-cutting movement' by connecting different cultural/political backgrounds and encompassing travellers' experiences. All these dimensions underlined the global attitude to consider the multiplicity

(social, political and cultural multiplicities) such as a strategic issue in the age of complex social system.

KEYWORDS: SOCIAL GLOBAL MOVEMENT, PARTICIPATION, EMOTIONS, SUBJECTIVITIES, CONFLICT

I. INTRODUCTION

The scientific methodology and passionate politics (Goodwin, Jasper, and Polletta: 2001) had a role in providing a group of young students and graduates in Turin to net with the global movement. It was, in fact, since summer 2000 when the biotech 'Tebio' trade fair was hosted in Genoa, that some of those students and graduates in Turin had the opportunity to learn more about an emerging new social movement in Italy.

Later on, in spring 2001, those graduates and students at the University of Turin founded an affinity group to provide a visual documentary and an activists' research. The affinity group aimed, in fact, to produce — by using a scientific approach and referring to the grounded theory¹ — information on those emerging subjectivities and collective political identities (Hall, Evans: 1991) of those young people participating in following protests in Genoa, summer 2001. Among many others, the affinity group stated that the global-movement was able to provide young activists with the chance to experience political participation in such a way. That is to say that experiences provided during transnational summits were also useful to reinforce and construct such political subjectivities for the present and for the time to come.

From July the 18th to July the 22nd 2001 in Genoa protests occurred, and a visual ethnography and biographical approaches have been employed to collect those individual's biographies' and forms of participation. Interviews have been avoided after the 18th of July 2001, due to the ongoing protests. Yet, a visual ethnography and biographical approaches were used to collect information because of these approaches allowed a dialogic perspective between observer and how is observed. This is to say that researcher and young

1. Due to the limited space available, we refer to the grounded theory as formulated by Glaser and Strauss (1967). Accordingly, rather than beginning with a hypothesis, we got data collection in a first instance, through a variety of methods. From the data collected, the key points were to mark information with a series of codes, which were extracted from the visual text. The codes were grouped into similar concepts in order to make the data more workable, and scientifically understandable. The main issues outlined in this paper and presented later on have been, in fact, identified on this base.

militants co-produced those information useful for analysis, and they made sense to the research themselves.

In Italy, in fact, the so called 'global movement' was at that time in *statu nascenti*, during which individuals became able of merging with others by creating a new collective identity with a very high degree of solidarity, and the sense of belonging to the movement was mixed with other feelings. However, these feelings were sometimes problematic as far as expressing an agreement on the main purposes of the movement is concerned. And yet, new questions arose regarding how to participate at the following protest against the WTO, which was scheduled in Genoa, July 2001. The affinity group suggested, in fact, that the visual approach was the best option to participate and to collect self-made information on the movement and militants involved in the protest².

Indeed, the affinity group aimed to face certain political issues by adopting a theoretical question in the field of the research, and over the protest. Among many others, the global-movement was considered by the no-global activists such as different from a globalized movement. The movement was also considered such as a 'youth movement' which represented, in fact, a new frame for participation despite the presence of older people within the movement's organizers. Moreover, the affinity group thought that symbols, practices and lifestyles shared by a large base of activists called attention for the role of a new generation of young people in informing further movements and forms of participation.

Finally, the global-movement was also considered such as a 'travellers' movement'. The perception of space radically changed due to globalization process. The global-movement represented, in fact, more than a self-portray, and offered a new dimension to 'construct a collective global identity'. The global-movement was also a 'cross-cutting movement' by combining youth participation, and by connecting different cultural and political backgrounds, the emerging global-movement will be able to by encompass those travellers' experiences.

Although non exhaustive, these dimensions have been considered intertwined and able to underline the global attitude to consider 'multiplicity' (in terms of multiple social and cultural identifications) such as a strategic issue in the age of complex social systems³.

2. Click on <http://www.ngvision.org/mediabase/585> to download the video research.

3. Emanuele Achino wrote paragraphs III, Beppe De Sario wrote paragraph II and IV, and they wrote together introduction and conclusions.

II. GLOBAL MOVEMENTS AND POLITICIZATION IN THE GLOBAL WORLD

SOCIAL MOVEMENT AND FORMS OF LIVE

As stated above, the affinity group adopted a theoretical question in the field of the research, and over the protest. Among many others, the groups stated that: how does politicization occur in a global world? In which space(s), and which form(s) of lives are political issues effectively implied in a global movement? Furthermore, has politics been re-defined, re-practiced and incorporated within a new transnational social movement?

