

**Alternative Futures of Globalisation**  
**A Socio-Ecological Study of the World Social Forum Process**

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The work contained in this thesis has not been previously submitted to meet requirements for an award at this or any other higher education institution. To the best of my knowledge and belief, the thesis contains no material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made.

Signature

Date

Dedicated to the memory of

Caty Kyne  
Ken Fernandes  
Agripina San Roman Diaz  
Claudio Ramos Muniz

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## Abbreviations

ACTU - Australian Council of Trade Unions  
AG - Alternative Globalisation  
AGM - Alternative Globalisation Movement  
APEC - Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation  
AR – Action Research

ASM - Assembly of Social Movements  
 ASO - A Space Outside  
 ATTAC - Association pour la Taxation des Transactions pour l'Aide aux Citoyens (Association for the Taxation of Financial Transactions for the Aid of Citizens)  
 AWP – Another World is Possible (slogan of the World Social Forum)  
 BSF – Brisbane Social Forum  
 CC – Community Collaborations  
 CD - Community Development  
 CGS - Critical Globalisation Studies  
 CFS - Critical Future Studies  
 CS - Civil Society  
 CSO - Civil Society Organisations  
 ESF - European social forum  
 FoE - Friends of the Earth  
 GDA – Global Day of Action  
 GCM - Global Citizen Movement  
 GCS - Global Civil Society  
 GDP - Gross Domestic Product  
 IC - International Council of the World Social Forum  
 ICT - Information and Communication Technologies  
 IPS - Inter Press Service  
 IMF - International Monetary Fund  
 INGO - International Non-government Organization  
 IS – International Secretariat of the World Social Forum  
 LASNET – Latin American Solidarity Network  
 MAI - Multilateral Agreement on Investment  
 MDG - Millennium Development Goals (UN)  
 MSF - Melbourne Social Forum  
 MPH - Make Poverty History (campaign)  
 MNC - Multinational Corporations  
 NGO – Non-government Organizations  
 NIEs – Newly Industrialising Economies  
 NIEO - New International Economic Order  
 NSM - New Social Movements  
 OC - Organising Committee of the World Social Forum (now named ‘International Secretariat’) OECD - Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development  
 PAR – Participatory Action Research  
 PBI - Peace Brigades International  
 PGA – Peoples Global Action  
 SALs – Structural Adjustment Loans  
 SAPs - Structural Adjustment Programs  
 SEA - Social Ecology of Alternatives  
 SDI - Slum/shack Dwellers International  
 SOA - School of the Americas (renamed as the ‘Western Hemisphere Institute for Security Cooperation’)  
 TINA - There Is No Alternative (statement attributed to PM Margaret Thatcher)  
 TCC - Transnational Capitalist Class  
 TNC - Transnational Corporations  
 UNCTAD - United Nations Conference on Trade and Development  
 UNGC - United Nations Global Compact  
 UNSNA - United Nations System of National Accounts  
 WB - World Bank  
 WEF - World Economic Forum (also known as ‘Davos’ forum)  
 WSF - World Social Forum  
 WSF(P) - World Social Forum Process  
 WTO - World Trade Organisation

## Acknowledgements

*“The utopia recognises no necessity, no destiny, no automatically functioning social mechanism. It places all faith in human self determination through the fullest possible unfolding of the highest human capacities. The utopia recognises no static end of time, but only stages in a dynamic process of development toward the future. It does not demand heaven, but seeks a “hostel”. And each successive wayside inn must be other and better than man’s previous resting places, but it must also be located as a landmark on an earthly road, where man can build with his own tools. This is not paradise miraculously regained, but a better world remade within the scope of human power.”*

*Fred Polak*

*“It must be considered that there is nothing more difficult to carry out, nor more doubtful of success, nor more dangerous to handle, than to initiate a new order of things. For the reformer has enemies in all those who profit by the old order, and only lukewarm defenders in all those who would profit by the new order, this lukewarmness arising partly from fear of their adversaries, who have the laws in their favor; and partly from the incredulity of mankind, who do not truly believe in anything new until they have actual experience of it.”*

*Machiavelli*

*“The search for authenticity of a civilization is always a search for the other face of the civilization, either as a hope or as a warning. The search for a civilization's Utopia, too, is part of this larger quest. It needs not merely the ability to interpret and reinterpret one's own traditions, but also the ability to involve the often recessive aspects of other civilizations as allies in one's struggle for cultural self discovery, the willingness to become allies to other civilizations trying to discover their other faces, and the skills to give more centrality to these new readings of civilizations and civilizational concerns. This is the only form of a dialogue of cultures which can transcend the flourishing intercultural barter of our times.”*

*Ashis Nandy*

*"The distance between our inklings of apocalypse and the tenor or business-as-usual is so great that, while we may respect our own cognitive reading of the signs, our response is frequently the conclusion that it is we, not society, who are insane."*

*Joanna Macy*

*“We take refuge in and honour the enlightened ones of the past, present and future, Buddhas who are seas of noble and endless virtue for suffering sentient beings.”*

*Zen Buddhist Expression*

## Prologue: Emergence of a Planetary Self

To the reader,

I'd first like to describe to you the journey that I have taken in writing this thesis, which has entailed work in community development, as an activist, as an action researcher, as an academic, and as a human being at the dawn of the 21<sup>st</sup> century. Hopefully this short introduction will provide a better context to understand how this thesis emerged.

I was born into planet Earth in the Christian year 1971. At that time, there were 3.8 billion of us. I was also born into a nation with great faith in the future, boldly and audaciously creating a science and technology that would establish the architecture for a new global era. And yet that same nation was locked into a Cold War struggle against the Soviets and others, engaged in fighting multiple proxy wars, and furthering its commercial interests and lifestyle priorities to the exclusion of many of the world's peoples and ecosystems. This schizophrenic narrative reflected my own emerging identity, which in the language of my family was 'Mexican American' or 'Chicano'. In school I would learn about how the USA had civilized North America and brought democracy to the rest of the world, while at home I would learn how the US committed genocide against Native Americans (of which I was one), and exported imperialism to the far corners of the Earth.

The locale of my early years also expressed this schizophrenia. Los Angeles epitomized a hyper industrial, mechanized and consumer oriented culture. Sustained by global trade, 'good' weather, and a vast network of aqueducts displacing water from various parts of the western states, LA was an island of suburbs constructed and superimposed on the semiarid grasslands, hills and chaparral of Southern California.<sup>1</sup> And yet this is where an emerging sense of alienation was born, and where the inklings of intuition moving me towards social and ecological consciousness began. LA, more than other locales, held the past and the future together in its present with great tension, multicultural mixing and diversity with segregation, the excesses of industrialisation with the birth of the post-industrial, consumer culture with counterculture, nationalism and global consciousness.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> In many ways best described by Mike Davis in *City of Quartz* (Davis, 1990)

<sup>2</sup> William Irwin Thompson as well describes LA as a historical pivot, his reflections reinforcing mine.

These were the ‘cracks’ that prompted me to deeply question life in LA, and led me to travel elsewhere. Having completed a BA in Comparative Literature, I eagerly packed my bags and relocated to Japan. There I was confronted with an ancient culture that I didn’t understand. Ironically, Japan helped to teach me that I too came from a culture, and I began to question more deeply what it meant to come from the place and time, California at the end of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It was in Japan where my preconceptions about the world began to unravel in the face of the empirical evidence before me. This was both an emotional and intellectual unravelling, and as I journaled each morning reflecting on the short expanse that was my life up until that time, I began to ask existential questions, such as what was my purpose here, what is important, and who was I on this small planet?

Over the next several years I discovered a number of seeds within myself that were calling to emerge. I found that I wanted to study the future, though at the time I didn’t know much about what this meant. I also found that I wanted to express my love and desire to create art and music. I found that I wanted to not only live in ‘other’ cultures, but as well to learn ‘their’ languages and ways of life. Finally I discovered I wanted to work in solidarity with a global network of people, but as well did not really know what this meant.

These new orientations began to manifest themselves with increasing clarity and specificity over the next several years. Living in Taiwan was another turning point, learning not only about Taiwan’s culture and languages (and the people’s generosity of spirit), but how it has suffered: its implication in the Cold War struggle, the ecological consequences of rapid industrialisation, and the effects of cultural imperialism. It was in Taiwan where I learned about the ‘Battle in Seattle’ against the WTO, and police brutality against protesters, and later about a planned ‘World Social Forum’ (WSF) that would bring together people and organisations struggling to change the global system. I was inspired by the WSF declaration ‘Another World Is Possible’ and its call for the creation of a ‘planetary society directed toward fruitful relationships among humankind, and between it and the Earth’ (Sen, 2004, pp. 70-71).

I began to study the future formally over the next several years, in Houston, Taiwan and later Melbourne. Futures Studies taught me about the great challenges we face, of long yet uncertain time horizons, and of great complexity, both in their diagnosis and in their potential resolution, ‘tsunamis of change’ (Dator, 1999) sweeping over diverse demographics; as Slaughter argued,

they come together to represent a ‘civilisational challenge’ (Slaughter, 2002b). These included learning about an emerging wealth/health polarisation between peoples (Amin, 1997; Singer, 2002). It also included the threat to the world’s ecosystems (Brown, 2000), the threat of climate change (Spratt, 2008), and threats to the world’s oceans and forests (Mitchell, 2008). Connected to this is the emerging potential for resource wars and inter-state rivalry. Another threat is the globalisation of crime networks and shadow economies in arms trade, child smuggling, illicit resources, illicit tax havens and drugs (Nordstrom, 2004). This ‘civilisational challenge’ is manifest in transformations in technology (informational, biotechnological, nanotechnological) and the need to apply a precautionary principle to their development, as well the revolution in modes of communications and the challenge of creating ‘global cognitive justice’ (Santos, 2006, pp. 44-45). I increasingly learned about challenges to democratic institutions and practices, and the disproportionate influence of corporations in dictating policy in many political contexts (Greider, 1992). Finally, there were challenges to human values, the loss of community, atomisation and hyper individualism (Bindé, 2004), unsustainable consumerism (Robinson, 2004), and the corporate colonisation of the media-scape and with this our inter-subjective life-worlds (Lasn, 2000). All of this was underlined by a growing understanding of the systemic nature of the challenges we face. Having read books like Kenneth Boulding’s *The World as a Total System* (Boulding, 1985), I began to see how global problems and challenges cannot be segregated into single issues, they are interconnected in intricate and complex ways.

To be honest, learning about all of these global / futures issues filled me with a sense of crisis, punctuated by moments of despair and overwhelm, and I began to look for ways forward amid this landscape of challenges. I relate strongly with work done by Macy on despair (Macy, 1991), and the scholarship done by Hicks. Hicks examined the psychological process of learning about global / futures issues (Hicks, 2002), arguing we are affected by feelings of despair or frustration when facing issues that seem too big, too abstract, which can bring on a feeling of powerlessness and overwhelm, ‘psychic numbing’, avoidance, and alienation. He argues we must move ourselves, and students, through five stages: cognitive, affective, existential, empowered, and action-oriented. While not an exact correlate, I experienced these ‘stages’ or dimensions: overwhelmed by strong emotions, despair, and anger, then grappling with my own identity and place within this new context of issues and challenges, looking for sources of hope and new pathways of change forward, and entering into communities and projects that address these challenges. This process of re-integration has been as fundamental for my own health and wellbeing as it has been for anyone else or thing that may have benefited from my shift.

I was particularly concerned about how people in every walk of life and in various locales, most removed from centres or structure of ‘global’ power, could express agency, and enact change in dealing with the global pathologies and challenges that increasingly affect us, and the structures that give rise to these pathologies. People across the world’s communities, in just facing their own ‘local’ challenges, face unprecedented complexity and scale. How does the fisherman off the coast of India face the threat of global warming and overfishing? How does the Indonesian factory worker face the impact of IMF mandated structural adjustment programs? How does the Australian, US or German farmer deal with the cross-pollination or ‘contamination’ of their crops by neighbouring genetically modified (GM) crops? I was interested in grassroots collective agency in addressing common global / trans-local challenges and shaping futures self articulated as just, peaceful and sustainable ones.

This led me toward becoming both an organiser and inquirer within the World Social Forum (WSF) process. Before I began this thesis, I participated in the WSF, and became an organiser for the local Melbourne Social Forum. I saw social forums as enabling community agency in shaping a new globalisation, or “another globalisation”, and this gave me some faith and hope in our capacity to respond to the challenges that we face as communities. I carried the hope that I would be part of the construction of a global movement for social change that could effectively address the myriad problems that the world is facing today. After this, I embarked on this thesis project, and made the decision to use my experiences in this process as the basis for an inquiry into how social forums and other alter-globalisation platforms and processes contribute to creating a better world; to look at social forums communities and network formations as platforms for envisioning and enacting alternative globalisations, and the substance of the visions of these alternative globalisations.

I quickly found out that understanding both the WSF process and literature on alternative futures of globalisation was not going to be so easy. On the one hand I found that the actors, organisations and people that come to social forums embodied great diversity, in their histories, organisation, practices of enacting change, ideological orientations and their visions for ‘another world’. The discourses at the academic level for making sense of the WSF process and articulating alternative globalisations were equally diverse. Trying to define the WSF process through only one perspective would not do justice to the richness that it represents, as the actors within the process itself articulate what they do through a variety of perspectives. I found that I

needed to honour the various ways of knowing which concern themselves with understanding the WSF process, as well how they articulate a 'different' globalisation, and I thus began to map these. I came to see that the composition of the WSF process, and the body of literature on alternative globalisation as a whole was typified by complexity, in the sense of holding or containing immense diversity within common physical and conceptual space, and I began to inquire into the nature of this complexity.

In the tradition of action research my methodological approach to the investigation was to be an engaged participant in the process. This entailed both participating-organising in several WSFs, as well as the Melbourne Social Forum, and a number of other projects connected to the WSF as a process. This fieldwork was a process of immersion into different types of activism and community development work aimed at both sustaining and enabling networks, groups and organisations that work to create change. What I hoped to learn was how people in various communities who want to or who must grapple with 'global' challenges can participate in the transformation of our world, how popular participation extends agency into planetary issues and concerns. I aimed to understand how we might create a democratic and participatory planetary governance, so that global issues are not just the preserve of power and privilege, but the 'unqualified', the local and marginal find empowerment in this new 'planetary' complex of issues.

I entered this thesis to look at how the WSF could provide some answers to these concerns. I wanted to know what enabled popular empowerment and action for people addressing the global issues that impact on their locales, and hoped the forum process would give me some answers as well as the practices and strategies for enacting change. I wanted to understand what agency means for ordinary people in grappling with the complex and often overwhelming challenges they / we face, and the visions for transformation that emerge through people in it.

My journey of discovery has been both challenging and rewarding, and I invite you to join this exploration with me. I would be honoured if you would accept.

Jose Ramos

Melbourne May 1<sup>st</sup> 2010

# Chapter One: The World Social Forum Process and Alternative Globalisation Movement

## 1.0 Introduction

In this thesis I examine two simultaneous formations, interlinked, which constitute a grassroots yet global response to planetary crisis: the World Social Forum Process (WSF(P)) and the development of an Alternative Globalisation Movement (AGM). Together they constitute both a ‘discourse of discourses’, from the academy and many other sources of knowledge, as well as a grassroots to institutional ‘movement of movements’ response.

The methodology I have chosen is action research, in which I have been actively engaged with and between actors, in their multiplicity (individuals, organisations, networks, etc), in the process and struggle to enact change. (I discuss my methodological journey in chapter three of this report). This has provided a window into a variety of projects and processes within both the overlapping constellations of the WSF(P) and AGM, and into what it means for ordinary people to respond to global challenges. Within this, I document my own journey, the journey of groups and organisations I have worked with, and larger processes and events beyond my immediate relations.

## 1.1 Scope and Focus of the Research

This research focused on the exploration of alternative futures of globalisation through the World Social Forum Process (WSF(P)). Taking as a basis the underlying problems associated with *status quo* globalisation identified by a wide consensus within the academic community (Applebaum, 2005; Held, 2000b), I decided to focus on the visions, or movements toward alternative globalisation that are considered viable and preferable. In addition, I wanted to focus on popular empowerment in constituting such alternative futures, and thus wanted to address the question of human agency.

The WSF, through its call ‘Another World is Possible’, brings together thousands of groups and millions of people committed to creating alternatives to neo-liberalism or ‘hegemonic

globalisation' (Santos, 2006, p. 6). Thus the WSF became the object of study, within the larger inquiry of the grassroots development of alternative futures of globalisation. Yet over time the WSF as an object of study became more problematic, as it more and more morphed into a number of (sub)processes between gatherings (events), as opposed to discreet events that seemingly contain a process (such as open space). Finally, I modified the focus of the study from an 'object of study' to a 'process', reconceived as the 'WSF as Process', or WSF(P), and as an aspect of an Alternative Globalisation Movement (AGM), the latter which can be understood as the 'telos' or direction of the WSF(P), a much broader if not messier conception, yet more accurately reflecting my experience in the field as well as that of others (Santos, 2006, pp. 46-84, 99). In the next section I discuss how the WSF(P) and the AGM interrelate.

Some of the questions that have guided this study have concerned: 1) how the WSF(P) operates (organisational process and dynamics) in respect to enabling social change (see chapter four and five), 2) the strategies, dynamics and processes by which individuals and collectivities through the WSF(P) work to create desired social changes (chapters three, four and five), and 3) the alternative futures of globalisation articulated and / or embodied through the WSF(P) (chapters two, three, four, five and six).

### *1.1.1 The World Social Forum*

While groups had been laying the groundwork for it for almost a decade, the WSF as an event began in January 2001, held in Porto Alegre, Brazil. In the tradition of counter-summits, it was a forum counter-positioned to the Davos World Economic Forum (WEF). It was held at the same time of year, but contrasted sharply with the WEF. Whereas at the WEF the global business elite came together to discuss how to further their corporate interests, the WSF was articulated as a place for those contesting corporate (neo-liberal) globalisation, as well as articulating and building alternatives to it, to come together. In response to the articulated inevitability of a neo-liberal future proclaimed by the pundits of corporate globalisation (Friedman, 1999; Fukuyama, 1989), the WSF's slogan became 'Another World is Possible'. (For more on counter-summits see chapter four).

By establishing an 'open space' methodology, in which those groups interested in holding a workshop at the WSF could do so, and anyone with an interest could attend, forums swelled with participants. The WSF began to bring together an ever-widening diversity of groups, from social

movements, to INGOs, to networks, across a wide variety of themes. In response to the popularity of the forum, whose attendance seemingly grew exponentially, from 10,000 in 2001, to 50,000 in 2002, to 100,000 in 2003, a WSF charter emerged to give vision and clarity to what the forum aimed to be and to achieve (see the WSF Charter of Principles in Appendix A). WSFs have continued to grow in numbers and diversity. The last WSF was held in the Amazonian region in the city of Belem, Brazil, bringing together over 130,000 people and an estimated 20,000 Amazonian tribes people that spoke in defence of their native forests.

The WSF's self articulation through the charter was part of the larger development of a WSF process (WSF(P)). The process aspect of the WSF can be understood as: 1) how the event process has globalised to various regions, 2) how the WSF methodology has evolved, 3) the emergence of hundreds of local / regional forums, 4) the WSF's evolving systems of governance and decision making, 5) how the WSF has converged with other actors and processes for local to global change, and finally, the processes by which social forums facilitate relationships and collaborations between a myriad of diverse actors. (See chapter four for discussion of 'forum as process').

The WSF(P) is thus where popular empowerment, and the popular project(s) for global social change were investigated. The WSF(P) has embodied a grassroots-to-global response to emerging challenges faced by communities around the world. It is where people at the receiving end of global problems, or those advocating for the marginal or voiceless, have gathered and voiced their concerns, articulated alternative visions, and formulated strategies to achieve these visions. It has been a platform for communities, organisations, and social movements to come together to form shared agendas for change. It is where I have researched and studied the processes of peoples and communities empowering themselves and exercising their agency in addressing the planetary challenges they (and we) face.

### *1.1.2 Alternative Globalisation*

'Alternative globalisation' is an umbrella term for what is still an emerging category of inquiry and action. It describes both *Alternative Globalisation Discourses* as well as an emerging *Alternative Globalisation Movement (AGM)* (which is the network and constellation of actors actively contesting and re-shaping globalisation). As discourses AG manifests as articulations and discourse formations that stem from the sphere of culture (media, academy, discussed in chapter

two and four) and as a movement AG manifests as actions, projects and social innovations that carry the intention of ‘world changing’ (which in French is literally the term used for this movement - *alter-mondialiste*, discussed in chapter four).

I therefore use ‘alternative globalisation’ as an umbrella term which incorporates many actors, discourses and processes, of world-changing / *altermondialiste* intent, of which the WSF(P) is a subset. It includes the development of a broad set of discourses calling for ‘another’, ‘different’ and ‘alternative’ globalisation, as well as the on the ground processes of people enacting social change. The term is ‘meta’ discursive, a way to enfold a diversity of actors and their discourses into a totality. This totality, however charted, measured, explored and imagined, is still developing. The multiplicity of actors and complexity of processes that are part of the WSF(P) challenge a narrow view of what an AGM is.

### 1.1.3 Alter-globalisation Movement (AGM)

The WSF and the AGM should be seen in their contexts, part of a broader dynamic and co-creative process or dialectic, (explored in depth in chapter four).

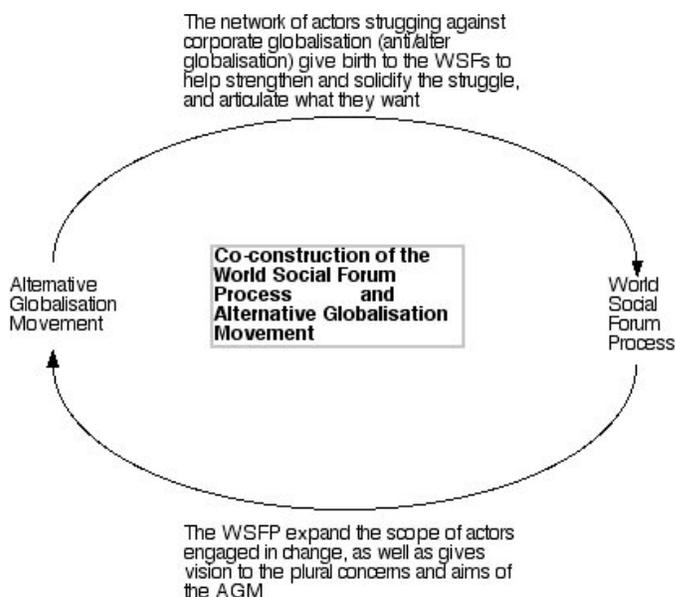


Figure 1.1: Co-construction of AGM and WSF(P)

As seen in figure 1.1, the World Social Forum process and the movement for another / alternative globalisation are co-constructions. One can only be fully understood in terms of the other; the dialectic between the two is formative. On the one hand, the WSF emerged from various ‘sub-movements’ within the anti-globalisation movement, some of which had their origins in the new social movements of the 70’s and 80’s, (including movements for environmental, feminist, disability rights, sexual rights, international solidarity / human rights campaigns) and the Zapatista struggle and development of groups such as People Global Action (PGA) (Gautney, 2010); others were based on post-colonial movements, against Western led development projects and older leftist struggles. Yet, on the other hand, the WSF as a process has facilitated the movement’s transition from critique (as anti-globalisation) to alternative (as ‘alternative globalisation’), by bringing together a new depth and breadth of actors calling for another and different globalisation. This rich and diverse convergence of actors working for a different globalisation has expanded and re-defined the parameters of what the AGM is against, as well as what it struggles for. The WSF(P) is therefore frame-breaking in terms of understanding what such a global ‘movement’ is, and what it stands for. The size and diversity of actors through the WSF(P) challenge us to widen our view of what AG means and how it works.

As well, the WSF(P) is not the only world-changing and globalisation-challenging process or effort, and thus can be looked at as part of a wider AG ‘constellation’ or process. By acknowledging the diversity within the WSF(P), as well as the diversity of thinking and other projects for global social change, we come to a fuller appreciation of what AG means today. The WSF(P) can be seen as a sub-process within an emerging ‘cosmocracy’ (Keane, 2005, pp. 34-51), the interlocking set of actor-agents that work on, build, contest and shape the discursive and practical spaces and places of the global.

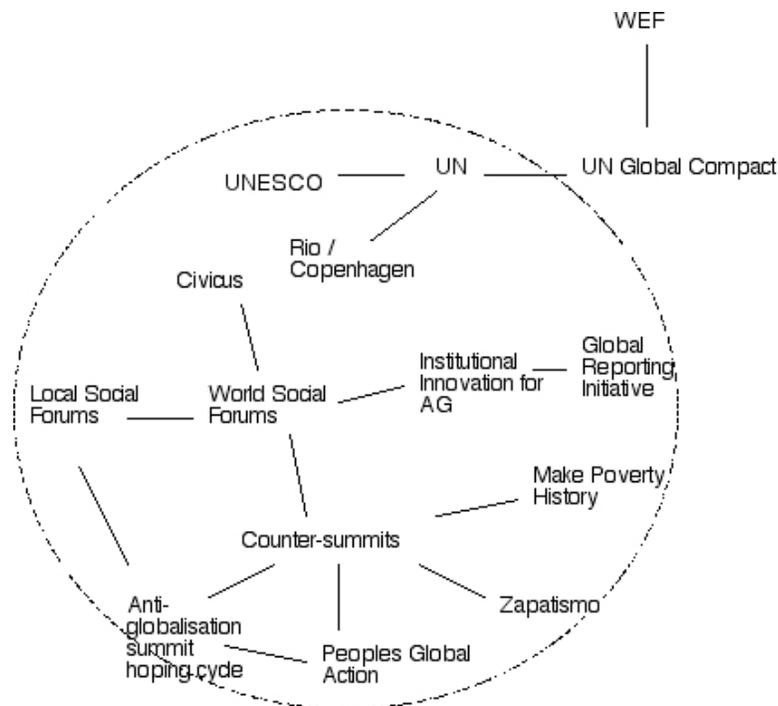


Figure 1.2: Alternative Globalisation as Constellation of Actors and Networks

As seen in figure 1.2, the WSF(P) and associated actors can be seen as part of a broader AGM. Such efforts and processes related to and overlapping with the WSF(P) include: the protest cycle (Seattle, Genoa, Melbourne, Hong Kong), networks (such as Peoples Global Action), alliances/coalitions (such as Civicus and Make Poverty History), UN sponsored events and processes (Rio '92 to Copenhagen '09), as well as projects like the Global Reporting Initiative, all which can be considered to be efforts at world-altering / *altermondialiste*.

#### 1.1.4 Discourses for Another Globalisation

Besides those groups and organisations which are engaged in altering globalisation, a number of very important discourses have both prefigured the AGM, or have emerged along side it. In this sense those who have critiqued globalisation, and articulated some kind of alternative to what ever 'it' is, can be said to be within the development of an Alternative Globalisation Discourse (AGD). As can be inferred, articulations for alternative globalisation have preceded the actual term itself, as critiques of globalisation and formulations of alternatives go well into history (Galtung, 1971; Hughes, 1985; Wallerstein, 1983). As well, normative 'utopian' and 'futures' conceptions for the world as a totality have preceded both discourses on globalisation and discourses for alternatives to it (Hollis, 1998; Hughes, 1985; Jungk, 1969; Kumar, 1987; Manuel,

1979; Marcuse, 1970). Recent literature, however, is more explicit in articulating alternative globalisations from a number of perspectives, detailed in chapter two, where I discuss the alternative globalisation discourses that emerge from the WSF(P) in this study. These emerging / evolving discourses are more specific in indicating globalisation as the primary ontological and discursive space of contestation at the moment; they are contemporary manifestations of a perennial struggle for emancipation (as discussed by Holland (2006)). They lead us into a complex space of inquiry, as different theorists articulate different visions of ‘it’ as a totality from their respective epistemological dispositions. This diversity of discourses on AG helps to construct this emerging ‘meta’ domain of inquiry.

In this thesis, I use the metaphor of the ‘prism’ to explain this; a prism is an element able to refract light into its basic elements, revealing the spectrum within the most basic of phenomenon. Here, ‘prismatic’ refers to the characteristic of underlying diversity within apparent unity. The first challenge we are posed with is that alternative globalisation processes (both as movements and discourses) are prismatic in their organisational composition. While the underlying diversity to a movement/discourse/process is not a new phenomenon, and commentators remarked very early on over the alliance between ‘Teamsters and Turtles’ during the Battle of Seattle (Kaldor, 2000), and later through the Porto Alegre WSFs, I understand Alternative Globalisation, and the WSF(P) as a platform for AG, to be *fundamentally* prismatic in its composition. Therefore, there is no one discourse or perspective that can be offered to explain either AG or the WSF(P). I thus begin chapter two by examining nine important discourses for Alternative Globalisation.

I examine the WSF as a process and platform for alternative globalisation as an example of popular empowerment, what some describe as ‘globalization from below’ (Falk, 2004; Kaldor, 2000, p. 105). As to the direction and visions for such popular change, I use the distinction of ‘alternative futures of globalisation’ as a window into its futures, both as they are expressed through these discourses and as they are embodied in projects and practices (as projects and movements). The WSF(P) has helped to expand the vision and give clarity to the popular projects for empowerment and change. Through the WSF(P) we can begin to trace the expansion of an AGM, and visions for ‘Another Possible World’. And through this, we can speculate about alternative *futures* of globalisation that are embedded within this field of social processes.

## 1.2 Theoretical Challenges and Strategies

The conceptual challenges in conceiving of, and discussing both the WSF(P) and an emerging AGM are considerable. In the process of researching this subject, I have encountered a number of theoretical challenges. I deal with many of these challenges by drawing on various perspectives of a socio-ecological nature.

### *1.2.1 Mapping Territories: the WSF(P) as Inter-Organisational Domains and Counter-Publics*

The first challenge deals with how we conceive of various discourses and perspectives to explain how an AGM and the WSF(P) interrelate as a totality. From within the WSF(P), a diversity of groups and participants hold different views which both explain the WSF(P) and AG differently. Participants not only speak different languages in the literal sense, but as well they often speak conceptually and theoretically different languages. Secondly, a related problem is how, or whether, we can conceive of an overall movement for another globalisation, when the WSF(P) itself is characterised by such extreme diversity, with participants numbering in the millions and with tens of thousands of organisations, most with little or no opportunity to form relationships with the rest, and under no single formal organisational banner (such as a party membership based association). This is further compounded by the ambiguity of the term global civil society (GCS), and the way the WSF Charter (and various discourses) locate the social forum process as a gathering of GCS.<sup>3</sup> In its widest articulation, GCS can include right wing groups and alliances, sporting clubs, and knitting circles. (This issue is addressed in chapter two, section two.)

The way this is dealt with in this thesis is through developing an approach that conceives the WSF(P) as related to non-neutral inter-actional ‘domains’ or ‘publics’. In the language of Trist we are dealing with ‘inter-organisational domains’, which emerge to deal with ‘meta-problems’ that single organisations cannot handle alone. He argued: ‘Inter-organizational domains are functional social systems that occupy a position in social space between the society as a whole and the single organization’ (Trist, 1979, p. 2). These inter-organisational domains form the community / field that comprise social forums. Domains on one hand create social forums as semi- ‘referent organisations’ that further the shared interests of the inter-organisational domain,

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<sup>3</sup> The WSF Charter of principles specifies in point 5: ‘The World Social Forum brings together and interlinks only organizations and movements of civil society from all the countries in the world, but it does not intend to be a body representing world civil society.’

and on the other, once a ‘referent organisation’ as forum has been created, it expands the scope of actors and networks in the domain, widening it. Each one of the diverse forums that have been held in over 100 cities around the world represents the manifestation of an inter-organisational domain specific to that geo-graphic region, while sharing in the development of a planetary domain expressed through the WSF(P) as a totality.

Following the work of Weber, I use the term ‘counter public sphere’ to avoid the notion that forums exist as neutral spaces for a gathering of civil society. They must be specified as politically charged spaces in which groups come together to address common interests for transformational change (Weber, 2005). The WSF(P)-AGM complex can be described as a variegated yet emerging counter public sphere of planetary scope and scale (Juris, 2004; Reitan, 2006; Santos, 2006; Smith, 2008). This is in contrast to references to (global) civil society, which as seen in the next chapter, is employed by a variety of discourses and which carry numerous meanings, (see chapter two, part one).

Social forums are described in this thesis as event processes which provided a basis for existing associational networks to come together to form better relationships, understandings and collaborations toward enhanced mutual efficacy. I argue, at the most fundamental level these emerging ‘counter-public spheres’ represent ‘social ecologies of alternatives’ (SEAs) comprised of diverse organisational forms and perspectives, where actors find strength, meaning and solidarity through relating and building bridges across differences, and potentially collaborating. Forums do not mysteriously create the basis for such social ecologies, but rather facilitate / support their development into stronger relational and collaborative systems, processes and domains / publics. The common thread that brings actors and organisations into forums spaces is the desire to inter-relate among those articulating and developing ways of being, thinking and practicing that run counter to dominant modes of existence. By extension, forums are a direct challenge to the cultural, political and economic fabric of the *status quo*. Far from a neutral civil society, the socio-ecological domains which forums make visible are brought together through their contestation and challenge of dominant publics, and can thus be understood as counter-publics. (Discussed in chapter two, section two).

### *1.2.2 Mapping Ecologies: Analytic Strategies for the Challenge of Diversity*

The second major theoretical challenge presents itself in an inverse relationship to the first, in the

diversity of actors within the WSF(P)-AGM. Attempts (such as this one) to visualise, map, frame or stabilise the WSF(P)-AGM as a totality, need to be problematised and tempered by a socio-ecological appreciation for the diversity, complexity (and contradictions) that exist among actors.

For example, understanding what agency means within the WSF(P) is not strait forward, as social forums have pronounced themselves as platforms for world changing / *altermondialiste*, yet have equally disowned the role of the vanguard, and declined a representative (peak body) function, deferring such responsibility to forum participants and organisations. We are faced with the question of how the immense variety of forum participants create change, inside and outside of forums, and what agency means for an AGM generally, given its size and diversity.

Secondly is the interrelated nature of structure and geography. While the WSF(P) has articulated itself as a privileged space for GCS, standing apart from capital and the state, it not only has implicated itself in specific forms of capital and state support (Bramble, 2006 p. 289; Gautney, 2010), but in addition to this actors within the WSF(P) use available structures of power to transform dominant cultural, political and economic (and other) structures. In addition to this is the ‘planetary’ geography of forums, which exist in a variety of geo-graphic contexts. This begs analysis of the uneven yet planetary ‘geo-structural’ dimensions of the forum process, and its implication into diverse structures.

Thirdly the challenge of diversity concerns how different actors within the WSF(P) conceive of the stories of their struggles differently, not necessarily locating it in relation to neo-liberalism, many narratives reach far deeper in time, and employ alternative themes to articulate a meaningful story of their struggles. This as well relates to the heterogeneous definitions and periodisations of globalisation within established alter-globalisation discourses. ‘World-changing’ means quite different things depending on either the discourse and the actors. While this thesis does not extensively use macro-history, how the current era (as globalisation or other) is rendered in historical terms is foundational to an understanding of AG.

Finally, the challenge of diversity includes understanding what futures means, in a WSF(P) that disowns the teleology of (end of history) developmentalism and monologic of a singular future. The sheer volume of voices and the complexity in the convergence of proposals, visions and alternatives makes understanding this challenging.

To construct a way in which to conceptually hold together this diverse complexity within the WSF(P), and address the above concerns, I develop an analytic approach in chapter two, part three that then runs through the thesis. To use another metaphor, the analytic approach I develop is a type of ‘vessel’, to contain the ‘prismatic’ diversity of perspectives and processes which the WSF(P) embodies, as well as analytically move through various aspects of this diversity in this investigation. This ‘vessel’ is a framework that allows for an investigation of key dimensions of both discourses for alternative futures of globalisation, my account of the WSF process, and the accounts that emerged in the fieldwork I have been engaged in.

### **1.3 Summary of Chapters**

In the next chapter I offer some of conceptual foundations for understanding this area of inquiry. I begin by looking at discourses for alternative globalisation. To begin to understand the WSF(P)-AGM complex, we must begin with the discourses that help frame the debate. I thus look at nine models for AG. I then develop a constructivist understanding of embodied cognition and the WSF(P) epistemology, which shows the way in the WSF(P) expresses its positions in relation to neo-liberal globalisation. I further develop the idea of the WSF(P) as domain development, in particular as counter public sphere. I develop the explanatory and analytic framework used throughout this thesis, based on five interrelated windows that address socio-ecological dimensions of the study. These five dimensions are: of cognitions (knowledge systems and epistemic considerations), of actors (and their expressions of agency), of geo-structures (the structural coupling of geography with political-economy-culture), of histories (‘ontogenies’ / histories of becoming), and of futures (aims, visions, teleologies, and prefigurations).

In chapter three, I discuss the methodology I have used in this research project. I begin by explaining the disciplinary domains the research has drawn from: Critical Futures Studies, Critical Globalisation Studies and Community Development, and the trans-disciplinary basis of the inquiry. I provide some epistemological grounding interests in scholar activism. I explain the initial design of the research, which was instrumental in identifying and developing ‘Alternative Globalisation’ as a key discursive domain. I go on to explain my approach to field research, informed broadly from the Action Research tradition. I discuss the approach and process I have used in documenting the field research, forming textual accounts. Finally I discuss the various groups I have worked with and the accounts themselves.

In the fourth chapter I set the historical context for the thesis. I trace the historical origins of the WSF(P) by looking at the key factors that led to its development, the hegemonic context of neo-liberal globalisation which the WSF was an initial response to, and the history and social processes of the actors that form much of the initial tapestry of the WSF. I then examine the processes by which the WSF was invented, including what it was intended to do, and its birthing experience. Next, I explore the processes of innovating a WSF, including factors that have led to its success, and ways that it has been modified and transformed by stakeholders, constituents and participants. Through this I describe the emergence of a WSF as process – the ‘WSF(P)’.

Chapter five of the thesis analyses the projects and processes I’ve been part of. The analytic framework developed in chapter two is used to shed light on dimensions of the accounts: 1) the agency of actors, 2) their cognising processes, 3) the histories that they embody, 4) the futures they struggle for and represent, and 5) the geo-structures they are implicated in. I analyse each account and correlate across the accounts looking for patterns and insights. Using this framework I analyse five accounts: the Melbourne Social Forum, Plug in TV, Oases, Community Collaborations and the G20 Convergence.

In chapter six I return to my original concerns. I ask, what are the possible futures for a WSF(P) and what implications does this have for the AGM? I develop four scenarios that help to integrate and synthesise many of the questions, tensions, concerns and issues that run through this thesis. These scenarios and the concluding discussion aim to contribute to a broader understanding of themes that emerge in the thesis.

## **Chapter Two: A Theoretical Framework for Social Complexity in the Alternative Globalisation Movement**

In the last chapter, I introduced the idea that the WSF(P) and AGM have co-evolved, and while the WSF(P) is a subset of the AGM, and many other processes exist that can also be considered world-changing / *altermondialiste*, the WSF(P) has in particular transformed our vision and understanding of the scope and constitution of this AGM. In this chapter, I first identify and analyse the discourses which provide the ideational direction for another globalisation. I then build upon this by developing an understanding of the relational domains within which the AGM-WSF(P) co-construct makes better sense.

Before I begin to explain the core theory and frameworks for this thesis, however, I need to offer a caveat in respect to the process by which chapter two came to be in the first place. Positivist approaches to research often posit the need to, up front, put forward a hypothesis that explains the phenomenon under study. Theory is positioned before fieldwork, and fieldwork is then supposed to test, verify, modify or falsify it. This thesis, as an Action Research study, departs from this research ‘convention’ or ‘orthodoxy’, because fieldwork and theory generation / hypothesising walked hand in hand throughout the project. Moreover, many of the theories used were not exogenous to the phenomenon (theories from without the WSF(P) explaining it), but rather endogenous to the phenomenon (theories generated by those within the WSF(P) explaining it and themselves).

Literature review, theory generation and fieldwork have been synchronic processes. Through this I have moved through multiple iterations in my attempts to understand and explain the WSF(P), and therefore theory is somewhat layered. Thus, while this chapter positions theory up front, this is not the result of a traditional literature review, but rather the tail end of a long iterative process of attempting to understand and explain the WSF(P) and AGM. This theoretical framework could just as well have been positioned at the end of the thesis as the results of the fieldwork. As ‘organic theory’, connected to my ongoing experience, observations and attempts to explain this experience over the course of the project, there will be ‘echoes’ in various parts of this chapter that were generated at different points for various purposes. In an attempt to bring various layers of theory together and integrate them into a more coherent body, I have brought them together

here.

Part one of this chapter presents nine discourses for alternative globalisation. These discourses were uncovered during the course of the project, from the very beginning to the very end, and can be considered, from a certain perspective, an aspect of the ‘findings’ of the research. They are presented in this chapter, however, to allow a sharper view of how AG is theoretically conceived, and which allows us to use them to shed light on other aspects of the thesis. These include: 1) Post-Development, 2) Reform Liberalism, 3) Cosmopolitanism, 4) Neo-Marxism 5) (Re)localisation, 6) Networked Globalism, 7) Engaged Ecumenism, 8) En-Gendered Globalisation and 9) Co-Evolution.<sup>4</sup>

In part two of this chapter, I develop the foundations for how we might understand the WSF(P) as an embodied associational formation. I introduce the epistemological and ontological foundations of this theoretical framework, drawing on the theory of ‘embodied cognition’, and linking this to the Gramscian terminology of hegemony and counter hegemony. I draw an outline for how the inter-organisational domain(s) of the WSF(P) contribute to and re-constitute an AGM as ‘counter-public’. I go on to discuss the tensions it holds between the drive toward communion or unity and drive toward diversity and autonomy. I follow this with an explanation of how this dynamic process forms the ‘engine’ in the production of what I term ‘meta-formations’.

In part three of this chapter, I explore the socio-ecological characteristics of the WSF(P)-AGM, examining aspects of its great complexity and diversity, and exploring five key dimensions of it: *cognitions, agencies, structures, histories, and futures*. This lays the groundwork for an analysis of the WSF(P) (chapter four) and analysis of the accounts from the fieldwork (chapter five).

## **2.1 Discourses for Alternative Globalisation**

In the research I have conducted within the WSF(P), nine discourses or traditions stand out and have been identified which extensively argue and / or articulate alternative globalisation futures. This is not to assume that other categories or distinctions are not possible, one could develop

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<sup>4</sup> Discourses are presented as ideal type models derived from ‘patterns’ and used to develop the conceptual language for alternative globalisation. They are not reflective of the complexity of the thinking among the authors that may contribute to them. While I cite certain authors as particular expressions of these models, the work of authors is far more nuanced than what is rendered here.

alternatives, and different taxonomies. The purpose here, however, was to draw out general features and patterns which have emerged through my study of the WSF(P), which will then provide the opportunity to correspond with the field research, linking theory with practice.

### *Toward Normative Futures of Globalisation*

When I first began to identify discourses and literature for alternative globalisation, I relied on a number of authors, who conceptualise globalisation in starkly different terms, with no single 'taxonomy'. Held and McGrew's discussion on 'globalists' and 'sceptics' was important in identifying some key features in this study. Globalists are those who believe that globalisation is real and that it represents a significant shift into a new era (Held, 2000b, pp. 1-45). This opened up a pluralist view of AG as:

*The globalist analysis gives equal status to other dimensions of social activity....a differentiated or multi-dimensional conception of globalisation reflects a Weberian and/or post-Marxist and post-structuralist understanding of social reality as constituted by a number of distinct institutional orders or networks of power. (Held, 2000b, p. 6)*

The globalist view also supported the development of a 'prismatic' lens, as globalisation processes unfold through 'different tempos, with distinctive geographies, in different domains', and acknowledges 'the particular spatial attributes of globalisation' through different processes. In addition to their commitment to exploring normative futures for globalisation, which is central to this study, they also argue for a socio-historical analysis of global change, locating contemporary issues within a *longue duree*, long term change and 'world historical development', which is also central to this study (Held, 2000b, p. 6).

As I moved deeper into the literature, I began to develop an appreciation for how different discourses frame globalisation and AG depending on the academic traditions from which they come. Baylis and Smith, from an international studies / relations perspective, give a rather conservative overview of the literature, dividing conceptions of globalisation into three schools: the Realist, Liberalist and (marginally) World Systems perspectives (Baylis, 1997). In Sklair's account of schools of globalisation, he describes four approaches to globalisation research, World Systems Theory, global culture, global polity and society, and global capitalism (Sklair, 2002).

While Sklair's account overlaps with Baylis and Smith's in the mutual inclusion of the world systems perspective, there is a stark contrast in the differing 'taxonomy' of globalisation as research and knowledge traditions. Scholte offers a three-part conception of orientations toward globalisation: neo-liberalism, reformism and radicalism (Scholte, 2000, pp. 284-285), however what is left out of this framework is the qualitative nuance in various discourses. Mittelman, on the other hand, argues there are four ideological positions in globalisation discourses: centrist neo-liberalism, reform neo-liberalism, historical materialist transformism, and development transformism (Mittelman, 2004b, pp. 50-55).

While these authors helped to orient this study, I have been focused on identifying AG through the WSF(P), and this has meant that fieldwork was as much part of discourse identification as was literature review. Over the course of this research I have pieced together those discourses for alternative globalisation that have emerged from my study of the WSF(P) - nine discourses for AG. This approach follows in the footsteps of Critical Globalisation Studies (CGS), a multifaceted dialogue and critique of discourses and processes of globalisation (explained in more detail in chapter four) (Applebaum, 2005; Mittelman, 2004b, p. 40; Robinson, 2005b). As explained by Mittelman, CGS can include: 'professional and lay theorists, intellectuals who prefer the contemplative life and scholar-activists alike... not wedded to any single worldview. There is no universal agreement on how the critical conception should be understood or what characterizes it' (Mittelman, 2004a, p. 219).

	Agency	Structure	History	Future	Cognition
Localisation	Behavioural change, new practices and projects; community action	Ecosystems / bio regions / communities / commons; diversity (economic, cultural, ecological)	De localised life through industrial revolution and globalising markets	Re-localised and autonomous communities; post growth society; loss of diversity; equitable society; precautionary	Deep ecology / systems; sustainable communities; indigenous knowledges
Neo-Marxism	Class for itself; counter hegemonic block with help of organic intellectuals	Productive forces (exploited by Transnational capitalism)	Stages of capitalist expansion; Development from 'class in itself' to 'class for itself'	socialism; universal human rights; worker democracy, democratised institutions	Empiricism, critical history; organic intellectuals vs false consciousness
Cosmopolitanism	Interacting institutions State, NGO, business, etc and communities	(inter) state power / law civil society	Westphalian dead end, development of the state and indiv. rights	Cosmopolitics; Democratic human community; global governance for planetary problems	Kantian Cosmo-centric academic
Post-Development	Autonomous innovation through community development	Geo-political influence Community development / empowerment	Colonialism and conquest to self determination and internal development	Post colonial; End of poverty; universal literacy; Broad development; community, spiritual; health	Critical, post colonial ; epistemology of global south (de Sousa Santos)
Reform Liberalism	The innovation of individuals; Policy mechanisms to support poor; Aid; reform of institutions	Economy Civil society Body politic Empire (Falk)	From servitude to economic and political freedom; development of markets and economic systems	High level science, technology and innovation to solve problems; surpluses re-distributed as mitigation of problems; MDGs	Economism Liberal realism Social democratic
Global Networks	Self organising diverse resistance P2P production Action ecologies	ICT, CMC, global networks, internet, relational web, noosphere	From Fordism to post Fordism; Material to immaterial production;	Exodus or flight from capitalism; creation of autonomous prosumer worlds; free culture; common knowledge regimes	Deleuzian Complexity theory and systems
Engaged ecumenism	Satyagraha and non violent direct action	Transcendent spiritual reality Moral community	Scriptural Metaphorical and allegorical Apostolic	Unity of the family of humankind Eschatological	Hermeneutic Critical Perennial Narratives
(En)gendered globalisation	Savings, building webs of solidarity, local alternatives, contesting hegemonic visions	Gendered, structural violence, exploitation of surplus (re)productive value	Patriarchy, gendered global system,	Partnership society, transcending survival of the present	Gendered, embodied, standpoint theory, historically situated
Co-evolution	Design, technology, consciousness	Gaia, species, cosmos	Evolutionary	Co-evolution to inter-species sustainability	Geo, Bio, and Anthro-logical / Evolutionary Sciences

Table 2.1: Overview of Alternative Globalisation Discourses

An overview of the nine discourses is offered in table 2.1. I first examine post-colonial development alternatives, which have challenged the Western development model, revealing it to be an expression of geo-political power, and which argue for endogenously formed development alternatives. Second I examine ‘reform liberalism’, the most conservative of the alternatives, which puts forward a reform agenda in terms of the global economy, but does not challenge its underlying structures. Third, I look at ‘cosmopolitanism’, a discourse concerned with the development of global civil society, which puts forth a universal moral agenda based on global democratic rights and responsibilities. Fourth, I examine neo-Marxist literature and proposals, which offer succinct analyse of the ideological and structural dimensions of wealth, power and class polarisation, and offer socialist globalisation as an alternative. Fifth I examine localisation, a more recent development, which aims to rebalance political power, economic production, and cultural priorities from the global to the local. Sixth I look at engaged ecumenism / spiritual activism as a key dimension of alternative globalisation, as it is articulated by progressive religious orders from around the world. Seventh, I look at networked globalism, which features networked and peer-to-peer production / collaboration as a key alternative. I conclude this chapter with a discourse I term ‘Co-evolution’ that draws from futures studies, and the evolutionary sciences of anthropology, biology and geology.

### *2.1.1 Post (or Alternative) Development*

Practices of colonialism were supported by theories of economic development first developed by Smith (Campbell, 1997, pp. 41-43), later buttressed by an ideology of white superiority, supported by pseudo-scientific theories of racisms (Inayatullah, 1997a, pp. 68-75), and resting on ‘Rise of the West’ assumptions that would later be turned into ‘development’ models (Marks, 2002, pp. 1-20, 150). A common assumption here presupposed the West helping otherwise backward nations and peoples to advance, ideas reinforced by 19th century social theorists (Campbell, 1997; Inayatullah, 1997a). Such ideas drew strength from the idea of ‘progress’, for example August Comte’s idea of the march of knowledge, and later notions of material and economic progress (Scharmer, 1997). These ideas were further underpinned by a worldview which saw the non-Christian world living in sin - the West’s role to save the savages from themselves (Sardar, 1993). Nandy calls this the ‘social-evolutionist model’ in which:

*Africa, Latin America and Asia, they are supposed to be societies on a particular trajectory of history ... they are all supposed to be trying to be in the future what*

*Europe and North America are today. So, in that sense, technically there are no options open to them in the future. They are today what Europe was in the past; tomorrow they will be what Europe is today (Ramos, 2005b).*

As a challenge to this, the post development discourse subverts the historical view that the West has progressed through stages into the most advanced form of civilisation. For much of the world (India, China, Indonesia, etc), colonialism ended relatively recently and the collective memory of the colonial experience is that of being ‘de-developed’ and economically exploited by the West (Marks, 2002; Sardar, 1993; Zinn, 2003). Historians like Marks turn this ‘Rise of the West’ conception of history on its head. For him the so-called ‘rise of the West’ is better understood as conquest, theft and genocide on a grand scale, which allowed the West to ‘de-develop’ the non West, gaining key advantages in trade, technology, and transport (Marks, 2002).

After colonialism, ex-colonial countries or *de facto* spheres of influence (such as Latin America under the ‘US backyard’ policy) attempted to develop economic autonomy from their ex-colonial masters, through dependency economics which advanced import substitution as a pathway toward economic development. Projects for Southern development emerged, such as the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) which articulated a New International Economic Order (NIEO), as well as the birth of the non-aligned movement (NAM). In this context, led by the US, the West offered ‘development’ assistance to the global South. However, this was often the economic carrot, and proxy war or assassination the political stick, that formed parts of a strategy of containment (of socialism) and the extension of influence (of liberalism and capitalism) (McChesney, 2004).

Factors in the post WWII period, under the shadow of the cold war, helped to rupture faith in a top down, Western led developmentalism. A ‘neo-colonialism’ became increasingly visible, with the US’s role in imposing a corporate-capitalist development, against other models, enforced through CIA initiated proxy wars, clandestine economic influence and political assassinations (Nelson-Pallmeyer, 2001). The US military-industrial complex as well became part of a proxy war system, in which so-called development aid was linked to military assistance to support favourable regimes (Galbraith, 1994, p. 180). Yet Western led development was not simply the application of an economic model, or just ‘containment’, but part of a strategy of domination. Military aid was entwined with a US military strategy of expansion to enforce economic interests

(Johnson, 2004, pp. 255-281). Aside from the great costs of military expenditure and aid, huge debts were incurred by Southern nations through development economics inspired projects. Perkins goes so far as to argue countries were deliberately encouraged to accumulate disproportionate debts that could not be paid, as a form of geo-political control and an extension of economic influence (Perkins, 2004). Overall development was increasingly seen as a way of prying open third world economies for the benefit of large multi national corporations (Newfarmer 1984, Radice 1975 in Boulet, 2007) as well as a form of cultural imperialism, the imposition of Western technocratic / capitalist values upon the rest of the world (Wolfgang Sachs 1992 in Boulet, 2007).

The unfolding of the Western development approach laid the foundations for many of the problems targeted in the alternative globalisation movement, such as the massive debt burden suffered by many poor nations (Lernoux 1982 in Boulet 2007; Millet, 2004), the lack of accountability by international institutions like the IMF and WB, and the green revolution, which would have cascading ecological impacts (Shiva, 2000a). Bello eloquently charts the history of the post WWII landscape in the struggle for the governance of the world economy, how the North (G7) and South (through the UN) struggled over decades for the institutional apparatus to set global economic policy, and the nature and direction of this development (Bello, 2004). The advent of neo-liberalism, (explored in chapter four), would deepen the crisis. For many countries the application structural adjustment programs (SAPs) would be a form of ‘de-development’ and re-colonisation (Bello, 1996). Many countries would transform their mixed economies into export oriented ones, wrecking havoc on agriculture and ecosystems (Shiva, 2000a), accumulate enormous debts that could not be easily repaid (Millet, 2004), and compromise their capacity for food security and sovereignty. While the ‘Asian Tigers’ and New Industrialised Countries (NICs) were used by development economists to show how they escaped from economic deprivation through hyper industrialisation, they were supported economically through this period by a US (in its struggle against communism), and used command economy models at odds with neo-liberal theory, and presided over large scale environmental destruction and social displacement (Goldsmith, 1996; Synott, 2004, pp. 167-172).

Alternative development thinkers see development as taking dynamic and plural forms. The Western development approach is seen as obsessively reductionist in its bias for economic growth, supporting the development of infrastructure (airports / roads), energy (dams), and trade. By contrast alternative development thinking opens up many areas to development: health,

community, peace, food security, ecological health, citizen participation / engagement, public space. Our fundamental 'being-ness' has many aspects to it, mutually considered when invoking development as a goal. Neef's distinctions in Human Scale Development are a good example, where he uses categories such as subsistence, protection, affection, understanding, participation, idleness, creation, identity, and freedom, to distinguish fundamental needs and satisfiers (Seabrook, 1993, pp. 186-192). He distinguishes between 'pseudo-satisfiers' like economic aggregates which purport to explain but cloud understanding of human needs, from 'single satisfiers' which offer instrumental solutions, to 'synergic satisfiers' which are considered fundamental to human wellbeing (Seabrook, 1993, p. 187). This does not completely deny the role of economic development, but rather qualifies it in a much broader view of what it means to 'develop'.

With respect to agency, in alternative development thinking social change is initiated from within communities, endogenously, or at least in equal collaboration with external agents. The history of power relations between the West and non-West (or between proxy developers / ruling elites and their peripheries) has meant that it has been the agency of the West that has won out in the model of development. In contrast to this, an alternative development approach emphasises the importance of the local stakeholders in any decision making process. Power differentials are fundamental to the question of who develops what, and how. Development projects need to emerge as part of human needs that a community identifies for itself as a worthy goal and aim, not by outsiders who claim a community 'lacks' one thing or another. Agency can also be understood in Freirian terms, as a process of conscientisation toward collective action (Freire, 1970; Freire, 1973). It is not conceived of in individual terms, as renegade innovation and the achievement of individual security and private attainment (as per the US inventor myth of Edison, Bell, etc). Broad and Cavanagh argue extensively that the alter-globalisation movement is fundamentally a movement about transforming development, characterised by a shift away from the power of the institutions of neo-liberalism, and toward grassroots and citizen agency, which:

*prioritize the fulfilment of people's basic social, economic, cultural and political rights. They measure progress in terms of the improved health and wellbeing of children, families, communities, democracy and the natural environment... [which] involves the redistribution of political power and wealth downward.*  
(Broad, 2009)

Alternative development problematises the cultural projections occurring through ‘development’, and seeks to open up alternative, Global South, and local visions of development. The epistemology of alternative development challenges the ‘diffusion model’, in which ‘scientific’ and ‘expert’ knowledge, created in universities and poly-technics, is then diffused into society (for example industrial agriculture), as embodied in modernisation theories such as that of Rogers (1995). The linking of expert science with technology with development, which is then exported / imposed from above on so-called ‘under-developed’ peoples is seen as a dangerous misuse of power as well as a mis-representation of reality. In respects, Participatory Action Research, an approach to research which makes primary the knowledge and experiences of those working to ‘develop’ themselves, embodies the epistemology of alternative development (Borda, 2002, p. 33). The expert from their university is no longer privileged with sole authority; rather it is the local participants, in their own inquiry into development in their terms, which becomes legitimate and authoritative knowledge. In this way a mono-cultural development is pluralised into many heterogenous development approaches.

Alternative development thinkers call for a new ethic to development. One important aspect of this is to shift from ‘development on’ to ‘development with’. For example, Goulet is concerned with a development ethics, looking at the means by which development is conducted, its manner and appropriateness, as opposed to an exclusive focus on the ends. By coupling a commitment to ethical reflection with development, a development which puts ‘human enrichment’ first could be achieved:

*The essential task of development ethics is to render development actions humane to assure that the painful changes launched under the banners of development do not produce anti-development, which destroys cultures and exacts undue sacrifices in individual suffering and societal well being, all in the name of profit, an absolutized ideology, or some alleged efficiency imperative. (Goulet, 1995, p. 27)*

Susan George argues, from a ‘critical development studies’ vantage point, an epistemological ethics, the imperative is to make explicit key assumptions and value positions, laying bare the underlying interests at work in development:

*I'm not competent to judge whether a truly detached, neutral stance can exist in mathematics, but I'm quite sure it can't in economics, sociology or political science. In the name of "neutrality" or "objectivity", one usually gets the pre-suppositions and the ideological framework of the reigning paradigm. In our case at the current moment, this will be the neo-liberal worldview...The responsibility of critical intellectuals is to make explicit these pre-suppositions and visible this ideological framework... (George, 2005, p. 6)*

A number of authors provided an understanding of the violence of cultural projections in the context of post-coloniality, and the power relationships that manifest through development theories (Nandy, 1992, 1999; Ramos, 2005b; Sardar, 1993). An important part of this is to see how superiority and inferiority play out through the imposition of the 'social evolutionist' model. Thus in the alternative development discourse many have called for 'decolonising the mind', to deal with how the psychological dynamics of colonialism, humiliation / humiliator and inferiority / superiority, can be addressed, or as Thiong'o argued:

*The effect of a cultural bomb is to annihilate a people's belief in their names, in their languages, in their environment, in their heritage of struggle, in their unity, in their capacities and ultimately in themselves. It makes them see their past as one wasteland of non-achievement... (Thiong'o, 1981)*

In this vein, Sardar writes that the 'future has been colonised', the image of the future as corporate globalisation and neo-liberalism has become so pervasive that, throughout the world, no other future is possible (Sardar, 1999b, p. 9). In challenging a monolithic development vision, he argues we must reject the teleological projections of Western development, and proponents and pioneers of development alternatives must articulate the possibility of many futures, and many experiments with development. It is possible for each and every country, and region, to follow distinctive paths of development that reflect a people's particular values and visions (Sardar, 2003, pp. 312-317). Escobar rearticulates this as a rejection of the abstraction of global policy, and appreciation for the living alternatives that already exist in their local manifestations.

*there are no grand alternatives that can be applied to all places or all situations...One must then resist the desire to formulate alternatives at an*

*abstract, macro level...the nature of alternatives...can be most fruitfully gleaned from the specific manifestations of such alternatives in concrete local settings.*  
(Escobar, 1995, pp. 222-223)

### 2.1.2 Reform Liberalism

In sharp contrast to the alternative development discourse, which seemed to have been swept aside by the onrush of 'globalisation', the highest profile advocates for an alternative globalisation do not seek comprehensive social change or transformation, but rather a reform of existing features of the neoliberal system, and can thus be considered 'reform liberals'. For Scholte reformism seeks modest change which shifts the emphasis from economic development to socially oriented public policies through sub state, state and supra state mechanisms (Scholte, 2000, pp. 284-285).

Mittelman distinguishes between centrist neo-liberalism and reform neo-liberalism. Centrist Neo-liberalism no longer advocates one model (such as the Washington Consensus) for each and every country. It also acknowledges that globalisation creates winners and losers, and marginalises some groups, and accepts a role for the state in the provision of services. However, like orthodox neo-liberalism, it still argues that economic integration produces greater prosperity overall (Mittelman, 2004b, p. 50).

Mittelman sees this as the current view of the World Bank. Reform neo-liberalism, represented for example through the work of Stiglitz, Sachs, Soros and Krugman, takes issue with centrist neo-liberalism and the institutions that convey these ideas, arguing that, overall, global economic integration does not automatically lead to prosperity (Krugman, 1996; Sachs, 2005; Soros, 1998 ; Stiglitz, 2002). These authors argue for a general need to reform global institutions like the IMF and World Bank to make them more accountable and transparent, and to create mechanism that can moderate the excesses of the global system (Mittelman, 2004b, p. 51). Another variant on reform neo-liberalism might be considered the concept of the third way, popularised by Giddens (2003). As well, even though Friedman is often vilified by the left for pioneering neo-liberalism through the Chicago School of Economics, he later came to criticise features of the operation of the global economic system (Mittelman, 2000, p. 233).

In many respects reform neo-liberalists trace their lineage to Keynesianism, or more broadly an

approach which believes that economies and markets should be regulated, taxes should be (somewhat) re-distributive, and governments should be (somewhat) interventionist in staving off economic problems that lead to social ills, and to promote economic policies for social goods. In its simplest form, markets don't work well left completely to their own devices, and require smart policy interventions for markets to be at the service of society, and not the other way around (Stiglitz, 2002, p. 11). Stiglitz is the clearest example of this lineage. In his version of economic development, key Bretton Woods institutions like the IMF and WB were initially conceived with Keynesian assumptions, or as Stiglitz argues: 'The IMF was founded on the belief that there was a need for collective action at the global level for economic stability...' (Stiglitz, 2002, p. 12). In his view the IMF was created to prevent the possibility of another great depression, by reducing the risk that countries would fall into depressions and later protectionism (precipitating a domino effect and global depression), by providing support as liquidity to stimulate aggregate demand, and to boost employment (Stiglitz, 2002, p. 12). As well, the focus of the WB was officially the eradication of poverty, and WB development projects were initially conceived in this light.

As Stiglitz argues, with the elections of the Thatcher and Reagan administrations in the UK and US, the policy orientation within these institutions was radically altered from a Keynesian model to a neo-liberal one. The key feature of the neo-liberal approach was Structural adjustment programs (SAPs), jointly promoted by both the World Bank and International Monetary Fund. SAP 'conditionalities' meant that developing countries that wanted WB support were required to accept IMF conditions on loans. SAPs required developing countries to make structural adjustments to their national economic governance, by opening trade barriers, lowering government spending, reducing government debts, and through strict fiscal policies. The WB and IMF became instruments for integrating economically weaker and smaller developing countries into a free market trade model, what came to be known as economic globalisation (Stiglitz, 2002, pp. 13-14).

The key ontological assumptions within reform neo-liberalism reflect a mix of classical economic assumptions together with Keynesian ones, in the changing context of globalisation. Markets are still seen as fundamental, something that cannot and should not be fundamentally tampered with. Sachs, before his make-over as a 'Professor of Sustainable Development' at Columbia University, was best known for his role in introducing 'shock therapy' capitalism into Latin America (Bolivia), Eastern Europe and Russia, which led to societal disintegration, anarcho-capitalism and the rise of the 'oligarches' (Gray, 1998 pp. 144-145). Friedman's analysis of Soviet society, for

example, provided the argument that the Soviet Union survived as long as it did because black markets emerged out of necessity to do what the state had outlawed. Markets are not social constructs, they are an intrinsic feature of any society (Friedman, 1980, p. 10). As well Stiglitz may be highly critical of the functioning of global economic institutions, and may propose reform of these institutions, but economic competition is still central, and ‘the agenda is to stabilise global capitalism’ (Mittelman, 2004b, p. 52). Along with functioning markets comes economic liberalism, the liberty of individuals to make economic decisions. The Schumpeterian engine of transformation within economic liberalism rests upon this ‘creative-destruction’ brought about by human inventiveness and entrepreneurialism, the ability to harness scientific and technological developments in bringing forth economic innovation (Harris, 2009, p. 412).

Reform liberalism includes a variety of economic perspectives (Keynesian and post Keynesian), which are highly specialised areas of training, largely based on quantitative research, but resting philosophically on liberalism. There can be no doubt that it is a place for experts only. Krugman, for example, reserves nothing but disdain for what he considers ‘pop’ economists (Krugman, 1996). For him, non-economists are meant to be seen and not heard. Stiglitz expresses a greater degree of openness through his Initiative for Policy Dialogue, which brings together social scientists from around the world to discuss policy alternatives (Mittelman, 2004b, p. 51). Overall economic decisions are too fragile and important to leave to the market alone, or in the hands of ordinary people, although they must include the value of people’s own micro-enterprise successes and failures.

As the expert orientation of this group might indicate, agency resides in economic and social science expertise, in the reform or innovation of institutions, and the development of policies that can regulate and control economies, and deliver better social outcomes. Soros, advocates for reforming the very finance system he has profited from (Soros, 2000), as well as supporting political democratisation through his Open Society Institute. There is also a large role for aid, to deliver programs for the poor parts of the world, for example by supporting the UN Millennium Development Goals. Corporate social responsibility can also be seen as a key avenue for change (Collier, 2005), an extension of this seen through the UN Global Compact despite its contradictions (Capdevila, 2008 ). The importance of economic, or financial contributions, be they individual, corporate or national, are emphasised, taking to the streets in protest, and the role of people’s movements are largely ignored.

One criticism is that the reformist goals of this group do not challenge the status of global capitalism as a system, but rather (re)stabilise it through addressing the concerns that Robinson and Sklair argue are central to the crisis of capitalism, class polarisation (the exploitation of the majority of the world's people), and the destruction of the environment (Robinson, 2005b, p. 14; Sklair, 2005 p. 55). Capitalist globalisation is still the future, and is still expected to produce shocks along the way, but better policies to regulate capital and taxes for re-distributive justice through aid can alleviate extreme poverty. The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) are a key expression of efforts to address extreme poverty through aid. Unfortunately the goal is not the end of poverty itself. 'Sustainable development' is the vision, by balancing economic concerns with environmental ones, but does not challenge the underlying causes of our eco-social crisis.

### *2.1.3 Cosmopolitanism as Alternative Globalisation*

Cosmopolitanism has become a powerful current in the development of alternative globalisation discourse. Cosmopolitanism springs from strong moral intuitions. In the simple terms it describes 'the view that all human beings have equal moral standing within a single world community' (Hayden, 2004, p. 70). It is a moral-normative conception which gives direction to a number of variants (For example see Binde (2004)). Hayden writes that 'legal cosmopolitanism contends that a global political order ought to be constructed grounded on the equal legal rights and duties of all individuals' (Hayden, 2004, p. 70). There are also descriptive accounts which, by contrast, focus on the way planetary governance is being constructed as 'cosmocracy' (Keane, 2005) 'civil society going global' (Kaldor, 2003) or as 'sub-political' agency (Beck, 1999).

Cosmopolitanism as a discourse reaches as far back as ancient Greece. As McGrew explains, the philosopher Diogenes saw himself as a citizen of the world, with the Greek stoic philosophers later developing the idea that every person is both a citizen of a locality by birth, as well as a citizen of a world community (McGrew, 2000, p. 413). The philosopher Immanuel Kant later developed European cosmopolitan thinking in the context of his 1795 essay 'Project for a Perpetual Peace'. This came to inform a number of neo-Kantian articulations of cosmopolitanism.

As Held argues, at its core cosmopolitanism is based on the idea that, 'human beings are in a fundamental sense equal, and that they deserve impartial political treatment... [cosmopolitanism]

is a moral frame of reference for specifying principles that can be universally shared' (Held, 2000a, p. 401). This view does not put the individual at the centre of global politics (in an exclusively self-interested way) but rather re-articulates the individual as part of a global polity with new rights and obligations. The notion of 'autonomy' within cosmopolitanism discourse implies a participation in a greater whole: 'the 'self' is part of a collectivity or majority enabled and constrained by the rules and procedures of democratic life... and entitlement to autonomy within the constraints of community' (Held, 1995 p. 156, Quoted in McGrew 2000, p413).

The free association of people, and its political expression, provides the basis for individual autonomy, and reciprocally democracy forms the framework from which individuals freely associate: 'members of a political community – citizens – should be able to choose freely the conditions of their own association...their choices should constitute the ultimate legitimation of the form and direction of their polity. A 'fair framework' for the regulation of a community is one that is freely chosen' (Held, 1995, p. 145). Cosmopolitanism thus implies a new (global) autonomy in a new polity, in particular autonomy for the socially excluded in a planetary polity capable of re-distributing rights and power.

Cosmopolitanism discourse sees history primarily as the shift from pre-national (Imperial) political organisation to a national(ist) (Westphalian) state. Most recently (through globalisation) entry into a post-Westphalian world is implied (i.e. a planetary stage of political governance). The crystallisation of a Westphalian model of statehood, and subsequent challenges to this model, can be seen as historical landmarks.

The Westphalian model refers to the treaty of Westphalia of 1648, which ended the 30 years war,<sup>5</sup> which is considered to be the historical origin of the state system in the West. This state system developed in Europe over the past three centuries, and later spread across the world. For Held, such a system has a number of features. For example 'sovereign states recognize no superior authority', with 'differences settled by force', and with each state having absolute jurisdiction over 'law making, settlement of disputes, and law enforcement' and in which 'minimal rules of co-existence exist' between states (Held, 1995, p. 74). The Hobbesian inspired concept of the Westphalian system of states is conceived as an anarchical system: 'A war of 'all against all' is taken as a constant threat, since each state is at liberty to act to secure its own interests unimpeded

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<sup>5</sup> 1618–1648 AD

by any higher religious or moral strictures' (Held, 1995, p. 74).

With the aftermath of WWII and the creation of the UN system, despite the cracks that began to show in this absolutistic concept of statism, the re-entrenchment of the sovereign rights of great states through the UN system continued, with only mild modifications. Yet, as certain cosmopolitan writers argue, the challenge to the absolute concept of sovereignty has accelerated within a new era of globalisation. There are a number of problems associated with globalisation which the nation state is failing to effectively address. Held cites as examples: 'global financial flows, the debt burden of developing countries, environmental crisis, elements of security and defence [and] new forms of communication' (Held, 1995, p. 268). He argues that 'the hierarchical structure of the states system itself has been disrupted by the emergence of the global economy, the rapid expansion of transnational relations and communications, the enormous growth of international organisations and regimes, and the development of trans-national movement and actors - all of which challenge its efficacy' (Held, 1995, p. 268). Held and McGrew refer to this as a 'political deficit', whereby 'democracy, regulation and justice' escape states' abilities to enforce an accountability of its actors: 'As regional and global forces escape the reach of territorially based polities, they erode the capacity of nation states to pursue programmes of regulation, accountability and social justice in many spheres' (Held, 2000a, p. 401).

The knowledge foundations of cosmopolitanism are based on the Kantian moral principle of a human community and polity of mutual concern and care. Other cosmopolitan thinkers like Santos build upon this principle by addressing issues of social exclusion as it is manifested through re-presentation, justice and globalisation. Santos specifically argues that for global justice to be possible, we must create the possibility of global cognitive justice (Santos, 2006, pp. 44-45), and shows how the WSF(P) offers the possibility of recognising the diverse experiences and epistemologies of the Global South.<sup>6</sup>

Cosmopolitanism is both analytic and normative. Cosmopolitanism is a deeper reflection on historical geo-political change that links analytical work with normative advocacy. McGrew writes 'It is both a reflection on the contemporary historical condition and also constitutive of it' (McGrew, 2000, p. 415). Held argues it promotes 'theorist as advocate, seeking to advance an

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<sup>6</sup> Santos is a good example of a scholar who straddles multiple discursive frames, cosmopolitanism, Gramscian neo-Marxism, subaltern / post-development, etc, showing the dangers of identifying authors with discourses. Many exhibit creative syncretism that moves through multiple discourses.

interpretation of politics against countervailing positions... [creating]... the possibility of a new political understanding' (Held, 1995, p. 286).

The key ontological assumptions that recur in cosmopolitan discourse concern a division of social structures and the roles they play. In specific terms a tripartite division or distinction between three spheres is often used: the political, the civil and the economic (Held, 1995, pp. 271, 279, 286). The political sphere is seen in formal terms, as the expression of concrete representation and governance. Civil society is seen as the aggregate of the complex associative interweaving of people from within a polity. Thus for some a healthy polity / democracy is underpinned by a healthy civil society which is not undermined by non-associative influences – e.g. corporate media, corporate political influence (Edwards, 2004). In some accounts, the economy is seen as an aspect of civil society, as it is also based on freedom of association. Most accounts, however, define the economic sphere as separate.

Transposing such notions onto the global stage, we can translate these divisions as global governance (or lack thereof), global civil society, and the global economy. These spheres together comprise systems of influence and power. Cosmopolitan thinking is concerned with the fair distribution of this influence and power (Held, 1995, p. 267):

*The global order consists of multiple and overlapping networks of power involving the body, welfare, culture, civil associations, the economy, coercive relations and organised violence, and regulatory and legal relations. The case for cosmopolitan democracy arises from these diverse networks – the different power systems which constitute the interconnections of different peoples and nations. (Held, 1995, p. 271)*

The futures outlook of the cosmopolitan discourse has both descriptive / analytical and normative dimensions. Some argue that cosmopolitan writers confusingly blur the distinction between normative and descriptive accounts (Roudometof, 2005). Keane argues that 'Cosmocracy' is an emerging empirical phenomenon, describing the development of planetary governance (which is at once ad hoc and full of 'clumsy institutions' (Keane, 2005, pp. 34-51).

Falk considers a post-Westphalian scenario inevitable, and distinguishes between dystopian post-Westphalian scenarios, unrealistic scenarios and desirable ones that are possible (Falk, 2004, pp.

26-28). Generally the normative thrust of the cosmopolitan vision aims to articulate the creation of a ‘transnational, common structure of political action’, ‘a global and divided authority system – a system of diverse and overlapping power centres shaped and delimited by democratic law’ (Held, 1995, p. 234).

In sharp (but not incommensurable) contrast to localisation discourse, the territorial ordering of power flows ‘downward’ from the global to the local implying: ‘the subordination of regional, national and local ‘sovereignties’ to an overarching legal framework...but within this framework associations may be self governing at diverse levels’ (Held, 1995, pp. 233-234). Or as McGrew writes, ‘it proposes the end of sovereign statehood and national citizenship as conventionally understood and their re-articulation within a framework of cosmopolitan democratic law’ (McGrew, 2000, p. 414).

Both Falk and Held maintain that a post-Westphalian order does not eliminate the State in a stage like transformation, but increasingly marginalises it from above (through global governance). Especially for Falk, the normative direction of cosmopolitanism and the marginalisation of the state system draw energy from ‘globalization from below’, grassroots movements to address the pathologies of state and corporate power (Falk, 2005, p. 29).

A cosmopolitan outlook sees agency as unjustly distributed, in some cases with oppressive statism, and in other cases with the neo-liberal displacement of the state by finance capital and trans-national corporations. A goal then is the just re-distribution of political agency (read as influence). For Falk the engine and energies for this transformation are to be found among some anti-globalisation forces pushing for ‘another globalisation’ from ‘below’, as well as high powered international civil society actors, (an example being the grassroots to institutional development the Rome Treaty for the ICC), and social democratic elites (Falk, 2005, pp. 19-20). Alternatively, in Beck’s notion of sub politics, social movements are fundamental in exposing the contradictions in late industrial society. In particular Beck shows how industrial societies’ manufacture risk by institutionalising a diffusion of innovations which have un-intended and unimaginable consequences (Beck, 1999, p. 67). Beck sees transformed and enhanced public participation in what have otherwise been seen as state and ‘expert’ level issues. The public sphere is empowered to act as an ‘open upper chamber’ (Beck, 1999, p. 70).

#### 2.1.4 Neo-Marxism as Alternative Globalisation

Neo-Marxist theories, which explore and articulate alternatives to *status quo* globalisation, vary greatly. It might also be said that neo-Marxism has influenced so many spheres of inquiry and social theory, as to render premature categorisations arbitrary. Here I outline some prominent neo-Marxist discourses which apply to the topic of alternative futures of globalisation. I have identified these as World Systems Theory, Global Systems Theory, and associated neo-Gramscian visions of a global (counter-hegemonic) civil society. The following explanation of neo-Marxism as alternative globalisation will proceed by way of contrasting these related but different branches of neo-Marxist alternative globalisation discourse.

World Systems Theory (WST) pioneered the conceptual link between capitalism (and its alternatives) and world-historical dimensions of social analysis. As Sklair argues, WST prefigured globalisation discourses, influencing early critical conceptions of globalisation (Sklair, 2002, pp. 40-41).

From the 1960s on, writers such as Wallerstein, Chase-Dunn and others developed WST into a large body of scholarly work (Chase-Dunn, 1999; Chase-Dunn, 2005; Wallerstein, 1983). By contrast, Global Systems Theory (GST) is much newer, emerging in the mid 1990s through the work of scholars such as Robinson and Sklair (Robinson, 2004; Sklair, 2002). GST shares key features of WST, and possibly owes some of its intellectual foundation to WST; however, the two diverge on certain key points (Robinson, 2004, pp. 8-9), which will be briefly explored.

The foundational structures that WST and GST describe are different in significant ways. In the WST conception, the world system is founded on statist structures, divided between core, semi-peripheral and peripheral nations which are locked into a global struggle for power and resources. As with previous epochs in the history of capitalism, the modern system is a 'stratification system', 'driven primarily by capitalist accumulation and geopolitics in which business and states have competed with one another for power and wealth' (Chase-Dunn, 2005, p.46).

While earlier conceptions of WST were biased on the importance of the inter-state system (and statist empires in the capitalist process of dispossession and 'primitive accumulation', or conquest), more recent accounts acknowledge the importance of globalising capitalist interests along side nationalist capitalist interests (Chase-Dunn, 2005, pp. 48-50).

By contrast, GST argues that nationally based capitalist structures of influence have been fundamentally superseded by the process of capitalist globalisation (Robinson, 2004, pp. 11-14). In such a conception of capitalist globalisation, the inter-state system no longer produces the conditions for capitalism. Rather, the inter-state system is conditioned by the interests of capitalist globalisation. Capitalist globalisation is maintained and extended through trans-national practices which operate in three spheres: the economic (through TNCs), the political (through an emerging trans national capitalist class (TCC) and the cultural (the culture-ideology of consumerism) (Sklair, 2005 pp. 58-59).

Therefore, while WST emphasises a historically evolving capitalism punctuated by inter state rivalry, GST emphasises the new conditions within a capitalist globalisation, and the collusion between various spheres of power toward its maintenance.

WST and GST also differ in their respective conceptions of history. WST is inspired by the *longue duree* of Ferdinand Braudel (as a gradual world-historical unfolding of social, political and economic change, starting from the first, or mercantile, era of capitalism). It sees the capitalist system as following the rise and fall of empires, from the beginnings of European expansion in the 16th century, to the present era of 'globalisation'. The present era of globalisation is seen as a manifestation of US hegemony, the latest empire within the historical development of the world capitalist system, fated to end as did all others (Chase-Dunn, 2005, p. 48). For WST the 'globalisation' discourse is hyperbole - recent historical shifts are a matter of degree and not seen as a fundamental shifts (Chase-Dunn, 2005, pp. 49-50).

GST's periodisation of history, on the other hand, conceptualises the development of capitalism in qualitative terms. Robinson, for example, sees four fundamental epochs in the development of capitalism: first, the early emergence of colonial / mercantile capitalism from the 16th to 18th century; secondly, the era of classical capitalism that coincided with industrialisation of European empires in the 19th century; thirdly, the rise of corporate monopoly capitalism and consolidation of a world market and nation-state system to the late 20th century; and fourthly, the development of capitalist globalisation from the 1970s onward (Robinson, 2004, pp. 4-5).

Robinson argues that a shift has occurred from previous epochs of 'extensive expansion', in which more and more peoples and nations were brought into the orbit of the capitalist system, and

‘intensive expansion’, the current epoch of capitalist globalisation in which the vast majority of peoples of the world are already within the capitalist system, and it is the degree of integration, or subjectification which is at issue (Robinson, 2004, pp. 6-7). The end or completion of extensive expansion, and the acceleration of intensive expansion, corresponds to the migration of capital from the nation state to a global de-territorialised sphere from the 1970s onward. As Robinson writes:

*nation-state capitalism – entered into a crisis in the 1970s, precipitating a period of restructuring and transformation. Capital responded... by ‘going global’. This allowed it to break free of the constraints that had been imposed on profit maximisation by working and popular classes and by national governments in the preceding epoch of Keynesian capitalism. (Robinson, 2004, p. 148)*

The GST explanation of neo-liberal globalisation rests upon the Marxist-Leninist theory of imperialism. Here, theories of neo-imperialism were based on the notion that even after formal colonialism, capitalism would need to expand into new territories for markets, labour, and resources, as older ones were exhausted. This gives rise to the ‘globalisation as imperialism’ school (Sklair, 2002, p. 30). From this perspective, the interwar period (between WWI and WWII) was merely an interruption in the general trend toward the expansion of the capitalist system globally. Keynesian social democracy in the West, Communism in the East and Dependency economics in the South only restrained or slowed the overall trend. As Harvey argues, capitalism would be forced to find new geographic locales of accumulation, bursting from the limiting constraints of the industrial nation-state. The new mode of global production thus precipitates exploitation through new mechanisms of accumulation by dispossession which become more systematically globalised (Harvey, 2005, pp. 93-94).

Neo-Marxism’s epistemic foundations are heavily influenced by the Italian neo-Marxist historian Gramsci. Gramsci conceived of the scholar-activist which he termed the ‘organic intellectual’, who would situate oneself in the struggle for emancipation among oppressed people. The organic intellectual ‘is a product of an emergent social class, which offers that class some self consciousness in the cultural, political and economic fields’ and ‘is the link between philosophy ...and working people ... unites theory and practice and what is more, is the central unifying force that facilitates the development of an historic bloc’ (McNaughton, 2005, p. 39). It is organic intellectuals who are key to challenging hegemony through the ideological-cultural

struggle for the hearts and minds of ordinary people, thus enabling social transformation.

For Robinson the organic intellectual embodies a reflexivity which allows him or her to see social reality as historically contingent, to 'not accept the world as we find it as being in any sense natural', distinguishing the relationship between knowledge and power and understanding located-ness in the production of knowledge. This individual asks: 'whose mandarins are we?' (Robinson, 2005b, pp. 13-14). This question of reflexivity then sets up a 'preferential option' in which the organic intellectual is at the service of 'the needs and aspirations of the poor majority of humanity for whom global capitalism is nothing short of alienation, savagery, and dehumanisation' (Robinson, 2005b, p. 14).

The Gramscian conception embraces civil society as the primary location for social transformation. Cox, for example, locates the possibility of change from a global civil society. The dimensions of exploitation under globalisation link workers, peasants and indigenous people, reformulating what it means to conceive of a counter hegemonic historic bloc (Cox, 2005, p. 118; Robinson, 2004, pp. 168-170). Agency in this way is expressed through the 'war of position', in which the conditions for an alternative hegemony are laid through intellectual-cultural labour, undermining the legitimacy and credibility of a hegemonic political block from within.

Other neo-Marxist accounts take a somewhat sceptical view of civil society (Axford, 2005 pp. 187-191; Robinson, 2005a; Sklair, 2002, p. 315), but retain the importance of culture and ideology as a source of leverage in social change. Thus Sklair sees the transitional path to a socialist globalisation through replacing the culture ideology of consumerism with a culture ideology of human rights (Sklair, 2005 p. 62). The development of a counter hegemonic block is still seen, in many accounts, as a primary road to social transformation. In this view a diversity of struggles and social movements, without a 'common political platform' will suffer from inherent weaknesses or limitations on action' (Chase-Dunn, 2005, p. 54). Developing a unified platform is a necessary leveraging which can allow 'anti-systemic' movements to be successful.

In this view political power must be wrested from power holders, and this means going beyond 'the initial phase of protest, education, and networking' to enter into a position of political negotiation with the neoliberal power structure...' (Chase-Dunn, 2005, p. 54). Most neo-Marxist accounts, including WST and GST, reserve a special importance for the agency of grassroots social movements and struggles to enact change (Chase-Dunn, 2005, pp. 53-54; Sklair, 2005 p.

62; Wallerstein, 2004b).

Whether or not these movements are successful, what is central is the transformation of class consciousness into a globally coherent, self-conscious movement for social transformation. For Sklair, a vision of socialist globalisation is not a rejection of all structures associated with globalisation, but a transformed agenda emphasising human rights and social responsibilities. This includes a 'revival of the local economy, renegotiation of foreign debt, local economic expansion, community control over the local economy, increased wages, an economy driven by producers and consumer cooperatives, democratic unions of producer-consumer cooperatives and a culture-ideology of human rights on a global scale' (Sklair, 2002, p. 311).

### *2.1.5 Localisation as Alternative Globalisation*

Localisation or re-localisation has become a powerful current of thought in the debate around alternatives to economic globalisation. Recent proponents of localisation include the International Forum on Globalisation (IFG) who, over the past 20 years, has published various texts in, and brought together dozens of leading thinkers of, this discourse (Cavanagh, 2003; Mander, 1996, 2005). In addition is the New Economics Foundation (NEF) (Boyle, 2003) which came out of the TOES summits (Schroyer, 1997). Hines gives the most elaborated argument for localisation (Hines, 2002).

The term 'localisation' or 're-localisation' is only the most recent and popular version of an intellectual movement which goes back to the 1950's, and which also draws upon ancient traditions for inspiration. Kohr's (1957) *The Breakdown of Nations* is given as the first instance of such theory formation - an attack on the gigantism he experienced in the wake of WWII (Simms, 2003, p. 4). Schumacher is also cited as an important influence for *Small is Beautiful* (Simms, 2003, p. 3). Mumford's (1964) *The Myth of the Machine* may also be seen to be an early example of the critique of gigantism as manifest in technology and urban planning. The Club of Rome's *Limits to Growth* questioned assumptions regarding the sustainability of economic growth in a world system. Daly linked key localisation concepts (i.e. subsidiarity) with a post growth, steady-state vision of a global economy (Daly, 1977; Daly, 1994). Illich is also credited as a contributor for *Energy and Equity* (Simms, 2003, pp. 5-6). Sale is significant as one of the pioneers of bio-regionalism (Sale, 1996). Goldsmith has been an important contributor to the field, in particular through his critiques of industrialisation and calls for de-industrialisation (Goldsmith, 1988).

Shiva has linked localisation with cultural and ecological diversity (Shiva, 2000a, 2000b).

The foundational categories of localisation include scale, diversity and energy. Scale is foundational to localisation, its importance seen in a number of ways. Gigantism, or the domination of the global over the local, is seen as one of the primary causes of harm to the world; this can be through mega merger derived corporate monopolisation, to over sized development projects pushed by the WB, or the ‘over-application’ of a-contextual knowledge by ‘experts’ on ‘locals’.

Different scales express distinct properties; sensitivity to the scale at which decisions are to be made is central. From the point of view of governance, subsidiarity establishes a model of decision-making based on territorial size. Decisions should be left to the most local, smallest unit practical, and only ascending to a larger scale of governance when effective governance is no longer possible at smaller scales (Cavanagh, 2003, pp. 107-120).

Diversity is another fundamental category. Heterogeneity of plant and animal species, cultures and knowledges is seen as fundamental to a healthy world. In this view, the homogenisation of culture, knowledge, and species is aberrant, a violation of basic principles of sustainment. The principle of diversity can be contrasted with what Hawthorn considers ‘contextlessness’ knowledge (Hawthorne, 2002, pp. 30-31); the view that there is knowledge (universal), goods (standardised), norms (ethical principles of the good society) which stand above the particular and are applicable and preferable across many or all domains. By contrast, ‘context’ grounds different expressions of knowledge, biology, economy, community as time-and-place specific, and suitable and appropriate, adapted or generated from local and specific instances, which gives them coherence with(in) their environments (Hawthorne, 2002, p. 110). Development and governance should be ‘bio-regional’, proceeding within regions based on its distinctive eco-systemic and cultural characteristics (Sale, 1996).

Energy may also be considered a fundamental category, as localisation discourse is deeply concerned with the use and sustainability of energy. Daly, for example, has long argued for a steady-state economy. This economy does not need to constantly grow, does not rely on energy from non-renewable resources, and can sustain itself in-perpetuity from renewables (such as the energy from the sun) (Daly, 1977). A key problem, argues Daly, is the production of too much energy, which is then used to exploit and process resources, overwhelming the bio-sphere’s

capacity to absorb such waste through ecological sinks (Daly, 1996).

The localisation discourse fundamentally challenges a belief in universal truths applicable in all places and times. The Western system of knowledge is seen as ‘a local tradition which has been spread world-wide through intellectual colonisation’ (Shiva 1993 p10, quoted in Hawthorne, 2002, p. 96). Knowledge is seen to be an expression of ‘systematic’ power (Hawthorne, 2002, p. 65) used for social control and influence. So where are we to find legitimate knowledge? Knowledge is seen to be that which works in many different contexts, for many different types of people, in a diversity of ways. Cultural diversity is seen as intrinsically good, a carrier of the diversity of knowledge systems, the dignity of people, and practically valuable (Hawthorne, 2002, pp. 106-107).

In addition to its locality, knowledge can also be ancient. Norberg-Hodge chronicles the life of the Ladakh of Tibet, showing how this culture has developed knowledge that has enabled them to sustain themselves in the face of a very harsh environment for hundreds and hundreds of years (Norberg-Hodge, 1992). Shiva has documented how local Indian agricultural knowledge of seed varieties and farming have proved far better long term for farmers than industrial farming approaches introduced by the West (Shiva, 2000a). Localisation affirms the value of knowledge systems that have proven their worth over time, with particular deference to those sustainable cultures that know best how to live without the aid of energy intensive industries.

The Bretton Woods Agreement (that ushered in an era of US hegemony) is a foundational moment for localisation theorists in conceptualising history. The agreement, which created GATT, the IMF and WB, is viewed as the origin of the current global system. GATT would lead to the formation of the WTO, and the development of a global (and globalised) economic system. The WB would fund mega development projects across the world, and the IMF would push growth oriented policies (Cavanagh, 2003, p. 18). As Cavanagh argues, the offspring of Bretton Woods:

*are bringing about the most fundamental redesign of the planet’s social, economic, and political arrangement since the Industrial revolution. They are engineering a powershift of stunning proportions, moving real economic and political power away from national, state and local governments and communities toward unprecedented centralisation of power for global corporations, bankers,*

*and the global bureaucracies they helped create, at the expense of national sovereignty, community control, democracy, diversity and the natural world.*  
(Cavanagh, 2003, p. 19)

Localisation proponents argue for establishing a global commons, that which should be the heritage of all people, what should not be bought and sold. Conceptually, it is that which all people depend on, and which all people cannot live without (Cavanagh, 2003, p. 63). As the IFG write: 'some commons may be thought of as global, such as the atmosphere, the oceans, outer space... Others may be thought of as community commons: public spaces, common lands, forests, the gene pool, local innovative knowledge with respect to medicinal plants, and seeds that communities have developed over centuries' (Cavanagh, 2003, pp. 81-82). According to localisation advocates, these should be 'off limits'- especially for corporations who threaten such commons through privatisation and patents. This position is not a new one. The UN Charter (in the 1960's) developed the concept of a 'common heritage of mankind' which 'exclude[d] a state of private right of appropriation over certain resources and permit[ted] the development of those resources, where appropriate, for the benefit of all, with due regard paid to environmental protection' (Held, 1995, p. 86).

The localisation discourse also contains consideration of what futures are preferred. Much of the literature acknowledges that current rates of consumption are not sustainable, and 'sustainable growth' is considered an oxymoron (Daly, 1996). While authors such as Hamilton argue for a post-growth model, Daly has argued for a 'steady state' economy, and Goldsmith has advocated de-industrialisation (Daly, 1994; Goldsmith, 1988; Hamilton, 2003). The dual issues of peak oil and climate change are exemplary, as the era of cheap transport, industrial agriculture (with its high energy inputs), and cheap energy are seen to be almost over, and the ecological costs of a carbon intensive global economy unsustainable. In addition, the future must be constructed through a 'precautionary principle' that limits the introduction of a 'practice or product [that] raises potentially significant threats of harm to human health or the environment' (Cavanagh, 2003, p. 76), which can be seen to have important correlates with Beck's discussion of the production of technological 'risk' (Beck, 1999).

The localisation view is not antithetical to national governance, but its vision is to devolve governing powers to the smallest scale possible, so that people have maximum decision-making power within their local settings. Subsidiarity entails redistributing power based on scales of

governance; it is an attack on the aggregation and concentration of power and wealth seen in the latter half of the 20th century. Corporate globalisation, through the work of global institutions such as IMF, WB and WTO, is seen to strip people of decision making power, both politically and economically.

Citizen social movements opposing corporate globalisation are invoked by some (Cavanagh, 2003, pp. 13, 56-59; Korten, 1999) as examples of where to look for agency.<sup>7</sup> The political ideal is active participation, taking back democracy through direct and engaged involvement in community and world. Agency can also mean community action or empowerment as an alternative to corporate globalisation, for example replacing WalMart type economic systems with farmers markets where foods are locally sourced (or through other cooperative systems). The personal dimension of agency entails becoming a local producer of a variety of possible things, foods, services, goods, skills, knowledge / education – replacement for dependence on global and industrial systems/processes. Behavioural changes (for example buying local, and riding a bike) are seen as ways of de-coupling oneself from an energy intensive global lifestyle. The mega scale global economy, made possible by our collective surrendering of productive energies and capacities, can be reclaimed through local community initiatives. Every small project and step adds up to a great movement toward re-localised cultural and ecological sustainment.

### *2.1.6 Networked Globalism*

An increasingly influential approach to understanding and articulating alternative globalisation expresses a vision of transformation through trans-nationally networked actors riding an information technology revolution.

At its heart is a conception of global social transformation predicated on the emergence of post-industrial network societies using Computer Mediated Communication (CMC). Through such technologies, an alternative globalisation movement-process operates in a de-territorialised, trans-national and global sphere. As such, we have seen the emergence of a multiplicity of actors inter-linked in collaborative processes.

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<sup>7</sup>Notable was the International Forum on Globalization's deep involvement in supporting the Seattle '99 protests - from fieldwork.

Castells is foundational in giving definition to this school of thought. His study of social movements shows how networks, enabled by CMCs, are foundational in their structure and operation (Castells, 1996). Regardless of their social values, which span from the fundamentalism of al-Qaeda, the reactionary racism of the American militia movement, or the anti-capitalism of Zapatistas struggling for indigenous justice, these new movements are enabled and structurally coupled to CMCs and the network capabilities they make possible (Castells, 1996, pp. 71-156).

While it is the values and goals of people that form the basis of the type of network, for him, the fundamental unit is the network itself, which allows for a broader accommodation of diversity (Castells, 1996, p. 147). In reflecting on the ‘alternative globalisation project’ (Castells, 1996, p. 161), (which he also terms the ‘Global Justice Movement’), he argues that what binds this movement is the vision ‘toward alternative forms of democratic representation’ (Castells, 1996, p. 156), as well as the counter-logic of the ‘anti-globalisation movement’:

*The contradictory diversity of the anti-globalisation movement would make it an impossible collective actor, except under the condition of its existence as a network. This is why the movement is the network, and this is clearly distinct from being a network of movements. (Castells, 1996, p. 156)*

The idea of a movement as network is a dramatic ontological departure from other conceptions of movement (seen in their discursive variety in this study). What enables radical diversity to become an identity is the horizontal logic of networks. In a similar fashion, Chesters refers to (in Deleuzian fashion) a ‘plateaux’. These are the limited spatial-temporal points where networked actors form new collective existences, and collaborate on particular projects (Chesters, 2004, pp. 334–336). Castells, along with Hardt and Negri, believe that the strategy and practice of domination characteristic of the network society is mirrored by the agents who resistance such domination. Castells writes:

*where new forms of domination emerge, new forms of resistance ultimately surge, to act upon the specific patterns of domination. Therefore, the deployment of a global, network society, characterized by the structural dominance of specific interests and values, politically enforced and managed, ultimately came to be met*

*by the resistance of a global, networked social movement...’ (Castells, 1996, p. 147).*

Within these forms of resistance, and the agency of actors, are conceived in a diversity of forms, which self-organise congruencies.<sup>8</sup> For Hardt and Negri the historical agent is a nebulous ‘Multitude’, a counter-hegemonic swarm of actors based on the logic of networks, typified by the emergence of ‘singularities’, new collective formations of identity and action, communing within a greater common (Hardt, 2004b, pp. 127-129). Chesters and Welsh argue that the network constellations of the alternative globalisation movement form ‘ecologies of action’, reflexive and coordinated yet de-territorialised moments / movements of antagonism (resistance) and protagonism (re-creation) (Chesters, 2006, pp. 91,153): Chesters makes this point more specifically arguing:

*Movement plateaux (summit sieges and social forums)... render visible the iterative character and fractal patterning of overlapping networks and make manifest processes of interaction and exchange between global locales, between the virtual and the real, between new social actors and familiar forces of antagonism. They are both geographically discrete and temporally bounded “events” that are simultaneously extensive of space and time, stretched and warped through interaction on e-mail lists, dedicated chat rooms, web logs, text messages, and a variety of mobile technologies. As such, we conceptualize them as moments of temporary but intensive network stabilization where the rhizomatic substance of the movement(s) – groups, organizations, individuals, ideologies,*

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<sup>8</sup> Chesters and Welsh as well as Hardt and Negri, ontologically conceive this, in part, based on philosophical writings of Deleuze and Guatarri. They use the metaphor of the rhizome, a conceptual tool which points to a space free of ontologies, between essences, in which creativity free-forms. It is ironic to speak of an ontology based on a metaphor of the Rhizome, as they reject ontology explicitly (Deleuze, 1987, p. 25). Yet their ‘Rhizomatic’ conception offers a window into how ontological assumptions are conceived with this nascent school of alter-globalisation, in which autonomous actors are seen to self-organise to create new states (or plateaux), but in a non-linear fashion, within networks without a central organising logic (such as the tree), but rather like a space of lattice structures that make up the semiotic landscape, from which novelty (convergences) appear. As Deleuze and Guatarri write: ‘Finite networks of automata in which communication runs from any neighbour to any other, the stems or channels do not pre-exist, and all individuals are interchangeable, defined only by their state at a give moment – such that the local operations are coordinated and the final, global result synchronized without a central agency.’ (Deleuze, 1987, p. 17).

*cognitive frames – are simultaneously manifest and re-configured. (Chesters, 2004, p. 335)*

Chesters and Welsh develop this further, arguing an AGM expresses agency as ‘f(l)ight’ (both fight and flight) (Chesters, 2006, pp. 150-154). ‘Fight’ is the worldchanging / *altermonialisme* of antagonism, while ‘flight’ is somewhat equivalent to Hardt and Negri’s ‘exodus’, a movement inward, de-coupling and distancing from the system, typified by the internal composition of alternative and endogenous modes of producing life (subjectivity, reference, culture, value) (Chesters, 2006, p. 43).

For Hardt and Negri, this represents a historical shift in the organising principles of capitalism and its practices of domination, as well as resistances to it. They point out how struggles against hegemony have shifted through a ‘postmodern transition of organisational forms’ (Hardt, 2004b, p. 85) from vertical command structures toward ‘distributed network structures with no centre of command’ (Hardt, 2004b, p. 89), which emphasise: autonomy, horizontal structures, democratic processes and communication across diversities (Hardt, 2004b, pp. 86-87). In their analysis, projects of resistance evolved in tandem with the transformation from Fordist material industries to post-Fordist informational industries.

One fault line in this new landscape can be seen in the area of intellectual property. Wark argues the forces of the appropriation of intellectual labour and monopoly control of immaterial property (through TNCs) are the primary agents of a new feudalism, who monopolise content produced by an informational ‘hacker’ class (Wark, 2004). Lessig argues existing Intellectual Property (IP) regimes render people increasingly dependent on what should be a global knowledge commons. Developing ‘Creative Commons’ as a legal alternative, he argues content must be liberated for its perpetual transformation and ‘remix’ by the agents of ‘free culture’ (Lessig, 2005).

This de-centralised and interactive conception of agency emphasises networked collaboration through intellectual labour, whereby disparate actors are able to ‘peer produce’ new knowledge, products and services for common purposes, much like the human genome project or various open source software projects have done. Agency manifests as ‘peer production’ through three transformations: a shift in the logic of production from capital and state enterprise to production ‘through the free cooperation of producers [creating] use-value for a community of users’, a shift

in the mode of governance where production is ‘governed by the community of producers themselves, and not by market allocation or corporate hierarchy’, and finally a shift in the logic of distribution where ‘use-value [is] freely accessible on a universal basis, through new common property regimes.’ (Bauwens, 2006).

Resistance as agency rests upon subtle conceptions. Hardt, Negri as well as Mittleman draw on Foucault’s conception of ‘bio power’, ‘bio politics’ and ‘micro resistance’ to explain this. Bio power is the overt and covert power exerted on people, the production of subjectivity and production of material life, by powerful interests for the purposes of social control, acting through subtle ‘capillaries of power’ (Mittelman, 2004b, pp. 77-78). Bio politics is its contestation, the alternative forms of resistance and production of alternate subjectivities against hegemonic control, ‘biopolitical production’ (Hardt, 2004b, p. 78). This literally implies producing the means of governing one’s own bios (life), through the endogenous / networked generation of media, culture, knowledge, science, and other forms of intellectual labour.

Finally, this new informational space of networks has been labeled a ‘noosphere’, a ‘web of living thought’ that has planetary reach (Julian Huxley cited in Arquilla, 1999, p. 13). Arquilla and Ronfeldt argue for the emergence of a ‘noopolitik’, political action within and upon a ‘noospheric’ domain. On top of cyberspace, and a growing info-sphere, the noosphere, a realm of collective global consciousness, has emerged as a contested space of knowledge, values and collective action. They site the emergence of networked NGOs and other groups as key actors in this domain (Arquilla, 1999). In a similar way, Kellner argues a new form of politics has emerged which he terms ‘technopolitics’ (Kellner, 2005). In this new type of politics, the networked space of the internet becomes the battleground. He points out that the mainstream media has largely failed to adequately deal with the globalisation debate. It has been social movements through media spectacle that have made social justice, environmental and democracy issues public. In addition, this new form of social activism differs from old party based socialism, as coalitions and alliances between diverse groups in anti-capitalist networks ‘overcome the limitations of post-modern identity politics’ (Kellner, 2005, p. 54).

### *2.1.7 Engaged Ecumenism*

Religions form an important part of the globalisation process (Beckford, 2000; Lubeck, 2000) and religious orientations form an important part of the WSF(P). Some of the WSF(P) founders, such

as François Houtart and Chico Whitaker, have important roots in Catholic liberation traditions (Sahabandhu, 2006).<sup>9</sup> A survey of WSF(P) participants showed the majority belonged to some religious tradition, which ‘seem[s] to point to the important role religion plays among the social groups fighting against neo-liberal globalisation...’ (Santos, 2006, p. 90). ‘Ecumenism’ pervades the WSF(P) and movements for another globalisation.

Ecumenism, a Christian concept, is expanded here to describe a pan-spiritual interlinking of dialogue and action, inclusive of religious traditions around the world. One of the most striking features of the social forums is the presence of a diversity of religious and spiritual organisations. These range from Catholic liberation theology, Protestant churches (The World Council of Churches), Ananda Marga / PROUT, Hinduism in the path of Gandhi, Engaged Buddhism (including the Free Tibet movement), Muslim groups and many more. Because of the open nature of social forums, groups that adhere to the charter of principles are assured a space in which to present and collaborate. Thus, social forums have become a location for a deep ecumenical convergence for Alternative Globalisation. Drawing from the broad religious inheritance of humanity, spiritual political action follows in the footsteps of prominent leaders such as: Gandhi, Martin Luther King, the Dalai Lama, P.R. Sarkar, Desmond Tutu, Thich Nhat Hanh, Cesar Chavez and many others (Ingram, 2003a).

Gandhi is the seminal figure in this process; he had direct and lasting influence on spiritual social activism globally. Other notable campaigns include: Martin Luther King’s leadership during the US civil rights movement, the Dalai Lama’s struggle against the Chinese occupation of Tibet, Thich Naht Hanh’s peace work during and after the Vietnam war and Cesar Chavez’s farm worker justice campaigns in California. In this broader context Gandhi represents the marriage of political action and spirituality, the offspring of which is non-violent ‘*ahisma*’ confrontation and (non) participation (Schell, 2003, p. 117).

Spiritual ecumenicalists look at the inner world itself, bringing compassion to the psychological projection of ‘enemies’, humanising those considered oppressors (and those considered different or constructed as the ‘Other’). This spiritual standpoint sees the enemy as an aspect of the self (Ingram, 2003c, p. 55). Deep ecumenicalism entails a movement away from religiosity, certainty, fundamentalism and an uncritical faith in the righteousness of one’s beliefs (Schell, 2003, p. 117).

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<sup>9</sup> From fieldwork, interview # 24

It embodies an awareness of how the mind is easily distorted by ideology (Galtung, 1995, pp. 122-123). This includes ‘sharply distinguishing itself between true spirituality and blind faith’ (Maheshvarananda, 2003, p. 146), and being critical of the historical trauma and suffering religious fundamentalism has created (Mshana, 2005, p. 38). For Gandhi a spiritual orientation was also a deeply ecumenical experience embracing all faiths (Fischer, 1962, p. 184).

Gandhi’s message, and spiritual ecumenicalism also speak in contrast to the economic materialism of the world, carrying an anti-consumerist message (of simplicity) - that we do not need excessive luxuries to be happy (Ingram, 2003f, p. 91). In a fundamental way, spiritual-political activism critiques consumerism and material temptations, advocating for simplicity and right livelihood (Ingram, 2003b).

The key ontological foundation of spiritual activism, following religious traditions, is a transcendent reality, an understanding which provides frameworks to live life with integrity: through acts of compassion, love and moral living. In different forms, religious traditions contrast the material world and the spiritual world ‘between the force of mind and the force of materialism’ (Ingram, 2003d, p. 26). Spiritual reality is the unity of all humankind: ‘The vision behind [neo-liberal] globalization includes a competing vision to the Christian commitment to the *oikoumene*, the unity of humankind and the whole inhabited earth’ (Mshana, 2005, p. 47), or in the words of the Dalai Lama: ‘[spiritual] practice brings the clear realization of the oneness of all human beings and the importance of others benefiting by your actions’ (Ingram, 2003d, p. 24). As Maheshvarananda writes:

*The theme of the World Social Forum, ‘Another World is Possible’, refers to our shared dream for a new world that could be described as post-capitalist, global, Neo-humanist, etc. What must be emphasised is that humanity will only have a future if we share the goods of the Earth and the fruits of human work (Maheshvarananda, 2003, p. 220).*

This vision of the oneness or unity of humankind can be seen in the understanding of what (from a Buddhist perspective) Macy refers to as ‘co-dependent origination’ (Ingram, 2003e, p. 136). From the physiological to the ideational, any entity that can be said to exist also owes its existence to a myriad other sub-processes and factors; no one ‘being’ has an independent existence. We are bound together from the beginning to the end of time, humans and non-humans

alike.

Gandhi's conception of *satyagraha* (truth force), and *ahimsa* (compassion / non-violence), expresses the core logic of engaged ecumenist agency. 'Satyagraha' (moral spiritual truth in practice) was the force that moved people to accept change. This was not the ideal truth of one's campaign or convictions (which others must accept) but the truth revealed through a person's practice of living according to their conscience, which then moves other people's conscience to change.

It is not a truth reducible to words, but a truth expressed through action, and the power that action demonstrates in the world. *Ahimsa*, non-violence, was the fundamental pre-requisite for the effectiveness of *satyagraha*. Agency in engaged ecumenism is spiritual non-violent political action, expressed at the social level through organised non-violent confrontation of political or economic injustice directed at institutions complicit in structural violence. At a personal level, *ahimsa* is expressed through forms of participation and non-cooperation, as well as (self) critical moral reflection (Schell, 2003, pp. 126-127).

Ideas of non-cooperation and non-participation are central. Gandhi drew from figures such as Thoreau (who demonstrated courage through civil disobedience). Schell argues that non-cooperation is not just a moral act, but also a weapon - not just a moral gesture, but an exercise in political power (Schell, 2003, pp. 129-131). For Schell, individuals give away political power through cooperation with dominant structures. Political repression and exploitation stem from 'consent, and [the] cooperation that flow[s] from it...[which are] the foundation of dictatorship as well as of democratic government' (Schell, 2003, p. 130). It is also worth noting that *ahimsa* coupled with the strategic use of media has proven useful - from Gandhi's symbolic salt march to Martin Luther King's march on Birmingham, to anti-Apartheid struggles, Poland's Solidarity movement, the Philippines' people power movements, and more recently anti-globalisation protests (Ackerman, 2000; Ingram, 2003c, p. 46; King, 1967).

The temporal dimensions of engaged ecumenism are also particularly noteworthy. Macy speaks of the 'beings of the three times' - past, present and future - and the need for reverence and care for all these' (Ingram, 2003e). Ecumenical political activism seems to contain both the past and future within the present, in a tacit hermeneutical process not limited by scientific notions of time and causality. The re-interpretation of scriptures in the context of globalisation is the historical

expression of ecumenical politics; futures emerge from foundational moral and spiritual discourse, the key metaphors and narratives that constitute a religious tradition. The religious vision of time is comprised of a perennial orientation that on-goingly re-interprets past and future in the context of the present. Each tradition draws upon ancient writings and stories that allow a comparison with the present. For example, as the World Council of Churches write:

*the present form of a pernicious economic and political project of global capitalism [has been] described as “neoliberalism” .... In the Bible, [this] system of wealth accumulation that pushes people into poverty and destroys nature is seen as unfaithful to God and the cause of preventable suffering. It is called mammon, and characterized as the root of all evil. (Mshana, 2005, pp. 1,7,36)*

Finally, spiritual ecumenicalism contains a faith in the human power of transformation based on spiritual practice. This may be because many of these traditions already have enacted their spiritual values through history creating alternative social orders at various levels. Many spiritual communities, like Ananda Marga, the Kibbutz movement, Ashrams, and Christian or Buddhist monasteries, represent living alternatives to mainstream societies. As unique communities with alternative narratives and ways of being, they call forth the need to create social alternatives to our living practice in the wider context of globalisation. So while an eschatological gestalt is present and immanent in the spiritual vision, everyday work is focused on what can be done in the present to build concrete alternatives at scales manageable and possible by these communities. This is succinctly expressed by Houtart, who said:

*The struggle for Utopia is a struggle for hope, and that means it is not a struggle for something impossible to get, but with the idea that ‘something which does not exist today could exist tomorrow’ ... In the World Social Forum we have discovered that alternatives exist in all sectors of the collective human life... That means that the Utopia is possible and it is not just a dream. (Sahabandhu, 2006)*

### 2.1.8 En-gendering an Alternative Globalisation

Alternative globalisation cannot be conceived without addressing the conditions and institutions of structural violence within which many of the world’s women experience through patriarchy,

and the social structures that support it. An aspect of this is the power of voice and representation. Women's voices are often rendered invisible by the un-equal gender constitution of mainstream media. IPS reports that only 22% of news media is generated by women.<sup>10</sup> In locations of extreme structural (and literal) violence women suffer from fear and intimidation leading to a de-vocalising of self.<sup>11</sup> In professional fields in the West, male or masculinist voices can dominate. Salleh makes this point about the need for 'gender literacy' within WSF(P) and *alter-mondialisme*:

*the failure of gender awareness has been equally apparent at the World Social Forum, cutting edge of the global movement of movements, whose Manifesto of Porto Alegre 2005 was drafted by 18 white men and 1 African woman. Reflecting on this, Santos suggests that the way forward is through acknowledgement, voluntary self criticism, and putting measures in place to see that it does not happen again. (Salleh, 2009, pp. 8-9)*

Milojevic states that hegemony and ideological control through 'the imposition of a one-dimensional 'global' futures vision'' is a fundamental problem associated with *masculinist* globalisation (Milojevic, 2000). Hawthorne argues as well that economic globalisation is deeply gendered, and that 'the dominant global forces at work are capitalist, masculine, white, middle-class, heterosexual, urban, and highly mobile'... which propagates a false universalism and homogeneity based on masculine, Western, scientific and neo-liberal ways of knowing (Hawthorne, 2002, pp. 32-33). This is expressed at the domestic level where,

*women in the ranks of the poorest of the poor find that their weltanschauung is entirely filtered and mediated by a reified masculine expression of domestic hegemony. As a result, there is a deep seated disconnection and social amnesia about the real strategic role of poor women, one that is taken for granted and denied even among themselves. (Podlashuc, 2009, p. 284)*

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<sup>10</sup> From 'IPS gender wire'. 'IPS wants to redress a huge imbalance that exists today: only 22% of the voices you hear and read in the news are women's. Elections, health, education, armed conflicts, corruption, laws, trade, climate change, the global financial and food crises, and natural disasters. IPS covers these frontline issues asking an often forgotten question: What does this mean for women and girls?' <http://www.ipsnews.net/genderwire/> accessed November 1, 2009

<sup>11</sup> Lecture by Lee Salamanca, of the Grassroots Women's Empowerment Center (GWEC) in the Philippines, at the Victoria University Community Research Symposium, October 5<sup>th</sup> 2009

Neo-liberal Structural Adjustment Programs (SAPs) have had a significant detrimental impact on women of the global South. This includes: reduced school attendance among girls, worsening gender equity, declining access to health services, as well as the ways in which women often absorb the negative effects of this (Milojevic, 2005). Issues that women face in such circumstances include, unemployment, underpaid work, economic debts incurred through predatory money lending practices, forced prostitution, sex trafficking, sexual discrimination, and discrimination against ‘illegitimate’ mothers and ‘illegitimate’ children, and domestic violence.

In the suburban and ‘middle class’ West, the traditional structures of community and extended family has, for many, broken down. The experience of social isolation during child rearing is common for many women; too often, a woman’s sense of *anomie* is considered her *individual* psychological problem. Neo-liberal globalisation, in so far as it promotes individualised and commodified forms of social life, rends the social and community fabric, the basis for emotionally and physically healthy community based child and parent care. It also devalues (or appropriates the value) of work done by women. To the extent that globalisation is the expression of the commodification of life through neo-liberal policy and accounting, the work and value of what women do and provide is made invisible.

As Salleh argues, ‘by the logic of men’s ‘exchange value’, he who bombs a forest with dioxin is considered to generate worth and is highly paid accordingly, whereas the woman who builds her hut of hand-cut wattle and daub, then births a new life within, creates only ‘use value’, is not considered to be working or ‘adding value’ and remains unpaid’ (Salleh, 2009, p. 12). Likewise, as Waring argues, orthodox indicators of ‘progress’ such as GDP and the UNSNA do not measure what many women do (productive and re-productive – cooking, cleaning, care of children and the elderly, domestic food production, etc.), or how women ‘absorb’ the costs and externalities associated with economic rationalism. She argues that the systems used to measure ‘growth’, ‘development’, and ‘progress’ have excluded the majority of the work that women do (Waring, 2009).

The exploitation of natural resources that has typified neo-liberal globalisation threatens the livelihoods of women, and their families, who survive through subsistence means and who depend on local ecosystems for their present and future livelihoods: ‘ecological debt involves a debt beyond the extraction of value from waged labour; it involves the appropriation of people’s

livelihood resources' (Salleh, 2009, p. 4). Yet this debt should not only be seen in ecological terms but also as: 'the embodied debt owed north and south to unpaid reproductive workers who provide use values and regenerate the conditions of production, including the future labour force of capitalism...' (Salleh, 2009, p. 3).

Salleh introduces a new concept of class that allows for a sharper analysis of the neo-liberal displacement of value (surplus) and costs (externalisation), which she calls the 'meta-industrial class'. She argues that this class not only suffers from industrial capitalism's displacement (externalisation) of costs, but this class is also 'regenerative' in that it underpins industrial capitalism's capacity to survive: 'Meta-industrials include householders, peasants, indigenes and the unique rationality of their labour is a capacity for provisioning 'ecosufficiency' – without leaving behind ecological and embodied debt' (Salleh, 2009, p. 6).

The eco-sufficiency of the meta-industrial class can be contrasted with the sustainability crisis that industrial capitalism faces. Salleh notes that the energy consumption of industrial cities has 'created a 'metabolic rift' ...with environmental degradation the result', and as such the very survival of capitalism is based on appropriating the meta-industrial class's sustainability to redress its own inherent un-sustainability: 'the entire machinery of global capital rests on the material transactions of this reproductive labour force' (Salleh, 2009, p. 7). This includes the unacknowledged work of women of the global South.

The above epistemic inversion in the attribution of sustainability defines meta-industrial knowledge and practice (and low impact sufficiency livelihoods) as 'prefigurative', giving it critical 'political leverage' in the global policy debates (Salleh, 2009, p. 7). Likewise, Podlashuc argues that women of the global South's location in the global political economy positions them as an 'unconscious class' and 'the 'poorest of the poor' (which Marx referred to as '*lumpenproletariate*') (Podlashuc, 2009, p. 268). Yet unlike Marx's 'misgivings about the lumpenproletariate', Podlashuc argues that the 'atomised poor' express the capacity for empathy and solidarity in transforming their own lives and generating sufficiency and security (Podlashuc, 2009, p. 278). For this 'unconscious' class, producing eco-sufficiency is survival with dignity.

In programs like 'Shack/slum Dwellers International' (SDI), collective agency for women is expressed through a neo-Freirian methodology, in which the practice of collective savings becomes 'a collective investigation of poverty...a collective grassroots research process into the

problems facing shack/slumdweller... [this provides] dialogue between structure and agency, grounding action in a critical reading of reality' (Podlashuc, 2009, p. 278). This creates 'webs of solidarity' by which poverty is collectively confronted: 'little can be hidden and in this way poverty is shared, discovered, understood and through this dialogue, defanged' (Podlashuc, 2009, p. 275). In a similar way Milojevic articulates subaltern agency in respect to women's responses to hegemonic globalisation. She writes:

*In such a climate the less dominant social groups are left with two basic choices: (1) to mainstream their own visions of desirable futures into a global vision, or to (2) focus on developing alternatives within a localized context. Women have been actively involved in both processes. (Milojevic, 2000, p. 188)*

In envisioning a transformation of gender relations, challenging the social construction of history is primary. History has been largely written by men, and women have been mostly written out of history (Boulding, 1976). Reflecting historiographically, Inayatullah argues that the use or exclusion of gender as a category fundamentally challenges existing historical constructions. He writes, 'Eisler emerges with a theory of stages where one gender dominates and stages where the genders exist in dynamic partnership. [Elise] Boulding's interest in the problem of units of analysis lies in showing how these units themselves have removed women's voices from history' (Inayatullah, 1997c, pp. 181-182).

Milojevic argues that in the area of futures studies, male representations have largely dominated, with the effect of projecting and legitimising images of the future that marginalise women's issues and contributions. She writes: 'the domination of the masculinist images of the future has now reached a new peak', emphasising notions of expansion, technology, control, and grand concepts of progress (Milojevic, 1999, pp. 62,68), while 'within 'feminine' guiding principles it would most likely prioritise the futures of education, parenting, community, relationships and health..' (Milojevic, 1999, p. 69). Envisioning an alternative globalisation that works toward gender equity and values is fundamental. As an alternative vision of the future, various authors articulate another world order based on Eisler's vision of a partnership society (Korten, 2006; Milojevic, 1999, 2005). In this view, masculine guiding values have dominated the last six to seven thousand years, leading to a patriarchal cul-de-sac, a conflict ridden, hyper competitive, unequal world that values technological-instrumental power over life. The partnership model, on the other hand, balances masculine and feminine ways of knowing and being.

*In the model of partnership or gylany, neither half of humanity is permanently ranked over the other. This is a way of structuring human relations – be they of men and women, or of different races, religions, and nations – in which diversity is not automatically equated with inferiority or superiority. Here, we find a different core configuration: a more equal partnership between women and men in both the so-called private and public spheres, a more generally democratic political and economic structure, and (since it is not required to maintain rigid rankings of domination) abuse and violence are neither idealized nor institutionalized. Stereotypically ‘feminine’ values can be integrated into the social guidance system. (Eisler, 1997, p. 143)*

The challenge of enacting transformation is made more difficult by the existing structural positions that many women find themselves in. As Milojevic reflected, ‘our time and our energy are shattered over the multiplicity of tasks necessary for adjustment and survival within patriarchal societies’ (Milojevic, 1999, p. 63). This is also emphasised by Podlashuc, who argues ‘for the poorest of the poor the immediacy of need and urgency of poverty often prohibits any consideration of the future’ and suggests that the way forward is through sustained endogenous development processes in which women work together to change the structures of their embodied daily contexts (Podlashuc, 2009, p. 270), and as well through ‘local autonomy and resource sovereignty’ (Salleh, 2009, p. 8).

*when these savings collectives start generating utopian imaginaries, they generally move from oppositional to dialogical intercourse and begin to establish degrees of autonomy from the forces that limit them. (Podlashuc, 2009, p. 277)*

### 2.1.9 Co-Evolution as Alternative Globalisation

A discourse on ‘co-evolution’ can be discerned through literature on world futures (which preceded alternative globalisation research by decades (Jungk, 1969)), and futures studies, with associated aspects of the evolutionary sciences. This emerging co-evolutionary vision incorporates somewhat eclectic and wide-ranging influences. The evolutionary discourse is valuable because it dramatically transforms of the ontological and temporal frames which are

generally used to make sense of human life (and as contrasted with other discourses in this study). Unlike other discourses, it situates humanity outside of history, as part of millions/billions of years of biological evolution, and thousands/millions of years of cultural evolution.

In conceptualising the dynamics of change, Laszlo and Raskin use concepts like ‘punctuated equilibrium’ to describe movements from dynamic equilibrium states, turbulence and bi-furcation points to new system states (Laszlo, 2001, p. 172; Raskin, 2002). Their frameworks correspond with systems theories, complex adaptive systems, and complexity research, where the evolutionary branching model is used (Gunderson, 2002). Agency in this respect can be seen as humanity’s wise intervention and skilful action when faced with planetary (tipping) points of turbulence, ‘bifurcation points’, and critical thresholds (Raskin, 2006). Such authors argue for requisite consciousness toward planetary sensitivity in understanding potential tipping points in the planetary system we live in as a species, for example Spratt and Sutton’s discussion on potential climate change induced tipping points (Spratt, 2008 ). In this context, agency implies co-evolution (Hubbard, 1983), expressed as wise or unwise co-evolution within the ecological contexts of the species. The future is expressed as a vision of human co-evolution in and with an evolving Earth (transcending anthropocentrism) and the development of planetary consciousness.

One metaphor often used is the Earth as ‘spaceship’ signifying humankind’s dependence and unity with Earth (Boulding, 1966 / 1995; Fuller, 1978; Ward, 1966). A less mechanistic metaphor is ‘Gaia’, popularised by Lovelock (1979), in which Earth (as a totality) displays self regulating and homeostatic qualities, in which ‘life maintains conditions favourable to the existence of life on Earth’ (Jones, 1997, p. 152). The Gaia hypothesis is ‘a holistic theory of our planet as a living organism’ (Jones, 1997, p. 157).

Viewed through these metaphors, the planet and its biosphere are considered absolute. This position began to emerge in the early 70’s as a number of reports projected near future resource depletion coupled with population growth, which would push the limit of the planets’ capacity to sustain life (Meadows, 1972). Alternative world futures modelling efforts, in particular the Bariloche team’s (1976) *Catastrophe or New Society?* suggested that Western over-consumption was as foundational as population factors which were emphasised in the Club of Rome’s thesis (Hughes, 1985, pp. 12-25). Nevertheless, both studies shared the ontological orientation that offered the planet as a unit of analysis, or as Raskin writes: ‘Thought and action must rise to the level of this emergent totality, as well as to its separate manifestations, ontologically,

epistemologically, and politically’ (Raskin, 2006, p. 2).

However, ‘planet’ is not just an exterior and material reality, it is also a mode of consciousness brought forth by human beings; planetary consciousness itself is foundational. Thompson argues we are undergoing ‘planetization’ – a shift toward a planetary culture involving the capacity to cognize a global reality of mutual interconnectedness, and charts the evolution of human culture and perspective, from antiquity to the present and future (Thompson, 1974, 1987b).

Harman also makes consciousness foundational by charting the paradigmatic shifts of three metaphysical trends in human culture: from a sensate and matter based worldview, to a dualistic mind-matter based worldview, and to an emerging creative-consciousness based worldview (Harman, 1998). Likewise, Sahtouris articulates the need to rebalance indigenous inner knowledge with industrial outer knowledge (Sahtouris, 2000). Hubbard argued for the need to add a spiritual futures outlooks to the evolutionary and ecological crisis perspectives, to arrive at a holistic view of human-planetary co-evolution (Hubbard, 1983). Weinstein argues that we are experiencing a movement toward ‘creative altruism’ (as the ideational transformation which will enable the self realisation of humanity) (Weinstein, 2004). Humanity’s evolving consciousness, therefore, is seen as coupled to our emerging planetary predicament, as Henderson writes:

*This is the birth time of planetary human awareness and global citizenship. The planet is our vast programmed learning environment – which faithfully mirrors back to us all our errors and behavioral shortcomings. As we’ve learned – planetary citizenship as part of the six billion member human family is a cooperative affair. (Henderson, 2005)*

The evolutionary and planetary view locates human beings as a species among species. In Avadhuta’s vision of ‘Neohumanism’, all living beings have intrinsic or existential value, regardless of their utility to human beings’ (Avadhuta, 2006). Neo-humanist discourse shifts focus from inter-cultural categories (culture nationalism) to trans-cultural ones (species). Yet, the anthropological view equally emphasises a cultural maturation. As Kapoor writes:

*Human intelligence has been highly successful in relating to and mastering nature, but, by the same yardstick, it has failed miserably in coming to terms with*

*the plural representations of its own self! It is in correcting this imbalance that a wise path to the future lies. (Kapoor, 2006, p. 127)*

The past is not seen through the lens of history so much as through evolutionary science (corresponding with the fields of biology, anthropology, and geology). Biological and cultural evolution are seen as foundational processes (with their correspondingly long time frames). Laszlo, for example, argues humanity is shifting from a 10,000 year phase of ‘extensive evolution’ where the species moved in physical space to inhabit and conquer the entire planet, with ecological limits triggering an ‘intensive’ phase of evolution typified by the ‘development of mind and consciousness and greater depth in the grounding of community life and inter-community relations’ (Laszlo, 2001, p. 111). He argues we have experienced transformations of human culture from *mythos* (mythic consciousness), to *theos* (theistic consciousness), *logos* (rational consciousness) and now to an emerging *holos* (holistic consciousness) (Laszlo, 2001). Generally, the evolutionary view of time is grand. In considering human sustainability, Tonn writes:

*Humans ought to believe and behave as if they and their descendants will inhabit this earth many millions of years into the future. Humans ought to believe that it is important to protect the environment and behave accordingly because we know today that we are unlikely to survive into the distant future if we fail on this point. (Tonn, 2005)*

Such an evolutionary view also reminds us that 99% of the species that have emerged on this planet have also become extinct. From this grand evolutionary view, a sensitivity to humanity’s tenuous place on the planet must emerge. In this vein, Lowe writes:

*As to whether we will survive the twenty first century, if you were a gambler, you wouldn't back us with stolen money. We show no sign as a species or as a civilisation of even recognising the scale of the problem, let alone developing solutions... In ecological terms, I don't think there's any doubt that we're booked on the Titanic and steaming towards the icebergs. (Lowe, 2005)*

Yet Elgin argues we must do more than just survive: ‘To be sustainable, a civilisation must

maintain the integrity of the physical, social and spiritual foundations upon which it is established. To seek only to survive – to do no more than simply exist – is not a sufficient foundation for long-term sustainability’ (Elgin, 2005). In this respect, Elgin uses the metaphor of human life cycle, arguing that humanity is undergoing a ‘growing up’ process. He argues we are an adolescent species out of control, and must mature, so that we can create a ‘species-civilisation’ on a planetary scale which lives in harmony with the rest of the web of life’ (Elgin, 2005, pp. 16-29). This species wide growing up process can be considered from the point of view of the leadership within civil society. Civil society is conceived as a new force for planetary change. For Boulding it was key in building a culture of global citizenship (Boulding, 1988). Other authors argue the coping capacity required for humanity to deal with the mega-challenges of the 21<sup>st</sup> century will depend on the quickening of a Global Citizen Movement (GCM) (Kriegman, 2006; Raskin, 2006). As Raskin argues:

*We are drawn to the judgment, then, that the development of global coping capacity will be highly correlated to the parallel development of a GCM. One sees a harbinger of such a movement in the explosion of international civil society efforts on a host of global issues, conducted by spontaneous citizens campaigns and tens of thousands of international non-governmental organizations. The annual gatherings of the World Social Forum draw over 100,000 people in a week of celebration, education, and networking, an early suggestion of the immense popular energy that might propel a GCM. (Raskin, 2006, p. 16)*

## **2.2 Foundations of the Embodied Associational Formation of the WSF(P)**

This section introduces the constructivist interpretation of knowledge which I use throughout this thesis, and which draws on various traditions: action research, sociology, biology, and linguistics (Lakoff, 1980; Latour, 2005; Maturana, 1998; Reason, 2001). The various ‘constructivisms’ I draw from reject extreme forms of both positivist and postmodernist approaches to knowledge - (see chapter three section three for a broader discussion of this position).

In this thesis, drawing upon these constructivisms, I locate cognition (discourse, mind, ideation), in bodies (humans / animals, groups, associations), a formulation termed ‘embodied cognition’ or ‘embodied mind’. Embodied cognition is the idea that our cognising of the world around us is

located in us as individuals (cognising) and as groups (co-cognising). We are primarily social beings interacting and co-cognising with others, ‘structurally coupled’ into cultural (e.g. language, religion, tradition), and ecological / geo-graphic contexts (Maturana, 1998, p. 174). As Lakoff and Johnson argue,

*Understanding emerges from interaction, from constant negotiation with the environment and other people...the nature of our bodies and our physical and cultural environment impose a structure on our experience...recurrent experience leads to the formation of categories, which are experiential gestalts with those natural dimensions. (Lakoff, 1980, p. 230)*

The unique processes of becoming of collectives, from past into present, what Maturana and Varela term ‘ontogeny’, are the structures that mediate cognitions (Maturana, 1998, pp. 74-75). Applied to social groups, ontogeny is internalised as collective experiences of time through life (histories / narratives). These collective histories are always a work in process, as experiences and their collective interpretations arise and evolve as groups interact within their contexts, be these challenges or opportunities. Ruptures from particular narratives occur amid challenges and opportunities, as groups form new structural couplings into ever new formations, as diverse as the challenges groups face are diverse, in a process called ‘auto-poiesis’ (self-organisation) (Maturana, 1998, p. 117). Auto-poiesis describes the way that disparate actors, in the process of grappling with the issues they face, co-cognise themselves into newer shared / collective bodies / formations more capable of grappling with the issues understood to be collectively shared. In this thesis I describe such processes as ‘meta-formative’, discussed in more detail in this chapter.

In the course of the WSF(P), a great diversity of actors come together holding various theories, discourses, explanations, models, practical know-how and understandings of the world. This field of embodied ideation is referred to in this thesis as ‘knowledges’. Any one of these embodied knowledges do not explain the WSF(P) or AGM as a totality, but rather explains how knowledges guide the actions of the actors who hold them. These knowledges guide the way that actors cognise their situations and interact in their situations, and are as diverse as the people and groups that weave through the WSF(P). This diverse cognising expresses itself through the multiple ways that actors think about agency (social change), the multiple ways that actors think about the structures that need to be changed, the multiple narratives that actors hold about their histories and struggles, and the multiple futures that actors imagine, strive for and prefigure. This diverse

confluence of actors is a great challenge, both theoretically and practically, yet it creates the conditions and possibility for co-cognising (dialogue and debate) and auto-poietic processes, the formation of new collective ‘meta-formation’. Empirical work within this type of constructivism means appreciating the experience of diverse forms of embodied cognition, in both its cultural and ecological dimensions.

### *2.2.1 Hegemonic and Counter Hegemonic Globalisation*

Because this thesis is concerned with alternative futures of globalisation, and with the actors struggling for a different globalisation from the present order, I use the Gramscian terminology of hegemony and counter-hegemony. Hegemony refers to ideological power within the sphere of culture, it does not refer to political empire and / or state violence (although hegemony is related to these). Hegemony is a type of ‘soft’ power, in which the framing of an issue goes largely unnoticed by those within the context of an issue, yet exerts a great degree of influence in terms of maintaining *status quo* frames, understanding, language, and the practices and behaviours that flow from this. Hegemony works toward naturalising, maintaining, strengthening and furthering the legitimacy of those actors which are enfranchised and have vested interests in the *status quo* socio-political condition. As Hansen writes:

*...hegemony means ideological control by one class or group over another to the extent that structures of particular social systems are viewed as ‘natural.’ The active consent of major groups in a society to such moral and philosophical leadership is implicit. Hegemony differs significantly from totalitarianism in that consensual, voluntary and legitimate elements are central to the former. Totalitarianism amounts to failure to achieve hegemony. (Hansen, 1997, p. 131)*

I use the terminology of hegemony and counter-hegemony to give clarity to knowledges as expressions of hegemonic power or counter power. Throughout the literature on globalisation, there are some that have offered trenchant defences of *status quo* economic globalisation (Friedman, 1999; Wolf, 2004), while others have offered blistering critique (Bello, 2004; George, 1999). Different articulations privilege certain visions of the global future over others. In short, understanding the WSF(P) and AGM requires an analysis of how some knowledges legitimatise the present order, while others de-legitimise it, what is often described in the literature as ‘hegemonic globalisation’ vs. ‘counter hegemonic globalisation’.

The embodied cognition of actors through the WSF(P) is foundational to understanding what hegemonic and counter-hegemonic globalisation means in the present era. The WSF(P), by virtue of the groups and people that come, represents knowledges which have been marginalised or obscured by the dominant and official liberalist discourse on globalisation (as inevitable, necessary, progressive, developmental, etc). Santos argues that the WSF(P) represents an 'Epistemology of the South' (Santos, 2004b, p. 148), which expresses the legitimacy of the (multiple) knowledge systems of the world's marginalised and the social experiences which inform them. Whether they be Latin American indigenous groups struggling against the incursions of trans-national corporations, African peasants struggling against subsidised agricultural imports, Dalit (untouchables) struggling against an Indian caste system, Cuban permaculturalists, Buddhists teaching meditation for peace, or climate scientists arguing for the de-carbonisation of the global economy, together they represent knowledges coupled to diverse experiences, which challenges hegemonic expressions of globalisation. Counter-hegemony through the WSF(P) is fundamentally an expression of the embodied cognitions that diverse actors express.

### *2.2.2 Composing a Counter Public*

The scale of the WSF(P) underlies the difficulty of understanding it as a whole. Easily, several million people have participated in Social Forums.<sup>12</sup> Over 200 forums have been held across the world. (See appendix B). My estimates suggest between 50,000-100,000 groups / organisations / bodies / networks have also been part of it. In one instance alone, the March 15<sup>th</sup> 2003 Global Day of Action against the planned US invasion of Iraq, between 15 and 20 million people were directly influenced by it (Smith, 2008b, p. 75; Steger, 2009, p. 115). Thus participation is not simple and one dimensional; it is multi-dimensional and complex. I have come to see the WSF(P) as an example of epistemic and ontological complexity. Epistemic complexity refers to the diversity of viewpoints, standpoints and worldviews that converge within the process. Ontological complexity refers to the diverse array of organisations and groups and the issues they address that converge as part of the process. This epistemological and ontological complexity exists as part of what social forum participants are (the composition of participation), and as part of what social forum participants aim to address (the composition of issues). This can be seen as

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<sup>12</sup>The European Social Forum in Florence, Italy, reportedly brought together almost a million people alone.

inner and outer dimensions of social complexity.

	Internal composition of field (participants)	External composition of vision (issues)
Epistemic complexity	The array of ideological positions, cultural standpoints and worldviews that exist in the actors and participants that take part in the WSF(P) as a convergence	The array of ideological positions, cultural standpoints and worldview that are projected upon the various issues that actors and participants aim to address
Ontological complexity	The array of types of actors, such as social movements, NGOs, networks, ethnic groups, diasporic communities, and people as a convergence	The array of issues that actors and participants aim to address, and how they are systemically inter-locked and related

Table 2.2: Four Types of Social Complexity at the WSF(P)

Adding to the challenge of social complexity (heterogeneous actors and cognitive frames) is what is known as ‘problématiques, meta-problems or messes’ (Trist, 1979, p. 2), or alternatively ‘wicked problems’. In a wicked problem there are multiple views and definitions of ‘the problem’, and ambiguity on the problem boundaries. To describe this Conklin draws from Horst Rittel’s definition of a wicked problem, in which:

*One cannot understand the problem without knowing about its context; one cannot meaningfully search for information without the orientation of a solution concept; one cannot first understand, then solve. Moreover, what “the Problem” is depends on who you ask – different stakeholders have different views about what the problem is and what constitutes an acceptable solution. (Conklin, 2006, p. 14)*

In the WSF(P) the social complexity of actors meets the wicked problem of globalisation. Conklin argues the combination of social complexity and the wickedness of problems is a recipe for fragmentation (Conklin, 2006, p. 4). ‘Wickedness’ is expressed nowhere more clearly than in WSF and AGM commentary. Some authors discuss how the WSF gathers counter-hegemonic energies (Whitaker, 2004), and others argue that it wastes these energies (James, 2004a). As highlighted in the discussion on discourses for alternative globalisation, for some the meta-problem is neoliberalism, for others it is capitalism and empire, still for others it is patriarchy, and for still others it is the industrial-corporate state. Both what the WSF is (internal composition), and what the problems are that the WSF exists to address (external composition), depend on the

discourses and perspectives involved, and the embodied experiences of those groups and people articulating these. Such diversity problematises constructions of an AGM based on locating congruencies in either identity or antagonists, or a particular ‘telos’ and vision (Ponniiah, 2006, pp. 14-17).

### 2.2.3 Meta-Networks and Domain Development

As a response to the ‘wicked problem’ that the WSF(P) aims to address, Trist's research on inter-organisational networks helps us understand what is involved in the WSF(P) as an emergent domain (Trist, 1979). His approach shows the WSF(P) as an example of a process in the development of ‘meta-networks’, which emerge to deal with meta problems - problems too complex for single organisations to handle alone. The complexity of issues faced by people (the domain of meta-problems) must be matched by the strength of an inter-organisational domain (meta-networks). As he wrote, ‘The issues involved are too extensive and too many-sided to be coped with by any single organization, however large. The response capability required to clear up a mess is inter- and multi-organizational’ (Trist, 1979, p. 1). He argued that at a certain point issues become ‘field related’ and a ‘domain’ begins to emerge. ‘Referent organisations’ fill the role of coordinating and holding the space for this new domain of inquiry and action.

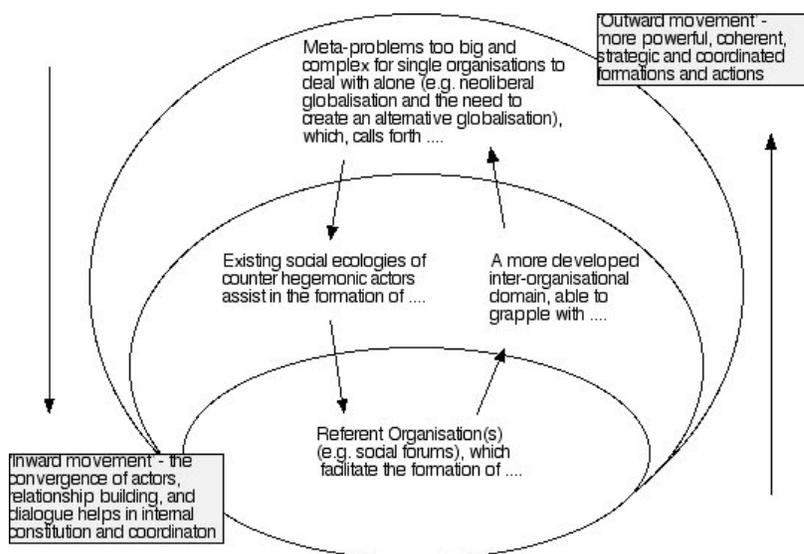


Figure 2.1: Meta-problem(s) the Development of Inter-Organisational Domain in WSF(P)

In figure 2.1, I show how the meta-problem represented by the pathologies of neo-liberal globalisation hastened the development of ‘domain related’ inter-organisational networks of

actors, which gave birth to the WSF as a 'referent organisation'. In Trist's view, the functions of a referent organisation includes, 'regulation.... of present relationships and activities; establishing ground rules and maintaining base values; appreciation... of emergent trends and issues [and] developing a shared image of a desirable future; and infrastructure support... resource, information sharing, special projects...' (Trist, 1979, p. 9).

*Once... a referent organization appears, purposeful action can be undertaken in the name of the domain. To be acceptable the referent organization must not usurp the functions of the constituent organizations, yet to be effective it must provide appropriate leadership. (Trist, 1979, p. 9)*

His description of referent organisations helps to explain the peak WSF and satellite forums, and the relational complexity of an emerging AGM. The organisational complexity of the WSF(P) matches Trist's description of social movements, which he argued were more loosely structured, consisting of un-centred networks (Trist, 1979, p. 8). Given that we have had hundreds of social forum events and platforms, as a whole process there are multiple referent organisations tied together more thematically than operationally. The WSF(P)'s complex domain development consists of drawing together un-centred networks through an open space methodology allowing maximum autonomy and diversity, thus widening the field of actors. Following an ideology of 'horizontalism', social forum organising efforts restrain themselves in attempting to represent the values and direction of such an inter-organisational domain, in effect disowning the (Old Left) role of vanguard (see chapter four).

The diversity represented by the WSF(P) has confounded many, and yet the domain related meta-problem(s) that actors come to address, however contested and debated 'constitutes a domain of common concern for its members' (Trist, 1979, p. 1). The challenge the WSF(P) faces is to respond effectively as a platform in which its 'members' can address the meta-problems they face, through facilitating inquiry about these problems, which leads to an affective formulation of actions and innovations. Trist argued long ago that 'the cultivation of domain-based, inter-organizational competence has become a necessary societal project' (Trist, 1979, p. 2). Smith argues in this vein the role of the WSF(P) in facilitating 'shared analysis' among heterogeneous actors (Smith, 2008a, pp. 217-219).

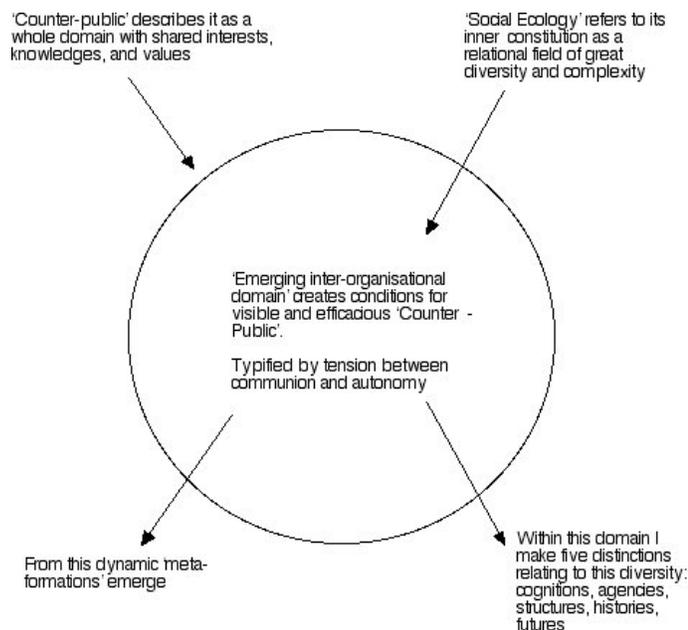


Figure 2.2: Social Forums as Emerging Counter-Publics

As seen in figure 2.2, I argue that the WSF(P)-AGM field is an emerging inter-organisational domain. To understand it as a totality, I use the terminology of ‘public spheres’, and argue in the footsteps of others (Juris, 2004; Santos, 2006; Smith, 2008a; Weber, 2005) that it constitutes a ‘counter-public’ (counter hegemonic public sphere) of shared or overlapping interests, values and knowledges. So as to not flatten and make one-dimensional this complex and dynamic process, and to appreciate its diversity, I adopt Trist and Santos’ language of ‘ecologies’, to display it as a relational field of great complexity. This diversity-in-communion / communion-in-diversity, creates the conditions for dynamic emergences and innovations I call ‘meta-formations’.

#### *2.2.4 Building Counter Publics for Another Possible World*

The WSF(P) process is not a neutral space for GCS, but a well articulated counter hegemonic response that creates a privileged space for aspects of GCS. It is not only deliberately counter-posed to the Davos WEF and transnational capital, the WSF charter has established an official distance from state and corporate power (though in practice problematic). The construction of forum communities rests partly on such a deliberate cleavage. The WSF charter of principles has facilitated a global mimeses of local and regional forums (Byrd, 2005 ). This ‘social forum model’, with its utopian orientation, cultural congruences and boundary setting mechanisms (of

who can be in and out), acts as ‘strange attractor[s]’ (Chesters, 2004). The WSF cannot be understood as only a meeting of GCS; the WSF(P) emerged as a more coherent effort to contest neo-liberal globalisation, and develop alternatives for ‘another world’.

As Weber argues, ‘alternative globalisation’, including both protests at key economic summits, as well as social forums, cannot be adequately understood by conventional approaches to global civil society, in particular the neat intellectual segregation between ‘state/economy/civil society’ (Weber, 2005, p. 194). He argues that alternative globalisation needs to be seen as a ‘counter-public’, which is a more substantive challenge to ‘the status quo and its institutional setting’ (Weber, 2005, p. 193). Teasing out any useful generalisation about GCS is simply too difficult when faced with the plurality of interests from which the category is comprised. He argues that: ‘complexity abounds to such a degree which can make the search for emancipatory sociopolitical agency and its contents look futile in the face of the sheer plurality of interests, motivations and orientations’ (Weber, 2005, p. 196). This plurality and complexity is dealt with by conceiving of ‘public spheres’, with varying qualitative characteristics and potentials. Following the work of Dewey and Cochran he writes:

*Public spheres thus conceived share with states the pragmatist definition of their purpose: ‘a shared interest in controlling indirect consequences that affect those associated.’ It is upon this outlook that publics ‘have traits of a state’. Each public can thus be seen as a ‘tool, which serves the specialised function of helping individuals, through cooperative social inquiry, to work towards more effective control of the indeterminate situations in which they share common interests.’*  
(Weber, 2005, p. 199)

Public sphere is therefore another way to construe Trist’s concept of a domain, where members share interests, developing inter-organisational meta-networks to deal with shared meta-problems. In Weber’s reading of trans-national public spheres, contrasts are seen reflecting the unequal relations in a capitalist system. Dominant publics reproduce the ‘Dominant Social Paradigm’ of unequal relations of domination and subordination. Even among the dominated, normalised state society relations are manifest through struggles for social change which take the institutional and organisational foundations of the social system as a given, and allow for ‘a relatively small range of antagonistic forms of struggle, biased from the outset towards the ‘incorporation’ of collective claims via compromise ‘solutions’ (Weber, 2005, p. 197). This might be thought of as a

‘reformist public’. Finally, the alternative globalisation movement, identified as a counter public, is conceived, which relies on meta-political practices:

*Meta-political practices are most pronouncedly what differentiate an approach to collective agency that includes a working notion of the counter public sphere from approaches which focus on access and participation from an institutional perspective.... The focus on counter publics brings to the attention of political analysis practices of collective agency directed at politicising the dominant mode of political engagement itself. (Weber, 2005, p. 203)*

Weber argues meta-political practices emerged in the ‘68 student revolts which aimed at a ‘comprehensive disruption of the dominant order’ (Weber, 2005, p. 202). Meta-political practices continued with the New Social Movements, in particular challenging the modern states legitimacy and monopoly on violence. He argues today such a counter public can be seen through ‘the diversity of creative challenges which query the dominant logics of globalisation: from the ‘copyleft’ movement, and alternative ‘subaltern’ news media, to street protests and other symbolic events, such as the Social Forum gatherings’ (Weber, 2005, p. 205). The antagonistic relationship between a sub-altern counter public and the dominant public sphere parallels the Gramscian analysis of the struggle for hegemony (Weber, 2005, p. 201). While the alter-globalisation counter public engages in a discursive attack on the foundations of the dominant order, through proposals for participatory democracy (Ponniah, 2006), workplace democracy (Albert, 2003), post-consumerism (Lasn, 2000), and the politicisation of social institutions (Teivainen, 2007, pp. 71-72), the ‘industrial-capitalist’ sphere equally engages in the discrediting of counter publics:

*From the perspective of the dominant form of ‘publicity’ reinforced by the business interest of mass media and the attempt of powerful actors to control, or at least shape and delimit the possibilities of public debate, counter public movements must be neutralized (not necessarily ‘suppressed’). Neutralization can take many different forms, but the identification of, for instance, ‘alter-globalisers’ with incurable romantic luddites, anti-modern forces or adolescent hooligans in ‘public’ discourse is a fine example. (Weber, 2005, p. 204)<sup>13</sup>*

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<sup>13</sup> Witnessed in the account I describe as the ‘G20 Convergence’. (See chapter five).

In Weber's analysis counter-publics define their own terms of living outside the norms of the dominant system. The emergent relational networks, made visible and strengthened through social forums, are such emerging counter publics. In the next section, I discuss the tensions within such emergent counter publics, between the proliferation and impetus toward diversity / autonomy and the impetus toward communion, unity and coherence.

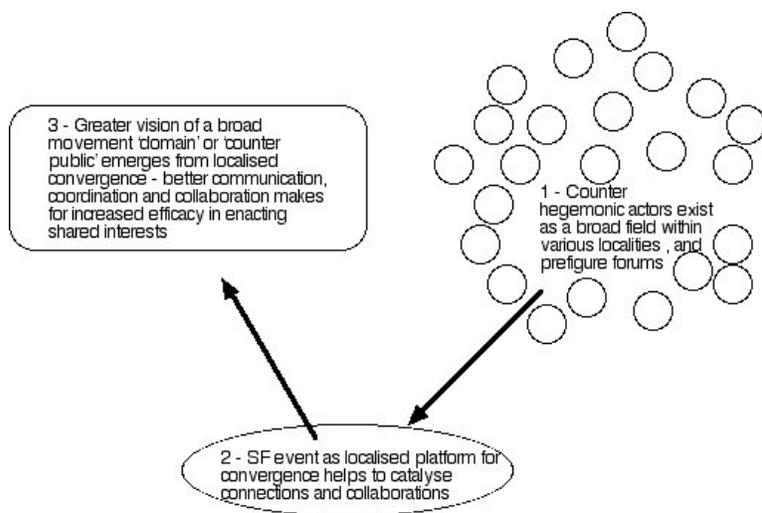


Figure 2.3: Relationship Between Forum Convergence and Formation of Counter Public

Figure 2.3 simplifies this development of a counter public. In part one we see how an emerging relational field of diverse actors prefigures any social forum event; as Trist argued, it may indeed bring it forth as a 'referent organisation'. In part two, the forum as referent organisation helps to catalyse better connections and collaborations between actors there, strengthening their capacity to work together toward achieving shared interests. In part three, an 'inter-organisational domain' emerges as a more efficacious relational field, which can be considered a counter-public sphere. Understanding an AGM entails evaluating how referent organisations (the WSF being just one of various within an AGM) help to construct domains of inquiry and action, (this evaluative task is taken up in chapter four's discussion of the development of the WSF(P) and chapter six's discussion of alternative futures of the WSF(P) through four evaluative scenarios.)

### 2.2.5 Dynamic Tension - The Engine of the WSF(P)

The WSF(P) expresses an ongoing tension within the AGM between efforts to create a total and

coherent response and future agenda (often described as ‘verticalism’), and a diversity of actors that represent variegated social alternatives and alternative futures (often called ‘horizontalism’). The WSF(P) sits dynamically between attempts at a unification of visions and between a dialogic and strategic process with lived and embodied social alternatives (Tormey, 2005). The quest for a single vision (teleological future) is dismissed, whether it is the right wing dream of a global free market, or the left wing dream of a classless society. In the WSF(P), a single manifesto is rejected. Rather, many existing social alternatives, or visions of a different world, share space together in this emerging relational field, as diverse ‘manifestations’ (Ramos, 2006b, p. 12). I argue that this dynamic tension is nothing less than the ‘engine’ powering the ship of alternative globalisation. Diversity gives the dynamism in the movement, with the multiplication of actors which have threaded through the WSF(P) expanding its thematic and organisational dimensions (a ‘totality’ difficult to characterise and generalise), while the impulse toward solidarity around shared interests, coherence and collective action is what is needed to make such relational networks more efficacious. Such a dynamic facilitates new ‘commons’, new collective diagnoses of meta-challenges, collective formations, new solidarities, new reciprocations (pragmatic relationships), and concrete collaborations.

In this thesis I call these emergent collective formations ‘meta-formations’. An example of an organisational ‘meta-formation’ through the WSF(P), where diverse actors unite toward common inquiry and goals, is the Assembly of Social Movements (ASM). ‘Meta-formation’ is in-process as the transformation of the single (ideologically consistent) vanguard into a prismatic, pragmatic and multi-dimensional force, similar to Chesters and Welsh’s ‘ecologies of action’ (Chesters, 2006, p. 153). Shared declarations (manifestations) include the Porto Alegre Manifesto or the Bamako Appeal (see appendices D, E and F). ‘Manifestation’ is the transformation of a universalising ‘manifesto’ into an iterative and situated proposal-in-process (Ramos, 2005). By avoiding the extremes of trying to create one unified movement or (everlasting) manifesto on the one hand, and avoiding the fragmentation typified by identity politics on the other, the WSF(P) helps to facilitate the emergence of meta-formative potentials at different levels and in varying thematic contexts.

#### *2.2.6 Social Ecologies of Alternatives and Meta-formative Dynamics*

Social Forum communities bring into view the relational complexity in the ‘co-presencing’ of actors who struggle for ‘another world’. I argue this relational complexity can be understood as

localised ‘Social Ecologies of Alternatives’ (SEAs). In their diversity, organisations bring forth unique proposals, initiatives and examples of alternative social models, at different scales, within and across a multitude of thematic parameters. Yet besides the piecemeal alternatives (existent or imagined) that are brought into the WSF(P) by each organisation, such spaces are more intentionally places where meta-formative innovation can happen. Forums as spaces create the potential for a complex composition of actors to co-cognise, co-construct, co-strategies and co-innovate alternatives toward the aim of systemic transformation.

One metaphor that can be used to give language to this relational complexity is the ‘bee and the flower’. The bee and the flower both have unique ontogenetic features (one coming from insects and the other from plants). Yet at some point a reciprocally beneficial relationship developed, as flowers relied on insects like bees to carry their creative genetic material, and bees relied on flowering plants for nutrients. While they do not communicate in the strict sense, they relate signifiers and indicators that allow for a broader process of structural coupling. Their ontogenetic differences do not preclude either the codes needed for structural coupling nor a tacit shared interest. As presented in this thesis as in others (Juris, 2004, pp. 440, 453; Reitan, 2006), complex ‘structural coupling’ and meta-formation occurs across ontologic diversities (organisations doing different types of work), epistemological diversities (organisations / groups with different worldviews) and thematic diversities (organisations working in thematically different areas), creating ‘ecologies of innovation’.

Reitan provides the best explication of global meta-formation (as a process of ‘scale shift’) in her analysis of the development of global anti-debt networks, Via Campesina, Our World is Not for Sale, and Peoples Global Action (Reitan, 2006). As well, William’s ethnographic account of alter-globalisation activism in Southern France may be seen as one examples of a SEA (Williams, 2008). Like Juris’ account of trans-national anti-corporate network activism (Juris, 2004), in this thesis I present accounts of a localised SEA (Melbourne, Australia) woven into a planetary SEA. (The implication of the local into the global, and visa versa, is taken up in a subsequent section discussing ‘planetary geo-structures’.)

The innovation of social alternatives is a collaborative affair, a process strengthened by the diverse set of actors that weave through WSF(P). The WSF(P) is in part a confluence of incomplete alternatives, in varying degrees of development. The experimental space of the alternative is emergent, carried by organisations and proponents looking for opportunities to birth

and nurture their alternatives into the world. It is through the collaborative potentials strengthened by an emergent SEAs, much like SDI's 'webs of solidarity', through which the precarious innovation of alternative existences is enabled (Podlashuc, 2009). The epistemological and ontological complexity that exists in the WSF(P) makes a unified movement harder, but enhances the potential for collaborative meta-formation between diverse actors. 'SEA' helps give language to a relational dynamic of support and solidarity between diverse actors, struggling within their variegated projects, yet working 'together' to make each other more mutually efficacious and viable as counter publics of shared interests, values and visions.

### **2.3 Analysing Social Ecologies of Counter Publics**

In the previous section I provided some frameworks through which we can conceive of the WSF(P) and AGM as a whole, through the language of 'domain' and 'counter-public', explaining some of the underlying dynamics involved in the construction of Social Ecologies of Alternatives (SEAs). In this section my attention shifts toward developing an approach that appreciates the immense diversity represented by the WSF(P), as well as developing an analytic framework that can address some of the core concerns of the thesis project.

To do this I draw on various authors and frameworks, which include Galtung and Inayatullah's macro-historical analysis (Galtung, 1997b), Boulet's theory of structuration (Boulet, 1985), Latour's Actor Network Theory (ANT) (Latour, 2005), and Santos' sociology of emergences (Santos, 2006). The work to recuperate the 'socio-ecological' diversity implicit in the WSF(P) and to valorise it as a living 'insurgent public sphere' has been most extensively developed by Santos, who by virtue of his sociological sense-making through the WSF(P) developed a specific sociology for it, called the 'sociology of absences and emergences'. I draw on his concept of the 'sociology of absences', to show how hegemonic 'monoculture[s]' make invisible or discredit alternatives, or as he writes: 'The sociology of absences consists of an inquiry that aims to explain that what does not exist is, in fact, actively produced as non-existent, that is, as a non-credible alternative to what exists' (Santos, 2004a, p. 238).

Santos likewise argues for replacing these monocultures with ecologies that give vision, awareness and richness to counter-hegemonic alternatives through a sociology of emergences. The sociology of emergences addresses how present processes indicate or signpost alternative futures or changes, and relates directly to one of the core concerns of this thesis, envisioning

counter-hegemonic alternative futures of globalisation. He writes: ‘although declared non-existent by hegemonic rationality - the sociology of emergences aims to identify and enlarge the signs of possible future experiences, under the guise of tendencies and latencies, that are actively ignored by hegemonic rationality and knowledge’ (Santos, 2004a, p. 241).<sup>14</sup> In this way he argues the WSF(P) represents an epistemology of the South that runs counter to the mono-cultural ‘epistemicide’ of hegemonic rationality (Santos, 2006, p. 3).

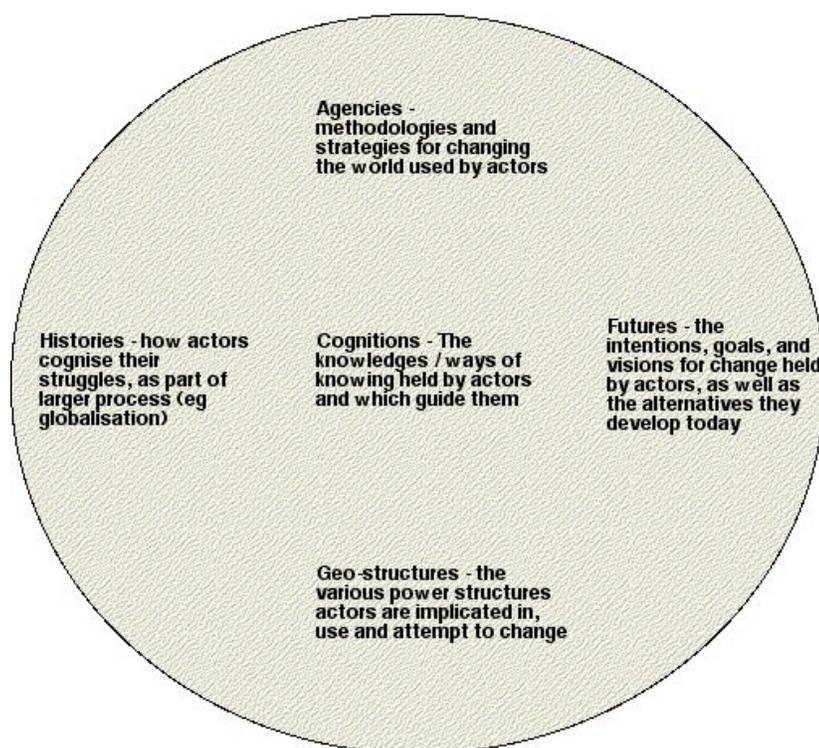


Figure 2.4: Five Aspects of the Social Ecology of Counter Publics

In order to ‘capture’ the complexity of the phenomena expressed by the WSF(P), I have developed a conceptual picture to appreciate its diversity, while focusing on aspects of this diversity. As seen in figure 2.4, the framework addresses five dimensions of the social ecologies that run through the WSF(P). These dimensions should not be considered ‘essential’ to the WSF(P), but rather constructed here to address the concerns I have held within this project. It has emerged from fieldwork and therefore contains strong echoes of later chapters. By order in this section, these five dimensions included: the cognitive dimensions of actors, the modes of agency

<sup>14</sup> The AFG discourses identified in this chapter represent an important aspect of this, these were the discursive patterns identified in my experience of the WSF(P).

expressed by actors (how x changes y into z), the structures which are articulated as foundational for these actors, the histories that actors self articulate, and the visions of futures that actors hold, prefigure and struggle for.

### *2.3.1 Social Ecology of Cognitions (of Knowledges, Discourses and Epistemes)*

Discursively, articulations of alternative globalisations substantiate their truth claims differently (eg empiricism, social constructivism, critical history, concientisation, etc), as well as recognise those who are privileged with the truth. Are trained experts who employ statistical modelling the only people capable of revealing the truth, or is it organic intellectuals, or do the experiences of indigenous communities count as well? In each approach to AG, assumptions exist about whose knowledge is valuable or real and whose isn't, who has knowledge and who lacks it, how valid knowledge is produced, and the wrong way to produce it. As Mittelman, Robinson and George argue in respect to developing a Critical Globalisation Studies, an examination of the embodied perspectives that espouse AG allows us to look more deeply at both the dispositions, viewpoint and epistemes from which a discourse assumes a world, but as well its location in the world in respect to geography, economy, culture and political power (George, 2005; Mittelman, 2004b; Robinson, 2005b).

This dimension of the analytic framework, therefore, examines the cognitive aspects within the WSF(P), what counts as knowledge, and the discursive and epistemic standpoints actors work from. Social forums and the wider alternative globalisation movement / process bring together knowledges, discourses and ways of seeing the world that draw from diverse experiences, which Santos argues amounts to an 'epistemology of the South' (Santos, 2004b, p. 148). Santos' conception of an 'ecology of knowledges' attempts to address (and counter) the monoculture of scientific knowledge and rationality (identified in his sociology of absences), which eradicates, makes invisible or subordinates other (Southern) knowledges in a process Santos terms 'epistemicide' (Santos, 2006, p. 3). This is addressed by making the diversity of knowledges visible. This ecology is a recognition of the variety of knowledges that move through and interact among actors within counter hegemonic globalisation processes, and which inform diverse social practices of resistance and transformation. Santos argues, social practices involve a variety of knowledges, and therefore of ignorance – not just one (Santos, 2006, p. 19). Any one type of knowledge is incomplete, as one type of knowledge is (often) ignorance of another. He argues that 'modern capitalist society' favours scientific knowledge – and ignorance of science

disqualifies one's credibility (Santos, 2006, p. 19). In hegemonic terms, the real world interventions that scientific practices afford are favoured and their contradictions accepted as inevitable (Santos, 2006). As well scientific knowledge is not evenly or equally distributed, thus real world interventions favour those with access to this scientific knowledge. Yet like all knowledges, scientific knowledge has 'intrinsic limits' in terms of its 'real world interventions', which are the result of scientific ignorance. The ecology of knowledges is concerned with the 'identification of other knowledges and criteria of rigour that operate credibly in social practices' (Santos, 2006, pp. 18-19), as opposed to the 'monoculture of knowledge and rigour of knowledge' which deems only techno-science as credible (Santos, 2006, p. 16).

In light of this, Santos concerns himself with examining how the knowledges which confront each other through the WSF(P) must display 'contextual credibility' (Santos, 2006, pp. 18-19). He argues, knowledges participate in epistemological debates with other knowledges, in particular with scientific knowledge. This does not, however, imply a negation of science or relativistic conceptions of knowledge, for example, the legitimacy of non-scientific knowledge does not imply the illegitimacy of scientific knowledge. Both must engage in epistemological and pragmatic debates. The legitimacy of non-scientific knowledge rests on the counter-hegemonic use of science, as well as a scientific pluralism (itself embodying epistemic diversity), and diverse non-scientific knowledges. He argues we must promote inter-dependence between scientific and non scientific knowledges, not based on notions of equal relativism, but confrontation, debate and dialogue between them - acknowledging and overcoming internal (parameters of interventions) and external (recognitions of alternative interventions based on alternative epistemic positions) limitations of each, as 'the utopia of inter-knowledge is learning other knowledges without forgetting one's own' (Santos, 2006, pp. 19-20). The aim here is to valorise the diversity of knowledges which run through the WSF(P), and examine the interactions, conflicts, debates and complementarities in the knowledges that run through the WSF(P) and counter hegemonic globalisation in this study.

### *2.3.2 Social Ecology of Actors and their Expression of Agency*

One of the primary questions in this study pertains to how social change is enacted by different types of actors that flow through the WSF(P) and are part of AGM. As seen in the discussion on discourses for AG, different theories and practices of AG conceive of agency in distinct ways, which help to stabilise and contour their different potentialities. This question is compounded by

the grand scale on which alternative globalisation is conceived. Globalisation, in its various intellectual manifestations, is conceived within various discourses with differing time scales. However these discourses all share a pre-occupation with an emerging grand scale of change, which is 'global' or 'total', in respect to transforming, reforming, evolving or revolutionising globalisation. A question naturally arises in respect to the who and how in the transformation or modification of large or persistent historical formations and structures. This is one of the primary interests of this thesis; to explore and articulate community empowerment and responses to the global issues that people face.

Understanding the diversity of actors and their forms of agency is a particular challenge within the WSF(P). To address this, Santos articulates an 'ecology of recognitions' that allows for the mutual recognition of 'equal differences' or 'an ecology of differences comprised of mutual recognition':

*The ecology of recognitions has become a structural innovation of the WSF owing to the social and cultural diversity of the collective subjects that participate in it, the different forms of oppression and domination they fight against and the multiplicity of scales ... of the struggles they engage in. This diversity has given a new visibility to the processes that characterise the differentiated and unequal dynamics of global capitalism and the ways in which they generate different types of contradictions and struggles, not all of which may be simply integrated into or subordinated to class struggle, and which do not necessarily take the nation as their privileged arena. (Santos, 2006, p. 24)*

#### *Linking Actors with Agency*

For the purposes of this analysis an actor is an entity, through self-definition, expressing agency - the capacity to interact with the world and indeed change in it various ways. To give expression to the plurality of 'actors' and their expressions of 'agency' in the WSF(P), we can also draw from Latour, who takes a wider view of what an actor is as '...anything that does modify a state of affairs by making a difference is an actor – or, if it has no figuration yet, an actant'. He asks rhetorically 'Does it make a difference in the course of some other agent's action or not?' (Latour, 2005, p. 71). For Latour, then, actors and agency are interrelated. Further, Latour's concept of 'actor networks' guides the identification of agency as a complex manifestation

between entities / identities. Agency is not understood atomistically as the activity of solitary subjects or independent organisations, but rather as a web of inter-activity co-constructing the worlds that we inhabit, never in the singular, but part of a web of causality, such that ‘An actor is what is made to act by many others’ (Latour, 2005, p. 46) and ‘action is not done under the full control of consciousness; action should rather be felt as a node, a knot, and a conglomerate of many surprising sets of agencies that have to be slowly disentangled’ (Latour, 2005, p. 44). In this view tracing (collective) agency should produce uncertainty about the nature and origin of causality: ‘If an actor is said to be an actor-network, it is first of all to underline that it represents the major source of uncertainty about the origin of action...’ (Latour, 2005, p. 46). Thus a more authentic social is known through opening up who/what counts as actor, and what is the origin of action. This tangle can include a wide variety of possible actors, people, meta-networks and ‘metaformations’, ideas and ‘manifestations’, artefacts, machines, infrastructure, ecosystems. Latour argues the categorical impulse in social theory is to eradicate our capacity to see a diversity of actors / agents. Tracing actor networks is thus the discipline necessary to give them (in their particular circumstance) their due visibility, to show how they make the world, and to clarify how the social comes into being as an associative process. Santos’ ‘ecology of recognitions’ re-iterates the need to analytically make visible:

*the social and cultural diversity of the collective subjects that participate in [WSF]..., the different forms of oppression and domination they fight against and the multiplicity of scales (local, national and transnational) of the struggles they engage in... (Santos, 2006, p. 24)*

### *Frames of Agency*

How human beings have transformed their environments through time, anthropocentric conceptions of agency, exist in great variety, for example through the leadership of civil society (Kaldor, 2003), social movements (Moyer, 2001), and the diffusion of innovations (Rogers, 1995). For Toynbee, it was a 'creative minority' from within a civilisation which allowed civilisations to renew themselves (Galtung, 1997a), while for historian of antiquity Ibn Kaldun, change comes from outside of civilisation, from those that have struggled outside of power from a marginal position, and have developed collective integrity, resilience and cohesion (*asabiya*) (Inayatullah, 1997b). Drawing on the phenomenal growth of international NGO's, and their somewhat progressive (though normatively problematic) orientation toward the new social

movement values of peace, women's empowerment, human rights and the like, some authors show how civil society itself is a force for change. Boulding argued that civil society organisations are key in building a culture of planetary citizenship (Boulding, 1988). For Kreigman and Raskin, it is from within civil society where the quickening of a Global Citizen Movement emerges that has the power to create dramatic change (Kriegman, 2006; Raskin, 2006).

Peoples capacity for leadership, transcendence and transformation often feature as key agent in global change. Henderson articulates agency through creative capacity for social innovation, in the context of the problems associated with economic globalisation (Henderson, 1996). For her, our capacity to individually and collectively develop new social forms and arrangements, alternatives to the landscape of the *status quo*, is what enables change. Caldicott likewise argues self actualising conscious and caring people are key in creating global change (Caldicott, 1992). In Freire's concept of critical historical consciousness, he called for a conscientising education that would allow people to see the stages within history and the outline of a future epoch. Through a process of 'temporal conscientisation', we are able to address the critical issues of the present (Freire, 1973; Ramos, 2005a). In a similar way, P.R. Sarkar articulated wise and spiritual leadership as key for social change, embodied by 'sadvipra', those who transcend 'the contradiction of the ages':

*The sadvipra are universal agents, transcending and working across the spectrum of institutional forms.... Developing the consciousness of the leader must precede any specific change to the structures of social organisation.... The sadvipra represents 'a new type of leadership conscious of the pattern of history and the structures of power that gives us our selves.'* (Floyd, 2005, pp. 50-51, quoted from Inayatullah 1999, p 1973)

#### *Transforming the vanguard*

Inayatullah calls this the role of the vanguard: 'a complete theory of macrohistory also requires the links through which the pattern of history can be transformed' (Inayatullah, 1997c, p. 187). Agency in this respect concerns what discourses say about who is able to change the patterns of history or structures of society, or alternatively, who is marginalised, silenced, dismissed or discredited in terms their capacity for enacting change. Santos addresses such a politics of agency

in his sociology of absences, discussing the logic of social classification which works toward a monoculture in the ‘naturalization of differences’, and the use of categories that ‘naturalize hierarchies’ which are part of the reproduction of domination (Santos, 2006, pp. 16-17). As Santos writes: ‘According to this logic, non-existence is produced as a form of inferiority, insuperable inferiority because natural. The inferior, because insuperably inferior, cannot be a credible alternative to the superior’ (Santos, 2006, p. 17). Santos argues ‘this practice goes hand in hand with the disqualification of agents’ (Santos, 2006, p. 23), as ‘the coloniality of Western modern capitalist power...consists in collapsing difference and equality, while claiming the privilege to ascertain who is equal or different’ (Santos, 2006, p. 23). Recuperating a recognition of diverse actors is central to recuperating an understanding of diverse forms of agency, or as he writes:

*Feminist, post-colonial, peasant, indigenous peoples’, ecological, and gay and lesbian struggles have brought into the picture a wide range of temporalities and subjectivities and have converted non-liberal conceptions of culture into an indispensable resource for new modes of resisting, formulating alternatives, and creating insurgent public spheres (Santos, 2006, p. 24)*

What is remarkable in the WSF(P) is thus how the concept of the vanguard has been pluralised. This analysis aims at appreciating the diversity of actors that are part of the WSF(P), recognising who they are, how they act, cohere and re-make the world. Latour’s Actor Network Theory supports this by challenging us to open our notions of agency to the realm of the non-human. For him ‘...anything that does modify a state of affairs by making a difference is an actor’ (Latour, 2005, p. 71). As such agency can both be conceived as social / endogenous to humankind, or non-social / exogenous. Notions of non-human / exogenous agency challenge humanist assumptions about the centrality of human beings in the causation of change. From a self-regulating Earth which has intentionality (Jones, 1997; Lovelock, 1979) to complex adaptive (biological) ecosystems (Gunderson, 2002), we need to challenge the assumption that the non human world behaves in a mechanical or predictable way, as well as more deeply examine the reflexive potentialities in the production of technological innovations and systems we design, which then design us (Fry, 1999), disturb us (Rogers, 1995) or reflexively transform us (Beck, 1999).

### 2.3.3 Planetary Geo-Structures

In this section, I discuss the coupling of human structures and the eco-systemic spaces in which they interact. This is the context in which counter publics (and the SEAs which make them up) are situated. The theoretical combination of structure and geography, is referred to here as ‘geo-structure’, and follows an emerging body of literature that attempts to integrate our understanding of human and ecological systems (Latour, 2005; Raskin, 2006; Robbins, 2004; Salleh, 2009). This is depicted in figure 2.5 through what Raskin calls ‘Human Ecological Systems’.

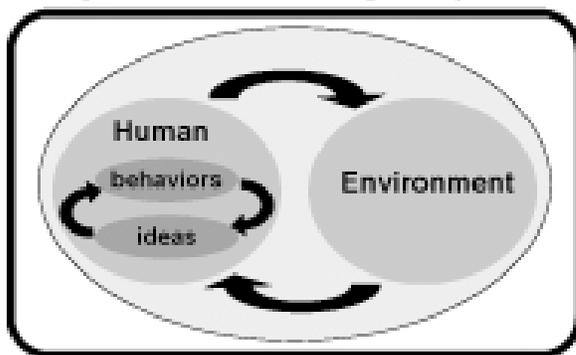


Figure 2.5: Raskin's (2006) Model of Human-Ecological Systems

There have been over 200 social forums since the first in 2001 (see appendix B). They have been as thematically diverse as the world is culturally and ecologically diverse.<sup>15</sup> They have taken place across five continents and in over 120 cities. Such geo-geographical diversity, located across space and time, makes generalising such a process very difficult. We cannot locate a universal statement of the WSF ‘vision’ or its alternatives from only one place and one time. Social forums, and the alternatives that are presented through them, differ depending on the context. The Karachi forum reflects its social ecology, while the Caracas forum reflects the context there. Social ecologies of counter-hegemonic actors do not reflect one unitary ‘system’, or one vision, but rather a tapestry of social ecologies of counter publics, each which emerges from the uniqueness of the structural (cultural, political, economic, etc.) and ecological (geo-geographic) contexts they exist in. This requires a movement away from abstract universalism.

<sup>15</sup>See appendix B for list of social forums since 2001

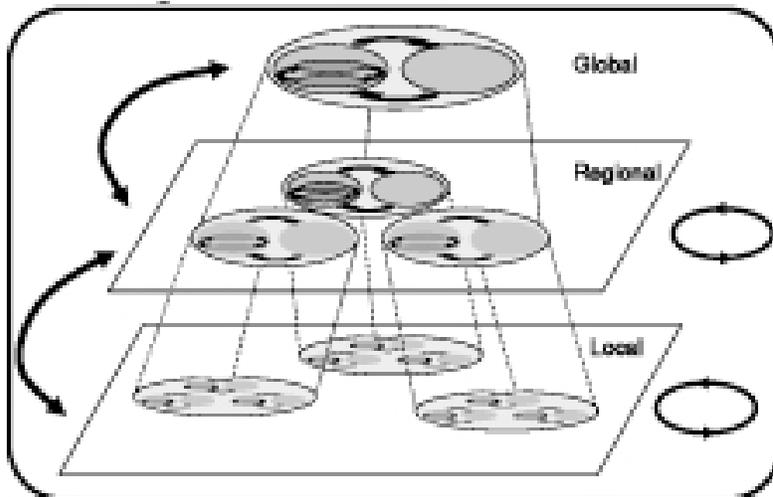


Figure 2.6: Raskin's (2006) Model of Human Ecological Sub-Systems

As seen in figure 2.6, a variety of 'subsystems' are part of a larger planetary geo-structure. Each forum community exists in a particular context, what Raskin calls a 'Human Ecological Subsystem'. Each subsystem has its attendant ecological makeup and attendant human structures (e.g. cultures, political processes, economic systems). Understanding forum communities also requires an appreciation of the diversity of human-ecological systems and subsystems.