Accordingly, the affinity group have primarily questioned the theoretical approach which has been considered performative itself. And yet, the group stated that: shall we consider a mixed theoretical approach as able of describing a collective subject, who is mixed by herself/himself? To answer question, no one-way theoretical direction was hold, and in order to investigate some of the issues above, the affinity group focused on the cycle of protests which has grown under the contradictory conditions of globalization. In this context, characterized by significant transformation in the economics, politics and social space scholars noticed that a mix of new and old political backgrounds coexists for mobilizations. However, in social movements study so many theoretical approaches are available, although each of them has taken the collective actor and the rational choice into account in a different way.

In a first instance, the resources mobilization and the political structure approach focused on the historical process in which social moments arose, and the formation of collective actor appears to be the result of the condition imposed by the social structure. In fact, collective actor and collective identity have been seen as a way to underline the reason why interests had grown rather than seeing how identities and groups emerged. The structural conditions have not been sufficiently considered to explain the collective actor growth, and social movements have been seen as the prime strategic variable that could explain the existence of protest and mobilizations. Moreover, scholars shed light on the connection that individuals and groups keep up with the political structure and the resources (both economic and human resources) available to organize mobilizations. However, an already-existing collective actor able to recognize and transform the opening of the political opportunity and mobilize resources for political reasons has been taken for granted. Indeed, the resources available for mobilization and the opportunities the political system offers them have been considered the main variable to organize protests and collective action (McCarthy, Zald, Gamson: 1990; Tilly: 1978; Tarrow: 1989).

A second approach has focused on the individual motivation to participate. When prompted to participate people could opt for free-riding. Although well motivated by personal objectives, people could selfishly opt to take benefit from the others' contribution. In fact, the rational actor could opt to optimize his/her own interest taking a benefit from the other's work for a common good. Moreover, Olson (1965) argued that people who do participate are used to do so in the presence of selective incentives which benefits can motivate participation in a group because available only to those who participate. In doing so, the selective incentives solve the free-ride dilemma because these incentives are available only for participants, creating a fracture between participants and non-participants. However, there are many incentives such as solidarity and recognition as well as mutual care and cultural production which are not measurable with the rational choice paradigm. Nevertheless, this approach implicitly considered collective actor and collective identity as an option in focusing on the pleasure and responsibility that motivate people to participate, and these dimensions have been seen as an alternative to the material incentives and practical benefits.

A third approach focused on the movements' strategic choices, and therefore is connected to the mobilization resources approach and to the rational choice paradigm. By participating people reinforce their identity, solidarity and networks. In addition, the sort of protest and organization they chose to support are also influenced by the resources available and by the collective identity as well. In doing so, the model supposes that the collective actor is able to recognize and optimize resources available for organizing mobilization. However, the strategic choice model has not adequately taken into account that strategic options may also be attractive and influenced by non-rational factors (Hirschman: 1970). The rational choice model has considered the strategic choices as the sum of individuals' preferences, and not singular individuals' options which are, in fact, diverse in a cultural, political and organizational manner. In a certain way, collective identity and collective actors have been seen as an alternative to the lack of instrumental rationality in explaining strategic choices, forms of contentions and participation. On this basis, collective actor and collective identity does not seem to be a constituent element for recognition and political involvement.

Finally, the fourth approach underlined the conflicts in the present time and the cultural effects of social movements (NSMs'). The cultural effects of participation, in fact, transform the cultural representation of the reality and the political space where individuals and institutions are recognized by each other. Social movements could also concern the cultural representation

of institutions, and therefore transformations affect the imaginary social and political action regardless the institutional reforms. By participating, people provide new understandings for individuals and organizations and suggest directions of transformation for the time to come (Melucci: 1996, Touraine: 1975). Moreover, the new social movements are not oriented towards instrumentals issues, and these new social movements are mostly focusing on the self-referred actions (Melucci: 1989). By participating, people 'construct' those cultural codes and make sense to action, both individual actions than collective action. Accordingly, new social movements do not seem to be determined exclusively by social structure. By contrast, it was stated that people are facing with an 'increasing autonomy of non-institutional forms of collective action in complex systems. Those space(s) for social movements' actions has become a distinct area of the social system. Those space(s) no longer coincide neither with the traditional forms of organization and solidarity nor with conventional forms of political representation' (Melucci: 1996).

Recently, in fact, new generations of activists experienced a mix of cultural and political backgrounds, which are a mixture of both activism and know-how. Activists are facing tradition and transmission, performative actions, memory and accountability as well as those cultural practices which have been developed within social movements at the edge of the institutional left. These cultural settings are partially ascribing to the Anglo-Saxon background in the field of social history which has, in turn, described the 'structures of feelings' (Williams: 1983). Yet, these structures of feelings come through the people experiences in resistance over time, and provide an infra-political arena between those emerging cultural codes and lasting cultural and political backgrounds (Williams: 1980).

Moreover, within social movements' studies, it has been assumed that the historical backgrounds are key issues for social movements, by providing cultural, tactical and political expertise from the past to the present by informing actions for the time to come. In fact, 'through comparative work on different historical periods and different societies, we now know that contemporary movements, like all collective phenomena, bring together forms of action which involve different levels of the social structure. These movements encompass different viewpoints and belong to different historical times. Therefore, we have to understand the multiplicity of both synchronic and diachronic elements, and we shall also explain how they are combined concretely such as collective actor' (Melucci: 1996). Accordingly, activists are part of a mixture of structural elements, and thanks to passionate politic and participation they prepare the transmission, diffusion and evolution of the movement itself.

EMOTIONS, RELATIONS AND SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

The fourth approaches above have classified collective action and the collective actors by sometimes implicitly taking into account the rational choice and the relations to the political structure and to the resources available, which had previously been taken for granted. On the one hand, however, the approaches which have focused mostly on the political structure have also taken for granted the collective actors' interests, and researchers have supposed a stable political structure available for the protest. On the other hand, the stable structure of the political system has been criticized by scholars of the new social movements. For instance, scholars noticed that social movements arose over the '80s seem to have been shifted from the class-based mobilization toward new movements which are not oriented toward materialistic goals, and the class-based political structures have also turned over (Touraine 1987, Melucci 1996, Castells 1997). New social movement theorists argued, however, that participation in such movements could not be predicted by the class based condition and militants are not looking for selfish and economic interests. By contrast, these militants call for social and political recognition and to legitimate new identities, lifestyles and cultural codes (Melucci: 1996). Though participants may share social and economic backgrounds that do not suppose a pre-existing class-base of collective identity and collective actor, political action provides solidarity for the group thanks to the sole act of participation.

Moreover, it was observed that collective identity and collective actors are not sufficient alone to influence the political structure without certain linkages to institutions which are more conventional than social movements' organizations. Certain organizations have been described such as appropriate for women or migrants or young people, who by participation also legitimize them (Mueller: 1987 in Polletta, Jasper: 2001). For these groups a lack of institutional linkage has been emphasized, and to fill the gap it was supposed that identities related to such organizations are mostly important in terms of political option and instrumental perspective. In this manner, DiMaggio & Powell (1991) suggested a red line to the recent neo-institutionalism theories on institutions' propensity to imitate organizational forms. It was supposed that organizational structures previously experienced within an institution tended to be imitated throughout the experiences people had within these institutions. In fact, institutions have an agenda which refers to wider cultural backgrounds, and these cultural backgrounds influence the cognitive maps of actors affecting the decision-making and reinforcing the existing collective identity and strategies. However, the neo-institutionalism approach has not

clarified if these imitations are useful in improving the social movements' networks or if these institutional reproductions will be transformed in a new organizational approach.

Furthermore, collective identity and collective actor could also be useful providing a narrative of institutional impacts as well as imagined and concrete communities (Moscovici: 1991), and not just to trace a line of continuity with previous organizations. In fact, collective identity is a relational production emerging out of interactions with different actors, institutional actors and associative actors. However, in this paper, a theoretical approach had not been assumed for collective identities which are the opposite of interests and incentives as well as of strategy and politics. Collective identity was also not considered as a way to fill the gaps left by the state-centre approach (Polletta, Jasper: 2001). The group supposed however those structural, political and organizational interests are crucial in explaining social and economic issues. In fact, by participating people make sense for action, and in doing so, they promote new identities as a way to erode power and to transform themselves and the society. Furthermore, new social movements have also developed a solidarity approach by producing new cultural codes and internal and external emotional practices. These cultural codes and emotional practices are, in fact, mainly oriented towards forms of live which are in opposition to the mainstreaming society.

The relational dynamics of the global-movement are a key point for participation and recognition, and these dynamics are also spread on different scales. Moreover, they also include the new activists' networks — from community organizing to the transnational networks — which have been developed also thanks to the new digital technologies. These networks are, in fact, intended such as “democracy in relationship”, which anticipates social change by striving for new style of lives and different social relationships (Polletta 2002, cap. 7).