#### *Toward a multi-spatial vision*

Santos addresses the 'logic of abstract universalism and global scale' through what he calls the 'ecology of transcales' (Santos, 2006, p. 25). The ecology of trans-scales aims at 'recuperating both hidden universal aspirations and alternative local/global scales that are not the result of hegemonic globalization' (Santos, 2006, p. 25), and challenges 'the monoculture of the universal and of the global' as 'the scale adopted as primordial determines the irrelevance of all other possible scales' (Santos, 2006, p. 17). He argues, the discourses for hegemonic globalisation attempt to portray unity and convergence around core western concepts linked to neo-liberal globalisation, such as the primacy of the 'market, democracy, rule of law, individualism and human rights', which are in fact fraudulent and excessive universalisms that do not correspond to an empirically problematic globalisation (Santos, 2006, pp. 25-26), as 'the knowledge we have of globalisation...is less global than globalisation itself' (Santos, 2006, p. 14). His sociology of absences attempts to show what has been hidden as scale, by recuperating both, 'hidden universal aspirations', and 'alternate scales'. In contrast to the representation of (universal) convergence, this aspect of the sociology of absences shows divergences (Santos, 2006), where what is

revealed as alternate universal aspirations are – social justice, dignity, respect, solidarity, community, cosmic harmony.....’ (Santos, 2006, p. 26). He argues universalisms are located in particular social contexts – and this ‘expands the scope of localised clashes among alternative or global aspirations’ as ‘there is no globalisation without localization... as there are alternative globalisations there are also alternative localizations’ (Santos, 2006, p. 26). Just as ‘world’ social forums reflect local concerns, ‘local’ social forums reflect global concerns.<sup>16</sup> In this way Santos refers to the ‘alternative localisations’ that have hidden global aspirations, and which make up diverse articulations of ‘alternative globalisation’.

This allows a view of ‘localised globalism’ to emerge, as both ‘the impact of hegemonic globalisation on the local’ as well as the disempowerment of the local, and the locals’ relegation to a secondary effect / epiphenomena of ‘global forces’. Through Santos’ sociology of absences, we seek to understand what in the local is not just ‘reducible to the effect of the impact’ as well as detecting ‘oppositional globalizing aspiration[s]’ (Santos, 2004b, p. 26). The local is re-constructed as both that which resists assimilation into global capitalist production and culture, and that which impacts upon the global as a force in its own right, with its particular and contextually specific aspirations for an alternative globalisation(s). As well, the ecological challenges that localities face are foundational in revealing the ‘political ecology’ (Robbins, 2004) that is implicated in such challenges and which actors aim to transform. What has empirically emerged in this study has been the way that different geographies / localities express distinct social ecologies / relational fields of counter hegemonic actors, processes and visions, depending on the geo-structural contexts they are situated in, as well as the real yet tenuous relations and associations between differing social ecologies embedded in far flung planetary geo-structures, (for example between participants in Australian Social Forums and those at World Social Forums or Asiatic forums).

This is underlined by Latour, who argues we must ‘localise the global’ (Latour, 2005, p. 173), as ‘global’ is often used in social theory as a surrogate ‘actor’ capable of any force, of any structure, or any dynamic a social theorist imagines. Instead, Latour argues we must find the local correlations among any proposed ‘global’ dimensions. For Latour there is no causality, no agency nor actor without its locality. A global context should not be assumed *a priori*, but must

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<sup>16</sup>The validity of honouring local struggles and alternatives within WSFs now has a *bona fide* tradition, in Porto Alegre with participatory budgeting, in 2006 with Bolivarian undercurrents, 2007 with African struggles, 2009 as Amazonian. (While the Melbourne Social Forum has been especially concerned with climate change, transport and indigenous justice as examples.)

be traced and connected across localities: ‘There exists no place that can be said to be ‘non-local’. If something is to be ‘delocalized’, it means that it is being sent from one place to some other place, not from one place to *no* place’ (Latour, 2005, p. 179). Its reciprocal movement entails ‘redistributing the local’, meaning a locality is in no sense local in itself, but generated from a network of connection which are non-local. Interactions are not local in various senses: they are not *isotopic* (‘what is acting comes from many other places’); they are not *synchronic* (interactions embody ‘folded’ time); they are not *synoptic* (not all the actors and interactions are visible, nor countable); they are not *homogeneous* (interactions come from heterogenous sources); and finally they are not *isobaric* (they do not exert equal pressure or influence). Thus he writes: ‘the notion of a local interaction has just as little reality as global structure’ (Latour, 2005, p. 203). ‘Stretch any given inter-action and, sure enough, it becomes an actor-network’ (Latour, 2005, p. 202) beyond the categorical certainties of both local and global.

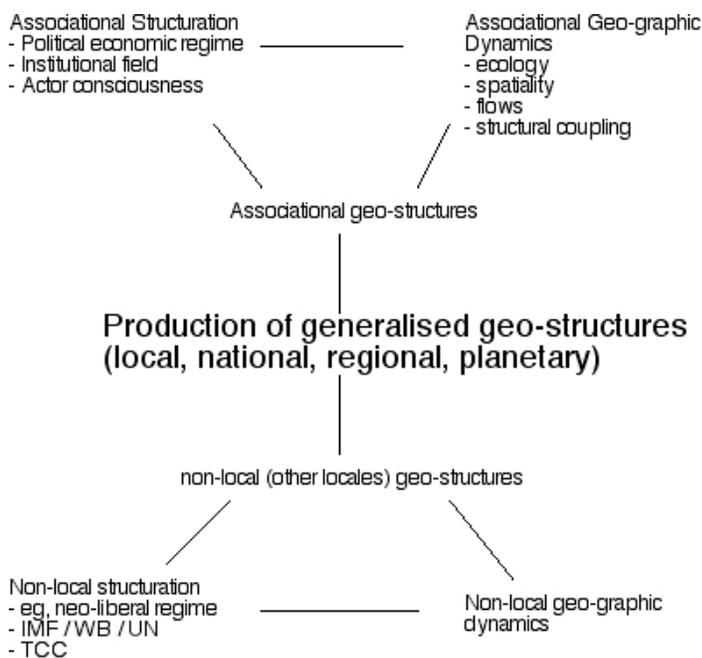


Figure 2.7: Aspects of Geo-Structural Locale

I attempt to capture this in figure 2.5, in which we can understand locale as both based in local geo-graphic / ecological contexts (upper right), and local human structures - cultural, political, economic - (upper left); but as well it is in relationship with non-local geo-graphic / ecological contexts (bottom right), and non-local human structures (bottom left). Each forum community, as an expression of an emerging social ecology, reflects a locality that is situated across these four aspects of geo-structure.

By extension, social forums as expressions of localised counter hegemonic aspirations are interlinked with each other in complex relational fields as part of the AGM, which are neither purely local or global, but 'planetary'. As Latour suggests, so called 'local' actors may be non-local, refer to non-local social issues and problems, may use open source software developed by a 'global' / de-territorialised community, may have important links with non-local actors, may be composed of non-local resident / migrants, may have been inspired by examples from 'abroad'. Thus in the WSF(P), social alternatives emerge as part of a planetary process in which many localised counter publics, some more dense or formed than others, are embedded in diverse geo-structures across the world. These localised counter publics are at once connected to other nodes and networks in the planetary matrix, linking them together, while each is bound to communities that are tied into geo-graphic locations, bioregions, and political economic regimes. As Santos argues, 'alternative localisations', expressions of counter-hegemonic SEAs, are foundational in making possible the more abstract concept of alternative globalisations, and an AGM as a cognitive generalisation.

### *Cognising Structures*

Once we become aware of how actors as part of this process are contextually-geo-graphically situated, we can more easily appreciate how they cognise structures in context-specific ways. The alternative localisations that contain alternative global aspirations contain a diversity of ways in which structures are cognised by different actors. Our cognition of structures pertain to how we conceive of formative aspects of reality, through the categories that are used to distinguish social life, the notion of structures / deep structures / superstructures that underpin societies, 'units of analysis', metaphors that frame the world we see, and generally what are considered essential, unchanging and perennial aspects of the world. They are as diverse as the concepts of race, caste, class, gender, state, nature, species, etc, They arise from our embodiment in the world, social groups, disciplines, cultures, and more generally are expressions of the worldviews we are embedded in. As Thompson writes:

*All narratives, artistic, historical, or scientific, are connected to certain unconscious principles of ordering both our perceptions and our descriptions (Thompson, 1987a, p. 13).*

Inayatullah uses the term 'unit of analysis' to describe how such orderings play a role in conceiving of social change; they are not universal features of reality, as 'cultures universalize their own categories onto other cultures; their success is based on political, technological and economic factors, not *a priori* universal factors' (Inayatullah, 1997c, p. 180). He argues we need to look at the construction of categories and ordering, 'how... the ordering of knowledge differ across civilization, gender and episteme'. He asks: 'what or who is othered' and 'how does it denaturalize current orderings, making them peculiar instead of universal' (Inayatullah, 1998, pp. 818–819)? An appreciation for embodied actor cognition of the structures they are implicated in and the structures they aim to change challenges essentialist or definitive notions of specific structures and scales that are specific to the WSF(P).

*Linking agency and structure in the development of counter-publics*

To better understand localised actors in geo-structural contexts, Boulet's framework for understanding levels of 'action contexts' is useful. In his study of community development interventions Boulet developed an approach to conceiving of social reality based on levels of 'action-determinants' within a consideration of structure and agency, which acknowledges that distinctions of space / time should not be seen as separate essential domains, but rather as 'holographic' contexts (Boulet, 1985, pp. 234-235). He argues: 'Levels... are not precisely and accurately separable; they interpenetrate and are in themselves and between themselves mobile and dynamic...' (Boulet, 1985, p. 244). His approach is to conceive of the whole and the parts simultaneously, to show the micro in the macro, and the macro in the micro, 'to construct a framework allowing to avoid false dichotomizations and "specializations" and to perceive interventions not only on the most proximate level, (e.g. "either" micro "or" macro), but in their implications on all levels/contexts of constitution of acting' (Boulet, 1985, pp. 234-235). In this way Boulet conceives of three levels in the constitution of 'acting (or "structuration", or of [re]production of global society, or of explication of the overall implicate order) which exist as a "virtual" and holographic order' (Boulet, 1985, p. 245). This includes the 'everyday acting/structure', the 'political economic acting context', and the 'level of institutional mediation' (Boulet, 1985, p. 245).

Levels	Expression
Macro: Political-Economic	The abstract economic and political systems that determine the flows of capital and social goods, and the ‘re-generation of this system, through education, socialisation, consumption, and (class) consciousness’ (p270-271).
Meso: Institutional	Institutions reify ‘norms, rules and values’, which ‘co-determine interaction and modes of acting’ of exploitation and appropriation or which widen ‘the action margins for particular groups or “positions”’ (p248-256)
Micro: Subjective / Personal	The existential dimension of the self, and the embodiment of social motives and purposes, as the fragmented pursuit of money or the emancipatory re-connection across life-worlds (p248).

Table 2.3: Boulet’s (1985) Three Levels of Action Contexts

Within the various geo-structural locales where counter publics emerge, we can see these virtual levels as windows into how political economic regimes, institutional domains, and fields of subjectivities work simultaneously in a dynamic process of mutual re-enforcement, sustainment and reproduction. As an extension of this view, an analysis of diverse counter publics needs to acknowledge how actors are complexly implicated in structures of power.

What I have observed through the WSF(P) was the way in which powerful institutions indeed underpinned both the capacity for the WSF(P) to succeed, and made possible alternative movements of change and counter-power within the macro spaces of social or political-economic regimes. While the WSF charter prohibits governments and corporations from entering the forum space, (and cultural institutions and actors are indeed privileged, along with social movements and intellectual celebrities) ‘progressive’ economic and political institutions, which share values through the WSF(P) and alter-globalisation, have in many ways provided the foundations for such a process to succeed and continue. A structural focus through this analytic lens allows an identification of the institutions within particular geo-structures which support counter-hegemonic actors, or more ambitiously how structures can contain / embody alternatives and form part of a field of counter-hegemonic actors.<sup>17</sup>

### *Implication in Power*

The movements for another globalisation are fundamentally concerned with both politicising and transforming power structures (Teivainen, 2007). We therefore need a way to think about what

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<sup>17</sup> Institutional examples of the AGM are diverse. See chapter five for local examples and appendix U for some WSF examples.

structures of power mean in respect to globalisation. For example, in Sklair analysis, the current global system is composed of three main spheres of power, the economic, political and cultural, and through this we witness the emergence of new structural synergies of domination (Sklair, 2002, 2005 ). This is carried forth economically through transnational corporations, politically through an emerging transnational capitalist class, and culturally through the ideology of consumerism (Sklair, 2005 pp. 58-59). As Mills explored half a century earlier through his analysis of the circulation of power in the US between economic, military and political domains (Mills, 1956), Sklair points out the emerging structural synergies in capitalist globalisation. Korten, in a similar fashion, points out his vision of needed structural (cultural, political, economic) alternatives (Korten, 2006). In table 2.4 I use both Sklair's and Korten's distinctions as examples of how alternatives presented within the AGM are structural in nature.

	Capitalist Globalisation (Sklair)	Alternative Globalisation in AGM (Korten)
Economic	Trans national corporations and their interests	Local Living Economies Fair Share Taxation and Trade Democratising Workplaces
Cultural	Culture-Ideology of consumerism - worth based on possessions and accumulation	Post Patriarchy Feminine Leadership Narratives of an Earth Community Spiritual Inquiry
Political	Trans national capitalist class - plutocratic systems of governance	Democratising Structures of Governance Participatory and Open Media Precautionary Policy Making

Table 2.4: Capitalist to Alternative Globalisation, Sklair (2002) and Korten (2008)

The WSF(P), as an expression of AG, is a platform for economic, political and cultural transformation. More importantly, however, social alternatives do not exist in the somewhat ambiguous territory of (global) civil society, but are directed at a variety of structures (Robinson, 2005a; Sklair, 2002, p. 315). For counter hegemonic alternatives to have the possibility of becoming social realities necessarily requires that institutional anchors are created. The 'ecology of productivities' articulated by Santos' (Santos, 2006, p. 27), which includes alternatives toward participatory democracy, fair trade and equity, are alternatives that require structural transformations to occur. The development and sustainment of alternatives must also find its structural synergies across these domains of economy, politics and culture (and other categories), albeit as counter or different to the dominant system. Indeed, Ponniah discusses the 'WSF vision' as the radical democratisation of these spheres of power (Ponniah, 2006).

Thus while the WSF espouses a privileged domain for 'civil society', the substantive direction is

in both providing the space and possibility for new ‘structural couplings’ – synergies – to emerge between key spheres, such that a field of self-politicising counter power can emerge, become resilient and influential in democratising core aspects of institutional life. In this sense alternative globalisation means linking both non-institutional counter publics (such as forum spaces) and structural synergies of counter power that are also institutional. This view presents the WSF(P) as a tapestry of interlinking social ecologies which facilitates alternative formations of structural power. As an interactional domain, forums express a ‘critical’ methodology in building social capital (Gilchrist, 2004, pp. 4-7; Mayo, 2005, p. 50), by opening up opportunities for interaction, informational exchange and collaboration as a counter point to the elite social capital represented by the Davos WEF (Lapham, 1998). Both counter hegemonic synergies of structural power in combination with non-formal and grassroots spaces and mobilisations are needed to make counter publics, and the SEAs within them, viable, durable and potentially transformational.<sup>18</sup>

### *2.3.4 Social Ecology of Histories / Ontogenies*

There exist different temporal renditions of globalisation, historicisations of when globalisation started, as well as varying periodisations of it, the accounts of the stages in its unfolding or turning. Scholte synthesises the arguments into five basic positions. The first position argues globalisation has ancient origins, starting with the dawn of human civilisations. The second position sees the origins of globalisation as lying at the beginning of the world capitalist system, the onset of the European colonisation of the Americas and other parts of the world. The third position sees the onset of globalisation with the beginnings of the industrial revolution. A fourth position sees its initiation at the beginning of the 1950’s, at the start of US hegemony. Finally, a fifth position sees globalisation as a modern phenomenon, beginning in the 1970’s as part of the rise of late-modernity, post modernity, neo-liberalism and other more recent features of change. While Scholte sides with the last two conceptions of the inception of globalisation, arguing it has only been until recently in which the scale of interaction across the world has been sufficient to be called global (Scholte, 1997, p. 16).

Problematically, a-historical conceptions of globalisation are more likely to embody liberalist assumptions that the West was its inevitable (and beneficent) catalyst. Marks challenges these

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<sup>18</sup> For example the development of cultural media alternatives such as TeleSur, were supported by alternative political actors (Cuba, Venezuela, Argentina, Brazil), while participatory economic governance in Porto Alegre Brazil was supported by the Workers Party of Brazil.

views arguing that interactions between civilisations were robust and intensive long before European expansion (Marks, 2002). Sardar, Alvarez and Nandy argue the narrative of Western progress distorts both the history of colonisation and the deep inter-civilisational connections that existed prior to Western expansion (Sardar, 1993). Likewise Synott positions the historical origins of globalisation as a process of interaction between ascendant civilisations such as the Hellenic, Chinese, Indic, Islamic and Eurasian, through various processes and exchanges in trade, technology, philosophy and ideas (including religion), diplomatic missions, early exploratory missions, and conquests (Synott, 2004, pp. 56-70). Finally Modelski locates the opening period of globalisation around 1000 AD with the emergence of Islam through its geographical reach, intensive trade in goods, and unparalleled knowledge production / archiving, and its position between continental formations, which linked much of the world for the first time (Modelski, 2000, p. 49).

As seen in this chapter, discourses for alternative globalisations, because of their grand scope, both temporal and spatial, are an expression of existing approaches to world history, historiography and macro-history. Theories and discourse on AG cannot be conceived without tacit or explicit theories of history that are global in scope and which describe *longue duree* patterns of change. Whether or not AG discourses acknowledge how, theories of long term historical global change rely on historio-graphically distinct constitutions. Importantly, the historiographies of alternative globalisation are expressions of the politics of knowledge - one foundation in the construction of counter-hegemonic knowledge (and action) or as part of the neo-liberal de-politicisation of history.

An important distinction, between historiography and historicism, expresses the level of reflexivity of historical vision displayed within different accounts. Simply put, some accounts display little reflexivity, and express a naïve faith in their own version of the unfolding of history (a historicist account). This historical unfolding, moreover, will determine a given future, not open it for dialogue between competing temporal visions. Nandy suggests this is part of the difference between the tyranny of one utopia, and a healthy dialogue between many utopias (Nandy, 1992). Alternatively, some accounts will acknowledge that their use of history was a particular choice, not necessarily the only one, and that other versions of history are possible, which likewise make other futures possible (a historiographically reflexive account). As Nandy argues:

*By history as oppression I mean not only the limits which our past always seems to impose on our visions of the future, but also the use of a linear, aggressive, cumulative, deterministic concept of history - often carved out of humanistic ideologies - to suppress alternative worldviews, alternative utopias and even alternative self concepts. (Nandy, 1992, p. 46)*

Historicism is often ethnocentric and leads to a 'deliberate restriction of the imagination', as well as negating or invalidating alternative futures which do not fit within its 'rhythms', 'patterns', 'laws' or 'trends'. It often offers poor and incomplete explanations of causal mechanisms in history, and it carries assumptions about our ability to extrapolate from past to future (to see the future as a simple extension of the past) (Goldthorpe, 1971, pp. 275-277). Most significantly, it puts history and change completely outside of human influence, negating human agency and innovation. Historicism plays a role in closing down or 'colonising' the future.

Alternatively a reflexive approach to historiography allows for a diversity of views, and open up avenues for understanding agency and alternative futures. Inayatullah argues that looking at alternative pasts (and futures) allows for an understanding of 'which interpretation of past is valorized', and 'what histories make the present problematic', as well as 'which vision of the future is used to maintain the present' and 'which explodes the unity of the present' (Inayatullah, 1998, pp. 818-819). He argues:

*...history in itself should, like the future, be pluralized and placed in a nexus of self-interpretation.... Macrohistory should not close the debate of science, interpretation, temporality, power and spatiality; rather it should make it increasingly diverse. To be transformative in creating alternative politics and alternative futures, macrohistory must make necessary and important links with the present and the future. (Inayatullah, 1997c, p. 198)*

Santos argues hegemonic globalisation is in part based on the logic of a monoculture of linear time, which through its narrative of techno-scientific progress makes the non-West residual or 'backward' and 'suppresses' or 'renders unintelligible' alternative conceptions of time. He writes: 'domination takes place by reducing dominated, hostile or undesirable social experience to the condition of residuum' (Santos, 2006, p. 22). Inayatullah argues in a similar vein that, ' [the] linear pattern alone leads to imperialism, wherein particular collectivities can be placed along the

ladder of economic success' (Inayatullah, 1997c, p. 187). As part of the 'ecology of temporalities', Santos argues:

*different cultures generate different temporal rules... societies are constituted of various times and temporalities... once these temporalities are recuperated and become known, the practices and sociabilities ruled by them become intelligible and credible objects of argumentation and political debate. (Santos, 2006, p. 23)*

Explicating nine discourses for AG has been part of broader effort at the 'recuperation' of temporal diversity. In this thesis AG discourses express plural historicisations - conceptions about the unfolding of history and its periodisations, and how 'globalisation' is situated in this. The very notion of an alternative globalisation assumes the possibility of transformation or change; but this cannot be conceived without an idea of its historical emergence. A diversity of historical vision is key in breaking through the limits of mono-cultural time. Is globalisation something totally new, simply the last of 'four epoch' of capitalist transformation, or just a layer on top of an ancient process? Is the seminal historical moment in the development of the world system the Bretton Woods conference that established US hegemony, the Treatise of Westphalia, or was it from the initiation of European expansion and world conquests starting from the 15th century? The question of what should change is, in part, dependent on how globalisation is conceived as a historical process. Any 'prescription' rests on the diagnosis, which in this case is based upon how various actors and writers historicise globalisation.

In a similar way, the heterogeneity among actors within the ambit of the WSF(P) and an AGM pertains to, on the one hand, the histories of the struggles various movements, campaigns, groups, ethnicities and organisations have been part of, and on the other hand, the longitudinal nature of the projects for change that each propose. Temporality is fundamentally 'ontogenic' in the sense of being embodied in the living practices of actors that rest on a cognising of their own (self referencing) histories and the direction and meaning of their collective aspirations. As discourses for alternative globalisation have different pasts and futures, so too do the variegated actors that form the tapestry of counter-hegemonic globalisation. As Santos argues:

*Building coalitions and organising collective actions across different time rules is no easy task... Only by learning from each other and thus through multitemporal literacy will such difficulties be overcome.’ (Santos, 2006, p. 23)*

### *2.3.5 Social Ecology of Alternative Futures*

The WSF(P) is intensively engaged in a process of articulating and demonstrating substitution and replacement of that which is critiqued in many dimensions of social life: as dis-functional, exploitative and un-ethical. Part of the significance of the WSF(P) is its explicit call for alternatives, with the proclamation that ‘another world is possible’. The language of ‘another’, ‘alternative’, or ‘difference’ is woven through both the popular ‘*otro mundo*’ pronunciations, as well as academic literature on ‘another’ or ‘different’ globalisation. While the WSF was first articulated as a critique of the ‘One Truth’ of neo-liberalism (Santos, 2006, p. 47), it has become a convergence of many alternatives on many scales and for multiple contexts. ‘Alternatives’ is therefore the dominant mode through which the future manifests itself: hence an ‘alternative’ globalisation movement - AGM. In this thesis, I am concerned with the alternative futures of globalisation that emerge from the WSF(P) and AGM.

#### *Knowledge-power and the image of the future*

The issue of knowledge-power is fundamental to understanding temporality: whether a future is used to justify or legitimise the present order and its injustices, or whether it casts doubt upon and de-legitimises the present order. As Inayatullah argues, understanding the future requires a discursive appreciation for ‘distance’, by looking at ‘which scenarios make the present remarkable’, ‘unfamiliar’, ‘strange’ or ‘denaturalize it’ (Inayatullah, 1998, pp. 818-819). If the world at the present is experiencing ecological destruction and social dislocation, is it still justified as a necessary sacrifice for a better future, the inevitable growing pains of ‘progress’, ‘modernisation’ or ‘advancement’? Therefore, how the future is ‘used’ is fundamental, whether the future represents one industry, one culture, or an elite group’s triumph (over others), who is erased from the future, who is privileged in that future, and how the image of the future has been ‘colonised’ (Sardar, 1999a).

In the discourses for alternative globalisation examined in the last part of this chapter, theorists

and writers articulate an alternative to the present order, and a shift in the trajectory of change. Thus, AG concerns the future in fundamental ways; in these AG discourses, the future is not an explicit subject of inquiry, but rather a tacit feature of the overall discourses, and the future in these discourses remains un-explicated. Various discourses carry different epistemological stances regarding what ‘the future’ is. They might be located along a ‘spectrum’ between pluralistic and deterministic conceptions of the future. Many carry ‘teleological’ assumptions, the idea that the future has a specific trajectory or direction.

Critical Futures Studies (CFS) has attempted to subject such discursive projections of the future to critical scrutiny (Inayatullah, 1998; Sardar, 1999b; Slaughter, 1999). It has (by and large) contested deterministic visions of the future, arguing instead for the idea of alternative futures, an incorporation of human agency, an acknowledgement of structural in-determinacy, the future as interpreted and constructed, as an expression of cultural hegemony, and as foresight which is embodied (Floyd, 2009; Ramos, 2004a, pp. 51-56; Ramos, 2005a). By rejecting the singular and / or hegemonic future, CFS attempts to create the possibility for a dialogue between civilisational visions (Nandy, 1992, p. 18).

Alternative futures is therefore a more empowering and empirically consistent discourse to conceive of ‘that which is yet to be’, acknowledging the role of human agency, challenging hegemonic narratives of the future, and articulating plural visions for ecologically and socially sustainable futures. Santos’ concept of the ‘ecology of temporalities’ captures this – ‘the idea that the subjectivity or the identity of a person or social group is a constellation of different times and temporalities...which are activated differently in different contexts and situations’ (Santos, 2006, p. 22), [and challenges the] ‘monoculture of linear time, the idea that history has a unique and well known meaning and direction’ (Santos, 2006, p. 16). As alternate futures of globalisation are, in part, contingent on the futures of the WSF(P), the WSF(P)’s futures itself should also be pluralised, rather than proclaimed as singular and set. (I thus take up the futures *in and of* the WSF(P) in subsequent discussions and build synoptic scenarios for alternative futures of the WSF(P) in the concluding chapter.)

#### *Alternative futures in the WSF(P)*

Early in the thesis journey I began to explore the idea of alternative futures within the WSF(P). Using an analytic approach which combined Causal Layered Analysis with complex adaptive

systems research (Gunderson, 2002; Inayatullah, 1998; List, 2004), I looked at how projects of change through the WSF(P) expressed different scales, time horizons and speeds of change. These varied from fast moving and short term tactical actions to medium speed strategic and structural change efforts with a medium term time horizon, as well slower changing processes of worldview shifts, and onto very slow and seemingly glacial shifts in the core narratives of cultures and human identities (Ramos, 2006a). I found that the WSF(P) embodied variegated projects that relate to variegated temporal horizons: as a space for coordinating resistances and tactical responses to issues, such as the March 15<sup>th</sup>, 2003 Global Day of Action which brought together between 15-20 million people in protest against the planned US invasion of Iraq, (coordinated from the Florence ESF and Third WSF) (Smith, 2008b, p. 75; Steger, 2009, p. 115), as well as protest movements against Free Trade Agreements. As an expression of medium speed change with medium time horizons, it is a locus for groups proposing institutional reform or deeper structural changes in law, such as proposals to reform or de-commission the WB and IMF, and proposals such as the Tobin Tax and the reform of lending systems, or even longer projects toward developing a post-Bretton Woods global order (fits into a 50-100 year time frame). Finally, as an expression of a new worldview of planetary solidarity and ‘epistemology of the South’, with new narratives for multi-ethnic integration and a planetary society. And dealing with issues of racism that have 500-1000 year time frames (see appendix U).

Rate of change	CLA - Inayatullah & List	Panarchy – Gunderson & Holling	World Social Forum Process: some examples
Fast	Litany	Policy / contracts / fashions / fads	Global Day of Action against Iraq war Struggle against Free Trade Agreements
Medium	Structures / systems	Laws / Institutions – 5 to 50 years	Tobin Tax / Coordinated campaigns Reformed lending systems and institutions (World Bank / IMF)
Slow	Worldview / Ideology / Epistemology	Traditions / constitutions 50 - 100 years	Spiritual Politics Epistemology of the South Global Cultural Commons Participatory Culture
Very Slow	Myth / Metaphor – Core narratives; Macro-history	Culture – 100 to 1000 years	Building a planetary society Narratives of cross-cultural integration People’s social justice heroes

Table 2.5: Correlations between CLA, Panarchy and the WSF process

The inclusiveness of the WSF(P), its geographic, cultural and epistemic diversity indicates a diversity of time orientations on the part of actors there. Some actors have used the WSF(P) to serve shorter term tactical goals, while others to propose and develop alternatives to neo-liberalism, others to discuss a transition to a post-industrial world, still others to address the millennial problem of castism and racism. As seen in table 2.5, the various projects (and their attendant discursive elements) that weave through the WSF(P) express a temporal heterogeneity. As Santos argues: ‘the time diversity of the movements and organizations participating in the WSF is inviting the development of a new kind of time literacy, which I would call multi-temporality’ (Santos, 2006, p. 23).

### *Embodied futures*

The distinction concerning whether an alternative is one that is proposed (to be enacted in future) or one which is embodied (it exists today and is ‘prefigurative’), is central to the question of the future within the WSF(P). In other words, the logic of ‘alternatives’ and of substitution is expressed through the way an alternative is either articulated as a future possibility or demonstrated as a present actuality – or a combination of both. Articulations of alternative futures of globalisation, are at times explicit (as in AG discourses), but at other times must be inferred through proposals and positions (for example proposals to reform the global financial system). Yet these are fundamentally different in character from working alternatives, which embody AFG by prefiguring wider change, for example through the development of workers cooperatives (Albert, 2003) or the Open Source software movement (Lessig, 2005). As seen in chapter five, ‘prefigurative politics’ (Smith, 2008a, pp. 199-200), initiatives, collaborations, actions, experiments and innovations which embody alternative futures are a crucial element in the World Social Forum Process, and the active collaboration toward praxis aimed at bringing about desired social change is central to the WSF(P). The meaning of the future through the WSF(P) includes its embodiment through active experimentation, co-innovation in meta-formative and ‘heterotopic’ space (Juris, 2004, pp. 453-454).

Santos uses the term ‘ecology of productivities’ to describe the economic aspect of such alternatives. He argues they are a challenge to the logic of capitalist productivity which ‘confronts directly both the paradigm of development and infinite growth and the logic of the primacy of the objectives of accumulation (over the objectives of social justice and sustainability), characteristic of global capitalism’ (Santos, 2006, p. 27). He argues we must recoup and valorise ‘alternative

systems of production, popular economic organizations, workers cooperatives, self managed enterprises, solidary production...’, in every sphere which include social movements for land rights, housing, forest stewardship, anti-castism, movements against privatisation of resources and social welfare which stand for other modes of productivity at odds with capitalist market interests (Santos, 2006, p. 27).

Santos broadens the concept of ‘economy’ to include ‘democratic participation; environmental sustainability; social, gender, racial, ethnic equity; and transnational solidarity’ (Santos, 2006, p. 28). Thus we can include many social alternatives and the futures that these alternatives potentiate, for example activities in cultural production, such as (de-commodified forms of education, research and popular media), political production (construction of new modes and models of governance – participatory, communitarian, cosmopolitan, direct and deliberative democracies) (Mayo, 2005, pp. 39-45), and democratic economic production (fair trade businesses, cooperatives, participatory economics) (Albert, 2003). While some alternatives exist as cultural formations (in intellectual labour, media production / re-presentativity) and do not position themselves as economic alternatives, they still must survive in capitalist political economies and market contexts. As well, political alternatives, both as modes of governance and policy content, focus on different visions for governance, which need to take into account economic considerations, but are not economic alternatives in and of themselves.

If an alternative can work in the present, it signals the possibility of its survival, expansion and the ‘seed’ of an alternative future. In this sense embodiment is prefigurative; if it works today in one context, it can therefore be adapted for other contexts. Can it do the same thing differently and better at the same time, substitute the dominant and hegemonic with something new?

Articulated / proposed alternatives (see appendices D, E and F as examples) on the other hand have a much harder task, as they do not exist outside of their ‘creotic’ form, they are blue prints or the ‘DNA’ for novel and different approaches, and as such there is no evidence (or only archival / historical evidence) that they will be / can be economical, democratic and meaningful, nor proof that they will not descend into a mire of more problems than solutions.

I argue, the process which links these two forms of proposed / articulated and embodied / prefigurative is the process of popular and participatory experimentation and evaluation whereby pilot projects, social experiments and demonstrations can test and validate (or invalidate)

localised alternatives<sup>19</sup> that can then be scaled up (or down) and articulated for larger / broader / more general scales and contexts of application, or scaled down for newer and bolder social experiments.<sup>20</sup>

*Toward a multi-temporal vision for alternative globalisation*

The complex commingling and potential interlinking of projects across different time horizons, speeds of change, and historical conceptions within the WSF(P) is both a theoretical and practical challenge. Neo-liberalism is only the most immediate, and visible, manifestation of a 'problematique' which actors through the WSF(P) articulate. A deeper appreciation for the many discourses for AG, proposed alternatives at forums, and the embodied alternatives that prefigure alternative futures, is vital to deepening and broadening our sense of anticipation (short term to long term) and its potential (from a teleological future to many alternative futures). This also reflects Wallerstein's view that the alternative globalisation movement needs to address different issues at different times scales: first 'an open debate about the transition we are hoping for', second 'short-term, defensive action, including electoral action', 'third middle-range goals' toward the 'progressive de-commodification against neoliberal attempts to commodify everything', and last 'to develop the substantive meaning of long-term emphases, most crucially a world that is democratic and egalitarian' (Hayden, 2005, p. 15; Wallerstein, 2004a, pp. 272-273).

*Alternative globalisation and the reconstruction of civilisational visions*

The utopian energies which the WSF(P) channels through its call 'Another World is Possible' can be seen as part of a multi-civilisational reconstruction of the image of the future in light of the futures scholarship of Polak and Boulding (Boulding, 1978; Polak, 1973). In Polak's analysis, cultures that have lost a dynamic and compelling image of the future eventually lose cohesion and direction. The fall of a civilisation corresponds with the loss of a transcendent and utopian future (Polak, 1973, pp. 15-57). He argued that when a culture carries a dynamic combination of a transcendent future with a more rational utopian one, it animates a culture, generating cohesion and energy toward those preferred visions. For him, 'the image of the future' has its own organising power and dynamic which 'pulls' people toward it. As he argued:

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<sup>19</sup>In this sense localised alternatives will prefigure their 'planetary application' and thus alternative localisations in Santos' sense are significantly constitutive of alternative globalisations.

<sup>20</sup>This is also contested as one banner at the Sustainable Living Festival in Melbourne (2009) stated 'can we really afford to call it alternative energy'?

*Bold visionary thinking and imaginative projecting are in themselves the prerequisites for effective but gradual social change and piecemeal amelioration to take place through political programs and measures. (Polak, 1973, p. 56)*

Boulding extended Polak's analysis, reflecting on the emergence of futures studies, counter-cultural shifts and new utopian sentiments which emerged in the latter half of the 20th century (Boulding, 1978), and which the WSF(P) can be seen as an extension of (see chapter four). In this light, the utopian imaginations that weave through the WSF(P) are a necessary element in addressing the civilisational challenges we face. The WSF(P) has facilitated the emergence of a prismatic, complex, multi-layered process of reconstructing images of possible futures, an imaginative and practical process which is a vital in calling forth transformational change. Santos argues in this way that the WSF expresses an anticipatory logic, and acts in a field of social expectations 'to radicalise expectations based on real possibilities and capacities here and now' and create a 'new semantics of expectations'. The WSF, he argues, fosters 'anticipatory consciousness' in a new horizon of possibilities, valorising social facts 'as pathways toward discussing and arguing for concrete alternative futures' (Santos, 2004b, pp. 27-28).

### Chapter Three: A Journey of Action as Inquiry for Social Change

The approach to research I have taken in this thesis falls within the broader Action Research tradition. Action Research, however, is also an expression of deeper shifts, containing a myriad of context specific approaches (Reason, 2002).

Boulet describes social research as an emergent ‘journey’, the research project must necessarily evolve in order to grapple with the subject, problem, or issue which the research aims to address. In areas that are not well understood, areas where orthodox stabilising frameworks do not readily exist (Latour, 2005, pp. 165-172), and areas typified by discursive complexity, the research will not necessarily have a pre-figured path laid out and ‘The road [must be] made by walking’. Boulet thus describes methodology from its Greek etymological roots, ‘meta’, ‘hodos’, and ‘logos’, literally meaning ‘change’ (meta), ‘travel’ (hodos), ‘discourse’ (logos), literally the logic of the journey of change on a road or path. Thus, this chapter describes the rationale / discourse of the research journey that I have taken in respect to the study of the WSF(P) and AGM, not necessarily as I planned it, but as it unfolded. <sup>21</sup>

This chapter shows how my research embraces larger epistemological developments, as well as Action Research approaches that are more specific to the concerns of this thesis. The implementation of the research itself can also be considered a ‘scholar activist’ journey in community development. The methodological structure of this project thus applies Action Research as Community Development to various settings that converge upon the World Social Forum Process (WSF(P)) and Alternative Globalisation (AG), from which accounts and case studies were drawn.

As a Constructivist-Participatory approach to research which follows in the footsteps of both Action Researchers (Reason, 2002; Wadsworth, 2008) and Constructivist Epistemologists (Lakoff, 1980; Latour, 2005; Maturana, 1998), my research journey has been a search for ‘mind in life’ (Thompson, 2007). This means that my research attempts to understand the embodiment of thinking in the context of particular communities and our / their social practices. Such an approach implies a constant movement between theory and practice.

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<sup>21</sup> From personal communication with Jacques Boulet march 2006

This journey has unfolded through a series of recursive processes. It has not been typified by linear movement through distinct phases, but rather by non-linear movements through overlapping sub-processes. Such overlapping sub-processes reinforce, interact with, and influence each other to create an overall movement or research process.

There are different way of understanding how sub-processes interact. In ecological systems some sub systems change and iterate more quickly than others, and the relationship between fast cycles and slow cycles is fundamental (Gunderson, 2002). In social systems we understand that fads will be short lived, while policy and legal changes will be more durable, and cultural change will be arguably slower (Ramos, 2006a). In research processes, while we move diachronically through time (from moment to moment and day to day), aspects of the research (literature research, analysis, fieldwork) very often happen synchronically (converge upon similar time(s)). It may be more accurate to say that exploratory action research, as in this thesis, happens through ‘synchronic phases’ that are diachronic in their unfolding. Yet, so as to not torture the reader with this endless complexity, it is easier to depict traditional aspects of social research (literature review, fieldwork, analysis) as sub processes interacting with one another. In this research these sub-processes included:

1. *Developing Foundations* - Drawing on emerging traditions and formulating stance, position and perspective. While I have worked consciously within specific disciplinary domains, I have also discovered domains which I have been tacitly working in, including Critical Futures Studies, the larger theoretical work within Critical Globalisation Studies and the practical field work that belongs within Community Development. It is difficult to call each of these three ‘traditions’, as each one of them are composite formations that carry multiple discourses across a number of fields of both theory and practice. This research can thus be more accurately described as located within social science in a trans-disciplinary field of inquiry. As well, the notion of disposition entails my personal perspective, research perspective and my key grounding interests (e.g. community empowerment in relation to global futures). The perspective, disposition and standpoint that I draw from in this research is described as a ‘participatory worldview’.
2. *Research Design* - This describes the movement from conception of the research to application of the research. While this research has unfolded as a journey, an initial research design was developed to guide the journey. The development of a research design was a very important step in conceptualising the research area, aiding in the ‘domain development’

process by providing an initial starting point. Research design is normally associated with quantitative research. Nevertheless, the establishment of a research design has allowed this project to be formulated in a cohesive way, even if the application of the research has departed from its initial design conceptions.

3. *Domain Development* - This describes the process of identification of the key focus areas, ideas and sources of literature guiding the project, to the formation of a comprehensive body of discourses (chapter two, section one) to which the project belongs. Because this research was not situated within one established field or discipline, and because globalisation is typified by paradigmatic pluralism, the domain within which the research sits has had to be somewhat constructed. As it stands, 'Alternative globalisation' does not exist as a field of study. It is rather the emergent category that has become the meta-discursive domain of the thesis.
4. *Experiential Research* - This process has entailed participatory research in a number of projects, from which the textual accounts (or case studies) were drawn. The research has entailed active and participatory experience in projects for social change that can be considered part of both the social forum process and / or alternative globalisation. The experiential work undertaken has enabled me, as a researcher, to grapple with the issue of agency in the context of creating an alternative globalisation. Various approaches to, and methodologies which were drawn from, the action research tradition were employed in a context specific, context sensitive manner.
5. *Writing Textual Accounts* - The writing of textual accounts entailed the documentation and development of accounts of the various projects I have been involved with (which were connected to alternative globalisation and the WSF(P)). In the writing of accounts, the emphasis was on 'tracing associations', a practice described by Latour as an inclusive approach to depicting the associational processes that comprise the social.
6. *Analysis* - Throughout the research journey, various analytic strategies have been employed to better understand the area of study. I discuss the various analytic approaches I have used through-out the research, from Inayatullah's CLA, to Galtung and Inayatullah's macro-historical analysis, Boulet's analysis of actor-context structuration, and Santos' 'Sociology of Emergences'. I describe the development of the organising analytic framework used in this thesis.
7. *Integration* - A movement from understanding the (re-conceptualised) parts of the study area, to achieving a greater understanding of the whole has entailed efforts to explicate links between discourses for AG and the analysed accounts in the field (chapter five), as well as

developing synoptic scenario vignettes that clarify the key issues that emerge in the thesis (chapter six).

### **3.1 Foundations**

The research draws upon three core areas: critical globalisation studies, critical futures studies, and community development. Each of these emerging traditions can also be seen as trans-disciplinary projects, reflecting a concern for contemporary social dilemmas and challenges. Such traditions engage with both social theory and embedded practice. They are examples of engaged scholarship, and are broadly situated within the social sciences and the humanities.

#### *3.1.1 Community Development*

The thesis work is an example of community development. Community Development (CD) is a practice oriented discipline concerned with community well being / empowerment in the face of wide ranging issues and challenges. International CD aims to address the needs of diverse communities in the ‘developing world’, tackling development issues through the lens of global issues and policy. In this research project a number of CD approaches were taken, explained in subsequent sections of this chapter.

In community development the notion of engagement is key; the aim is often to draw people into a greater connectedness with their community, and to find avenues for agency with respect to the world of issues people live within. Some community development initiatives aim to address specific grievances (such as the marginalisation of certain groups, for example, refugees), while other initiatives tend toward more general ‘capacity building’, or enabling, approaches. Ife has argued that CD approaches are especially needed in a globalising world where neo-liberal ideology has reduced government programs (forcing communities to be more pro-active in addressing immediate social and ecological challenges) (Ife, 2002).

CD has often involved local initiatives run by community members rather than initiatives imposed by external sources. CD aims to rectify exclusivity in the exercise of power, projects and initiatives are run in an open and participatory way. In many cases this can be seen as an expression of participatory democracy, and this thesis mirrors the CD ethic that participation

transcends decision making; participation should be deep, active and creative.

The strategies used in community development include (but are not limited to) non-violent direct action; the organising of gatherings, festivals and forums for networking; the development of local economic initiatives; the establishment of literacy initiatives (including economic literacy and computer / media literacy); the seeding of cooperatives and community run associations; infrastructure development and construction through community based management; popular critical and political education programs; preventative approaches to health problems; networking initiatives; and campaigns and advocacy for better rights and conditions. Participatory Action Research (PAR) is a common approach to such work within communities. It allows community members to run and manage their own research / inquiry, that is aimed at addressing the issues they face (Borda, 2002; Lykes, 2001; Reason, 2002).

### *3.1.2 Critical Globalisation Studies*

In addition, the research draws upon global and international studies, and in particular, the field of Critical Globalisation Studies (CGS). CGS is a recently articulated approach to the study of globalisation (Applebaum, 2005; Mittelman, 2004b, p. 40; Robinson, 2005b). It is a multi-disciplinary, multi-perspective convergence of scholarship on 'globalisation for the common good'.

CGS is not only concerned with the empirical dimensions of globalisation, but also the standpoints, epistemological assumptions and frames used to establish cultural hegemony. These include an awareness of the political and material conditions that correlate with globalisation research; the historical origins/social interests that influence globalisation research (including the reliance on Western perspectives in constituting a perspective on globalisation); examinations of the historical (and ahistorical) constructions of globalisation; local/regional discourses of globalisation; the crossovers between different academic branches of globalisation research; and counter-hegemonic, emancipatory visions for a transformational globalisation (these include alternative political-economic approaches within an ethos of global sustainability, global democracy, and global social justice (Mittelman, 2004b, pp. 40-41).

CGS draws from discourses such as Neo-Marxism, International Relations, Post-Development,

Cosmopolitanism, Localisation and Global Network conceptions. It seeks to broaden the globalisation debate by introducing a variety of critical viewpoints. CGS does not presume consensus between critical viewpoints, but is concerned, rather, with opening debate between them. CGS is concerned with understanding some of the key issues of globalisation - the reasons why this era is marked by an increasing polarisation between people's welfare, poverty and injustice, as well as rampant ecological destruction. It also seeks a broader dialogue about solutions and strategies for positive social change.

CGS scholarship has been an essential component of this research project. It has allowed me to examine the role of the World Social Forum Process (WSF(P)) in the development of alternative globalisation - as a platform for the critique of existing conceptions of globalisation and the articulation/enactment of emancipatory futures for globalisation. It has been an important pool of scholarship in supporting this research project in examining the role of the World Social Forum Process (WSF(P)) as a platform in the development of alternative globalisation, the critique of existing conceptions of globalisation and the articulation and enactment of emancipatory futures for globalisation.

### *3.1.3 Critical Futures Studies*

Finally, Critical Futures Studies (CFS), and in particular the critical/participatory branches of Future Studies, has been an important area of study in the development of this thesis project. Critical Futures Studies emerged as a way to understand how the future is framed from cultural viewpoints, communities of practice, or cognitive interests, often expressions of cultural hegemony. As a field, it is concerned with the way communities of practice and knowledge construction shape perceptions and images of the future, as well as the way social interests can mediate the image of certain futures as possible or impossible, desire-able or dangerous, sane or irrational (Dator, 2005; Inayatullah, 1998; Nandy, 1999; Ramos, 2003; Sardar, 1999b; Slaughter, 1999; Wagar, 2002).

CFS aims to develop authentically emancipatory alternative futures through a critique of cultural dispositions, unconscious ways of knowing, current paradigmatic boundaries and the interests that lie behind the propagation of various images of the future. Slaughter's layered critique of futures work and Inayatullah's causal layered analysis are two of the key models used within the field (Inayatullah, 1998; Slaughter, 2002a). It also reflects a multi-civilisational vision of futures

(i.e. it engages with the notion of ‘meta-history’, critiquing Western modernism and post-modernism while embracing the legitimacy of non-Western futures) (Nandy, 1999), and how the construction of our images and discourses of futures are often ‘gendered’ (Milojevic, 1999, 2005).

#### *3.1.4 The Participatory Worldview*

As Wadsworth argues, action research emerged through a number of ‘strands, streams and variants’, which while at one time may have been considered distinct, are increasingly seen as part of a more broadly articulated and converging domain of theory and practice (Wadsworth, 2004, p. 39). Reason and Bradbury’s *Handbook of Action Research* is, to date, the most distinctive and ambitious attempt to draw the many approaches into a cohesive whole (Reason, 2002). Throughout the thesis project the research I have undertaken has been broadly informed by many approaches, ideas, and practices of action research. The view is taken that as a tradition, Action Research conceives of ontology, epistemology and methodology as a complex of meaning and practice that is better understood in its generalised features. It avoids the simple application of techniques or methods without respect for context. As Reason and Bradbury argue: ‘these are fundamental differences in our understanding of the nature of inquiry, not simply methodological niceties’ (Reason, 2001, p. 3).

Reason and Bradbury propose that action research is based on the fundamentally distinct assumptions of the ‘participatory worldview’ (Reason, 2001). They argue this worldview stems from a historical shift in ideas; for example, the movement from positivism to alternative epistemological positions, such as post-modernism / post-structuralism. In their view positivism corresponds to eras of historical crisis, a longing for intellectual certainty during times of upheaval. It is a ‘naïve realist’ grasp for certainty and foundational universal principles. For them action research stands distinct from positivism because, as they argue:

*action researchers agree that objective knowledge is impossible, since the researcher is always a part of the world he or she studies, and point out that knowledge-making cannot be neutral and disinterested but is a political process in the services of particular purposes, and one which has been institutionalised in favour of the privileged. (Reason, 2001, p. 6)*

Reason and Bradbury are equally critical of post-modern and deconstructive perspectives. While they accept the ‘linguistic turn’ (the important role of language, text and culture in the constitution of a perceived and phenomenological world) they also point out that there is ‘little concern for the relationship of all this to knowledge in action’ and ‘neither ask what the text is actually for’, nor does it appreciate ‘our embeddedness in the more-than-human-world’ (Reason, 2001, p. 6).

*If we in the West were alienated from our experience by the separation of mind and matter introduced by Descartes, we are even more alienated if all we can do is circle round various forms of relativist construction: any sense of a world in which we are grounded disappears. (Reason, 2001, p. 6)*

The position I take corresponds to Reason and Bradbury’s view while also following other constructivist approaches (Lakoff, 1980; Latour, 2005; Maturana, 1998; Thompson, 2007). I validate the empirical and practical nature of knowledge *as well as* the way that epistemic assumptions, language, culture (cognition) also shape the nature of the world that we see. There is an inescapable materiality bound up in the cognitive dimensions of social reality, and the material features of our lives are interpreted through social constructions, dispositions and standpoints. As Bradbury and Reason argue:

*A participatory view competes with both the positivism of modern times and with the deconstructive post-modern alternative...[yet] it also draws on and integrates both paradigms: it follows positivism in arguing there is a ‘real’ reality, a primeval givenness of being (of which we partake) and draws on the constructionist perspective in acknowledging that as soon as we attempt to articulate this we enter a world of human language and cultural expression. (Reason, 2001, p. 7)*

Thus, there is a dance between our psychological self and the world the self perceives and interacts with. This world is not mechanic, static or given, but dynamic and interactive in such a way that the so-called subjective constitution of the self finds its corollary partnership with a complex and dynamic world calling forth new subjectivities.

As Varela and Maturana have argued, our very being (ontogeny) brings forth a world through language and cognition - what we see is also an expression of ourselves. In their auto-poietic systems research, the very nature of being is bound up in biological 'structural coupling' and co-production which is at once material and cognitive (Maturana, 1998, p. 174). Any single being is contingent on complex interactions that participate in its coming into being (Maturana, 1998, p. 75). Identity and structure are emergent properties, neither essential categories, nor purely imagined. This emergence is not reducible to *a priori* categories, but requires an immersion into the complex domain of the constitutive inter-actions and actors. Latour echoes this constructivist view writing: 'An actor is what is made to act by many others' (Latour, 2005, p. 46). This participation is relational in a way that escapes the human-non-human dualism, 'Relationships do not only mean those with other humans, but also with the more than human world' (Reason, 2001, p. 10). Or as Latour argues:

*...the social is not a type of thing either visible or to be postulated. It is visible only by the traces it leaves (under trials) when a new association is being produced between elements which themselves are in no way 'social'. (Latour, 2005, p. 8)*

Such a view acknowledges our located-ness within an evolutionary process, our biological interdependence on ecosystems, our recent technological productions of machines and artefacts which have created new inter-causal systems, and the devastation humans have inflicted on the earth's ecosystems. Reason and Bradbury argue this amounts to an 'ecological imperative' which demands we form a new worldview that can address humanity's relationship with the non-human in new ways (Reason, 2001, p. 10).

Likewise with the 'linguistic turn' there is a deep acknowledgement of our locatedness in culture and that which connects us to our deepest moral visions and calling for service through spiritual and religious traditions. We inherit the millennial civilisational development of human knowledges, myths, rituals, intellectual / philosophical / ethical traditions, sciences and spirituality. A participatory worldview acknowledges our participation in culture, how this informs us from epistemic, ideological and moral standpoints. Such a cultural vision, enfolding the individual into collective processes, challenges modernist notions of a self apart from its

culture, and any one (essential) ‘society’ apart from the cultural development of humankind as millennial process. Like the ecological vision, this cultural vision acknowledges a deep interconnection of ideas, philosophies, views and language on a planetary scale.

*Participation as Implication in Action*

The participatory worldview also suggests that to understand this cultural and ecological ground as a social researcher, we must be immersed in the world we wish to know - as actors in that world, or in Latour’s sense, to ‘trace actors’. This knowing-being is expressed through practical action and know-how. As Reason and Bradbury write: ‘All ways of knowing serve to support our skilful being-in-the-world from moment-to-moment-to-moment, our ability to act intelligently in the pursuit of worthwhile purposes’ (Reason, 2001, p. 8). Reflecting this, Maturana and Varela have written, ‘All doing is knowing and all knowing is doing’ (Maturana, 1998, p. 27). In a similar vein, Lewin argued that the best way to understand a system was to try to change it (Schein, 2001, p. 233). Latour, echoing such sentiments, argues ‘[analysts] have to first engage in the world-making activities of those they study. It will not be enough to say that they – the analyst – know in advance who the actors really are and what makes them really act’ (Latour, 2005, p. 57). One becomes a knower through the process of becoming an actor.

Reason and Bradbury argue that the movement towards a participatory worldview is about the ‘re-sacralization of the world’. The underlying motive is not a ‘search for truth’, but rather to ‘heal the alienation, the split that characterizes modern experience’ (Reason, 2001, p. 10). The standpoint of an epistemology of ‘healing’ contrasts sharply with the dominant view in the West which directs investigation / research as a quest for truth as factual certainty. In this respect, it is much closer to an Indian view of knowledge as explained by Inayatullah:

*The Indian tradition is first of all a tradition that has therapy as its primary focus, the resolution of a specific problem. The goal is to end pain, to transcend suffering. The realization of this goal is the same as Truth. (Inayatullah, 2002, p. 39)*

This shift in perspective reframes the conventional criteria applied to validity in research. In this view validity is seen through the alleviation of suffering and promotion of healing, and ‘veracity’ is the integrity of the practice in suffering’s alleviation, and health’s promotion. Thus, ‘true’

knowledge supports practices of healing.

Correspondingly, in Reason and Bradbury's view this means validating: 1) 'emergence and enduring consequence' of the research (as opposed to non-interference); 2) 'practice and practicing' in 'authentic/life enhancing' ways that works well (as opposed to formalistic notions of research protocols); 3) 'plural ways of knowing' that emerge in the research and how they relate to each other (as opposed to a notion a right/wrong perspective); 4) 'relational practice' that embodies a democratic quality of interaction that appropriately addresses power dynamic between participant and investigator (as opposed to the imposition of an expert / participant hierarchy); 5) the validation of 'significances', what 'values have been actualised' and the 'meaning and purpose' expressed through the research (as opposed to the notion of the value free observer-investigator) (Reason, 2001, pp. 11-12).

### *3.1.5 Research as Scholar Activism*

From within this participatory worldview, this thesis can be seen as an example of action research expressed as scholar activism. This has entailed practical collaboration and action with many others in the WSF(P) and AGM. My journey also parallels Reitan's twining of Participatory Action Research and Critical Globalisation Studies, as well as Juris' activist anthropology, thesis projects which were both concerned with furthering alternative globalisation, and where the researcher was also an actor in the process of enacting social change (Juris, 2004; Reitan, 2006).

In addition to discussions on the worldview of participatory research, two more points need to be made that run counter to positivist objections to research and scholarship which is 'involved' with those researched (participatory research critiqued as compromising so-called 'objectivity').

First, in the area of social science research, deep involvement and participation are needed for a depth understanding of aspects of the social. Not only is an understanding of social processes made possible through an attentiveness to the symbolic dynamics of groups (Geertz, 1973), which requires co-habitation, but agency is also required in understanding the social, as both Lewin and Latour have argued. Thus my involvement has been of great benefit in terms of challenging existing pre-conceptions I have held. A process of questioning one's practice in light of critical historical reflection, and engaged practice, has informed this thesis. Many assumptions I have

held about the nature of the social (and of change) have been challenged by both experience and by those I have collaborated with.

Secondly, the participatory worldview suggests that we are always involved and located somewhere, and thus it is our choice as to what we do with this position, this knowledge, or this power (George, 2005). Those in privileged positions with knowledge or power (generally influence) whether great or small, have a responsibility (ability to respond) to contribute actively to addressing and solving social problems. Those with influence who shirk from this responsibility in the face of social repression and ecologically destructive policies and practices are indeed complicit in the continuation of such practices.

Only to a certain point can one choose to segregate oneself from the social as a ‘professional’ seemingly cut off from the pressing challenges we face. The presumption that the researcher (i.e. the individual who identifies problems and looks for solutions), the same researcher who holds significant power and social standing in their community, is fully justified in his/her social disengagement, appears misled. Scholars and researchers have a choice – they can also choose to regard as *their* responsibility the expression of their knowledge and power through action. They can be active, expressing ‘activism’ in many ways through the interface of knowledge and action, and transforming theory through practical social experimentation.

I also base this view on the concept of ‘process ethics’, an approach which asks us to continually question our ‘response-ability’ in the face of ever developing and evolving situations and challenges (Fisher, 2006; Varela, 1992). Rather than locating ethics as a ‘code’ of principles, response-ability necessarily evolves depending on our perception of ourselves and the world around us. In drawing from engaged traditions of scholarship, this thesis aims to strengthen our collective ‘ability-to-respond’ to the issues that we face.

### **3.2 Research Design**

The design process spanned approximately one and a half years, from the initial proposal put forth in late 2004, to the stage II report submitted in mid 2005, to the submission and presentation of a comprehensive research design as part of the confirmation of candidature in early 2006, to initial application of research. Initial implementation of the research began at the tail end of the

research design process after initial ethics approval.

An apparent / perceived asymmetry helps to highlight the research problem. On the one hand, a number of emerging global (futures) issues have become more visible (e.g. climate change, the production of technological risk and the ecological crisis) (Beck, 1999). More people than ever before are working to create alternatives to neo-liberalism and corporatism (Applebaum, 2005; Steger, 2009, pp. 97-129).

On the other hand a ‘democratic deficit’ has emerged, as global governance has remained an elite enterprise and state based political processes and culture have come under the influence of corporate interests even as nations continue to federalise (Korten, 1996; Nader, 1996). A greater need for collective citizen agency and decision making power has correlated with a decrease in formal avenues for political influence and change – a type of structural estrangement. Grass roots concern over planetary / global issues has strengthened over time, while global governance has become more corporatised and institutions like the WTO and G8/G20 (and IMF / WB extensions) have failed to live up to democratic principles. Indeed, an overlapping commitment of the AGM and ‘global justice movement’ is a movement for global democratisation within different structural spheres (culture, economy, politics) and different scales – a commitment articulated by a many proponents for different globalisation (a discussed by various authors in chapter two part one).

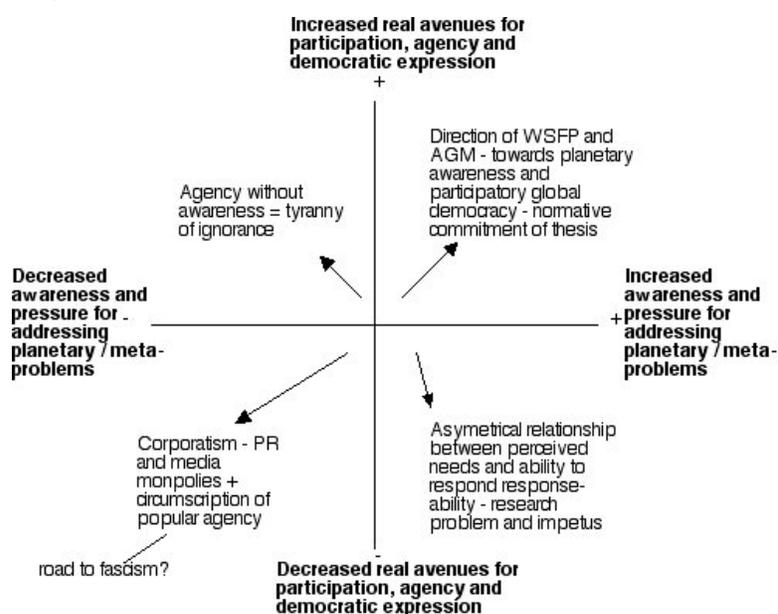


Figure 3.1: Research problem and normative direction

Figure 3.1 shows how the initial research problem was concerned with the need for community empowerment in the face of planetary challenges, addressing deficits in democracy (bottom right of figure). This encapsulated both an inquiry into emerging global issues (the domain of futures studies) and inquiry into community agency in addressing these challenges (the domain of community development) (upper right of figure). The left hand side of figure 3.1 expresses two dystopian possibilities if awareness and agency are not enabled. Critical globalisation studies became important, as the body of work linking grassroots concerns, critical historical analysis, analysis of global structures with the agenda of transforming globalisation. Together, these constitute a pathway of inquiry into addressing this research problem.

Because the WSF(P) is discursively situated within the anti-globalisation / alter-globalisation movement(s), and as ‘globalisation’ is the (arguably) dominant (though not uncontroversial) discourse of the moment (Held, 2000b; Steger, 2009, p. chap 2), it made sense to articulate the study as an inquiry into alternative futures of globalisation as they are embodied through the WSF(P).

As a Masters’ Graduate in Strategic Foresight/Future Studies, I had a background in emerging global issues. My intuition led me toward a more empirical focus on the normative field from within which the WSF(P) operates, and specifically the alternative futures of globalisation (AFG) embodied there. My original research question/s therefore applied such concerns to a specific set of processes (the WSF(P) and AFG), asking:

- 1) What are the operational and organisational dimensions of the World Social Forum Process, and what does this mean / signify for AFG?*
- 2) What are the strategies, dynamics and processes by which individuals and collectivities through the World Social Forum Process work to create desired social changes, and what does this mean / signify for AFG?*
- 3) What are the alternative (normative) futures of globalisation articulated and embodied through the World Social Forum Process, and how does this connect with AGM?*

These research question led to the proposal of the following process:

- action research with key groups associated with the WSF(P)

- case study building based on this work
- cross analysis of cases – explicating AFG from this
- situating of WSF(P) within historical analysis
- interpreting links between actor strategies and practices and visions for AFG

### 3.3 Discourse Formation and Domain Development

While literature on the WSF was found in abundance, developing a body of literature on alternative globalisation (AG) has required extensive excavation. This is because AG does not exist in the explicit discursive sense; only a handful of theorists and a handful of movement actors refer to ‘alternative globalisation’ or alter-globalisation / *altermondialisme*. As seen in chapter two, alternative Globalisation (AG) exists, rather, as a tacit feature of the processes that run through the literature on globalisation, and activities / discourses within the WSF(P).

The identification of alternative globalisation as a major and primary theme of the research occurred initially in the confirmation of candidature stage. Its construction as a meta-domain has been ongoing and dynamic, emerging through the interplay between literature review and fieldwork. Engagement with actors who are part of the social forum process (SFP) has been one primary mode by which I have identified the various traditions and discourses for AG. It is only through this dynamic interplay between fieldwork and discourse formation that a ‘domain development’ has been possible. In addition, such a movement between discourse formation and field work has ensured a strong resonance between theory and practice, and in the constructivist sense it has helped to locate discourses as ‘embodied’ in actor networks – as the narratives and ideas which guide actors and action.

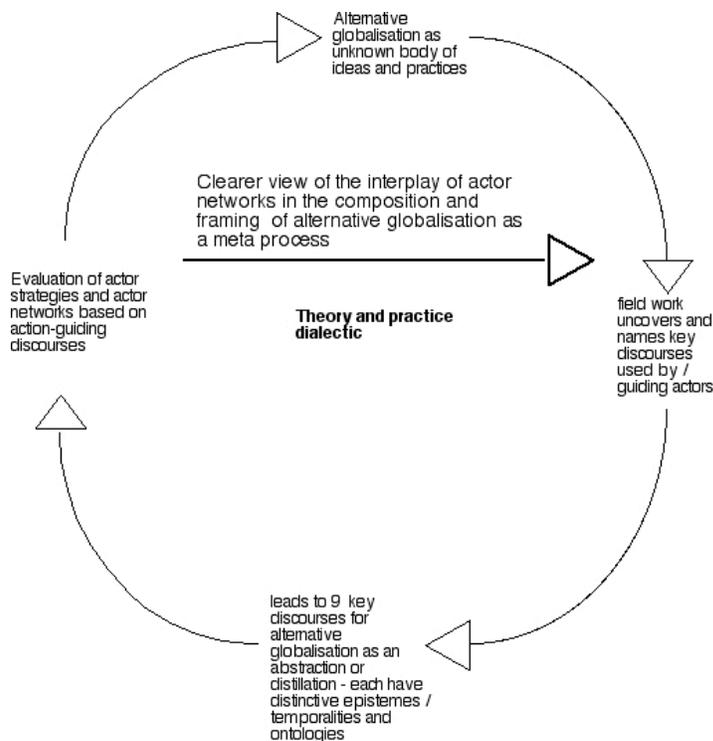


Figure 3.2: Theory-Practice Dialectic

AG can be seen to have both discursive and movement dimensions. While it is a somewhat artificial separation in some cases, such a distinction helps to clarify what and how discourses guide actors and projects. AG can also be unacknowledged, tacit. Make Poverty History (MPH) is a case in point. This campaign shies away from the term ‘alternative/alter-globalisation’. Nonetheless, MPH considers itself a campaign to alter the inequities represented by neo-liberal trade policies at the global level. As seen in chapter two, part two, the ‘tacit-ness’ of alternative globalisation, can also be seen within discourses that, while not using the label ‘Alternative Globalisation’, nevertheless have a message of global change in intent and character.

	Discourse	Practice
Tacit	Early Anti-globalisation / Critiques of Neo-liberal / ‘De-globalisation’	Make Poverty History / UNGC / MDGs / Peer to Peer Production, Opensource
Explicit	Alternative Futures of Globalisation / Visions For a Different Globalisation or World System	Anti/Alter-Globalisation Movement / Counter – summits and WSF(P)

Table 3.1: Conceptual Family of Alternative Globalisation

In this thesis, my aim was not to prove, disprove or test theory. Rather, I have attempted to link theory and practice: how ideas, theories and assumptions shape practices and guide actors, and

how practices then shape the cognitive sphere, as a dynamic process. Linking theory and practice means examining the interplay between the discourses for alternative globalisation and their embodied practices within the AGM. Simply put, alternative globalisation is a form of simultaneous theory-practice, expressed as discourse / articulations and embodied through thousands of projects, movements and other initiatives.

Discourse formation was demonstrated through the constitution of ‘alternative globalisation’ as an emergent ‘meta’ domain of inquiry and action. Informed by the research I have undertaken, I identified nine core discourses which were the most prominent *in this research project within its respective locales*. Alternative globalisation emerges through a wide variety of social theories and discourses. Diverse and important normative directions for change are together co-constructed into an emerging ‘meta’ domain of inquiry and action.

For the empirical dimension of the study, I focused on action research projects with those actors that have some association with either the WSF(P) (such as global or local social forums) or who work within or identify with the AG movement. Some of the individuals with whom I worked were only lightly and infrequently associated with the AG/WSF(P) movement (e.g. they may have participated in one social forum but do not view themselves as part of a global process). Some were committed to, and heavily involved in such social action; they frequently participated in social forums and being part of a global movement was a key aspect of their identity.

In the process of articulating the beliefs, values and goals of AG/WSF(P) actors, finding common language to describe experience is key. Semantics can easily obfuscate issues. There are those that find the term ‘global justice movement’ meaningful, for others ‘global democracy’ is the issue at hand. There are those who still do not connect with the idea of a ‘global’ movement at all. I use term ‘alternative globalisation’ (as a meta-category) to link the various terms people use to describe their activities. Nonetheless, it is important to remember that the definition of key terms should be viewed as a fluid part of an ongoing debate.

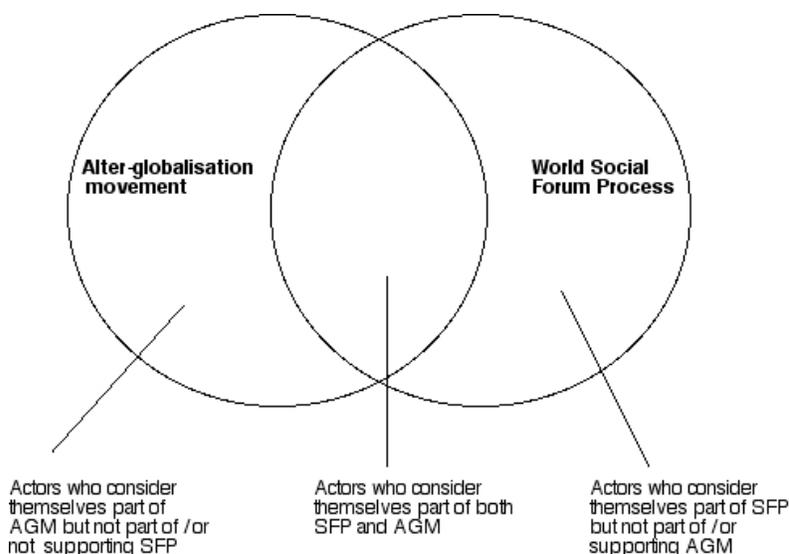


Figure 3.3: The Identity 'Boundaries' or Normative Field(s) of the Research Area

Figure 3.3 shows the conceptual and normative field in which the study is located. Actors included in this study came from the three possible categories illustrated. Normative field thus includes: 1) those who identify and take part in social forums, but who do not consider themselves part of or do not identify with the AGM / AFG; 2) those who reciprocally consider themselves part of an anti/alter globalisation movement, but not part of the SFP; and, 3) those that consider themselves part of both the WSF(P) and AGM/AGF. This may be considered the empirical ground of the research covered in my fieldwork.

### 3.4 Experiential Research

Experiential research as a sub-process involved applying action research approaches in participatory settings, and drawing textual accounts from such experiences. Field research, domain / discourse development, the writing of textual accounts and analysis all functioned as simultaneous processes.

As the discourse developed, new fieldwork opportunities could be seen and could be followed. For example the initial confirmation of candidature and subsequent discourse development highlighted the importance of networked media as an important aspect of alternative globalisation. Thus, engagement in this space of activity (as fieldwork) became more important. Reciprocally, fieldwork helped uncover new dimensions of discourse that were embodied in

practices, guiding actors.

I needed to search for ways to understand the complexity before me. Consequently, analytic approaches were continually developed to assist in sense making. Fieldwork proceeded in tandem with analytic sense making, a ‘parallel process’ with other sub-processes. A diversity of approaches were used in order to accommodate the very different contexts and locales of the research. The approach to fieldwork might be broken into three such levels, from broad to specific. First, a ‘layered’ action research approach was taken, employing First, Second and Third person modes of action inquiry. Secondly, practitioner research (as a sub-branch of AR) was a primary mode of engagement. Finally, a number of methods and specific approaches were used: Network Development, Open Space Technology, Auto-Ethnography / Narrative Research, Anticipatory Action Learning, Empathic Interviewing, Document Analysis, and Scenario building.

#### *3.4.1 Layered Action Research*

Using the action research tradition as a philosophical base, a number of principles helped to guide my research efforts. I was committed to participatory involvement and review – I believed that those being studied or written about should have opportunities to review and add their perspective to the final research. I was actively involved with ‘the researched’ in processes of social change. Being ‘embedded’ ensured an experiential basis for research; theory formation was informed by practice. Lastly, the research expressed a heuristic process insofar as the projects I was involved with used iterative characteristics of review and re-conceptualisation post experiment.

While, as an individual participating in a group process, I could not insist on a ‘pure’ PAR cycle, many of the projects were iterative and I advocated for the evaluation processes. I was committed to assisting the groups that I was part of. Unjust power relations, the grievances of marginalised or exploited groups, and solutions to community problems in the face of entrenched institutionalised power – these were some of the issues my groups engaged with. As a researcher I have been roughly aligned with the interests of the researched. I have tried to ensure fair and democratic processes within the groups I’ve worked with. I have followed principles drawn from the rich body of work within the AR tradition (Reason, 2002).

While the approach I have taken for this project was broadly based in the action research tradition and its principles, I also draw from new integrative approaches in the development of what might be called a ‘layered’ action research methodology. Layered action research methodology has been developed by a growing number of researchers ((CIIS), 2005; Torbert, 2001; Reason, 2001). Layered action research implies an integrative methodology approach that specifies three core categories / frames of inquiry.

Torbert argues for the need to integrate knowledge categories: subjective, inter-subjective and objective frames into action research (Torbert, 2001, pp. 250-260). Reason, Bradbury and Torbert employ distinctions between first, second and third person action research to open up the domains of: individual experience, the critical reference groups’ world and interests, and larger socio-historical processes at work, respectively. The distinctions offered in this section through First, Second and Third person action research should not be seen as essential categories, and reified into domains, but rather windows into aspects of methodological experience.

First person action research is involved with personal lives, concerned with subjective experience and agency. It is primarily about fostering critical subjectivity; it has encouraged me to locate myself as ‘the researcher’ through journaling and reflection (Gallagher, 2004). How is ‘the researcher’ (me) and ‘the researched’ (they) ‘socially and politically situated’? Does this alter, silence, an influence the way research subjects express themselves - and what is expressed? (Gallagher, 2004, p. 210).

Reflective practice has been developed as a way of drawing upon subject based practical knowledge. Personal action / experience is seen as a complimentary strand in theory formation. This process involves turning tacit and un-reflected assumptions into more explicit understandings of experiences, by testing personal assumption within a widening arc of communication (Heen, 2005; Mann, 2005; Marshall, 2002; Nolan, 2005; Ramsey, 2005). The particular practice I followed was regular journal writing which culminated in an auto-ethnographic account (see appendices T and U) and document of my journey through the WSF(P) / AGM.

Second person action research occurred through ‘interpersonal dialogue’, and my involvement with communities or organisations (Reason, 2001, p. xxvi). Here the aim was to improve mutual

understanding and work toward collective action and innovation with (what is commonly referred to in action research circles as) the ‘critical reference group’ (CRG). By participating in meetings, workshops, conferences and group work, we worked to address emerging issues within the normative field of the WSF(P) and AG.

Third person action research concerned what Reason and Bradbury call ‘political events’. Such ‘events’ are not spatially or temporally proximate. They can be large organisations, networks of groups, social and historical processes. A good example of such an ‘event’ may be the G20 Convergence studied in this thesis. Such inter-organisational spaces imply network development with organisations where social processes function either remotely or without opportunities for dialogue. The WSF(P) in its totality can be said to exist in this ‘third person’ category. My involvement in local social forums also expressed this, insofar as it is impossible to conduct meaningful dialogue with all 300-400 participants, while it is still possible to enable social forums to happen, or analyse the overall constitution of social forums.

Action – participation spaces	Who and what was researched	Methods used
1st person: subjective, personal micro world of the individual, litany of fads and fashions	Myself, as aspect part of the research, community development and activism in AGM and WSF(P)	Reflective practice / journaling. My experience of being an actor and collaborator in the process Auto-ethnography / narrative work
2nd person: inter-subjective, inter-personal meso world of the community / group / institution,	Groups and organisations working for multi-systemic change ‘alternative globalisation’ or in WSF(P)	Interviews of actor in their practices and knowledges of world-changing Practitioner / Clinical Inquiry, case studies which express group-collective experience and practice The broader processes of network development Anticipatory Action Learning
3rd person: objective, impersonal macro world of the global, historical / speculative	The World Social Forum Process and broader alternative globalisation movement	Large group intervention / open space Remote events – WSFs, G8 / G20 etc Theorist of world futures and alternative globalisation from multiple traditions (seen in chapter two on AG discourses) Reports and commentary on the WSF(P) and AG through on-line media Critical historical inquiry into the process of local and global social change Scenario development (chapter six)

Table 3.2: Layered Approach to Action Research, Reason, Bradbury, Torbert (2001)

### *3.4.2 Practitioner (or 'Clinical') Research*

The fieldwork I've conducted can be seen as 'Practitioner Research'. Also known as 'Clinical Research', it is described by Schein as a form of action research where the subject has initiated or invited the involvement of a researcher, rather than a more traditional conception of research where the researcher or consultant initiates involvement (Schein, 2001).

This approach contrasts with other action research models where the action researcher is seen as the initiator/facilitator setting up a broad process of inquiry (even if this facilitator role is transferred over to participants later). 'What distinguishes [this] most clearly is that the joint inquiry is launched by the needs of the participants who now become 'clients' not research subjects' (Schein, 2001, p. 230). The verb 'to help' is key to the conception of clinical research. 'Help' cannot be defined from the outside in: 'the person invited in to help must have helping skills and must focus, at least initially, on the areas of concern defined by the client' (Schein, 2001, p. 231).

Schein argues that client initiated research provides a unique depth in understanding a particular group or organisation's issues and dynamics (through the researcher's own exercise of agency and collaboration from within). He cites Lewin's dictum: 'one can understand a system best by trying to change it' (Schein, 2001, p. 233). On one hand, the client defines and initially limits the researcher's role to that of a problem solver functioning in a well-defined / operational capacity. On the other hand the researcher (as a participant-collaborator) enters the world of the research domain, becoming embedded in the lived dilemmas and issues encountered therein as part of the world-making 'agentic' processes that groups undertake.

Schein has argued that: 'not only should data-gathering based on helping be considered legitimate research, but such data [is] often deeper and more valid than any data gathered in the researcher initiated models' (Schein, 2001, p. 231). While the positivist stance tries to distance itself from any involvement, Schein claims that deep collaboration is a pre-condition for deep understanding; 'most of the relevant data surfaced as a consequence of some specific intervention... intervention and diagnosis become two sides of the same coin... every intervention reveals new data' (Schein, 2001, p. 233). Following Lewin's stated criteria of validity, Schein argues the quality of the data

improves as the quality of the researcher help / intervention improves: 'the quality of their data improves as they become helpful to the organization in which they are working' (Schein, 2001, p. 235). He goes so far as to argue that this approach to research is 'more empirical' than research relying on 'second and third order data' (Schein, 2001, p. 236).

This approach to research implies certain responsibilities that are different from the way 'normal' social research is often conceived. As a researcher I entered into a tacit 'contract' with the client, and bounded my actions within the scope of the groups' projects. Because my involvement was 'driven by the clients' agenda, not the researcher's', as a researcher I was 'psychologically licensed by the client to ask relevant questions which can lead directly into joint analysis and, thereby, allow the development of a research focus that is now owned jointly by the helper and client' (Schein, 2001, p. 233). I had to ensure that collaborative intervention happened, and that such collaborative interventions either worked, or were part of a process of problem solving and development that led to better outcomes for the groups I was involved with. This required adapting to the needs of the 'client'.

Schein puts a great emphasis on the researcher's own capacity for critical self reflection. He argues that the researcher must be sceptical of his or her own perceptions, and identify their own assumptions and hypotheses, so that these can be disconfirmed, confirmed or modified by experience and observation. This includes (as much of the action research literature stresses) that the process of assumption / hypothesis disconfirmation, confirmation or modification should be a collaborative one. Yet unlike more formalistic approaches to AR where such clarification and assumption breaking / building is researcher initiated, this process takes place more informally as a working understanding of collaborative interventions. Schein is very critical of positivist research approaches, and 'the degree to which researchers ask essentially rhetorical questions, and the degree to which they try to remain mysterious and distant from the subjects' (Schein, 2001, p. 236).

Thus a key aspect of good research, along with the imperative to help and improve the situation of critical reference groups, is critical subjectivity, as well as critical inter-subjectivity (co-challenging assumptions). As a collaborator my role was not simply to do whatever the client wanted, but to challenge and be challenged by the many people I worked with.

### *3.4.3 Network Development*

Network development (ND) is the other major methodological path I have taken. Network development is a process by which people work to create networks which facilitate flows of information and allow coordination and cooperation between otherwise disparate groups of people.

Network development involves the linking or associational formation of disparate actors into a network, with the aim of helping the constituency to develop and meet its goals. Participation in networks range from the passive (e.g. members in name only) to the active (e.g. through active involvement in collaborative projects). It can be located as both an action research practice (Chisholm, 2001) and an approach to community development (Gilchrist, 2004). Trist (as well as Carley and Christie) were early developers of the thinking and practice of inter-organisational network development (Carley, 1993; Trist, 1979). Gilchrist locates it as a core community development practice and role, while Chisholm argues it is a type of action research practice. It became one of the core approaches employed in this thesis project, used in conjunction with or between regional networks and organisations and associations displaying network logic. As alluded to in previous sections, network development as a practice was already part of my 'job description' as a social forum organiser.

Carley and Christie describe inter-organisational work, and network development with organisations aimed at sustainable development through 'action centred networks'. These use action research strategies to solve complex sustainability dilemmas (Carley, 1993, p. 180). In their approach to 'human ecology' and 'socio-ecological systems', they argue that 'meta-problems', alternatively known as 'wicked' problems' (Conklin, 2006) are at the heart of many of the modern problematques we face: 'metaproblems both exist in, and are the result of, turbulent environments which compound uncertainty, the root of the word problematique' (Carley, 1993, p. 165).

This era's meta-problems overwhelm the capacity for single organisations to cope with the challenges they face. What is required, they argue, is the development of 'action centred networks' that develop 'connective capacity' and undertake 'collaborative problem solving' (Carley, 1993, p. 171). These networks can offer a variety of solutions; regulation, problem /

trend appreciation, problem solving, support, political / economic mobilisation, and development projects (Carley, 1993, p. 172). They argue for ‘linking pin’ organisations - organisations that provide a structure or platform for communication and coordination across groups, and thus can become a network of networks (Carley, 1993, pp. 172-173).

They argue that if potential conflicts within action centred networks are properly managed, such networks can lead to the capacity for innovative responses to meta-problems collectively faced. This innovation requires linking ‘anticipation’ (drawing from Godet’s ‘La Prospective’) with collaborative mobilisation and practical and strategic action. They specifically call for action research approaches that develop such action centred networks (Carley, 1993, pp. 180-181).

Overall, the networked nature of the Social Forum process is practically and theoretically complementary with action research-style interpersonal and inter-organisational network development, and complementary with the practical work employed by many of the organisations within the AG movement. The issues within the WSF(P) and AGM overlap with theoretical considerations developed by Trist, Gilchrist, Carley and Cristie, and Chisholm.

Inter-organisational ND was a window into the practice of social change, the examination and formulation of alter-globalisation proposals within the social forum process, the formation of ‘prismatic organisational structures’ and higher order identities and meta ‘domain’ development. Thus, ND helped me to understand how WSF(P) networks deal with meta-problems, and how alter-globalisation is advanced in the common / not so common spaces of its articulations. This aspect of the research thus asked what meta-issues are from a practical development perspective, while at the same time assisting (by being part of) the development of meta-networks that can deal with these very same issues, looking for leverage toward social change.

#### *3.4.4 Specific / Discrete methods*

Within the broad contours of AR, through practitioner research and network development, I also used specific research methods in a variety of settings. The following chart shows the various accounts that are developed, and the methods employed in each.

Account	Methods used
Local Social Forum	Open Space Network Development Active Participation Document Analysis
Local Documentary Film Network	Network Development Interviews Active Participation
Local Educational initiative	Interviews Active Participation Document Analysis
Local Activist Strategy Group	Interviews Anticipatory Action Learning (CLA) Active Participation
G20 Week	Open Space Technology Interviews Active Participation Document Analysis
WSF(P) Account	Auto-ethnography / reflective practice, Document analysis, Scenario development

Table 3.3: The Specific Methods or Techniques Used

### *Open Space*

Open Space methodology has been in use for a number of years. It can be seen as part of the action research tradition of large group intervention (Martin, 2001), with its own distinctive advocates (Owen, 1997). The WSF has increasingly adopted an open space approach and conception for organising its events, but it is not clear where this impetus came from. Open space is used extensively in social forum processes around the world, giving participating organisations an opportunity to conceive of, and run, their own workshops in forums. The content of forums is primarily generated through the community of interest that participates, and can be seen as a grassroots form of content and issue generation.

### *Anticipatory Action Learning*

Anticipatory Action Learning (AAL) is an approach that facilitates an understanding of the critical issues that may impact on a community or organisation in the future, as well as the core models or narratives people hold about these futures. It has been developed by a number of people in practical settings, and entwines futures inquiry with action learning (Inayatullah, 2007;

Stevenson, 2006).

AAL draws upon information from consultations, workshops and discussions within a community or organization, which is futures oriented, involving both empirical / extrapolative exploration of futures issues (drivers), cultural-moral considerations (the weight of history), and normative visions of better futures (the ‘pull of the future’). AAL was used in one case, using Causal Layered Analysis (CLA) in a participatory ‘re-framing’ exercise (Inayatullah, 1998). It was helpful for participants in analysing how the group was situated historically and through popular narratives, and as a re-framing exercise in the spirit of Lakoff’s concept of framing (Lakoff, 1996).

### *Semi-Structured Interviews*

I used semi-structured interviews in a number of settings for a number of different purposes. Firstly, to examine the world of individual alternative globalisation advocates and proponents (including those who articulate alternative policies/visions, social innovators / entrepreneurs, and networkers that address meta-issues). Secondly, interviews were used as tools in participatory review processes (to evaluate projects). Finally, interviews were used to complement account building.

Interviews allowed me to ask people about agency and change - how as individuals they find power and leverage in addressing large scale global issues, as well as what, how and why they specifically create / advocate for change. Twenty three individuals were interviewed in the two year period.

Interviews were empathetic, based on the approach articulated by Fontana and Frey (Fontana, 2005). In this approach the interview is seen as a collaborative effort, where interviewer and interviewee co-construct the conversation. This often required some prior knowledge on my part regarding the interviewee’s background, the key issues they faced, and the context of the issues that that person was addressing as a counter-hegemonic actor. As Fontana and Frey write:

*the interviewer becomes an advocate and partner in the study, hoping to be able to use the results to advocate social policies and ameliorate the conditions of the interviewee... (Fontana, 2005, p. 696)*

This empathetic approach makes the axiological and ethical dimensions of the research explicit: ‘We do not research as dissociated knowers, but as people who care about others, and seeking a redress’ (Fontana, 2005, p. 697). This ‘redress’ was a generative dialogue which sought to understand how (as actors) they help to create just and sustainable futures in their given contexts. One example of this type of interview (with an AG advocate) is Barsamian’s interview with well-known global justice campaigner and writer Arundhati Roy (Barsamian, 2004).

### 3.5 From Case Studies to Textual Accounts

I initially assumed that case studies would come from the various action research projects I involved myself in. Over time, however, I found that ‘case’ was not an appropriate term, as it implies something strongly delineated. The social projects I was part of defied a strict boundedness. Nevertheless, following Silverman the broad contours of the case study research were to initially include: 1) Correlating cases with theory; 2) looking for / finding deviant (unique) cases (in this case the G20 Convergence); and, 3) changing samples during research based on research heuristics (Silverman, 2005, pp. 130-133).

Case studies needed to combine with theories and assumptions, be diverse enough to allow comparison, and evolve with the research. This involved ‘collective case study’ (Silverman, 2005, p. 127), in which five case studies were planned. Using what Silverman calls ‘purposive sampling’ (Silverman, 2005, p. 129), I intended to involve myself in organisations that participate in some way in the WSF(P), and / or who may be said to be engaged in the process of creating or articulating alternatives (futures) for globalisation.

This approach to case study building was originally informed by Stake as a contextualising research that explicates and elucidates the historical, cultural, physical, social, economic, political, ethical and aesthetic dimensions of the case (Stake, 2003, p. 449). Latour later challenged my view that a ‘case’ can be easily bounded. Latour challenges the notion of multiple ‘contexts’ informing case studies. He argues ‘context’ acts as a surrogate ‘agent’ which closes down the rich associational connections within an area of study (Latour, 2005, p. 167). For him, we must write accounts that are as open ended as the actors which are depicted. It is the tracing of ‘actor-networks’ which must replace any ‘context’; context should not be imposed as a surrogate

agent, it must be ‘traced’.

As Latour has argued, actor networks display diachronic time, and a heterogeneity of possible actors, such that ‘context’ must be replaced by ‘connections’. Latour calls disciplined tracing of actor networks as a scripting of ‘risky accounts’ (Latour, 2005, p. 121). Categories such as ‘historical, cultural, physical, social, economic, political, ethical and aesthetic’ should not prefigure the composition of accounts, but emerge from tracing (and re-assemblies of actor-networks themselves). Latour writes:

*[Actor Network Theory (ANT)] claims to be able to find order much better after having let actors deploy the full range of controversies in which they are immersed. (Latour, 2005, p. 23)*

This means (as in Participatory Action Research) actors are empowered as primary definers and articulators of their worlds: ‘...actors are allowed to unfold their own differing cosmos, no matter how counter intuitive they appear’ (Latour, 2005, p. 23). Unlike PAR, for ANT actors are non-social as well, and their ‘tracing’ by researchers provides the opportunity for creative controversy: ‘As soon as some freedom of movement is granted back to non-humans, the range of agents able to participate in the course of action extends prodigiously...’ (Latour, 2005, p. 77).

Problematising and reconceptualizing agency in a diverse but rigorous tracing of associations underlies the writing of risky accounts, and this in turn renders a new vision of the social possible. Latour writes ‘[ANT] draws the relativist, that is, the scientific conclusion that those controversies provide the analyst with an essential resource to render social connections traceable’ (Latour, 2005, p. 30). Actors are thus given broad potential diversity of form, but with a specific mandate, because ‘...anything that does modify a state of affairs by making a difference is an actor’ (Latour, 2005, p. 71). The deeper we venture into the complexity of causality tacit in apparent forms, the closer we get to uncertainty about action: ‘the interesting question at this point is not to decide who is acting and how but to shift from a certainty about action to an uncertainty about action...’ (Latour, 2005, p. 60). Latour’s re-conceptualisation of the social through the explication of complex actor networks prefigures any documentation of accounts, to reveal the controversy within our understanding and interpretation of the world of causality.

For Latour this also means that we need to take into account the writer, his or her conditions and situation in the act of accounting; what he refers to as the ‘laboratory’. And while acknowledging that many accounts are written under duress and unfavourable conditions, the key difference in the quality of accounts is not whether they are scientific or literary, but whether such accounts are well written in that connections are traced and associations come into view (Latour, 2005, pp. 123-125).

Latour rejects textual accounts as mere narratives, arguing that they should refer to objects, be accurate, and in this way express uncertainty (Latour, 2005, p. 127). As previously indicated, for Latour the social can only come into being through the uncertainty embedded in actor networks. Thus a rich account of actor networks is a prerequisite of a good account:

*In a bad text only a handful of actors will be designated as the causes of all the others, which will have no other function than to serve as a backdrop or relay for the flows of causal efficacy. (Latour, 2005, p. 130)*

<b>Networked organisation</b>	A community media production network	An educational initiative	The G20 week / process
<b>Organisational network</b>	A monthly ‘think tank’ for activists from diverse organisations	A local social forum	

Table 3.4: Accounts of Networks and Organisations in as part of the WSF(P) / AGM

In the spirit of ANT, I traced five ‘accounts’, which provide a cross section of examples from the AGM and WSF(P). The two main distinguishing categories are whether the accounts in question were an example of a ‘networking organisation’ (an organisation which requires or conducts networking for its own benefit or self-organisation), or an ‘organisational network’ (a group of organisations or people that are part of, or have formed, a larger network).

These textual accounts, because of the impetus to trace networks, were too detailed and long to put into the thesis. However, I have inserted abbreviated versions later in this chapter. Rather than a flood of raw data, chapter five is an analytic attempt to explicate the controversies, tensions and key points that emerge, in relation to the core concerns of the thesis using the framework presented in chapter two, section three.

### 3.6 Analysis and Integration

Despite Latour's call to abandon frameworks that potentially obstruct the empirical appreciation of connections, analysis has been an ongoing heuristic process of deploying organising frameworks for sense-making purposes. This process began before the PhD and continued through the write up of this thesis.

My initial introduction to the WSF was at the Mumbai WSF in 2004, and this began my analytical explorations (Ramos, 2004b). Thus a tension can be said to exist between the need to fully appreciate the associational complexity within the WSF(P) / AGM, and a need to make sense of / stabilise such complexity through existing analytic language and strategies.

#### *Reform-Transform*

One of the first distinctions I used to understand the spectrum of activism at the WSF was that of distinguishing 'conservative' proposals for change ('reformism'), and transformative proposals ('radicalism') (Ramos, 2004b). This distinction is a common one used to analyse both WSF(P) agendas (Smith, 2008b) as well as positions for AG (Mittelman, 2004b; Scholte, 2000). As Santos argues, it is often indicative of the historical cleavages within the West - between for example militant revolutionaries and reformist unions (Santos, 2006, pp. 111-113). It therefore delineates between 'reformist' proposals to democratise the institutional landscape of power in a piecemeal fashion, and 'radical' proposals that argue that 'current global trends, including growing poverty, and inequality...and deteriorating environmental conditions, are structural effects of the world capitalist system itself and, therefore, global capitalism should be abolished' (Smith, 2008b, p. 85). This distinction can be seen in chapter two, for example between reform liberal and neo-Marxist discourses.

The distinction, however, became increasingly problematic as the thesis progressed. As a dualism, it pre-supposes one of two possibilities, obscuring an underlying spectrum. As Santos argues, it can obscure the multiple strategies employed by movements which contain both reformism and radicalism, and it can be polarising to frame debates using this distinction (Santos, 2006, pp. 171-172). In my fieldwork experiences I was confronted by the diversity of actors and creative modes of participation through the WSF(P) / AGM, indicating the extent to which many

thematically specific or small scale alternatives are ‘radically’ deconstructive and reconstructive of the life-world’s they are immersed in (as seen in chapter five). In an alternate definition, positions which disown the role of the state and capital in an AGM and / or WSF(P) can be seen as just the opposite of ‘radicalism’, rather as the maintenance of its *status quo*, (which comes into clearer view in scenarios one of chapter six). Indeed, we may find proposals emerging from industry and the business community as truly ‘revolutionary’, such as the development of post-shareholder-driven business models (White, 2006) and Cradle-to-Cradle design (Braungart, 2007).

### 3.6.1 Embodied Prefigurations vs. Manifestations

Another distinction related to ‘reform-transform’ is the difference between embodied social alternatives / innovations and manifestos / manifestations, discussed in chapter two, section three. This concerns the difference between existing embodied social alternatives and proposals that do not yet exist – imagined visions of ‘another world’. Embodied alternatives are also referred to in the literature as ‘prefigurative’ (Smith, 2008a, pp. 199-200).

	<b>Single theme focus</b>	<b>Multi theme focus</b>
<b>Embodied prefiguration</b>	Open source laboratories Perma-culture practices Economic cooperatives	Ceres environment park (see chapter five – MSF) Wiserearth.org (website) A Space Outside (see chapter five – G20 Convergence)
<b>Manifestations</b>	World parliament (Monbiot, 2003) World Environment Organisation (Held, 2005)	Porto Alegre 19 Bamako Appeal Belem Declaration (See appendices D, E and F)

Table 3.5: Embodied Alternatives or Blueprints, Single issue or Multi-issue

As seen in table 3.5, embodied alternatives and blueprints can also either be single theme focused or multi theme focused. While these four distinctions are not used explicitly in an analytic framework, they nevertheless provide some nuance to the language used in this thesis in relation to what ‘alternatives’ mean. This distinction’s relationship to ‘reform-transform’ is not strait forward. Structural critiques (e.g. of global capitalism) can favour multi-theme manifestos / manifestations (the ‘prescription’ matching the ‘diagnosis’). Yet transformism or ‘radicalism’ can likewise lead to bold experiments in deconstructing and reconstructing multiple life-world’s, as seen in chapter five and in other studies (Smith, 2008b, pp. 97-104).

### *3.6.2 Horizontalism and verticalism*

The distinction between horizontalism and verticalism is common within the literature of alternative globalisation and the WSF(P) (Juris, 2004; Tormey, 2005). This distinction points to cultural dynamics within the AGM, and denote tendencies toward either ‘command logic’ (verticalism), or participatory ‘network logic’ (horizontalism). This distinction is mixed in with the aforementioned distinction between embodied prefiguration and manifestation, examples being Whitaker and Salleh’s different critiques of the ‘Porto Alegre Consensus’ of 19. This dynamic is explored in more detail in chapter four, and a key operative logic in the concluding scenarios.

### *3.6.3 Causal Layered Analysis*

Causal Layered Analysis, originally developed by Inayatullah (Inayatullah, 1998), and now used by many others (Inayatullah, 2004), was used throughout the thesis as a way of analysing live and textual discourses. Its first use was to explicate the different layers of the wide-ranging discourses on globalisation (confirmation document 2006). Its second use was to analyse the various processes and speeds of change throughout the WSF(P). This was one of my first attempts to analyse social alternatives that were present in the WSF(P) (Ramos, 2006a). Its third use was as a facilitation method in one of the accounts (chapter five – ‘Community Collaborations’).

Throughout this process, CLA was a guiding method for appreciating the ontological and temporal heterogeneity within AFG. In itself, however, the four layers of CLA were not a complete match for either the temporal and thematic diversity of actors, nor for the discourses emerging in fieldwork. However, what CLA was able to provide was refined analysis of discourse, worldview and episteme, and how these help to categorically organise understandings of alternative globalisation.

### *3.6.4 Normative vs. Descriptive Globalisations*

Globalisation discourses were also analysed from the point of view of their normative content vs. their descriptive content. This was one essential strategy by which I began to construct the meta-

domain of alternative futures of globalisation (as opposed to just globalisation discourses, of which there are endless varieties) (Applebaum, 2005; Baylis, 1997; Held, 2000b; Scholte, 2000; Synott, 2004).

This began the process of sifting and sorting, whereby I looked for examples where authors were proposing ‘another’ globalisation, or a ‘different’ globalisation, or ‘futures’ for globalisation. As discussed, explication and identification of discourses also emerged from fieldwork. Within the WSF(P), discourses that articulate alternative futures of globalisation, as well as actors that struggle for them, are heterogeneous. AFG emerged as a meta category for this convergence of viewpoints. The process of pattern recognition and discourse construction, through literature research and fieldwork, yielded the nine discourses for AG presented in chapter two, section one.

### *3.6.5 Developing the Core Analytic Framework*

In developing a framework for exploring AG discourses, I originally drew heavily upon the work of Galtung and Inayatullah and their examination of macro-historical theories of social change (Galtung, 1997b). This analytic approach aimed to develop an understanding of the key aspects of social change, which stem from the viewpoints embodied in actors. Inayatullah’s analysis of macro-historians was particularly useful, and helped me to construct a framework for combing through the discourses for alternative globalisation (Inayatullah, 1997c, pp. 159-202). This devised framework initially included the five categories of episteme, agency, structure, history, and future.

Because discourses for AG provide complex, dynamic and organically conceived visions, it is important to note that one category cannot so easily be separated from another category. Therefore, as a summary of the approach, table 3.6 provides some considerations concerning the interactions between these categories when looking at a discourse. The table describes how I originally conceived this analytic framework, in part to address the research questions posed in this study. This analytical framework does not imply an essential structure for AG, but rather a devise by which to make sense of an enormous and complex area. At the time, the intention behind the use of these distinctions was to clarify key constituent assumptions that go into the production of conceptions, and strategies for AG. Each discourse I analysed is a complex and cohesive whole that cannot so easily be so easily generalised and torn apart through analysis.

Nevertheless, by moving through these five categories, I originally attempted to provide an analytic strategy that addressed the core concerns of the project.

(‡=Acts upon)	History (H)	Future (F)	Structure (S)	Agency (A)
History ‡	----	provides the shape, the stages, the trajectory, and position from which the future is contoured and interpreted and seen to unfold	embodies the key structures through what is seen to be a key ‘unit’, changes slowly or remains continuous and essential through time	contours the scope for the movement of potential actors, and locates and qualifies actors in a broader and longer scheme of change
Future ‡	can modify, justify or make absurd certain historical claims (development, progress), by showing their contradictions in view of emerging limits and potentials	---	can reveal the potential for transformed structures and alternative or emergent categories in nascent form, projecting what is continuous and enduring, or challenging present orderings	can show the potential influence of certain actors, or close down the potential of others, as well as provide the vision for what can be enacted and what cannot.
Structure ‡	provides the groundwork by which History can be written according to a coherent movement of time not lost in detail	prefigures the future through the stabilisation of categories of reality, and provides the template for what can change	---	provides the categories and boundaries within which actors can act, and constitutes the actors themselves as located and positioned
Agency ‡	provides the potential from which the patterns of history can be modified or transformed	is what makes the future different from the present – actors creating change at different scales, in a variety of ways	works within the proscribed view of ontological categories and must be seen in such categories to exist, but can choose to also modify them (but not ignore them!)	---

Table 3.6: Overview Chart of Interaction Between Structure, Agency, History and Future

As I grappled with the need to analyse my experiences in the WSF(P), I drew upon Santos’ ‘sociology of emergences’ and socio-ecological understanding of the WSF(P) (Santos, 2006, p. 241). I later realised the correlation and convergence between his ‘ecologies’ (of knowledges,

recognitions, temporalities, productivities, and trans-scales) and the framework I had originally conceived based on the work of Inayatullah (as above). Other considerations also haunted me, in particular the issue of structure, political economy and geo-geography. I thus drew from authors such as Sklair, Robinson, Boulet, Raskin and Robbins to help conceptualise a ‘geo-structural’ understanding (Boulet, 1985; Raskin, 2006; Robbins, 2004; Robinson, 2004; Sklair, 2002). The conceptual framework that I presented in chapter two, part three is a synthesis of this process of devising analytic strategies in various parts of the thesis. This is then applied as an analytic approach to understanding the five accounts presented in chapter five.

### *3.6.6 Scenario Development*

The final method applied within the thesis was an approach to scenario construction, based on the work of Inayatullah (2008) and Nandy (1992). This method was analytic in its exploration of alternative futures of the WSF(P), and constructed four scenario vignettes that explore factors in the social complexity of the WSF(P). In addition, it was used as an integrative approach, to distil the implications of the themes that run through the thesis, and to provide a synthesis of the issues which emerge.

Nandy developed an approach to ‘evaluating utopias’, which critiqued the extent to which a utopia closes down the social imaginary, arguing ‘a utopia must be able to take criticism from other utopias’ (Nandy, 1992, p. 8), and incorporate seeds of reflexivity, as:

*no Utopia can give a guarantee against its misuse by overzealous ideologues, but an Utopia can build conceptual components which sanctify self-doubts, openness and dissent. (Nandy, 1992, p. 7)*

Nandy challenges the pretensions of utopians (held by those on the left and right alike) claiming certainty based on pseudo-scientific theories of social development, modernisation, and progress, which insulate themselves from the impact of their visions on the world. He thus argues that ‘visions [should] include an element of self-destructiveness’ and toward the development of visions ‘which tend to self destroy when used against demands for justice, compassion and freedom’ (Nandy, 1992, p. 10). Thus, for the WSF(P) too, there must be an ‘escape cause’ (Nandy, 1992, p. 2) by which to challenge or question the ideological construct which is the WSF(P) today, and which allows alternative futures of the WSF(P) to emerge. As Nandy argues,

for utopias to have any merit they must engage in a dialogue with alternate utopias and include the critiques of their rivals. Thus we can ask in this vein, what must the WSF(P) internalise ‘either as an internal ally or as a critic’ (Nandy, 1992, p. 6)? To be evaluated, the WSF(P) as a utopian construct also needs to be problematised by such voices, its current trajectory seen as one of a number of possible futures.

Inayatullah (2008) drew inspiration from the social psychology of Nandy, in developing an approach to understanding of the cultural and organisational logics in the imaging of the future. Inayatullah’s application of this is to explore four futures for organisations, the dominant self concept (what I term ‘success formula’), the disowned self of an organisation, the integrated organisation, and the outlier. Chapter six presents four scenario vignettes as concluding ‘snapshots’ of alternative futures of the WSF(P), and explore issues and implications that arise from these.

### **3.7 Summary of Accounts**

The fieldwork conducted as part of this thesis has been with organisations and networks that were in some way connected with the WSF(P), and which could be construed to be part of a movement toward alternative globalisation.

As noted, one distinguishing feature of these are whether the accounts in question are examples of a ‘networking organisation’ (an organisation which requires or conducts networking for its own benefit), or an ‘organisational network’ (a group of organisations or people that are part of, or have formed, a larger network).

Another of the distinguishing features of these accounts is the way in which they are, in variegated ways, prismatic in their compositions. We see heterogeneous / plural actors, visions and processes: be this from the position of global politics (e.g. alternative globalisations), education, media, events, or the like. ‘Prismatism’ in these accounts describes ontological and epistemological complexity (diversities) contained in organisational forms and spaces. What emerges is diversity and coherence that exist simultaneously, with their attendant contradictions, tensions, paradoxes and controversies.

The deviant account in this study is the G20 Convergence. In this example, the G20 consisted of various loosely affiliated networks and meta-networks which never cohered into a self referential totality (as with the other examples). It was a convergence based on the situational context of the meeting of the G20 countries and their finance ministers.

A sixth account, of the WSF(P) as a totality, is offered in chapter four. Yet a ‘complete’ account of the WSF(P) is difficult - it is vast and complex (including as an example over 200 forums around the world – see appendix B). To draw together an account of the WSF(P), in chapter four, I weave together literature research, interviews and my personal involvement in two WSFs (Mumbai and Caracas) and the Melbourne Social Forums. However the challenge of the WSF(P)’s complexity combined with the limitations of this research project means that the representation of the WSF(P) must be qualified as an expression of the embodied cognition of this author.

The five accounts provide examples of complex prismatic composition from the AG movement and the WSF(P). The first account explores the development of a local social forum. The second account involves a network of community media producers, who focus on making short documentaries on social justice, indigenous, environmental and other issues. The third account involved a ‘think tank’ of local community organisers and activists. The fourth account involves an initiative to develop integrative and transformative education at the post graduate level outside of the existing university framework. The fifth account, ‘G20 Convergence’, involves the week of events that coincided with the meeting of finance ministers from the G20 group of nations (an extension of the G8).

These accounts demonstrate a heterogeneity which comes together to create a new commons through ‘prismatic’ formations in the (re)composition of alternative localisations and globalisations.

### *3.7.1 The Melbourne Social Forum*

The first account explores the process of network development in a local social forum. My involvement in this local social forum predates the commencement of this research project. My role with this group varied over time, but the consistent theme of network development ran throughout my involvement with the group. I collaboratively undertook new roles in

‘sponsorship’, ‘outreach’ and ‘media’ that further deepened my specific involvement.

In this example, network development was both situational and ongoing. Social forums are examples of situational opportunities for participants to interlink and network. For the organisers network development is ongoing, and cannot happen without the creation of specific network development roles. This account is largely based on my internal involvement in the organisational process. Through this process, I also experienced the rich convergence of organisations that compose the social forum ‘community’. This convergence represents the prismatic quality of social forums in general.

The MSF emerged as an expression of the rich networks of counter-hegemonic actors in Melbourne. This included groups supportive of the WSF initiative, as well as groups and people who advocate or articulate for post-neo-liberal and post-capitalist visions. Initially, the MSF founding group was inspired by the shared experience of the Mumbai WSF in early 2004, that led to the first MSF in late 2004.

The forum has had modest attendance over the past five years. Events have been held in 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, and 2009, bringing together an average of between 300 and 400 participants, and hosting between 30-50 workshops per event. The initial forum in 2004 was a one day event (which expanded to two days in 2005). In 2006 the MSF ran the G20 Alternative as part of the G20 Convergence. 2007 saw the largest MSF event attendance (with approximately 450 participants). This was followed by a mini form in 2008, and a larger two day forum in 2009.

Over the six years of its existence the MSF has brought together many well known green/left/alternative writers and activists located in Melbourne/Victoria, and some inter-state visitors as well.<sup>22</sup> In addition, the variety of groups that have weaved through the forum are also diverse.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>22</sup>Speakers have included: Thomas Pogge, David Spratt, Phillip Sutton, Susan Hawthorne, Verity Bergmann, Helena Norberg-Hodge, Frank Fisher, Stephen Mayne, Humphrey McQueen, Joseph Camilleri, Rod Quantok, Valerie Plumwood, David Risstrom, Kenneth Davidson, Kevin Bracken, Tony Biggs, Robbie Thorpe, Donna Mulhearn, Lillian Holt, Geoff Davies, Cam Walker, Ben Neil, Bob Phelps, Shanaka Fernando, Kerry Wilmot, Tanya Ha, Kirsten Laursen, Mosese Waqa, Sue Kenny, Mary Crooks, Graham Dunkley, Merrill Findley, Jess Whyte, Janet McCalman, Jacques Boulet, Damien Grenfell, Mike Cebon and others.

<sup>23</sup> This includes groups like: Friends of the Earth, Greenpeace, International Socialist Organization, Ananda Marga, Greenpeace, Latin American Solidarity Network, Women’s International League for Peace and

During or after each forum organisers have conducted evaluations of the events, both formal and informal. The forum has consistently received positive reviews from participants.

Organisers, however, have always hoped that the social forum in Melbourne would draw more people. The MSF has not succeeded in breaking into mainstream audiences, (or even what might be considered the 'progressive' 'cultural creative' audience). This has occurred despite increased efforts at outreach and media promotion.

Several generations of organisers have built and sustained the forum through its iterations, yet the sustainability of the effort has often been tenuous, given the challenge of organising such events as volunteer efforts.

### *3.7.2 Plug in TV*

The second account involves a network of community media producers who focus on making short documentaries on social justice, environmental and other issues. Like the third account (below) my involvement in this group commenced after the thesis project began.

My involvement was precipitated by the group's need for assistance in the area of team-building, network and community development. As with the first account, my role in network / community development runs throughout this account. This role also required me to become a content producer, a creative writer, do legal work, provide facilitation, and apply conflict mediation at various times. The issues that this group cover, as well as the many groups it has documented, are very diverse. They cast a distinct light on the myriad of projects for change in both Melbourne,

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Freedom, Australians for Native Title and Reconciliation, Engage Media, Plug-in TV, Coalition for Justice and Peace in Palestine, Australian Venezuela Solidarity Network, Resistance, Polisario Front in Australia, Western Buddhist Order, Cultivating Community, Australian Center for Democracy and Justice, Madpride, Sea Shepherd, EnergyBulletin, Prosper Australia, EarthSharing Australia, Share International, Aid/Watch, Global Trade Watch, the Australian Jewish Democratic Society, Democratic Socialist perspective, Beyond Zero Emissions, Pacific Islands Network, Reconciliation Victoria, Medical Association for the Prevention of War, Gene Ethics, Life Poets Simplicity Collective, Oases, Be the change, Western Region Environments Centre, East Timor Women's Association, Australia East Timor Association, Nuclear Free Australia, Engineers Beyond Borders, Peace Brigades International, Refugee Action Collective, The Understandascope Institute, Aduki Independent Press, Union Solidarity, GreenLeap Strategic Institute, Queer Activist Network, Lentil as Anything, and many other groups.

Australia and the world. (See appendix J).

Plug-in TV emerged about the same time as the Melbourne Social Forum. Indeed one of the first projects Plug-in TV undertook was a documentary on the first MSF. Plug-in TV began as a TV program for community television on Melbourne's Channel 31. As the group grew, it began to document a broader variety of issues. It began to use the web for distribution, in particular using EngageMedia.org as a distribution platform.

Members and producers came from diverse backgrounds; Australians, Latin Americans, North Americans, South East Asians, and Europeans have been involved. Developing documentaries in a participatory style, Plug in TV addressed a diverse set of social and ecological issues. These included: indigenous rights, environmental campaigns, the arms industry, forest protection, community radio, neighbourhood sustainability projects, corporate abuses, cycling, climate change, regional Australian military interventions, public transport, industrial relations, alternative education and human rights issues overseas.

Incorporation, finding an office, public liability insurance, allowed Plug-in TV to establish itself as an organisation. Subsequent to this Plug-in TV, through some projects, began to do to paid work for not-for-profit organisations that needed support in media production. While this never became a great source of income, this at least provided a small revenue stream that allowed Plug-in to have a modest studio.

Due to the dramatic diversity of its members, and the sometimes ideologically oriented directions they took, Plug in TV experienced organisational teething problems over the years, and this required a more conscious effort to formalise structures that would mitigate against future disputes. A focus on developing networks of both members and non-member relationships has allowed Plug-in TV to expand and remain a fluid and diverse group. But the same fluidity has become a double-edged sword, given the challenges of maintaining the integrity and coherence of the groups activity and sustainability over the years.

Plug-in TV has attempted to make video production accessible to the person on the street. It attempts to reduce the barrier between expert and non-expert – so common in highly technical environments such as media production. Its vision has been to make grassroots media production a common literacy. For the benefit of the community, Plug-in TV aims to build community

capacity by facilitating the telling of stories (and the documentation of issues) from a popular, or ‘vox pop’ perspective. It has done this by taking a community building approach to media production, emphasising the need for knowledge sharing, mutual support, resource sharing, and collaborative approaches to organising, producing and distributing media.

### *3.7.3 Community Collaborations*

The third account involved a group of local community organisers and activists. Meeting monthly, this group of people focussed on information sharing and strategy development on pertinent issues that various activist, community and advocacy groups face. Prismatically, the group brought together well known community organisers, representing dozens of groups that work in the area of social justice and ecological sustainability. My involvement in this group commenced after the thesis project began.

Community collaborations initially emerged as an effort to coordinate the development of an Australian Social Forum. A committee was formed which began to meet in Melbourne, this drew together a variety of activists and community organisers from across a number of groups. The group developed organically through personal invitations, and had a strong ethic of solidarity based on the trust put in personal relationships and associations. The group eventually gave up its plans for a pan Australian social forum, but continued to meet as a knowledge sharing ‘waterhole’. This facilitated some strategic dialogues that allowed for better communication and understanding across some of the activist projects in Melbourne.

Toward the end of its life, members began to ask questions about the purpose of the group, and several processes were undertaken. The first was a workshop to explore the neo-liberal framing of human rights, where members discussed how values are articulated (e.g. appropriated) for political economic interests. This led to a short manifesto-like statement which articulated the need for a dramatic re-conceptualisation of the framing of human rights. (See appendix L).

The second was an evaluation conducted with ten of the participants, with the aim of looking for new ways forward for the group. The final process was an experiment in community storytelling, incorporating the previous two processes.

### 3.7.4 *Oases*

The fourth account involves an initiative to develop integrative and transformative education at the post graduate level outside of the existing university framework. This initiative was informed by precedents, educational initiatives such as Noosa, the California Institute for Integral Studies, and Schumacher College, to name a few.

Thematically, the initiative was based on a vision of integrating the ecological, spiritual, social, and aesthetic facets or dimensions of reality into a student centred learning process. It too is prismatic, as through its participatory development process it is composed by many different people from many different education backgrounds (disciples, fields or domains). My role in this initiative differed over time, from process participant to contributor to curriculum development, and included some simple budgetary work and some media / communications work.

Oases (as an educational initiative) was started in 2004. The Oases program focussed on creating a type of adult/tertiary education that differed from the dominant institutional model of modern-day academia. As such, it aimed to create an educational process and environment that was broadly transdisciplinary and multi-modal (through ‘the organic integration of the aesthetic, and social, ecological and spiritual dimensions of our existence’).

Oases began as a collaboration between the Augustine Center and Borderlands Co-operative in Hawthorn. The Augustine Centre has been a centre for trans-personal development and spirituality, and Borderlands a centre for community development, social research, and activism. Between them they drew together a wide variety of practitioners and participants.

Oases has developed in a number of ways. It has become an accredited Masters program in Integrative and Transformative Learning in the state of Victoria. In addition to this it runs popular community learning programs that are open to anyone with an interest in the variety of activities offered. It is also home to an emerging research and learning facility. It has attracted a broad variety of participants into its programs, which are focused on ‘learning for personal, social and global responsibility’.

Because the curriculum(s) were developed in a highly participatory style (involving the influence and inclusion of academics and non-academics) the learning pools are very diverse. Learning

includes things like: the role of colour in psychology, the vision of self in community, archetypal psychology, ritual interaction and theatre, the coherence of communication and vocality, post-coloniality and development, organisational development, cultural processes, human fulfilment, innovation for sustainability, enchantment and connectedness to the world, social movements, spiritual life, human potential, the exploration of conscientising media and therapeutic knowledge and action. The educational program draws these together through experiential and dialogic learning in an action-reflection pedagogy.

### *3.7.5 G20 Convergence*

The fifth account involves the G20 week of events that coincided with the meeting of finance ministers from the G20 group of nations (an extension of the G8). Like the G8 meeting at Gleneagles previously held in the UK, the Nov. 2006 G20 events in Melbourne attracted a diversity of activity from critics of neo-liberalism.

This is a situational account of events leading up to, and including, this week. These include activity by Make Poverty History, an autonomist formation called A Space Outside, the StopG20 coalition which organised the anti-globalisation protests, and an event conducted by the Melbourne Social Forum called the G20 Alternative. Other activity included news coverage by the Indymedia collective, a Human Rights Observe Team and public statements of joint bodies.

My role in this event was that of MSF liaison between different networks, groups and individuals involved. I was also an organiser for activities during this week of actions, in particular the G20 Alternative. Again, this account is prismatic in its situational containment of diverse and competing organisational and social identities. These push for different visions of social change, and use different tactics and strategies. This account raises the serious issues of social fragmentation, and casts light on the way in which alternative globalisation is enacted and mobilised through a diversity of meta-formative practices.

The G20 week of action and events included [paraphrased from event literature]:

Media of Dissent Forum at Trades Hall: aimed at organise alternative media/media strategy for the G20 (Nov 12, 12pm - 6:30pm).

A Space Outside: Active Interventions Within: a temporary collective to critique and experiment with alternatives to capitalism (<http://www.aspaceoutside.org>) (Nov 12<sup>th</sup> to 17<sup>th</sup>).

Public Forum: Creating a Fairer World, What should the G-20 do? A forum presented by Make Poverty History, at the Melbourne Town Hall, Swanston St, Melbourne (<http://makepovertyhistory.org.au/melbForum.html>) (Nov 16, 10am-5.45pm).

Corporate Engagement Day - decentralised actions: a chance for affinity groups to focus on their own issues concerning the corporate harm done to people and the planet. Venue: Various corporate offices around the CBD (Friday Nov 17).

Generation 2015 Make Poverty History Concert: Hosted by Australia's Make Poverty History Coalition, at the Sidney Myer Music Bowl (<http://makepovertyhistory.org.au/melbConcert.html>) (Friday Nov 17, late).

Carnival Against / Beyond Capitalism: a gathering in the city which included speakers, street theatre, etc, culminating in a rally and Carnival Beyond Capitalism street party. Location - State Library in Swanson St, Melb. CBD (<http://www.stopg20.org>) (Sat Nov 18, 12-6pm).

Make Poverty History Festival: Free All-Ages Daytime Community Education Festival. Featuring Bands, Fair Trade & Sustainable Living Stalls, Workshops, Global Beats Chill Zone, Speakers, Roving Performers, MPH info stalls, International Food and Children's Activities (Sat Nov 18).

The Melbourne Social Forum G20 Alternative: a forum open to the public, exploring alternatives to neo-liberalism and democratising global economic governance. RMIT Swanson St Campus, (Sun, Nov 19, 10 am to 5 pm).

Help the Police Quarantine the Greed20 Virus: street theatre concerning the Greed20 virus/inoculating ourselves against capitalist-led globalisation. Venue: As close to the Grand Hyatt as the Police Quarantine allows. More info: (<http://www.stopg20.org>) (Sun Nov 19).

Two major clusters of activities broadly defined the G20 Convergence: the networked activities to protest the G20, and Make Poverty History's extensively coordinated programme for that

week. The media portrayed these different clusters quite differently. Based on organising styles, they can be described as ‘Controlled Engagement’ vs. ‘Autonomist Protest’, although many variations exist in between. On the ground, organisers for both clusters often knew each other very well (and indeed many from each ‘camp’ participated in the others events). Obvious differences existed in terms of tactics, strategy, and aims. The G20 Convergence, including activity between and within each cluster, can be seen as an example of social fragmentation. Nevertheless, I consider both examples of the movements and processes for an alternative globalisation.

### *Autonomist Protest*

The autonomist formation ‘A Space Outside’ (ASO) squatted in a building in the Melbourne inner city. This is where a number of solidarity and *encuentro* style activities took place, and where some of the preparations for the protests were made. The groups that made up ASO were eventually evicted by the police on the Thursday of the G20 protests.

Somewhat associated with this were the larger ‘StopG20’ protests on the Friday and Saturday of the G20 week, which brought together about three or four thousand people. This umbrella formation included dozens of well resourced groups. The aim of these organisers was to create a non-violent sit in (or dance in!) street party on the streets of the Melbourne CBD in the tradition of Reclaim the Streets (Klein, 1999, pp. 311-324).

Despite these aims, a lack of discipline and coordination allowed a small minority of protesters to vandalise property and antagonise police (with insults, taunts, light objects, water, etc). The police eventually lost their original restraint and forcibly attacked and removed protesters, in some cases violently.<sup>24</sup>

The MSF’s activities, in which I participated in organising, might also be positioned as autonomist. MSF engaged in the ‘antagonism’ of Saturday’s actions by using an army truck with a DJ sound system, creating a rave party at one end of the police blockades. On Sunday MSF ran the G20 Alternative festival / forum, that brought together approximately 300 people for an open space event.

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<sup>24</sup>Human rights observers were present at the protest and documented in great details the interaction between both sides.

Overall, autonomist network activity was marked by antagonism with police. Following clashes between protesters and police on Saturday police retaliated the following day, targeting people they believed had perpetrated the violence and vandalism, raiding houses. This included a secret police squad which abducted a number of ‘suspects’, including from the MSF event. The Victorian Government proceeded to prosecute 19 people they claimed were associated with the violence and vandalism, a process that lasted over three years. Autonomist protesters received mixed media coverage, from excoriating condemnation from the mainstream media, to positive reviews from community and alternative media. The fallout from this was a fracturing of trust and cohesion between the tenuous coalition that had been built, leaving the network of networks weakened.

### *Controlled Engagement*

Make Poverty History (MPH) organised three popular events during the G20 week - a forum on the Thursday, concerts on the Friday and a Family Festival on the Saturday. Each was meant to appeal to a different constituency. The Thursday event was aimed at policy debate, Friday concerts were aimed at celebrity followers, and the Saturday events were aimed at families.

MPH was very adept at attracting high profile personalities; government and musical celebrities bolstered MPH’s mainstream credibility. MPH coordinated and managed the campaign very well and received very good press from the media. They came out of the week looking far more respectable than the horizontalist network they had officially disassociated themselves from - and far more progressive than the G20 group itself, which spent little time addressing issues around poverty and climate change.

This account was not only unique in its organisational composition, the social fragmentation which typified the G20 Convergence also diverged significantly from the other accounts. For this reason, this account provides an important window into the challenge of developing and AGM in conditions of social complexity. Indeed, this account forms the basis for the final scenario presented in the concluding chapter.

## **Chapter Four: Hegemonic and Counter-hegemonic Contexts of the World Social Forum Process**

In this chapter I chart the hegemonic and counter hegemonic contexts within which the WSF(P) was born. I weave together the story of hegemonic globalisation, the movement(s) against hegemonic globalisation, together with the story of the WSF(P). This spans from colonial imperialism to the present context of neoliberalism / militarised globalisation. I then explain some of the key contextualising factors in the emergence of the WSF(P). These include the ‘Old Left’, its rejection by the post ‘68 new social movements (NSMs), and the differentiation of campaigns and causes that coincided with the exponential rise of international non-government organisations (INGOs). In addition, over 30 years of ‘counter-summits’ provide the milestones in the emergence of a complex anti-globalisation movement. Together these processes helped to lay the foundations for creating a solidarity-in-diversity among the many actors that struggled increasingly together against this global hegemony. I go on to describe the subsequent WSF processes that emerged.

### **4.1 Neo-liberal Contexts and the Birth of the WSF(P)**

Pro and anti globalisation positions can be seen as popular level ‘binary’ discourses. Thus, they often express over-stated positions and over-simplify issues. They can also be seen as ideologies which guide ‘norms and values’, and which are expressions of ‘the exercise of power with regard to collective decision making and the regulation of social conflict’ (Steger, 2009, p. 6). As ‘discourse’ or ‘ideology’, this binary parallels Gramsci’s conception of hegemony and counter hegemony. Pro and anti globalisation discourses are as much features of the media’s characterisation of the debate, as they are reflected in literature that advocate for these binary positions. Both pro and anti binary positions express economic liberalisation as *de facto* globalisation. Wolf, for example, typifies globalisation as economic liberalism, and what he calls ‘anti-globalisation.com’ as incoherent and fragmented groups brought together only by what they are against (i.e. economic globalisation) (Wolf, 2004).

The neo-liberalist position sees the globalisation of the marketplace as a panacea for all societies ills (an ideological oversimplification), what financial speculator turned critic Soros refers to as

‘market fundamentalism’ (Soros, 1998 p. xx). On the flip side of this approach we see polemics against economic globalisation. These see a myriad of global problems, which are nearly all attributable to (or in some way connected with) economic globalisation. This is also an ideological oversimplification.

#### *4.1.1 Pro-Globalisation Polemic*

The pro-globalisation view came to dominate definitions of globalisation through earlier economic liberalist shifts in the late 1970’s and 80’s. Popular ‘boosterist’ literature through the 1990s continued this trend. These referred to economic globalisation, or the integration of markets into a global economy.

Historically, the Bretton Woods accord laid the foundations for the modern global economy, by bringing into existence global peak bodies, such as the World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), which culminated in the creation of the World Trade Organization (WTO) (Korten, 1996).

Stiglitz argues these institutions followed Keynesian economic principles up until significant policy shifts during the Reagan-Thatcher administrations. The Thatcher government in the United Kingdom, from 1979, began a program of economic monetisation, deregulation, and the privatisation of national industries. As a follower of Friedrich von Hayek, she re-introduced classical economic liberalism, a way of thinking that up to the 1970s had lost all credibility, and formulated the well known ‘TINA’ proposition, (There is No Alternative) to the liberalist vision (George, 1999). On the other side of the Atlantic, Reagan’s administration in the US had also begun a program of deregulation (in areas such as finance and telecommunications) and had begun privatising industries.

The influence these two leaders had on global policy was profound. Under this Anglo-American alliance the policies of peak economic bodies such as the IMF and WB shifted from their Keynesian orientation to a neo-liberal one, and they began promoting structural adjustment programs (SAPs) globally (Stiglitz, 2002). The influence of SAP’s (backed by the WB and IMF) would be key in forcing down trade barriers and tariffs, and in establishing a new orthodoxy of global financial integration (Broad, 2009, pp. 16-17). The GATT / WTO and OECD maintained

the normative trajectory of neo-liberalism through numerous trade rounds and the proposed Multilateral Agreement on Investment (Goodman, 2000). Using tools like ‘Structural Adjustment Loans (SALs), through the 1980’s these institutions promoted a ‘simple formula: Copy the export oriented path of the newly industrialising countries (NICs)’ (Broad, 2009, p. 15).

American triumphalism followed the implosion of the Soviet Bloc and the conversion of China to the market economy system (Falk, 2004, pp. 26-27). The American system had prevailed where the Soviet and Chinese communist system had failed; this was seen as final proof of the superiority of the US system - and evidence that it should be adopted universally. The fall of communism saw US economists such as Jeffery Sachs introduce / impose ‘Shock Therapy’ on Eastern European economies (Broad, 2009, p. 72). This resulted in mafia led ‘anarcho-capitalism’ which had devastating social consequences (Gray, 1998 pp. 144-145) ultimately leading to Russia’s market oligopolies (Yergin, 2002, p. 298).

The same year that the Berlin Wall came down, Williamson articulated his famous ‘Washington Consensus’ (which spelled out the neo-liberal suite of policies point by point, as the new global policy prescription for market liberalisation) (Held, 2005, p. 98). Fukuyama’s ‘End of History’ thesis also became part of this ideological movement, arguing that world historical development led inevitably to the US’s model of economic and democratic liberalism (Fukuyama, 1989). The mix of Western style capitalism plus democracy had triumphed.

In early 1990’s the term ‘globalisation’ (which up to that point had been a remote academic discourse signifying a variety of processes) was appropriated by journalists to describe global economic integration (Steger, 2009, p. 13). This was linked to a technology oriented discourse around the ICT revolution, as pundits like Friedman argued that the world wide web would integrate people and markets into a ‘golden straitjacket’ (a benign form of global market liberalism from which there could be no escape) (Friedman, 1999). The dot.com boom was seen as proof of the fruits of the free market. An increasingly consolidated right wing media advanced the notion of ‘market democracy’; the idea that an unfettered economic regime represented a pure democracy through consumer choice which political democracy could not match (Frank, 2001).

#### *4.1.2 Popular Crisis of Legitimacy*

The World Economic Forum (WEF) became a key platform for re-legitimising neo-liberalism, in particular as the IMF and WB came under serious pressure from a variety of critics. In the aftermath of the Asian Financial Crisis, the International Financial Institution Advisory Commission (known as the Meltzer Commission), a US federal government bi-partisan commission established to review the IMF and WB's performance, concluded that both institutions not only failed in their espoused aims, but that they were complicit in exacerbating poverty, and suggested a partial to full de-commission of the institutions (Meltzer, 2000). Pressure from global justice advocacy groups and protesters (which culminated in the media spectacle of 'the Battle in Seattle') also contributed. Walden Bello has detailed and analysed this crisis of legitimacy succinctly:

*Davos, high up in the Swiss Alps, is not the center of a global capitalist conspiracy to divide up the world. Davos is where the global elite meets under the umbrella of the WEF to iron out a rough consensus on how to ideologically confront and defuse the challenges to the system. Meeting shortly after what many regarded as the cataclysm in Seattle, the Davos crew in late January composed the politically correct line. Repeated like a mantra by personalities like Bill Clinton, Tony Blair, Bill Gates, Nike CEO Phil Knight, and WEF guru Klaus Schwab, the chorus went this way: "Globalization is the wave of the future. But globalization is leaving the majority behind. Those voices spoke out in Seattle. It's time to bring the fruits of globalization and free trade to the many. (Bello, 2000)*

Apart from bringing on board celebrity guests like Bono, as well as heads of state such as Tony Blair, the popular repositioning of the WEF and neo-liberalism generally included the development of the UN Global Compact (UNGC) - what Bello describes as a divide and conquer strategy for rewarding the 'good' NGOs and disciplining the intransigent ones (who would be locked out of the system of power). Bello argues the UNGC amounted to a cooptation by the corporate sphere of the UN's historic role of promoting human centred development (Bello, 2000; Capdevila, 2008). Bello claims that, in the wake of a crisis of legitimacy in 'Third Way' globalisation, global elites have developed what he calls 'Washington Consensus Plus' - a slightly modified version of neo-liberalism which apologises for the shortcomings of the past, but which essentially promoted the same failed policies (Bello, 2007a).

In addition to this, media characterisations of those opposed to neo-liberal globalisation has often depicted them as ‘anti-globalisation’ luddites, and violent and anarchistic troublemakers. After the terrorist attacks of 9/11, the protest movement was increasingly criminalised and conflated with terrorism (Steger, 2009, pp. 112-113). The construction of ‘anti-globalisation’ is to some extent attributable to popular media, which can be understood from within the political economy of global media (Herman, 1997). ‘Anti globalisation’ is deeper, broader and more complex in its critique of globalisation than is popularly portrayed:

*The strongest advocates of globalization are the remarkable and unprecedented global justice movements, which get together annually in the World Social Forum, and by now in regional and local social forums. In the rigid Western-run doctrinal system, the strongest advocates of globalization are called ‘anti-globalization.’ The mechanism for this absurdity is to give a technical meaning to the term ‘globalization’ [economic] .... In the dominant propaganda systems, those in favor of globalization that privileges the interests of people, not unaccountable concentrations of private power, are called ‘anti-globalization.’ The fact that this ridiculous terminology has come into common usage is a tribute to the great influence of concentrations of state-private power. (Chomsky, 2006)*

#### 4.1.3 Anti-Globalisation Polemic

Despite the fact that ‘anti-globalisation’ is, in part, a partial media construction, AGM actors have continued to employ a strategy of constructing media spectacles to raise the profile of the movement. This strategy creates a tension between the vulgarised messages that reach larger audiences and the erudite critique of issues.

This dynamic reflects the increasing prominence of mass communications as an arbiter of public opinion (and the need to work within complex interpretive audience patterns) as well as the importance of media within the context of Gandhian inspired strategies of non-violent civil disobedience. Activist practices such as ‘culture jamming’ and ‘adbusting’ (Klein, 1999; Lasn, 2000) have also worked to challenge and subvert popular hegemonic messages, as part of a large process of ‘technopolitics’ (Kellner, 2005).

The Zapatista uprising in 1994 was one such orchestration of spectacle. By coupling an uprising against the Mexican state with the beginning of NAFTA, the action carried maximum communicative impact. Zapatistas have been notable in their strategic use of mass communications and symbolic intervention (Castells, 1997, pp. 72-81). The Zapatista media strategy arguably became the *de facto* strategy used within anti/alter-globalisation movement and WSF(P). Within the West, The Reclaim the Streets movement also used spectacle, to protest against the privatisation of public space through a comic disruption of public streets using socio-dramatic strategies, music and theatre (Klein, 1999, pp. 311-324).

Anti-globalisation protests, which had up until the mid 1990's been a latent force, have erupted across the global stage. In the so-called 'Battle in Seattle' (30th Nov, 1999) at least 50,000 people gathered to shut down the WTO Third Ministerial conference (Steger, 2009, p. 105). Since then, over 50 major protests have taken place to date (see appendix P). These protests have been aimed at almost every institution and meeting that represents neo-liberal and corporate globalisation. The power of Seattle-like protests was not its nuanced intelligibility, as they brought together, like the WSF(P), actors with heterogeneous (yet shared or overlapping) interests. Rather protests were able to communicate the sense of crisis expressed through the orchestration of spectacle and strategic (or sometimes naïve) use of popular media.

After Seattle, Indymedia became a global platform for the web publication of globalisation issues, extending grassroots activism to the burgeoning domain of participatory media production (prefiguring web 2.0 and peer-to-peer processes). Alongside the explosion of short critical documentaries within Indymedia communities, larger productions became part of the litany arsenal. Directors such as John Pilger (*War on Democracy*), Michael Moore (*Roger and Me*), Erling Borgen (*The Debt of Dictators*), Errol Morris (*The Fog of War*) Joel Bakan, Mark Achbar and Jennifer Abbott (*The Corporation*), Franny Armstrong (*McLibel*), Jacques Servin and Igor Vamos (*The Yes Men*), Naomi Klein and Avi Lewis (*The Take*), Robert Greenwald (*Outfoxed*), Danny Schechter (*Weapons of Mass Deception*), Stephanie Black (*Life and Debt*), Adam Curtis (*The Power of Nightmares*), and many others have led the vanguard of critical documentary media.

The WSF was established as a counter summit; the message 'Another World is Possible' (AWP) contrasted sharply with the teleological certainty of the neo-liberal suite of messages: Thatcher's TINA (There is No Alternative), the 'Washington Consensus', Fukuyama's 'End of History', and

Friedman's 'golden straitjacket'. The AWP slogan was arguably part of an overall discursive strategy that also fed on spectacle. 'Another World is Possible' can be seen as culture jamming.

The French terms *altermondialisme* emerged in this context as part of an effort to reframe the media's portrayal of the anti-globalisation protest movement. These campaigners and academics use the term *altermondialisme* (literally 'world changing' but translated into English as 'alter-globalisation'). This highlighted the protest movement as pro-globalisation and internationalist for a positive agenda (a peaceful, just and ecologically sustainable globalisation). This 're-branding' involved the struggle over what Lakoff terms 'framing' (Lakoff, 1996) (through media channels) of the anti-globalisation movement.

Like neo-liberal ideologising, anti-globalisation, anti-corporatism and anti-capitalism can also oversimplify issues and create binaries (between true and false, friend and enemy) (Watkins, 1964). Both pro / anti binary positions are impoverished if they disown important aspect of globalisation altogether (whether cultural, ecological, economic), and to the extent they fail to acknowledge globalisation as plural 'globalisations' with different definitions, processes, costs and benefits (Chase-Dunn, 1999; Held, 2000b, pp. 3-8). As Inayatullah reflects:

*Globalization has certainly changed in its historical meanings. Once, it was associated with internationalization, a plea for planetary citizenship, to a world united by humanity and not by war and nationalism. Now, however, globalization is generally associated with economic liberalization, meaning the reduction of the power of particular nation-states to regulate their national development policies through public ownership. (Inayatullah, 2009)*

#### 4.1.4 Neoliberal Research and Critical Evaluation

While everyday media can form the basis of common-sense popular perceptions of globalisation, social policy is generally expected to be based on 'credible' research from 'legitimate' institutions. Hegemonic social policy therefore draws upon research legitimising the present order and supporting its practices of renewal. Support for the global policy status quo (and for privileged actors which benefit from existing neo-liberal policy regimes) draws upon the research of prominent institutions and social science researchers.

Key global institutions have provided the scholarly muscle for legitimising the neo-liberal project. The OECD, World Bank, IMF are well resourced producers of research - this is a core aspect of their operations. The WTO, WEF and G8/G20 are not extensively involved in research programs, but still produce reports with strong pro-free-trade messages.

The OECD (originally the administrative arm for implementing the Marshall Plan) evolved into a platform for synchronising economic policy and development between its mainly Western constituents. It uses a consensus based process of developing policy which is largely tilted in the favour of empowering large industries. In 1997-1998 it attempted to implement the Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI), which would have strengthened the rights of international financial speculators, a process successfully defeated by a coalition of INGOs (Goodman, 2000). It is a widely respected body in the production of statistical research, and therefore an important source of legitimacy. The World Bank is also extensively engaged in research on development along side their 'on the ground' development work, ostensibly with the aim of reducing poverty in poor countries. Its sister organisation, the International Monetary Fund, is the key global lender for large development projects and for crisis intervention. The IMF is also extensively involved in research, in particular economic modelling. Both the IMF and World Bank, (known as the Bretton Woods twins) are largely controlled by the G8 group of countries. The most powerful member of the two institutions is the US, which holds *de facto* veto power in the IMF, and the largest share in the World Bank (15.85%).

The WTO, whose origins go back to the failure of the International Trade Organisation (ITO), and parallel the establishment of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT), is a platform for negotiating trade liberalisation at a global level. While the WTO is not a research body *per se*, it nevertheless issues reports with a pro-liberalisation message. The World Economic Forum (WEF) is an organisation that brings together the world's largest corporations and business people into a process of strategic dialogue. While it is not a research body, it also produces reports favourable to the interests of corporate globalisation, collaborating on research for 'environmental protection and global sustainability' (Esty, 2008 p. 8). Respected research centres such as the Chicago School of Economics (the intellectual home of Milton Friedman and Fredrich Hayek), and organisations such as the Institute for International Economics, from where John Williamson articulated his famous Washington Consensus, or the Adam Smith Institute which advocates for Public Choice Theory, or Australia's Institute of Public Affairs, play

important roles in promoting the neo-liberal vision through research and policy advocacy.

Bello argues these institutions form the basis for legitimising or re-legitimising the neo-liberal project. They have dealt adeptly with various crises of legitimacy in skilful ways (generally by re-packaging policy prescriptions in new clothes) (Bello, 2000, 2004, 2007a). The Asian Financial Crisis became a flash point in this struggle for legitimacy, with clear evidence that financial liberalisation created the conditions for instability, and that IMF led interventions had failed and compounded the problem (Stiglitz, 2002). During the crisis, nations that rejected IMF assistance and conditional loans (Malaysia, Taiwan, China) fared better than those that didn't (Thailand, Indonesia, South Korea).

Following these embarrassments, as well as the failure of Sach's 'shock therapy', the IMF and WB began to repackage SAPs using the discourse of sustainable development, and developed policy based on its Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers (PRSPs). This added institutional reform and stakeholder consultation to existing development policy, while leaving unaltered the underlying neo-liberal suit of loan-development conditionalities (Bello, 2007a, p. 2). Through 2007-2008, and through the global credit crisis, the IMF and WB have continued to pursue neo-liberal agendas (BWP, 2008). Bello argues these are attempts at reforming, or more pessimistically salvaging neo-liberal economics, without challenging the underlying logic of capitalist expansion with its contradictions.

The UN has been a complex and contested space for the development of social and economic policy. Voices within UN organisations like UNESCO have been highly critical of the neo-liberal and Western development model. In the 50s the New International Economic Order (NIEO) project emerged from the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD) as a challenge to Western development. Bello argues developing 'Southern' nations attempted to use the UN as a platform to force more equitable trade relations through UNCTAD, but were stifled and defeated by the G6/G7 block led by the US (Bello, 2004; Glasius, 2004, p. 191).

One of the main roles played by INGOs that advocate for social and ecologically centred development, has been the undertaking of research which evaluates the actions and policies of the dominant institutions. These INGOs also conduct alternative research within local communities, advocating for policies from local perspectives. Organisations like the Trans-national Institute,

Focus on the Global South, Friends of the Earth, Third World Network, Greenpeace, World Watch, the Bretton Woods Project and many of the INGOs that form part of the WSF International Council (IC) (see appendix C), undertake research independent of national and corporate interests within the sphere of the G8. As the New International Economic Order (NIEO) project waned with the weakening of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development (UNCTAD - established to promote the interests of developing nations), these INGOs emerged as critical voices in evaluating and advocating for 'people and planet' centred development approaches.

Many often survive on shoe string budgets, and cannot compete in output with the army of professionally paid researchers employed by Bretton Woods Institutions and G8 based administrations. Nonetheless, they are notable in the diversity of issues they address, and often attract, house, or are established by prominent academics who are career experts in their fields. A struggle over the legitimacy/illegitimacy of hegemonic globalisation takes place in the context of such social research, and dissenting views often come both from within academic research institutions, or NGO groups that are outside the political economy of the dominant systems of power (see chapter five as a local example of this dynamic).

Critiques of status quo hegemonic globalisation have come from prominent political scientists, economists and post-colonial writers, to people's movements, labour, and environmental activists. These include: the scope and reach of Trans-national corporations and the way these impinge on the democratic process in many countries (Greider, 1992; Korten, 2001 ; Nader, 1996); social and economic contradictions in the imposition of SAPs (Bello, 1996); volatility created by global financial integration (Stiglitz, 2002); the erosion / privatization of common / public space (Klein, 1999); the development of media oligopolies (Herman, 1997); the emergence of global shadow economies which are connected to illicit trade in organs / body-parts (Kimbrell, 1996), prostitution, people smuggling, weapons, money laundering, and internet scams through increasingly sophisticated linked to centres of economic activity within the global capitalist system (Nordstrom, 2004); the GM industry, the corporatization of agriculture and the loss of biological diversity (Shiva, 2000a); global inequalities and the widening gap between the very rich and the desperately poor (Singer, 2002); the perpetuation of unjust and onerous sovereign debts (Millet, 2004) the imposition / perpetuation of debt on developing countries as an instrument of control (Perkins, 2004); the process of economic globalisation and subsequent loss of cultural diversity (Norberg-Hodge, 1992); contradictions within the logic of economic progress

(Hamilton, 2003); dysfunction of the world's peak economic institutions (Stiglitz, 2002); growing threats to the global ecological commons (Daly, 1994); the use of overt and covert military force to impose economic liberalism (Johnson, 2004). Without such critical research, which has greatly expanded our understanding of contemporary global issues, there would be almost no way to engage in a study such as this.

#### *4.1.5 From Economic Globalisation to Militarised Globalisation*

Different authors provide various descriptions of the shift from neo-liberalism to a more aggressive stance; that of militarised neo-liberalism (Johnson, 2004; Klein, 2007; McChesney, 2004; Steger, 2009). Johnson argues that the late Cold War posture of the US under Reagan (i.e. the period during which neo-liberalism emerged) could be seen more clearly as militarised globalisation after the end of the cold war. The post Cold War world saw a steady rise in US military posturing (Johnson, 2004, pp. 255-281). The Project for the New American Century (PNAC) had been articulated; this brought together prominent neo-conservatives in a joint statement asserting the need for the US to remain the sole dominant power in the 21st century. Though such a trend had been discernable for quite some time, the September 11th 2001 attack on the US (and the US response through the 'War on Terror' - the invasion of Afghanistan and Iraq) signposted a fundamental shift toward what Steger describes as 'Imperial Globalism' (Steger, 2009, pp. 51-95).

Elements of this shift included the US doctrine of pre-emptive strike, a re-construction of the enemy through the ambiguities of terrorism, a disregard for human rights conventions and the re-introduction of torture as a legitimate 'device', the use of blanket terror laws for social control (Whyte, 2006) and the criminalisation of social protest and dissent. These led to a re-appraisal among political and social theorists, in which liberal explanations of US power were challenged by more critical explanations (McChesney, 2004). Literature that had existed for years in leftist circles (Chomsky, 1987; Galtung, 1971; Wallerstein, 1983) began to find a broader audience, and the concept of 'US as Empire' gained increased currency.

Terms such as 'militarised globalisation', 'armed globalisation', 'disaster capitalism', and 'imperial globalism' thus describe a more pernicious form of US led capitalism, but may also indicate a broader shift in the behaviour of great powers (e.g. China and Russia). Klein developed the idea of the 'shock doctrine', which describes the policy of using natural and constructed

disasters (i.e. the South East Asian Tsunami, Hurricane Katrina, and the invasion of Iraq) as opportunities to liberalise economies, opening up development opportunities for large companies and Western government agencies (Klein, 2007). Alternatively, the emergence of a militarised and interventionist neo-liberalism potentially signals the failure of soft imperialism through SAPs, leading to a more blatant ‘accumulation by dispossession’ (Harvey, 2005). As Galtung commented years ago:

*Only imperfect, amateurish imperialism needs weapons; professional imperialism is based on structural rather than direct violence. (Galtung, 1971, p. 91)*

Much of the world has chosen to reject IMF loans, SAPs and the Washington Consensus. The US has nationalised large sectors of its economy in the wake of the 2008 credit crisis. Consequently, neo-liberal policy is all but discredited. Despite this, the WB and IMF have been able to re-package their policies as ‘sustainable development’ (Bello, 2007a; BWP, 2008). The WEF has worked hard over the past decade to coopt the UN and dissenting voices from within civil society, promoting economic globalisation as benign and the WEF as the vanguard of change (Bello, 2000). It is in this context that the WSF proclaimed ‘Another World is Possible’.

## **4.2 Historical Developments in the Emergence of the WSF(P)**

The WSF(P) and movements for another globalisation emerged through complex historical interactions and (as described earlier) the composition of the WSF(P) is multifaceted and complex. In this next section, I attempt to demonstrate the relationship between counter hegemonic struggles and the WSF(P). While it is important to note that comparisons are made between the WSF and older left / anti-colonial movements, the most important factors in the emergence of the WSF(P) are new leftist influences. These include the emergence of the New Left after ’68, the development of the New Social Movements (NSMs), the cultural shift from verticalism to horizontalism, counter-cultural utopianism emerging in the 1970s, and the parallel development of Zapatismo and the anti-globalisation movement.

### *4.2.1 Utopianism and the Ideology of Horizontalism<sup>25</sup>*

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<sup>25</sup> This section draws text from a previously published article (Ramos, 2006b), however, I have retained original references in this thesis.

Any discussion on hegemony is not complete without an examination of the concept of 'utopia'. Indeed, hegemony as expressed through neoliberal ideology contains what some have called a 'conservative utopianism' (which negates the possibility of alternative futures) (Santos, 2004b, p. 10). In this section I examine the development of a 'critical utopianism' through the WSF(P) and AGM that maintains a commitment to opening alternative futures (Nandy, 1992, pp. 1-19; Santos, 2004b, p. 8).

Kumar argues that utopianism largely waned during the early and middle part of the 20th century, as the result of two horrendous world wars, the shadow of nuclear apocalypse, and the cold war. This period saw a dramatic shift (expressed by writers such as H.G. Wells and Aldous Huxley) from optimism to pessimism, and the emergence of a popular dystopian imagination (Kumar, 1987, pp. 380-390). While fictions like Orwell's *1984* critiqued totalitarianism, Popper linked totalitarianism with 'historicism' - the belief in a determined direction to history (Popper, 1957). The resurgence of utopian thinking in the latter half of the 20th century reflected post '68 and post statist visions. In contrast with technocratic visions of post-industrial society (such as those of Daniel Bell and Herman Kahn), a counter-cultural imagination began to blossom (Boulding, 1978; Kumar, 1987, p. 381; Steger, 2009, pp. 2-4).

Marcuse sign-posted the resurgence of a counter-cultural utopianism in his book 'The End of Utopia'. His analysis of state violence and endorsement of counter culture movements called for the actualisation of a utopia that links the personal with the political, the liberation of consciousness with a new morality and life practice (Kumar, 1987; Marcuse, 1970).

The intellectual and counter culture movements of the 60s and 70s also saw the emergence of new ways of thinking, with the concept of the global village and global media as popularised by McLuhan (McLuhan, 1967), the Club of Rome's *Limits to Growth* (Meadows, 1972), and an awakening of planetary consciousness that was championed by people such as Thompson and Fuller (Fuller, 1978; Thompson, 1974). A growing awareness emerged of global inter-relationships within the world system, a 'paradigm shift' in the conceptualisation and self-understanding of humankind's role on the planet. These were mirrored by a growing body of research and literature in the area of World Futures (Hughes, 1985).

The term 'spaceship earth' began to be used used (Boulding, 1966 / 1995; Fuller, 1969; Ward,

1966). E. Boulding later pioneered research on global civil society and the concept of global citizenship (Boulding, 1988). Synott argues that the Friends of the Earth slogan ‘Think Global, Act Local’ embodied a prefiguring conception of the global (Synott, 2004, p. 40). This era gave birth to a utopian imaginary concerned with global futures.

As Kumar argues, the two great utopian projects of the 20th century were US techno-liberalism and the socialism of the USSR (Kumar, 1987, p. 381). Gray restates these as two rival enlightenment utopias (Gray, 1998 pp. 2-4). In Gray's analysis, the utopia of global capitalism had its roots in the European enlightenment, with philosophers such as John Locke and Adam Smith. While much of Europe has already embraced post-enlightenment positions, Gray argues that the US (after the Soviet collapse) has remained the world's last enlightenment regime, in which liberalist assumptions such as the enduring principles of laissez-faire markets, Western development and universal human rights, are commonly held.

Gray further suggests that this utopianism can be seen through the neo-conservative ascendancy in the 1980s and 90s. He argues neo-conservatives were successful at linking America's identity with corporate priorities. This linked US values with the imperative of developing a universal and global market (Gray, 1998 pp. 100-132). He writes:

*Today's project of a single global market is America's universal mission co-opted by its neo-conservative ascendancy. Market utopianism has succeeded in appropriating the American faith that it is a unique country, the model for universal civilisation which all societies are fated to emulate. (Gray, 1998 p. 104)*

Mittelman also argues, the negation of alternatives evident through Margaret Thatcher's ‘TINA’ pronouncements indicates neo-liberal globalisation as a market utopia. A global free market has never really existed, and previous attempts at its implementation have failed to be realised, yet proponents believe it is the only possible future (Mittelman, 2004b, p. 89). This utopianism is seen in Fukuyama's ‘End of History’ thesis (Fukuyama, 1989).

The WSF(P) emerged as an antithesis to the claim that there is no alternative to neo-liberalism, itself embodying a counter-cultural and global South utopianism. This shifted, however, with the emergence of neo-conservative power in Washington. As a consequence the WSF(P) has become polarised as the antithesis of US imperialism (and to an extent statism), neo-conservatism and

militarised neo-liberalism. As Whitaker expressed:

*The WSF...asserted that the 'one truth' thinking of triumphalist capitalism – which brought the lords and masters of the world together in Davos – could be contested by the utopia of 'another possible world' (Whitaker, 2007, p. 16).*

#### *4.2.2 From an Old Left to a New Left*

Leftist struggles and history are foundational to the existence of the WSF, yet as will be argued, the WSF(P) is (in part) a rejection of an 'Old Left' tradition, expressive of far more diverse and complex counter-hegemonic movements.

The 'Internationals' that held together the early Socialist (and later Communist) movements in Europe are important precursors to the WSF(P) for several reasons. First, they expressed an important cosmopolitan concept of solidarity, insurgency and anti-imperialism - a legacy taken up by aspects of the WSF(P). Secondly, they demonstrated the process of holding together or coordinating across diverse groups and geo-graphic regions in order to build a coherent agenda and movement for change. This is another legacy which parts of the WSF(P) express. Finally, participants at WSF(P) can be very broadly conceived as left in orientation (Santos, 2006, pp. 85-109; Smith, 2008b, pp. 80-90), a social phenomenon which can be partly attributed to the historical success of the labour union movement and the Internationals. Yet, the WSF(P) cannot be conceived as a new International because of its foundational rejection of the Old Left after 1968.

The International Working Men's Association (IWMA), the first International, was founded in 1864 as a revival of the labour movement in the aftermath of its demise in 1848. Karl Marx himself played a major role in drawing into its fold diverse elements of socialism, from trade unions to anarchists, in order to develop a socialist program of change (Johnstone, 1983, p. 234).

Despite opposition from anarchists, the IWMA was, after the Paris Commune of 1871, transformed into a political party in which 'the conquest of political power becomes the great duty of the proletariat' (Johnstone, 1983, p. 234). Because congresses were places where binding decisions were made about the direction of the movement in general, this led to factional (and

ideological) struggles for the heart of the IWMA that would eventually lead to its operational demise a decade later (Hollis, 1998, pp. 8-9). The IWMA is an important precedent, in that we see the yoking together of counter-hegemonic actors in the service of the development of a coherent program of change. Yet we also see the challenge of uniting diverse actors within a disciplined party structure.

The second International (founded 1889) was a much larger (and looser) federation of unions and parties across Europe, acting as a coordinating body rather than a party. It promoted joint actions such as May Day rallies to advocate for an 8 hour workday, and debated policy, in particular leading to fierce debates between right, left and centrist versions of socialism. Importantly, it articulated an internationalist solidarity against ‘capitalist colonial policies [which] must, by their nature, give rise to servitude, forced labour, and the extermination of the native peoples’ (Braunthal 1966 pp. 319 in Johnstone, 1983, p. 235). This Federation eventually ruptured with the outbreak of WWI, as parties and unions were split among nationalist lines. Like the first, the second International showed the challenges and possibilities of broad solidarity between diverse counter-hegemonic actors. It also articulated a bold anti-imperialist internationalism, a theme expressed through the WSF(P), even while being rend apart by the very nationalism it was attempting to transcend.

The Third (Communist) International (or ‘Comintern’) was founded in Moscow in 1919 and had as its aim the implementation of Marxist-Leninism globally, and in particular focused on building a ‘World Union of Socialist Soviet republics’ (Degras 1971 vol.2, p. 465, in Johnstone, 1983). Under Lenin, it also articulated an anti-imperialist agenda in solidarity with the non-West: ‘its task was to liberate working people of all colours’ (Johnstone, 1983, p. 237). The Comintern played a major role in supporting Socialist resistance to Fascism in Europe, yet increasingly, it adopted absolutistic doctrines, rejected ‘reformist’ and ‘bourgeois’ forms of socialism, and ‘gave its full support to Stalin’s purges of the 1930s’ (Johnstone, 1983, p. 238). In reaction the totalitarianism of Stalin, what Trotsky condemned as ‘counter-revolutionary’, a Fourth International was formed from Trotsky’s followers, but which fragmented along many lines and never achieved cohesion (Johnstone, 1983, p. 238). Trotsky inspired non-party groups remain involved in the WSF(P).

While anti-fascist and anti-colonial struggle are themes shared by the WSF(P), authoritarian tendencies in the first two Internationals came to full fruition in its eradication of ideological and

programmatic differences through the ‘iron discipline’ it increasingly imposed on its members in various parts of the world (Johnstone, 1983, p. 237). These forms of authoritarianism are specifically rejected by the WSF (see WSF Charter of Principles).

In the wake of WWII, the centre of political-ideological struggle arguably shifted to the non-West; these were often manifested as socialist inspired anti-colonial struggles. The conference of Bandung (Asian-African Conference) helped give birth to the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM). This was an important expression of non-Western state socialism(s). Bandung was a conference of the South, calling for greater access for Southern countries in global economic matters, expressing a general rejection of the notion of alignment with the great rival powers of the Cold War, as well as opposition to colonialism.<sup>26</sup> As an organisation it is comprised of over 100 states, most of which were former colonies.

Hardt compares Bandung and the WSF in an attempt to understand how the WSF is thematically distinct from previous counter-hegemonic movements (Hardt, 2004a, pp. 230-236). He argues that the spirit of the WSF (a cosmopolitan alternative globalisation) is at odds with the nationalist agenda expressed through NAM. Unlike the WSF, Bandung was a conference of the political leaders of the South, an expression of statism rejected by the WSF. On the other hand, the WSF(P) expresses a diversity of anti-colonial and post colonial positions, and some of the ideological variants expressed at Forums trace themselves back to the struggle for independence in former colonies.<sup>27</sup>

As Glasius and Timms point out, dating back past the 1970s were anti-colonial struggles in the context of a ‘New International Economic Order’ which explicitly articulated a desire on behalf of former colonial states to exercise management of their own economies as well as global economic affairs (Glasius, 2004, p. 191). Bello argues (since the end of colonialism) there has been an ongoing struggle for dominance between the North and South over global economic governance. In addition to NAM, this has been expressed through the anti/alter-globalisation movement and WSF(P) (Bello, 2004). Thus like the WSF(P), Bandung expressed a common articulation of more equitable North-South relations.

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<sup>26</sup> The five principles of NAM: 1) Mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty, 2) Mutual non-aggression; 3) Mutual non-interference in domestic affairs; 4) Equality and mutual benefit, 5) Peaceful co-existence.

<sup>27</sup> Interestingly the ‘Bamako Appeal’ was launched at (not by) the 6th Polycentric WSF, to mark the 50th anniversary of the Bandung Conference.

#### *4.2.3 From Old Left to New Social Movements<sup>28</sup>*

While the WSF(P) is generally an expression of the left, and has been supported by a spectrum of left groups throughout its history (the Workers Party of Brazil, Communist Party of India and Bolivarian supporters in Venezuela, as examples) the WSF(P) departs substantially from the 'Old Left' in vision and methodology (Wallerstein, 2004b). In particular, the WSF was not conceived of as a decision making body for political (instrumental) action. Santos points out that the WSF is a non-Western creation that sits outside of the West's epistemological ambit, while still sharing its leftist traditions (Santos, 2006).

One of the key distinctions that can be made is the departure from class as the formative historical agent, a dominant conception within the communist-socialist Internationals. This can be contrasted with the New Social Movements (NSMs), associated 'movement organisations' and the NGOs of the 70s and 80s which departed or rejected 'Old Left' class orientations, diversifying into alternative categories of struggle (gender, environment, peace, indigenous, etc).

The WSF(P) can thus be, in part, located as a confluence of the New Social Movements (NSMs) and NGOs that emerged from a rejection of the Old Left after 1968. Wallerstein offers a historical account of this shift. According to him the WSF can trace its roots to debates within the anti-systemic movements of the 19th century, between Marxists and Political Nationalists who insisted that capturing state power was essential to social transformation. Others, like Anarchists and Cultural Nationalists saw this as a diversion, or a form of co-option.

Marxists and Political Nationalists won the debate; according to Wallerstein they were 'spectacularly successful' in the early to mid 20th century. The East had become Communist and the West had accepted Social Democracy (Wallerstein, 2004b, p. 631). What Wallerstein terms the 'World Revolution of 68' was a reaction within anti-systemic movements to the perceived failure of the 'Old Left' – the 'Old Left' had failed to deliver social transformation, leading to subsequent criticism(s) as characterised by Wallerstein:

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<sup>28</sup> This section draws text from a previously published article (Ramos, 2006b), however, I have retained original references in this thesis.

*you promised social transformation when you came to power; you have not delivered on your promise. The world, they said, remains deeply inegalitarian, worldwide and within our countries; our political systems are not really democratic; there exists a privileged caste (a nomenklatura) within our regimes. Far less has changed than you said would change. (Wallerstein, 2004b, p. 630)*

Wallerstein argues that anti-systemic movements were forced to evolve when the revolution of '68 was put down across the world. Three strategies emerged:

1) Multiple forms of Maoism came into being. Taking the Chinese Cultural Revolution as a model. After the collapse of the Chinese Cultural Revolution (when the full extent of its horror was revealed) these movements splintered and died.

2) A 'New Left' emerged, this included Feminist, Green, movements representing oppressed ethnic minorities or indigenous populations, and movements to pursue the rights of those that deviate from sexual norms or abilities (i.e. "dis-abled"). This 'New Left' movement essentially rejected the centrist, state orientation of the 'Old Left'.

3) Through the 80s various groups articulated human rights as their core issue (though in variegated forms – e.g. campaigns and the formation of NGOs such as Amnesty International). This variant argued that the Old Left failed to ensure human rights 'in their struggle for state power, and even more in their practice following the achievement of state power, when governments in power actually violated such rights' (Wallerstein, 2004b, p. 631).

Reflecting this, Osava writes:

*...democracy, sexual freedom, gender equality, recognition of civil rights for blacks in the United States, or the survival of indigenous peoples worldwide ... [this] era also marked the beginning of environmental movements, campaigns to reform psychiatric hospitals and to integrate people with mental or physical handicaps into larger society. The ... consequence was a dispersal of the progressive forces into isolated movements, reflected in the proliferation of [NGOs], each dedicated to specific actions or issues, such as feminism, human*

*rights, street children, or cancellation of the foreign debt. With the [WSF], it seems that cycle is ending and a process of convergence is getting underway. (Osava, 2001)*

Wallerstein argues that these post '68 shifts form the backdrop of the anti-globalisation movement which emerged in the 90's, which would later become 'altermondialiste' (Wallerstein, 2004b, p. 632). He argues the birth of an AGM can be seen through:

- 1) The revolt of the Zapatistas (EZLN) in Chiapas, Mexico, which symbolically began on the first day of the implementation of NAFTA on 1<sup>st</sup>, January, 1994.
- 2) The activist protests against the WTO that became known as the 'Battle in Seattle' in 1999.
- 3) The first meeting of the World Social Forum in Porto Alegre in 2001 (Wallerstein, 2004b, p. 632).

1968 was symbolic of the emergence of modern utopianism, the origins of the NSMs, and alternative/plural trajectories of social struggles.<sup>29</sup> One can see the WSF(P) as a dynamic convergence of this diversity. The WSF(P) is situated politically toward the end of the two great utopian projects of the West. Its challenges include an embodiment of heterogenous utopianism, a culture inclined toward the co-existence and co-construction of visions based on a process of building profound solidarities based on radical diversity.

#### *4.2.4 Counter-Hegemonic Developments after 1968*

The famous UN summit in Stockholm on the environment highlighted the emergence of global social movements, not confined to national or ethnic struggles. Falk argues the emerging transnational new social movements (NSMs) there challenged the legitimacy of State power and were critical in initiating an alternative global policy debate, a cosmopolitan challenge to the legitimacy of states in protecting fundamental human interests. (Falk, 2005).

Global movements diversified into social struggles on a number of thematic fronts (feminist,

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<sup>29</sup> The connection between NSMs and the WSF(P) (and its values and practices) is supported by survey research conducted by Bramble at Sydney and Brisbane (Australia) social forums (Bramble, 2006).

environmental, peace, anti-nuclear, disability rights, sexual rights, human rights, indigenous justice, anti-apartheid etc.). Moyer argued these ‘fronts’ form the basis for an anti-globalisation movement with various sub-movements (NSMs) (Moyer, 2001). Cohen and Rai reflected on this multiplicity of movements, and challenges in constructing coherence toward an alternative world order. They concluded that: ‘without a transnational framework – a global public space or forum – the possibilities for opposition and protest are seriously weakened. We need to think of the possible emergence of an alternative global civil society’ (Cohen, 2000, p. 16).

### *INGOs and UN Summits*

Smith estimates transnationally organised social change groups grew from 200 in the early 1970s to over 1000 in the late 1990s (Smith, 2008b, p. 17). Boulding estimated the number of INGOs rose from 176 in 1909 to 20,000 by 1986 (Boulding, 1988, p. 35). Others estimate INGO number at approximately 13,000 as of 2001/2002 (Anheier, 2002). The meaning and implications of this (e.g. leading to global civic culture (Boulding, 1988) or new economic order (Henderson, 1996)) is widely debated. However, INGO global participation in a variety of processes, including UN processes, is contributing what Keane calls ‘cosmocrazy’, the complex matrix of forces that co-construct planetary governance (Keane, 2005).

While INGOs are an important part of the WSF(P), where they are located, whether as an aspect of ‘civil society’ or ‘counter public’, as well as the organisations and groups that comprise ‘it’, NGOs or ‘Civil Society Organisations’ (CSOs) is also complex and contested (Axford, 2005 ; Chandler, 2005; Edwards, 2004; Falk, 2005; Keane, 2003; Robinson, 2005a; Weber, 2005). Moyer argued that NGOs represent the institutionalisation of social movements as ‘movement organisations’ (Moyer, 2001). This shift has been described in the positive (the embedding of social movement values in institutional structures), or negative (the taming of social movements) (James, 2004a).

As Klein argued, INGOs aid agencies can represent a new form of domination (Klein, 2007). Some dismiss the importance of NGOs as agents of change, noting the breadth and ambiguity of what comprises ‘civil society’, as well as contradictions in the ‘non’ portion of the term. Robinson’s analyses of US ‘civil society’ actors in Latin America, for example, shows how many are backed (or established) by government agencies or business interests. These asymmetrical relationships of state power, with pseudo-civic organisations promoting national interests,

complicate discourses on civil society (Robinson, 2005a).

Regardless, NGOs / INGOs / CSOs represent an important strand of participation at forums. Glasius and Timms write that INGOs, through the 1990s, began the custom of attending, engaging and participating in large global meetings, such as international UN summits. The Earth Summits of Rio in 1992 and Johannesburg in 2002, by way of opening up to increasing levels of extra state participation, allowed them a place in meetings, even if officially outside it. Attending summits became a norm for many working within INGOs (Glasius, 2004, p. 191). Critically, Smith argues dissatisfaction with years of ineffectual UN conferences (Rio/Beijing/Copenhagen) led to a desire for an alternative venue, prefiguring the importance of the WSF(P) (Smith, 2008b, p. 17).

The formation and work of particular INGOs like CIVICUS and the Third World Forum's (TWF) World Forum for Alternatives closely parallel the formation of the WSF. CIVICUS was conceived as a global alliance for citizen participation, a strengthening of civil society and participation in the public sphere. Since 1995 it has held bi-annual world assemblies with over 600 member organizations in over 100 countries.<sup>30</sup> It is also very active in the WSF(P). The TWF's World Forum for Alternatives was also an early process to develop a framework for alternative globalisation. It was intended to create a network of progressive organisations that were positive in orientation (proposing alternatives, not just critique). It produced a manifesto for alternative globalisation in 1997 which foreshadowed the alternative globalism of the WSF (Glasius, 2004, p. 191).

### *The 'Other' Summits*

Alternative summits critiquing orthodox economics date back to the early '80s, prefiguring the WSF by decades. The Popular Summit, held in Ottawa in 1981, was one of the first of such meetings (this Summit was again held in 1995 in Halifax, Canada). An alternative to the Ottawa economic summit, it attracted some 60 organisations representing peace, environmental and left issues.<sup>31</sup> Protests held in conjunction with the Summit attracted over 5,000 people, many voicing opposition to the US' support of the then repressive government of El Salvador (with its School of the Americas (SOA) trained assassination squads). 'TOES' (The Other Economic Summit)

<sup>30</sup>See: <http://www.civicusineurope.org/history.htm>

<sup>31</sup>See: <http://query.nytimes.com/gst/fullpage.html?res=9B05E0DF163BF933A15754C0A967948260>

followed this; ‘TOES’ as an event was run concurrently with the G7 meeting of countries (as an alternative event to that meeting). TOES/UK became the New Economics Foundation, a key proponent of ‘relocalisation’.<sup>32</sup>

While TOES only intended to hold meetings every 7 years, from 1988 to 1996 it held meeting every year, in France - in the UK, US, Japan, Germany, Italy, Australia and elsewhere (Schroyer, 1997). TOES was remarkably similar to the WSF(P) in various ways. It was a critique of orthodox economics from a variety of perspectives, presenting alternatives to the existing global policy regime. Like the WSF, TOES was a counter forum (aimed at the G7 rather than Davos). It became an ongoing process, an ongoing space where people could gather and deliberate. In fact, many of the individuals active in TOES also became active in the WSF(P). The alternatives presented at TOES are echoed, in part, through the WSF(P). Unlike the WSF(P), however, TOES took place in the wealthy and industrialised ‘North’.

Another very important precursor to the WSF(P) was the ‘Other Davos’ Summit in Zurich (28-29<sup>th</sup> Jan., 1999). This aimed to develop a coherent resistance to the neo-liberal project. The four organisations that organised this were the Coalition against the OECD backed Multilateral Agreement on Investment (MAI), the Structural Adjustment Participatory Review International Network (SAPRIN), the World Forum of Alternatives and ATTAC (Association for the Taxation of Financial Transactions for the Aid of Citizens).

This meeting brought together over 60 representatives from various organisations opposed to neo-liberalism, seeking greater clarification of positive propositions. The group produced a manifesto-like document called ‘For Another Davos’. The Other Davos demonstrated the possibility of convergence on shared frameworks, processes and content. It also foreshadowed the WSF’s role as a counter-Davos forum (Houtart, 2001, pp. 80-112).

#### *Rise of ‘Anti’ Globalisation: Zapatismo and the Protest Circuit*

The ‘Battle of Seattle’ in 1999, in which a rainbow coalition of diverse actors came together to shut down the WTO meeting, is often credited as the beginning of an ideologically diverse anti-globalisation movement. In fact, resistance to neo-liberalism prefigured the Battle of Seattle by decades. Protests against IMF / World Bank efforts to introduce or maintain SAPs, (which

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<sup>32</sup>See: <http://www.ese.upenn.edu/~rabii/toes/ToesIntro.html>

accompanied TNC acquisition of privatised resources), emerged in South America, Africa and Asia in the 1980s and 1990s, in the ‘countries that have been most deeply impacted by globalization’ (Smith, 2008b, p. 15).

Protests against the G6/7 (now G8 / G20) group of countries date back to before the World Economic Summit meeting in Versailles in 1982, which have been continuous and ubiquitous for almost 30 years (see appendix P). However the defeat of the MAI in 1998 (Goodman, 2000) and the disruption of the WTO meeting in Seattle in 1999 signalled a new level of integration between counter hegemonic actors. First was an emerging willingness between very diverse groups to work together against a ‘common enemy’ and toward shared interests, through tactical resistance to neo-liberal initiatives. Secondly was a new integration between Northern and Southern spheres of activity. Since the Battle in Seattle in 1999 a ‘summit hopping’ protest movement has continued to disrupt international meetings, with varying degree of success and failure in cities such as Genoa, Melbourne, Washington DC, Prague, Quebec, Barcelona, Chiang Mai, Zurich, Hong Kong and many other locales (see appendix Q). (See the account of G20 Convergence in this thesis as one example.)

Anti-globalisation protests drew inspiration and knowledge from the Zapatista uprising in Chiapas, Mexico. The Zapatistas launched their armed struggle on January 1<sup>st</sup> 1994, the first day of the North America Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), as a statement against racist treatment by the Mexican state, and against the threat posed by corporate globalisation to their livelihoods. Their strategic ‘global framing’ through new media approaches communicated a prismaticism that prefigured the WSF(P) – theirs was a local struggle and a planetary one, a 500 year struggle against colonialism and racism as well as a contemporary one. Their uprising catalysed international solidarity, which culminated in 1996 in the First Intercontinental Meeting for Humanity and Against Neo-liberalism (Steger, 2009, p. 102). Their savvy use of (digital) media, poetic culture jamming, and extensive networking prefigured the ICT intensive strategies used by the anti-globalisation movement (and AGM) (Castells, 1996). They were dubbed by the *New York Times* as the first ‘postmodern revolutionary movement’ (Gautney, 2010, p. 40). Zapatismo as a cultural formation was also foundational, leading to the formulation of key organisational ‘hallmarks’ in the nascent AGM which defined ‘the network as one without formal membership or leadership, and emphasized a shared commitment to decentralized, autonomous (independent) modes of organization and opposition to capitalism’ (Gautney, 2010, p. 40). Their ideas for a post neo-liberal world that contained organisational diversity and pluralism, a horizontalist

utopianism, clearly prefigured the utopianism of the WSF(P) (Smith, 2008b, p. 20). The Zapatista inspired Peoples Global Action (PGA), a network which emerged from the 1996 *encuentro* in Chiapas, became an important cornerstone of the new network processes in the anti-globalisation movement (Gautney, 2010, p. 40). The WSF(P) contained organisationally what the AGM expresses culturally: a movement toward a diversity of struggles in relationship, rather than a unitary movement with a set agenda. Tormey explains the cultural logic of horizontalism this way:

*The movement not only resists neoliberal capitalism, but incorporation into an ideology and movement dedicated to overcoming neoliberal capitalism. Symbolic of this double-negation, this Janus face of the movement, was the issuing by Marcos in 2003 of a declaration entitled 'I Shit on all the Revolutionary Vanguards of this Planet.'* (Tormey, 2005, p. 2)

Thus one of the key historical shifts that links the WSF(P) to the AGM is a movement away from fixed agendas or singular visions, whether from the left or right of political persuasions. The AGM contains a diversity of actors despite political differences, struggling to work together. Culturally, the AGM expresses resistance to assimilation into any single ideology - indeed its epistemological diversity stems from the inherent ontological diversity of its construction. The WSF(P) addresses the challenge of this social complexity through a variety of strategies, open space approaches and an espoused inclusivity (via an ideology of 'horizontalism'), which is explored in the next section, and problematised in the concluding chapter.

### **4.3 Invention and Innovation of the World Social Forum Process**

I now examine the invention of the WSF (why and how it was created) and its subsequent political innovation (what I term the WSF process). A number of accounts chronicle the emergence of the WSF (Fisher, 2003; Gautney, 2010; Glasius, 2004; Leite, 2005; Mertes, 2004; Patomaki, 2004 ; Santos, 2006; Schonleitner, 2003; Sen, 2004; Smith, 2008b). This discussion is a composite of existing literature, lectures, unpublished accounts and some first hand experience.

#### *4.3.1 Political Invention of the WSF<sup>33</sup>*

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<sup>33</sup> This section draws substantially from a public talk by Chico Whitaker hosted by the Melbourne Social

Chico Whitaker (cofounder of the WSF) in describing the emergence and development of the WSF, invokes the poet Machado: '*Caminante, no hay camino, se hace camino al andar. Al andar se hace el camino,*' (we make the path by walking, by walking we make the path). There has never been a grand plan for the WSF; through cyclic iterations the WSF process has become robust and complex.<sup>34</sup> The WSF is a way of 'innovating political action' in order to address the need to change the world 'as rapidly as possible'. The WSF brought together new ideas on the creation of change (the process by which it happens) rather than the content of 'change'. Whitaker argues that new conditions necessitate the development of ideas (around the ways in which change can be 'made possible').

The idea for the forum came from a friend of Whitaker, Oded Grajew (Leite, 2005, p. 78). Grajew was a Brazilian entrepreneur of Jewish ancestry (who was born in Israel but immigrated to Brazil at an early age). Originally a toymaker, Grajew worked in the area of children's social justice issues and social responsibility in enterprise. He was also the head of the Brazilian Association of Entrepreneurs for Citizenship.

While Grajew was in France (during the 2000 Davos WEF) he saw how much press coverage it received, and noted how the official discourse assumed capitalism as a finished / perfect product, with 'end of history' assumptions. He also saw how the 'owners of the world', corporations, came together yearly to discuss 'how to dominate the world', and that they also invited popular social movements, journalists, and media, to hear what the 'owners want to say to us'. He felt that there were many people, in all parts of the world, struggling to change things - not necessarily at the global level, but at different levels (including local levels) and in varying capacities and contexts. He saw an opportunity to bring together all these people who were trying to change society. This would be an event that was like Davos in its outer form, but radically different in content. He also felt that the WSF should run concurrently with Davos, to attract media attention, and to create a 'mirror' of alternatives.

Whitaker and Grajew took their conversation to Bernard Cassens of *Le Monde Diplomatique*. Together with others they were able to sell the idea and build the early commitment of other key

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Forum and Borderlands Cooperative in Melbourne 2005.

<sup>34</sup>*Caminante, son tus huellas, el camino y nada más; Caminante, no hay camino, se hace camino al andar. Al andar se hace el camino, y al volver la vista atrás, se ve la senda que nunca, se ha de volver a pisar. Caminante no hay camino, sino estelas en la mar.*

groups, the government of Porto Alegre (as potential host) and the eight organisations that became the founding and constituent groups that formed the WSF organising committee (OC) (Leite, 2005, pp. 78-79).<sup>35</sup>

Whitaker states that ‘all types of bait’ were considered with the aim of making the forum a success. A primary strategy was to invite big celebrity activists and writers (who would in turn attract others). A second strategy was to invite as much media as possible, to create visibility. A third strategy was to contrast the WSF with the WEF, by changing only one word (Economic to Social), by holding the event at the exact same time, and by contrasting the ‘fatalistic’ ‘End of History’ discourse of the WEF with the pronouncement ‘Another World is Possible’. It would also contrast with the WEF through openness, instead of the \$20,000-30,000+ entrance fee for WEF, it cost organisations \$25, and individuals c30 to join. The fourth strategy was to hold the Forum in Porto Alegre Brazil with the support of the Workers Party (PT) (to highlight how they were / are experimenting with participatory democracy). Thus, there was a good deal of entrepreneurial pragmatism involved in making the event a success.