These activism networks are intertwined with those expressive subjectivities and social justice issues, which are deeply rooted in international radical feminism, in communitarian anarchism, in Christian communities as well as in other community empowerment organizing such as minorities' communities and youth movements. All these formal and informal organizing are, in fact, experimenting new social relations between popular culture and independent politics. In doing so, it shall be possible to underline how this mixture of political and cultural backgrounds has recently moved into the global-movement by taking a role in the second genealogy of activists. This is, in fact, a relational and expressive genealogy rather than a connection to

the economic and environmental issues, or a connection to other organizations such as international NGOs or cognate structures.

Finally, the second genealogy of activists had a role by innovating social and political issues as well as by underling the key role of those community strategies, and by focusing on emerging subjectivities. The second genealogy of activists has also fostered new ways of communication, new individual and social relationships. They made a bridge between form of lives and self placement in opposition to the establishment (Mansbridge & Morris 2001). The connection between the two dimensions is well known such as 'behavioural idiom' (Polletta cit., p. 195). And yet, creative forms of protest arose, and have been considered such as a struggle to legitimate those protests which have been for long time excluded from the 'semantic of conflict', and which have been constituted within borders of the national states and modern capitalism (Taylor e Rupp, 2003).

III. THE RESEARCH QUESTION AND VISUAL RESEARCH

NARRATIVE INTERVIEWS AND VISUAL RESEARCH

The affinity group got the fieldwork in Genoa before the demonstrations scheduled on the 19th, the 20th, and the 21st July, 2001. A simple sampling process has been provided, due to the circumstances of consistent protests, with a high degree of police control. The affinity group met, in fact, 8 men and 4 ladies. The younger was at that time 14 years old, and the older 45 years old, the age median was around 25 years old, and they came from Holland, Poland, Spain, Italy, Greece and Malta. Moreover, those national political backgrounds of militants interviewed were heterogeneous, and yet it was not possible to freeze their political backgrounds analytically. However, it was clear that almost all of them had taken part of informal groups and non-structured groups within the well known 'radical social movements' across Europe, and mainly based in urban activism.

In the fieldwork, the affinity group met the activists in the so called 'activist city', which means that we met them in the welcome-camp, in the convergence-centre and in the media-centre. All the interviews have been conducted in open-spaces, and in the presence of other people. We had interviews with a range from 20 minutes to one hour in length, for a total amount of 15 hours of video recorded interviews. The setting has been also considered a collective experience. However, we avoided interviews after the 18th of July 2001, due to the ongoing protests. We were interested, in fact, to

collect oral histories interviews and individual's biographies' interviews on how people have self-educated to participate at the alter-globalized social movements over time.

To do so, we used digital video-recorder and sometimes two video-recorders which were working together to collect information. One researcher was responsible for videotaping while one another were responsible for the interview. Furthermore, video-recorders have been also used to document those activists' performances. The group had, in fact, semi-structured interviews, though supposing that almost all of them became a biographical non structured interview. The dialogic approach between researcher and activists has sometimes focused on the involvement of both researchers and activists in the movement. However, the affinity groups have also discussed representation and self-representation of the alter-globalized social movement, as well as the use of the new technologies and the documentary film.

In fact, it was stated that the visual approach and the documentary film were useful to collect information and to allow a reflexive process afterward. Within the qualitative research, the use of audio-video technologies to produce data is well established. However, the affinity group stated that a documentary film was also a useful tool to share consensus between militants and to provide further self-reflexive usages, for both militants and the scientific community. An audio-video tool allows, in fact, a reflexive process by itself, as noticed by Melucci (1996) by studying interactions among militants in those informal social movements' groups in Milan, over the 1980s.

Among many others, researcher and militants have also discussed the role of the activist-research for participation. The group aimed, in fact, to investigate the role that the daily life plays for protests, as well as the group were interested in collecting oral histories interviews on individual's cultural and political backgrounds which have been later moved into the alter-globalized social movement. To do so, a dialogical approach was considered useful to do so, and a self-reflexive visual documentary film has been developed in the field of the research. In fact, the project aimed to produce a documentary film by using an ethnographic approach and the grounded theory accordingly. To do so, researcher have focused mainly on the activist's daily live, and have considered time and space significant for participation. Furthermore, researchers have moved around the 'activist's city' to underline those social interaction between activists, common goods and mutual care, as well as the main communitarian frameworks and stiles of life and protests have been also considered key elements for constructing a collective identity.

Over the post production process, researchers got three main questions. This is to say that a political question, an aesthetic question and a scientific question arose. The research group was interested, in fact, to follow the 'structure' provided by the list of interview, and to guarantee the scientific methodology according with the theoretical perspective. The visual approach was useful to investigate personal, familiar and educational backgrounds as well as the civic engagement and political participation of activists. Transcriptions of interviews have been analyzed by referring to the text and content analysis and those main outputs will be provided later on in this paper. Then, researchers underlined how militants experienced the alter-globalized social movement, and the main political issues which have been elaborated in the recent time. Moreover, it was also questioned the present engagement in Genoa, forms of conflict and passionate politics. By analyzing data, a linear understanding which was lost during the interviews, has been provided. The visual constructivism underlined the logical connections between phenomena, while the main areas of investigations were not in fact a natural representation of the reality.

The documentary film starts with a visual statement of the meeting point at the Carlini stadium on Monday the 15th, and it concludes outside the same place on Saturday the 20th July, 2001. In the meanwhile, a wide range of images and interviews have been collected — from the outside of the protest to the inside of the activist's city —. All the interviews and the visual approach have been useful to frame and analyze the activist's daily live and cultural and political backgrounds, as well as the time of the protest and forms of participation.

IV. <NO PASS... NO GRASS, NO ASS!> IMAGINE CHANGE AND EXPERIENCE IN GENOA 2001

In a first instance, the affinity-group aimed to produce narrative-interviews and a video-recording production to afford a documentary film. In doing so, the affinity-group focused on some political, scientific and communicational issues. And yet, in the following pages, the main outputs produced from summer 2001 to summer 2002, in a post-production project called the 'Globaldissent project', will be presented. The visual-text has been considered, in fact, 'discursively' such as a collection of individuals' interviews by focusing on personal biographies and collective experiences in the global movement. However, the affinity-group has also considered the visual-text such as an autonomous production. This is to say that the visual-text has

been considered more than the sum of individuals' biographies. It was also useful to analyze 'discourses' and self-representations of the movement, a video-documentary in which a story-line of the 'globalization from below' is embedded and intertwined.

The video-interviews have been later transcribed and analyzed with software for qualitative research (Nvivo). In doing so, the content analysis and the visual analysis have been moved simultaneously. The group were, in fact, interested in verbal and non-verbal communications as well as interested in the 'recognition' issue, which is implicitly included in the 'utopia' and in the 'imagined transformations' for the time to come. Meanwhile, the affinity-group have also taken strongly into account the role of the activist-research, and considered such as intertwined within the process of scientific production and the discursive production.

THE EMERGING EXPERIENCE OF GLOBALIZATION FROM BELOW

In a first instance, qualitative interviews have been analyzed accordingly with the content and text analysis. In doing so, a theoretical question arose. Should interviews be considered such as individual oral histories interviews, or they compose just 'one polyphonic voice' in telling story?

And by considering those interviews' structure, the group provided details in the matter. The scientific methodology had a role in affording whatever or not an interpretative hypothesis for young activist in the age of 20-29 — living mainly in metropolitan areas across Europe — was useful for analysis.

Yet, class age 20-29 underlined those individuals' biographical background as well as militants' timeline for participation from late 2000 moving to present grassroots in Genoa, 2001. Militants interviewed have also participated in those counter-summits which have been hosted in Prague, Nice, Barcelona and Goteborg. In fact, these counter-summits represented for them an individual and collective experience and political engagement, qualitative interviews suggest. Moreover, they also stated that they experienced the alter-globalized social movement within the so called 'media-meeting', which means that they experienced the rising movement through mass-media, especially independent media available on-line. Afterward and in conjunction with protests against WTO and the IMF in Prague 2000, more organized forms of participation arose. It was, in fact, the time for a change to participate in the global movement.

In doing so, they introduced a periodization for participation, which was a narrative and experience periodizations within the common memory of the

global-movement framework. This timeline does not coincide, however, with those other well-founded grassroots events took place between the 1992 and the 1994. At that time, the global summit on climate change and respective counter-summit took place in Rio de Janeiro, and the Zapatista revolt occurred in Mexico.

By contrast, participation they experienced in those urban social movements was off. Although they come from Amsterdam, Warsaw, Milan or Madrid (big cities across Europe, indeed), they described such immobility at local scale when — compared to the dynamic and emergent participation they experienced at the global scale. Moreover, oral histories interviews also said that they shared a common background by moving from local to global scales, and by describing emotions such as open-minded forms of participation in opposition to narrow-minded forms of participation. Participation and the global-movement have been also described intertwined by referring to the dichotomies, between homogeneous and heterogeneous movement, and between daily life participation and ‘creative’ forms of political participation.