The WSF emerged from existing movements and groups that had been gathering strength for many years (Houtart, 2001), but it required ‘political invention’ and institutional entrepreneurialism to become a reality (Leite, 2005, pp. 77-102).

#### *4.3.2 Social Innovation of the WSF as Process*

The WSF is known as large events (a convergence of ‘civil society’). Yet the WSF as a *Process* is of equal or greater importance. A number of authors have distinguished the process dimensions of the WSF (Santos, 2006; Sen, 2007; Smith, 2008b; Teivainen, 2007). I distinguish the WSF Process from the WSF in a number of ways. First it is the process by which the WSF (as *events*) have globalised (for example by moving to new countries such as India, Venezuela and Kenya). Secondly, the way that the methodology of the events has changed over time (from its inception as a celebrity driven program, to the rise in prominence of open space, to the more recent move toward an action oriented processes). Thirdly, ‘process’ describes the localisation and

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<sup>35</sup> These included eight key founding groups: Brazilian Association of Non-government Organisations (ABONG); Association for the Taxation of Financial Transactions for the Aid of Citizens (ATTAC); Brazilian Justice & Peace Commission (CBJP); Brazilian Business Association for Citizenship (CIVES); Central Trade Union Federation (CUT); Brazilian Institute for Social and Economic Studies (IBASE); Centre for Global Justice (CJG); Landless Rural Workers Movement (MST), (Leite, 2005P 78-79).

regionalisation of social forums (i.e. the proliferation of over 200 local and regional social forums since 2001, the majority of which have been organised spontaneously and outside the ambit of the WSF). Fourthly, ‘process’ also describes the development of governance of the WSF, its political evolution as a decision making body, as a representative body, and its continual re-invention of itself (Santos, 2006, pp. 46-84). Fifthly, ‘process’ is the means by which social forums co-exist with other actors and events, within a broader spectrum of counter-hegemonic convergences. These have emerged with other counter hegemonic processes such as summit sieges at elite forums, as well attracting counter forums. Finally, ‘process’ refers to how social forums help facilitate relationships and collaboration between certain actors and aspects within ‘civil society’ that assists in the formation of ‘counter public spheres’ (Weber, 2005). This last process is foundational, as I argue in this thesis we see a remarkable relational process between a diversity of the actors involved in ‘mutual recognitions’ toward collaboration, which Santos refers to as the ‘work of translation’ (Santos, 2006, pp. 127-147). Social forums are part of a process in the formation of counter hegemonic ‘social ecologies of alternatives’ (SEAs). This is the process of ‘structural coupling’ (Maturana, 1998, pp. 75-80) between the thousands of social alternatives / actors within the WSF(P) / AGM orbit engaged in practical and discursive exchanges toward ‘metaformative’ coherences.

#### *4.3.3 Internationalisation of the WSF*

The first World Social Forum was held in January of 2001, in the city of Porto Alegre, Brazil. This gathering brought together 4,000 delegates, 16,000 registered participants, and 1,870 journalists from 117 countries. The number of participants exceeded the expectations of the organisers, but, more importantly, organisers also felt that they had shown that a new type of politics was possible: one that was focused on alternatives and solutions (as opposed to critique and protest), and one that transcended the problem of single issue vanguardism and the identity politics which often typified resistance to neo-liberalism (Leite, 2005, p. 83).

The juxtaposition of the WSF with the Davos WEF aided media coverage and gave the event global visibility. The success of the event prompted calls for follow up forums. Subsequently, the next two forums (again in Porto Alegre) brought approximately 50,000 participants in 2002, and 100,000 participants in 2003 (Santos, 2006, p. 85). The WSF, having attracted a dynamic mix of global activists and social movements, as well as celebrities and politicians, established itself as a pre-eminent event, bringing together key actors that were challenging *status quo* globalisation.

From early on there were calls to internationalise the WSF (Secretariat, 2003). It was felt that, if the WSF was to achieve its goal of catalysing global change, it would have to be held in other locations of the Global South where the struggle against neo-liberalism was equally urgent. To further internationalise the process, the WSF began exploring the possibility of holding the forum in India. The Indian organising process became the most dynamic and complex that had been conducted, engaging groups and organisations that had not been engaged in Porto Alegre forums (Gautney, 2010, p. 60; Santos, 2006, p. 73). While Latin American organisers had wanted an Indian forum to happen in 2003, it was delayed a year and finally held in Mumbai in 2004, bringing together approximately 115,000 participants from across India and the world (Santos, 2006, p. 85).

The WSF returned to Porto Alegre in 2005, with attendance peaking at 155,000 participants (Santos, 2006, p. 85), but the commitment to internationalise the WSF had become strong, and subsequently the WSF experimented with a Polycentric form of organising. Forums were consequently held (in 2006) in Mali, Venezuela, and Pakistan. Many felt that a WSF had to be organised within Africa, as so many of the issues championed through the WSF were especially acute there, and in 2007 a WSF was held in Nairobi, Kenya, attracting 40,000 people, 'a third of what the organisers expected' (Gautney, 2010, p. 76). The Nairobi forum earned controversy because of alleged corruption, profiteering, favouritism, a convoluted registration process and exclusionary practices for which the local organising committee was criticised.<sup>36</sup>

Criticisms had existed early on that there were too many WSFs, and that this was taking too much energy from existing movements and organisations. By late 2006 the IC made the decision to hold WSFs every other year (Gautney, 2010, p. 77). In the off years, the WSF would help facilitate localised actions (highlighting local and regional forums and actions). Thus a 'Global Day of Action' (GDA) and week long mobilisation was held in January of 2008, and hundreds of localised actions took place around the world (see account of MSF for a Melbourne based example). Unlike the 2003 GDA protesting the planned invasion Iraq, this one did not make an impact in the media (Gautney, 2010, p. 77). The 2009 Forum was held in Belem, Brazil, attracting approximately 133,000 people, and a large contingent of Amazonian tribes people. An important metaformation, the Belem Declaration, emerged on the last day of the forum through

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<sup>36</sup> From interview #12 and see: (Gautney, 2010, pp. 75-77)

an Assembly of Assemblies (21 thematic assemblies – a methodological innovations of the Belem forum), allowing for reflections, alliances and proposals for action, lauded for the coherence of its anti/post-capitalist vision (see appendix F).

#### *4.3.4 Open Space Methodology or Ideology?*

Because the OC of the first WSF made the strategic decision to deliberately invite celebrity activists and scholars, to help generate media interest, it became an unprecedented meeting place of many of the leaders and pioneers of change from around the world. In the process, however, it also created a celebrity ('VIP') circle within the event. The main forums were also planned by the OC, together with those organisations most closely connected with the organisers. At the same time, an open space methodology was used in such a way as to allow other groups, outside the ambit of the WSF OC to self organise events. This open space approach was the other side to the success formula of the event.

In addition to drawing forth high profile personalities, this openness helped to swell and diversify the forum. The methodology for community-generated content is not new, for example Owen articulated open space technology (OST) (Owen, 1997), and generations of action researchers have for many years experimented with 'large group interventions' (Martin, 2001; Weisbord, 1992), but this had never been conducted on the scale of the various WSFs. The success formula of the WSF was thus in part bound up with two contradictory practices: drawing upon the popularity of celebrity speakers (tacit verticalism) and public inclusivity through open space methodology (tacit horizontalism).

Open space, in a more political and ideological vein, concerns the representation and decision making for the Forum as a whole. According to this view, while a WSF OC is responsible for event planning, it does not advocate for any specific proposals and does not intend to present itself as a body representing 'world civil society', nor is the WSF a deliberative space where decision are made for the WSF as a whole. It therefore disowns the role of the vanguard of historical change, and is only an agent insofar as it facilitates a space for change. Instead, a broad charter of principles sets thematic parameters for the event and process, and an open space approach is used where organisations and individuals can take control of the running of their own events and networking activities (Leite, 2005, p. 10) (also see the WSF Charter of Principles in appendix A).

It is ostensibly up to participants to be the agents of change, both in the forums and outside of the forums - they gain status as the key actors, to create the agendas and the change they want to see. Whitaker has been one of the strongest defenders of a non-hierarchical forum-as-space, arguing that the 'most recent political discovery [is the] power of open, free, horizontal structures' (Whitaker, 2004, p. 112). Yet while the forum-as-space can be seen as a renunciation of the role of vanguard, the WSF has, in fact, become an agent of change. It cannot disavow a level of strategic responsibility as a key 'actor' within the AGM, and its methodological dictates influence the character of the AGM (see scenarios in chapter six for potential implications of this).

Of the six commissions set up by the International Council (IC), Whitaker argues the methodology commission faces the biggest challenge of innovating methodology. Social forums have changed dramatically since the first forum was held in 2001. The first forum was focused as a convergence of big names, and key social movements and groups, while subsequent forums have shifted more and more toward self organised open space. The early forums were a mix of thousands of self organised events and large panels with bigger name speakers. Therefore, criticism has come from the WSF(P)'s sphere of stakeholders for what is perceived as organisational hypocrisy - the WSF espouses horizontality, while it organises special addresses by predominantly male leaders (and / or of European descent) from the socialist vanguard such as Lula, Chavez and 'VIP' speakers (Santos, 2006, p. 52; Smith, 2008b, pp. 28-48).

This popular critique has pushed the WSF to adopt an increasingly open space format. It is an irony that the 'bait' that was used initially, and which was instrumental in its success, is ill fitted to the ideology of horizontalism which has been espoused and enshrined, and increasingly put into practice.

Despite horizontalist discourse, structural disparities and inequalities exist within the WSFs. The WSF is a multi-tiered meeting place, with a VIP celebrity circle (Nobel Laureates and Presidents) (Smith, 2008b, p. 45), a wider circle dominated by social movements and the IC circle of organisations, and a periphery of 'participants' that are not 'enfranchised' as WSF insiders (Santos, 2006, pp. 51-55). What agency means for social forum actors (participants, delegates and organisations) is mediated by such a tiered 'structure' of social / relational capital.

Teivainen argued a 'tyranny of structure-less-ness' has the potential to emerge, as open space and

horizontalism give no prescriptions for how to deal with real power wielded in existing (informal) social contexts people are embedded in (such as the market), and thus ends by furthering existing disparities and distinctions (e.g. which NGOs / people have the most money to travel / promote their causes).<sup>37</sup> This in fact echoes criticisms of the liberal conception of social capital (Mayo, 2005).

In addition, an increasing number of critics point out that the thousands of workshops and groups of the WSF(P) still do not constitute a direct and coherent challenge to corporate globalisation or capitalism. Some point to the inefficacy of the forums; they make no proposals, they coordinate no actions (Smith, 2008b, p. 42). Others argue that the ‘many alternatives’ over-appreciation for diversity, and presence liberal INGOs, falls into the trap of fragmenting and diverting coherent anti-imperialist struggle and political alternatives (James, 2004b, pp. 246-250). In this view, the WSF diffuses and wastes counter-hegemonic energies.

Such tensions were seen in the controversy over the so-called ‘Porto Alegre Manifesto’ or ‘Porto Alegre Consensus’ in which 19 prominent scholar-activists developed and signed a manifesto for an alternative globalisation, delivered at the 2005 forum (See Appendix D). Whitaker, and many others, apparently criticised the manifesto as contradicting the open space principles of the event, privileging a small group of (mostly European male) intellectuals and their proposal over the self formulation of many proposals within the WSF (Gautney, 2010, p. 66; Salleh, 2009, pp. 8-9; Santos, 2006, p. 124; Smith, 2008b, p. 42). In line with the desire for a ‘manifesto articulating’ and position taking forum, an increasing number of people have pushed for the forum to become a platform for concrete actions and projects (‘forum-as-movement building platform’). While proposals that the WSF should transform itself into an action-oriented process are controversial, one can see an evolution toward the forum-as-movement, reflected in the 2008 WSF Global Day of Action, as well as the discursive coherence among social movements in the 2009 Belem Declaration (See Appendix F).

The conception of forum-as-space attempts to transform both what democracy and participation means. Inspired by the example of the city of Porto Alegre, which experimented with participatory budgetary planning, the WSF has attempted to avoid formalistic notions of participation based on membership and voting, and rather facilitate a deeper engagement process.

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<sup>37</sup>From lecture by Teivo Teivainen at RMIT university, 2009

In this space of interaction, social forums offer participants unique opportunities for relating, trust building and collaboration. This includes the formation of alliances, solidarities, new relationships for collaboration, and the innovations that emerge from such a dynamic space. Social forums pluralise forms of participation. Individuals are not simply presented with the representational 'join/don't join' - they have a diversity of possible projects, groups, and new relations to participate in ongoingly. The WSF(P) has de-formalised, deepened and made participation dynamic.

I argue this dynamic participation helps to create 'social ecologies of alternatives' (SEA), a 'structural coupling' (Maturana, 1998, p. 75) of initiatives which help make each alternative more self sustaining, able to resist external threats and pressures, and able to co-create strategies of efficacy. The flip side of this, however, is competition among groups for the hearts and minds of activists and participants, manifested by the struggle for agenda setting and prime forum space, and active pamphleteering at forums. While forums are opportunities for collaboration, the development of meta-networks, joint strategies and actions, many groups simply use the forum to promote their particular agendas - condemning themselves and the forum process to a crisis of fragmentation and identity politics (see scenarios one and four in chapter six as extrapolations). As Bergmann suggests, the history of counter-hegemonic struggles (e.g. anti-globalisation movement) that gave birth to the WSF(P) should not be lost (Bergmann, 2003), and 'cognitive mapping' is needed to put the diversity of struggles, strategies and visions into broader context (Bergmann, 2006).

#### *4.3.5 Regionalisation and Localisation*

The WSF at first resisted the creation of local and autonomous social forums, but people around the world re-created the formula at various scales anyway. As of 2009, there have been over 200 social forums held in well over 120 cities worldwide, with several million participants in all (see appendix B). Regional and thematic forums have been partially organised in coordination with the official WSF organising process. Local forums, on the other hand, have been almost completely autonomous in their organisation. They have simply reflected a grassroots groundswell of organising that has not been sufficiently analysed. (See account of MSF in chapter five as example). Such local social forums indicate a plurality of SEAs in the various geo-graphic domains that support and find value in these local forums.

While the WSF has been able to draw massive numbers of participants and generate great interest, local and regional social forums are just learning how to organise effectively and tap into smaller local networks for alternative development. Coherent networks of local to regional to global forum communities are yet to develop,<sup>38</sup> and the WSF process website only emerged recently, in 2006 to help address the far flung process-mess that the WSF(P) has become, with limited impact.<sup>39</sup>

While I believe a real time global action-learning network is needed, this will require the emergence of resourced organising capacity that can foster coherent networks and collaboration between far flung SEAs. At the moment there is a chasm between the local forums and the WSF. In my experience there has been a very low level of integration or collaboration between local social forums in Australasia and between them and the world / regional social forums, an observation also made by Bramble (Bramble, 2006 ). While a scale shift toward the transnationalisation of activism is a visible phenomenon in the AGM (Reitan, 2006), local and global forums remain un-integrated. (See accounts of the Melbourne Social Forum as example).

#### *4.3.6 Governance and Decision Making: Reinventing Representation*

In an action research process, a group of local community stakeholders meet to address a common concern through planning, action and reflection; the WSF also follows many of the same principles. It has engaged increasingly wider circles for formulating proposals through successive iterations, modified its methodology over time, has conducted reviews and evaluations, and invited critique. In this way, Santos argues the success of the WSF is in the process by which it has been able to reinvent itself (Santos, 2006, p. 81).

The WSF's International Council (IC) emerged in mid 2001 after the first WSF. It was created to deal with several problems. It was an attempt to bolster the legitimacy of the WSF, by establishing a consultative process with credible, global and powerful NGOs, social movements and other groups, and an attempt to build the globalising and strategic capabilities of the WSF (Santos, 2006, p. 48).

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<sup>38</sup> I conducted a workshop at the 2006 Caracas WSF, which the organisers of the Houston SF attended, and which led to an attempt at a local forums network through riseup.net, but which never took off.

<sup>39</sup>See: [www.WSFProcess.net/](http://www.WSFProcess.net/)

The IC is primarily composed of international organisations (Glasius, 2004, p. 199), most of which are federations or umbrella organisations (Schonleitner, 2003, p. 131). There are approximately 160 of these (see appendix C). Its major responsibilities include making decisions regarding the future of the WSF, and the discussion of methodology and general political issues (Glasius, 2004, p. 191). Excluded were ‘national level organizations in order to avoid ‘the logic of nation states’ that is seen as potentially harmful to an essentially global process’ (Schonleitner, 2003, p. 131).<sup>40</sup>

The IC was conceived to legitimate the WSF, yet the IC’s own legitimacy departs from formal and technical systems of representation. Sen argues the ‘representativity of the IC will result from its ability to take the WSF to the world level, and to give it roots, organic-ness and continuity’ (Sen, 2004, p. 251). Leite argues that the IC should represent the ‘fight against capitalist globalisation’ (Leite, 2005, p. 97). Thus there is technically no limit to IC membership so long as it fulfils its mandate to address regional imbalances of representation. Yet it cannot become a bureaucratic structure, and cannot represent world civil society, and no other mechanisms besides consensus decision-making exist to expand the IC or resolve disputes about representation.

While the first two forums were organised by the OC of the WSF (now called International Secretariat or IS), the IC later began to play a greater role. The OC expressed resistance in giving up its decision-making control, and was the dominant party in the first three forums. Criticisms mounted and tensions rose between the OC and IC, for example when ‘decisions made by [IC] coordinators of the thematic areas were not always respected by the [OC]’ (Santos, 2006, p. 49). It was not until after the second WSF in which the IC gradually began to exert more influence in decision making and became a larger driver of the process (Leite, 2005, p. 98), giving strategic direction and ‘orienting political guidelines’ (Schonleitner, 2003, p. 132).

Despite decision-making power shifting toward the IC, Schonleitner argues questions remain related to the legitimacy of its representativeness, in particular whether the IC requires an elected leadership to have greater executive power, something resisted by the OC/IS for fear that power disputes would emerge (Schonleitner, 2003, p. 132). Representativeness in the IC also depends on who is invited or able to attend meetings (social and economic capital) as well as who can survive

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<sup>40</sup>The membership of the Australian Council of Trade Unions (ACTU) within the WSF IC is a clear exception, an organization which has taken little interest in local Australian forums, despite requests for support from the MSF.

the consensus decision-making process to the bitter end (Juris, 2004, pp. 445-451).

#### 4.3.7 *Democratising the WSF(P)*

To what extent is decision making in the WSF(P) democratic, representative or simply autocratic? There have been three lines of criticism directed toward the WSF. The first is criticism against the OC/IS, (about autocratic tendencies within the OC). The second is about the representativeness of the IC, and third is criticism about the WSF events.

Critics have contended the OC/IS is autocratic (Schonleitner, 2003). It is comprised of eight influential groups that have had *de facto* power to make decisions about many of the WSFs. Santos defends this by pointing out that the OC/IS carried the responsibility for organising the first three forums, and that, since the 2004 Mumbai forum, the status of the OC/IS has been effectively subsumed (Santos, 2006, pp. 50-51). In India an India General Council organised the 2004 WSF, as process which included 135 groups. In 2005 the organising committee was expanded to 23 groups (Gautney, 2010, pp. 60, 64). The separation of the IS from local organising committees has further subsumed the IS, as at least two OCs (Brazil and India) now share IS responsibilities (Santos, 2006, p. 50). Thus the IC sets the direction of the WSF(P), and local organising committees (Brazil, Indian, Kenyan, etc) organise global and regional forums, with the support of the IS. Yet it is still unclear to what extent the OC/IS is able to counter (or resist) decisions made by the IC or other WSF organising committees, and what groups retain interests and power in the OC/IS.

The second critique is directed towards the issue of representation within the IC. While the IC has a mandate to expand its own composition based on various geographic and social criteria (ensuring Southern participation for example) and adherence to the Charter of Principles, the acceptance of any one new member is predicated on universal consensus from all IC members. If just one member vetos a nomination, that potential member cannot join. Further, there is no formal mechanism to dispute a decision made by the IC, neither through arbitration nor tribunal.

This critical issue came to a head when Proutist Universal (PU), a group which supports the 'worldwide educational, cultural and activist organization promoting the Progressive Utilization Theory (Prout), an alternative socio-economic model for a better world ... registered [as an] NGO with the United Nations since 1991', was denied membership during the April 2004 IC meeting

in Italy. Reasons were never given for this, though the IC promised to allow an appeal. Since the initial rejection, however, neither an explanation nor an appeal opportunity has been forthcoming.

IC insiders confided to PU that Indian members, in particular the committee for WSF India, blocked Prout's entry on grounds that have been proven false in Indian and Australian courts of law (terrorism). Two representatives of PU, in a letter to the IC, wrote:

*Because of the IC's denial of our application to join, the European Social Forum rejected PU's requests for workshops. When asked why, one organizer said they knew that the IC had denied PU's application, but admitted they didn't know the reasons why. The ESF refused to reply to any of our requests for an interview or to give a written reply. ... Since the April 2004 meeting, Bruce Dyer has sent more than two dozen email messages to Chico Whitaker asking for a written reply to his application, with no response. When Dr. Michael Towsey, a Proutist from Australia met with Chico Whitaker and his wife during their visit to his country, Chico told him that this rejection by the IC didn't matter and we should forget it.<sup>41</sup>*

The IC's apparent failure to fairly deal with this issue indicates problems (or lack of) internal processes of adjudication that deepen a crisis of representation. It demonstrates the weakness of a consensus based system, where counter balancing mechanism of resolution do not exist, when one member decides to 'block' or 'veto'. This 'crisis of consensus' has been experienced by other groups using 'horizontalist' processes (see MSF account in chapter five).

Instead of being inclusive of a great diversity of groups, in this case the IC appears as a closed clique. In addition, there is the question of the legitimacy and credibility of the INGO members of the IC (many of which receive money from Western governments). There is also the issue of the small size of the IC compared to GCS, as compared with even one INGO like CIVICUS, not to mention the imagined totality of the global 'counter public'. From these considerations, the question of the IC's credibility and legitimacy as a peak body of the WSF appears more acute. It is unclear to what extent this 'crisis' has been addressed.

The last critique is directed against the WSF events themselves. Schonleitner points out that only

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<sup>41</sup> Interview # 3

some people can afford to come to the WSF, let alone an IC meeting (Schonleitner, 2003, p. 131). This creates the situation where those who can afford to go to such a meeting become the global collaborators.<sup>42</sup> In addition to this, within the forum itself are large discrepancies in the power relations between groups and people, between well funded INGO groups (with many delegates) and grassroots groups where participants walk 500 km or hitchhike to get to an event (such as the Dalit of India in WSF 2004); between those with well developed networks and connections, and those without; between the celebrity activists and ‘ordinary’ participants. WSF’s have thus been criticised for creating activist ghettos within the events, for example its Youth Camps (Gautney, 2010, pp. 46-83).

While Santos argues the WSF is successfully evolving to meet these challenges (Santos, 2006, pp. 85-109), the question of democratisation within the WSF remains open. As Wallerstein points out:

*...while the idea of a horizontal, non-hierarchical structure may be meritorious, somehow decisions, important decisions, are in fact made. Who makes them, and how? The critics say that there is insufficient transparency of the decision-making process, and therefore it verges on the undemocratic. (Wallerstein, 2004b, p. 635)*

Questions related to the transparency and representativeness of the IC, OC/IS and WSF in general prompted Teivainen to present a twenty-two point challenge to the IC Strategy Commission on the ‘Problems of Democracy in the World Social Forum’ (Teivainen, 2004) (see appendix V).

#### *4.3.8 (Trans) Counter-Hegemonic Convergences, Counter Forums and Alternative Spaces*

As previously mentioned the WSF is a counter-summit of the Davos WEF, and follows a long line of other counter summits and forums over past decades (TOES against G6/7, the Other Davos against Davos, etc). Yet ironically, the WSFs have also attracted their own counter forums that exist as an explicit protest to the WSF, or as an alternative to it. Counter forums critique the WSF on various grounds, and an examination of this help one to understand the ideological landscape of the AGM which the WSF(P) sits.

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<sup>42</sup> I am indeed a good example of this, as a relatively privileged member of global society, I was able to self-fund my trip to the Mumbai WSF.

Counter-forums have come from the two hard edges of the socialist tradition (anarchists and Marxists) but also from other groups who reject the organisational structure of the WSF, or who simply want to organise events their own way. Self organised autonomous spaces and counter (protest) forums have become part of the loose, decentralised, yet overlapping network structure of these events (Glasius, 2004, p. 208; Smith, 2008b, pp. 45-46).

In 2002 the Intergalactika Laboratory of Disobedience, organised within the WSF Youth Camp (associated with PGA / Zapatista supporters) held their own meetings and workshops. They also staged a guerrilla protest of the WSF, by storming, water bombing and occupying a VIP lounge that had been set up for special guests, chanting 'We are all VIPS! We are all VIPS!' (Juris, 2004, p. 400; Smith, 2008b, p. 45).

During the European Social Forum (ESF) in Florence in 2002, groups organised a Space Beyond, which was connected to the ESF, composed of yet smaller autonomous groups: Eur@action Hub, No Work-No Shop, Italian Dessobbedientes, Thematic Squares, and Next Generation. The 2003 WSF had even more autonomous groups and events, such as Z Magazine's Life After Capitalism, and GLAD (Space Towards the Globalisation of Disobedient Struggles and Actions) (Glasius, 2004, p. 208).

At the Mumbai WSF of 2004, visitors (including myself) were greeted at the airport by a Marxist group boycotting the WSF, who held a counter forum near to NESCO grounds (in protest titled 'Mumbai Resistance 2004'). Mumbai Resistance's (MR) protest of the WSF stems from distrust of many of the donors / agencies involved in funding it (such as the Ford Foundation and the Heinrich Böll Foundation), as well as the presence of many liberal social democratic NGOs. They saw the WSF as a co-option of anti-imperialist movements into a 'quietist bourgeois reformism'.<sup>43</sup> They claimed that, because the WSF doesn't allow the participation of armed groups and political parties, and does not formulate a social movement agenda and takes no political positions, it can never create any real political change - a meaningless civil dialogue which pulls people away from a true revolutionary path (see scenario two in chapter six as an extrapolation of this position).<sup>44</sup> Wallerstein summarises the criticisms of Marxists:

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<sup>43</sup> From: Krantilari Lok Adhikar Sangthan, Uttranchal, India 16 Jan 2004

<sup>44</sup> See: [www.mumbaioresistance.org](http://www.mumbaioresistance.org)

*The criticisms of this group are multiple. The WSF says another world is possible; it should say that socialism is the objective. The WSF is an open forum; therefore it is nothing but a talk fest. It doesn't engage in action; therefore it is inherently inefficacious. It accepts money from foundations and NGOs; hence, it has sold out. It does not permit political parties to participate; hence it leaves out key groups. It does not permit groups engaged in violence to participate; but violence is legitimate for oppressed groups who have no alternative. (Wallerstein, 2004b, p. 635)*

At the WSF in Caracas (2006) an Alternative Forum was held, the Peoples Movements Encounter II, in particular because many felt the socialist Chavez government had co-opted the WSF. Wallerstein correspondingly summarises the criticisms from anarchists and autonomists:

*It is that the WSF is, de facto, a new international with a hidden hierarchy who make the important decisions. But in the end this variant says the same as the Old Left variant. The leaders of the WSF are using their authority to sell out the militants. (Wallerstein, 2004b, p. 635)*

This highlights the tension between 'horizontalists' (those who reject Old Left hierarchies) and 'verticalists' (those who embody Old Left hierarchies – parties, governments, businesses), a theme that runs through the AGM (Juris, 2004; Tormey, 2005). This climaxed with struggles fought for the heart of the ESF process (European Social Forum) during its 2004 London gathering, during which 'horizontalists' organised a whole series of events (Glasius, 2004, p. 209) in protest at the apparent takeover of the forum by the Socialist Workers Party and the Greater London Authority (Gautney, 2010, p. 63).

The counter-hegemonic convergences that accompany the WSF(P) shows how the AGM is tacitly broader than the WSF(P). As a subset of a broader AGM, the WSF(P) sits between two binary (but related) movements, toward diversifying and autonomising (horizontalist) struggles and toward developing a coherent and coordinated movement as a totality (verticalist) (Ramos, 2006b). The effective use of this tension can form the basis for dynamic coherences and metaformations, but is also fraught with challenges.

#### 4.3.9 (Trans) Counter Hegemonic Collaboration

The context within which the WSF sits is the movement or process for another globalisation (AGM). This is the *raison d'être* of the WSF(P). To the extent that the WSFs can facilitate such transnational collaboration and claim a degree of efficacy in midwifing 'another world', it is vindicated. This is the default criteria for its legitimacy (Santos, 2006, p. 48).

While the WSF is not necessarily about uniting disparate actors into a unitary structure or program, it can be equally said that it is not just a gathering of differentiated actors all pursuing their own particular agendas. Agendas are shared, they overlap, and collaboration is the by-product of the *encuentro* between actors who may be ontologically different, but who may share critical interests, and be connected by what they struggle against (and also what they struggle for). Reitan's study of trans-national activists shows how the WSF(P) has been both an example and facilitator of 'scale-shift', as localised struggles have created cross border networks and formed new planetary identities and organisations (Reitan, 2006). Yet this process is far from easy or complete. While Reitan shows a 'scale-shift' process across struggles that are in many ways thematically congruent, linkages across themes and ideologies is more fraught. The controversies over the 'Porto Alegre Consensus' and 'Bamako Appeal' are exactly about the challenge of broader meta-formation, tensions between the impetus to *include* the diverse groups that make up the AGM, and a need to come to shared understandings, strategies and actions. Can the 'vehicle' which is the WSF/WSF(P) deliver this?

Santos argues a 'work of translation' is fundamental to the WSF's counter-hegemonic coherence (Santos, 2006, pp. 131-147). Because groups at forums are ontologically diverse, they must enter into a process that can produce mutual intelligibility. He argues for the need to avoid collapsing differences (what the current open space structure of the WSF(P) does well), while equally being able to form mutually coherent understandings, actions and projects (what the WSF(P) has struggled to achieve). The possibility the WSF(P) creates for a 'shared analysis' (Smith, 2008a), 'cognitive mapping' (Bergmann, 2006) and shared positions/actions can only be realised through such a 'work of translation'. Yet given the ecological and social crises we face, but will this be too slow?

## 4.4 Conclusion

To draw this chapter to a close, I would like to highlight the somewhat dialectical process between the AGM and WSF(P) discussed in this chapter.

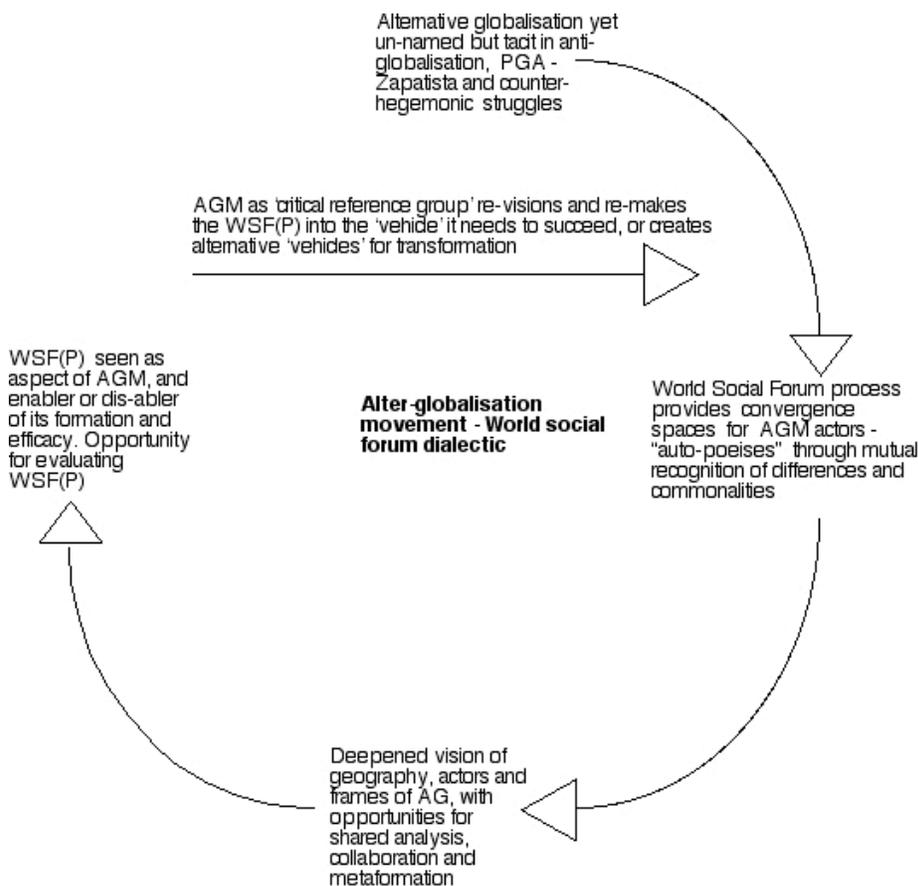


Figure 4.1: AGM - WSF(P) Dialectic

The dialectic between the WSF(P) and AGM, as depicted in figure 4.1, can be seen as a movement from a tacit understanding of AGM actors, frames and visions, to its explication via forum convergences, an expanded vision of what an AGM is and means, which then allows for an evaluation and re-conceptualisation of the WSF(P)'s role as facilitator / enabler of the AGM. Before the WSF(P), the anti-globalisation movement and other counter-hegemonic forces were actively resisting neo-liberalism and neo-imperialism, yet the depth and breadth of an AGM was not clearly visible, and attempts to formulate joint analysis, strategy and action had not been comprehensively attempted. Ten years of the WSF(P) in hundreds of locales have explicated the

diversity and depth of the AGM, its actors, its visions and discourses (examples of which are seen in chapter two); and critically it has revealed the challenges (and possibilities) inherent in facilitating coherence, collaboration and metaformations between ontologically and epistemologically diverse actors situated in every part of the world. Now, given the various voices within the AGM, their critiques of the WSF, the challenges we see the WSF(P) facing, AGM actor's desires and intensions for another world, and methodological differences, we can turn the spotlight back on the WSF and ask, How might the WSF(P) change to support the effectiveness of an AGM in creating another possible world? I take up the task of evaluating the WSF(P), and suggesting alternative futures for it in the concluding chapter. Before doing this, however, I deepen this study of the WSF(P) and AGM by looking at its manifestation in one particular locale.

## Chapter Five: Analysis of Fieldwork

In this next section, I analyse the fieldwork which took place in networks and organisations that were part of the social forum and / or alternative globalisation process in Melbourne, Australia. I use the analytic strategy developed in chapter two, section three and explained in the methodology section on analysis. The five ‘windows’ I use to understand social ecologies of alternatives (SEAs) include:

- Social Ecology of Actors (and their Forms of Agency)
- Social Ecology of Geo-Structures
- Social Ecology of Cognitions
- Social Ecology of Histories and Ontogenies
- Social Ecology of Alternative Futures

Rather than analyse each account one by one, I examine each of these ‘windows’ as singular aspects across all five accounts. While this has the effect of rending each account apart, it also enables a closer and more focused examination of different aspect of the SEA, and is more useful in coming to thematic clarity.

### 5.1 Analysing the Social Ecology of Actors and Agents

This analytic window, discussed in chapter two, examines the relational diversity of actors within the accounts, and explores the way that actors create change. The primary themes that emerge include: 1) the transformation of participation from formal to dynamic, 2) a movement toward collaborative agency, 3) a cycle (still incomplete and under-integrated) between inward composition (the mutual recognition of differences and shared interests) and outward collaboration (efficacy of joint formulations and projects), and 4) the importance of organisational strategies to underpin and integrate the inward-outward movements.

#### *5.1.1 Agency within the Melbourne Social Forum*

The Melbourne Social Forum, as a complex formation of over a hundred ‘entities’ (organisations / networks) and hundreds of participants has expressed agency in complex ways. The first

distinction that can be made is between the MSF organising group, and the community of actors that make up MSF events. Social forums are co-constructs, in which forum organisers facilitate a process in which the ‘forum community’ comes together. Without a community of counter-hegemonic actors, there could be no social forum;<sup>45</sup> yet without social forum organisers, there would be no social forums under the banner ‘Another World is Possible’. This does not preclude other types of counter-hegemonic events bringing actors together, of which there are a variety, that have pre-dated and that will post-date social forums.<sup>46</sup> Rather the somewhat mythic notion of ‘self organisation’ needs to be challenged and problematised.<sup>47</sup> Organising a MSF has taken great effort and planning in most cases, often leaving organisers in states of exhaustion and burnout after events. Self organisation relates more to the open space nature of the event, and in this regard more to the ‘ecology of actors’ that do not organise an MSF but participate and interact within it. While not completely distinct, we can distinguish between the actor network that initiates and organises the events, and the participants (people and their organisations) who partake in and use the events.

#### *Actor network of organisers*

The MSF emerged within an experiential and normative community. Six of the core organisers were present at the Mumbai WSF, and other organisers had attended the WSFs in Porto Alegre. Mumbai is somewhat significant in that it offered a shared experience of a social forum, knowledge of what it is or can be, and an ideological connection to a broad movement, the ‘fuzzy logic’ of alter-globalisation.<sup>48</sup> Importantly, however, more than half of organisers had never experienced a WSF. Organisers go beyond single issue activism move between complex multi-issue normative terrain. Thus, organisations that have been both active supporters of the WSF process, and embody multi-issue orientations have been natural organisational partners.<sup>49</sup> The Centre for Education and Research for Environmental Strategies (CERES), where the main MSF events have been held, has been a significant partner in this respect, a prefigurative and prismatic correlate. CERES is thematically integrative and crosses the social justice / labour movement /

<sup>45</sup> And hence, the existence of a social ecology of actors must prefigure the event.

<sup>46</sup> Bioneers, Melbourne’s Sustainable Living Festival, Climate Camps, are some examples.

<sup>47</sup> In some literature, forums are described as spontaneous emergences akin to the popular self propelling energy machines that somehow create energy out of nothing. My experience is closer to Susan George’s comments (George, 2005).

<sup>48</sup> The term ‘alter-globalisation’ has never been a standard term among MSF organisers. Indeed I seemed to be the only one to use it. Other organisers have used terms like ‘global justice movement’ and ‘global democracy movement’, or ‘anti-capitalist’ movement – hence the notion of ‘fuzzy logic’.

<sup>49</sup> Two examples being Friends of the Earth and Borderlands.

environment ‘divide’. It provided a place to ideationally stabilise the event.

The ‘actor network’ of forum partners expanded from initial ‘natural supporters’ to a developing social ecology of groups that was later (2005 and onward) actively developed as partners and sponsors. This collaborative field exists between different groups with similar attitudes and values, such actors make event organising more possible and generate ‘inter-alternatives’ and layers to the forum.<sup>50</sup> So the first aspect of agency is collaboration among actors with a broadened conception of what a normative field may mean - interlinking toward a broadening collaborative process.

The second aspect of agency for the MSF entails its methodology. There are two aspects of this, ‘midwifery’ or the MSF as that which ‘creates a space’ (arguably the dominant mode and self definition before 2008),<sup>51</sup> and recessive mode of disruption, antagonism and spectacle.<sup>52</sup>

The first is agency as ‘space creating’ and platform development, (the orthodox organisational format as seen in scenario one, next chapter).<sup>53</sup> Thus agency means ‘midwifery’, giving space for the community to ‘birth’; bring forth its alternatives, agendas and concerns. In this sense agency is the agency of others. As such agency for MSF is via event methodology – to the extent that this methodology works and is valuable to the community. The shift from dialogic process to action / innovation oriented process within the WSF(P)<sup>54</sup> – and from single issue to collaborative - is important, and corresponds to Santos’ analysis of the overall evolution of WSF methodology as a core constituent element in its viability and value. In this sense methodological design / evolution is an expression of agency.

The secondary or recessive mode of agency for the MSF is through antagonism, disruption and spectacle that is more closely associated with the global protest cycle, culture jamming and local solidarity activism. The MSF’s involvement in the Nov 2006 G20 protest in Melbourne entailed the use of a six wheel army truck dressed in pink lace and red love hearts that occupied one end of a police blockade, at which point a rave scene reminiscent of ‘Reclaim the Streets’ was

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<sup>50</sup> Engage Media and Lentils As Anything are two good examples.

<sup>51</sup> Methodology and self definition has arguably shifted toward action / mobilisation oriented methodology (2008 GDA) and a (more) coherent anti-capitalist platform (Belem, 2009).

<sup>52</sup> Note: what is left out is representation, advocacy and political implication. Also what is left out is social innovation as an explicit agenda – it is instead a by-product.

<sup>53</sup> See: WSF charter (Appendix A), MSF charter (Appendix I)

<sup>54</sup> See WSF process web: [www.wsfprocess.net](http://www.wsfprocess.net)

performed using the truck's mobile DJ sound system. MSF activity during this aspect of the G20 meant participation in mass disruption / interruption / jamming (see scenario four, next chapter).<sup>55</sup>

Interestingly, the MSF became part of WSF 2008 actor network through the WSF's call for a Global Day of Action in Jan 08. The MSF was contacted by one of the WSF's media coordinators who asked MSF to hold an event or action. A debate ensued within the MSF organising group whether to do an event on Jan 26th, as had been requested, or alternatively to join the 'Invasion Day' march, joining the historical struggle of indigenous rights in Australia. The decision to not hold an event on Jan 26 (as requested by WSF) was controversial because of relational factors. Jan 26th was the first day of the WSF GDA, but for a much longer time it has been known in the indigenous justice movement in Australia as 'Invasion Day', a re-branding of what it is commonly known as 'Australia Day' (the day captain Cook 'discovered' Australia). The MSF had been warned not to disrespect this day of indigenous struggle in Australia. A tension existed between the MSF's desire to hold an event in connection with WSF(P), and between sensitivity to local culture and history. Local context, timing and the WSF's call for a GDA combined to turn MSF into a solidarity partner, changing the nature of the agency, which entailed collaboration with Socialist Alliance (a political party) and Share the Spirit (a festival). MSF organisers participated in an 'Invasion Day' march and at the festival held an MSF stall (as participant!). The form of transcendence found was to facilitate the Melbourne 'Invasion Day' march organisers and 'Share the Spirit' festival to symbolically join (at least in name) the WSF GDA. The inversion of the MSF from platform to participant is significant in highlighting horizontalist approaches which 'de-vanguardise' actors. This can be considered a nascent example of scenario three in the concluding chapter (WSF 2.0).

*MSF: The actor network of participants and their organisations*

The actors that have participated in the MSF have been diverse, with close to 200 organisations, networks and groups.<sup>56</sup> Modes of agency have been correspondingly diverse. These modes of agency are inferred from workshops and activities that participants bring to the forum, (not what they do at the forum).<sup>57</sup> Here I group the core types, and give some examples.

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<sup>55</sup> It is important to note that this divided the group, (though not divisively), between those that wanted to participate in this and those who did not.

<sup>56</sup> See Appendix G

<sup>57</sup> Otherwise we would conclude that agency at social forums is holding a workshop, which while true, is only the MSF event activity, not what groups do *in the world*.

Modes of agency can be distinguished into that which was *outer* focused, on change initiatives within the world, and those that are *inner* focused, on initiatives that aim to develop and strengthen the SEA: participant's relationships, thinking, knowledge and practice - both 'world-changing' and 'SEA-changing'.

In this first broad category of 'world-changing', modes of agency included: campaigns, policy development and advocacy, direct action / protest organising, web / online activism, and witnessing / legal enforcement.<sup>58</sup> In the second mode of agency, which aimed to build relationships, thinking, knowledge and practice within the forum community, a number of modes of agency were seen, including: solidarity / alliance building, community development / convergence organising, craft / production / 'freecycling' / art / cooking / food production, personal development / meditation / despair work / non-violence training, exploring alternatives / agency / dialogic learning spaces, de-constructive / social constructionist / alternative history or micro history (critical / creative thinking) work.

In this 'inner' directed aspect of forum workshops there was a tendency toward embodying changes (a 'prefiguration' of broader change), through the endogenous development of alternative practices. This focused on 'recreating self' into a more expanded concept of self. Solidarity work to recreate the normative associations of struggle, craft to recreate production and consumption, meditation and non-violence training to recreate one's capacity to interact with the world, de-constructive thinking to re-create the frames through which we see problems. Strengthening the forum community and SEA also includes practices of expanding political space.<sup>59</sup> This internal 're-creation' would seem to be as prominent in forums as the outer focused 'world-changing' dimensions.

Finally and arguably, at the interface between building the (forum) community and 'world-changing' was movement building, which links the two modalities: building the internal strength, knowledge, and power of SEAs seeking change, and the diverse modes of agency used by SEAs

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<sup>58</sup> See Appendix H-1

<sup>59</sup> The idea of 'political space' came from interview #11. It means that within various socio-political contexts, groups have different levels of 'space' that allow for expressions of dissent, protest, voice. Political space is seen to widen and shrink depending on the social processes at work. Non-violent direct action is meant to widen political space by establishing the legitimacy of a movements aims and methodology, while de-legitimising its oppositions use of force or terror.

in the enactment of structural and worldly change.<sup>60</sup> The inner ‘SEA-changing’ / *community-changing* modes of agency are crucial for the success of the outer *world-changing* modes of agency. A strong connection can be discerned between the inner SEA development and outer ‘world-changing’ efficacy. Some links that can be discerned include between campaigning and policy change, or between meditative practice and non - violent confrontation and fasting. A complementarity of agencies is seen between inner and outer capabilities, as potentiating an overall movement building process.

Yet while this is ‘felt’ in the forum community,<sup>61</sup> it is not explicit, and hence Santo’s call for a University of Social Movements may also be relevant here, to make actors and their agencies explicit and to make the emerging SEA a more coherent and powerful one. Likewise, the MSF has been so thematically diverse, it is not clear to what extent the MSF has played a role in facilitating the development of particular campaigns or social movements in Victoria or Australia.

Finally, a major theme in the MSF’s expression of agency involved the re-construction of participation. The more orthodox role for event participants as observers, audience, spectators, voters, and the passivity associated with many types of event participation is fundamentally changed and challenged, and the participant is engaged as collaborator, co-innovator and communicator. Participants often become quickly involved in the activities and work of the groups that come to the forum.

### *5.1.2 Agency within Plug in TV*

Plug in TV has been part of a broader network of actors from the beginning, and such networking with diverse groups has been more than an ‘add-on’ activity, but rather central to its development. The founding members relied on support from local community TV (Channel 31), a local community production house (OpenChannel), the sponsorship of a university (Swin TV) and training support from the government (the Unemployment Benefits Scheme), all of which were different types of enablers. For the generation of content Plug in TV early on became part of the larger field of ‘alternative left’ counter hegemonic actors in Melbourne – and with this it entered

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<sup>60</sup> Workshops on movement building included movements for global justice, the anti-sweatshop movement, opensource movements, international solidarity movements (Palestine, Western Sahara), indigenous, Bolivarian, anti-war, labour, health equity, anti-corporate, alternative energy, independence movements, social forum, climate and voluntary simplicity ‘movements’

<sup>61</sup> ‘Felt’ here refers to a community where tacit understandings are ‘sensed’ as well as spoken.

into Melbourne's SEA.<sup>62</sup> This also included connections with the MSF (Plug in TV filmed the first MSF, as well as MSF 09), as well as with the Transmission network. Transmission was a loose network of independent documentary film makers that prefigured the creation of EngageMedia. EngageMedia created the open source Plumi video sharing platform, on which WSF.TV is based. To continue running in season two, Plug in TV drew from a variety of new sources such as Arts Hub, and connections with grassroots groups such as Engage Media. Establishing an office, getting public liability insurance and incorporation as an association institutionalised it, which enabled new forms of agency – allowing for grants, office use, larger productions and work at festivals. Use of a systematic network development approach also contributed to a widening network of connections. Relationships and collaboration with key bodies and initiatives remained an important aspect of Plug in TV's synergistic development of initiatives within the SEA. This entailed strategic interlinking within both the institutional sphere and grassroots.

To produce a season of shows, Plug in TV's strategy has been based on creating a community, using the embodied experience, skill, knowledge, and technological resources of new and old members. With no budget or established structures, it required focused facilitation and coordination of people who are already 'conscientised'. Plug in TV relied on networking to attract motivated people wanting to produce something, rather than those who only want to volunteer time, (volunteers had consistently been problematic). Purposefulness to create change, based on activist 'self knowing' and worldly knowledge has been the 'fuel' required to make productions work. Even the nascent 'producer' transforms a skill or knowledge deficit into merely a logistical problem, while the volunteer mentality would turn a deficit into an obstacle. Facilitating collaboration between established and nascent producers has been key. This mutual education was a basic process for collective enablement and agency. Skill and knowledge sharing was fundamental in the creative and problem solving process. This demonstrated the extent to which it was a producer driven experience that also required the active development of a learning community. This is underscored by an unresolved tension in the organisation of production, whether as peer-to-peer horizontalism (e.g. Indymedia's model) or as production-house verticalism (older models).

My analysis is that multiple strategies are needed simultaneously – and indeed different

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<sup>62</sup> See DVD resources in Appendix J

knowledges to support these practices (media production *and* community development). The media producer's inclination is toward a small and focused team, while the community developer's inclination is toward network openness to create popular involvement. Experience suggests it is very challenging to have all the means of media production operating at once – networking, production and coordination. Thus agency here is connected to the different views held regarding the strategies of how media is produced.

The next aspect of agency within Plug in TV relates to the transformation of the historic relationship between producers and consumers of media. For most of the 20th century, filmic and video media production was a wieldy, expensive and complex process. The last two decades has seen a technological revolution enabling the possibility of high quality production using low cost technologies. Riding this wave, Plug in TV reflects a social shift to 'Become the Media', by developing internal capacity in the mediation process. Deepening the analysis, three types of agency can be identified: organisational, productive, and distributive. Agency can be seen as autonomising production in this mediation process, from concept and team formation, to filming, post-production (editing), compression, and distribution (by DVD, TV and through the Web). 'Autonomous', however, does not mean Plug in TV relied on no other entity, but rather the capacity and potential enabled through enmeshment into the emerging SEA that allows for enhanced community based mediation (EngageMedia, C31, Creative Commons, WSF.TV, etc.).

While Plug in TV videos have been autonomously organised, produced and distributed, it is difficult to say what influence these (40+ short documentaries) have had on the world. The significance of Plug in TV and the thousands of other micro-media initiatives, is its potential as prefigurative alternative to big media (TV, Hollywood), and the possibility of its emerging collective agency. Can it challenge and beat corporate media at its own game, and replace it? Plug in TV as a 'networked production house' was / is an example of the pre-figurative embodiment of the process of emergence of community based autonomous production platforms globally.

Finally, Plug-in TV also tried to make the audience an agent by showing how they could be involved in the organisations and campaigns being documented, hence the term 'Plug-in', trying to facilitate audience engagement. More intensively, documentaries have focused on activist experience, their knowledge of change agency, or counter hegemonic knowledges with these organisations, why they do what they do, who they are and how they are changing the world for the better. Thus an important aspect of agency here is Plug in TV's focus on showing the power

of people in creating change by allowing a platform by which people can tell the story of their struggles. This may lead to an idea of agency as the reproduction of actors, providing avenues by which people can become that which they see on TV / the web, a processes which arguably underpins the long term sustainability of an AGM.

### *5.1.3 Agency within Community Collaborations*

Community Collaborations (CC) emerged in 2004 through a meeting at the Brisbane Social Forum (BSF) as a working group for an Australian Social Forum.<sup>63</sup> However, by the time I had been introduced to the group in late 2005 it had evolved into the group 'Community Collaborations', where a wide variety of activists from different types of campaigns, projects and organisations came together to share and network various projects they were doing.

The ethos that drove CC was both about collaboratively cognising a wider landscape in which change was happening, as well as scope-ing out collaborative possibilities. The *modus operandi* of the group was thus to share, bridge issues and collaborate, or as one participant expressed it, CC was a: 'Conduit... [with] lots of people doing lots of things, its where the rivulets of water meet, from various streams. It is not [about] trying to agree or work together. It is about finding out what people are doing....'<sup>64</sup>

Perhaps because CC brought together relatively more experienced leaders that had been mainstay activists in many areas for many years (labour, human rights, environment, women's rights, disability), there was a recognition and knowledge of the history of social change, where this emerged from and how it happened - in particular as based in social and community solidarities. People and organisations were not seen as solitary actors but as part of a larger history of struggle. For activism to be sustainable, it was felt these histories needed to be shared to help inform a broader consciousness of struggle of change and action. The basis of 'heroism' needed to be re-framed through stories of social transformation that recognised and re-asserted community as a primary agent.

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<sup>63</sup> Interview #8

<sup>64</sup> Interview #15

*Currently mass media inverts this message – it creates the myth that political leaders create change, and the people follow. We need to return to empowering stories about what we want to do and can do as ‘ordinary’ people.<sup>65</sup>*

Histories of action (hegemonic narratives of nationalisms vs. counter-hegemonic narratives of ‘social justice heroes’) were thus identified as key in mediating the context of present day reality by which people cognise agency. It was felt that sharing these stories more broadly would help to form a shared cognition of both past and future contexts and challenges, that leads to cohesive relationship between people, community building and resilience - a dynamic response to present and futures challenges through passing on this knowledge to future generations. In summary, individualistic conceptions of agency were challenged, and agency was seen as an expression of community based organising within a deeper historical and thematic context. Deep community solidarity, not pragmatic alliances, was the basis for change, and as one participant lamented:

*In Australia community networks are weaker because of the industrial consumer [culture]. It is identity politics instead of community – we find community through affiliation, it is not a deep community.<sup>66</sup>*

#### 5.1.4 Agency within Oases

Oases was originally an initiative of the Borderlands Cooperative and Augustine Centre, though its associative and spiritual foundations come from the ‘Genesis Group’, an informal yet foundational group of people of diverse backgrounds. Other actors include Academic Staff, the Community Learning and Research Centre, Governance bodies (the Oases Council, the Academic Board), the Graduate School (and its administration), participants and associated networks. The innovation of Oases has been a relational process, as each new person that came into Oases, initially through genesis, but now as part of a wider network, brings / brought with them dynamic possibilities and openings: or as one of the founders put it: ‘Each time a person came into genesis, new things happen and emerge, it spreads by ‘oil slick’ [each person brings with them an as yet unknown factor].’ Thus, relational processes are foundational to agency, as there is agency and possibility in associative relationality, it is indeterminate and ‘out of connections’: or as this same person expressed it: ‘[We] dream the commonality. Hard to express what this connect is,

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<sup>65</sup> Interview #20

<sup>66</sup> Interview #23

but it is emergent... Inventing what unites you [is key].’ The metaphor he used for this was ‘tissue building’, as ‘each time a person discovers you or you discover them – things open up, things emerge’.<sup>67</sup> Through this relational ‘tissue building’, Oases became a post graduate Masters program in Integrative and Transformative Learning, the first of its kind in Australia.

Oases represents a search for a new type of agency – one that emerges out of relational inquiry. Its multi/transdisciplinary bases in Aesthetic, Social, Ecological, and Spiritual domains of inquiry are a movement toward holistic action adequate to the new and complex challenges being faced by our world. One participant stated: ‘This approach requires action unlike any other social change movement of the past due to its multilayered and intertwined nature, and the sheer depth of our predicament’ (Participant reflection 2006, in Oases 2007, p17).

Relational inquiry is typified by movements ‘inward’ and ‘outward’, ‘internal’ and ‘external’, or in Freirian language, a dialectic between reflective inquiry / conscientisation and action-in-the-world - together theory/practice. Participant’s journeys are described as: ‘...leap after leap of insight, immediately and without fear, leaping out into the world, putting their learning into practice and coming back for more. Two quite different trajectories but with much overlap. Reflection and action as integral practice... with both offering the world to each other.’ (Oases, 2007, p. 59).

The external journey and internal journey are concurrent and dynamic. While the external journey involves a visible inquiry pathway and can be compared to some qualitative social inquiry (e.g. problem identifying, researching, analysing, proposing, implementing, evaluating), ‘There is equally a parallel internal journey.... Heuristic Inquiry with phases of Initial engagement, Immersion, Incubation, Illumination, Explication, and Creative Synthesis...’ (Oases, 2007, p. 64).

‘Integrative and transformative practice’ emerges from such a dynamic process, where new forms of agency emerge from a relational movement between self/world, reflection/action, inquiring/worldchanging, as: ‘Participants undertake research projects that may be primarily action-oriented or reflective but are likely both’ (Oases, 2007, p. 49). Agency within Oases is plural, dynamic and emergent as a diversity of inquiry/change projects are brought forth from the

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<sup>67</sup> Interview # 17

community to address the multi-variate ‘predicaments’ we find ourselves in: ‘We understand (social) research as a propensity of humans (philogenetically tied to us as a species) and one which has been evolving in ongoing dialectical reciprocity with our overall and specific attempts at survival within our ecological and social contexts’ (Oases, 2007, p. 49).

#### *5.1.5 Agency within the G20 Convergence*

In this account of the G20 Convergence, each one of the entities involved was a network or a meta-network: an association of states, a campaign network, another a coalition, another an open space process, and another a collective.<sup>68</sup> This account therefore entails more complex relational processes. While each network association seemingly coordinated actions toward its networked goals, within each there also existed ambiguities, conflicts and tensions. The overall result of the G20 Convergence was a fracturing of trust and fragmenting of social relations, undermining the very possibility of an AGM in Melbourne. For this reason, the divergent experience in this account becomes the basis for the last of four scenarios in the concluding chapter.

Make Poverty History (MPH) in the UK is most popularly known through rock celebrity activists like Bono and Bob Geldoff, who have held large charity concerts and other events aimed at addressing social justice issues, but is actually a collection of over 500 groups, many charity based from the UK and Ireland, and Australia. In Australia it is a campaign network of over 70 organisations (see appendix N). MPH has organised large events aimed at popularising the need to address global poverty. Officially, MPH has a very disciplined approach emphasising reformist objectives based on a strategy of making issues visible through strong popular promotion. Yet as seen in this account, MPH’s activities are diverse. Agency during this week of events for MPH included a three pronged strategy.

First and foremost was a high profile concert (during the weekend) to promote its core aims (discussed in the section on alternative futures), to raise awareness and energise many people toward poverty, development and achieving the MDGs. Second was a public forum (on Thursday) called ‘Creating a Fairer World: What Should the G20 Do?’, to highlight the various advocates and campaigners for change, and their various policy alternatives. Third was a festival (on Saturday) that would be inclusive of many groups and encourage people (and families) to

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<sup>68</sup> Tensions might be said to exist between what might be termed its ‘neo-colonial aid constituency’ and its ‘radical post-colonial constituency’.

engage with the issues.<sup>69</sup>

The StopG20 convergence collective emerged in late 2005, initially at a workshop at the 2005 Melbourne Social Forum, which by early February 2006 became a loose network.<sup>70</sup> StopG20 had regular meetings, a website and issued communications, in planning for what they hoped would be a large display of public opposition to the G20 and its policies. It was conceived of in terms of an anarchist ‘spokes council’, more a coordinating space than a decision making body. Agency was articulated as more than a protest, but rather in the tradition of Reclaim the Streets and non-violent blockade methodology was rejected from the beginning.<sup>71</sup> A carnival and block party was organised that would be a celebration and a disruption of the G20, and was hence entitled ‘Carnival Against capitalism’ or ‘Carnival Beyond Capitalism’ (the name differs in the various artefacts). Key organisers carried with them ‘85 years of direct action experience, in forest protection, anti-war and anti-nukes’ in the tradition of non-violent confrontation going back to AiDEX protests.<sup>72</sup>

The protest / carnival would have un-intended consequences, in particular the fragmentation of the AGM in Melbourne and the shrinkage of political space, in part caused by ‘diversity of tactics’ (DoT) arguments and their expression in the Saturday protests. The DoT debate emerged after the 1999 Seattle protests on platforms such as Indymedia, as Black Bloc anarchists defended their tactics (e.g. vandalising corporate franchises), arguing their actions helped to create awareness through spectacle.<sup>73</sup> DoT was espoused by some within the ambit of StopG20, and practiced on the Saturday by ‘Arterial Block’, a group that formed through StopG20 callouts and at A Space Outside. Arterial Block drew from Foucault’s analysis of bio-power and bio-politics, in which the corporate-state’s control of bodies / biological process is seen to be moving toward totalitarian levels of social control – expressed for example through the taming of social protest. Given the severity of the crisis – the destruction of the biosphere and colonisation of the commons), there is a need to ‘articulate bodies’ in ways that do not conform to the ideology of non-violence.<sup>74</sup> The Human Rights Observer Team (HROT), a group formed by Pa’Chang (associated with Peace Brigades International) and the Federation of Community Legal Centres,

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<sup>69</sup> Interview # 10

<sup>70</sup> Interview # 16 and 22

<sup>71</sup> Interview # 11 and 16

<sup>72</sup> Interview # 16

<sup>73</sup> Interview # 11

<sup>74</sup> Interview # 22

played a non-partisan role in documenting actions and transgressions on all sides, with the intended aim to protecting and developing ‘political space’, which is ‘literally the amount of space an activist has before the consequences of their actions become too great for them’. Thus for HROT, the protection of political space requires a disciplined approach to non-violent protest. The coordinator of HROT thus considered the DoT idea a ‘mis-analysis’ of Seattle, as what made the Seattle protests effective was the non-violent blockade by 5,000 protesters trained in peaceful tactics.<sup>75</sup>

A Space Outside (ASO) was organised in the months leading up to the G20 week, from a group of people who wanted to problematise protest as a reified social practice, critique the cooptation of activism, and demonstrate the political-social possibility of creating an autonomous space outside of the capitalist political economy. They squatted in an abandoned building in Abbotsford for several weeks (before and during the G20 week of actions), until they were forcibly removed by two buses of police on the Friday (the day before the Saturday protests). Their eviction onto the street precipitated a lively street party with food provided by Food Not Bombs. In ASO there were a number of workshops and gatherings: information sharing workshops, protest organising (including Arterial Block), a solidarity kitchen, male privilege workshops, and other demonstrations of alternative forms of social organising. ASO ‘incorporated a safer space policy’, the bases of which was social inclusion, creating awareness about differences in language, gender, (dis)ability, etc. that allow for a sense of safety and comfort through recognition of diversity.<sup>76</sup>

In addition to taking part in the Saturday protest actions organised under StopG20, the Melbourne Social Forum (organising group) had planned a ‘G20 Alternative Forum’ for the Sunday to coincide with the various actions and events that weekend. This eventuated at RMIT university with the support of the RMIT student union. This was small scale, as a complement to the other activities, and it highlighted the MSF’s role as a platform for alternatives. In particular its open space approach to the Sunday forum was more open than MPH’s Thursday forum, although it paled in comparison in terms of the stature of speakers and attendance.<sup>77</sup>

A media collective loosely associated with Melbourne Indymedia practiced activist journalism

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<sup>75</sup> Interview # 11

<sup>76</sup> Interview # 22

<sup>77</sup> As an example, MSF workshops included speakers from Aid/Watch and FoE, while MPH speakers included Wayne Swan, Bob Brown and a prominent government representative from the UK.

through use of microblogging, flicker! and EngageMedia, and covered the event from a van with mobile broadband, as well as through a media space set up in a room at RMIT.

### 5.1.6 Themes in Actors and Agency

The first theme is the transformation of participation. Each example reveals a mutation of the terms of participation from formal to informal, from passive to active, and from proscribed to creative. Conventional volunteerism is awkwardly out of place, participants in these accounts are asked to become co-constructors of social life. In MSF, this is seen through the engagement of participants with workshops and groups; in Plug in TV it is seen through the transformation of audience and media consumers into media producers or activists; in Oases it is seen in the shift in learning from passive content consumer to content collaborator and educational process co-designer.

The next theme is the dual importance of internal composition and external transformation. In the case of the Melbourne social forum we see this as the inner composition of the forum community through knowledge building, knowledge sharing, alternatives development, the pre-figuration of change, alliance building, and the general process of building relationships that can lead to trust and cooperation/collaboration. On the other hand, were efforts at *alter-mondialisme* / worldchanging, campaigns to resist the exploitation of contextually specific commons, and broader efforts at social transformation. The common link with the MSF is movement building, as requisite knowledge, skill, networks and vision are required in order to enact more profound social change.

This theme also comes through with Plug-in TV, where this networked community has worked to compose the internal productive capacities necessary for communicative action, such as the organisational, productive and distributive 'means of media production'. The outer movement for Plug-in TV is the capacity to communicate counter-hegemonic stories, visions and potentials, which include transforming the role of the audience into a participant and (more ambitiously) producer in a peer-to-peer production process.

In community collaborations an inner movement of composition was expressed as building community solidarity, between a diverse number of domains of struggle and peoples, as well as the bridge building process in the meta formation of movements. But most importantly, this inner

movement concerned how agency is framed to begin with, with the need to explicate a counter-hegemonic concept of agency that affirms the potential of communities to create change. An outward movement was not explicitly articulated, but collaborative agency is understood as developing a communicative framework for systemic and structural changes, as opposed to piecemeal reform or modification.

Oases articulates the movements inward and outward with great eloquence. If agency is out of our relational and dialogic inquiry, then the movement inward has a deeply hermeneutic, or conscientising quality, as we begin to cognise through the complex challenges we face, which leads us to new experiments, projects and initiatives that are deeply pre-figurative and personal.

The G20 was the divergent example. As a macro example, there was no real platform for system-wide communication and collaboration building between the various meta-networks. The social space was typified by fragmentation of actors and unequal power dynamics, in a highly competitive relationship to the fulcrum that is / was the media, for example between the spectacle that was StopG20, efforts at containment by the police, efforts at 'cognitive justice' by Indymedia, efforts at inclusion/recognition by the Melbourne Social Forum, efforts at respectability and credibility by Make Poverty History, and efforts at dismissal typified by the G20 itself. The police barricades erected to protect G20 delegates were matched by the self involvement of each meta-networked initiative in its quest to prove its distinctive value, efficacy, and efforts at change.

Organisational strategies differ in this respect between platform development (creating spaces for collaboration), as opposed to efforts at challenging existing systems through advocacy, antagonism, disruption, and critique. Whereas the MSF leans very heavily toward agency as space creating/facilitating, efforts such as StopG20, which the MSF participated in, used antagonism, disruption, and spectacle. As discussed, these are indeed two organisational aspects of a larger movement process. MPH might be seen as a more limited example of both, incorporating space construction and vanguard action, through its clearly articulated aims, but its willingness to draw together a diverse set of advocates within a proscribed platform of expression. Plug-in TV demonstrates the importance of the construction of space for collaboration in the facilitation of coherent action, indeed the process in the composition of Plug-in TV's productions were highly dependent on creating spaces for collaboration, whereas in Oases this is articulated through creating space for authentic and transformational action learning.

Importantly, it seems that to the extent that the inward-outward dynamic functioned, there was a capacity to ‘meta-form’ effectively. Where no spaces existed for dialogue across difference, incoherence between actors and of action was the result.

## **5.2 Analysis of the Social Ecology of Geo-structures**

This analytic window, discussed in chapter two, examines the implication of actors within each account within human structures and the geography of their interactions. The primary themes that emerge include: 1) institutional SEAs are a foundation for counter hegemonic SEAs, and navigating institutional ecologies is a key factor in success, 2) the importance of enfranchisement into *space/place*, including political space, which underpins the capacity for co-presence of diverse actors and the possibility of small to large scale meta-formations, and 3) the planetary implication of actors across multiple levels of geo-structure (local, national, regional and global), in particular the primacy of ‘alternative localisations’ that make possible alternative globalisations.

### *5.2.1 MSF Implication in Geo-Structures*

Analysis of the geo-structural dynamics within the MSF reveals a strong counter-hegemonic SEA within Melbourne, but a much weaker national level ecology of institutional support, possibly reflecting the neo-liberalist and de-politicising tendencies enforced at a federal level, as well as the ‘tyranny of distance’. This analysis begins by describing MSF’s implication through local geo-structure, before moving on to national, regional and planetary implications.

#### *Local geo-structure of counter-hegemonic struggles*

Melbourne has been one of the key centres for activism in Australia, which includes the union movement, indigenous rights, environmental campaigns, and disability rights. The city’s hub and spoke transport model has meant that convergence in the central business district (CBD) is made more possible, while outlying suburbs suffer a converse loss of activist ‘social capital’. The institutional support base in the CBD has come from places like Trades Hall, Ross House, Kindness House, the Social Justice Centre, Friends of the Earth, Green Left Weekly, Irene’s Warehouse, Sustainable Living Foundation and student activism through RMIT and Melbourne University. Because MSF organising is volunteer based, it has required a central location that is

not an over-imposition on people's use of transportation. In addition to this, broad support has come from fair trade / alternative businesses during event organising. Support has also come from across universities, certain academic programs or departments, student bodies and particular lecturers associated with counter-hegemonic knowledges and struggles.<sup>78</sup> Indeed a myriad of supporters from academia have provided important institutional support, adding both legitimacy, logistical and practical support to the events.

Activist hot spots have been important aspects of the Melbourne's SEA, and hence the MSF 'community'. The inner northern suburbs (e.g. Northcote and Brunswick) have been particularly vibrant locales for activism, reflected in the green-left political demographic of these areas, and seen through CERES, where the main MSF events have been held. Moreland City Council (jokingly referred to by some as the 'People's Republic of Moreland') has shown strong support for principles of ethnic inclusion, social justice and sustainability. The MSF has received two grants through Moreland council. Other important places include Borderlands (where two smaller MSF events have been held) in Hawthorn and the Port Philip Eco Centre (where one small MSF was held).

The MSF was incorporated as an association through Victorian law in 2007. The consultation process for this was lengthy and an alternative organising structure was decided upon, rather than the 'basic rules' which most organisations follow. Thus despite being a counter hegemonic actor, MSF has incorporated itself into the institutional matrix of actors at a state level.

#### *National / regional geo-structure*

Australia was quick to adopt social forums. Social forums in Australia include: Brisbane (2002-2006), Sydney (2003-2005), Melbourne (2004-2009), Perth (2005), and Byron Bay. In all, over a dozen social forums have been held in Australia from 2002-2009. Yet little connection developed between them, and besides the occasional visitor from one forum to the other, very few substantive links have been made or even attempted. The other important point here is that, except for the MSF and BSF, no other social forum organising efforts have survived. Thus at one point (2004-2006) there may have been an opportunity to link various forums into a national network, but this opportunity was lost. In late 2009 the BSF launched an initiative to create a

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<sup>78</sup> Including Deakin University, RMIT, Victoria University, Swinburne University of Technology, Latrobe University and Melbourne University

region social forum (e.g. 'Pacific' or 'Asia-Pacific' SF), which the MSF has endorsed and intends to contribute to. The challenge of sustaining forums in Australia is real.

The Howard government (1996-2007), with its pro US and pro neo-liberal agenda was generally hostile toward overtly politicised activism. This included threats to defund or to strip charitable status from NGOs that engaged in what it interpreted as partisan advocacy, with the actualisation of these threats, such as the defunding of Aid/Watch. This became an issue for MSF in 2007, when a number of potential sponsors declined to have their logos used in MSF promotional fliers for the Friday night launch entitled 'Community Responses to the Howard Catastrophe'. The overt critique of Howard and co. apparently could have been construed as partisan advocacy (even though the MSF admits no political parties). In this respect, the capacity to challenge partisan policy by the big NGOs (many INGOs) with charitable status, is conditioned through the de-politicisation of advocacy. Of the Australian / Melbourne based INGOs that are on the WSF International Council: Oxfam, the ACTU, Greenpeace, Friends of the Earth (FoE), and Amnesty International, only FoE has given support to MSF, despite MSF organisers' attempts to garner support from each. MSF also attempted to garner support from unions, but this largely failed, with the exception of two outlier unions. Unions were engaged in a protracted struggle between 2006-2007 to first thwart and later repeal Howard's Work Choices legislation through their 'Your Rights at Work' campaign. While this campaign was modestly successful, it may be worth noting how this multi-union effort focused almost exclusively on the national dimensions of the struggle, while neo-liberalism in many parts of the world is understood as a local manifestations of global and trans-national policy, processes and struggles. The enfolding of Western unionism into the capitalist world economy, the Faustian bargain referred to by Rupert (Rupert, 2000, chap 2), in which a tacit agreement exists between unions and capital, may explain why Australian unions have acted toward securing existing entitlements (important no doubt), but have shied away from broader and more controversial counter-hegemonic struggles (an important exception to this being the S11 actions). The taming of unionism, the de-politicisation of activism and naturalisation of de-politicised environmentalism may form part of a larger context of an 'Anglo-sphere', where what feels natural is Make Poverty History, and where 'another world' need not be possible, indeed that 'other world' may be deeply feared by the 'mainstream'.

#### *Implication in planetary geo-structures*

The discussion on national geo-structures offers an important springboard for discussing

planetary geo-structure. Without the ‘Southern’ or ‘majority world’ struggle against neo-liberalism and for ‘another world’ there would be no MSF.

The MSF’s use of open source software to run its content management systems (CMS) also reveals a de-territorialisation and planetisation of the technological capacity to wage local struggles. The MSF organisers’ acceptance of the planetary as primary was indeed a source of conflict when a geographic-cultural dispute around ‘earth day’ emerged in 2007, where MSF organisers were accused of foisting upon Australia a ‘foreign’ ‘earth day’ as opposed to what is normally celebrated in Australia, the UN’s World Environment Day. This reflects the tension previously alluded to with the 2008 WSF GDA.

*The diversity of structures to which MSF workshops pertain*

In analysing the majority of the 180 or so workshops conducted at the MSF, and noting the particular structures to which each pertained, what was remarkable was the tremendous diversity which appears, reinforcing the specificity to which issues being dealt with. Over thirty five categories emerged in all. Attempts to generalise such structural complexity has been challenging. (See appendix H-9).

Issues at MSF lacked structural abstraction, workshops dealt with specific issues within which problem contexts are understood. As well, while social forums have been positioned by some academic literature as sitting within the category of civil society, most workshops dealt with transforming existing power structures. In my analysis civil society was only referred to three times. The majority of the workshops referred to multiple structures across and beyond the categories of culture, politics and economy.

*Geo-structural discourse within the MSF community*

This next analysis is divided into five primary parts, local, regional, national, transnational or trans regional, and finally planetary. However most of the workshops and discussions at the MSF most often addressed multiple geo-structures, quickly transgressing these categories.

*Local geo-structure*

Workshops that dealt with a local context were very diverse. Some of the key local concerns were

public transport, urban agriculture, cycling, alternative media, craft, community development, food producing/preserving, green renting, cooperative living, and the campaign against channel deepening in Port Phillip Bay. However, more than half of these discussions on local issues also contained planetary concerns. For example discussions on community organising to avert climate change, peak oil transitions, developing bio diesel at home, resource reuse to reduce carbon footprints and local educational initiatives with planetary concerns.

#### *National Geo structure*

National geo-structures concern states as primary categories within which the problem context is conceived. In Australia issues of concern were racial discrimination / indigenous justice, corrupt political lobbying, union and worker rights, nuclear industry and policy, child care and paid maternity leave, neo-liberal policy, and protection for civil liberties. Other workshops and discussions concerned themselves with Iraq (occupation), Mexico (Zapatistas), Venezuela (Bolivarian revolution), East Timor (Australia's support for), Columbia, Cuba, Israel – Palestine, and the US (imperialism).

#### *Trans-national and trans-regional structures*

Many of the discussions here concerned Australia through geopolitical entanglements such as with the US war on terror, US military training in Australia, the occupation of Iraq/Afghanistan, as well as Australia's neo-liberal influence in the Pacific. Other trans-national concerns were focused on the movement and practices of multinational corporations such as the privatisation of Iraq. Transnational concerns included international solidarity campaigns for Palestine, Western Sahara and Iraq. Latin America's shift to the left, and the Bolivarian revolution were also discussed. Trans-regional concerns included indigenous peoples solidarity, protection of forests, and the protection of whales.

#### *Planetary geo-structure*

Possibly the greatest issue of concern within a global frame was climate change and the atmospheric commons, however this was closely coupled with discussions on nuclear power, peak oil, the energy sector, climate justice, and a sustainability emergency. Another large area of concern was global social justice issues such as debt, poverty, people's health and sweatshop work. Biodiversity and the GM industry were also concerns. Finally discussions on anti-

imperialism, for example against US imperialism, corporate imperialism, the war on terror, capitalist exploitation were also prominent, and can be coupled with discussions on global neo-liberal institutions such as the WTO / TRIPS, World Bank, IMF, and APEC.

### *Inner structures*

A number of discussions did not concern any particular ‘outer’ structures, but rather referred to ‘inner’ structures. Examples include ‘the psychology of sustainable behaviour’, ‘the social construction of the institutional dimensions of life’, ‘yoga and meditation, tools for building a sustainable world’, the social construction of race, gender, and power, and ‘what is happiness and how can it be cultivated?’. Many of these ‘inner’ structures connect with the ‘outer’ structures referred to above.

Workshops at the MSF express the concerns of participants there, including reflections on various modes of agency, which are implicated across a wide diversity of structures that are specific to the problem contexts of issues. Analysis of workshops show a very even spread between local/regional, national, transnational/transregional, and planetary concerns, consistent with Santos’ argument of the WSF(P)’s ‘ecology of transcales’. Very few workshops, if any, fitted neatly within any one of these scales, and very many (if not most) were transgressive of narrowly defined scales. Discussions on vegan cooking, for example, also concern reducing our carbon footprint; while global concerns such as neo-liberal policy were addressed through organising local and discreet direct actions such as StopG20 and at APEC.

### *5.2.2 Plug in TV’s Implication in Geo-Structures*

Plug in TV required local structures to enable its development. In particular, it required spaces for association strongly bounded by geography. As it launched into a network style TV production system, the need to meet face to face in a central location became paramount. Use of Melbourne’s City Library study room made congregating possible in a city typified by suburban dispersion. Later, screenings / meetings in the Northern suburbs had the effect of attracting local film buffs, but made meetings more difficult for existing members, and insulated the group from Melbourne’s East, West and South. Getting an office at the Augustine Centre proved to be an enabling structure, but locating meetings in Hawthorn showed the limitations of being located in the Eastern suburbs, as an informal survey (2007) revealed that 90% of members either lived in

the northern or western suburbs, (split relatively evenly), and hence a central location was key. From this experience it has relied on locating public spaces in the CBD for meetings and collaborations, most recently with the Sustainable Living Foundation (2008-2010).

The development of community media production requires intensive collaboration and problem solving, and ‘virtual space’ is no substitute for this. Maintaining and / or adjudicating the integrity of both the organisational process and re-presentative process has meant that formal structures have been added, such as an editorial process and charter to maintain associational integrity (integrity based on the network of actors one is embedded within). Repeatedly, members did not want to be associated with Plug in TV if it communicated a message at odds with their values and sense of integrity.

Implication into local geo-structures entailed both an endogenous structuring of the organisation (an organisational decision making process) that was institutionally embedded within state governance systems (incorporation in Victoria). Key state institutions have been part of Plug in TV's enablement. Swin TV offered initial support for Plug in TV to get a spot on C31, and also supported Plug in TV's first DVD production of season one. Local TV C31 in turn relies on a combination of funding from advertising and the state of Victoria. Attempts were made to do work in new structural domains, via progressive state government and with ethical businesses. Some opportunities were found but Plug in TV found this work problematic and itself more culturally aligned with the activist community.

Building internal structures (both vertical and horizontal) was an important process, often enacted through controversies. Through a number of iterations organisational decision making evolved to match the challenges and requirements of a locally based yet ideologically prismatic production network, from informal to more formal structure, and then to an osmotic / semi-permeable ‘workocracy’ (combination of hierarchy and horizontalism), where s/he who does work has a say in the organisation's direction. Institutionalisation via structures and rules was part of the stabilisation of the organisation, yet this did not resolve the underlying asymmetries between an activist campaign mindset (horizontalism) with institution building (verticalist) mindset. Plug in TV felt the growing pains of wearing new institutional clothes, an office, paying for insurance, rent and being a legal association.

#### *Implication in national geo-structure*

Support from the federal governments unemployment benefit scheme (UBS), through a skills development grant that led to an OpenChannel training, helped one of the founders to develop his skills and qualifications for community media production, and allowed that person to be recognised and accepted by C31.

*Implication into planetary geo-structures*

Plug in TV is implicated in planetary geo-structures through an extensive reliance on de-territorialised communications systems. This includes the array of (seemingly invisible but energy intensive) web servers that can host large video files and act as distributive networks, and the sprawling open source community in many parts of the world that are developing an increasingly robust technology commons. These include tools for networking, collaboration, video editing, and file compression, as well as content management systems. Such an evolving planetary media community and architecture allows for the utilisation of non-local production systems and possibilities of fluid syndication / distribution.

Yet the phenomenon of embodied movements is equally important. At certain points the issue of geographic dispersion became acute, as members seemed to be constantly coming and going to and from various parts of the world, making Plug in TV a sort of transient community, and making local continuity a challenge. Movements included to and from: East Timor, the Philippines, Canada, the US, Venezuela, Chile, Burma, Vietnam, India, and across various parts of Australia. This movement of members (trans-locality) is stabilised by communicative platforms that form a defacto 'home'. Physical, local congregation has been dependent on the use of deterritorialised systems (ICT) used by local networks.

The Plug in TV crew list-serve implicated people into the associative / semiotic identity which is Plug in TV. While bodies move beyond the local (trans-localising), de-territorialised ICT systems help to centre and form collective identity, as well as coordinate and facilitate local collaborations. Both physical and semiotic movements implicate Plug in TV's members into planetary solidarities, (discussed in section on histories / ontogenies). Both planetary-virtual and local-physical public spaces are key and can be seen as reciprocating / reinforcing local to planetary geo-structures.

### *Re-presentative dimensions*

In many ways Plug-in TV began as an effort to showcase many of the local actors, alternatives and issues in the Melbourne community. This included representations of groups like Food not Bombs, Friends of the Earth, 3CR and Steiner education.<sup>79</sup> Earlier representations connect with Santos' concept of alternative localities; Plug-in TV expressed this by documenting alternative local sources of agency and change, and providing alternative journalistic coverage of local issues. Networked participation in the group had a strong impact on the shifts of focus, as personal backgrounds and relational factors strongly influenced the issues that members addressed. The focus on Melbourne based / Australian issues expanded greatly in seasons 2-4, to include issues and alternatives in places like East Timor, the Philippines, India, West Papua and Cambodia. More recent years have focused on a planetary frame of challenges and issues, such as global institutions and climate change.

### *5.2.3 Community Collaboration's Implication in Geo-Structures*

Community Collaborations emerge through a 'national' conversation across a number of social forums in Australia. Conversations with people involved in BSF, and activist leaders in Melbourne established a committee for an Australian social forum. The committee meetings happened in Melbourne, however, and the 'committee' was in essence a Melbourne based one. As one participant explained:

*The assessment from talking to [inter]state people was that they did not have energy for national social forum / not enough resources to organise nationally, and thus focusing locally would give lay ground work / build local capacity and this would in turn help to build toward national capacity.<sup>80</sup>*

The group was reflective of the alternative 'green left' in Melbourne, however it was also not ideologically bound to this, with inclusion of non-activist and institutional social justice actors. Those involved came from a variety of established non-mainstream institutions, including magazines, peak bodies, unions, universities and prominent activist groups. Among the groups, there was certainly the required leadership base to institutionalise CC if wanted. However, CC

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<sup>79</sup> See Appendix J.

<sup>80</sup> Interview #19

was deliberately maintained as a de-institutionalised and informal space. The group's predilection was toward de-institutionalised forms of activism and informality. As well the group grew only 'organically' via word of mouth. Internet was only used to keep those involved informed about meeting minutes and meeting minutes, not for extensive networking and public advertising. Attempts were made to create an on-line presence via the MSF website, but the effectiveness of this in getting people involved proved limited.

CC was by far the most de-institutionalised of all the accounts. It was very informal, yet brought together community leaders that were in (relative) positions of power (though not within the main structures of power, but within positions of advocacy, intellectual leadership, unions, etc.). As such, they worked within established parameters of influence. Turning CC into a structural instrument for influence was never fully articulated or desired, the group was never seen as an end in itself. Creating a safe space was of co-presence was key:

*It is hard to find the trust to have this creative space - in CC there was always this trust. Also we can't get coherence in front of a computer - in CC we can move rapidly face to face.<sup>81</sup>*

The group seemed to strongly favour an approach that would communicate with various parts of the community, across thematic and ontological differences to mobilise community-based change. For CC change came from the grassroots, when communities inter-generated the necessary cohesion, formulation, and power. Institutional power and people power were therefore considered to be somewhat binary. To create change, movements had to be built from the grassroots from disparate social spaces in order to exert force upon institutional power structures. This would need to include 'group process that would span both community and activist sectors and strategically network across sectors...'<sup>82</sup>

#### *5.2.4 Oases' Implication in Geo-Structures*

The Augustine Centre (now called 'Habitat') is an offshoot of the Uniting Church of Australia. Since the 1970s, somewhat controversially, it had become a centre for personal development,

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<sup>81</sup> Interview #9

<sup>82</sup> Interview #24

healing and eclectic spirituality. While still part of the institution of the Church, it nevertheless had more autonomy in its development, some of which created tension between the Augustine community and the governance of the Uniting Church. Borderlands was established in the late 1990s as a community development and research centre. It was a response to the obliteration of community development as a professional practice by the Kennett government (1992-1999) in Victoria.

The formation of the 'Genesis' group provided early support for the idea and project, and brought together dozens of people, many working within mainstream institutions such as local governments, community development agencies, and universities. Early network associations included 'RMIT, Swinburne, Monash, Latrobe, Victoria and Melbourne universities; organisations such as FoE (Friends of the Earth), MSF (Melbourne Social Forum), AVI (Australian Volunteers International) and many other associations such as AASW (Australian Association of Social Workers), VCOSS' (Oases, 2007, p. 72).

This early development also had a parallel planetary thread, as one of the founders took a trip around the world to visit established and well-regarded alternative tertiary educational initiatives, in a scope-ing and consultative exercise. Some of the places visited were Schumacher College in the UK; Ontario Institute for Studies in Education in Toronto, Naropa Institute in Colorado, the California Institute of Integral Studies, and others. What emerged from this was a global community of educational initiatives that provided consultative guidance, direction and support. One of the key lessons that emerge from this was the importance of formal accreditation of programs, to establish the veracity and credibility of the learning environment for potential students as well as for the community. Thus, in a boomerang effect, one of the key lessons from the global tour, was the importance of establishing institutional credibility within a regional and state context. It was a student doing a student placement at Borderlands who obtained the application for accreditation, then others in the Genesis group began to work on the document. As one of the founders stated: 'my doubts about accreditation were not so well-founded... it was more possible than I had imagined'.<sup>83</sup>

The positioning of the program, how it conceived of places where participants might be found, is complex. Early assumptions were that the program would appeal to community development

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<sup>83</sup> Interview # 17

sectors, activists (such as the MSF community) and more broadly the concept of ‘cultural creatives’ that had been popularised by Ray and Anderson (Ray, 2000). This assumption was challenged by some simple but productive relationships with a bookstore (Readings) and other places where interested people emerged. Advertisements in places such as Living Now magazine, who promoted themselves as a ‘cultural creatives’ readership/audience, bore little fruit. Others felt that this cultural creatives / community development worker / activists focus was too narrow and not necessarily the best place to find interested parties and also saw the ‘corporate sector’ and ‘government sector’ holding great potential. As another of the founding members expressed it: ‘There is the global justice constellation, but there seems to be an assumption within the Oases community [that we are looking for] social workers, alternates [e.g. cultural creatives]. I think that is very limiting to our constituency – that is not my constituency most of the time, and I am convinced that Oases is very important to my constituency – the corporate domain, people who are aware or know what [the word] ‘leadership’ means. The choice to change from ‘leadership’ to ‘studies’ was indicative of this [alternates position] – [for me Oases] is all about servant leadership’.<sup>84</sup> In this way preconceptions about where (i.e. what domains) one engages in limited the potential for the development of Oases:

*The ‘otherist’ nature of so much of what we do – conceiving of those who are not us as other, forming stereotypical beliefs about them, can be problematic to our own sustainability. If we look at what we have done with the Oases network, it really is coming from the individual. To think of the corporate sector as a single thing is manifestly untrue – loads of individuals [in the corporate domain] are socially responsible – but in their environment it has not been productive.<sup>85</sup>*

The emergence and development of Oases is implicated in a complex field of institutional actors, that express counter hegemonic practices and visions in often counter intuitive ways. The mainstream institution of the Church was one early institutional link, with much broader support from a Genesis community embedded within a variety of community-based agencies and educational niches. A planetary community of support, also embedded in variegated structures of legitimation, helped Oases to move towards a local form of institutional credibility via the state of Victoria. Assumptions about who can be a potential participant have expanded into those working in government as well as businesses and corporations who are working for change. Oases shows

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<sup>84</sup> Interview # 18

<sup>85</sup> Interview # 18

how the very way that boundaries and categories of inclusion or domains are created in the first place is indeed foundational, and can either open or close possibilities to connect with those in dramatically different organisational environments. Oases' preconceptions and reflexivity in relation to the 'other' was foundational to its ability to engage with a more whole system to create change.