Besides that, it was supposed that a physiologic cycle of live of a social movement occurred by getting a voice from the latency, and by calling attention to new audiences and public spaces. Later on, a shift (in terms of cultural and political shift) occurred from the global scale to the local scale. Accordingly, this was the time in Italy for the so-called ‘social-forums’, as well as it was the time to experiment new cultural codes and stile of lives. In doing so, they opened doors and drove roots into local social environment, by sharing a common political background and communicational culture.

The use of the language by researchers and activists has been also considered useful for analysis. During interview, in fact, activists described the emotional setting they experienced by participating at the global movement. The global-movement was described, in fact, such as a ‘place’ in which people talk with each others; it was described such as a ‘common assembly’ or such as a ‘welcome camp’ or again such as a city as a whole. By narrating, face-to-face and voice-to-voice experiences were described as crucial for participation and recognition, determining a ‘fracture’ between previous identities and underlying a new social and cultural identifications with the transnational movement.

In fact, it was stated that:

“[In Prague] participation was alike, I mean, I woke up early in the morning, and then I was going to the convergence-centre, a huge work, all the meetings... in English, Spanish, French, Czechoslovakian... [Smiling] e then... tired, nervous sometimes...

[Laugh] it was usual in a certain way! I have never experienced something similar before yet” [A., 16/07/2001, Carlini Stadium, Genoa]

“[it was the time for...] a multi-linguistic revolution... I mean, a multi-linguistic revolution, do you know what I mean? It was a time to talk with each other, and yet a new language was required to do so” [R., 18/07/2001, Pascoli School, via Cesare Battisti, Genoa; translated in English, original in French]

GLOBAL MEETINGS AND COUNTER-SUMMIT SUCH AS A ‘NARRATIVE’ AND EXPERIENCE

Counter-meetings and global-meetings are ‘places’ in which these qualitative interviews and video-interviews have been collected. However, a question arose on the matter. What do the group mean for counter-meeting and global-meeting? Yet, social and political studies have described these happenings such as a chance to take a ‘voice’, which means an opportunity to be visible globally. Sometimes, researchers have also intended those counter-summits such as an opportunity to research the global movement, due to the high number of activists available for a survey research or qualitative interviews. By contrast, video-interviews collected in Genoa 2001 and the biographical approach employed in this study has been useful to frame those emerging subjectivities at the edge of the global-movement, which represent the ‘physical place’ where the global collective identities is constructed and negotiated.

In fact, militants interviewed have not focused on the demonstrations only. However, they spent time describing the reflexive and educational approach they experienced over time, by travelling across Europe and gathering with others young people. They have also discussed those effects produced by participating when they have moved back home, effects which were sometimes positive and sometimes negative for participation at local scale.

Accordingly, it was stated that:

“...the group was created to go to Prague demonstrations...we aimed to ‘translate’ those global issues at local scale...to do so, we have largely spoken with other people and learned with each others... [...] in fact, the global-meeting was fine to do so...I mean, these meetings are such experiences providing us

with an opportunity for participation...and yet, you should take experience as much, and take your experience back home, and then build again..." [A.]

"I was talking about my idea of family and community, which provide all your needs...in fact, we are in Genoa and we have all we need...music, food, space for communication...we are, in fact, a community group, with an high degree for mutual understanding...however, we are not so involved in the political manner...by contrast, a community group risk to stay isolated from others, I mean, from those who are 'walking' other ways... however, I prefer mutual care and brotherhood with those persons I am working with..." [D., 17/07/2001, Carlini Stadium, Genoa]

It was stated that emotions are a central part in the emerging movement's phase, and emotions play also a role for many issues outlined in the interviews. For instance, emotions and political organizations have been described such as intertwined by militants. Activists interviewed belong, in fact, to small political groups within social movements, from Amsterdam to Paris and beyond. Moreover, the need to 'construct' networks and social and political relationships has been described such as essential to bridge local groups and other international affinity groups.

In doing so, travelling around the world and participating in the global-movement assume the meaning of a mutual understanding and mutual learning. And yet, the biographic interviews are strategic to discover the main traits which contribute to a collective identification with the movement. By narrating individual biographies and 'translate' these individual biographies into a collective voice, activists claimed for an 'autobiographic memory, which is, in turn, reclaimed by an historical-political subject in a *statu nascenti* (Passerini 1988).