### *5.2.5 G20 Convergence Implication in Geo-Structures*

Local and regional processes converged upon this meeting in Melbourne in 2006, at once articulating an alternative globalisation while equally expressing an alternative localisation not straight jacketed into compliance with the hegemonic vision of neo-liberal globalisation. All these local networks drew inspiration, if not practical support, from international sources. MPH emerged in the UK, but had its Australian counterpart. The StopG20 coalition was composed of mostly Australians, but drew inspiration from the global 'protest cycle' against corporate globalisation. The Melbourne Social Forum was one of hundreds of social forum organising efforts around the world. A Space Outside was in part inspired by anti-capitalist autonomism, which also formed part of the protest cycle. The G20 itself is geographically diverse. This account therefore is particularly interested in examining a local manifestation (G20 Convergence) deeply implicated in planetary geo-structures.

The G20 as a body is 'representative' of the majority of the world's population. The G20 as an association of nation-states represents a distinct example of planetary geo-structure. And yet the G20 was created by the G7/G8 in the aftermath of the Asian Financial Crisis. It can be seen as a gesture toward a more representative process of global economic management, and as an effort to rescue global capitalism from its legitimisation crisis.

MPH organising efforts were disbursed across Australia, between organisers in Adelaide, Sydney and Melbourne. MPH, while not belonging to the field of institutional power, proved extremely adept at managing and influencing this field of institutional power. By de-associating with the protest process, it was able to avoid the barrage of negative press that ensued. And by establishing a strong approach to creating media awareness using concerts, and by including leading intellectuals and advocates in their Thursday forum, it was able to show itself as more progressive than the G20 itself, which largely avoided issues concerning climate and poverty, (never its

mandate in the first place).

Security for the event included a substantive operation on behalf of federal and Victorian police, the use of new surveillance technologies (and more police cameras than activist cameras), water filled blockades that cut off public access to the Hilton in Melbourne (but which were smaller than the fortress high blockades during the WEF september 11<sup>th</sup> meeting in Melbourne).

The StopG20 coalition brought together an umbrella network of protests and carnival. The spokes-council had, in principle, decided upon non-violent protest in the spirit of Reclaim the Streets, yet there were no real disciplinary structures of enforcement (such as marshals) within the protest body, and light training that would mitigate against DoT. The StopG20 coalition also communicated extensively with the police regarding their intention to hold the non-violent protest and carnival type action.

HROT meetings with police before the protest alleviated fears that police would use the new Victorian Community Safety Terrorism Act. The HROT included 28 trained volunteers that took copious notes during the protest. Both meetings with police before the protests and observations during the protest was intended to mitigate against excessive use of police force.

As the protest and carnival unfolded, thousands of people marched toward police baracades, together with a number of trucks with sound equipment used for speeches and music. While some of the police blockades were typified by a festive air, such as the corner in which the MSF army truck took a position, many became pressure cookers between protesters and police, and small groups of protesters in white overalls or clad in balaclavas (some wielding steel pipes) resorted to low level violence (throwing water bottles) and verbal abuse (such as calling police ‘pedophiles’ and threatening their families). Informed by the Ombudsmans report on police use of force during S11, police displayed a high level of initial restraint (by comparison to the S11 protest), yet over time police restraint deteriorated, and riot police as well as plain clothed police attacked protesters with batons, and arrested other protesters.<sup>86</sup>

A Space Outside’s critique of the cooptation of activism (‘professionalised activism’) can be construed as a disownment of the work of organisations and institutions enmeshed in the

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<sup>86</sup> Interview # 11

capitalist political economy. A number of grassroots organisations participated in forming ASO's solidarity economy, such as Food not Bombs, fair trade groups and participants. ASO, including its decision to squat an un-used building, was a creative experiment in living outside the capitalist political economy. An ASO reader critiqued hypocrisy within the MPH campaign, showing the organisational fissures of a celebrity driven event compromised by corporate and state power (Anonymous, 2006). ASO attempted to create an intellectual and spatial cleavage between it and implication into existing structures of power, powers that coopt a movements out of capitalist commodification. One particular article in the ASO reader challenged Oxfam for its dependence on government money (in the UK), in particular money from the 'Department for International Development (DfID), which is a major champion of privatisation' (Anonymous, 2006, p. 51).

Highlighting the organisational ambiguities within the Victorian police, the MSF's involvement in the Saturday protest had been 'approved' by a section of the police force (the MSF has previously met with a police intelligence unit after being contacted by them), but on the day, on the ground police barred the MSF army truck from moving. At this point MSF members made phone calls to their police contacts who has given MSF approval, to bargain with police on the ground. Eventually, when the police lost interest in the army truck, it was driven and parked next to a police barracade off Collins St. With its DJ sound system, the MSF truck helped disburse balaclava masked protesters wielding steel pipes, and instead created a rave scene, followed by a George Bush with dominatrix performance, and laughing yoga.

Besides its involvement in the Saturday protest, the MSF's substantive work was hosting the G20 Alternative on a Sunday. This was supported by the RMIT student union, and the event was held at RMIT's Swanson Street campus, behind the main buildings in the plaza area. Workshops were conducted in the main building, and keynote speakers and food (provided by Lentil as Anything) were located in the Plaza area. Sadly, during the event one of the caterers from Lentil as Anything there to cook lentil-burgers was abducted by secret police in an unmarked white van, (off Swanson street while in a convenience store buying supplies for the event). This cast a cloud over the event, as organisers were forced to warn attendees to walk home in twos and threes, so as to not get abducted themselves! It was later learned a secret police squad was abducting people they thought were perpetrators of the Saturday violence. The MSF event had been caught in the interplay between state-police processes, and the consequences of activist DoT. This instance can be seen as an example of the broader trend in the criminalisation of dissent and restriction / loss of political space, compounded by fracturing and competition between different AGM actors. I

draw out the implications for this in scenario four in the concluding chapter,

### *5.2.6 Themes in Geo-Structure*

The first theme that can be offered is the importance of local social ecologies of counter hegemonic actors-in-structures, that provide support, space and which can form reciprocating and mutually beneficial relationships. In the case of the MSF, a broad ecology of support had existed predating the forum, and had developed parallel to the forum. Indeed, this social ecology is what makes up a forum community in the first place, and it is very difficult to imagine how a social forum could emerge without a context of counter hegemonic actors. In the example of Plug-in TV the activist green-left community in Melbourne was the foundational context for it to draw its content and structural supports. In the example of Community Collaborations, participants held relatively prominent positions in a variety of institutional or semi-institutional settings in the Melbourne community, in organisations that were in some respects explicitly counter hegemonic, but often in organisations embedded as more naturalised aspects of the institutional field of left actors. Oases members also belong/ed to recognised institutions, in particular in academic environments and in the corporate world, but also in community development, health, and social welfare organisations, as well as to less established activist organisations and groups. Each of these examples shows how such initiatives draw from a SEA of rich complexity and diversity, where a variety of individuals and members come together.

Another theme that emerges is how space should not be considered in the abstract, but as an expression of political and economic structures of common empowerment. Spaces are real, they are places where people can meet and work together to create something together. In each of these examples we see the importance of physical spaces which allow for the ‘co-presence’ of participants to work together to create, dialogue, and debate.<sup>87</sup> This can be seen for example with Community Collaborations, which met at a well-established activist organisation often used for incubating initiatives. CC was a space where people could take off their institutional titles, and relate more authentically with each other sharing common concerns. In Plug-in TV such co-presence was indeed fundamental to the capacity for collaborative media production, with all its messy details. Plug in TV has relied on public spaces such as libraries, activist and community hubs, and activist friendly businesses, to come together to work. The MSF as well has relied on

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<sup>87</sup> ‘Copresence’ is a term used by Jacques Boulet to describe a core aspect of community building, the embodied and mutual presence of people together, as opposed to the trend toward virtualised communities.

finding physical space in Melbourne's CBD for its meetings and planning processes, using the spaces of affiliated organisations or activist/community hubs. And in the example of Oases, space is fundamental, as it is actively created through art and music, and in sensual dialogue. A Space Outside is unique here as an attempt to carve out a space for co-presence outside of the capitalist political economy. The capacity for co-presence, so fundamental to the meta-formative potential required to remake the world, relies on political and economic enfranchisement in public spaces. In these examples the ecology of counter hegemonic actors, together with the legacy of social democracy, such as public libraries, provide such spaces for initiatives of change.

In counterpoint to the importance of central local spaces, another important thread was the planetary context within which each initiative or example was situated. This can also be considered a planetary ecology, but it is far more tenuous and emergent than its local counterpart. The MSF emerged as a local manifestation of the WSF, and part of the constellation of social forums around the world and in Australia, yet there has been little connection with this network of actors. For Oases, the planetary cohort of alternative tertiary educational initiatives has been quite fundamental to how Oases has conceived itself, yet regular interaction within this or between these only exists organically and by virtue of individual relationships and networks.

Within Plug-in TV, the incredible diversity of emerging media initiatives around the world, from Current TV, Indymedia, Telesur, Witness, and others provide a conceptual and operational context for how it is conceived, and yet coordination and collaboration with these has been challenging and limited. And with the case of the G20 Convergence, StopG20 was conceived in the context of the anti-globalisation protests cycle, as well as Reclaim the Streets, and yet trans-national collaborations only existed with the case of MPH with its UK connections, and somewhat with the MSF's G20 Alternative, which hosted a handful of South American campaigners brought out to Australia by the Latin American Solidarity Network (LASNET).

We might say that the planetary context works through symbolic solidarities and an emerging noetic environment, more than operational trans-national collaboration, which is more difficult. Overall the spatial implications of the various issues that these different groups aim to address fluidly move across categories of local, national, regional and global dimensions. The transgressive nature of issues reveals a simultaneity in the contexts that concern groups and individuals working for change. These are the emerging planetary contexts of the agency-structure of actors.

In between, the level of national institutional support seemed to be the weakest. Community Collaborations initial efforts to create a national social forum quickly contracted into a local initiative. For the MSF, connections and relationships with other social forums were weak or nonexistent, and most other social forum initiatives have fizzled. And with Oases, interstate collaborations has been slow to emerge.<sup>88</sup> Finally with Plug-in TV interstate collaborations have been weak.

The way that institutions and structures are conceived and projected in these different examples has led to an important divergence. The examples that express the greatest ‘success’ in terms of their own capacity to develop and express advocacy, have been those that were able to navigate institutional power with great care and nuance. The two best examples are Oases and MPH. Oases’ capacity to work with institutional bodies, and not counter-pose itself automatically to state or corporate power has allowed it to draw both legitimacy and participation from a variety of structural and institutional environments. With MPH, their ability to successfully navigate institutions such as political parties (the Australian Labor party), media, city councils, allowed them to be the ‘winners’ during the G20 Convergence, and make the biggest impact in terms of articulating and conveying a vision of change to three audience categories. To a lesser extent the MSF and Plug-in TV have both accepted the need to work with institutional contexts to further their success, and have accepted incorporation into Victorian law as associations, but have been slower and more conservative in moving out of ‘activist’ and ‘civil society’ spaces. In *A Space Outside*, institutional and structural fields of power were critiqued as complicit in the political economy of capitalism and hence rejected; ASO was in turn treated with great suspicion by the Victorian State, and later antagonised by the police. This is not to imply that their conscious distancing from institutional power was not warranted and justified, indeed the ASO Reader offers a well articulated critique of MPH (Anonymous, 2006). Yet this active rejection is difficult to sustain in the layered geo-structural context that is Melbourne, Victoria, and Australia.

### **5.3 Analysing the Social Ecology of Cognitions**

This analytic window, discussed in chapter two, examines how the actors within each account

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<sup>88</sup>One notable example of this being the Kanyini course co-organised by Bob Randal and Oases.

view their world, through political ideologies, cultural frames, and embodied ways of knowing. The primary themes that emerges here are: 1) the prismatic characteristic of organisational forms, a diversity of ways of knowing moving toward greater coherence, and 2) the challenge of this given the potential for polarisation, and thus the need for depolarising processes.

### *5.3.1 Cognition within the Melbourne Social Forum*

The most basic knowledge brought to bear within MSF organising is event organising / event management. While this is a professional field in its own right, and most MSF organisers have come with little event management experience, they have nevertheless thrust themselves into the challenge of making forums a success. Acknowledgement by the MSF team that this was a lot of what is done emerged between 2005-2007, as organisers cited and used examples such as Burning Man and Earthcore as relevant precedents.

By 2007 a programmed approach to roles and role knowledge and practice was forming into soft policy. Between 2007-2009 a differentiation of knowledges within the group toward distinct organiser roles began (though these were pretty light and the role making prefigured any real knowledge about the role). Thus a documentation of roles began after the 2007 event. One advantage has been how each organiser has brought different skills and capabilities that are often complementary. Underpinning this is a tacit understanding of the MSF charter, decision making rules and principles that has facilitated deliberative decision making, but has also been a point of tension.<sup>89</sup>

A previously mentioned, ‘creating a space’ is a key form of agency for MSF organisers. Thus methodological knowledge about how open space works and how to make it work is important. Part of this has entailed twining culture (arts, performance, film) and workshops, with poor integration and execution in 2004 / 2007 and strong integration and execution in 2005 / 2009.<sup>90</sup> These can be considered expressions of aesthetic, spatial and methodological ‘intelligences’ or knowledges.

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<sup>89</sup> This includes frustration by some of the use of ‘veto’ power within consensus decision making processes, the slower process of decision making this entails, and issues concerning the devolution of decision making to individuals and working groups.

<sup>90</sup> Perhaps the ‘creating a space’ idea can also be explained from the point of view of its violation – as with the abduction of the lentil burger chef at the G20 Alternative.

As part of event organising, cognising a ‘domain’ (in Trist’s language) is important. Organisers express a tacit understanding of a ‘normative field’, an imagined domain which includes a number of issues, perspectives, groups and people. Through 07 to 09 this was made explicit through MSF organiser knowledge in outreach and media, and the identification of hundreds of groups in Victoria that potentially fit within this imagined counter-hegemonic field of actors. This entails an understanding of the ideological perspectives that ‘draws on a deeper level of knowledge of the local organisational ecology that individuals have developed over a long period of activist and community development work.’<sup>91</sup>

Tacit acknowledgements of an ideological landscape has been used to avoid communication problems and get the best suited MSF organiser talking to the right person / organisation, expressed as preventative measures when dealing with a multiplicity of actors, and especially where MSF has sought collaboration between groups, but also to foster collaboration between cognitively diverse actors.<sup>92</sup> This fits strongly within Santos’ argument that efforts at counter hegemonic globalisation require processes that ‘depolarise pluralities’ through pragmatic practices.<sup>93</sup>

Finally, MSF organisers express what might be called ‘e-valuative cognition’. The logic and value of evaluation is very much part of the team, for example through reviews in 05 / 07 / 09. Part of this has been a cyclic pattern between a ‘summer period’ of intense event organising and a ‘winter period’ of hibernation, gestation, reflection.<sup>94</sup> This has allowed the MSF to evolve, for example experimenting with smaller scale events, cultural interventions, and other changes. The final part of evaluative cognition is the impetus for organisational sustainability and reproduction, or more generally the challenge of continuity, or generating and reproducing the MSF organisation, which has also followed a cyclic pattern of flow and renewal.<sup>95</sup> The cultural context for this is a strong evaluative community development culture among Melbourne’s SEA, pioneered by action researchers such as Wadsworth (Wadsworth, 1997).

### *Participant cognition*

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<sup>91</sup> From group feedback, email communication, April 2010.

<sup>92</sup> Though this local imaginary is contested, with some highly resistant to old leftist inclusion because of their reputation for proselytising.

<sup>93</sup> Early on, some ideological conflicts had to be actively depolarised in organisation meetings

<sup>94</sup> This cyclic learning process corresponds to the WSF(P) macro learning cycle.

<sup>95</sup> Though learning in this area has been slow and organisational sustainability has been precarious.

An ‘accurate’ picture of the ideological, or cognitive landscape of the MSF is impossible – too many actors and differences exist between actors. What I attempt to do here is to characterise some of the congruencies, diversities and controversies based on the workshops. Seven main categories emerged. In order of size they were: Left, Green, Indigenous, Anti/Alter-global, Ecumenical Civil Disobedience, Pragmatist, Development, and Cosmopolitan. I explain each in turn.

Left hardly indicates a unified field. ‘Old left’ Marxism and Trotskyism was a current, but many simply identified themselves broadly as ‘left’. A few were visibly ‘new left’, including the ‘Bolivarian left’ and discussions surrounding the Venezuela model of development and change, as well as local indigenous left, and inspiration from the Zapatistas.

Green was equally a variety of things, including propositions for relocalisation, Friends of the Earth’s unique integration of ecological and social justice issues, green lifestyles, urban ecology, climate science, energy literacy, ecology of planetary systems. In addition to these at least eight workshops expressed ‘foresight’ through a precautionary principle in tacit form in relation to eco-systemic knowledge around specific areas of concern.

The category of ‘Indigenous’ was equally diverse. Aboriginal justice spokespersons were most prominent, both from ‘blackfella’ and ‘whitefella’ perspectives, covering issues such as Camp Sovereignty, Black GST, genocide, psychological relationship with the land, international (ICC) law and Australian government human rights abuses, historical dispossession and land rights, and what non-indigenous peoples can do for reconciliation. However in the broad category of ‘indigenous’ were also indigenous struggles from Latin America and the Pacific.

In the category of anti/alter-globalist were examples where attempts at meta-discursive and meta-formative conversations displayed a ‘prismatism’. This again was very diverse, including some anti-globalisation, anti-capitalist, anti-corporate, alter-globalist, opensource commons, global justice, global policy and law and the social forum process / movement.<sup>96</sup>

To complement ideologically explicit prismatic inter-knowledges, were what can be called ‘pragmatic’ knowledges focused on ‘how to do x’, and which made few references to specific

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<sup>96</sup> Prismatic workshops have been held on media (Transmission / Engagemedia), education (Oases), Justice for Palestine, the WSF(P), debt-poverty, climate change and ‘Life after capitalism’, to name some.

knowledge systems and discourses. This included workshops on exposing industry-government collusion, developing campaign strategies, community development to deal with energy descent and climate change (Transition Towns), organic food production, craftivism, freeganism / dumpster diving, urban ecology, getting kids to make environmental art and think about environment, stopping whaling, establishing co-operatives, online community networks, creating mental wellness, and cooperative / sustainable lifestyles.

Much of the 'how to' in the aforementioned workshops were paralleled by workshops focusing on development issues, some from community development perspectives, online community development, community organising, Participatory Action Research, and responses to communities in crisis (e.g. the climate threat to Pacific Islands and bushfire ravaged communities in Victoria such as Kinglake).

Finally, a grouping can be found in traditions practicing civil disobedience. For example, there were workshops on meditation and sustainability, Gandhian philosophy and its applications, Buddhist reflections on transport, the practice of fasting (Climate Fast), Peace and Anti-War activism through non violence, and workshops inspired by thinkers and writers including Thoreau, Gandhi, P.R. Sarkar and others. As Santos pointed out, the religious and ecumenist basis of WSF(P) participants is both undervalued and under-analysed, and key WSF organisers such as Houtart (Houtart, 2001) and Whitaker (Whitaker, 2007) have come from such traditions.

Overall naming cognition in the forum process is challenging and precarious. Other 'knowledges' may include that of the sexually marginalised or from international solidarity campaigns (Palestine, Western Sahara). In the area of human rights were workshops on cosmopolitanism, global ethics, and global justice (e.g. for climate refugee rights). Other perspectives included Geogist / geoist, Anarchist / autonomist, health promotion / sociology of health, multi-culturalism, and positive psychology. Conscientising and re-framing approaches drew from social constructionist, constructivist, critical-historical, and Freirian perspectives. At the most basic level workshops and activities play a conscientizing role, they are popular education open to anyone. However this conscientising education is thematically and strategically diverse.

While these delineations were made, what is remarkable about cognition and knowledge within the MSF is first the specificity of the perspectives that defy easy categorisation as within one ideology or another; secondly how easily one perspective bleeds into the next, or straddles

multiple knowledges (e.g. Transition Towns as both CD, PAR, climate science, energy literacy, etc.); thirdly, the way that some workshops explicitly display prismaticism (the tendency to consciously include many knowledge systems and perspectives);<sup>97</sup> and fourthly, pragmatism (the tendency to ignore ideology altogether and focus on the ‘how to’). These insights seem to contradict the possibility of locating ‘true’ discursive patterns that neatly match and explain the evidence, as well as efforts to use forums as the empirical fodder for particular ideological arguments (e.g. WSF as cosmopolitan civil society vs. Gramscian civil society). Cognition and knowledge in the MSF is fundamentally counter-hegemonic, forming a relational field in the development of a SEA, yet the nature of this is problematic in its interpretation.

### *5.3.2 Cognition within Plug in TV*

The knowledges that inform Plug in TV are analysed into four areas: 1) productive knowledge in media, 2) community and network development knowledge, 3) contextual / conscientising knowledge, and 4) representational knowledge.

Plug in TV expresses productive knowledge. Grassroots film production and distribution requires technical knowledge in the ‘how to’ of the process of video production. It may be considered a type of counter hegemonic knowledge in the sense of destabilising the 20th century model of media production typified by high concentrations of corporate or state control, and the inaccessibility of production to the majority of the public. Also involved is knowledge about sourcing (from networks) and distributing through networks.

In the team, the complementarity of diverse skills and knowledge was important.

Complementarity was the basis for how Plug in TV as a social enterprise was made possible, with some members doing web development, others video editing, or filming, DVD authoring, and still others file compressing. An ecology of technical know-how, much on the margins of a dominant production system, was necessary. This knowledge of the production process has been an on-going development – anyone ‘off the street’ is encourage to become a producer (to ultimately produce high quality content for C31 or the web). Supporting an ecology of technical know-how is the open source and free culture movement, and the use of creative commons license and GNU (Lessig, 2005), which when combined with a cultural disposition of the media

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<sup>97</sup> For a good example of this is the MSF Friday 07 launch, which brought together Helena Norberg-Hodge, Stephen Mayne, Verity Burgmann, and Aunty Sue Rankin.

hack, allows for auto-productive and peer-to-peer potentials to emerge.

This ecology of technical knowledge was made possible through another set of knowledges: community and network development. Knowledge of how to draw upon an energetic field of interested people through networking, and to facilitate media production and organisational development allows such a technical ecology to form in the first place. Part of this facilitator knowledge is dealing with epistemic diversity, as ideological differences emerged between members, in some cases leading to conflicts. When people were driven, they were often also ideologically driven, and the problem of ‘single-loop learning’ recurred where members assumed different strategies and values without understanding how different members carry different notions of what are acceptable associations and representations.<sup>98</sup> Thus also important was knowledge of mediation / conflict resolution, and approaches for ‘depolarising pluralities’ and creating common ground. Finally, knowledge of organisational development through the reproduction of organisers and producers was key. Plug in TV as an alternative depends on organisers and producers finding new organisers and producers.

Contextual and conscientising knowledge, as embodied in members is also foundational. People need to know about, care about and be connected to, or understand, issues so that they can document them. One of the original problems Plug in TV faced in the first year (2005) was that of new members and young people with technical skills, who lacked an understanding of social context, or concern for social and environmental issues. Conscientised people are key in driving production processes and understanding social issues.

Finally, there is representational knowledge - what Plug in TV actually showed / shows through TV, DVD or the Web through its 40+ short documentaries. Plug in TV has focused on the experience of counter hegemonic actors. The two founders established the practice of drawing from the experience of Melbourne activists and SEA, in the quest to highlight and amplify the voices of change.

Cognition in this sense is about ‘conscientising media’ - counter-hegemonic or disruptive media in a variety of forms. A strong commitment is to activist experience and ‘vox pop’ (voice of the

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<sup>98</sup> Developed by organisational development theorists Argyris and Schön, ‘Single loop learning’ describes operational modifications when organisational problems occur, while ‘double loop learning’ described questioning and shifting the underlying assumptions (strategies, purposes, models) that people hold in respect to the organisation’s being.

people), especially the knowledges of people creating change. It is counter-posed to apolitical media, and affirms that political knowledge and knowledge of social change is legitimate. Representational knowledge has also required the development of editorial processes that adjudicate what knowledges and representations are credible and which ones are not, as well as the normative boundaries by which representations happen.<sup>99</sup> Limits exist to platform horizontalism, as disputes have arisen in regard to certain representations that have required structured decision making. This follows Santos' 'ecology of knowledges' argument – knowledge here could not be a relativist free for all, but a space where some representations are judged superior to others, and some not acceptable at all.<sup>100</sup>

### 5.3.3 Cognition within Community Collaborations

CC brought together community and activist leaders in a knowledge sharing process, and therefore the contextual awareness in the group was high. Much of the rationale for the group was centred around what can be termed 'meta-cognizing'. CC was seen as an opportunity for creating a capacity for strategic thinking and interlinking – this strategic vision emerging through dialogic assemblage of parts and strands of issues into a broader strategic landscape.

While CC did not manage to ultimately achieve this, participants felt CC should be about articulating shared values and purposes toward a larger communicative framework. Getting to a strategic communication framework meant clarifying the shared values of a counter-hegemonic actor-network that could be effective in mobilising a 'mainstream'.

*If [it] works well it will get clarity between many groups before anybody hits the streets, so we have already dissected and found out what the weaknesses are and have found out what the message is and what gets taken forward, but there [must be] an essential message.<sup>101</sup>*

By weaving together the strands of the struggles, the basis for meta-organising can be created.

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<sup>99</sup> This connects quite strongly with Santos' conception of an 'ecology of knowledges' as a process of confrontation and debate, rather than a relativised 'anything goes'.

<sup>100</sup> Such controversies include docs on: a 911 conspiracy theories, the Big Switch Off campaign, Australian involvement in East Timor, the quality of documentaries and production process, etc.

<sup>101</sup> Interview #8

One participant articulated this as the new role of the organic intellectual in the 21<sup>st</sup> century: ‘The bridge builder is key – to communicate to different people in different languages and perspectives... [who] hold the contradiction of many elements and transcend these contradictions to create something new’.<sup>102</sup> The metaphor of ‘bridge building’ was foundational, and included bridging themes / issues, bridging organisational / social spaces, and bridging ideological perspectives, as ‘The single issue focus does not work because we don’t experience our lives through single issue, but rather as a complex of issues.’<sup>103</sup> This weaving of an emergent commons requires a cognitive reflexivity as ‘We are coming out of a schematic politics, where there are political templates that we force on reality, as opposed to going to people and asking people what it is they want from life.’<sup>104</sup>

The second aspect of cognition within CC was the importance of reasserting collective struggle as the basis for present day goods such as universal suffrage, social health, equity in education, and human rights; notions lost in Howard-era framings of change. The sharing of stories of struggles, cognising of time, stories of social change (how a group of people enacted change) and social justice heroism, were very important ideas in terms of challenging the right wing, hegemonic version of history, and re-framing historical awareness.<sup>105</sup> In a workshop, Inayatullah’s CLA and the ideas of Lakoff were used to examine the hegemonic narratives and elements through which human rights are popularly framed. There was an acknowledgement that a re-framing project was very much needed, to counter right-wing narratives and introduce an alternative (next generation / post-liberalist) vision of human rights.<sup>106</sup>

### *5.3.4 Cognition within Oases*

The notion of cognition, of knowledges, epistemes, worldviews and ideologies, is a complex one in Oases. Oases espouses and practices ‘integrative learning’ that is dynamic and pluralist in its conception:

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<sup>102</sup> Interview #15

<sup>103</sup> Interview #14

<sup>104</sup> Interview #9

<sup>105</sup> Key concepts were: collective based change, pluralist, rights come through collective struggle (Aussie battler notion of the collective), engaged with history / reclaiming stories (where we have fought for human rights), an open ended view of development, and the return of Time – a remembering / memory.

<sup>106</sup> For the public document which emerged from this, see Appendix L

*oases creates and integrates knowledge beyond the confines of traditional disciplines to provide education for a changing world. Oases values cultural diversity, multiple ways of knowing, spirituality, a sense of social and ecological sustainability, in the joyful presence of a reflective and innovative learning community (Oases, 2007, p. 29).*

‘Integrative’ means neither a ‘cogno-centricism’ where knowledge is understood in abstract terms, nor an ‘anti-intellectualism’ that rejects conceptual insight. Learning is a ‘moral intelligence’ and an ‘ethics of care’ (Oases, 2007, p. 53), or as one well known integrative educationalist expressed it: ‘A participatory perspective denounces both extremes... as equally one-sided and problematic and proposes that head and heart, intellect and emotion (along with body, instincts, intuition, etc.) can be equal partners in the inquiry process and elaboration of more integral understandings’ (Ferrer, 2005; Oases, 2007, p. 58).

Oases aims to challenge the sense of certainty that stops people from beginning to inquire or experiment in the first place. As one of the founders expressed it:

*This capacity is what the system has taken out of us – [the system has created] presumed certain niches and corners [of safety] – [hence creating in us] anxious / doubtful / fearful attitudes to everything. [We need to] do things and see what happens, by stepping out and doing and running the risk that it may work. [Many] are afraid it may work – [we have] pre existing assumptions of certainty, which prevent us from even trying new things.<sup>107</sup>*

Oases challenges ‘knowledge claims that purport to be objective, universal, or value free’ and emphasises the ‘contextual and situated nature’ of knowledge (Oases, 2007, p. 20). Thus Oases’ ‘integral epistemology’ embraces the ‘art of not knowing’ and the importance of unlearning (Oases, 2007, p. 25). Science is represented as ‘transcending its own mechanistic worldview’, embracing ‘indeterminism, spontaneity and chaos’ and is a strong counterpoint to corporate and government managerialism, with its addiction to ‘quick fixes’ and presumed certainty (Oases, 2007, p. 15).

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<sup>107</sup> Interview #17

In this process of a learning of unlearning, the role of questioning assumptions is central, because ‘what are so-called ‘distractions’ in one worldview are the heart of another. Indeed they may be the most important things we need to “know” especially in times of crisis’ (Oases, 2007, p. 79). This extends to a reflection on the way knowing had been (en)gendered, and the inheritance of a largely masculine Western tradition which ‘has been an un-equi-vocally patrilineal tradition, formed almost exclusively by men writing for other men, with the result that the male voice was implicitly assumed to be the ‘natural’ one, and further, that the male voice is ‘good’ and the female ‘bad’ ~ with the origins of such a belief flowing from even further back in our history in Aristotle’s ontological or cosmological first principles’ (Tarnas 1996 in Oases, 2007, p. 79).

Overall the role and power of reflection on the discourses that frame the way issues are understood, ideological standpoints and worldviews, are central to an inquiry that allows insight to emerge. The mantra for this practice of reflection in Oases is ‘Slow Learning’; this allows the time, space and process(es) necessary for integrative learning to happen:

*Questioning all assumptions*

*Can be a pedantic and irritating exercise*

*When all you want to do is get on with the job*

*And the only assumptions you want to question*

*Are those of other people*

*Slowing down*

*To the pace of the slowest common denominator*

*Is another exercise in humility and sacrifice*

*But undoubtedly*

*This is where the truth emerges*

*This is where the lotus flower blooms*

*(Participant work 2007, in Oases, 2007)*

### *5.3.5 Cognition within the G20 Convergence*

The G20 Melbourne Convergence with its associational networks contained a multiplicity of perspectives. Make Poverty History (MPH), the StopG20 coalition, A Space Outside (ASO) and

the MSF's G20 Alternative - not to mention the G20 group of finance ministers and the Victorian police. Each of these embody epistemic distinctiveness, and yet cannot be easily pigeon-holed, as each also contained internal divisions and diversities.

MPH is made up of over 500 groups within an Anglo Irish coalition. Internal diversity ranges from trade unions to churches, to development groups such as Oxfam and World Vision. As an entity MPH is conservative in the associations it makes. MPH was very careful to avoid any association with the G20 protests, and with any group involved in the protests (this included the MSF). MPH is not media shy but rather media savvy, with a strong public relations capacity built into the operation. It is a Western based association that has deep links to the Global South, with many of its groups doing substantive work there. A quick analysis might locate it as 'reform liberalism', but a deeper look (especially the Thursday forum) reveals more variations, from political opposition leaders (Wayne Swan), to relocalists (Cam Walker) and participatory development advocates. The Australian MPH campaign was therefore layered and also prismatic. Its messaging was carefully coordinated for different audience spaces – from pop concerts to an academic / policy forum to a family oriented festival, and in this way messaging was nuanced, and from easily communicable to complex.

The StopG20 coalition brought together a broad network of dozens of groups and ideological persuasions. The fluid informality of the networking allowed for a very broad protest building process that in the end included climate change activists (such as Beyond Zero Emissions), party organisations (socialists), autonomists (Arterial Block), anarchists (Mutiny), and those of green ideological persuasions (e.g. a 'Zero Emissions' Bus operated by leg power). 'Radical Cheerleaders', Falun Gong, and a 'G20 Christian Collective' which held vigils (Kelly, 2007).

Because it espoused itself as a 'Carnival Against / Beyond Capitalism' it is fair to assume that the many groups that did decide to join that protest / celebration were linked through anti-systemic aims and deep counter-hegemonic conceptions of the global system. Knowledge of non-violent resistance / struggle was strong in the organising group, but its use and dissemination to the wider meta-network was not enough to prevent the difficulties posed by DoT that would ultimately undermine StopG20's very aims.

During its existence A Space Outside brought a diversity of people together, with clear self regulation in terms of the behavioural norms established (for example the safer space policy and

de-monetisation of relationships). ASO organisers had attempted to connect with the previous generation of anarchists who participated in the Melbourne S11 protests, but were unsuccessful. Autonomism, anarchism and the anti-capitalism may be associated ideologies, however ASO should also be seen as a prismatic construction which held together a variety of thematic concerns and viewpoints. ASO was also a dialogic space where the psychological internalisation ('internalised oppression') of the capitalist system could be challenged and deconstructed (Anonymous, 2006, p. 4).

The media van and media workshop space run by Indymedia was citizen reportage in the context and tradition of the anti-globalisation movement. The counter-hegemonic journalism of Indymedia can be contrasted with mainstream media demonisation of G20 protestors (for example, Andre Bolt's compared G20 protestors with the North Korean regime in a Herald Sun article) (Bolt, 2006). Many of the characterisations that typify the debate between hegemonic voices (Bolt) and counter-hegemonic voices (Indymedia) are litany level 'pop' oversimplifications (discussed in chapter four).

Leading up to the G20 Alternative Forum, an online discussion project was initiated, which was open to the public and brought together about two dozen participants. My own experience was that a majority of people who were part of the Melbourne G20 Convergence had little understanding of what the G20 was or how it actually worked. The on-line discussion was thus aimed at demystifying the G20 group, sharpening public / protester understanding and critique, and posting these comments publicly on an MSF initiated blog. It was felt that, in order to play a meaningful role, it was important to facilitate a working understanding of just what the G20 represented, and some critiques and proposed alternatives. MSF thus continued in its facilitation / conscientising role.

The MSF's G20 Alternative employed a participatory open space process, and under its broad umbrella, a diversity of groups operated, from Zapatista solidarity activists, to the Queer Activist Network, and others. Key support organisations included RMIT Student Union, FoE's Reclaim Globalisation group (relocalist) and LASNET (horizontalist Zapatismo / left).

In this account of the G20 convergence, the ideological lines and fissures are more distinct. There was relatedness between persons across many of the associations: members of G20 who spoke at MPH, members of MPH who participated in the StopG20 protest, members of the protest who

participated in the G20 Alternative, and those at the G20 Alternative that were at A Space Outside. The broad contours in the normative space of an AGM were clearly real. Yet, this process was typified by a high degree of fragmentation. Each of these associations were not (completely) willing or capable of collaborating, and ideological variants were stronger and deeper, between the neo-liberalism of the G8/G20, the celebrity led media savvy MPH campaign, the subaltern transformism of MSF, the anarchism and anti-capitalism of StopG20 and the autonomism of A Space Outside. The quest for spectacle (expressed through celebrity concerts and DoT) – a key techno-political strategy in the AGM – contained competitive elements which assured winners and losers within an AGM. This account situates the WSF(P) within broader AGM processes, pointing to the potential for fragmentation and dis-integration of the AGM (see scenario four concluding chapter as an extrapolation) and the need for coherence building strategies across AGM projects.

### *5.3.6 Themes in the Social Ecology of Cognitions*

A very clear pattern that emerged was a multiplicity of actor perspectives that converged through various accounts and projects. Each organisation expressed a prismatic composition, and as such represented the yoking together of unprecedented diversity. However how this was managed in each account differs quite dramatically, and in some respects points to the need to think through the communicative dimensions of addressing alternative globalisation.

For example, in the Melbourne Social Forum we have seen a gradual intermingling of (what in the past might have been considered) ideologically distinct camps. Workshops in the MSF focused on particular issues and challenges that contained multiple perspectives, where actors find a commensurability between various knowledge systems. Thus workshops, whether specifically prismatic or pragmatic, either way address the challenge of the ecology of knowledges head on, and Santos' terminology of 'depolarising pluralities' is possibly an emerging cultural mode.

Plug in TV expressed a similar prismatic expression, yet the depolarising processes and structures were not as well-developed as with the forum (which in many ways uses open space specifically for this challenge), thus it needed to build into its knowledges de-polarising practices such as conflict mitigation, resolution, and content adjudication. For Community Collaborations,

prismatic composition is the basis for metacognising a strategic landscape of change, and the capacity to develop a communicative reframing that would allow counter hegemonic messages to be successful in Australia's mainstream. And again while Oases is an example of prismatic composition, this is expressed through a critical subjectivity which embraces un-learning, questioning one's core assumptions, embracing uncertainty, the way that knowing is en-gendered, and challenging knowledge as abstraction. The insight through Oases' capacity to hold a complexity of prismatic frames is that co-presence is fundamental to prismatic composition, and is a pathway for community building, in this way dynamically expanding the mutual recognition of cognitive frames, while simultaneously 'depolarising pluralities'.

Again the deviant example comes from the G20 Convergence. This convergence represented a meta-network capable of yoking together diverse frames, but this was (as a social process) highly fraught, subject to fragmentation and projections of 'the Other' by one group onto the other. For example, MPH distanced itself with any group associated with the protests (of which MSF was one), and A Space Outside rejected MPH as a rescue operation for capitalism, as well as critiquing the G20 itself as an organisation promoting neo-liberal / corporate capitalism. Equally so, the media portrayed StopG20 protesters as savages, and paid little attention to the police's efforts at retaliation through its indiscriminate abduction process on the Sunday.

## **5.4 Analysing the Social Ecology of Histories and Ontogenies**

This analytic window, discussed in chapter two, examines how actors within each account understand history, and articulate their own stories of change. The primary themes that emerge include: 1) the irreducibility of stories of struggle and change, which expresses a multi-layered counter hegemonic understanding of social change, 2) the importance of inner histories in creating social alternatives and social change, 3) the strong connection between ontogenies of actors (lived / embodied experiences and collective memory) and the above his-tories that are told, and 4) the challenge of contesting hegemonic temporality and narratives – econo-liberalism and techno-modernism – and thus the need for an intentional process of articulating embodied alternative histories as modes of cognitive justice.

### *5.4.1 MSF Histories and Ontogenies*

MSF organisers have not embodied a single particular history. Different organisers have come from different cultural and epistemological backgrounds, and there is no binding narrative. Organisers' experience of WSFs, in Porto Alegre, Mumbai, Caracas, and Nairobi have provided somewhat personal histories, but nothing that can truly be described as 'collective'. As diverse activists from many part of the world, different historical reference points abound. While the logic of transition from critique in the anti-globalisation movement to alternatives in the (same) WSF(P) and AGM seems to make sense, this is no more than a tacit feature of what is expressed. The cyclical nature of event organising is tangible (between 'summer period' event management time and 'winter period' slowdown reflection/evaluation/re-conceptualisation time).

*Embodied histories in the MSF participant community*

This part of the analysis uses approximately two-thirds MSF workshops held over five years to interpret how history is cognised by participants at the MSF.<sup>108</sup> Because history is not explicitly the topic at MSF workshops, I infer a historical time frame and narrative from the workshop abstracts. The first observation that can be made is the extreme diversity of themes and time frames that run through the MSF, making analysis challenging to begin with. Five temporal categories were constructed out of the interpretive inferences made: 1) contemporary struggles and issues going back more than twenty years to the late 1980's (thirty eight workshops); 2) struggles and issues in the context of US hegemony going back more than eighty years to the early part of the 20th century (forty two workshops); 3) struggles and issues in the context of industrialisation and colonisation going back 200+ years (twenty one workshops); 4) struggles and issues in the context of the histories of capitalism, corporatism and the emerging state going back 400+ years (ten workshops); and, 5) struggles and issues that are implicated in perennial developments going back as much as 2000+ years (five workshops).

Many of the workshops focused on contemporary struggles and issues, recent events and developments, such as the US War on Terror and the occupation of Iraq (the 'Oil Wars'). Some were quite immediate; the community responses to the Kinglake bushfires, the 'impact of the international economic crisis', the 'campaign for justice for refugees', and various public transport campaigns in Melbourne. There are two other categories that stand out, contemporary social processes and local activist campaigns. Contemporary social processes included workshops on the social forum movement, digital and online media activism, policy development for carbon

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<sup>108</sup> A third of the workshops were temporally ambiguous or non-specific and were not included in the analyse.

emissions mitigation, Cuba's re-localisation, Venezuela's Bolivarian movement, 'Indigenous resistance to globalization in the Pacific', the politics of Australian aid abroad, and the destruction of forests. Another important group were micro-histories linked to the struggle to build particular alternatives. Thus instead of references to social histories, these were micro histories within the SEA engaged in building / developing alternatives (much like the MSF organising group has its little known, nascent history, and the WSF(P) has its better known nascent history).

Workshops on struggles and issues in the context of US hegemony going back eighty-plus years (to the early part of the 20th century) included a variety of themes. A conceptual distinction can be made between late US hegemony (post Thatcher-Reagan neo-liberalism) and early to pre US hegemony (pre/post Bretton Woods). In terms of late (recent) US hegemony, many groups/workshops focused on neo-liberalism: the neo-liberal commodification of education, neo-liberalism and the Iraq invasion, neoliberalism and health equity, the privatisation of health care, the 'privatization of the Pacific' and the crisis of neo-liberalism in Latin America. Other workshops dealt with introduction of GM technologies in the context of climate change, food insecurity and dealt with the WTO TRIPS agreement. Other issues included Australia's geopolitical relationship with the Pacific, community development education in universities, anti-whaling activism, Queer activism, and the colonisation of Western Sahara.

Issues implicated in early or pre US hegemony were workshops dealing with the history of the nuclear industry (Australia as 'Yellowcake country'), the voluntary simplicity movement, civil disobedience and strategic non-violence, Gandhian practice and the Indian Independence movement, the development of the US military industrial complex and ANZAC, critiques of Bretton Woods institutions, the Israel Palestine conflict, and the history of the International Workers of the World. Various workshops addressed US imperialism in Latin America, such as the legacy of Che Guevara, Cuba's revolution, and struggles against neo-colonialism in Latin America. Workshops also addressed the issue of peak oil, and community solutions to a 'sustainability emergency'.

Struggles and issues in the context of industrialisation and colonisation going back 200+ years included the development of modern economics, labour struggles, indigenous struggles and environment issues located in the context of the history of industrialisation (or what might be referred to as 'industrial-colonisation'). Indigenous histories include 'institutionalised discrimination', dispossession, genocide', indigenous connections with the land, reconciliation

and white privilege from the 'white' perspective, Australia facing its own history and re-discovering pre-invasion Australia. The theme of industrialisation included the 200+ history in the development of fossil fuels, enfranchisement of corporate power, development of the climate crisis (history of carbon emissions) and energy sector, emergence of industrial agriculture, and re-localist narratives. As well were themes on the development of 'monopoly capitalism' and classical economics, the development of socialism and union rights, and education for democracy.

Struggles and issues in the context of capitalism, corporatism and the emerging state going back 400+ years included: the 400+ history of capitalism, the origin of the corporation, 500 years of indigenous struggles against western colonisation (i.e. 'Mapuche after 500 years of foreign domination'), the relationship between Latin American struggles and 500 years of land theft, Zapatista struggles, development of the state and state system (after Westphalia) in the context of creating global governance and universal human rights (cosmopolitan narratives).

Struggles and issues that go back as much as 2000+ years included workshops on: religious narratives such as 'The principles behind PR Sarkar's macro-historical social cycle', the development of yoga, the development of property, and patriarchy.

#### *5.4.2 Plug in TV, Embodied Histories*

Plug in TV, like other journalistic enterprises, and in a similar fashion to the MSF, has tended toward a focus on current issues. Thus time and history have usually not been a specific area of investigation, but something that is rather tacitly embedded in work being done. Two areas can be identified: the embodied histories within the Plug in TV media production community and the narratives embedded within Plug in TV documentaries.

#### *Ontogenies within the media production community*

The various participant histories within the Plug in TV production community have been notably diverse: Australians, Latin Americans, South East Asians, North Americans, East European. Different contextual life narratives have influenced the way different members produce media in distinctive ways. These personal histories and contextual knowledges are indeed the pathway by which different producers have taken on and documented social issues. Personal life story and

documentary re-presentation are thus closely linked.

Time is tacitly embedded through the multiplicity of stories that are covered by Plug in TV. This has ranged from issues like climate change (industrialisation), indigenous justice (colonisation), global institutions (Bretton Woods), education (Steiner / Oases), industrial relations (Howard neo-liberalism), Indonesian occupation of West Papua and Australian involvement in East Timor (post-colonialism), and student unionism, to name a few. However, like some MSF workshops, many of the stories are linked concretely to the struggle to build a particular alternative. These are inner histories, such as: a school for orphans, 'Happy School', 'Cyclovia', 3CR, Food not Bombs, and the like. Such inner histories of communities struggling for change or building alternatives were primary.

While this in itself requires the multi-temporal literacy Santos argues for, it is nothing named or spoken of, even as the person's personal history was often the mediating factor in why a story was chosen and how time emerged in each story. A conscientised and visceral connection to the issues was constitutive, arguably in tension with a complex multi-temporalism. The 'inner' narrative of the media producer, together with the voices of the constituent groups, were pathways to the articulation of (tacit) critical social histories. The production of counter-hegemonic histories thus resonated with the Gramscian idea of organic intellectualism.

#### *5.4.3 Community Collaborations, Reclaiming Collective Struggle*

While 'history' was not an explicit focus for the group 'Community Collaborations', the workshop on re-framing human rights showed how the framing of history is a central concern. This exploration found that the hegemonic framing of human rights was tightly connected to individual rights, consumerism, Hobbesian-statism/nationalism, social Darwinism and Anglo-centrism (see appendix M). In supporting these frames, economic liberalist history is primary, with notions like: [the west] gives democracy to the world; the market secures individual rights (the free market is often equated with democracy); the West has triumphed against communism (e.g. see the fall of the USSR). In this selective view of history, the Kokoda Trail history and Simpson and his donkey are nationalist narratives, the 'Aussie battler' is reinvented as a middle class individualist, and the legacy of 'Terra nullius and White Australia' are wiped out through cultural amnesia - a loss of collective memory about how the society we live in came to be, and the reteaching of a narrower and more neatly packaged history through a nationalist and

corporatist selection of his-stories.

The re-framing exercise elicited from CC a collectivist and pluralist worldview that extended and transformed the Aussie notion of mateship to embrace all people. It expressed the ‘true’ Aussie battler notion of the collective, and looked at where individualism has failed us (e.g. cars vs. public transport), and provided an open-ended view of social development.

Historical re-presentation was primary to this re-framing. Basic foundations included the idea that the community has rights because it has fought for them, or ‘Rights come through collective struggle’, as there are well documented historical (scholarly) foundations in the struggle for common goods, stories in the enactment of social justice and human rights, together with collective based interpretations of classical theories of development. What emerged was the importance of a renewed engagement with history, a reclaiming of stories where communities have fought for human rights. This required addressing ‘amnesiac’ culture, and fostering a ‘return of time’, facilitating a ‘re-membering’ and collective memory building. Some of the examples where this was thought to be possible included: Remembering Indigenous histories and struggles, the real history of the Aussie battler (who grew from the depression era collective based rent strikes), the Australian women's suffrage movement (which led the world), Australians’ internationalist role in helping to design the UN structure and UN declaration of human rights, reclaiming Australia's history of internationalism (it cosmopolitan solidarities), the true story of Simpson and his donkey (who was a socialist and trade unionist), the story of the Kokoda troops at the front (many included socialists), and a reclaiming of indigenous histories before and after colonisation.<sup>109</sup> One participant elegantly posed this challenge as such:

*We are the bridges with future generations [as] we are the bridge from our children – we really need to know how we connect with the past, and how this propels itself into the future. Essentially leveraging from an understanding of history to have influence on the future.<sup>110</sup>*

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<sup>109</sup> We can here make very strong links to Santos’ ‘alternative localisations’ and ‘alternative globalisations’ – CC demonstrates that the alternative localisation that needs to be re-cognised is indeed a re-framing of Australia as internationalist and globalist.

<sup>110</sup> Interview #20

#### 5.4.4 Oases, Irreducible Stories

Oases, through the many domains of inquiry that are pursued, is a place where many histories are co-presented. As an epistemologically diverse and scholarly community, Oases contains a number of deeply situated narratives. One example includes the ‘gendering in workplaces and learning spaces [that is] deeply...rooted in our Western philosophical traditions’ (Oases, 2007, p. 12); another discussed indigenous histories, to ‘sharpen participants’ awareness of contemporary Aboriginal issues and the rewriting of Australian history in the last decades, [and] finding creative ways of relating these discoveries to one’s life, spirituality and sense of self’ (Oases, 2007, p. 38); another discusses contemporary identity, ‘We explore what it means to be ‘Australian’ in the 21st Century... identify some of the layers contributing to our identity as Australians, e.g. indigenous, pioneer and recent immigrants’ (Oases, 2007, p. 40); and as well ‘the history and epistemologies of the human potential movement, including criticism of the movement and... its evolution’ (Oases, 2007, p. 45). Other histories include religious / spiritual narratives and the re-incorporation of Christianity’s contemplative / meditative traditions, the history of Western colonialism and Northern neo-colonialism, an appreciation of the consequence of social innovation as situated within history, and how time itself is mediated.

Another important theme is awareness of our contextual embodiment and historical situatedness that challenges the ‘disjunction between knowing and being’ (Young 1987 in Oases, 2007), and embraces the ‘actual context of living moral decisions’, ‘being’ an ‘ontological self’, connected with a particular history, a member of communities, with a living, breathing, listening body’ (Oases, 2007, p. 25). Oases thus aims to foster a deeply reflective learning that ‘recogniz[es] our collective connectedness to certain traditions, cultures, histories, etc, and being able to critique this and articulate the implications of such situatedness’ (Oases, 2007, p. 58). The irreducibility of situated ‘ontology’ is an important part of this, which ‘reflects a person’s distinctive history, embodiment and network of social relationships, not to mention one’s desires and emotions’ (Oases, 2007, p. 54).<sup>111</sup>

*One word can contain a story, one letter an entire poem. Every one of them has a history, a place where that letter has been before - where it's been seen and sounded. They're light as feathers and when we try to pin them down on pages all*

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<sup>111</sup>This parallels the specificity of the stories and narratives that run through MSF and Plug in TV, and itself is a challenge to attempts at reductionist representations and one-dimensional analysis and categorisation.

*we succeed in doing is propping up, pinning in and labelling ourselves into disregard. (Oases, 2007, p. 62)*

The modernist concept of time, as ‘faster, shorter, quicker, with more and more packed into less and less time... Linear. Accelerating. Predictable. Expedient’ is fundamentally challenged. The Oases community aims to re-cooperate the slow, reflective, dialogic and experiential bases of learning that rests on a cyclical or spiral conception of change, and which parallels conceptions of ecological time that open us to ‘ecological sustainability and our reintegration into the earth and its processes’ (King 1996 p. 240 in Oases, 2007) in ‘interlocking cycles of biological rhythms’:

*Our ‘need for speed’ means that we rush to answers in a world where we move on so quickly that we leave “hordes of essential answers” flying about us and disappearing, abruptly meaningless, as we rush on to our next answer. But what was the question? (Oases, 2007, p. 17)*

#### *5.4.5 Historio-graphical Dimensions in the G20 Convergence*

Because G20 was fundamentally a convergence of meta-networks, it is challenging to establish embodied narratives of time, as each one contains within it a whole number of possible histories connected to the different groups that make each up.

The MSF G20 Alternative event was similar to its other social forums in the diversity of historical perspectives. A particular effort was made through the on-line forum-blog process to explicate an understanding of the G20. This led to the construction of a history of the G20, that drew back into the establishment of the Bretton Woods institutions, the rise of neo-liberalism, the Asian Financial Crisis, and establishment of the G20. What evolved was a counter-hegemonic narrative related to Bello’s critique of capitalism’s legitimization crisis (Bello, 2000, 2004, 2007a).

Officially, StopG20 critiqued neo-liberalism and used *adbusting* techniques such as ‘Health Warning: Neoliberalism Destroys the Environment’, as well naming its action a ‘Carnival against Capitalism’. Thus both neo-liberalism and capitalism were linking narratives, in Castells’ sense the ‘adversary’ used to bring together a diversity of ‘identities’ for this protest / carnival (Castells, 1997, p. 105). My observation was that organisers were informed by a layered temporality of

counter-hegemonic histories. One anarchist situated the contemporary struggle with the beginnings of capitalism in the 16th century: ‘at least part of 400 year cycle from the slave trade and spice trades, the Dutch East India company and Tulip craze, and development of a speculative futures market...’.<sup>112</sup> Another was informed by re-localist views, and another by Socialism-Marxism. Thus the organisational base was fundamentally prismatic, containing diverse counter-hegemonic historical narratives.

In contra-distinction to its name, MPH does not officially espouse a historical narrative, or officially locate a ‘history of poverty making or poverty undoing’.<sup>113</sup> Aside from the name, there is little reference to history. Indeed, with over 500 associated organisations in the UK and over 70 in Australia, such a narrative might potentially be a contentious process. However, from public documents I infer reform liberalist view of history through five core areas of concern. The reform liberal view does not see current problems as implicated in deep historical time (such as colonialism, capitalism, etc), but as a consequence of recent ‘wrong turns’. In this view, the problem is neo-liberalism, but not the geo-political processes and histories that gave rise to the suite of problems that neo-liberal policy exacerbates. (See Appendix N).

A Space Outside emerged as a rejection of the political economy of hyper capitalism, in some respects reflecting a reaction to the shift from extensive capitalism to intensive capitalism described by Robinson (Robinson, 2004). In contra-distinction to MPH’s call to make poverty history, the mantra here was to ‘Make Capitalism History’. As such, the Space Outside Reader attempted to critique professionalised activism’s enmeshment in the dominant political economy, employing a semiotic deconstruction of dominant narratives, and challenge hegemonic constructions of history as forms of psychological colonisation (Anonymous, 2006, p. 4).

#### *5.4.6 Themes in Histories and Ontogenies*

The first theme that might be considered is the presence of multi-layered counter hegemonic histories. For example the issues being dealt with at the MSF are implicated into multi-temporal time frames and historical issues, immediate contestations against neoliberal processes, post-

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<sup>112</sup> Interview # 16

<sup>113</sup> In contrast to this, R Marks, Boulet, Sardar, Nandy and others argue that poverty was produced through exploitative practices and colonisation. The liberal narrative assumes that humankind’s original state is poverty, and that liberal developments (science, technology, industry, trade, democracy) have saved us from poverty.

World War II/post Bretton Woods contexts, industrial development/colonisation contexts, development of corporate state capitalism contexts, and perennial contexts. Such diverse frames were also dealt with by Plug-in TV, and in the case of the G20 convergence, different meta-networks express different temporal orientations, for example stop G20 naming capitalism, as well as ASO's call to 'Make Capitalism History', and MPH's reform liberalist orientations.

Yet beneath this was an underlying theme expressing the irreducibility of stories of struggle and social change. For example in Oases historical narratives included colonialism, patriarchy and gender, the counter-cultural movement, spirituality, and a variety of other particular threads of human experience. This was also the case with MSF; they can be generalised across the categories of counter-hegemonic histories offered by the discourses for alternative globalisation in chapter two of this thesis, but also transgress such categories, or bleed into multiple categories. Such irreducibility was affirmed in Community Collaborations discussions, where it was felt that collectivist histories of struggles (in their diversities) need to be remembered in sensual and community building spaces.

One aspect of this emerging irreducibility might be understood as the inner history of alternatives, in which the emerging alternative projects, processes, initiatives and generally innovations are being documented, and retold as examples of where change has been conceived, even if only in a pre-figurative manner, but also as examples of system-wide change. In the MSF for example, stories have included the Bolivarian revolution, how Cuba survived peak oil, and local initiatives in urban gardening and community building. Plug-in TV in particular has focused on excavating those organisations proposing something different, as well as the alternatives themselves.

In these accounts, people and history are not abstract from each other, and there exists a visceral connection between the issues people are addressing, the histories implicated in these issues, and the personal backgrounds and dispositions of people vocalising such stories. In the MSF indigenous people have spoken about the colonisation of Australia, while Latin Americans have often spoken about Zapatistas and the Bolivarian revolutions, while those potentially affected by the dredging of Port Phillip Bay have voiced their concerns of a precautionary nature, and those affected by the Kinglike bushfires spoke about their experience as climate refugees. In Plug-in TV the histories of producers and their personal backgrounds was quite closely connected to what they chose to construct and represent, while in Oases the histories brought forth were also very connected to the education, background, and practices of the people involved.

Finally, we also see throughout these examples a contesting of hegemonic narratives of history and of modernist speed. While within the MSF itself, counter hegemonic histories might be said to be naturalised aspects of the forum epistemologies, expressive of Santos' concept of the 'epistemology of the global South', within Community Collaborations the dominant frame of liberalist, statist, corporatist and nationalist narratives is so strong that a Lakoff style reframing process on a broad scale is needed so that the basis of the production of collective common goods can be recuperated as an expression of collective struggle and agency. And with Oases are challenges to resist our enfoldment into the ever quickening pace of computerised time, modernist obsession with speed and the need to recapture our connection with ecological processes in their diversities, the capacity for slow learning and deep reflection that could lead to transformation.

## **5.5 Analysing the Social Ecology of Alternative Futures**

This analytic window, discussed in chapter two, examines what the future means for actors in each account, how they conceive of alternative futures from the present. The primary themes that emerge include: 1) the future fundamentally concerns the defence, democratisation and development of the commons in its discursive variety, 2) vision of change are thematically and temporally diverse, and thus coming to a coherence through an ecology of strategies is key, and 3) the future is an expression of our agency in the present and our capacity to struggle and fight for common futures.

### *5.5.1 Alternative Futures in MSF*

Like most social forums, the idea that 'Another World is Possible' has inspired organisers and participants to come together to explore and create what this means. The MSF has been part of the embodiment of this utopianism. The MSF as an organisation in itself was conceived as an alternative. Part of this was the formulation of an alternative decision making model (consensus), following the decision making process in the WSF advocated by Whitaker.<sup>114</sup> An alternative methodology, open space process, by which an event is formed, was also part of this. MSF has extensively employed open source software for its computing, such as Mambo, Joomla!, PHP lists, WordPress. Collaboration and enmeshment with other alternatives such as: CERES, Lentil

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<sup>114</sup> From talk given by Chico Whitaker at Borderlands 2006.

as Anything, Red Star Coffee, FoE, Borderlands, Good Shepard, the Good Brew Co., the Eco Centre, has also been key. Decisions on the type of paper used (recycled or not) and beer consumption (organic / solar or not) have precipitated lengthy dialogue tending toward the MSF's embodiment of a different or better way of doing things. By creating links and collaborations with other alternatives, an existent SEA was used and, hopefully, strengthened. These chains of reciprocation are symbolically important, as organisers have wanted to 'be the change you want to see in the world'. Yet, this sensibility has led to 'ad hoc' organising, as the desire to find a better way (alternative) has also mean it may not be very well established institutionally or operationally. Overall however, the MSF's creative weaving of an event ecology has been successful at both the tough task of event organising as well as prefiguring new ways of running a community event. This prefigurative logic is an important dimension underpinning the open space process that gives conceptual and public space for many groups to express their alternatives.

#### *Alternatives in the Forum Community*

This analysis uses a modified form of the strategic landscape for an AGM developed by Wallerstein, who argues that the anti-systemic struggle must develop four attendant modalities: a present centred open debate about the nature of the challenges, short term defensive action against attempts to privatise and colonise the commons, mid-term de-commodification of aspects of life through a variety of initiatives, and long term 'substantive' visions for alternative futures (Wallerstein, 2004a).

I have drawn from Wallerstein's normative direction to understand how activity at the MSF fits within this broader and emerging strategic landscape. The analytic thread that brought the various dimensions of discussions at MSF together is the future as the exploration, articulation and creation of 'commons'. 'The commons' is a complex and contested term, and therefore, for this aspect of the analysis, I rely on a plural and open conception of it, excavated through discourses on AG in chapter two, section one. In this section, therefore, futures as commons includes: 1) The meta-formation of new common-ness through opening debates, 2) the short term defence of contextually specific commons, 3) the short to middle range extension of the legal and moral commons through the enfranchisement of the marginalised, 4) a more middle range building of the commons through de-commodifying social alternatives, and 5) utopian articulations of possible futures – dialogic weaving of foundational discourses, emerging issues and imaginaries that

inspire transformational change toward ‘Another Possible World’.

The first category that emerged was similar to Wallerstein’s call for an ‘open debate’, but was extended to include dialogic process leading to ‘metaformations’, which includes both articulations and building alliances, solidarities, and processes of coherence building or movement building. This reflected a dialogic weaving of actors and movement(s) that served to build the internal coherence of the forum community and SEA – similar to the ‘inner’ movement in respect to agency. ‘Open debates’ are thus more broadly understood as conversations to create coherence and meta-form. Often this was not so much debate, but even more basic, ‘mutual recognition’ where different organisations can meet and discover other organisations in the first place, from where people can see a bigger pattern of actors and build relatedness, trust and collaboration. The mutual recognition of differences referred to by Santos’ ecology of recognitions is indeed the basis for the possibility of self referencing a greater whole and ‘common’. In this sense the future is (re)cognised through dialogic meta-formative processes. (See appendix H-3).

This second category connects more strongly to Wallerstein’s second strategic category: ‘short-term, defensive action’ (Wallerstein, 2002, p. 38). While Wallerstein focuses on the need to stop the trend of the neo-liberal commodification of life, what emerged here was a more general ‘defence of the commons’ across a number of contextually specific areas. This included resistance to corporate predation, resistance to nuclearisation, defending ecosystems (such as oceanic and atmospheric commons), resistance to militarism and neo-colonialism, defence of peace and security, and defending political space (the right to dissent). (See appendix H-4).

The ‘extension of the commons’ describes the movement toward universal enfranchisement of human rights. It is related to defending the commons in so far as it is a defence against the exploitation of the weak, but it is focused on addressing and remedying the exploitation or subjugation of specific marginalised people, through righting imbalances of power and efforts at legal, political, and social enfranchisement / empowerment. There is a strong connection here with cosmopolitan concerns for universal ethics (Hayden, 2004; Held, 1995; Singer, 2002) and Sklair’s vision of socialist globalisation (Sklair, 2002). This included addressing the legal disempowerment of people (indigenous, socio-economic), structural violence (racism, land theft), enfranchisement via statelessness and statehood (refugee/asylum seeker rights and independence struggles), and marginalisation due to unequal abilities or difference (Queer rights, disability

rights). (See Appendix H-5).

'Building the commons' describes the development (embodied or articulated) of alternatives as organisational / community innovations, strategic initiatives and proposals to create common and shared public goods. It is reflective of Wallerstein's third strategic category of 'middle-range goals' toward the progressive de-commodification against neoliberal attempts to commodify the commons (Wallerstein, 2002, p. 38) and thus reflects the progressive development and enactment of alternatives toward shared resources, shared securities, shared equities, and cooperative living. This included the building of local community based commons, challenging monopolistic property regimes and articulating land commons, building structures and policies for social equity (health, literacy, education), educational initiatives, knowledge and informational commons, advocating for a biological commons, developing a political commons (challenging special interests and developing transparent and participatory structures of governance), developing a transport commons, energy commons, productive commons and spiritual and 'mental commons'. (See appendix H-6).

The last category, which I call 're-cognising the commons', manifests a blend between present trends and emerging possibilities. Some are utopian projections predicated on key discourses that allow for an imaginary and possibility of transformational change corresponding to Santos' 'anticipatory consciousness' (via Ernst Block's category of the 'not yet') and Wallerstein's argument for a debate about 'the substantive meaning of our long term emphasis' (Santos, 2006, p. 39). This anticipatory landscape includes ideas such as: a green Keynesianism, post-corporate world, post-capitalist world, post-peak oil transition.

This category is where the discourses constructed in chapter two have most resonance. In MSF workshops, reform liberal visions were seen through the re-articulation of social democratic ideals and green Keynesianism or new left policy; workshops such as 'What's wrong with the World Trade Organisation?' and 'Dismantling Corporate Rule' expressed development discourses. Marxist and socialist discourses wove through workshops such 'Life after Capitalism', and engaged ecumenist in 'The principles behind PR Sarkar's social cycle'; network globalist conceptions in workshops articulated an informational commons and future of peer-to-peer production; relocalist conceptions abounded in addressing sustainability and loss of community; in other workshops cosmopolitans discussed the universalising of equity and care; and in other workshops the evolutionary perspective was used to frame humanities future at the

crossroads. Prismatic processes allowed for the diverse inclusion of plural discourses to form the imaginary of a dialogue on alternative futures. This was most distinct in the 2007 Friday opening of the MSF, where re-localists, neo-Marxists, indigenous, and reform liberalists dialogued on a post-Howard Australia.

The MSF represents alternative local aspirations for common global futures, and in this way produces its distinct form of Alternative Futures of Globalisation, reflecting Santos' notion that AG is based on alternative localisations. The prismatic utopianism present in the MSF has been ideologically diverse and a challenge to the hegemony of any one vision. The last aspect of 'recognising futures' thus represents how we think about the future, a reflexive process of re-framing how the future is cognised that allows for a participatory demiurgic process of meta-cognising time through the diverse tapestries of collective aspirations and anticipations.<sup>115</sup> It challenges the frames and 'mental models' commonly held, inviting an unlearning and questioning of our deepest certainties about 'the future'.

The futures in the MSF community are not abstract, but rather diverse, layered and contextually bound into specific issues, challenges and possibilities. This makes grouping them challenging, and also means that the future emerges by inference, and is implicated in a present issue centred SEA. This engagement, MSF community and wider SEA's orientation to the future, is active. The future must be fought for, struggled for and built *as a community* - and people's futures and creative agency are thus intimately connected.

### *5.5.2 Plug in TV, Prefiguring Integrated Community Media*

Three dimensions of alternative futures were identified in the case of Plug in TV. The first was Plug in TV itself as the embodiment of an alternative – thus prefiguring an alternative possible future for media, and constituting the 'inner' organisational development process of the alternative. Secondly was the formation of 'structural couplings' with an emerging SEA, representing the 'outer' community development process underpinning Plug in TV's viability. Finally, futures is manifest through documentary re-presentation of futures via media.

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<sup>115</sup> Workshops and discussions in this theme included: 'What kind of sustainability emergency?', 'Lateral thinking for possible futures', 'The social construction of the institutional dimensions of life', 'The psychology of sustainable behaviour', 'Reaching out' (discussing a cognitive shift toward hope and trust in the future), and workshops on cognitive 'framing'.

The inner logic of Plug in TV as an alternative is how it differs from other organisational structures, the sustainability of this and the quest toward an integrated grassroots media production capability. The logic of replacement and substitution pervaded it from the beginning. At first it was replacement as quality, the founders believed they could do media better than the mainstream and with less resources.<sup>116</sup> Later replacement manifested as an alternative production system through an organisational network (season two and three) and community network (season four and five).<sup>117</sup> Replacement was also the replacement of distribution, by using EngageMedia and self authoring, distributing and selling DVDs among sympathetic people within the SEA.

Yet the efficacy of the substitution process is dependent on reproduction of producers, organisers and members, and hence the sustainability and development of the organisation. Plug in TV has attempted to distribute and multiply media production capabilities and responsibilities among members, though never without organisational challenges and controversies. To be sustained, Plug in TV must be carried by multiple people, in ‘symbiosis’ and ‘structural coupling’ with aspects of the community. A one/two person operation or a group closed off from the community was not viable. The sustainability of Plug in TV as alternative involved the sustainability of its members, and indefinite volunteering was not personally sustainable. Plug in TV experimented with collaborative organisational financing, but this was also challenging. Plug in TV had to find ways of funding its operations outside the standard production model, something written into its charter, but perpetually problematic.

Plug in TV as an alternative equally rests upon finding synergies with other alternatives in the community in the search for mutual sustainment and reciprocating efficacies. Plug in TV early on entered deeply into Melbourne’s SEA, its alternative green-left. Immersion in this field meant association with those working on social alternatives, and was key to content production, as well as the contextual conscientising processes needed to cover stories. As mentioned previously, people’s personal and conscientised connection with issues is what drives the production of content. Plug in TV has found different levels of mutuality through its relations and collaborations with EngageMedia, Melbourne Social Forum, Sustainable Living Festival,

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<sup>116</sup> In the first season the two founders won Antenna awards for their work and produced a thirteen week show between two people, but not without suffering burnout.

<sup>117</sup> Of course, it is important to note that this has been consistently challenging for a variety of reasons.

Borderlands / Augustine Community, Oases, Kindness House and other alternatives and alternatives hubs. These connections have entailed commitments: to issues, relationships, mutual support, and the use of each others alternatives in widening attempts to make one another more viable. The process by which diverse social alternatives make each other more viable and develop SEAs expresses a complex relational field in the social prefiguration of alternative social futures of media.

Finally, Plug in TV has re-presented futures through its media productions. Plug in TV has focused on what people in the community are doing to create change. These emerge as both people and groups advocating for something different, but as well embodied social alternatives. These alternatives have manifest through Plug in TV's relational networks and are closely connected to producer life stories and interests. Re-presented futures are thus brought fourth through a combination of producer dispositions and the aforementioned 'outer' community dimension of relationships that are the raw material by which re-presentation occurs.

### *5.5.3 Community Collaborations, Fighting for the Future*

Community collaboration, as a 'watering hole' for community activists, did not explicitly articulate alternative futures. Yet the deep historical conceptualisation of social change in the group, and its commitment to strategic questioning provided a view that 'alternatives' are much more than piecemeal changes and innovations, and rather that at a substantive level 'alternative' means a more profound social shift, a different society, culture, and structures that come from a broad struggle for change. The group was therefore much closer to the 'another possible world' conception of social transformation than others focused on piecemeal or single-issue change initiatives. In addition it was felt that what is required for social transformation to happen was broad community mobilisations and social movements, with leaders who are capable of holding together the complexity of the various communities and groups to create something new. The development of the 'big A' alternative (an alternative social future) requires a historical understanding to come into view, and a capacity to meta-form and weave commonness and mutual solidarities.

*Over long term it not about having a few of these bridge builders, but how we build a community of these bridge builders: a few to start it and then build a*

*culture of it – not just 5 or 10 but thousands – we need methods for creating a movement of bridge building.*<sup>118</sup>

This in turn requires the development of a sufficient level of consciousness. As the same person noted: ‘we must train the people that can hold the vision of something else. Create the people that can hold the alternative visions.’<sup>119</sup> This requisite cognition is the basis for the development of the ‘big A’ alternative futures. The development of requisite cognition (via popular non-institutional education) is what is needed to enable efficacy in situations typified by complex social environments. Requisite cognition is temporally conscientised, understanding the historical basis of change as well as the strategic landscape that provides the opportunity to ‘bridge build’ and weave the common in changing and challenging social conditions.<sup>120</sup>

#### *5.5.4 Oases, embodied futures through prefigurative inquiry*

The terminology of ‘prefiguration’, discussed in chapter two, is used extensively in the Oases community. Oases embraces a prefigurative conception of the future, in which our present practices and ways of being and relating are foundational to any future development: ‘oases is a program which prepares participants to pre-figure the new mainstream, a mainstream that embraces diversity and equality and values the planet we inhabit’ (Oases, 2007, p. 16). We do not live in the context of ‘the future’, rather futures emerge from us in a generative process ‘where things move from the potential to the possible to the real/enacted’ (Oases, 2007, p. 29). The emphasis is on becoming and enacting the possible future one envisions for oneself and the world: ‘The courses we teach and offer are thus not mere vehicles for the ‘transfer’ of content, they are ‘real-life’ pre-figurations of what we would like to see happen in the world-at-large’ (Oases, 2007, p. 29).

Self-discovery is the foundational process by which the future is understood: ‘In creating their own future, [participants] cannot be told who to be, or how to be; they must “extract” this vision from their own values, circumstances and personal knowledge. And then, through their own creative thought, investigation and work, they may begin to bring this vision of themselves to fruition’ (Oases, 2007, p. 44).

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<sup>118</sup> Interview #15

<sup>119</sup> Interview #15

<sup>120</sup> Toward the end of CC’s life (mid 2007) there were attempts to turn these insights into a process of sharing stories across generations and campaigns, but it did not take off.

The future is thus embodied in our present consciousness, and the personal dimension of time is valorised: ‘subjective time as opposed to clock time. The past, present, and future – temporal dimensions – constitute the horizons of a person’s ‘temporal landscape’’ (Oases, 2007, p. 33). In such a way the future cannot be neatly delineated from past and present, as one is ‘immersed most openly and most deeply in the present at hand, attended by the living past in each moment and accompanied by the meanings portended for the future’ (Velding 1996 in Oases, 2007, p.26). This inner temporality, self-knowledge and capacity for generative and pre-figurative development is a movement toward resilience, educating ‘the total person for survival in an unpredictable, turbulent future; where facts, concepts, theories, intellectual skills, and well developed cognitive maps are not enough’ (Davies 1993 in Oases, 2007, p.19).

*“The meaning of the present  
and anticipation of the future  
are conditioned  
by the way in which the past is understood.  
(Warnke 1987 in Oases 2007, p.12)*

Finally, Oases expresses a movement toward the re-embedding of natural cycles and ecological rhythms: ‘in teaching there must be a lapse of time – the process [of learning] is not one of consumption but one of absorption and reformulation’ (Oases, 2007, p. 18). Politically it is a shift from artificially controlled environments, ‘clock time’, and external measurements toward ‘temporal communion with natural biological and physical rhythms’. Oases rejects the exclusive aim towards high technology, material progress and economic growth, and opts for a vision of planetary stewardship in harmony with Earth’s rhythms, cycles, sequences and durations (Oases, 2007, p. 16). The inner logic of the Earth’s myriad living systems need to be embraced, over the abstract logics of mechanical time that have been superimposed on the world.

#### *5.5.5 G20 Convergence - Fragmented Futures*

The futures orientations that were embodied through the key actor networks that participated in the G20 week were complex and varied. In this next section I examine various groups and how the future is offered up, as an aim, a goal, purposes, what is prefigured, imagined and projected.

Make poverty history had by far the clearest articulation of goals of any of the groups, and this may be one of the reasons for the campaign's success relative to the other groups. Their goals were/are un-ambiguous and are not subject to wide interpretation by members, allowing for a united platform by which to communicate the message of change.<sup>121</sup> The overarching aim is 'Halving global poverty by 2015 and achieving the Millennium Development Goals,<sup>122</sup> with the following subset objectives: 1) Giving more and better aid; 2) Dropping poor country debt; 3) Making trade fair; 4) Helping poor communities keep their governments accountable; 5) Tackling climate change. Each one of these aims has a number of points of leverage upon which they rest. Each one of these five points can become more or less prominent depending on the circumstance. As one interviewee stated: 'sometimes we work on one more than another... in Hong Kong it was trade... at the G20 it was debt and aid'.<sup>123</sup> The futures that are advocated for emerge in relation to the location where events are taking place, and the structures that are being targeted, (WTO in HK / G20 in Melbourne).

The MSF G20 Alternative, like the other social forums, contained a diversity of actors with different ideological perspectives and visions of change. While relatively unified against neo-liberalism, what was advocated for was more complex and diverse. The core conception for thinking about the future is from the point of view of openness. As the MSF newsletter stated leading up to the event:

*While the G20 meets behind closed doors to hatch economics-centred plans for rapid globalisation, the doors of the Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology will be open to the public as the Melbourne Social Forum & Creating Community invite everyone in for a meeting on two major concerns facing the global population in the 21st century: World Poverty and Climate Change. (MSF newsletter)*

The concept of the future, from issue formulation (challenge), to vision (alternative) and strategy emerges dialogically between experts and community leaders, together with interested people. (See Appendix O).

<sup>121</sup>I heard these same goals re-iterated three times by three different people in MPH.

<sup>122</sup> From: <http://www.makepovertyhistory.com.au/What-it-s-about.aspx> accessed 1-29 May 2009

<sup>123</sup> Interview # 10

A Space Outside took an approach to the future that was both deconstructive and prefigurative - the one rests upon the other. The deconstructive element in ASO, like its orientation to history, aimed to challenge the epistemological colonisation of the future. The approach to this was through an assault on sacred conventional social constructs that form the reality matrix produced by the all-encompassing capitalist political economy:

*Desecration of all that is supposedly sacred is the only way in which we may determine the precise nature of the social holding pens in which we find ourselves ensconced. A dedication to this principle of Desecrationism is essential for all those wishing to enter into the fabric of the futures that are not merely possible, but already present. (Anonymous, 2006, p. 4)*

The decolonising process of deconstruction was also expressed as anti-ideology. Deconstructive arguments extend to a discussion on the Gene (GM) patenting as colonisation of the future, the colonisation of the future through the US Bush doctrine (of pre-emptive action) (Whyte, 2006), and the eradication of past and future through spectacle (an analysis critical of spectacle dawing on Guy Debord) (Debord, 1983).

Attempts to improve this system: reformism (J. Sachs), green lifestyles, and NGO development work (Oxfam) were equated with complicity in saving a system that should not be saved – so complete is its pathology. The only recourse is to discursively and practically reject and escape from the system, and recreate life from a space outside the system, a prefigurative conception. The prefigurative elements were discursive in the production of the ASO reader, but as well in the communicative and meaning making processes that were created in the squatted building, and practical in the short lived experiment with re-creating community outside the entanglements of a capitalist political economy through solidarity economies and communal living. A ‘solidarity ecology’ was thus formed during the time of the squat intended to exist outside the predominant structures of exploitation. Or as one contributor in the ASO reader expressed:

*Gardening and food production provide the sustenance, which makes activism real. To eat conventionally grown food - grown by multinationals, at the expense of poor workers’ rights, using up fossil fuels, contributing to water and resource*

*wastage - feels hypocritical whilst agitating for a world, which isn't reliant upon capitalism. The change we create starts here, now, with us. Like in preparing healthy, fertile soil for the gardens of the future. (Anonymous, 2006, p. 13)*

A major critique of the protest cycle has been that protesters are modern day luddites who refuse to adjust to progress and development, that they have no viable alternatives (in the spirit of TINA), and ask 'what are you for?' Alternative futures were implicit in Stop G20, though this is challenging to surface. The StopG20 coalition was an assemblage of a wide variety of actors that are difficult to generalise. Some key organisers espoused or associated with anarchism, socialism and re-localisation and we might opine that organisers carried a post-capitalist vision of the world, although this was not necessarily articulated. Tacitly the StopG20 coalition followed the rationale of the anti-globalisation protest cycle, to challenge neo-liberalism, while officially the 3000+ or so protesters came together willingly under the banner of 'Carnival Against / Beyond Capitalism', and thus we might assume that among this group were demands for a transformation of the existing system. The groups themselves represented issues as diverse as climate, trade, indigenous rights, gay-lesbian, anti-capitalist, and others.

This StopG20 positioning of anti-capitalism as official discourse relates inversely to MPH's strategy. MPH was characterised by non-offensive, clear and well articulated official aims that avoided anti-systemic suggestions, and espoused seemingly reformist goals (even if getting to these goals would require systemic transformations). Other anti-globalisation protests have not espoused clear 'anti-capitalist' messages even if containing anti and post capitalist motivations and groups. Attempts to draw together diverse actors usually follow strategies that avoid such explicit position taking (social forums for example). In this regard StopG20 can both be regarded as a bolder attempt to draw groups together within an anti-capitalist discourse, and a parallel to the 2009 WSF Assembly of Social Movements anti-capitalist articulation (see appendix F).

#### *5.5.6 Themes for Alternative Futures*

A very important theme which emerges in this dimension of the inquiry, is the future as the formation, care, and stewardship of 'the commons' through diverse conceptions. The Melbourne social forum represents the most diverse expression of this, for example by opening dialogue and debate toward the building of new common ground between diverse groups (reminiscent of Santos' notion of the work of translation); as well as the diverse campaigns and actions aimed at

defending existing commons, from oceanic life, atmospheric commons, and biological diversity; the extension of enfranchisement to a wide variety of peoples and groups, as well as nonhuman groups that have been up until now denied protection, security, and a future; the building of alternatives aimed at developing and strengthening various contextual commons; and the recognising and imagination of common emancipatory futures, the 'global imaginary'.

The expression of this in Plug-in TV is twofold, first through the development of a community media production network that has no single owner, but is rather owned by the community, and secondly through the production of media under the license of Creative Commons which is part of a broader global effort at strengthening and developing informational and knowledge commons. In CC this theme emerges as, on one hand an acknowledgment of commonly shared histories, how our present day welfare owes a debt to collectivist struggles of previous generations, and on the other hand a calling forth of leadership which is able to weave shared visions that can bring together a multiplicity of perspectives and actors in order to enact social transformation for the common good. In Oases this theme is seen as a vision of planetary stewardship.

The next important theme that emerged in this area was the future as pre-figuration. This was most eloquently articulated through Oases, the future is an expression of our present day reflections, re-conceptualisation, and the new ways of being, acting, and thinking that emerge personally that lead to new projects and initiatives. In this sense we can say that the future starts small, a metaphor of which might be the 'seed', while only millimetres in size, can grow to become greater things. In addition the future is not an abstraction, but exists in the field of present-day embodiments with their potentialities and contexts. Plug-in TV also contained this aspect, in many ways attempting to develop the various dimensions of an alternative media, through inner productive capability building processes, such as organisational openness, participatory production, open source-based platforms, Creative Commons license distribution. In addition the concept of integrated web or video production, from participatory planning, to co-production, to flexible postproduction, and distribution is a pre-figurative one in the sense of bringing together the various strands of the mediation process that has normally belonged to much larger institutional actors and which has been connected to commercial or state based interests and structures. The MSF has attempted to express this pre-figurative sense of the future, by locating its events in places which have led by example, as well as by being a different type of organisation, in terms of decision-making and practices of treading lightly in its resource use.

During the G20 Convergence the group that tried to do this most was A Space Outside, which attempted a solidarity economy/ecology in its squatted space in inner-city Melbourne, before being evicted by police.

The flip side of pre-figuration can be seen to be the concepts of alternative future as system-wide social transformation, rather than piecemeal change. In community collaborations, change was seen as broad solidarity based community mobilisation to transform the foundational structures that create the problems in the first place. In the MSF this was expressed, via ‘another world is possible’ sensibilities in workshops and discussions imagining and articulating cultures, economies, and politics beyond the present system. And in the G20 convergence this was indeed a dominant thread, with a number of counter-hegemonic meta-networks. MPH contained this with its well articulated five points of change, which we can venture would require systemic transformation. StopG20 brought together a multitude of groups in a ‘carnival against capitalism’. A Space Outside challenged the discursive and systemic fabric of the social universe generated through the intensive expansion of our capitalist political economy, and provoked contemplation on how we might remake our life worlds outside of the system.

Finally, one very key thematic thread is the relationship of agency in respect to the future. It was very clear from many examples the future is something that must be fought for practically and in here and now, and hence the future is an expression of people’s capacity to articulate and enact social change. In the case of the MSF this was through a myriad of struggles, through Community Collaborations this is through collective struggle as social movement, with Oases this emerges as the struggle to reinvent our ways of being / knowing / acting in small yet concrete ways, and in the case of the G20 Convergence it was a struggle through public spectacle, demonstration, protest, and antagonism.

## **Chapter Six: Social Complexity in the WSF(P) and the Movement for Another Globalisation**

### **6.1 An Integrative Approach to Evaluating the WSF(P)**

I wish to conclude this thesis by returning to some of the key questions, concerns and themes that have woven themselves through this project. This inquiry has been guided by three primary questions. First, to understand how the WSF(P) operates (organisational processes and dynamics) in respect to enabling social change; secondly to understand the strategies, dynamics and processes by which individuals and collectivities through the WSF(P) work to create desired social changes; and thirdly to elicit the alternative futures of globalisation articulated and / or embodied through the WSF(P). In the year of its 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary (2010), the WSF(P) is arguably at a cross-roads, and a number of challenges and opportunities present themselves.

To critically evaluate the WSF(P) as an aspect of an AGM, I develop four short synoptic scenarios of the organisational futures of the WSF(P), and use these to explore the challenges of social complexity within the WSF(P). The scenarios are evaluative by situating the WSF(P) in a broader consideration of the values that inform an AGM – calls for systemic transformation of our shared planetary predicaments. The scenario methodology is integrative in terms of articulating the possibility of a more whole and meaningful development for the WSF(P), which has implications for an AGM. They are synoptic in the sense of constructing a broader view of the dilemmas and challenges facing the WSF(P) and AGM generally.

The four scenarios presented in this chapter make it clear that the organisational dynamics within the WSF(P) are constitutive of the strategies and approaches for social change that actors within its ambit follow, and which in turn has major implications for the efficacy of an AGM in creating and enacting alternative futures of globalisation. If the WSF(P) is to be an effective ‘vehicle’ that enables the efficacy of an emerging grassroots globalisation, I believe the dilemmas presented in these scenarios will need to be addressed.

#### *6.1.1 Thematic Concerns and Lines of Social Complexity*

The key themes that emerge through the analysis underscore the challenge of social complexity faced by the WSF(P) and associated AGM actors. The WSF(P) presents an opportunity for collaborative agency and innovation – metaformation. Yet much of these are ‘micro’ scale experiments in prefiguring new ways of being, and for many the emergence of a coherent recognisable global movement has been all too slow. The open space methodology favoured by the WSF(P) has privileged these prefigurative metaforms of smaller and organic scales over the macro formation of a unified or coordinated global movement. The inner movement toward creating ‘wateringholes’ of co-presence for mutual recognition of differences has not yet led to a coherent outer movement of global coordinated efficacy toward enacting a post-corporate, post-capitalist, or post-neo-liberal world order.

Indeed, the WSF(P) disavows the role of global coordinator for the role of global co-presencing through space and inclusion. Yet open space can be seen as a ‘Faustian bargain’. The prismatic characteristic of organisational forms within the AGM contains the potential for polarisation and the need for depolarising processes. Open space is the methodological ‘vehicle’ created to hold together this ontological and epistemological complexity. But at what point does open space become a liability, limiting to the formation of an ‘ecology of knowledges’. When does adherence to open space become an ideological fetish? The diverse stories of struggle and change that are embodied by diverse groups and people (social experiences and collective memories) within the WSF(P) offer the possibility of meta-forming multi-layered counter hegemonic understandings of development (including the inner histories of creating micro alternatives and macro social change). Together they offer a poignant challenge to naïve economic liberalism and techno-modernism. Yet, if global justice rests upon global cognitive justice, a more intentional process of articulating and communicating a tapestry of counter hegemonic stories must emerge, to frame the global debate on globalisation and development.

Likewise, in the WSF(P) visions and strategies of change are geo-geographically, thematically and temporally diverse. Yet they are far from incommensurable, indeed this diversity forms the basis of a potential ecology of visions and strategies, in view of Wallerstein’s call to bring coherence and coordination to an AGM (Wallerstein, 2002). Thematically this needs to link the Old Left emphasis on systemic transformation with the New Left emphasis on prefiguring new modes of being. A more coherent communicative framework can offer a more pointed creative focus, such as the democratic development of the commons in its discursive and embodied varieties, whose futures are built in the present as an expression of people’s collective agency and innovation.

Finally, the WSF(P) and broader AGM needs to re-invent its relationship with institutional power. In this thesis a key finding has been how the institutional SEAs are a foundation for localised counter hegemonic SEAs. Navigating an institutional SEA is a critical factor in the success of grassroots SEAs. I do acknowledge that connections to institutional power are problematic and fraught, yet the wholesale disownment of institutions of state and economy, which seems to be the current *modus operandi* of the WSF(P) is equally problematic and fraught. What is required is a nuance in the strategic engagement with institutional power, which includes a program of active politicisation of institutional processes toward their democratisation. What is also required is building enfranchisement into *space/place*, including political space as well as cultural and economic space. Such spaces/places underpin the AGM's capacity for co-presence, which forms the basis for the possibility of small scale prefigurative meta-formations and systemically transformative meta-formations. Creating a greater coherence of counter hegemonic spaces/places across the various planetary geo-structures forms a key aspect in empowering the formation of a more coherent planetary SEA with resilience and efficacy that can sustain itself and create change in a turbulent 21<sup>st</sup> century. The scenarios developed in this chapter will draw out some implications and potential consequences of these thematic lines of social complexity, revealing tensions and potentialities within the WSF(P).

### *6.1.2 Scenario Development and the Four Scenarios*

The scenario development method used in this chapter (explained in chapter three) is a variant on an approach used by Inayatullah (2008), carrying influences from the work of Nandy (1992), and with similarities to the archetypal scenario approach developed by Dator (which include *status quo, imagined return, transformation and collapse*) (Inayatullah, 2007, p. 14). The scenarios incorporate the cultural dynamics implicit in organisations or organisational processes, to posit alternative futures for them. Organisations and groups can be seen to have dominant cultural logics, (here understood as their 'success formula' - what it uses to be effective in the world). Groups can also be seen to disown certain cultural and behavioural traits that were once held, in order to succeed by its dominant criteria (Inayatullah, 2008, p. 5; Mindell, 1992; Stone, 1989). Together they can be understood as the dominant and disowned selves of a group. In the approach taken here, a groups dominant self and its disowned self become the first two scenarios for that organisation. The third scenario becomes the integration of the two. Finally the fourth scenario is what is beyond the framework of first three scenarios – it is the outlier. Here this reflects the

inverse of scenario three – dis-integration. This scenario development method is explained in more detail in chapter three’s discussion on discrete methods.