Moreover, interview says that contesting itself is not a process of internal construction in opposition to an 'outside' or an 'enemy' which is useful to identify a collective identity. Indeed, physical space for the global-movement is also strategic for those cultural issues and subjectivities which are connected to the process of recognition and participation. By analyzing space for movements, it will be possible to underline how those radical communities have been hosted over time, and how these communities are hosted in the

hosted in the present: from the student's movement in Europe over the '70s to the young movements over the late '80s, to the present with those social networks in Argentina fighting against the neoliberal policies.

Finally, space is not neutral space where events happen by disregarding micro-interactive dynamics. By contrast, space is also a space in which people practice experience, and in which the future is imaged and elaborated.

EMOTIONS AND MOVEMENTS: SUBJECTIVITIES, PARTICIPATION AND TACTICS OF RESISTANCE

Scholars and activists have noticed that practices of resistance are a divergent option for participation. However, they have not clarified whether or not these divergent options could also correspond to different emotions people feel, and people 'build' by participating.

Within this context, the 'pink & silver network' performs through actions which are creative, musical and dancing actions. The 'pink & silver network' appeared, in fact, for the first time at the demonstration in Prague 2000, and from that time they have largely used the so called 'sensual expressivity and desire' such as an expression of conflict, which has been later described as "tactical frivolity"⁴. This emotional dimension was, in fact, shared by different affinity groups in Genoa, sometimes groups different from each others. From the well known Black Bloc groups to the Marxist groups a wide range of organizations have used expressive and tactical frivolity to participate and creating conflict, which has been sometimes criticized by other activists.

Yet, these emotions had a role in activists' biographies. Militants interviewed described, in fact, such emotions according to those expectations they had for participating in Genoa, late in July 2001. However, it still remains to map the complex set of emotions people experienced over time and by participating in those global demonstrations, by also taking into account those timelines and the historical evolution of the movement as well as those divergent subjectivities which are taking part.

People involved in the project provided, in fact, significant advices accordingly. Although mainstreaming media described these experiences such as the 'loss of innocence'⁵, it is not possible to distinguish a fracture for those

4. <http://rhythmsofresistance.co.uk>.

5. We refer to a metaphoric image which has been used within the historiography of Italian social movement over the 1970s. This is to say that the emotional setting was changing after the violent bombing in Milan, Piazza Fontana, in December the 12th 1969.

emotions between pre — and post — Genoa participation. Brutal experiences across the city, traumatic violence people suffered by the police, those indelible images when Carlo Giuliani was shot dead, all these features have largely contributed to divide up emotions. Besides that, people knew to be vulnerable but people were also aware that they represented such a trial for the establishment in power.

The ‘loss of innocence’ has obscured, however, the joyful experience of fracture which is common when a new social movement appears in the *statu nascenti*, and represents a cultural and political chance for the society as a whole. In this manner, all militants interviewed had a high degree of awareness on the violence they suffered by the police. In fact, all militants interviewed were ready to ‘break those social, cultural and political roles’. In a certain way, they practiced civil disobedience, and they were ready to suffer the predictable use of the force, which was much more violent than expected.

The awareness has been described such as an active awareness and action was not frozen. The risk perceived and those expectations militants experienced in Genoa have been later transformed into a local/global resistance, and these feelings were not mechanically connected to the social structure.

Accordingly, it was stated that:

“I think next days will be hotties..... I think that there are so many groups of young activists which really want to fight with the police...yet, I hope, I really hope that everything will go fine... in fact, we already had a huge experience of participation... we know, we have to pay attention...anyway...I hope that the police will not be able to shoot in any way...it will be worse and worse...” [R.]

“I would be not surprised if the Media Centre will be surrounded, do you know what I mean? In German you say ‘einkesseln’, which means surrounded by the police... [Lough]...I would be not surprised if the police will set a trap...do you know, at the Indymedia centre...it will be easy to close and then take all the stuff out and off...I know, it will be an easy going job to close...[C., 18/07/2001, piazza Rossetti Square, Genoa; translation it., original in English]

“I am arrived in Genoa one week ago...I really want to walk around the city, and collect images, my feelings, take notes on

the city which is hosting the protest...I mean, I would say that we are not devastating Genoa, however...probably at the end of day it will be done so... among many others, there are people who is coming from the North Europe, from Berlin...from the northern countries...indeed, no, I have just walked around, and I will do so again... [...]...and yet, Genoa is in fact a delicious city, and inhabitants are very welcome people, and probably they are not displeased that so many young people are just working, and thinking to the future, and the young people are just producing in this city...however, we will face with the fights in time to come..." [D.]