The first scenario, titled 'Utopia of horizontal space', describes the dominant cultural and organisational logics of the WSF(P), its ‘success formula’. This success formula is based on dis-owning the role of the ‘referent’ organisation (vanguard peak body), dis-owning hierarchy and the role of institutional leaders, celebrating horizontalism and epistemological pluralism, insuring inclusion and opportunities for broad participation. The second scenario, titled ‘WSF as the 5<sup>th</sup> International’ presents the disowned self of the first, a return to party or organisational discipline, vertical decision making, extensive coordination and a well formulated ideological framework. The third scenario, titled ‘WSF as a Planetary SEA’, is an integration of the first and second scenarios, in which the WSF(P) is able to facilitate platforms for organisational coherence and movement efficacy, while still holding together great diversity. The fourth scenario is the converse of the third, titled ‘Dis-integration of WSFP and death of the AGM’, where the WSF(P) implodes under the weight of external and internal factors, epistemological fragmentation and dis-organisation.

## **6.2 Four Scenarios for the Futures of the WSF(P)**

### *6.2.1 Scenario One: Utopia of Horizontal Space*

In this scenario the dominant format and process by which the WSF has developed (its 'success formula') continues, here called the ‘utopia of horizontal space’. Horizontalism becomes the official discourse of the forum, aggressively defended (Blau, 2008). Expressions like the Porto Alegre 19 and Bamako Appeal become ever more rare, and when they do occur the authors and creators are denounced as ‘vanguardists’ for exhibiting ‘command logic’ and ‘vertical-ism’. Yet this horizontalism is also valuable, providing a collective space for decolonisation and conscientisation.

Following the lead of advocates for a forum process as non-hierarchical space and inclusion (Sen, 2007; Whitaker, 2007; Whitaker, 2004), the forum process continues down the path of promoting a global space for counter-hegemonic actors to meet, network and collaborate, but remains non-

deliberative. They argue, the constitution of counter-hegemonic forces in the first place requires the construction of an inclusive space of exchange, and that coming to a shared understanding of globalisation / alternative globalisations requires a process of open intermingling and communication (Sen, 2007).

The advocates of forum-as-space argue change cannot be forced or produced, it emerges from the context specific embodiments of groups, which are all time and space bound expressions, each with their specific logics. This conceptual movement toward space means that the WSF(P) should evolve, and actors part of it will produce many meta-formations through a longer chain of iterations, not one manifesto everyone can agree upon for all time.

Yet, the increasing dominance of horizontalism, forum as space and process, runs contrary to this very ideology of transformative process, as the WSF(P) cannot be fundamentally challenged and altered. The purpose and operation of the WSF(P) is kept as is, and the post '68 disownment of older leftists 'vanguardist' tendencies is complete.

The spectacle of celebrity and inclusion continues to follow the intellectual celebrity + open space formula, celebrity speakers and inclusivity continues to attract people, size impresses observers. The Faustian bargain that open space methodology represents becomes clear; the WSF(P) can hold radical diversity, but only through giving each group it's own space. On the plus side this allows a continuous expansion and proliferation of actors, visions, and counter hegemonic knowledges. It helps build the WSF(P) spectacle. Over time the forum becomes fashionable, and the increase in size and diversity makes the forum into a counter-cultural bazaar for social tourism and activism.

Yet critics of the WSF(P) become stronger and louder (Fuentes, 2010; Grzybowski, 2010; Toussaint, 2010). To these critics, the WSFP has failed as a response to the ecological, economic, cultural and political crisis we face. While they cite the WSF(P)'s value as a space of exchange, they argue it has led to no real transformations of economic or political power relations. Open space was meant to allow for diversity and autonomy, yet it has strengthened identity politics (Bergmann, 2003) and fragmentation, in which each group celebrates its 'difference' and 'diversity', without accomplishing the task of 'cognitive mapping' the common ground needed to build a global movement against capitalism and a post-corporate world (Bergmann, 2006).

To these critics, the WSF(P) reproduces the segmentation and individualism it critiques in the West. Competition remains rife between groups, as forums become places for organisations to recruit social tourists. The much-needed confrontations and adjudications between ideologically different groups is averted, and thus Santos' call for a 'work of translation' remains more idea than practice. Groups identify the forum as a place to further their own interests, campaigns and needs, without committing to a broader struggle.

Local and regional forums continue to be organised autonomously, continuing the planetary dimension of WSF(P), supporting local to trans-national networking, but the efficacy of an AGM remains weak, leading to frustration, even as events get bigger. Sociologists begin to talk about the forum as a compensatory process. The ritualistic display of affiliations, identities and declarations help groups vent, express their values, diversities and affirm oppositions. Yet it expresses what Zizek described as 'the anti-globalisation movement need[ing] neo-liberalism'.<sup>124</sup> Ritualistic displays the difference fill the need to affirm identity, but identity politics is strengthened and not transformed.

A practical critique also emerges. Arguments that the WSF expresses participatory democracy begin to sound hollow. Many years after the birth of the WSF, groups within it continue to espouse radical democracy (Ponniiah, 2006), yet there are still no real institutional avenues for democracy in the WSF itself (Teivainen, 2007) (also see appendix V), the WSF IC is increasingly seen as a closed clique incapable of democratising its own institutional processes. The legitimacy that the forum once gained from having 160+ organisations as part of an IC becomes a liability, a very small slice of 'civil society', and the IC continues to have no processes for adjudicating membership applications.

This crisis of legitimacy leads to fractures within the AGM. First, Chavez's November 2009 call to begin a 5th International kickstarts a process to develop a united front for the construction of a post-capitalist world order. Leftist parties, social movements and labour groups increasingly de-prioritise the WSF(P), and devote time and energy into the nascent 5th International. Secondly, militant autonomists/anarchist groups also abandon the forum process, critiquing as naïve its ideology of non-violence, as eco-anarchists and 'diversalists' argue for an 'auto-immune response' to the threats posed by 'the cancer of capitalism'.

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<sup>124</sup> Interview # 16

Scenario one contains a number of consequences and implications. First, the WSFP remains a key incubator and facilitator of emerging planetary consciousness, identification and responsibility, activists 'Woodstock experience' the 'glue' for an emergent planetary citizenship. Yet, interconnections within the planetary geography of diverse SEAs remains weak. Local forums (like the Melbourne one) still remain un-integrated into the overall process. No 'map' emerges that facilitates better internal navigation. Complexity remains written onto the dense texts of social forum programs, but not part of a planetary informational resource. In addition there is no real integration between diverse temporalities – how projects interrelate as part of an AGM. Santos' 'ecology of temporality' remains an interesting sociological perspective, but not an emerging organising logic of the WSF(P). Equally problematic, cognitive justice is never fully realized, despite the ever-growing phenomenon of the Epistemology of the South. The integration and coherence between such diverse knowledge systems and ways of knowing is difficult given the gigantism and methodological autonomism expressed by open space. And, due to the forum's dis-ownment of state and corporate structures, the WSF(P) never creates a media structure capable of translating such experiences into distributive media power. Finally, the forum expands political space, as participants openly declare their aspirations, visions and strategies for change without fear of police or state prosecution. However this political space is not used to challenge power.

### *6.2.2 Scenario Two: WSF as the 5th international*

In scenario two, the WSF(P) becomes what it has disowned, a vanguard organisation that makes declarations and decisions, which some dub the '5th International'. Worsening global conditions, and the persistence of Western neo-liberalism and the neo-liberalism of emerging powers such as China, Russia, South Africa and others (Palat, 2008) drive debate within the IC over its reticence in terms of developing a united anti-imperialist and anti-capitalist platform. Proponents argue for a new stage in the development of counter hegemonic struggle (Toussaint, 2010). If the first phase was an 'open space' to gather counter hegemonic energies, the next stage is its organisation into a movement. They argue a 'class for itself' has emerged, representing the experiences and concerns of the 4 billion at the bottom, but must be translated into action.

The consensus system used by the WSF breaks down, as an anti-capitalist block uses veto power to paralyse the IC. This sets the stage for dismantling the consensus system, after which, anti-

capitalist and climate justice blocks move quickly to promote organisational 'reforms'.

Considering Chavez's November 2009 call for a 5<sup>th</sup> International a threat to the integrity of a movement, the WSF quickly attempts to sideline his proposal, and steal the mantle of the 5th International. A committee is created to coordinate the transformation of the WSF from an open space process to a global movement coordinating organisation. Commentators and journalists acknowledge the importance of this shift, and begin to refer to the WSF as a possible 5<sup>th</sup> International. Officially the WSF replaces 'world' with 'international', re-badging itself as the 'International Social Forum' (ISF).

The proponents of ISF argue that from the beginning open space was fraught and informal power was pervasive - a 'tyranny of structurelessness' (Freeman, 1972). With the absence of formal mechanisms of decision making, informal and hidden power recreated the very system of power it critiqued in neo-liberal institutions. Representation, they argue, is the way to address the prevalence of the hidden power-interests within INGOs, especially those funded by Western governments (Robinson, 2005a). The ISF IC is therefore transformed into a representative body for majority world struggles. A complex representative mechanism is developed in which votes are weighted based on country population divided by number of members organisations and the proportional size of the grassroots membership of these organisations.

Many of the local to national social forums become registry organisations for structuring this representational process, and facilitating locale based positions. Organisations that want to be part of this new body pay a membership fee (proportional to relative purchasing power), which helps to finance the ISF. Local social forums must be registered chapters of the ISF. Recalcitrant 'horizontalist' forums are denounced on the official website, and competing ISF chapters are set up. Recalcitrant local forums are eventually killed off, whither, or disassociate from the ISF movement and change their names. This shift has the effect of alienating a good proportion of the broader AGM. Autonomist anti-capitalists are the first to go, as well as a good section of the state funded or state connected INGOs.

ISF events are transformed into processes of aggregating decision making toward joint declarations, strategies and actions. Representational processes (based on 'consensus minus 2' and proportional voting systems), are used to develop strategic programmes and tactical actions. The ISF becomes a truer referent organisation, engaging in strategic development and coordination for

its client groups.

ISF proponents challenge the idea that local counter hegemonic struggles can thrive without enfranchisement in broader political and economic systems. The new ISF Charter of Principles opens the door for eco-socialist governments and worker / community owned businesses to participate in ISF meetings as special members, and the ISF begins to make alliances with the most ambitious of them.

The ASM becomes more powerful within the ISF, pushing the ISF to increasingly espouse anti-capitalist and post capitalist positions, arguing for a fundamental re-organisation of wealth and power, support for anti-imperialist struggles and using its network of affiliations to support popular and underground movements. The ISF's goals become aligned toward undermining corporate power, neo-liberal regimes and enacting democratisation and socialist programmes through both Gandhian and militant approaches.

A number of strategic developments emerge from the ISF. The ISF organises a boycott against a trans-national soft drink corporation known for its human rights abuses and degradation of the environment. This year long campaign tests and demonstrates the power of the ISF organisation, as well as making an example (for the global community) of the soft drink TNC. Using a combination of Gandhian styled boycott organising, well crafted adbusting, grassroots media activism and legal challenges in many countries, the boycott cripples the corporation. The repentant corporation agrees to accept key ISF demands, improving workers and union rights, an environmental compact, ongoing auditing and reporting.

A more ambitious boycott is organised against a nation-state accused of pernicious unilateralism, human rights violations, breaches of international conventions, non-compliance with climate mitigation processes. This boycott is less effective. The nation-state loses billions in trade revenue, but splits the ISF membership, between groups located or connected with the accused nation, (similar to what happened toward the end of the 2nd International).

Most ambitiously, the ISF organises a week long 'global general strike' to demand the implementation of a 'global living wage'. 250 million workers, mothers, peasants and others of the 'meta-industrial classes' (Salleh, 2009) participate in acts of non-cooperation, as well as taking to the streets, temporarily paralysing the global economy for a week.

Monopoly breaking becomes an important strategy for the ISF, and it begins to support investment in social enterprises aimed at breaking the stranglehold of power that corporations have on aspects of consumption through helping establish worker owned competitors. It supports social enterprises such as global financial cooperatives to compete against corporate banks. The innovation of alternative economic models furthers the goal of democratising worker rights, coupling productivity with social and ecological justice.

With the help of groups such as Telesur, the ISF constitutes its vast knowledges, capabilities and visions into a space of self-recognition, through a global satellite channel – ISF.TV. This channel highlights the issues, and conditions of those struggling against neo-liberalism and empire, including stories of caste, peasants and workers struggles.

The ISF decides on a strategy of announcing a world parliament in exile, which provides an alternative and critique to the UN system. However because of the overtly leftist nature of the ISF, it's effort to claim universal legitimacy is hampered, and other groups, such as right wing populists, and green groups, create their own 'parliaments in exile'.

Scenario two carries a number of consequences and implications. First, within the ISF.TV the pluralism of the AGM network model is lost, as the channel shies from 'fringe' issues, gay and lesbian, spiritual, women's, and autonomist perspectives. The competition among ISF members for representation is fierce and highly political in nature. Its audience penetration does not compare with the emerging power of peer-to-peer media (displacing and converging with TV). Secondly, the emerging narrative communicated by the ISF is post-colonial, neo-marxist and evolutionary. The 500 year history of capitalism, with its phases in the enclosures of commons, is paralleled by anti-systemic struggles for the construction of a post industrial eco-socialism based on a new planetary solidarities among 'meta-industrials'. It is a potent story, but it is not all-inclusive. Third, formal processes in the adjudication of knowledge develop, squashing debate about what is credible knowledge and what is not, losing Santos' vision for an 'ecology of knowledges' where legitimacy is based on 'contextual credibility' (Santos, 2006, p. 19). The budding stories of diverse SEAs is lost. Fourth, taking official positions against certain regimes, including the neo-imperialism of the US, Euro-zone, Russia and China, leads to a loss of political space, as organisers find themselves targeted in their home countries, often *persona non grata*. The ISF begins to be excluded from many of the large countries where it draws its support and

where it wants to extend influence. Finally, this makes the possibility of a rapprochement between ISF and the UN, under the control of the security council, less and less viable. ISF is excluded from the existing geo-political power structures.

### *6.2.3 Scenario Three: WSF(P) as Planetary SEA*

This scenario draws on the first and second scenarios, and builds into this the perspective of a social ecology of alternatives (SEA) discussed throughout this thesis. In the first scenario the dominant format of the social forum remains unchanged. In the second scenario, it's disowned self, vanguardism, quest for unity, and organisational coordination and efficacy become dominant. This third scenario attempts to integrate these competing tensions, where the WSF(P) engages in both vanguardist projects and collaborative co-presencing.

Pressure to translate the WSF(P) expansion into new modes of efficacy, various groups in the WSF(P) engage in redesigns of its operational and methodological processes. The new design will attempt to hold the complex diversity that the process has brought forth, yet facilitate faster and more efficacious coherences between the many actors that are part of it, in constructing a post-capitalist world order. The WSF is reconstituted as a developer of strategic platforms. A number of integrations are proposed as part of this redesign process, that will follow Bello's call to draw strength from the forums diversity while coordinating modes of counter power (Bello, 2007b). The forum is transformed from a space to a platform, and dubbed WSF 2.0.

The first redesign is the vertical integration of previously dis-owned spheres of power, governments and businesses, that are part of a broader counter-hegemonic movement. Vertical spheres of power are to be 'infiltrated', politicised and used for the purpose of opening up avenues for grassroots power. The framers of WSF 2.0 aims to politicise institutional power, while building the enfranchisement of SEAs into institutional democratic power bases.

Within a network discourse, institutions are seen as sites of diversity where struggles occur between various interests. WSF 2.0 aims to draw upon elements within institutional matrixes of power, and re-frame their legitimacy and potential for de-legitimation or re-legitimation. The new approach aims to draw into an ecology potential synergies of institutional counter power. Following Teivainen's (Teivainen, 2007) argument for the politicisation of institutional power, the designers of WSF 2.0 hark back to the example of Porto Alegre itself, where the Workers

Party (PT) was both key in enabling initial WSFs and in enacting participatory budgeting. Advocates locate the spirit of Porto Alegre in the politicisation and democratisation of institutional spaces in conjunction with civic / movement power. Following Teivainen's (2007) arguments, politicisation toward participatory democratisation becomes the 'litmus test' used to determine whether WSF 2.0 will or will not work with particular institutions.

The horizontal integration between fields of counter power is an extension on this vertical integration. Horizontal integration means that actors across distinct institutional spaces, for example political, cultural and economic, whether from local actors to global spaces, have the capacity to find synergies that allow for alternative regime formations.

Scenario three leads to a number of strategic developments. Acknowledging the rich existence of geo-geographically diverse SEAs, and also addressing the lack of integration between various forums around the world, especially between global forums and local forums, an effort is made to create a virtual web platform that allows coordination and resource sharing between diverse SEAs. Called the 'Global SEA' project, this entails the geographic integration between local, regional and global forums, and allows a new connection between diverse counter publics SEAs, with a richer potential for synergy among diverse actors that are geographically dispersed.

WSF 2.0 builds on its experiment with WSF TV, by launching a project for Global Cognitive Justice. This project aims to create a collaborative platform through which groups can construct repositories of subaltern experience, and capacities of distribution and communicative influence, through a number of virtual media-meeting spaces, wikis, TV programs, video sharing, etc. This brings together counter-hegemonic knowledges and science into an 'ecology of knowledges', allowing adjudication based on 'contextual credibility' (Santos, 2006, p. 19).

Closely connected to the above project, the Experience Our-Stories (counter-hegemonic historiography) project attempts to integrate the diversity of historical perspectives that challenge the liberal narrative, to re-frame a development debate dominated by ideas of progress and modernisation. It layers and integrates various stories of struggle from the diverse experiences of the forum community. Through a wiki and magazine publishing process moderated by WSF 2.0, counter hegemonic actors are able to tell their own rich stories of the endogenous development of 'another possible world'.

In order to address the diversity of projects in the WSF(P), with different scales and time horizons, WSF 2.0 creates a platform dedicated to allowing the participatory mapping of projects of change. Following Wallerstein's (2002) vision to integrate the strategic time dimensions of the AGM, this project aims to facilitate the use of the WSF's ecology of temporalities as a resource, allowing actors greater coordination through (cognitive) mapping of struggles from short term to long term in a flexible and iterative ways. Attempts are made to 'frame the speed', rather than be shunted into the relentless pace of competitive, modernist time, promoting organic rhythms in the development of another world.<sup>125</sup>

In the project People in Planetary Governance, WSF 2.0 creates a platform to facilitate collaborations in envisioning and constructing democratic global governance institutions, processes and structures. Importantly, WSF 2.0 utilises this project in attempting to create effective democratic structures for the WSF(P) itself. Protocols for inclusion, participation, representation and decision making are created through a broad stakeholder engagement process for a more complex and multi-level WSF(P). This project also brings diverse actors together to support the universal ratification of the ICC (to get the US, Russia and China to ratify), creation of a World Environment Organisation (Held, 2005), and development of a Planetary Protocol for Climate Justice, and many other initiatives.

Inspired by Slum/Shack Dwellers International (Podlashuc, 2009), a platform for resource exchanges is created to link the various SEAs across their diverse geo scales. Based on the AGM's acknowledgement that webs of solidarity are fundamental to creating the capacity for savings and endogenous economic development, enabling the viability of SEAs, this project aims to integrate SEAs into financial solidarities through the creation of a planetary exchange system and resource pool that can support solidarity economies prefiguring and producing eco-sufficiency and justice.

WSF 2.0 launches the Planetary Commons project - a platform for building a new intellectual / informational commons, defending existing knowledge commons and challenging corporate control and predation of community knowledge and informational resources - genetic knowledge, academic literature, filmic media, education resources, and other knowledge commons.

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<sup>125</sup> As noted in chapter two, these can be both lighting fast developments and slower cultural processes.

Finally the Non-Cooperation project is launched to create a platform for coordinating global campaigns for *satyagraha*, non-cooperation (e.g. boycotts) and non-violent civil disobedience. WSF 2.0 does not decide which states or corporations will be targeted, but provides crucial leadership in developing a platform through which multiple non-cooperation campaigns can be coordinated, to decide what are the tactical demands, long term strategic aims, who to target, and how. Politicisation toward institutional democratisation is the overarching aim.

WSF 2.0 identifies the great threat posed by scenario four, how SEAs rely on public place and political space to thrive. Inspired by PBI, the 'Planetary Co-Presence' projects attempts to link holders and custodians of public spaces and political spaces with the many SEAs, into a virtual space of collaboration, such that an emerging planetary map of convergence for dissent spaces are available for counter-publican interests. Greater integration and coherence in the construction of public and political space, both physical and virtual, allows for new levels of co-presencing between a diversity of actors across a number of geo scales. The project become a way to protect counter publics and their pre-figurative innovators against the whims of reigning economic and political powers.

Scenario three contains a number of consequences and implications. First, in this scenario counter publics become more enfranchised in different ways across the different scales of space, structure, and power as structural platforms are created drawing on the energy - financial, cultural and political resources of SEAs - for the construction of planetary resource pools and solidarity processes that provide leverage in relation to dominant publics. Secondly, in WSF 2.0, the 'another world is possible' aspirations reflect the creation of a space and public discourse in which different actors actively inhabit each other's alternative universes, an embodied form of solidarity that allows such a SEA to come into being. It is movement as a cellular transformation of life through relational solidarity. Thirdly, as a global strategy it privileges the 'noo-political' space of virtual coordination over embodied localised interactions, which carries negative implications for those actors dis-enfranchised in respect to virtual strategies. Finally, it is able to draw together localised SEAs – on their own terms - into a planetary process of interlinking.

#### *6.2.4 Scenario Four: The Dis-integration of WSFP and Death of the AGM*

This scenario is modelled on the example of the G20 Convergence as analysed in chapter five, which provides the template for understanding how a dis-integration of the AGM may occur and

how it would impact the WSF(P).

Heterogeneous AGM networks, processes and movements for social change continue to diverge. On the one hand are campaigns like MPH, which continue to attract large numbers, while anti-globalisation protests morph into a growing anti-capitalist movement. Three wings of climate activism begin to gain momentum as global patterns, a militant front of small but highly motivated groups for climate justice, a Gandhian front of popular civil disobedience for climate justice and mitigation, and a reformist sector for climate mitigation using popular engagement approaches backed by big business. Importantly, the WSF organising bodies (IS and IC) make little efforts to reach out to these various groups to coordinate a broader struggle (justifying their non-involvement based on the WSF Charter), and indeed these various movements are difficult to engage generally. Independently, these different AGM sub-movements and processes begin to develop strategic commitments without feeling a need to develop broader cross movement coherences in content and strategy.

Internal commitment within the WSF to involve itself as a movement coordinator is weak. The WSF contains deep social capital and networks, but is unwilling to use it for coordination. Local and regional forums continue but remain un-integrated or coordinated in respect to a broader AGM. While the WSF's remain large, increasingly anarchists / autonomists and state-socialists reject the forum as either verticalist, reformism or a waste of time.

After coordinating among various strands of the climate justice movement, a disciplined and coordinated Gandhian wing emerges. Trained extensively in non-violent direct action, their tactics are aimed at garnering support from the public through conscientious disobedience and disruption. Thousands of groups converge to support Global Days of Action (GDAs) for climate justice held in cities around the world. Videos of riot police brutalising protesters make their way into video-sharing platforms. Thousands of protesters are held in detention after each GDA.

Reformist fronts of the global justice and climate mitigation movements continue to grow in strength as popular concern over poverty and climate change increases. Big INGO's are able to reap the benefits of this public concern. Funded by state departments, armies of tele-marketers and a growing ensemble of corporate partnerships, these groups are able to leverage their own well managed enterprises and public concern, to make themselves the vanguards of social change in the public eye. While this irks many activists and movement organisers, the revenue continues

to pour in as the formula continues to work.

Despite these Gandhian and reformist fronts, a lack of action on climate change gives rise to widespread frustration in countries of the North and South, emboldening those espousing militancy and a 'diversity of tactics' (DoT). Anti-capitalist militants and climate militants begin to organise for guerrilla warfare against various targets. They are somewhat networked but largely uncoordinated. Climate militants target the symbols and infrastructure of climate emissions, first destroying car dealerships, later sabotaging rail and sea based coal transport, and coal fired electricity production. Anti-capitalist militants destroy shopping malls, and symbols of consumerism, excess and corporate prestige.

The most spectacular display of militancy occurs at a combined G20/UN event aimed to restart stalled climate mitigation talks. On the first day, reports of violence between black bloc and police on the outskirts of the city are reported. On the second day, militants attempt to breach the heavily fortified barrier of the summit compound. After a series of gun battles and numerous deaths and injuries, surviving militants take control of the conference hotel and take the US delegation hostage. Their five demands for the release of hostages is only the beginning of a longer war.

Over time the 'global public' loses sympathy for protest groups, who are increasingly framed by the media as terrorists, including the Gandhian wing. Some media pundits demand that activists be fitted with GPS tracking devices, and the death penalty for perpetrators of violence. Moderate news channels and papers begin to distance themselves from the hard edge of the climate justice movement and its demands. Careful to disassociate with the protest actions, the reformist end of the climate movement comes out looking like the progressive actor, untainted by the violence.

Militants have affiliations across and through the AGM, which has the effect of criminalising the whole field. The panoptic capabilities of state security agencies means that thousands of activists are potentially implicated. State security agencies become more brazen about 'detaining' suspected perpetrators. State 'detainment' / abduction of activists occur all over the world, including at WSFs, based on inter-state intelligence sharing of video footage, with the complicity/assistance of global ICT corporations. Extradition agreements between G8 and NIEs allow hundreds of activists, many innocent, to be extradited and prosecuted, and in some cases detained without charge and tortured. Many spend years defending themselves in Kangaroo

courts around the world.

Disagreements between Gandhians, militants and other factions, and a sense of betrayal that climate reformists sold out the climate justice movement, fragment the broad lines of the AGM. Vitriolic exchanges within actual and virtual public forums, lead to the loss of ‘relational capital’ that allowed a global resistance network to work in the first place. The criminalisation and panoptic control of dissent intensifies (Whyte, 2006). There are high level attacks on WSF web infrastructure, including the hacking of a major database, and government infiltration of the WSF organising group, which further undermines trust in attending social forums. With an AGM fragmented and bickering among themselves, and unable to match the distributive power of big media, climate reformists are legitimated, while AG transformists are tarred and feathered.

Scenario four contains a number of consequences and implications. First, this scenario represents a failure to hold the difference and complexity of an AGM together. No common organisational platform was created or used to ‘de-polarise pluralities’ and meta-form, or address the prismatic tensions in the AGM. Collaboration was not actively sought and movement actors therefore achieved incoherence and disintegration. Underneath each meta-network were viable congruences in terms of goals and visions, yet collaboration was rendered impossible due to strategic commitments and the imperative put on ‘success’ by each movement or group. Ideological differences lead to a fragmented set of actors who compete ever more aggressively. Secondly, ‘diversity of tactics’ (DoT) reaches its full expression through militancy and war. We see a loss of political space, as one group’s actions, amplified by media, implicate a broader set of actors. Yet to the extent that one group was demonised, marginalised, overshadowed or incarcerated, while another accrued legitimacy, the loss of political space and increasing criminalisation of dissent was the legacy of all. Thirdly, even for the reformist wings of the AGM, the demise of the AGM represents a loss of political space as well as cultural capital for its activities (increased surveillance and greater public fear to get involved in public campaigns) and loss of the legitimacy of ambitious aims (which are closely connected with the broader AGM). These reformist wings, which once stayed arm’s length away from protest groups and forums, realise too late that they had much in common with a broad AGM, indeed that they formed part of an AGM.

Finally, the disownment of structures of power (state and market) comes full circle. Great states actively target the AGM for prosecution. China and Russia are emboldened to crackdown on

human rights campaigners within and beyond their borders. Increasingly fragmented groups of people developing alternatives can only absorb the eco-insufficiencies and injustices that global power structures produce. The dominant public's resource, labour, and credibility gap(s) are addressed by dumping ever more externalities on communities and people. Fragmented, people building alternatives carve out niche existences in the face of an unsustainable system propping itself up through ever novel ways of legitimising its externalities and appropriations.

### 6.3 Social Complexity and the Construction of Another Possible World

The four scenarios re-iterate the challenge of social complexity identified in chapter two. The two lines of social complexity presented in chapter two, ontological and epistemological, re-emerge as critical factors that help to structure and contour our understanding of the dilemmas faced by the WSF(P) and AGM. The epistemological axis concerns the tension between prismaticism (epistemological pluralism) and polarisation (epistemological closure). The ontological axis concerns the tension between structure (organisational coherence and enfranchisement) and structureless-ness (dis-organisation and dis-enfranchisement).

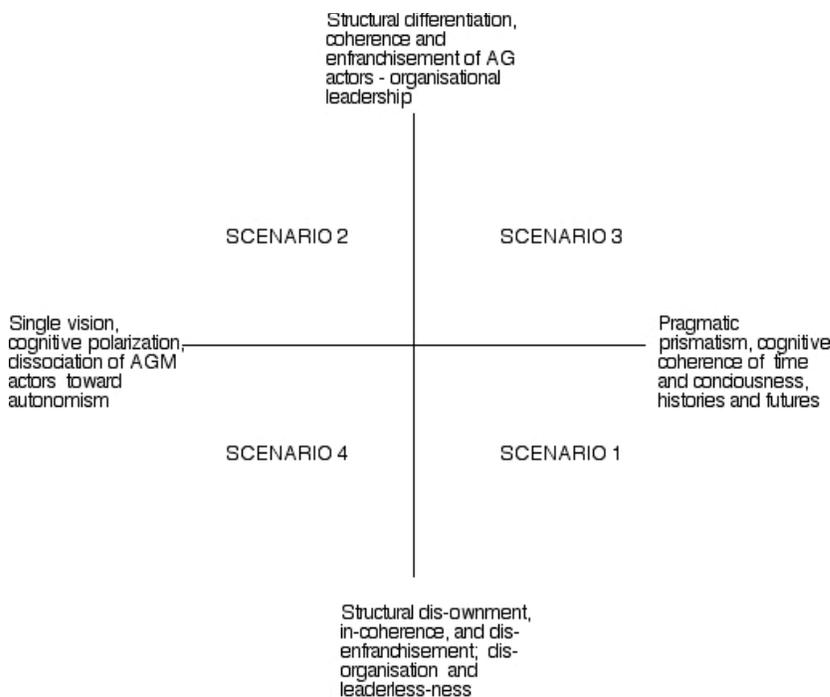


Figure 6.1: Social complexity and four scenarios for the WSF(P)

Figure 6.1 is a re-articulation of Table 2.2 in chapter two which analyses social complexity in the WSF(P). In figure 6.1, the four scenarios discussed are expressions of the epistemological and ontological tensions within the WSF(P) and AGM. Scenario one, the current trajectory of the WSF(P), describes it as a place for epistemological pluralism and structural disownment. A diversity of groups cohabit spaces without submitting to a coordinating organisation and reject strategic or thematic associations with businesses, parties and governments. In scenario two, we see epistemological closure and structural re-own-ment. An organising body emerges to give decision making structure and coordination to an AGM. Rather than epistemological pluralism, it provides an official direction and vision for change. In scenario three, we see structural re-own-ment with epistemological pluralism. This re-own-ment is by way of politicising existing institutions through engagement, and re-inventing the WSF(P) from a space to a platform that gives direction to ‘global projects’ but does not specify details, which are to be worked out by myriad groups. Finally, scenario four (draw from the account of the G20 Convergence) is an example of epistemological closure, as each meta-network is locked into its own operational success formula, vision and priorities, without attempting a mutual recognition of differences and commonalities (the existence or legitimacy of alternative AGM actors is not recognised). Furthermore, a joint platform for inter-organisational coordination is not developed or rejected, and the disownment of institutional power, together with its relational and strategic fragmentation, leads to an overall loss of political space for the AGM in general.

### *6.3.1 Addressing Social Complexity in Building a Movement for Another World*

The epistemic challenge facing the AGM is, How does it avoid polarisation and foster coherences between its diverse actors? Open space shows one vehicle for holding diversity, but for the AGM to move toward greater coherence and efficacy, new approaches will need to be developed. This requires legitimising ‘prismatism’ in its organisational forms, and finding social technologies in which this prismatism becomes a resource as opposed to a liability. One way of making epistemic pluralism a resource may be the multi-layered narratives of change and struggle that can challenge hegemonic narratives. Finding more effective ways in which diverse actors can articulate their stories of struggle as part of each other’s stories, systemically co-implicated as part of a common struggle, is key. This signifies the possibility of an emergent story of an AGM, people working together to potentiate a world of eco-social justice and sustainment. The other way of making epistemic pluralism a resource is through developing better processes through

which the futures embodied in the AGM can be coordinated toward greater coherence. Rather than a fragmentation of energies, building coherence through an ecology of strategies, among different geo-scales, time-scales and themes, and from micro-initiatives in prefiguration to macro-initiatives for systemic transformation, can use the dynamic diversity of the AGM as a resource. The AGM needs communicative frameworks that allow for effective and coordinated intervention in public discourse (for example the democratic control of the commons). As Bello argues,

*Developing a strategy of counter-power or counter-hegemony need not mean lapsing back into the old hierarchical and centralized modes of organizing characteristic of the old left. Such a strategy can, in fact, be best advanced through the multilevel and horizontal networking that the movements and organizations represented in the WSF have excelled in advancing their particular struggles. Articulating their struggles in action will mean forging a common strategy while drawing strength from and respecting diversity. (Bello, 2007b)*

The ontologic challenge facing the AGM is, What organisational and institutional forms need to be developed to enfranchise and empower counter publics and the SEAs they comprise? The movement toward collaborative agency (metaformation) within the AGM is facilitated and potentiated by the organisational forms developed to do this. If we desire greater levels of collaborative action and efficacy by diverse actors (social movements, governments, businesses, etc), we will need to develop the platforms that enable and potentiate such meta-formative developments. The positioning of counter-power purely outside of institutional power is highly problematic and fraught with contradictions. The institutional SEA is one foundation for the counter hegemonic SEA – navigating, politicising and building an institutional SEA must surely be a crucial factor in enabling alternative globalisations. In addition, we must build and resource organisational or institutional platforms that interlink planetary dimensions of the struggle. At the moment the relationship between geo-graphically diverse SEAs is *ad hoc*. This does not imply the need for ‘Old Left’ command and control. It can be done through organisational innovations that enable conditions and possibilities for geo-graphically dispersed collaborations between the many SEAs, in turn creating conditions for a self-recognising planetary SEA. This ontologic challenge can also be addressed through coordinated and strategic approaches to enfranchising an AGM into physical places and political spaces. Such spaces/places underpin the AGM’s capacity for co-presence and thus its meta-formative potentials. A counter public’s rapprochement with power must be by way of transforming the very means of engagement itself, its counter publican

characteristics are expressed through rejecting the accepted modes through which negotiation is framed as ‘reasonable’, and framing both the debate and the terms of engagement with dominant institutions to the advantage of counter publics. Finally, organisational or institutional innovations need to build and interlink both inner and outer movements of an AGM. Strategies for co-presencing and strategies for meta-formative action need to be integrated into increasingly virtuous cycles.

### *6.3.2 Qualifications and Further Research*

This was a local study of actors implicated in a planetary process. Yet even my research field trips to WSFs showed me how local SEAs are fundamental to the alternative globalisations that get vocalised from different parts of the world. This research project, which has been primarily located in Melbourne, Australia, has opened up a broader question of, How do other alternative localisations articulate alternative futures of globalisation in their diversity. Such an inquiry would be the basis for a more grounded, plural and rich ‘universalising’ and ‘humanising’. I have attempted to see how discourses and ideas guide the strategies of actors in thinking about and working for alternative globalisations, emphasising the embodied cognition of a diversity of groups. While this action research offered an insiders view, this thesis invites a broader cognitive mapping of the counter hegemonic energies in many locales toward the construction of a greater common humanity. This will require further work in twining the practical and theoretical, linking the dreams, aspirations and work of common folk in the construction of another possible world.

One of the significant findings in this thesis is how the organisational dimensions of the WSF(P) and AGM has a fundamental influence on the strategies for social change used by AGM actors and the substance of alternative futures of globalisation. The organisational futures of the WSF(P), and the development and innovation of other AGM referent institutions, is key to the question of the coherence and efficacy of an AGM. The key dilemma of how to hold the AGM’s diversity in a way that facilitates meaningful action for social change, is an open question. Future research can focus on institutional and organisational innovations in respect to creating alternative futures for globalisation. This thesis was limited to the WSF(P), and future research may look at a wider variety of institutional innovations for alternative globalisation outside of the WSF(P).

Further to such organisational challenges, within the AGM the strategies for social change are diverse and this repeatedly begged the question of, what platform or process gives coherence and

direction to such diversity? We can ask questions related to the enfoldment of inward (movement formation) and outward (movement action) ‘metabolic’ processes toward greater coherence and efficacy. Much of the thesis discussion has been of a method / methodological nature, and we can ask about what emerging social technologies are needed or coming into being to help us address our planetary predicaments. We can ask questions about how we might better facilitate ‘ecologies of action’ and reflection. How might we evaluate the efficacy of a variety of emerging metaformations attempting to enact change in the world, and draw insights from those processes and principles which supported and gave rise to their development? We may also look at the prefigurative innovations which are helping to coordinate and structure strategic complexity aimed at systemic transformations generally. Where are the breakthroughs where ontologic and epistemic complexities are being woven into powerful synergies for change? And, as the structural disownment of power is a key cultural barrier within the AGM, where is the selective and careful re-own-ment of power structures taking place, and to what new orders of coherence and what changes are such institutional re-own-ments leading to?

Finally, this study demonstrates a number of issues that have implications for the AGM’s role in Alternative Future of Globalisation. If enabling alternative globalisations requires creating vehicles and platforms for change through institutional and political innovation, how might we understand the relationship between organisational and institutional innovations, their efficacy, and the futures they embody, articulate and potentiate? Given the diversity of visions for another possible world are great – where are examples where this diversity is used as a resource, and where might we draw lessons from platforms where de-polarisation, interlinking and metaformation is made effective? Inversely, where do we see such diversity as a liability, where efforts at building common ground fail, or areas typified by epistemological closure and fragmentation? And, as the futures orientation in the WSF(P) is layered, and a strategic development process is needed, such as that advocated by Wallerstein (Wallerstein, 2004), where do we find the coherent co-mingling to strategic frames and visions? What might be some principles and approaches to the coherent co-mingling of strategic frames and visions? And, What types of coordination and leadership are required to facilitate such prismatic coherences?

### *6.3.3 The End is the Beginning*

To conclude, I would like to make one last point. I believe our human species is only at a beginning stage in a long term process. We are at the beginning of a turbulent 21<sup>st</sup> century, where

we are witnessing and may further witness frightening scales of ecological destruction, social inequity and the abuse of power, all of which will test us like never before. Yet with this we are also at the beginning of a process in which diverse groups of people are beginning to see themselves as aspects of a broader movement for planetary change, and respond accordingly. Thus, we are in the first stages of experimenting with the organisational forms and 'vehicles' that can help facilitate such meta-formative processes for transformation, the WSF(P) being only one initial experiment. This transformation is also one of consciousness, as we are at the beginning stages of understanding ourselves in the cosmos and our planetary home. This inclines me to believe that we are at the beginning stages in the construction of a planetary civilisation, which contains the possibility that we may be at peace between ourselves and with the planet we inhabit. While our challenges are great, I have witnessed monumental creativity among people of every walk of life, working in myriad ways to improve their lives and the lives of others. Their resilience, creativity and commitment give me hope that, in the words of Arundhati Roy, 'Another world is not only possible, she is on her way. On a quiet day, I can hear her breathing' (Roy, 2003).

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### Appendix A: World Social Forum Charter of Principles

The committee of Brazilian organizations that conceived of, and organized, the first World Social Forum, held in Porto Alegre from January 25th to 30th, 2001, after evaluating the results of that Forum and the expectations it raised, consider it necessary and legitimate to draw up a Charter of Principles to guide the continued pursuit of that initiative. While the principles contained in this Charter - to be respected by all those who wish to take part in the process and to organize new editions of the World Social Forum - are a consolidation of the decisions that presided over the holding of the Porto Alegre Forum and ensured its success, they extend the reach of those decisions and define orientations that flow from their logic.

1. The World Social Forum is an open meeting place for reflective thinking, democratic debate of ideas, formulation of proposals, free exchange of experiences and interlinking for effective action, by groups and movements of civil society that are opposed to neoliberalism and to domination of the world by capital and any form of imperialism, and are committed to building a planetary society directed towards fruitful relationships among Humankind and between it and the Earth.

2. The World Social Forum at Porto Alegre was an event localized in time and place. From now on, in the certainty proclaimed at Porto Alegre that "another world is possible", it becomes a permanent process of seeking and building alternatives, which cannot be reduced to the events supporting it.

3. The World Social Forum is a world process. All the meetings that are held as part of this process have an international dimension.
4. The alternatives proposed at the World Social Forum stand in opposition to a process of globalization commanded by the large multinational corporations and by the governments and international institutions at the service of those corporations interests, with the complicity of national governments. They are designed to ensure that globalization in solidarity will prevail as a new stage in world history. This will respect universal human rights, and those of all citizens - men and women - of all nations and the environment and will rest on democratic international systems and institutions at the service of social justice, equality and the sovereignty of peoples.
5. The World Social Forum brings together and interlinks only organizations and movements of civil society from all the countries in the world, but it does not intend to be a body representing world civil society.
6. The meetings of the World Social Forum do not deliberate on behalf of the World Social Forum as a body. No-one, therefore, will be authorized, on behalf of any of the editions of the Forum, to express positions claiming to be those of all its participants. The participants in the Forum shall not be called on to take decisions as a body, whether by vote or acclamation, on declarations or proposals for action that would commit all, or the majority, of them and that propose to be taken as establishing positions of the Forum as a body. It thus does not constitute a locus of power to be disputed by the participants in its meetings, nor does it intend to constitute the only option for interrelation and action by the organizations and movements that participate in it.
7. Nonetheless, organizations or groups of organizations that participate in the Forums meetings must be assured the right, during such meetings, to deliberate on declarations or actions they may decide on, whether singly or in coordination with other participants. The World Social Forum undertakes to circulate such decisions widely by the means at its disposal, without directing, hierarchizing, censoring or restricting them, but as deliberations of the organizations or groups of organizations that made the decisions.
8. The World Social Forum is a plural, diversified, non-confessional, non-governmental and non-party context that, in a decentralized fashion, interrelates organizations and movements engaged in concrete action at levels from the local to the international to build another world.
9. The World Social Forum will always be a forum open to pluralism and to the diversity of activities and ways of engaging of the organizations and movements that decide to participate in it, as well as the diversity of genders, ethnicities, cultures, generations and physical capacities, providing they abide by this Charter of Principles. Neither party representations nor military organizations shall participate in the Forum. Government leaders and members of legislatures who accept the commitments of this Charter may be invited to participate in a personal capacity.
10. The World Social Forum is opposed to all totalitarian and reductionist views of economy, development and history and to the use of violence as a means of social control by the State. It upholds respect for Human Rights, the practices of real democracy, participatory democracy, peaceful relations, in equality and solidarity, among people, ethnicities, genders and peoples, and condemns all forms of domination and all subjection of one person by another.
11. As a forum for debate, the World Social Forum is a movement of ideas that prompts

reflection, and the transparent circulation of the results of that reflection, on the mechanisms and instruments of domination by capital, on means and actions to resist and overcome that domination, and on the alternatives proposed to solve the problems of exclusion and social inequality that the process of capitalist globalization with its racist, sexist and environmentally destructive dimensions is creating internationally and within countries.

12. As a framework for the exchange of experiences, the World Social Forum encourages understanding and mutual recognition among its participant organizations and movements, and places special value on the exchange among them, particularly on all that society is building to centre economic activity and political action on meeting the needs of people and respecting nature, in the present and for future generations.

13. As a context for interrelations, the World Social Forum seeks to strengthen and create new national and international links among organizations and movements of society, that - in both public and private life - will increase the capacity for non-violent social resistance to the process of dehumanization the world is undergoing and to the violence used by the State, and reinforce the humanizing measures being taken by the action of these movements and organizations.

14. The World Social Forum is a process that encourages its participant organizations and movements to situate their actions, from the local level to the national level and seeking active participation in international contexts, as issues of planetary citizenship, and to introduce onto the global agenda the change-inducing practices that they are experimenting in building a new world in solidarity.

Approved and adopted in São Paulo, on April 9, 2001, by the organizations that make up the World Social Forum Organizing Committee, approved with modifications by the World Social Forum International Council on June 10, 2001.

### **Appendix B: Social Forums Around the World**

- Transatlantic Social Forum Madrid, Spain May 18 and 19, 2002
- Basque Country Social Forum Bayonne, France June 22 and 23, 2002
- Meeting in preparation for the European SF in Salonica Thessaloniki, Greece July 13 and 14, 2002
- Venezuela Social Forum Caracas, Venezuela July 4 to 7, 2002
- Social Movements Meeting Johannesburg, South Africa August 26 and 27 2002
- Second National Plenary of individuals and organisations participating in the Portugal Social Forum September 21, 2002
- Belgium Social Forum Brussels, Belgium September 21, 2002
- Quebec Social Forum Quebec, Canada September 27 to 29, 2002
- Argentina Forum – Corrientes October 11 and 12, 2002
- Skåne Social Forum Lund, Sweden October 18 to 20, 2002
- Maldonado Social Forum Uruguay October 26 and 27, 2002
- Meeting of the Hemispheric Council of The Social Forum of the Americas October, 28 2002
- Bay Area Social Forum United States Oct-02
- Cameroon Social Forum November 2 and 3, 2002
- Uruguay Social Forum Montevideo, Uruguay November 15 to 17, 2002
- Small World Social Forum – Canada University of Victoria - Canada November, 16 to

- 18, 2002
- Colombia Social Forum Bogota, Colombia Date: November 22 and 23, 2002
- I Forum on Globalisation, Albacete, Spain Albacete, Spain November 26 to December 17, 2002
- Norway Social Forum Oslo, Norway November 28 to December 1st
- Marocco Social Forum December 20 to 22, 2002
- New York Social Forum January 11, 2003
- Uppsala Social Forum Uppsala, Sweden January 18 and 19, 2003
- World Education Forum Porto Alegre, Brazil January, 19 to 22, 2003
- Hungarian Social Forum April 5 and 6, 2003
- Journey - Route to the Peru Social Forum April 24 and 25, 2003
- Pays Basque Social Forum April 26 and 27, 2003
- Belgium Social Forum May, 10 2003
- Irish Social Forum Open Day Dublin May 24, 2003
- Austria Social Forum Hallein, Salzburg May 29 to June 1st, 2003
- Portugal Social Forum Lisbon, Portugal June 7 to 10, 2003
- Greek Social Forum Thessaloniki, Greece June 20 to 22, 2003
- IV Mesoamerican Forum - (Continental Campaign against the FTAA) Tegucigalpa, Honduras July 21 to 24, 2003
- Foro por un Derecho Social Mundial (Forum for a Social Law) Buenos Aires, Argentina September, 8 to 9 , 2003
- Swiss Social Forum Friburg, Switzerland September 19 to 21, 2003
- Nigerian Women's Social Forum Niamey, NIGER 1 September 25 and 26, 2003
- II University Social Forum Asuncion, Paraguay September 26 to 28, 2003
- Nigerian Social Forum Niamey, NIGER 2 September 25 and 26, 2003
- Santa Fe Thematic Social Forum Ciudad de Santa Fe, Argentina October 3 to 5, 2003
- Zimbabwe Social Forum Harare, Zimbabwe October 9 to 11, 2003
- Austral Africa Social Forum Lusaka, Zambia, Austral Africa November 9 to 11, 2003
- II Uruguay Social Forum Montevideo, Uruguay October 10 to 12, 2003
- 1st Alberta Social Forum University of Alberta, Edmonton, Alberta, Canada October 17 to 19, 2003
- 1st Irish Social Forum Dublin, Ireland October 17 to 19, 2003
- Social Forum Mallorca Palma, Mallorca October 17 to 19, 2003
- Denmark Social Forum Copenhagen, Denmark October 31 to November 1, 2003
- New York Social Forum New York City, USA November 1, 2003
- Brazil Social Forum Belo Horizonte (MG), Brazil November 6 to 9, 2003
- II Health Social Forum Medicine College of UBA, Argentine November 7 to 9, 2003
- Southern Africa Social Forum Mulungushi Conference Centre, Lusaka, Zambia November 9 to 11, 2003
- Paraguay Social Forum Asunción, Paraguay November 20 to 23, 2003
- Social Forum Aotearoa Wellington, Aotearoa/New Zealand November 21 to 23, 2003
- Ivory Social Forum Abidjan, Ivory Coast November to 25 to 27, 2003
- Central Africa Social Forum Bangui, Central Africa November 26 to 29, 2003
- Delhi Social Forum Meeting December 8, 2003
- Sub-regional Consultation Meeting Maputo, Mozambique December 13 and 14, 2003
- Senegalese Social Forum Dakar, Senegal December 18 to 20, 2003
- Central African Social Forum Central African Republic Dec-03
- Forum for Another Mali Bamako, Mali January 4 and 5, 2004
- Pakistan Social Forum Lahore, Pakistan January 12 and 13, 2004
- Guinea Social Forum Conakry, Guinea Jan-04

- São Paulo World Education Forum São Paulo, Brazil April 1 to 4, 2004
- Finnish Social Forum Helsinki, Finland April 3 to 4, 2004
- IV Local Authorities Forum Barcelona, Spain May 7 and 8, 2004
- Lima Social Forum (San Marcos Journey) Lima, Peru May 13 and 14, 2004
- Regional Argentinian and Latin American Education Forum for the peoples to have voice, Córdoba, May 21 to 23, 2004
- Austrian Social Forum Linz, Austria June 3 to 6, 2004
- Thematic Social Forum on Social and Solidarity Economy – Buenos Aires, Argentina June 5 and 6, 2004
- Civil Society Forum (XI UNCTAD) São Paulo, Brazil June from 11 to 17, 2004
- Triple Frontier Social Forum Puerto Iguazu, Argentina June 25 to 27, 2004
- Congolese Social Forum Congo Jun-04
- Nigeria Social Forum Abuja or Lagos (to be set), Nigeria Jun-04
- Social Forum Ivory Coast Yamoussoukro (Politic Capital), Ivory Coast July from 16 to 19, 2004
- 5th Mesoamerica Forum - Constructing Grassroots Power for Self-Determination, San Salvador, El Salvador July 19 - 21, 2004
- Boston Social Forum Boston, EUA July 23 to 25, 2004
- III World Education Forum Porto Alegre, Brazil July 28 to 31, 2004
- Morocco Social Forum Rabat, Morocco July 27 to 29, 2004
- Peru Social Forum Tambogrande (Piura), Peru August 2 - 4, 2004
- Paraná Medio Social Forum - Argentina La Paz - Entre Ríos, Argentina August 14 - 15, 2004
- Colombia Social Forum Bogota, Colombia August from 17 to 22, 2004
- 3rd World Forum for Judges - Argentina Buenos Aires, Argentina August 30, 31 and September 1
- Sydney Social Forum University of Technology, Sydney, Australia September 17 to 19, 2004
- Uruguay Social Forum Montevideo, Uruguay September 18 - 19, 2004
- Denmark Social Forum Christiania and Christianshavn, Copenhagen, Denmark October 1 to 3, 2004
- Melbourne Social Forum Oct-04
- Northwest Social Forum Seattle, WA - United States ???
- Malawi Social Forum Lilongwe, Malawi October 19 - 22, 2004
- Benin Social Forum Catanou, Benin October 21 - 27, 2004
- New York City Social Forum October 28-31, 2004
- Chile Social Forum Chile November 19 to 21, 2004
- Social Forum Málaga Province December from 3 to 6, 2004
- World Forum on Agrarian Reform Valencia, Spain December from 5 to 8
- African Social Forum Lusaka, Zambia December 10 to 14, 2004
- Brisbane Social Forum 2004
- Social Forum in Bahia (Brazil) Salvado, Bahia October 28th to 29th 2004
- Social Forum in Maranhão (Brazil), São Luis, Maranhão November 5th and 6th 2004
- Northeastern Social Forum Recife, Pernambuco, Brazil November 24th to 27th 2004
- Social Forum in Rio de Janeiro São Gonçalo, Rio de Janeiro November 26th and 27th 2004
- Northwestern Area Social Forum Santos, São Paulo November 28th 2004
- 3rd Potiguar Social Forum Natal, Rio Grande do Norte (Brazil) December 16th to 19th 2004
- 2nd Colombia Social Fórum Dec-04

- World Forum on Agrarian Reform Valencia, Spain December 5th to 8th 2004
- 1st Melbourne Social Forum Nov. 2004
- Pan-Amazon Social Forum Manaus, Amazonas 18 a 22 de janeiro de 2005
- Migration Social Forum Porto Alegre, Brazil from January 23 to 24, 2005
- I Health World Social Forum, Porto Alegre, Brazil from January 23 to 25, 2005
- IV Judges World Forum Centro de Eventos do Plaza São Rafael, Porto Alegre, Brazil from January 23 to 25, 2005
- Local Authorities Forum for the Social Inclusion ( LAF) Território Social Mundial (World Social Territory) January 25, 2005
- I Information and Communication World Forum Porto Alegre, Brazil January 25, 2005
- World Parliamentary Forum Assembléia Legislativa do, Porto Alegre, Brazil from January 29 to 30, 2005
- People World Water Forum Geneva, Swiss March 18 and 19, 2005
- Finnish Social Forum Helsinki, Finland April 9 and 10, 2005
- Chicago Social Forum May 1st, 2005
- Portugal Thematic Forum - Meeting Resistances and Alternatives, Portugal, May 14, 2005
- Mallorca Social Forum Mallorca, Spain from May 20 to 22, 2005
- 6th International Free Software Forum Porto Alegre, Brazil June 1-4, 2005
- Swiss Social Forum Fribourg, Switzerland June from 3 to 5, 2005
- Guadalupe Social Forum Petit-Bourg, Place de Viard, Guadalupe June 4 - 5, 2005
- West Cameroon Social Forum Bafoussam 8 e 9 de junho de 2005
- 4th People's Forum Fana, Mali from July 6th to 9th, 2005
- Paraná Medio Social Forum La Paz, Entre Ríos, Argentina July from 15 to 17, 2005
- Germany Social Forum Erfurt, Germany July from 21 to 24, 2005
- Brisbane Social Forum Brisbane, Australia July from 29 to 31, 2005
- International Forum – Indigenous People Porto Alegre, Brazil August from 11 to 14, 2005
- Sydney Social Forum Sydney, Australia August from 27 to 29, 2005
- Nigeria Social Forum Lagos, Nigeria September 14th to 19th, 2005
- West African Social Fórum Cotonou, Benin September 23rd to 25th, 2005
- 3rd Atacama Social Forum Atacama, Chile October 7th and 8th, 2005
- 2nd Solidarity Culture Forum Lima, Peru October 13th to 26th, 2005
- Southern African Social Forum Harari, Zimbabwe October 13th to 15th, 2005
- 1st Cameroon Social Forum Yaoundé, Centre Jean XXIII, Cameroon November 10 and 11, 2005
- Uganda Social Forum Namboole, Uganda Nov 10th to 12nd, 2005
- Rio Grande do Sul-State Youth Forum Cruz Alta, Brazil November from 11 to 15, 2005
- 2nd Nigeria Social Forum Lagos-Abeokuta Expressway, Iyana Ipaja November from 14 to 18, 2005
- 2nd Melbourne Social Forum November 19 and 20, 2005
- Chile Social Forum November from 19 to 21, 2005
- 1st Quebec Social Forum Quebec, Canada November from 25 to 27, 2005
- Kenya Social Forum Nairobi, Kenya November 25th and 26th 2005
- 4th African Social Forum Conakry, Guinea Republic from December 1st to 5th
- Uruguay Health Social Forum Montevideo, Uruguay December 8th to 10th, 2005
- VI Mesoamerican Forum San Jose, Costa Rica December from 12 to 14, 2005
- 3rd Social Forum Ivory Coast Dec-05
- 1st Brazil-Uruguay Binational Camp Barra do Chuí (Santa Vitória do Palmar), Brazil, Barra do Chuy and Rocha, Uruguay January from 24 to 29, 2005

- Tocantins Social Forum Araguaína, Brazil April from 1 to 3 2005
- Austria Social Forum Salzburg Austria, October 2005
- 4th European Social Forum Atenas, Greece May 4th to 7th, 2006
- Dutch Social Forum Nijmegen, Netherlands May 19th to 21st, 2006
- Maghreb Social Forum preparatory assembly Bouznika, Maroc January from 13 to 15, 2006
- Guatemala Social Forum Guatemala January 20 and 21, 2006
- VI Local Authorities Forum Caracas, Venezuela January 23 and 24, 2006
- Americas Continental Health Forum Caracas, Venezuela Jan-06
- Danish Social Forum Copenhagen, Denmark February 3rd to 5th, 2006
- World Education Forum Nova Iguaçu (RJ), Brazil March 23rd to 26th, 2006
- VII Free Software Workshop Centro de Eventos FIERGS, Porto Alegre, Brazil April 19th to 22nd, 2006
- 2nd Brazilian Social Forum Recife (PE), Brazil April 20 to 23rd, 2006
- Social Forum Cymru/Wales Aberystwyth, Ceredigion, Cymru/Wales, Britain. 28th April to 1st May 2006
- Houston Social Forum April 29-30 2006
- Porto Rico Social Forum Porto Rico March 26th to 28th 2006
- Border Social Forum Ciudad Juarez, Mexico, May 1st to 7th, 2006
- 2nd Migrations World Social Forum Rivas Vaciamadrid June 22nd to 24th, 2006,
- 2nd World Social Forum: Ancestral Wisdoms, October 12 - 15 2007, Cochabamba, Bolivia
- Germany Social Forum, October 18 - 21, 2007, Cottbus, Germany
- Mercosul Youth Social Forum, November 1 to 4, 2007, Florianopolis, Santa Catarina, Brazil
- 5th Local Authorities Forum, January 24th, 2007, Nairobi, Kenya
- 3rd Melbourne Social Forum, April 20-22, 2007, Melbourne, Australia
- III La Vall Social Forum, May 4 (opening) and 6, 2007, la Vall d'Uixó, País Valencià
- Dutch Social Forum, May 20, 2007, Amsterdam, Netherlands
- Congo Social Forum, June from 24 to 27, 2007, Kinshasa, Democratic Republic of the Congo
- US Social Forum, June 27-July 1st, 2007, Atlanta, Georgia, United States
- 2nd Northeast Social Forum, August from 2 to 5, 2007, Salvador, Bahia, Brazil
- Quebec Social Forum, August from 23 to 26, 2007, Montreal, Quebec, Canada
- Social Movement Forum, August 30 to September 2, 2007, Sungkyunkwan University, Seoul, Korea
- World Education Forum - Alto Tietê, September 12 - 16, 2007, Mogi das Cruzes, Brazil
- Mercosur Social Forum, January 26 - 29, 2008, Curitiba, Brazil
- Saguenay-Lac-St-Jean Social Forum (FSR02), may 2 to 4 2008, Québec, Canada
- 3rd Triple Border Social Forum, June 5 - 7, 2008, Foz do Iguaçu, Brazil
- Los Angeles Social Forum, June, 2008, Los Angeles, US
- London Regional Social Forum, June 12 - 15, 2008, London, Ontario, Canada
- Americas Social Forum, October 7 - 12 october, 2008, Guatemala City, Guatemala
- San Salvador – El Salvador. Organizational Meeting of the ASF, February 27 to 29 2009:
- II Social Forum Burkina in Ouahigouya, Regional Integration and food sovereignty March 27-29 2009
- Managua – Nicaragua. Central America Forum's committee Meeting, April 19 to 21 2009
- Melbourne Social Forum, Melbourne Australia, April 2009
- Youth Social Forum, Canasvieiras, Florianopolis, Brazil, April 5 and 6 2009
- Vall d'Uixó, Valencian Country. IV Social Forum in Vall -Make the Valencian Country

- Social Forum May 30 and 31 2009
- Facatativa, Colombia - Sabana Social Forum, May 31 to June 2nd 2009:
  - Foz do Iguacu, Paraná, Brazil - Three Borders Landmark Social Forum , June 5 to 7 2009
  - Managua – Nicaragua: Central American Forum, July 14 to 16 2009
  - III Migrations World Social Forum, to take place in Riva-Vacia, Madrid, Spain, September 11-13 2009
  - European Social Forum in Malmö, Sweden, Sept. 17 to 21 2009
  - III Americas Social Forum, Guatemala City, Guatemala, October 7 to 12 2009
  - China. Asian Forum, Beijing, October 15 to 17 2009
  - Third Humanist Latin-American Forum - Buenos Aires, Argentina - November 6, 7 and 8, 2009
  - Fórum Social Outaouais (FSO), Outaouais, Québec, Canada Nov 7 to 9 2009:
  - I Ecological World Social Forum in Cochabamba, Bolivia Nov. 28, 29 and 30 2009
  - Galician Social Forum, Galicia December 5 to 7 2009
  - I Solidarity Economy Social Forum and I Solidarity Economy World Fair, Santa Maria and Canoas (Greater Porto Alegre), Brazil, January 22-24<sup>th</sup> 2010 (Santa Maria), 25-29<sup>th</sup> (Canoas)
  - 6th World Forum of Judges, Porto Alegre – RS, 22 a 24 de Janeiro 2010
  - Serra Gaúcha World Social Forum, Bento Gonçalves - RS – Brasil, January 22-24 2010
  - Intercontinental Youth Camp 10 years - Movements in movement, Lomba Grande - Novo Hamburgo, RS, January 23-29 2010
  - Tokyo Social Forum, January, 24 2010
  - Greater Porto Alegre 10 Years World Social Forum Seminar, Greater Porto Alegre, Brazi, January 25-29 2010
  - Right and Justice - World Forum Theology and Liberation / Preparatory Seminar towards Dakar (Greater Porto Alegre 10 Years Social Forum), São Leopoldo, RS (Brazil), January, 26<sup>th</sup>-28<sup>th</sup> 2010
  - II Atlantic Local Social Forum, Kpomassé, Benin, January 28-31 2010
  - Madrid World Social Forum 2010, Madrid, Spain, January 28-31 2010
  - Czech Social Forum, Prague, Brno, Usti nad Labem - Czech Republic, January 29-30 2010
  - Bahia Thematic Social Forum, Salvador, Brazil, January 29-31 2010
  - 5th Stuttgart-Open-Fair, large Civil Society Festival/Platform, Stuttgart, Germany, January 29 - 31<sup>st</sup> 2010
  - El Salvador World Social Forum, San Salvador, El Salvador, January-30<sup>th</sup> 2010
  - Catalan Social Forum, Barcelona, Catalonia, Spain, January, 30-31 2010
  - Expanded Social Forum of Peripheries, February, 3<sup>rd</sup>-6<sup>th</sup> 2010, Loteamento Dunas, Pelotas - RS - Brazil.
  - World Forum on Early Childhood and Youth Education, Osasco- SP – Brazil, February 26-27 2010
  - Osaka Social Forum, March 21-22 2010
  - Actions for the Right to City, apart from the World Urban Forum (WUF 5), Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, March 22-26 2010
  - 2nd Global Boycott, Divestment and Sanction Action Day during the Palestinian Land Day, multiple countries, March 30<sup>th</sup> 2010
  - World Forum of the Collective Rights of Peoples, Girona, Catalonia, Spain, April 22-25 2010
  - Thematic Forum on Alternatives to Financial Crisis, Mexico City, Mexico, May 2-4 2010
  - 2nd US Social Forum, Detroit, Michigan, USA, June 22-26 2010

[http://www2.forumsocialmundial.org.br/dinamic.php?pagina=foruns\\_nacionais\\_eng](http://www2.forumsocialmundial.org.br/dinamic.php?pagina=foruns_nacionais_eng) and many thanks to Peter Funke for initiating this.

### Appendix C: Composition of the International Council

#### DELEGATES

50 Years is Enough! - [www.50years.org](http://www.50years.org)  
 Associação Brasileira de ONGs - [www.abong.org.br](http://www.abong.org.br)  
 Action Aid International – [www.actionaid.org](http://www.actionaid.org)  
 Australian Council of Trade Unions - [www.actu.asn.au](http://www.actu.asn.au)  
 American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations - [www.aflcio.org/home.htm](http://www.aflcio.org/home.htm)  
 Africa Trade Network - <http://africatradenetwork.com>  
 Alternative Information on Development Center - <http://aidc.org.za>  
 Agencia Latinoamericana de Informacion - [www.alainet.or](http://www.alainet.or)  
 Assoc. Latino Americana de Pequenos e Médios Empresários - [www.apyme.com.ar](http://www.apyme.com.ar)  
 Aliança Por Um Mundo Responsável e Solidário - [www.alliance21.org](http://www.alliance21.org)  
 All Arab Peasants & Agricultural Co-operatives Union,  
 ALOP - Assoc. Latino Americana de Organismos de Promoção - [www.alop.or.cr](http://www.alop.or.cr)  
 Alternative Information Center - [www.alternativenews.org](http://www.alternativenews.org)  
 Alternatives - [www.alternatives.ca](http://www.alternatives.ca)  
 Alternative International - [www.alternatives.ca](http://www.alternatives.ca)  
 Alternatives Rússia - [dhr@online.ru](mailto:dhr@online.ru)  
 Amigos da Terra - [www.foei.org](http://www.foei.org)  
 APRODEV - [www.aprodev.net](http://www.aprodev.net)  
 Arab NGO Network for Development - [www.annd.org](http://www.annd.org)  
 Asian Regional Exchange for New Alternatives - [www.asianexchange.org](http://www.asianexchange.org)  
 Articulación Feminista Marco Sur - [www.mujeresdelsur.org.uy](http://www.mujeresdelsur.org.uy)  
 Aliança Social Continental - [www.ascahsa.org](http://www.ascahsa.org)  
 Asamblea de los Pueblos del Caribe (APC) - <http://movimientos.org/caribe/>  
 Assemblée Européenne des Citoyens - [www.cedetim.org/AEC](http://www.cedetim.org/AEC)  
 Assembléia das Nações Unidas dos Povos  
 Associação para o Progresso das Comunicações - [www.apc.org](http://www.apc.org)  
 ATTAC- Brasil - [www.attac.org/brasil](http://www.attac.org/brasil)  
 ATTAC France - <http://attac.org>  
 Babels - [wsfsm@babels.org](mailto:wsfsm@babels.org)  
 Bankwatch Network - [www.bankwatch.org](http://www.bankwatch.org)  
 CADTM- Comité pour l'Annulation de la Dette du Tiers Monde - <http://users.skynet.be/cadtm>  
 Canadian Council  
 Caritas Internationalis - [www.caritas.org](http://www.caritas.org)  
 Comissão Brasileira de Justiça e Paz - [www.cbjp.org.br](http://www.cbjp.org.br)  
 Cons. Educação de Adultos da Am. Latina - [www.ceaal.org](http://www.ceaal.org)  
 CEDAR Internacional - [www.cedarinternational.net](http://www.cedarinternational.net)  
 CEDETIM- Centre d'Etudes et d'Initiatives de Solidarité Internationale - [www.cedetim.org](http://www.cedetim.org)  
 Central de Trabajadores Argentinos - [www.cta.org.ar](http://www.cta.org.ar)  
 European Trade Union Confederation - [www.etuc.org](http://www.etuc.org)  
 CETRI - [www.cetri.be](http://www.cetri.be)  
 CIDSE - [www.cidse.org](http://www.cidse.org)  
 CIVIS - [www.cives.org.br](http://www.cives.org.br)

CLACSO - [www.clacso.org](http://www.clacso.org)  
 Canadian Labour Congress - [www.clc-ctc.ca](http://www.clc-ctc.ca)  
 Coligação para a Justiça Econômica - [viriatot@zebra.uem.mz](mailto:viriatot@zebra.uem.mz)  
 Convergência de los Movimientos de los Pueblos de las Américas -  
[www.sitiocompa.org/compa/index.php](http://www.sitiocompa.org/compa/index.php)  
 CONAIE - <http://conaie.org>  
 Congresso Nacional Indígena do México - [ceatl@laneta.apc.org](mailto:ceatl@laneta.apc.org)  
 Conselho Mundial de Igrejas - [www.wcc-coe.org](http://www.wcc-coe.org)  
 Coordinación del Foro “El Otro Davos” - [Page2@fastnet.ch](mailto:Page2@fastnet.ch)  
 Coordenadora de Centrais Sindicais do Cone Sul - <http://www.sindicatomercosul.com.br/>  
 Corpwatch - [www.corpwatch.org](http://www.corpwatch.org)  
 Congress of South African Trade Unions - [www.cosatu.org.za](http://www.cosatu.org.za)  
 Centre de Recherche et d’Information pour le Développement - [www.crid.asso.fr](http://www.crid.asso.fr)  
 Central Única dos Trabalhadores - [www.cut.org.br](http://www.cut.org.br)  
 Encuentros Hemisféricos contra el ALCA - [joel@mlking.sld.cu](mailto:joel@mlking.sld.cu)  
 ENDA - [www.enda.sn](http://www.enda.sn)  
 Euralat - [Criera@aepdc.org](mailto:Criera@aepdc.org)  
 Euromarches - [www.euromarches.org](http://www.euromarches.org)  
 FAMES - [rabia@enda.sn](mailto:rabia@enda.sn)  
 Frente Continental de Organizações Comunitárias - [mlongoria@laneta.apc.org](mailto:mlongoria@laneta.apc.org)  
 Federación Mundial de Juventudes Democráticas - [www.wfdy.org](http://www.wfdy.org)  
 Fédération démocratique internationale des femmes (FDIF) - [www.fdif.eu.org](http://www.fdif.eu.org)  
 Fundación per la Pau/International Peace Bureau (IPB) - [www.ipb.org](http://www.ipb.org)  
 Foundation Frantz Fanon  
 Food First International Action Network - [www.fian.org](http://www.fian.org)  
 Fed. Internacional Direitos Humanos - [www.fidh.org](http://www.fidh.org)  
 Focus on the Global South - <http://focusweb.org>  
 Forum des Organisations de Solidarité Internationale issues des Migrations - [forim@free.fr](mailto:forim@free.fr)  
 Fórum Dakar - [Residel.kaolack@sentoo.sn](mailto:Residel.kaolack@sentoo.sn)  
 Forum Mondial des Alternatives - [www.alternatives-action.org/fma](http://www.alternatives-action.org/fma)  
 Forum of the Poors - [fopthai@asiaaccess.net.th](mailto:fopthai@asiaaccess.net.th)  
 Fórum Social Italiano - [vagnoletto@lila.it](mailto:vagnoletto@lila.it)  
 General Union of Oil Employees in Southern Iraq - [101small@yahoo.com](mailto:101small@yahoo.com)  
 GLBT South-South Dialogue - [dialogo@fedaeps.org](mailto:dialogo@fedaeps.org)  
 Global Commons Foundation - [www.globalcommonsfoundation.org](http://www.globalcommonsfoundation.org)  
 Global Exchange - [www.globalexchange.org](http://www.globalexchange.org)  
 Global Policy Network - [www.globalpolicynetwork.org](http://www.globalpolicynetwork.org)  
 Global Progressive Fórum - [www.globalprogressiveforum.org](http://www.globalprogressiveforum.org)  
 Grassroots Global Justice - [www.ggjalliance.org](http://www.ggjalliance.org)  
 Greenpeace - <http://www.greenpeace.org/>  
 Grito dos Excluídos - [www.movimientos.org](http://www.movimientos.org)  
 Grupo de Trabalho Amazônico - [www.gta.org.br](http://www.gta.org.br)  
 Habitat International Coalition - <http://www.hic-net.org/>  
 Helsinki Citizens Assembly  
 Herriak Aske - [international@askapena.org](mailto:international@askapena.org)  
 Institute for Agriculture and Trade Policy - [www.iatp.org](http://www.iatp.org)  
 IBASE - [www.ibase.br](http://www.ibase.br)  
 Conselho Internacional de Educação de Adultos - [www.icae.org.uy/spa/sindex.html](http://www.icae.org.uy/spa/sindex.html)  
 International drama and education association (IDEA) - [www.idea-org.net](http://www.idea-org.net)  
 International Federation of Alternative Trade - [www.ifat.org](http://www.ifat.org)

International Forum on Globalization - [www.ifg.org](http://www.ifg.org)  
 International Alliance of Habitants - [www.habitants.org](http://www.habitants.org)  
 International Gender and Trade Network - [www.igtn.org](http://www.igtn.org)  
 International Network of Street Papers (INSP) - [www.insp.org](http://www.insp.org)  
 International Trade Union Confederation - [www.ituc-csi.org/](http://www.ituc-csi.org/)  
 Instituto Paulo Freire - [www.paulofreire.org](http://www.paulofreire.org)  
 Institut Panos Afrique de l'Ouest - [www.panos-ao.org](http://www.panos-ao.org)  
 Inter Press Service - [www.ips.org](http://www.ips.org)  
 Union of Arab Community Based Organisations - [www.ittijah.org](http://www.ittijah.org)  
 Jubilee South – Asia - [www.jubileesouth.org](http://www.jubileesouth.org)  
 Jubileo South – África - [www.jubileesouth.org](http://www.jubileesouth.org)  
 Jubileu 2000 - [kitazawa@jca.apc.org](mailto:kitazawa@jca.apc.org)  
 Jubileu Sul América Latina - [www.jubileusul.hpg.com.br](http://www.jubileusul.hpg.com.br)  
 Korean Confederation of Trade Unions - [www.kctu.org](http://www.kctu.org)  
 Kenya Debt Network - [sodnet@sodnet.or.ke](mailto:sodnet@sodnet.or.ke)  
 KOPA - <http://antiwto.jinbo.net/erom/index.html>  
 Land Research Action Network - [wellington@nlc.co.za](mailto:wellington@nlc.co.za)  
 Movimento dos Trabalhadores Sem Terra - [www.mst.org.br](http://www.mst.org.br)  
 Narmada - [www.narmada.org](http://www.narmada.org)  
 National Network of Autonomous Women's Groups - [shahnandita@redifmail.com](mailto:shahnandita@redifmail.com)  
 Network Institute for Global Democratization - [www.nigd.org](http://www.nigd.org)  
 North-South Centre - [www.coe.int/T/E/North-South\\_Centre](http://www.coe.int/T/E/North-South_Centre)  
 Continental Organization of Latin America and Caribbean Students - [www.oclae.org](http://www.oclae.org)  
 Organization of African Trade Unions Unity - [oatuu@ighmail.com](mailto:oatuu@ighmail.com)  
 Org. Regional Interamericana de Trabajadores - [www.orit-ciosl.org](http://www.orit-ciosl.org)  
 Organization de la Jeunesse Africaine - <http://www.ojafrique.org/>  
 OXFAM Internacional - [www.oxfam.org](http://www.oxfam.org)  
 Palestinian grassroots Anti-Apartheid Wall Campaign - [www.stopthewall.org](http://www.stopthewall.org)  
 Peace Boat - [www.peaceboat.org](http://www.peaceboat.org)  
 Peoples Health Movement - <http://www.phmovement.org>  
 Plataforma Interamericana de Derechos Humanos, Democracia y Desarrollo - [www.pidhdd.org](http://www.pidhdd.org)  
 Poor People's Economic Human Rights Campaign - [www.economichumanrights.org](http://www.economichumanrights.org)  
 Projeto K - [Salvatore.cannavo@flashnet.it](mailto:Salvatore.cannavo@flashnet.it)  
 Public Citizen - [www.citizen.org](http://www.citizen.org)  
 Red Latinoamericana Mulheres Transformando a Economia - <http://movimientos.org/remte>  
 Rede APM – Agricultures paysannes, sociétés et mondialisation - [www.zooide.com/apm](http://www.zooide.com/apm)  
 Rede CONSEU (Conferencia de Naciones sin Estado de Europa) - [activitats@ciemen.org](mailto:activitats@ciemen.org)  
 Rede Dawn de Mulheres - [www.dawn.org.fj](http://www.dawn.org.fj)  
 Rede de Solidariedade Ásia Pacífico - [intl@dsp.org.au](mailto:intl@dsp.org.au)  
 Rede Latino-Americana e Caribenha de Mulheres Negras - [www.criola.org.org](http://www.criola.org.org)  
 Rede Mulher e Habitat - <http://www.redmujer.org.ar>  
 Rede Mundial de Mulheres pelos Direitos Reprodutivos - [www.wgnrr.org](http://www.wgnrr.org)  
 Rede Palestina de ONGs - [www.pngo.net](http://www.pngo.net)  
 Rede Social de Justiça e Direitos Humanos - [www.social.org.br](http://www.social.org.br)  
 Rede Transforme! - [elgauthi@internatif.org](mailto:elgauthi@internatif.org)  
 Redes Socioeconomia Solidaria - [www.reasnet.com](http://www.reasnet.com)  
 Rede de Educação Popular entre Mulheres - [www.repem.org.uy](http://www.repem.org.uy)  
 Réseau Ouest Africain des Alternatives pour le Développement - [jubilecad-mali@cefib.com](mailto:jubilecad-mali@cefib.com)  
 Southern Initiative on Globalisation and Trade Union Rights - [rlambert@ecel.uwa.edu.au](mailto:rlambert@ecel.uwa.edu.au)  
 Social Movement Indaba

Social Watch - [www.socialwatch.org](http://www.socialwatch.org)  
 Social Development Network - <http://www.sodnet.or.ke>  
 Solidar - [www.solidar.org](http://www.solidar.org)  
 Solidarity Africa Network in Action - [njoki@igc.org](mailto:njoki@igc.org)  
 The International Federation Terre des Hommes (IFTDH) - [www.terredeshommes.org](http://www.terredeshommes.org)  
 Transnational Institute - [www.tni.org](http://www.tni.org)  
 Third World Network - [www.twinside.org.sg](http://www.twinside.org.sg)  
 Foro Mundial de Redes de la Sociedad Civil - [www.ubuntu.upc.es](http://www.ubuntu.upc.es)  
 Union Internacional de Estudiantes - [www.ius-ue.org](http://www.ius-ue.org)  
 Vasudhaiva Kutumbakam Network - [www.democracydialogues.org/](http://www.democracydialogues.org/)  
 Via Campesina - <http://ns.rds.org.hn/via/>  
 World Association of Community Radio Broadcasters (Amarc) - <http://www.amarc.org>  
 World March of Women - [www.ffq.qc.ca/marche2000/en/index.html](http://www.ffq.qc.ca/marche2000/en/index.html)  
 Zanzibar International Film Festival Of Dhow - [faloo@zitec.org](mailto:faloo@zitec.org)  
 Znet - [www.zmag.org](http://www.zmag.org)

## OBSERVERS

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([http://www.forumsocialmundial.org.br/main.php?id\\_menu=3\\_2\\_1&cd\\_language=2](http://www.forumsocialmundial.org.br/main.php?id_menu=3_2_1&cd_language=2))

## Appendix D: Porto Alegre Manifesto

Porto Alegre Manifesto - Group of Nineteen, February 20, 2005

ZMag: "There was much ado about a document put out by I think it was nineteen notable figures at this year's WSF. Oddly, the document itself wasn't dispersed very visibly or widely, perhaps in part because there was considerable consternation over process as well as some content, I think rightly. We have received what claims to be a translation, and it sounds like it is, so it seemed worthwhile to pass it along as a commentary, as a kind of document of record.  
[http://www.zmag.org/sustainers/content/2005-02/20group\\_of\\_nineteen.cfm](http://www.zmag.org/sustainers/content/2005-02/20group_of_nineteen.cfm)

### PORTO ALEGRE MANIFESTO:

Twelve proposals for another possible world

Since the first World Social Forum took place on January 2001, the social forum phenomenon has extended itself to all continents, at both national and local levels. It has resulted in the emergence of a worldwide public space for citizenship and strife, and permitted the elaboration of political proposals as alternatives to the tyranny of neoliberal globalisation by financial markets and transnational corporations, with the imperialistic, military power of the United States as its armed exponent.

Thanks to its diversity and solidarity between its actors, and the social movements of which it is composed, the alternative global movement has become a force to be taken into consideration globally. Many of the innumerable proposals which have been put forward on the forums have been supported by many social movements worldwide. We, the signers of the Porto Alegre Manifesto, by no means pretend to speak in the name of the entire World Social Forum, but speak on a strictly personal basis.

We have identified twelve such proposals, which we believe, together, give sense and direction to the construction of another, different world. If they would be implemented, it would allow citizens to take back their own future. We therefore want to submit these fundamentals points to the scrutiny of actors and social movements of all countries. It will be them that, at all levels - worldwide, continentally, nationally and locally-will move forward and fight for these proposals to become reality.

Indeed, we have no illusions about the real commitment of governments and international institutions to spontaneously implement any of these proposals, even though they might claim to do so, out of opportunism.

Another different world must respect the rights for all human beings to live, by the implementations of new economic measures. Therefore, it's necessary to:

1. Cancel the external debt of southern countries, which has been already paid many times over, and which constitutes the privileged means of creditor states, local and international financial institutions, to keep the largest part of humanity under their control and sustain their misery. This measure needs to be complemented by the restitution of the gigantic sums which have been stolen by their corrupt leaders.
2. Implement international taxes on financial transactions (most notably the Tobin tax on speculative capital), on direct foreign investments, on consolidated profit from multinationals, on weapon trade and on activities accompanied by large greenhouse effect gas emissions. Such financial means, complemented by public development help which should imperatively be 0.7% of the GNP of rich countries, should be directed towards fighting big epidemics (like AIDS), guarantee access to all humanity to clean water, housing, energy, health services and medication, education, and other social services.
3. Progressively dismantle all forms of fiscal, juridical and banking paradises, which do nothing more than facilitate organized crime, corruption, illegal trafficking of all kinds, fraud and fiscal evasion, and large illegal operations by large corporations and even governments. These fiscal paradises are not only limited to certain states, existing in areas of non-legality; they also exist within the legislation of developed countries. In a first instance, it would be advisable to strongly tax capital flux entering and leaving these 'paradises', as well as all establishments and actors, financial or otherwise, taking part in these gigantic transactions.

4. All inhabitants of this planet must have the right to be employed, to social protection and retirement/pension, respecting equal rights between men and women. This should be an imperative of all public polity systems, both national and international.
5. Promote all forms of equitable trade, reject all free-trade agreements and laws proposed by the World Trade Organization, and putting in motion mechanisms allowing a progressive upward equalisation of social and environmental norms ( as defined under the conventions by the International Labour Organization) on the production of goods and services. Education, health, social services and culture should be excluded from the scope of the General Agreement on Trades and Services (GATS) by the WTO. The convention on cultural diversity, currently being negotiated at UNESCO, must result in cultural rights and politics of public cultural support to explicitly prevail over commercial rights.
6. Guarantee the right to for all countries to alimentary sovereignty and security by promoting peasant, rural agriculture. This means a total suppression of all subventions to the export of agricultural products, mainly by the USA and the European Union, and the ability to tax imports to avoid dumping practices. In the same way, every country or group of countries must be able to decide in a sovereign way to forbid the production and import of genetically modified organism, meant for consumption.
7. Forbid all type of patenting of knowledge on living beings (human, animal or vegetal) as well as any privatization of common goods for humanity, particularly water. B. Another possible world must sustain community life in peace and justice, for all humanity. Therefore is it necessary to:
8. Fight by means of public policies against all kinds of discrimination, sexism, xenophobia, antisemitism and racism. Fully recognize the political, cultural and economic rights (including the access to natural resources) of indigenous populations.
9. Take urgent steps to end the destruction of the environment and the threat of severe climate changes due to the greenhouse effect, resulting from the proliferation of individual transportation and the excessive use of non-renewable energy sources. Start with the execution of an alternative development model, based on the sparing/efficient use of energy, and a democratic control of natural resources, most notably potable water, on a global scale.
10. Demand the dismantling of all foreign military bases and the removal of troops on all countries, except when operating under explicit mandate of the United Nations. Specially for Iraq and Palestina. C. Another possible world must promote democracy from the neighbouring level to the global level. Therefore, it's necessary to:
11. Guarantee the right to access information and the right to inform, for/by all citizens, by legislation which should:
  - a) End the concentration of media under gigantic communication groups
  - b) Guarantee the autonomy of journalists relative to actionnaires
  - c) Favour the development of non-profit press, alternative media and community networks.
 Respecting these right implies setting up a system of checks and balances for citizens, in particular national and international media observation institutions.
12. Reform and deeply democratize international institutions by making sure human, economic, social and cultural rights prevail, as stipulated by the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

This implies incorporating the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the World Trade Organization into the decision-making mechanism and systems of the United Nations. In case of persisting violation by the USA of international law, transfer the United Nations headquarters outside New York, to another country, preferably southern.

Porto Alegre, January 29 2005

Signed by Aminata Traoré, Adolfo Pérez Esquivel, Eduardo Galeano, José Saramago, François Houtart, Boaventura de Sousa Santos, Armand Mattelart, Roberto Savio, Riccardo Petrella, Ignacio Ramonet, Bernard Cassen, Samir Amin, Atilio Boron, Samuel Ruiz Garcia, Tariq Ali, Frei Betto, Emir Sader, Walden Bello, and Immanuel Wallerstein.

### **Appendix E: Proposals of the Bamako Appeal**

Only by building synergies and solidarity beyond geographical and regional borders is it possible to find methods of action that can lead to real alternatives in this globalized world. Working groups will continue during the year to inquire further into and concretize the topics addressed below, to prepare for the next meeting and to propose strategic priorities for action.

#### **1. For a multipolar world system founded on peace, LAW and negotiation**

In order to imagine an authentic multipolar world system which rejects the control of planet by the United States of America and guarantees the whole gamut of rights for politically active citizens, allowing the people to control their destinies, it is necessary:

1. to reinforce the movement protesting against war and military occupations, as well as solidarity with the people engaged in resistance in the hot spots of the planet. In this respect, it is crucial that the world demonstration against the war in Iraq and the military presence in Afghanistan envisaged for March 18 and 19, 2006, coincide with:
  - calls for the prohibition of the use and the manufacture of nuclear weapons and destruction of all the existing arsenals;
  - calls to dismantle all the military bases outside of national territory, in particular the base in Guantánamo [U.S.-occupied Cuba];
  - calls for the immediate closing of all the CIA-run prisons.
2. to reject any interventions by NATO outside Europe and to require that the European partners dissociate from themselves from U.S. "preventive" wars, while engaging in a campaign intended to dissolve NATO.
3. to reaffirm solidarity with the people of Palestine, who symbolize resistance to world apartheid, as expressed by the wall establishing the divide between "civilization" and "barbarism." For this purpose, to give priority to reinforcing the campaigns that demand the demolition of the wall of shame and the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the occupied territories.

4. to widen the solidarity campaigns with Venezuela and Bolivia, since these are places where people are building new alternatives to neoliberalism and crafting Latin-American integration;
5. Besides these campaigns, it would also be advisable to:
  - set up of a network of researchers, working in close connection with associations of militants acting at the local level, to build extensive and up-to-date data bases concerning U.S. and NATO military bases. Precise information on these military and strategic questions would make it possible to increase the effectiveness of the campaigns carried out to dismantle them;
  - create of an observer group, an "Imperialism Watch," which would not only denounce wars and war propaganda, but also expose all operations and pressures, economic and other, exerted on the peoples of the world;
  - create a worldwide anti-imperialist network that could coordinate a variety of mobilizations throughout the planet.

## **2. FOR an economic Reorganization of the GLOBAL system**

With the goal of developing an action strategy for transforming the global economic system, it is necessary:

1. to reinforce the protest campaigns against the current rules of operation of the World Trade Organization (WTO) and to define alternative rules (for the removal of the WTO from agriculture, services, intellectual property. . .);
2. to create working groups, which build relations with existing social associations and movements that have already undertaken this work over an extended period, to establish, in the most serious and exhaustive manner possible, an inventory of proposals for alternative measures in the most fundamental economic areas:
  - the organization of the transfer of capital and technology;
  - the proposal for regulations ("codes of investments" for example) specifying the rights of nations and workers;
  - the organization of the monetary system: control of the flow of capital (in particular speculative capital), suppression of tax havens, construction of regional systems of management of the stock exchanges and their connection to a renovated world system (calling in question the role of the IMF and the World Bank, returning to the principle of the rule of national laws to define the local economic system, overcoming the obstacles imposed by the unnegotiated decisions of international organization, etc.);
  - the development of a true legislation concerning foreign debts (requiring that national states provide audits allowing people to identify illegitimate debts) and the reinforcement of the mobilization, in the very short term, for the cancellation of Third

World debt;

- the reform of social services and their financing, including education, health, research, retirements. . . .
3. to create groups of expert researchers who can follow the evolutions of the movements of capital and mechanisms of dependence of national financial capital on international financial capital;
  4. to create working groups, with Internet site and newsgroups, by country and area, for the study of the structures of capitalist property, and the mechanisms by which capitalism operates in each country and its relationship with the international financial system;
  5. to create places to educate journalists and inform them about the complex mechanisms of neoliberal globalization.
  6. to establish contacts, in the form of connected Internet sites, between various associations of economists progressives and militants engaged in the search for alternatives to neoliberal globalization in each world region (Asia, Africa, Latin America, Oceania, Europe, North America).