On the one hand, the global-movement has been described such as a homogeneous movement which is embedded within the risk society framework and within the global order, even when people participate against the war in Afghanistan and Iraq. On the other hand, however, it was supposed that emotions like a fever are much more complex in influencing individual biographies and further actions.

This is, in fact, a key question for social movements' studies. Any social movements could not exclusively exist on the basis of a mixture of resistance and defensive tactics. By contrast, any social movements with articulated social, cultural and political backgrounds could consequentially imagine an utopia framework.

In this light, the team group focused on the main traits which have been discussed with activists in the field of the research. In doing so, we can say that emotions are in continuity and are not separated by the individual's biographies, and are not separated by such forms of participation. Among many others, pleasure, bustle, happiness and texting new thinks, and sometimes combined with fear and trembling.

All these emotions constitute such elements for the beginning of a new social movement, which is still anticipating a common 'structure of sentiments', and seems to be like a utopia which lies at the horizon.

"I do not know what my expectations in Genoa are...I hope to come back home by myself, I mean, with no troubles and injures...and yet, I really want to learn so much, and then, do you know? Then, when you are at the edge, you learn so much on what your limits are, and yet, you also learn what to do accordingly..." [A.]

The scientific methodology had a role in investigating collective identities, recognition and participation which have been considered fluid phenomena to be observed with a dynamic approach. These collective identities interact by negotiating individual and collective action, halfway between the individual's biographies and social structure. In doing so, these collective identities underline the strategic role of recognition for participation and social inclusion. Yet, the team group have also assumed that these are relational dynamics which are not possible to freeze with static data, and therefore a visual approach has been developed in the field of the research.

Moreover, the strategic role of the transnational activism has assumed a multi-scale dimension in the recent history of the global movement. In fact, the cultural attribute of the global movements allowed activists to cross borders, which are in turn national borders and — metaphorically — cultural and political borders. Furthermore, the globalization of movements has also emphasized that participation in the age of globalized social movement could not be predicted by the class location and militants are not looking for practical and economic interests. Yet, forms of participation and 'structures of feelings' have often bypassed differences in the social and political backgrounds. Accordingly, a wide range of skills has concerned the youth global activism which has not been, in fact, organized hierarchically. By contrast, militants have focused on resources such as common discussion, music, images, dance, empathy, tactics or new languages to participate and to protest.

A new set of practices has been developed, and most importantly, this set of practices has rusted the connections between representations and expectations of activists and the establishment. By participating, youth activists have not strengthened the challenging power. They have, in turn, promoted an 'alternative' agency. By contrast, those cultural practices have also reduced the logo-centric politics as well as those cultural practices have reduced the mainstream leadership and potential conflict.

European activism has, in fact, increased over the last decades by sharing cultural, political and organizational backgrounds over the counter-summits worldwide. Furthermore, cooperation between activists has also increased, assuring more confidence for activists both at local scale and at global scale. Moving from the global scale to the local scale and from the local scale to the global scale is a political issue for the anti-globalized social movement itself. However, some troubles arose in this manner. On the one hand, cultural practices have opened doors improving transnational relationships between activists, while on the other hand, those deepen 'structure of relations' between transnational groups and transfer-knowledge from the global scale to

the local scale as well as from the local to the global groups have not been acknowledged yet.

Moreover, transnational space for participation has also provided a new dimension for individual and collective imaginary. This new dimension, in fact, breaks away from the dichotomy between local and national backgrounds. While changes happen at local scale, other politics merge together different activisms in the early 2000s, and following cluster of social and political backgrounds (among many others, precarious workers, migrants people, war/peace movements, local and urban environment etc.).

The question of how transnational activism could merge different traditions and cultural and political backgrounds at global scale still remains an issue for the time to come. The cultural dimension of change is strategic to answer question posed by and to the global activism. The cultural dimension of change calls attention to the 'translation' of those political issues and backgrounds into a transnational activism language able to open doors to new 'families of differences'.

Finally, recent global-movement have moved into the global resistance against economic austerity, privatization and budget cuts on welfare and public sector. Differently than the movements of the early 2000s, this recent global-movement seeks something diverse than a 'language of experience', or just a fascinating journey across the universe of experience. These recent global-movement assume the heritage of the early 20th and 21st century movements, in terms of recognition and participation. They also lead to a diverse challenge. They aim to share an explicit critique of the capitalism, and to set up a new stage of the radical politics in the mid of crisis.

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