### **3. FOR REGIONALIZATIONS IN THE SERVICE OF THE PEOPLE AND WHICH REINFORCE THE SOUTH IN GLOBAL NEGOTIATIONS**

Starting from the assumption that free trade, while supporting strongest countries and transnational monopolies, is the enemy of genuine regional integration and that the latter cannot be carried out according to the rules of free trade, it is necessary to create the conditions for an alternative means of co-operation within each great area, like for example a revival of the Tricontinental, always in close connection with the action of the social movements.

- In Latin America, confronting the aggression of the multinationals, the workers have proposed the demand for regional integration from a new point of view, based on cooperative advantages, instead of on comparative advantages. Such is the case of the alternative experiments of co-operation in the South regarding oil (*Petrocaribe*), reduction of the debt (repurchase of debts between countries of the South) or of education and health (Cuban doctors), for example. In fact, this co-operation that is meant to support the growth and solidarity of all countries must be based on political principle and not on the rules imposed by the WTO.
- In Africa, hopes for unity is very strong, as is the consciousness that resistance and development are impossible while countries are isolated and confronted with pressures from neoliberal globalization. The many institutions of integration, however, are ineffective there, and the most active are those inherited from the periods of colonization and apartheid. The African Union and its economic and social program (NEPAD) do not include any idea of collective resistance. It is in this context that civil societies must become aware of the need to overcome their divisions.
- For the North-African countries bordering the Mediterranean Sea, the Euro-Mediterranean Accords constitute an additional example of regionalization carried out to impose dependency on the South.

- In Asia, to confront neoliberal globalization, despite the difficulties, popular initiatives to carry out another type of regional integration have succeeded in beginning to join together a number of civil society organizations and NGOs in the majority of the countries, leading in particular to the development of a popular charter aiming to reinforce co-operation in trade.

Consequently, it seems appropriate to recommend, besides an intensification of the campaigns against wars and the threats of wars, the following proposals:

1. for Latin America: to widen the support campaigns to the ALBA, definitively to make sure the U.S. strategy of ALCA fails; to promote independence and the development in justice and equity among peoples and to integrate based on co-operation and solidarity and with the ability to adapt to specific needs of these two latter characteristics; to mobilize the social movements so as to broaden and deepen the processes of alternative integration, such as with *Petrocaribe* or *Telesur*; to promote trade in the context of a logic of cooperation; and to strengthen the coordination of social and political action organizations to implement these recommendations.
2. for Africa: to sensitize the movements of civil society to the need to formulate alternative proposals for African initiatives; to take into account the need for coordinating actions undertaken on regional and national levels; to launch campaigns for peace to put an end to the existing conflicts or to prevent the risks of new conflicts; to depart designs of integration founded on race or culture.
3. for Asia: to thwart the expansion and the competition of capital among countries and to reinforce solidarity between working classes of the various countries; to promote the local circuit between production and consumption; to promote sciences for rural reconstruction.

To be effective, co-operation among countries of the South must express solidarity with the peoples and governments that resist neoliberalism and seek alternatives from the point of view of a multipolar world system.

#### **4. FOR the DEMOCRATIC MANAGEMENT OF the PLANET'S Natural resources**

The concept of "natural resources" must be subordinated to that of sustainability, and thus of the right to a decent life for both present and future generations, with the goal of stopping the devastation and plunder of the planet. What is involved here is a vital principle and not a simple management of natural resources. These resources cannot be used beyond their renewal or replacement capacity, and should be employed in accordance with the needs of each country. Criteria for their use must be defined so as to guarantee genuine sustainable development, which means preserving biodiversity and intact ecosystems. It is also necessary to encourage the development of substitutes for nonrenewable resources. The commodification of life results in wars over oil, water, and other essential resources. Agribusiness gives the advantage to the culture of exploitation and profits over the culture of ecological sustainability (and the meeting of subsistence needs). It imposes technical methods which produce dependency and destruction of the environment (contracts of exploitation to impose certain material methods of production, machinery, chemical fertilizers and pesticides, and imperial seeds -- along with GMO).

Concretely, two levels of actions on the environment must be combined: micro and macro. At the macro level, which relates to the national governments, it would be desirable that an interstate framework of multilateral dialog should have the ability to put political pressure on the national

governments to take global measures. The micro level concerns local or regional actions, where civil society has an important role to play, in particular to disseminate information and to change practices in order to save resources and protect the environment. The local level must be at all times be reinforced, as decisions are too often considered only at the macro level.

The following actions could result from this:

1. to constitute an international court charged with considering ecological crimes: the countries of North and their local clients could then be sentenced to pay reparations to the countries of the South (ecological debts);
2. to disallow as illegal contracts that force farmers to be dependent on the suppliers of seeds, a situation that leads to technological slavery and the destruction of biodiversity;
3. to abolish "pollution rights" and their sale and purchase and to oblige the rich countries to decrease their production rate of carbon dioxide (now 5.6 tons per person per year in the United States) to allow the poor countries (now 0.7 tons per person per year for the non-G8 countries) to industrialize;
4. to prohibit the buildings of dams (insofar as they are really necessary) without compensation for the displaced populations (economic refugees);
5. to protect the living and genetic resources from being patented by the North, which impoverishes the countries of the South. This process constitutes a colonial-type theft;
6. to fight against the privatization of the water, which the World Bank promotes, even in the form of private-public partnership (PPP) and to guarantee a minimum quantity of water per person while respecting the rhythm of renewal of ground water;
7. to create a group to Observe the Environment (*Ecology Watch*) prepared to denounce and respond to those actions characterized as aggression against the environment.

## **5. FOR A BETTER FUTURE FOR PEASANT FARMERS**

In the domain of peasant agriculture, there are initially medium and long-term objectives related to food sovereignty, which are simultaneously at the national, international, multilateral (that of the WTO) and bilateral levels (Economic Partnership Agreements [EPA], negotiated between the African, Caribbean and Pacific [ACP] countries and the European Union). Then, at the national level, this also involves agricultural pricing and marketing policy (more than structural policy) -- the access of the farmers to the means of production and first of all, the land. In the very short term, in 2006, what is necessary is preventing the completion of the Doha Round, and the refusal to conclude the EPAs. For this purpose, the proposals here relate to two axes: the means to achieve food sovereignty in the medium term, and as a precondition imposing a setback on the Doha Round and EPAs.

1. Proposals to assure food sovereignty:

Food sovereignty involves granting to each national state (or group of states) the right to define its internal agricultural policy and the type of connection it wishes to have with the world market, along with the right to protect itself effectively from imports and to subsidize its farmers -- with

the proviso that it is prohibited from exporting agricultural produce at a price lower than the average total production cost excluding direct or indirect subsidies (upstream or downstream). Food sovereignty is the lever that makes it possible for all countries to regain their national sovereignty in all areas. It is also a tool to promote democracy since it requires the participation of all the various forces in agro-alimentary production in defining its objectives and means, starting with the family farmers. It thus implies regulatory action on the national, sub-regional and international levels.

-- *At the national level:*

The national states must guarantee access of the peasant producers to the productive resources, and first of all to the land. It is necessary to stop promoting agribusiness and the monopolization of the land by the national bourgeoisie (including government officials) and transnational firms to the detriment of the peasant producers. That implies facilitating investments in family farms and improving the local products to make them attractive to consumers. Access to land for all the peasants of the world must be recognized as a basic right. Implementing this right requires adequate reforms of the land systems and sometimes agrarian reform.

To share the objective of food sovereignty with the urban consumers -- an essential condition to have the governments participate -- three types of actions should be carried out:

- restrict actions of the merchants that penalize the farmers and consumers.
- hold public awareness campaigns for consumers regarding the immense harm done to agriculture and to the economy as a whole by dependence on imported products, which are virtually the only products sold, for example, in the supermarkets of West Africa.
- gradually raise farm prices by promoting the right to import, but only in such a way as to avoid penalizing consumers with very limited purchasing power. This must be accompanied by the distribution of coupons to the poorer consumers that allows them to purchase local foodstuffs at the old price, similar to what is done the United States, India and Brazil -- while awaiting an increase in productivity of the farmers to cause a drop in their unit production costs, enabling them to lower their selling prices to the consumers.

— *At the sub-regional level:*

So that the national states can recover their full sovereignty, and first of all their food sovereignty, regional political integration is unavoidable for the small countries of the South. For this purpose, it is necessary to reform the current regional institutions, in particular, in Africa, the West African Economic and Monetary Union and the Economic Community of West African States (UEMOA and CEDEAO in their French initials, resp.), which are much too dependent on the various megapowers.

— *At the international level:*

To pressure the United Nations to recognize food sovereignty as a basic right of national states, one essential to implement the right to food as defined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 and the International Treaty of 1996 relating to economic, social and cultural rights. At this level, four regulatory instruments of international agricultural trade should be established to make food sovereignty effective:

- an effective protection against irresponsible, socially destructive imports, i.e., one founded on variable deductions that can guarantee a high-enough fixed entrance price to assure minimum domestic farm prices adequate to secure farmers' investments and banks' loans; customs duties alone are insufficiently protective with regard to strongly fluctuating world prices, a fluctuation worsened by that of fluctuating exchange rates.
  - the elimination of all forms of dumping, by prohibiting any export priced below the total average production cost of the exporting country, excluding direct or indirect subsidies.
  - set the mechanisms of international coordination of price controls, so as to avoid structural overproduction and to minimize conjunctural overproduction that collapses farm prices.
  - the need for get agriculture away from WTO control by entrusting the international regulation of agricultural trade to an institution of the United Nations, possibly the Food and Agricultural Organization (FAO). In particular, by reforming its organization on the tripartite model of International Labor Organization (ILO), which would associate to this regulation the representatives of agricultural trade unions (International Federation of Agricultural Producers and Via Campesina) beside representatives of the agro-alimentary firms (which act already in the shadows on the governments negotiating with the WTO) and of the national states.
2. Short-term proposals to prevent the Doha Round and the Economic Partnership Agreement:

A major lesson of the ministerial Conference of the WTO in Hong Kong is that the governments of Brazil and India, and with them G-20, abandoned the interests of the populations of the Third World and appeared the most determined promoters of neo-liberal globalization. Since the Doha Round is a "total package" (*individual undertaking*), there is a way to cause its failure. International civil society, and first of all the country-wide organizations of North and the South, will be able in a media campaign to show that these subsidies (particularly of the "green box"), are an instrument of dumping much more significant than the explicit subsidies for exports, and they will be still more significant starting in 2014 when the export subsidies are eliminated.

## **6. TO BUILD A WORKERS' UNITED FRONT**

Two of the principal weapons in the hands of workers are the right to vote and the right to form trade unions. Up to now democracy and trade unions were built mainly within the national states. Now, however, neo-liberal globalization has challenged the workers the world over, and globalized capitalism cannot be confronted at the national level alone. Today, the task is twofold: to strengthen organizing on a national level and simultaneously globalize democracy and reorganize a worldwide working class.

Mass unemployment and the increasing proportion of informal work arrangements are other imperative reasons to reconsider the existing organizations of the laboring classes. A world strategy for labor must consider not only the situation of workers who work under stable contracts. Employment out of the formal sectors now involves an increasing portion of workers, even in the industrialized countries. In the majority of the countries of the South, the workers of the informal sector -- temporary labor, informal labor, the self-employed, the unemployed, street salespeople, those who sell their own services -- together form the majority of the laboring classes. These groups of informal workers are growing in the majority of the countries of the

South because of high unemployment and a two-sided process: on the one hand, the decreasing availability of guaranteed employment and increased informal employment, and on the other hand, the continuous migration from the rural areas to the towns. The most important task will be for workers outside the formal sector to organize themselves and for the traditional trade unions to open up in order to carry out common actions.

The traditional trade unions have had problems responding to this challenge. Not all the organizations of the workers -- except in the formal sectors -- will necessarily be trade unions or similar organizations and the traditional trade unions will also have to change. New perspectives for organizing together, based on horizontal bonds and mutual respect, must develop between the traditional trade unions and the new social movements. For this purpose, the following proposals are submitted for consideration:

- An opening of the trade unions towards collaboration with the other social movements without trying to subordinate them to the traditional trade-union structure or a specific political party.
- The constitution of effectively transnational trade-union structures in order to confront transnational employers. These trade-union structures should have a capacity to negotiate and at the same time have a mandate to organize common actions beyond national borders. For this purpose, an important step would be to organize strong trade-union structures within transnational corporations. These corporations have a complex network of production and are often very sensitive to any rupture in the chains of production and distribution, that is, they are vulnerable. Some successes in the struggles against the transnational corporations could have a real impact on the world balance of power between capital and labor.
- Technological development and structural change are necessary to improve living conditions and eradicate poverty, but the relocations of production are not carried out today in the interest of the workers; instead, they are exclusively profit-driven. It is necessary to promote a gradual improvement of the wages and working conditions, to expand local production along with local demand and a system of negotiation to carry out relocation in other ways than simply following the logic of profit and free trade. These relocations could fit under transnational negotiation in order to prevent workers of the various countries from being forced to enter in competition with each other in a relentless battle.
- To consider the rights of migrant worker as a basic concern for the trade unions by ensuring that solidarity among workers is not dependent on their national origin. Indeed, segregation and discrimination on ethnic or other bases are threats to working-class solidarity.
- To take care so that the future transnational organization of the laboring class is not conceived as a unique, hierarchical and pyramidal structure, but as a variety of various types of organizations, with a network-like structure with many horizontal bonds.
- To promote a labor front in reorganized structures that also include workers outside the formal sector throughout the world, capable of taking effective coordinated actions to confront globalized capitalism.

Only such a renewed movement of workers, worldwide, inclusive and acting together with other social movements will be able to transform the present world and to create a world order founded on solidarity rather than on competition.

## **7. FOR A DEMOCRATIZATION OF SOCIETIES AS A NECESSARY STEP TO FULL HUMAN DEVELOPMENT**

Progressive forces must re-appropriate the concept of democracy, because an alternative, socialist society must be fully democratic. Democracy does not come from on high. It is a process of cultural transformation, because people change through their practice. It is thus essential that activists in popular movements and in left or progressive governments understand that it is necessary to create spaces for real participation both in workplaces and in neighborhoods. Without the transformation of people into protagonists of their history, the problems of the people -- health, food, education, housing . . . -- cannot be solved. The lack of political participation contributed to the fall of the socialist countries of Eastern Europe. The citizens of these countries were hardly motivated to defend regimes where they were observers and not actors.

The struggle for democracy must also be linked to the struggle to eradicate poverty and all forms of exclusion. Indeed, to solve these problems, the people must become wielders of power. That implies waging a struggle against the logic of capitalist profit and erecting in its place, in whatever areas that can be won, a different, humanist logic of solidarity. It is no longer enough to just assert the need for an alternative society; it is necessary to propose popular initiatives which are alternatives to capitalism and which aim to break the logic of commerce and the relations that this dynamic imposes.

But this also involves organizing struggles that cannot be reduced to simple economic demands, as necessary as these are, and which put forward an alternative social project, including real levels of authority and democracy, going beyond the current forms of parliamentary representative democracy and its elections. We must struggle for a new type of democracy, coming from below, for those on the lowest levels of society, through local governments, rural communities, workers fronts, politically active citizens. . . . This democratic practice of solidarity will be the best way to attract new sectors of society to the struggle for a fully democratic alternative society.

In order to concretize these principles, the following broad outline is proposed:

\_ Insert democracy into the totality of the conditions which characterize movements of emancipation and liberation, in their individual and collective dimension.

\_ Recognize that the failures of the Soviet system and the regimes that arose from decolonization resulted largely from their denial of freedom and their underestimation of the value of democracy. The development of alternatives must integrate this fact and give preeminence to building democracy.

\_ Contest the hypocritical words of the dominant powers, which are all too ready to give lessons in democracy. U.S. imperialism's cynicism is particularly unbearable, as its agents reveal themselves as torturers, warmongers and violators of liberty. Despite this, U.S. cynicism should not serve as a pretext to limit freedom and the exercise of democracy.

\_ Reject the dominant conception of democracy advanced by the United States and the Western powers. Democracy cannot be defined as accepting the rules of the market, subordinating oneself to the world market, to multi-party elections controlled from abroad and to a simplistic ideology of human rights. This type of neoliberal democracy blocks genuine democracy by arbitrarily tying the importance of free elections and the respecting of human rights to demands for an expansion

of the market economy. The curtailment of democracy in this way, which puts the market first, perverts its meaning.

\_ Recognize that there is strong dialectic between political democracy and social democracy, because political democracy is incomplete and cannot last if inequalities, exploitation and social injustice persist. Social democracy cannot progress without struggle against oppression and discrimination, while still keeping in mind that no social policy can justify the absence of freedom and disrespect of basic rights.

\_ Affirm that democracy requires an effective and increasing participation of the population, producers and inhabitants. This implies transparency in decision making and in responsibilities. It does not diminish the importance of representative democracy. On the contrary, it completes and deepens it.

\_ Since democracy must facilitate the struggle against poverty, inequalities, injustice and discrimination, it must reserve a strategic position for the poor and oppressed, their struggles and their movements. In this sense democracy in the operation of these movements contributes to their survival and successes.

\_ Democracy in the anti-globalization (or "other-globalization") movement is an indication of the importance the movement attaches to democracy in its orientations. It indicates a renewal of the political and organizational culture, with particular attention given to the question of authority and hierarchy. For this purpose, one proposal for immediate action is to lead a campaign so that the movements for popular education have an important role in civic education in democracy and that this dimension be present in teaching.

Let us recall, indeed, that the anti-globalization movement is carrying a fundamentally democratic project. It asserts the access for all to fundamental rights. These include civil and political rights, in particular the right to freedom of organization and expression that are the bases of democratic freedoms. It also asserts the economic, social, cultural and environmental rights which are the foundation of social democracy. It finally asserts collective rights and the rights of the people to struggle against oppression and violence imposed on them. It is a question here of defining a program to implement democracy.

The anti-globalization movement also recognizes the importance of public services as one of the essential means to guarantee access to equal rights for all. It defends the struggles of workers and users of these public services. It promotes proposals coming out of movements to defend them, in education and health. For example in health, access to a list of free drugs, the rejection of monopolies, the dictatorship of patents and their attempts to put living organisms under control of a patent.

\_ The struggle for democracy must take account of various levels of intervention. We will examine five of these levels: enterprise, local democracy, national democracy, larger regions, and worldwide democracy. For each of these levels, an action can be proposed as illustration. The choice of the priorities will be the result of debate over strategy.

1) Democracy in the enterprise is a major demand. It implies the recognition of the authority of workers, users and territorial and national collectives. It necessitates the rejection of the shareholders' dictatorship and the destructive logic of finance capital. It leads to control of decisions, and in particular to making them on a local level. The development of innovative forms

of self-organization and mutualisation is one way to assert the plurality of forms of production and to reject the false evidence that private capitalist enterprises are the most efficient. The movement demanding social and environmental responsibility from companies is of great interest, in spite of the risks of cooptation, on the condition that it leads to putting enforceable public standards into international law.

2) Local democracy responds to the demand for proximity and participation. It bases itself on local institutions that must guarantee public services and that provide an alternative to neoliberalism. It puts the satisfaction of the needs at the local level ahead of arrangements for companies on the world market. It makes the acquisition of citizenship possible, in particular through residence, and its consequences in terms of voting rights.

3) National democracy remains the strategic level. The questions of identities, borders, respect of the rights of minorities and the legitimacy of institutions form the bases of popular sovereignty. Public policies can be the arena of confrontation against neoliberalism. The progressive redistribution of wealth based on taxation should be defended and extended. Measures like a minimum income and retirement based on solidarity between the generations are not reserved for the rich countries, but flow from the division between profits and the income of labor specific to each society.

4) The larger regions can spread neoliberal policies everywhere, as in the European Union, or can demonstrate counter-tendencies or provide sites of resistance, as the development of Mercosur and the failure of the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA -- English, ALEA -- French, ALCA -- Spanish, Portuguese) shows. From this point of view, the continental social forums have considerable responsibility.

5) Worldwide democracy is a prospect for response to widespread neoliberal policies. In the current situation, the mobilizations with the highest priority to be carried by the anti-globalization movement are: cancellation of the debt, fundamental questioning of World Trade Organization (WTO -- English, OMC -- French), suppression of tax havens, international taxation particularly on financial capital (transfers of capital, profits of the transnational firms, etc.), a radical reform of the international financial institutions (with in particular the principle one country, one vote), the reform of the United Nations in respect of the rights of the people and the rejection of preventive war.

We should create a Democracy Observation Post, which is able to resist the hegemony of the dominant countries, primarily the United States, with its duplicitous discourse on democracy; to encourage citizen control; to promote the democratic forms invented and implemented by the social movements and politically active citizens.

## **8. FOR THE ERADICATION OF ALL FORMS OF OPPRESSION, EXPLOITATION AND ALIENATION OF WOMEN**

The forms of the patriarchy are multiple, like its bonds with imperialism and neoliberalism. It is important and necessary to analyze its impact on women. Patriarchy refers to the domination of the father/patriarch and was used to describe a family model dominated by men, who have authority over all other members of the family. This model is certainly not universal, a number of African societies having been matrilineal or dual, with paternal and maternal lineages, each having their own roles for an individual. This patriarchal system expanded with the rise of monotheistic religions along with colonial ideologies and legislation.

Today, patriarchy specifically designates domination by males, and inequality between genders to the detriment of the women, and their multiple forms of subordination. The family, which socializes the child, remains primarily for the "domestication" of girls and women. This imposition of a hierarchy of the genders is all the more marked in that it is supported by cultural standards and religious values leading to the appropriation of women's productive and reproductive capacities. The State reinforces this patriarchal structure with its policies and family codes. Discrimination persists in relations within the family, in education, in access to material, financial and natural resources, in employment, in participation in political power, etc. Despite a perceptible advance in women's rights, male domination is still firmly in place with the "masculinization" of institutions that constitute neoliberal organization.

The analysis of the relationship between patriarchy and imperialism and the balance sheet of the struggles of women against these systems leads us to propose several actions:

1. Break with the practice of placing the women's question on the side. This practice leads to a political and scientific apartheid. Since the question of gender cuts across many arenas, it must be taken into account in every recommendation.
2. Continue lobbying organizations of civil society and the political community, in order to reinforce the alliance between feminist organizations and progressive forces and to insert in the progressive agenda appeals in favor of women, including:
  - struggle against the image of their inferior position in the social, political, cultural and religious discourse of the global society;
  - develop education and training of women in order to break the internalization of this position of inferiority;
  - spread a better consciousness of their active roles in society;
  - encourage men to question this masculine domination in order to deconstruct its mechanisms;
  - reinforce legal provisions for an effective equality between the genders;
  - increase women's equal representation in institutions (parity).
3. Render visible the history of the women, their individual and collective actions, notably:
  - the nomination of Mille women, established by some associations in Hong Kong, for the 2005 Nobel Peace Prize;
  - the campaign of Women say No to war against the war in Iraq;
  - various campaigns on current subjects or social projects.
4. Promote the basic right of the women to control their bodies and their brains, to control decisions relating to their life choices: education, employment, various activities, but also sexuality and child-bearing (right to contraception, choice to have a child, right of

abortion...) -- women's bodies being the site for all sorts of oppression and violence.

5. Support theoretical reflection, starting from feminine experiences, in order to counter male domination in order to reinforce the perspectives of women on various questions affecting society, and in order to open new horizons for research and action. Women's perspectives need to be cultivated particularly on matters of population (such as the population Conference in Cairo in 1994), or environment (as in the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro in 1992), where women demand the right to live in a healthy environment.
6. Develop databases and an Internet site on the relationship between women and imperialism and neoliberalism.

### **9. FOR THE DEMOCRATIC MANAGEMENT OF THE MEDIA AND CULTURAL DIVERSITY**

1. For the right to education:

Before the right to culture, the right to information and the right to inform, the fundamental problem of the right to education arises. This right, though it is officially recognized everywhere, remains ineffective in many countries, and particularly for young women. It is thus a priority for all social movements to pressure governments to fulfill their most elementary obligations in this field.

2. For the right to information and the right to inform:

-- Initiatives towards the large media

The right to obtain information and the right to inform enter in contradiction with the general logic of how the media are structured. Through their increasing concentration on a worldwide scale, the media are not only the direct recipients of the benefits of neoliberal globalization, but also the carriers of its ideology. It is thus necessary to fight tooth and nail to throw sand into the gears of this machinery for "formatting" the human spirit, machinery whose goal is to make the neoliberal order appear not only inevitable but even desirable. For this purpose, campaigns must be launched in each country, within the framework of an international coordination:

- for legislative initiatives aimed at fighting against media concentration;
- for legislative initiatives aimed at guaranteeing the autonomy of the editors as opposed to the shareholders and owners, by encouraging, where they do not exist, the creation of journalists' associations with real power to act;
- for education encouraging criticism of the media in the school system and popular organizations.

-- To support the alternative media

The alternative media and the non-profit media, in all their forms (print, radio, television, Internet), already play important role in delivering pluralist information not subject to the diktats

of finance capital and multinational corporations. This is why it is necessary to demand that governments create legal and tax conditions from which these media can benefit. A watchdog group of the Alternative Media could identify the most advanced laws existing in the world today. Just as the owners and directors of the large media do, it would be useful for the alternative media to organize each year a worldwide meeting of the people responsible for the alternative media, possibly within the framework of the process of the World Social Forums.

-- *Don't allow* the television networks of the North a monopoly of the images broadcast to the world

The large networks of international television of North, like CNN, have profited for a long time from a de-facto monopoly and have presented a view of the world corresponding to the interests of the dominant powers. In the Arab world, the creation of *Al-Jazeera*, with great professionalism, made it possible to break with the one-sided vision of Middle-Eastern conflicts. The recent launching of *Telesur* makes it possible for Latin America to be seen not exclusively through the prism of the North-American media. The creation of an African network meets an identical need, and all effort must be made to assure that it is born.

3. For the right to express oneself in one's language:

The first way to recognize all the expatriate elites of the planet is by their use of English. There is a logical bond between the voluntary or resigned submission to the U.S. super-power and the adoption of its language as the sole tool for international communication. Today Chinese and the Romance languages have -- if one promotes mutual comprehension within the large family that they form -- and tomorrow Arabic will have as much a right to play in parallel the role English does. It is a question of political will. To fight against "all-English," the following measures should be encouraged:

1. to create a goal within the educational systems, if conditions allow, of teaching two foreign languages (and not only English) for active and passive competence (understand, speak, read, write) and one or two other languages for passive competence (to read and understand orally).
2. To put into practice, in the education systems, methods to teach mutual comprehension of the Romance languages (Spanish, Catalan, French, Italian, Portuguese, Rumanian -- which are official languages in 60 countries). When each one speaks his/her own language and understands that of the conversational partner that communication is most efficient.
3. In the specific case of Africa, to make teaching and promotion of the national languages a political priority of the African Union.
4. To create an international fund to support the translation of the maximum number of documents in the languages of the countries which have low incomes, in particular so that they are present on the Internet.

### **10. FOR the DEMOCRATIZATION OF INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATIONS AND the institutionalization of a multipolar international order**

The United Nations is a peoples' institution, and for this reason represents a step forward. But it also reflects the balance of power among national states, whose impact can prove to be

ambivalent, even negative, regarding certain peoples or under certain circumstances. Changes in the UN are thus necessary, insofar as the hegemony of the most powerful countries enables them to use the UN for their own purposes. Consequently, we propose the following initiatives:

1. Democratize the area referred to as the United Nations;
2. Initiate "reforms" of the UN with a goal of limiting the inequalities of the balance of power among national states;
3. Act on the governments which constitute UN, and for this reason, to constitute within each country an observer group that permits a demonstration of the action of the governments within the United Nations, its specialized organizations and the authorities created by the Bretton Woods meeting (the IMF, the World Bank, WTO);
4. Refinance the specialized organizations such as the FAO or the WHO, to avoid their dependence upon transnational corporations;
5. Ensure a wide and effective presence of social movements and nongovernmental organizations within the international institutions;
6. Promote International Courts of Justice, in particular concerning the economic crimes, while preventing them from being manipulated by the dominant powers, and, in same time, constitute courts of popular opinion in order to promote alternative means of establishing justice;
7. Democratize the United Nations, increase the power of the General Assembly and democratize the Security Council in order to break the monopolies (right of veto, atomic powers);
8. Promote a United Nations that allows for regionalization that is equipped with real powers on the various continents. It is in particular proposed to promote a Middle East Social Forum, gathering the progressive forces of the countries of the area to seek alternative solutions instead of the U.S. project of the Greater Middle East.
9. Promote inside the UN respect for the sovereignty of national states, in particular vis-a-vis the actions undertaken by the IMF, the World Bank and the WTO.
10. Promote a world Parliament of the People to bring humanity out of the vicious circle of poverty.

#### **Appendix F: Belem WSF 2009 – Declaration of the Assembly of Assemblies**

We won't pay for the crisis. The rich have to pay for it ! Anti-imperialist, anti-capitalist, feminist, environmentalist and socialist alternatives are necessary.

We the social movements from all over the world came together on the occasion of the 8th World Social Forum in Belém, Amazonia, where the peoples have been resisting attempts to usurp

Nature, their lands and their cultures. We are here in Latin America, where over the last decade the social movements and the indigenous movements have joined forces and radically question the capitalist system from their cosmovision. Over the last few years, in Latin America highly radical social struggles have resulted in the overthrow of neoliberal governments and the empowerment of governments that have carried out many positive reforms such as the nationalisation of core sectors of the economy and democratic constitutional reforms.

In this context the social movements in Latin America have responded appropriately, deciding to support the positive measures adopted by these governments while keeping a critical distance. These experiences will be of help in order to strengthen the peoples' staunch resistance against the policies of governments, corporations and banks who shift the burden of the crisis onto the oppressed. We the social movements of the globe are currently facing a historic challenge. The international capitalist crisis manifests itself as detrimental to humankind in various ways: it affects food, finance, the economy, climate, energy, population migration... and civilisation itself, as there is also a crisis in international order and political structures.

We are facing a global crisis which is a direct consequence of the capitalist system and therefore cannot find a solution within the system. All the measures that have been taken so far to overcome the crisis merely aim at socialising losses so as to ensure the survival of a system based on privatising strategic economic sectors, public services, natural and energy resources and on the commoditisation of life and the exploitation of labour and of nature as well as on the transfer of resources from the Periphery to the Centre and from workers to the capitalist class.

The present system is based on exploitation, competition, promotion of individual private interests to the detriment of the collective interest, and the frenzied accumulation of wealth by a handful of rich people. It results in bloody wars, fuels xenophobia, racism and religious fundamentalisms; it intensifies the exploitation of women and the criminalisation of social movements. In the context of the present crisis the rights of peoples are systematically denied. The Israeli government's savage aggression against the Palestinian people is a violation of International Law and amounts to a war crime, a crime against humanity, and a symbol of the denial of a people's rights that can be observed in other parts of the world. The shameful impunity must be stopped. The social movements reassert their active support of the struggle of the Palestinian people as well as of all actions against oppression by peoples worldwide.

In order to overcome the crisis we have to grapple with the root of the problem and progress as fast as possible towards the construction of a radical alternative that would do away with the capitalist system and patriarchal domination. We must work towards a society that meets social needs and respects nature's rights as well as supporting democratic participation in a context of full political freedom. We must see to it that all international treaties on our indivisible civic, political, economic, social and cultural rights, both individual and collective, are implemented.

In this perspective we must contribute to the largest possible popular mobilisation to enforce a number of urgent measures such as:

- Nationalising the banking sector without compensations and with full social monitoring,
- Reducing working time without any wage cut,
- Taking measures to ensure food and energy sovereignty
- Stopping wars, withdraw occupation troops and dismantle military foreign bases
- Acknowledging the peoples' sovereignty and autonomy ensuring their right to self-determination

- Guaranteeing rights to land, territory, work, education and health for all.
- Democratise access to means of communication and knowledge.

The social emancipation process carried by the feminist, environmentalist and socialist movements in the 21st century aims at liberating society from capitalist domination of the means of production, communication and services, achieved by supporting forms of ownership that favour the social interest: small family freehold, public, cooperative, communal and collective property.

Such an alternative will necessarily be feminist since it is impossible to build a society based on social justice and equality of rights when half of humankind is oppressed and exploited.

Lastly, we commit ourselves to enriching the construction of a society based on a life lived in harmony with oneself, others and the world around (“el buen vivir”) by acknowledging the active participation and contribution of the native peoples.

We, the social movements, are faced with a historic opportunity to develop emancipatory initiatives on a global scale. Only through the social struggle of the masses can populations overcome the crisis. In order to promote this struggle, it is essential to work on consciousness-raising and mobilisation from the grassroots. The challenge for the social movements is to achieve a convergence of global mobilisation. It is also to strengthen our ability to act by supporting the convergence of all movements striving to withstand oppression and exploitation.

We thus commit ourselves to:

\_ Launch a Global Week of Action against Capitalism and War from March 28 to April 4, 2009 with: anti-G20 mobilisation on March 28, mobilisation against war and crisis on March 30, a Day of Solidarity with the Palestinian People to promote boycott, disinvestment and sanctions against Israel on March 30, mobilisation for the 60th Anniversary of NATO on April 4, etc.

\_ Increase occasions for mobilisation through the year: March 8, International Women Day; April 17, International Day for Food Sovereignty; May 1, International Workers’ Day; October 12, Global Mobilisation of Struggle for Mother Earth, against colonisation and commodification of life.

\_ Schedule an agenda of acts of resistance against the G8 Summit in Sardinia, the Climate Summit in Copenhagen, the Summit of the Americas in Trinidad and Tobago, etc.

Through such demands and initiatives we thus respond to the crisis with radical and emancipatory solutions.

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## **Appendix G: MSF Workshops / Participating organisations**

MSF Workshops 2004

1. Venezuela: the first revolution of the 21st century? – Democratic Socialist Perspective
2. Alternatives to the fossil fuel corporations – Darren Coughran
3. What's wrong with the World Trade Organisation? – Global Trade Watch
4. Women for Peace - no weapons for war
5. Childcare and paid maternity leave – for a woman's right to choose – Campaign for Woman's

#### Reproductive Rights

6. Intro to On-line Activism – Melbourne IndyMedia
7. Life After Capitalism – International Socialist Organisation
8. No channel deepening in Port Phillip Bay – Blue Wedges Coalition and Friends of the Earth
9. Oil wars: the oil economy and the war on terror – John Cleary
10. Real Hope for Peace – Susan Carew
11. What next for indigenous justice in Australia: it is up to us – ANTaR
12. Renegade Economists Explore Our Pyramid Society – Earthsharing Australia
13. Creating a ceres in darebin – darebin greens
14. Close to home: resisting family violence in our communities – Elvira Griffith and ada Conroy
15. The European social forum and beyond: where to for the social forum movement – vince  
caughley
16. Structures of power – Brunswick womens theatre
17. Anarchism – out of the ghetto – Greg Platt
18. The politics of fear – Andy Blunden
19. Green left weekly and the politics of a red/green alliance - Democratic Socialist Perspective
20. Institutionalised discrimination: heart of a racial nation
21. What's wrong with coca cola – the campaign for justice in Colombia – Revolution – Socialist  
youth organization
22. Power, property, responsibility – Tom Graves
23. Let's get active: creating a movement for global justice in Melbourne – Global trade watch
24. Notes for a union campaign during the coming attacks – Dave Kerin
25. Should we support the resistance in Iraq? – Moreland peace group
26. Navigating the global grassroots movement – Maria Rodrigues
27. Australia in the pacific – Nic Maclellan
28. Proceeds of crime and the liability of modern Australia – aboriginal genocide
29. After labour's defeat – why we need a new workers party – Workers power Australia
30. Building relationships with community – linda jane
31. The principles behind pr sarkar's social cycle – Australian foresight institute
32. The howard doctrine: australia's role in us militarism – Jacob grech
33. Nuclear issues – Dave Sweeney & Adam Dempsey
34. The Israel- Palestine conflict – the Australia Jewish democratic society
35. Democracy – teach it or lose it – Rod Land
36. Human rights and Canberra: mutually exclusive terms or a workable proposition? – Barbara

#### Rogalla

#### Organised Panels

Real Democracy – MSF organisers  
 Creating Peace – MSF organisers  
 Sustainability in the NOW Era - MSF organisers  
 Roads to Justice - MSF organisers  
 Solutions for Equity - MSF organisers

#### MSF Workshops / Participating Organisations 2005

*What is Poverty? A debate* - The question of What is poverty? underlies strategies for what to do about it and how to promote the question in public policy debates. The effectiveness of the neo-cons in increasing inequality while sidelining welfare policy and stigmatising welfare recipients means that a fundamental re-think is required on the Left. The speakers will present three divergent views on the nature of poverty (all from the Left!) and invite participants to join the debate. Run by Andy Blunden, Philip Mendes and Rob Watts.

*The Way Forward for Peace* - This workshop will provide an analysis of the strategies Gandhi's developed to bring independence to India which we can use in an Australian context now, together with other useful contemporary strategies. Run by Ruth Russell (Women's International League for Peace & Freedom)

*ANTaR* - This workshop will have a broad overview of pre-invasion Aboriginal world and of the common history of the last 220 years. This leads into a brief exploration of the notion of privilege, followed by a challenge for people to identify specific ways in which they can do something - within the limits of their time, skills, etc - Run by Frank Hytten (ANTaR)

*Innovative Direct Action and Community Organising for the G20* - The next annual global meeting of the finance ministers of the world's richest nations, together with the heads of the World Bank and IMF, will occur in Melbourne towards the end of 2006. This workshop will be a space to generate innovative ideas for direct action and other forms of community organising concerning the G20, to win the battle of the story against capitalism and corporate-led globalisation. Run by Rodney Vlasis (Friends of the Earth)

*McOccupation in Iraq: How McDonalds contributes to the 'war on terror' & other atrocities.* McDonalds is guilty of a lot of things - having terrible food, crap service, and shitty restaurants - but that's fine: these are things that consumers have choice over. We can eat there if we like it, but no one's forcing us to if we don't. What we don't have a choice over, however, is how McDonalds chooses to treat its staff, how McDonalds chooses to treat the animals it slaughters for food, and how the McDonalds corporation chooses to donate money to America Supports You, an organisation that provides a way for corporations to support the occupation of Iraq. Find out more about what McDonalds is up to, and what you can do to help stop it at this workshop. Run by Jodie Clark (Revolution)

*What happened to the Common Wealth?* This workshop will seek to explore and promote discussion on the philosophical issue of what should be our equal and common birthright – access to land and natural resources. It will look at the history of economic thought and how neoclassical economics (our present capitalist system) has conflated and confused the vital distinction between the Gifts of Nature and capital. It will then explore how a system of natural resource charges (a refined system of eco-taxes) allows us all to share equitably in the Global Commons as well as, by applying the True Cost of natural resources, using finite resources sparingly and responsibly. Run by Karl Williams (Current editor of the Geoist Journal of Australia)

*The Parkin Backfire: Lessons for activist defence.* In September 2005, the deportation of US peace activist Scott Parkin sparked a national political scandal, triggering protests around the country and heightening public concern over new anti-terror laws. This workshop will tell Scott's story using backfire analysis, which shows how citizens can respond to five common methods that perpetrators use to inhibit public outrage against gross injustice. Run by Iain Murray (Friends of Scott Parkin) & Brian Martin (University of Wollongong)

*What is Imperialism in the 21st Century?* A Panel Discussion With the US still in Iraq three years on, what is the changing nature of imperialism in the 21st century? Australia, too, is extending its influence in South Pacific island nations. What can we learn from previous imperial adventures, is there a new 'imperial' rivalry shaping the world today and can we resist the new empires? A panel forum. Run by the International Socialist Organisation

*Civil Liberties Under Threat - Their Democracy and Ours. A Panel Discussion.* Howard's anti-terror laws are an attack on our civil rights. Is the 'war of terror' something we need new laws for or is it just an excuse to make more draconian laws in an era of rebellion against the neo-liberal policies? A panel forum Run by the International Socialist Organisation

*Literacy and justice - Making literacy easier.* Open stall Its 3 principles are:

- i. Print literacy is essential for citizens in our modern society – for social progress and for personal empowerment, pleasure and an alternative to self-destructive consolations and dumbing-down of proles.
- ii. There must be books worth reading for learners.
- iii. Literacy should be much easier than it is.

*R.E.A.L. H.O.P.E.* Susan Carew is the manager of One World Network. Susan teaches a values based peace, nonviolence and anti-bullying program in Primary Schools, called R.E.A.L. H.O.P.E. This is an acronym for: responsibility, empathy, awareness, love, honesty, oneness, peace and enjoyment. The program is designed to teach life skills and peaceful behaviours. It is endorsed by Dr. Patch Adams (American clown doctor). Susan is also creating what appears to be the first collaborative problem solving Children's Parliament. The parliament will teach children lateral thinking, values, conflict resolution, environmental issues, human rights and clowning skills. The kids will work on community problems and come up with possibilities and solutions. It is a pilot program whereby developing democracy at the school level. Run by Susan Carew (more details at <http://www.worldpeacefull.com/>)

*EngageMedia - Breaking the media monopoly: web based video distribution* EngageMedia will give an overview of their pioneering work linking media activism with web based video distribution. This workshop will also offer practical lessons on getting video footage on the net, and new currents in the democratisation of new media. Run by EngageMedia ([engagemedia.org](http://engagemedia.org))

*Plug in TV – War stories from the doco making front line.* Plug in TV will talk about their award winning documentary series. Recipient of two Antenna national community television awards in 2005, Plug in TV's series aired from march 2005, and continues to the present on channel 31. They will talk about Talk about accessing channel 31 and mainstreaming media.

*The Politics of Information.* Darren Sharp, from Swinburne University of Technology, will explore emerging thinking around the construction of the information commons. The open source movement, participatory media and anarchist cultural production are actively creating a new space: the information commons. This abstract yet practical space is important in defining how activists, educators, content creators and artists articulate new systems, norms and laws that facilitate autonomy in the face of powerful corporate interests attempting to lock down and colonise the commons. He will give a survey of key thinker, such as McKenzie Wark (*Hacker Manifesto*) on the power dynamics between information oligarchs and information anarchists, and the shift from Realpolitik to Noopolitik – corresponding 'vectoralist class', networks, soft power, new identities and forms of citizenship.

*Re-framing the global war on terror.* The Bush administration, inspired by neo-conservatives such as Richard Perle, Norman Podhoretz, and Paul Wolfowitz, have framed the public discourse on terrorism subsequent to the events of September 11th. Yet many know that the neo-conservative framing of this 'war on terror' is false or incomplete. Alex Burns, a media researcher from Swinburne University of Technology, will provide an overview of the work of key media theorist such as Douglas Kellner, George Lakoff and others, in analysing neo-conservative 'framing' of terrorism. In a participatory, hands-on workshop, participants will explore notions of 'framing' issues, and what images are used to frame terrorism issues. Participants will look at our current frustrations with how this issue has been framed, and how we can reframe it.

*Oases post-graduate program in integrative leadership.* OASES stands for 'The Organic integration of the Aesthetic, Social, Ecological, and Spiritual elements of our human reality'. It is a new post-graduate program which has emerged from collaboration between the Augustine Centre and Borderlands Cooperative in Melbourne. This workshop will explore contradictions and the nature of the crisis in higher education, in particular its growing commercialisation, commodification and marketisation. Alternative education models will be explored, including the content of alternative education. We will explore the contradictions in engagement and implementation of alternative education models. We will also ask what education for personal, social and global transformation and integration means in the 21st century. Contact: Deb Salvagno - info@oases.org.au

*Simpol – Simultaneous Policy Organisation.* Simultaneous Policy Organisation is a project to create global governance on a locally democratic basis to solve global issues: ecological governance, security, poverty, and fair trade for example. An information session will be offered that explains the Simultaneous Policy Organisation project, what it is attempting to accomplish, the process it is employing, and how people can get involved. The issue of communicating Simpol to a broader base will be addressed. In addition deficiencies in the Simpol model will be examined, as well as how Simpol might be reconceptualised to make it more effective beyond advocacy (reach the suburbs) and Western (China + India) contexts.

*The Other Occupation: Why Palestine is Still the Issue.* Palestine is not just another social justice issue; it is at the forefront of the global struggle between justice and racism, as South Africa was in the 1980s. Peace activist, Donna Mulhearn spent four months in the West Bank as a volunteer with the International Solidarity Movement earlier this year. Through her first-hand accounts, images and stories about life under occupation she will outline why peace cannot be achieved via the 'roadmap' and the current peace process. She will examine the major barriers to peace, with particular reference to the apartheid wall, settlement expansion and settler violence against Palestinians. Donna believes the occupation of Palestine is currently the most de-stabilising international conflict, the world's most powerful leaders are complicit in what is happening and the media is unwilling to report the reality of the situation. It is therefore up to ordinary people to remain vigilante and mobilise on behalf of the Palestinians. Run by Donna Mulhearn, Coalition for Justice and Peace in Palestine

*VENEZUELA: Join the Australian brigade to see a revolution in action!* This year fifty-seven Australians went to see the Bolivarian revolution first hand in Venezuela as part of the first solidarity brigade from Australia. This was organised by the Australian Venezuela Solidarity Network. In 2006 there will be three brigades to Venezuela 1) Dec05-Jan06: World Social Forum 2) May Day06: Trade Union Brigade 3) Nov06-Dec06 In the lead up to the presidential elections.

Hear first hand about the revolution in the making. Run by the Australian Venezuela Solidarity Network ([www.venezuelasolidarity.org](http://www.venezuelasolidarity.org))

*Venezuela, Colombia and the new revolution in Latin America* - This workshop will look at the general political crisis of the neoliberal model in Latin America, the crisis of ruling elites and parties, the development of a popular counter-offensive and the renewal of radical movements and organisations in the continent. In particular, Alejandro and Jorge will explore the wide range of debates among radical movements - canvassing the strategies and tactics of organisations in Bolivia, Argentina, Ecuador, Chile, Brasil, Uruguay, Venezuela and Colombia. Discussion will include a critical look at the Brazilian PT, the Bolivian MAS, the indigenous movement in Ecuador, the piqueteros and the Venezuelan Bolivarian movement.  
Run by Alejandro Rodriguez and Jorge Jorquera

*Mexico and the Zapatistas* - Graduate of Latin American Studies (National Autonomous University of Mexico UNAM), student activist, volunteer in Indigenous communities in Southern Mexico. Lourdes will discuss the long history of the struggles for indigenous rights in Mexico, outlining in particular where the Zapatistas fit into this history and their influence on other movements. Run by Lourdes Garcia Larque

*Cuba & Che Guevara's legacy in Latin America* - This workshop will look at the significance of Che Guevara's contribution to the radical movements of Latin America. Including a re-evaluation of his thought in light of the changes now underway in Venezuela and the debates emerging about strategies for change. The workshop will also discuss the situation in contemporary Cuba and how this may fit into the general re-awakening of the anti-imperialist movements on the continent.  
Run by Resistance

*Channel Deepening* - The Marine Ecology in Port Phillip Bay is more biodiverse than the Great Barrier Reef. This could all be lost if the Channel Deepening project is allowed to proceed. In order to allow bigger ships into our bay, the Port of Melbourne proposes to dig the equivalent of a 15m X4m trench from Melbourne to Sydney! (40 million cubic metres) All of this material- including highly toxic sediment from the mouth of the Yarra river will be dumped back into the bay. Find out what you can do to protect your bay. Campaign history and plans for the future. See our spectacular DVD footage of Port Phillip marine ecosystems. If you like your fish and chips with fish, if you'd rather not swim in a muddy freeway for mega boats- come to our workshop!!

*Metatransport* - This workshop will cover the social aspects and a Buddhist perspective, and give a practical approach to one's personal transport. Run by John Merory Frank Fisher, Elliott Fishman and Mark Newton (Siladasa, leader of the Western Buddhist Order in Melbourne)

*Decolonization and exploitation in Western Sahara* - Western Sahara's natural resources, are being illegally exploited by its northern neighbour and occupying power, Morocco. A UN mission known as MINURSO has not only failed to deliver a referendum of self-determination, but is turning a blind eye to human rights abuses, and also the exploitation of Western Sahara's resources: phosphates, fishing grounds and now oil. It is currently allowing an American company, Kerr McGee to prospect for oil off its Atlantic seaboard and Australia may turn out to be importing phosphates from Western Sahara. Run by Kamal Fadel, representative of the Polisario Front in Australia

*PACE - Pedal Australia for Clean Energy* - PACE will be travelling to universities around Australia discussing/promoting Clean Energy. We will be running workshops at universities to

help build environment collectives, training students about campaign strategy while using the recent Monash announcement of a new Clean Energy Policy as an example of a campaign success and a successful campaign strategy. PACE is also linked to the Australian Student Environment Network campaign on clean energy.

*Urban Agriculture and Food Security* - Urban agriculture plays an important role in addressing issues associated with food insecurity and malnutrition in developing countries as well as issues of obesity, diabetes and heart disease in the developed countries. Grass roots organisations and local governments are combining community development with projects involving growing food and accessing affordable fresh food to develop more sustainable long term ways of readjusting the balance. These projects are having a close look at our current food systems and developing powerful ways of reconnecting people with where their food comes from and in turn it's connection to not only the health of their bodies but also their communities. This session will explore case studies of innovative food projects and organisations from Melbourne, Brazil, USA, Canada, Denmark and Cuba. Run by Peta Christensen, Ben Neil (Cultivating Community CEO) and Chris Ennis (CERES Urban Agriculture Manager)

*Deepak Chopra's 7 Spiritual Laws of Success* - Seven Spiritual Laws of Success is an adaptation of Deepak Chopra's teachings for those seeking methods of applying spiritual principles "Learn how to adapt the Seven Laws in your life by aligning spiritual principles found in the laws with competencies identified as foundational to transformational leadership." The principles are drawn from quantum physics, spirituality, mind/body medicine, a blend of Eastern and Western philosophy, as well as cutting edge business practices. Run by Linda Jane

*Nuclear power no solution to climate change* - This workshop will outline how a desperate, declining uranium industry is attempting to hoodwink the public into thinking nuclear energy is the solution to climate change. Simultaneously the government continues to neglect the core justice and equity issues relating to climate change - the grossly disproportionate rates of emissions and impacts and the burgeoning human rights crisis of climate refugees. The workshop will include a participatory visioning activity whereby participants get to create a nuclear free, climate just and equitable future. Run by Michaela Stubbs and Michelle Braunstein from Friends of the Earth

*Lobbyocracy: The Hypocrisy of Democracy* - Democratic principles such as 1 vote 1 value have been replaced by 1 lobby dollar, 1 decision favour. Contribute to a rapidly developing campaign exposing the undemocratic activities of corporations in Australia. Learn how this unique campaign will work, share your understanding of this process and help us track this travesty. Run by Hammy Goonan and Karl Fitzgerald (The Australian Centre for Democracy and Justice, [www.lobbyocracy.org](http://www.lobbyocracy.org))

*The antisweatshop movement - A Global response to a global problem* - FairWear is a national coalition of workers, community groups, women's organisations, students, church and faith groups, unions, artists and activists, which has been working to eliminate the exploitation of outworkers and end sweatshop conditions in the garment industry since 1996. Campaigning to make Australian and multinational corporations accountable and responsible for the conditions of workers making their products is particularly challenging in the current climate of repressive anti worker laws on the rise. Links with sister campaigns and broader community action are necessary to bring companies to account and increase community / consumer awareness about buying clean clothes - free from exploitation. The workshop is an opportunity to look at effective campaigning strategies and discuss the key issues affecting workers in the global supply chain. Run by

Annie Delaney and Daisy Gardener

*Whales under attack* - Australia has strong anti whaling policies, it is the only environmental issue that our government speaks out on. The lobbying that Ian Campbell did at the International Whaling Commission (IWC) is rivalled only by Australia's anti Kyoto lobbying thanks to the coal industry. So why then are the Japanese as you read, heading to Antarctica for there biggest whale kill since whaling was banned? Because Alexander Downer will not let the government upset one of Australia's biggest coal customers – Japan. Once again the real environmental work is up to volunteers. The Sea Shepherd Conservation Society [www.seashepherd.org](http://www.seashepherd.org) came about from the realisation of Paul Watson back in the 70s, one of the founders of Greenpeace that if he didn't do something who would? Sea Shepherd, the whales navy enforce the laws of the sea including IWC rulings that come under the UN. They use tactics like ramming whaling ships, blockading whaling ships and sinking whaling ships. Half of Norway's whaling fleet was sunk in port by Sea Shepherd, the anti whalers then returned to the US and claimed responsibility, demanding that Norway extradite them and charge them for the crime!! The Sea Shepherd will be in Melbourne for a week from the 21st November. Come to the workshop, see and learn more about Sea Shepherd and help us while the Sea Shepherd are in Melbourne! Run by Paul Watson if the ship gets in in time or Paul martin coordinator of publicity and fundraising for the Sea Shepherd while in Melbourne.

*In a sick society, only the sick are well* - Are you mad? No? Well, lots of people are mad, in both senses of the word. Mentally ill and angry at the way we are treated. The "Not for Service" report and the wrongful detention of Cornelia Rau has exposed some of the many cracks in Australia's Mental Health Services. The prison system has become the new mental asylum, homelessness and criminalisation masks the needs of the mentally troubled and we are raising a generation of kids on Ritalin and Prozac. Something has to be done! This workshop looks at the Madpride movement, a grassroots movement of Mental Health Service clients that wants to make significant change in how "Mental Illness" is seen and treated. If you are psychologically different or care for somebody who is, come along and find out what you can do.... Run by Madpride.

*States, Transnationals and Opiates of the People: the Economic Infrastructure of the "War on terror"* - Is there a "war on terror" in the sense of previous "wars"? What are the "war aims" of each "side"? Can we envisage an outcome or plurality of outcomes? Why and how are our freedoms being threatened by both sides in this conflict and what can we do about these threats? Run by Owen Gager

*Peak Oil and Community Solutions* - As the world now peaks in global oil production, we enter into an historical era of 'Energy Descent'. As individuals this means we will have to make do with less and less material goods each year, whilst dealing with Peak Oil's other destabilising consequences. "A risk management report commissioned by the US Department of Energy warns that we need "at least a decade" of emergency mitigation efforts before oil peaks to avoid "economic, social, and political costs [which] will be unprecedented". Yet nothing like these kind of efforts has even begun. In lieu of governmental responses, a number of communities around the world are organising to retrofit their suburbs and towns for Energy Descent. Rather than rebuilding from the ashes, these communities are preparing in advance, using Peak Oil as a catalyst to bring about various positive visions for change, with a focus on building livelier, prouder, more idiosyncratic and self-reliant local communities, whilst addressing greenhouse, food security, health, transport and education. Can we begin to organise similarly around Melbourne? Run by Liam and Adam of [EnergyBulletin.net](http://EnergyBulletin.net)

*Renegade Economists challenge the Dominoes of Monopoly Capitalism* - If time is money and money makes the world go round, then why do we spend so much time working? Do we know why? It's not hard to understand. Spend your time wisely and learn 4 common sense policies that make our lives easier. We'll join the dots to the evidence too. Yes, independent thinking can challenge the dominoes of monopoly capitalism from devouring small business. Let's use the force to turn the tide towards decent jobs and a safer planet. Karl Fitzgerald, Earthsharing Australia

*An Australian Social Forum* - In this workshop, we will discuss the possibility of an Australian Social Forum, what it would look like and how we would organise it. Run by Hammy Goonan (Australian Centre for Democracy and Justice), Jose Ramos, Cam Walker (Friends of the Earth)

*A Workshop on Maitreya* - Maitreya lives at the present in London. He is a teacher for the coming age and his priorities are eradicate the poverty in the world. With millions of starving people in the world of plenty a new economic system needs be implemented in the world with the most urgent thing being the environment. Run by Valter Poropat ([www.share-international.org](http://www.share-international.org))

*MSF 2006 Where do you see the MSF in the future?* Run by the MSF organizers

*Black GST* - Indigenous people are traditionally peaceful. We want the issues of Genocide, Sovereignty and Treaty addressed and then we can get on with our beautiful way of life. Learn the history of recent Australia Law and grasp a decentralized step forwards with the Sacred treaty Circle Concept. Run by Rob Thorpe

*Re-inventing Revolution in Latin America* - Across the many nations of Latin America there are millions of people who are dispossessed and exploited by globalization. But rather than despairing they are organizing in a myriad of creative ways to keep alive the hope that another world is possible. This workshop is organized to build-bridges between the struggles in Latin America and those in our own Asia-Pacific region. For if we are to realize a world built on justice, democracy and dignity then we must defend the right to organize globally!

Speakers Include:

- \* Denise Gauchi, 'Background to Colombia Conflict'
- \* Cam Walker, 'Environment, Corporations & State terrorism in Colombia'
- \* Marisol Salinas, 'The Indigenous Mapuche Struggle' (in Chile & Argentina)
- \* Marta Iñigue, 'Indigenous People and Self-determination in Chiapas, Mexico'
- \* John Cleary, 'The Struggle in Venezuela'
- \* Vek Lewis, 'Transgender Struggles in Latin America'
- \* Colm McNaughton, 'Why Latin America?'
- \* Lucho Riguelme, 'Latin America is Alive!'
- \* Marie Dellora, 'Cuba Today'.

Will be also Multimedia Presentation, Videos and Music For the right to organize globally! Run by Latin American Solidarity Network (LASNET)

### G20 Alternative workshops

*Real Aid or Regional Thuggery - Australia's role in the Pacific?* What's really going on with the

RAMSI intervention in the Solomons? Why is Australia's billions of dollars spent in the Pacific making our neighbours so cranky? Come and discuss how the vision of 'Aid effectiveness' that is shared by the Australian government and the G20 perpetuates a flawed model of development and explore why Australia's aid to the Pacific is a textbook case of global aid priorities gone wrong. Kate When AID/WATCH [www.aidwatch.org.au](http://www.aidwatch.org.au)

*Iraq – America's Achilles heel* - After three and a half years, over 2,000 dead US troops, 650,000 dead Iraqi people, things aren't looking so good for the Empire. With the anti-war movement growing, their army looking shaky and the Coalition governments getting nervous, this is the perfect time for the Anti-War movement in Australia to start upping the anti. Come to participate in a forum on how we can help get the troops out of Iraq, with discussions of upcoming anti-war mobilisations such as the 4th anniversary protests in march next year and Bush coming to Australia for APEC. Presented by Resistance

*Queer Activist Network (QAN)* - Join members of the newly formed Queer Activist Network (QAN) to discuss the campaign for free HIV/AIDS care in developing countries. We will also talk about the future of QAN and other QAN campaigns such as repealing homophobic laws, queer refugees and the national queer space campaign.  
<http://www.greenleft.org.au/back/2006/687/687p9b.htm> Building 8, Level 6, Room 48

*Justice for Palestine!* International collaboration and skill-share workshop for Palestine solidarity activists. Organised by Auckland University Students for Justice in Palestine, Aotearoa Jews for Justice and Melbourne Palestine Solidarity Network.

*Dialogue on Addressing Debt-Poverty* - Maria de Lourdes Vicente da Silva - Landless Workers Movement of Brazil (MST) Mike Cebon - Global Trade Watch - Stephen Jolly - Socialist Party  
Kate When - AID/WATCH

*Voices of Local Alternatives* - Creating Communities will give voice to the many local alternatives that exist all around us. Stall holders speak about the many different community based alternatives they embody.

*Climate Change - The Case for Zero Emissions* - This presentation will briefly outline what is climate change and why today's global warming is human forced. It will look at tipping points, feedback loops, lag effects and global dimming and why because of these we must immediately adopt a Zero Emissions goal. It will explore near Zero Emission solutions focusing on the stationary energy sector. Matthew Wright is a campaigner with Beyond Zero Emissions, an independent Zero Emissions climate change campaign based in Melbourne.

*Venezuela - Making poverty history TODAY*, Special guest: Nelson Davila - Venezuelan Charge d'affairs to Australia. Since the election of the Chavez government in 1999, Venezuela has pursued an economic path opposite to that prescribed by the G20, World Bank and the IMF. Rejecting the profits first ethos of these institutions Venezuela has used the nations wealth for the benefit of workers and the poor. Free education and medical care systems have been established. Illiteracy has been eradicated. More housing for the poor has been built in two years than in the previous 20 years. Workers self-management of some major factories has been developed and millions of hectares of unused, yet arable land has been taken from large companies and re-distributed to landless poor people. These achievements contrast to those countries in Latin American that are yet to break from the IMF model. Venezuela has become an

inspiration to people all over the world. Nelson Davila, the Venezuelan government representative in Australia, will explore the achievements and challenges of the "Bolivarian Revolution". "The only way to defeat poverty is to give power to the people" - Hugo Chavez Frias - President of Venezuela. Presented by the Australia Venezuela Solidarity Network

*The IRON WALL* - A film by Mohammed Alatar. "Zionist colonization must either stop, or else proceed regardless of the native population. Which means that it can proceed and develop only under the protection of a power that is independent of the native population - behind an IRON WALL, which the native population cannot breach." - Zionist leader, Vladimir Jabotinsky, 1923 The Iron Wall exposes the aim of the settlement movement and the Apartheid Wall to create facts on the ground to make the creation of a Palestinian state impossible. Organised by Melbourne Palestine Solidarity Network

*Australian Corporate complicity in Iraq* - AID/WATCH campaigner Kate When and Newcastle University academic Chris Doran will specifically focus on Australia's enthusiastic participation in the Neo-liberal wet dream that became Iraq's economy as well as give a revealing analysis of where government aid money was really going at the time of this unnecessary war. Kate When AID/WATCH

*Camp Sovereignty workshop* - Robbie Thorpe will talk about past & present actions such as the Stolenwealth Games. His aim is to raise the awareness of indigenous reform concepts and get them into practice. Robbie has a list of key reforms, starting with the sacred fire. The importance of these reforms are paramount as they aim to rebuild indigenous culture from the ground up. Along the way, non-indigenous can help and learn about the world's oldest known culture.

*Creating a Future for People in Mexico* - A workshop on the Zapatistas Community experiences or how the people in Atenco and or Oaxaca are organising against state repression, Multi National Corporations and Neo-liberalism. Heriberto Salas - The other campaign, Mexico

*Peoples Health Movement* - The Peoples Health Movement, is a global coalition of grassroots and health activist organizations whose goal is to re-establish health and equitable development as top priorities in local, national and international policy-making. Despite overall increases in life expectancy in the past century, economic prosperity and development is widening the gap between the healthy and wealthy on one hand, and the poor and unwell on the other. Economic disparities both within and between countries has grown. In about 100 countries incomes are lower in real terms than they were a decade ago. By 1995, the world's richest 225 people had the combined wealth equivalent to the annual income of the poorest 225 billion people in the world (nearly half of the world's population). At the same time the environment is being plundered and degraded, and the world is facing a growing scarcity of renewable resources. Health is a social goal and a responsibility across our whole society. In both rich and poor countries, people's health largely depends on the social conditions in which they work and live. By acting on social causes of ill health, governments can reduce health disparities, promote population health and create and sustain economically viable societies.

*DISMANTLING CORPORATE RULE* - Corporations have become the dominant institution of our time. They have hijacked our government and economy - our very democracy. A movement is growing to claim our sovereign power to make corporations subordinate. This workshop teaches the history and context for corporate power and will help participants to take the "1st Steps" necessary to reclaim our democracy from corporations. It will address the history and root causes of the rise of corporate power, and corporate usurpation of our democratic authority to

govern ourselves, particularly via the legal doctrine of corporate personhood. Corporate personhood is the legal doctrine which recognises corporations and private firms as having the same legal entitlements as natural persons, which in turn ensures corporate access to the democratic process while simultaneously guaranteeing it many of the same protections as private citizens. Corporate personhood is what allows corporations to give donations to political parties; to lobby; to purchase other corporations and eliminate any restrictions to wealth and power, which in turn has allowed corporations an unnatural and hugely undemocratic influence over the political process. The workshop will also address the origins of corporate personhood and the ascendancy of the corporate form. It will include an analysis of the role of the royal corporate charters as a motivation for the American Revolution, and the restrictions placed on the corporate form in both Britain and the United States until 1886, when the US Supreme Court recognised that corporations were protected under the US constitution's Bill of Rights. This in turn gave rise to the modern corporation- in Australia and otherwise- as we know it today. It will also address how British law formed the legal context for the Australian colonies up until Federation, when the new constitution established for the first time a national context for administering and regulating the corporate form. Significantly, corporate personhood was firmly and clearly written into the 2001 Corporations Act: "A company has, both within and outside this jurisdiction, the legal capacity of a natural person" (Corporations Act 2001 (Cth) s. 161). The Corporations Act is the legal justification for the Howard government's Industrial Relations laws. Presented by Chris Doran

*REAL HOPE in Education and Governance* - The aim of this workshop is to introduce participants to a new way of seeing the future and learning how to 'be the change you wish the world to see'. The presenter, Susan Carew is a World Peace Clown and on her return from Russia with Dr. Patch Adams developed the REAL HOPE values based anti-bullying program which she teaches in primary schools. Susan has a degree in Economics and Marketing and completed Peace Studies at La Trobe University in 2002. Susan is currently combining her work in schools and research. She is working as a senior research analyst and believes social change comes from changing ourselves. To do this we need to educate new generation of children with universal values and the tools to govern democratically. Susan will introduce participants to another way of seeing new possibilities through universal values, techniques and activities. Participants will learn: values based decision making model; Mediation; Collaboration; ICE – inspire, challenge and empower; Creative activities for connection and creativity; Clowning for stepping out of stereotypes; Generate new solutions.

*Indigenous Visions*, The Mapuche vision after 500 years of foreign domination. the community organising to challenge Multinational incursions (logging, energy companies). Carmen Curihuentro - The Mapuche Nation, Chile

*DREAMTANK: RAINBOW INDIGENOUS DREAMING: EARTH COUNCIL 2012* - DREAMTANK PROMOTE THE FIRST WORLD REFERENDUM ON THE FORMATION OF EARTH COUNCIL. IN BILLIONS OF HEARTS THE DESIRE IS THERE. WE WILL PREVAIL OVER THE MULTI-NATIONAL CORPORATIONS, THE ELITES AND THEIR PUPPET GOVERNMENTS WHO ARE NOT EVIL JUST IGNORANT. THE EARTH IS EXPERIENCING GLOBAL ECOCATASTROPHE RIGHT NOW! There will be no jobs on a dead planet! We must save our planetary home. Without a vision we are without hope yet there is a cohesive dreaming happening right now. A collaboration of persons and organizations from around the world seek a true planetary government based on the sovereignty of the individual, eco-villages/cities and biosphere regionalization.

The Earth Council ethos is based on an interpretation of Australian Aboriginal ethos regarding the proper relationship between human and human, and humans and other life forms:

1. Balance: A system cannot be life enhancing if it is out of kilter, and each part shares in the responsibility of sustaining itself and balancing others.
  2. Response: Communication is reciprocal. There is here a moral obligation; to learn, to understand, to pay attention, and to respond.
  3. Symmetry: In opposing and balancing each other, parts must be equivalent because the purpose is not to "win" or dominate, but to block thereby producing further balance.
  4. Autonomy: No species, no group, or country is "boss" for another; each adheres to its own Law. Authority and dependence are necessary within parts, but not between parts.
- Dreamtank promotes the idea everyone is responsible for this awakening, their own awakening and encourage the practice of inner work. Dreamtank supports the The Earthcharter Initiative. Contact [www.earthcharter.com](http://www.earthcharter.com)

#### MSF Workshops / Participating organisations 2007

*Bec's Tree house Art School kids workshop*, Bec's Tree House Art School is holding a free art workshop for kids of all ages! We will be having lots of fun with RECYLCED Art materials! You can paint, and use fun bits and bobs to decorate a mural! Bec's Tree House Art School has been running in the local area for several years. Fun activities include puppet making, Indian wood block printing, environmental art, beading, and more! An Art Exhibition Party is held at the end of the term! The exciting courses have an emphasis on play and the importance of the creative process as well as learning new techniques in drawing and painting! Run by Becky James

*A history of rebellion in Latin America*. This workshop aims to describe the origins of the rebellion unfolding in Latin America. It will be divided into pre-Cuban Revolution, from slave rebellions to the triumph of the *mo, 25 de Julio*, then, will explore its legacy in the insurgency after 1960. Jorge Jorquera, Cecilia Saravio, Lourdes Garcia-Larque. Bolivarian circle

*A stitch in time saves the planet*. Come to a workshop on the politics of stuff. Find out how you can single handedly save the economy, the planet and all the furry animals, stop all wars and end climate change. Well, not quite but you can definitely learn how to knit with recycled plastic bags. This workshop will focus on the craft revolution taking place around the western world and meet some of the craftivists in your own community. Plus we really will teach you how to plastic bag knit so please bring some bags and scissors, we'll provide the needles and the know-how. Craftster Melbourne, Rayna Fahey

*Aboriginal Genocide Past to Present* - This workshop will address Australia's ongoing denial of International Human Rights Laws and the unresolved fundamental legal issues of Genocide, Sovereignty and Treaty for Aboriginal People AND World Peace, Justice and Holo-Eco-hausted Healing. Robbie Thorpe

*An idea whose time has come: Education for Mutually Beneficial Sustaining & Relating*. If we want to change our practices, and learn to relate with each other and the planet in peaceful, sustainable and non-exploitative ways, we need to begin exploring alternative approaches to education and finding opportunities for relearning. OASES, Jacques Boulet

As opposed to the lower level skills (job skills) that are increasingly being pushed as 'higher education', but which have a shelf life shorter than a celebrity magazine, we need education aimed at developing higher level skills, which includes the ability to embrace change, uncertainty, learning many ways of knowing, and creating experiments in empowering and sustaining life and each other. We cannot resolve the problems we face in the present with the very same mindsets that led to problems in the first place. In all domains: in work, life love, politics and friendship, we need to begin to rethink our practices, assumptions and world through new educational approaches. New approaches to education can help us to accept uncertainty while moving toward new ways of sustaining each other and the planet.

*Avoiding Dangerous Climate Change* - A workshop discussing how to avoid a runaway climate change event, including 'The Problems and the Risks', the Solutions', and what the audience can do to help. The workshop is focused around the serious side of climate change, making a case for strong and fast action at a societal level. We will include scenarios for the effects of various temperature rises, based on information from the Stern Report, as well as solution options for transport, agriculture and stationary energy. The outcome of the workshop is that we will have help educate people as to the seriousness of the issue they face and what solutions can be implemented, whilst also having encouraged them to take on the values of a zero emission minus transition and become personally active and join or establish a local community based climate action group. Speakers include Philip Sutton from Green Leap Strategic Institute, Matthew Wright from Beyond Zero Emissions, and Adrian Whitehead from Zero Emission Network. Zero Emission Network, Adrian Whitehead

*Be the Change presents Changing the Dream* - The Awakening the Dreamer Symposium is different from many other environmental seminars that tend to put such a glaring spotlight on the dire problems facing our planet that participants leave feeling frightened, overwhelmed and powerless. The Symposium does present a comprehensive overview of the current problems and challenges facing the planet, but it also seeks to: gently guide participants past their despair, anger and fear into a place of understanding, compassion and empowerment, from where they can actually activate and implement solutions; examine the fundamental cultural patterns that brought us to this point of planetary emergency; introduce an emerging paradigm based on ancient indigenous wisdom and modern quantum physics that sees life as interconnected and precious; connect participants with a growing worldwide movement based on this emerging paradigm that is bringing about sweeping changes at a grass roots level all around the world; leave participants with new friends and contacts who are as passionate and empowered as they are with whom to work to build powerful solutions to the crisis. Be the Change (formerly Awakening the Dreamer) Joanne , Phil, Katherine, Trav.

*Biodiesel – 1 part of a personal commitment to change* - Biodiesel like many ideas in a carbon conscious community can be very beneficial or detrimental to our climate. I would like to promote how biodiesel can be one of many ways reduce personal carbon emissions and the importance for each and every one of us to reduce our own emissions before telling others or the government that it is too polluting. "In fighting climate change, we must fight not only the oil companies, the airlines and the governments of the rich world; we must also fight ourselves." George Monbiot. Inspiration, Ideas and examples of how to reduce personal emissions. Biodiesel inc, Paul martin

*Carbon Rationing or Carbon Taxes ... How do we effectively and fairly reduce our use of carbon?* Reducing the effect of climate CO2 induced climate change will require a massive reduction of greenhouse gas emissions within the next 10 years. The question is how can this be

achieved effectively and fairly. We want to explore how a Carbon Quota system which ensures everyone has an equal share of carbon based resources will be more effective than Carbon Taxes which have an unequal impact on the community. The workshop will also examine strategies to promote the Carbon Quota model in the community as the best way to tackle climate change.

Western Region Environment Centre, Harry Van Moorst, Joseph Natoli

*Climate justice - an Australian approach to a global problem* - While climate change has finally become a mainstream issue, the human rights dimensions of global warming is still very much a minor element of the public debate. However, it will be the poor who will suffer the most - both here in Australia, and globally through damage to the natural systems that people rely on and through mass displacement - that is, the creation of climate refugees. This workshop will consider the human rights dimensions of climate change and outline what rich nations like Australia should be doing in response; it will focus on funding adaptation (sometimes called resilience building), and creating a separate intake program for climate refugees while also taking meaningful action to reduce our greenhouse emissions here in Australia. Friends of the Earth Melbourne. Cam Walker

*Co-operatives - share it all!* - If we really want to learn to live together peacefully, non-exploitably and sustainably, then we need to learn to work together to create the things we need and the world we want to live in. Co-operation rather than competition offers a much more livable and just option, one where organisations are controlled by those whom they affect and one where hierarchy is minimised. This workshop will cover an introduction to co-operatives, the seven principles of co-operatives, the infinite different kinds of co-operatives and much more... Shifting Space, Anne-lise Ah-Fat and Rachel Kitchener

*Colombia between state terror and revolution.* Explain the role of the agricultural workers union in Colombia (FENSUAGRO), the work they are doing and a brief history of the State terrorism they face. We also want to talk about what we are doing in Australia in solidarity with the FENSUAGRO. We believe that it is also necessary to give a brief overview of the political and economic situation of Colombia. Bolivarian circle. Alejandro Rodriguez, Jorge Jorquera

*Community Organizing for Climate Action.* This workshop will be a sharing of ideas for catalysing strong and effective community action on climate change. The facilitator is a researcher on sustainable development who recently founded the Guernsey Climate Action Network (Guernsey-CAN) on his home island of Guernsey in the Channel Islands. The group unites a number of schools, businesses, community groups, government departments and media and is becoming a powerful force for positive change on the island. The workshop will begin with a reportback on the setting up of this group and feed in to a discussion on strategies for organizing positive, solutions-based initiatives to mitigate the climate crisis. Guernsey Climate Action Network. Simon Bradshaw

*Connections with the land.* ANTaR Victoria has contact with representatives in the Indigenous community, and we would like to approach one of these spokespeople to present at the festival, to discuss from their personal point of view the connection with the land, history, and land management, and how this also relates to social justice for Indigenous peoples. ANTaR, Frank Hytten

*Corporate Watch Australia.* This workshop will outline the details of Global Trade Watch's Corporate Watch Australia campaign and explain how you can get involved. Global Trade Watch, Hammy Goonan

*Creating a (Happy) High Performance Organisation* - (Or Practicing what we preach: Why social change should start at your workplace!) It is an unspoken assumption that high performance workplaces can't be healthy or participatory or - (gasp!!) - fun. Dating back to Henry Ford and the invention of the production line this notion still pervades today - if someone is enjoying themselves they can't be working! In fact the evidence shows that the opposite is true - the happier and more democratic the workplace the more productive you will be professionally and personally. And how do you create such a workplace? It does take some effort but the recipe is known and proven to work. Come along and find how you can turn your workplace into a high-performing \"well-place\" with these proven techniques. Cris Popp is an experienced facilitator and trainer. He specialises in helping organisations marry their professional objectives with the personal needs of their staff. Cris Popp

Cuba's relocalisation - Cuba went through a massive energy and economic crisis in the early 90s, and survived. Today, Cubans eat from urban organic gardens, and travel by bike, bus or horse, rather than car. As a society seemingly addicted to cheap transport and industrial agriculture, declines in oil stocks look set to hurt us badly. Yet relocalisation may not be as painful, dangerous or difficult as we might think, and Cuba provides a wealth of inspiration about the large and small ways we can choose to get local today. This workshop is an eyewitness account of how one small island country has transitioned into the post-industrial future. Elvira Griffith

*Debating Hot Topics: Health, Howard's Neoliberal Campaign and Social Harmony Organisation* Fresh from the World Social Forum, our session will look at current global discourses relating to Health Inequality, and how contemporary health policies and practices can be seen as examples of 'actually existing neoliberalism'. We will consider global, national and local contexts, and how these spaces of health are influenced by the legacies inherited from previous layers of institutional structure, the current neo-liberal paradigm and contemporary socio-political struggles. Our session will be truly interdisciplinary, combining the knowledge of social theorists, health researchers, geographers and economists (and most importantly, YOU), to consider possible alternative narratives to the Howard Catastrophe, and further substantiate the social forum agenda that ANOTHER WORLD IS POSSIBLE!! DON'T MISS IT!!!! Centre of Full Employment and Equity (CofFEE), The University of Newcastle, Emma Allen, Julie Johnstone, Riccardo Welters, Anthea Bill and James Juniper

*Documentaries and Q&A on housing rights* - 'COHRE's Fionn Skiotis will present two half-hour documentaries on housing rights themes. The first is "Lyari – Highway of Tears" (2006) which focuses on the global crisis in forced evictions through a case study: construction of the Lyari Expressway in Karachi, Pakistan, which will result in the eviction of some 250,000 urban poor people. The film will be followed by a Q&A session with the director (Fionn). The second film is a preview screening of a COHRE project now nearing completion, with the working title "Waves and Wars: Sri Lanka's Internally Displaced". This work looks at the issues of displacement and return in the context of Sri Lanka, where 5% of the population has been displaced by conflict or natural disaster. Director Sam de Silva will discuss this project and the current situation in Sri Lanka. (NB: this film is incomplete and may lack final graphics, credits, narration and sound mix). Centre on Housing Rights and Evictions (COHRE). Fionn Skiotis

*East Timor Women. Eye-witness account from Palestine* - Photos and discussion, featuring an International Volunteers for Peace activist who returned from a program with Orient House in Palestine this year. Orient House offers social and economic support to Palestinians living under occupation and it has a Youth Development Department which hosts camps within Palestine for

international volunteers. The presentation features photos of the Wall, checkpoints, Palestinian culture and landscape. Melbourne Palestine Solidarity Network, Ema.

*Forests and Climate Change* - Description: A workshop discusses the important role forests have in a global warming world. The workshop will look at threats to forests, their important role as a carbon sinks, and ways we can tackle the endemic native forests destruction which continues to release massive amounts of CO<sub>2</sub>, including looking at certification and building options. Beyond Zero Emissions. Chris Taylor

*Grassroots Online Video Distribution* - The net is quickly becoming one of the most effective ways for video activists to distribute their content. Online distribution means anyone with good internet access can watch your video from around the world. It also allows people with limited means to by-pass the mainstream media and create their own distribution channels. EngageMedia will host a practical workshop covering these topics and more to help you make the most of these online tools. EngageMedia is a website distributing social justice and environmental video from South East Asia, Australia and the Pacific. The workshop will cover - where on the web you can publish your video - creating and subscribing to video podcasts - setting up an account on EngageMedia and publishing to it - how to encode video for distribution on the web - copyright/left and licensing your video work - using online video as part of campaign work - free and open source software tools If you have a laptop please bring it along with any video materials you have. EngageMedia, Andrew/Anna.

*Introduction to Sustainable Transport* - This workshop will start with a presentation, outlining the concept of sustainable transport from a health, environmental, social and economic perspective. It will explain some of the effects of current transport policy and the benefits of creating a sustainable Transport system. Topics will include Peak Oil, Sedentary Lifestyle Disease, Air and Noise Pollution, Climate Change, Road Traffic Injuries and Peak Oil. Following this presentation, a group discussion will follow. Institute for Sensible Transport, Elliot Fishman

*Land of Opportunity - Privatising the Pacific* - The Pacific Islands face enormous challenges from both climate change and economic development. The Pacific is facing their 'Enclosure of the Commons' with property speculators buying up ocean front views, kicking traditional people off their land. This is threatening the social fabric of Island life from Tiwi to Vanuatu. Earthsharing Australia are working with the UN's Global Land Tool Network to develop the policy tools desperately needed by these sovereign nations. We need your assistance! Play the EarthShare game to learn how economic processes unfold. Then we will discuss how we can all help. Earthsharing Australia, Karl Fitzgerald.

*Lateral Thinking for Possible Futures* - The workshop will provide tools and ideas on ways to think and feel differently about the future. It is critical to identify the possibilities and practicalities of ways that will work. Therefore the quality of our thinking and ability to participate in constructive ways that benefit a sustainable society. One World Network, Susan Carew.

*Latin American wave changes from Below* - Across Latin America dynamic and diverse social movements are finding creative and inspiring ways to create a better and just world. This workshop will promote these ways of struggles against neoliberal system. Our main idea is to build bridges across divers section in Australian society. LASNET, Marisol Salinas.

*Lobbyocracy: The Hypocrisy of Democracy* - Lobbyocracy is a collaborative project using wiki-based software to track the donations made to political parties and the policy outcomes of this. We expose the dodgy back room deals and show how money is siphoned through front groups to side step accountability. Find out what we're doing and how you can get involved. The Australian Centre for Democracy and Justice, Hammy Goonan & Karl Fitzgerald

*Nuclear Groundhog Day* - The current barrage of pro nuclear propaganda may seem like something entirely new to a lot of people. In fact its rather like the film Groundhog Day. In this film the main character gets to re live the same day so he can correct all his mistakes. The nuclear industry is re packaging old propaganda in an effort to try and convince a new generation of people of old failed arguments. We will also be showing a 20 minute version of acclaimed documentary film maker David Bradbury's new film "A hard rain" – about the dangers of nuclear power. Nuclear Free Australia, Hillel Freedman

*Our Public Transport Campaign* - We are running a colourful campaign of stunts and actions to try to force the state govt to 'un-privatise' public transport. We are running this as a general critique of privatisation, capitalism (at times) and a call for visions of the kind of transport and cities we see in a sustainable, fairer future. We would love to open this up for discussion with others at the forum. Our Public Transport Campaign, Fiona.

*Pacific Conversations* - Participants of the workshop will explore together: 1. Some key unresolved issues of our Pacific island neighbours; 2. Australia's impact on these issues; and 3. How Australians (individuals, communities, and institutions) can be involved in addressing these issues. Two leading issues for the Pacific region include (1) Climate change, rise in sea level and environmental refugees; and (2) The Australian government's stance on Regional Security - the 'framing' of Australia's responsibility in the Pacific region for human and ecological security. In response to these leading issues (and more) Pacific activists and NGOs have organised themselves with global partners, and acting locally in the region and in their local communities in providing more effective partnerships for addressing these issues. The workshop will highlight some of the leading Pacific networks, and also explore with participants new ones that may be launched in Melbourne to consolidate Pacific solidarity. VU Pacific Islands Network, Mosese Waqa.

*Peoples Health Movement : Health for all* - The workshop will commence with a short description of PHM and what it has achieved to date internationally and within Australia. This will include a description of the People's Health Charter which outlines the key principles and beliefs of the global PHM movement. The workshop will then break up into smaller interactive groups to discuss some key issues depending on participants interests. The topics that will be explored are: Big Pharma: How the forces of globalization and the policies of multinational drug companies impact on cost and access to essential drugs. Capital transfer: The flow of wealth and skills from rich to poor countries and how this shapes health systems in poor countries. Privatization: The push to privatize essential industries including the health sector and what this means for developing and developed countries. Peoples Health Movement, Sally Kingsland

*Privatising Biodiversity: Food Rights Implications of the WTO's Intellect. Property Rights Agreement* - The workshop will discuss how the private sector globally is gaining increasing control over plant genetic material and plant varieties, seriously threatening food security and the traditional knowledge of communities globally. The workshop will explore the role of the World Trade Organisation's Trade Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights Agreement (TRIPS) in paving the way for this control. TRIPS marks a great expansion of the owners of intellectual

property and significantly expands private economic power at the expense of basic human rights and social justice. All countries that are part of the WTO system and therefore party to TRIPS, are required to privatise biodiversity and agricultural resources. The workshop will explore the food rights implications of TRIPS in the developing world, where in some countries over 70 percent of the population is directly engaged in agriculture. Monash University and Global Trade Watch (Board Member), Jagjit Plahe

*Protesting against George Bush at APEC* - This will be a discussion about APEC and how we can best present an alternative message. Unity for Peace, Judy McVey

*Putting the public interest back into public transport* - Friends of the Earth's new sustainable transport campaign is promoting the return of Melbourne's public transport to public control in order to provide the necessary improvements to services that will enable people to reduce car use and greenhouse gas emissions. We are building a groundswell of community support to pressure the state government to not extend or renew the rail and tram franchises by the 30 November deadline this year, and instead to set up an accountable public agency to effectively manage our public transport system based on the best examples in the world. Friends of the Earth, Genevieve O'Connell & John Cox

*Reaching out* - 'Reaching out' is a workshop for shared collaborative exploration. Telling stories, our own and those of others will provide a basis for experiences in understanding and empathy. We will look at ways of building bridges across difference. The workshop will focus on the challenges we face in a world shaped by violence and despair - where fear of the stranger and the unknown has become politically correct and too often guides our expectations of the world rather than compassion hope and trust in the future. Buddhist Peace Fellowship, Melbourne Chapter, Dr Shoshana Rose

*Reconciliation - what can I do?* - ANTaR representative Frank Hytten, will discuss in an informal group setting, actions that non-Indigenous Australians can take to improve social justice for Indigenous people in Australia, and how to participate in ending racism against Australia's first peoples. The basis for these actions is:

- \* Acknowledging Sovereignty
- \* Being Honest about our history
- \* Safeguarding Aboriginal Cultural Heritage
- \* Recognizing and Respecting Aboriginal culture
- \* Seeking Aboriginal representation in all areas and at all levels of civic society
- \* Paying reparations

ANTaR, Frank Hytten

*Relocalisation: Positive solutions for a sustainable future in light of Climate Change and Peak Oil* - This workshop with Helena Nordberg Hodge, Gilbert Rochecouste and Amadis Lacheta will explore what individuals, communities, governments and business can do to create a new economic model that radically reduces our consumptive lifestyles whilst enriching our personal lives, communities and local economies. International Society for Ecology and Culture, Village Well, Creating Community, Helena Norberg-Hodge, Gilbert Rochecouste and Amadis Lacheta

*Round table with Latin America and Australia sharing community building process* - We will attempt with this workshop to create a space for discussion between different Latin solidarity groups and community members from ... diverse culture in this way we are building red links and relations of stories, struggles and cultures. Latin American Solidarity Network, Marisol Salinas

*Sex and Power* - In this workshop we deconstruct gender and sexuality from a perspective of power. Our goal is to show how patriarchy shapes our identities and our lived experiences. We argue that our struggles for social justice must include struggles against patriarchy. This is a dynamic workshop that responds to the interests and experience levels of the participants. Time: 60 minutes. Collective Autonomy, Tristan, Rachel & Katie

*Shoalwater Bay Peace Convergence Information Workshop* - This workshop will outline the reasons for the peace convergence at Shoalwater Bay. It will outline some of the environmental and social impacts that will result from the Talisman Sabre war games as well as drawing attention to the use of depleted uranium munitions in military activities and the human cost that results. Depending on time, organisation and resources a DVD of the previous war games may be shown as well as segments from David Bradbury's film *Blowin' in the Wind*, which exposes the use of depleted uranium munitions by the American military. The aim of this workshop is to raise awareness about the war games and to encourage people to attend the peace convergence between the 18th-24th of June. Autonomous, Kristy Henderson

*Strategic Nonviolence – the politics of ordinary people* - A short introduction to the politics of strategic and radical nonviolence. Often called the 'politics of ordinary people', grassroots and nonviolent political movements have achieved enormous successes over the past century and nonviolent forms of resistance are gaining in strength and reach. This workshop will examine how nonviolent forms of popular resistance work and explore how the nonviolent tactics of protest, noncooperation and intervention are being applied strategically in people power movements today. Nonviolence Training Project, Anthony Kelly.

*The Campaign for Justice for Refugees Continues* - Small panel of RAC members and refugee advocates will discuss what has been achieved so far with the refugee campaign, and the current campaign focus on stopping the construction and future use of the new Christmas Island Detention Centre - \"Australia's Guantanamo\". A \$500 million, 800 bed maximum security prison is under construction for \"processing\" refugees and asylum seekers. The security system details are chilling, as are the plans for family units and a nursery in this management compound. No Australian Guantanamo - demand an end to all detention centres. Refugee Action Collective Victoria, Tony, Julie, Marie

*The Coming Crisis of the NGOs: New Humanitarian Aid and the Cosmopolitan Vision* - Aid programs have become increasingly problematic, and there is much to learn from the history of their politics and implementation. Yet in an increasingly turbulent 21st century, whether through natural disasters or whether through civil war, the need for humanitarian aid will not diminish, it is likely to increase in the coming future. In this workshop Professor Sue Kenny will lead a discussion on the emerging 21st century phenomenon of humanitarian aid. She will identify the challenges faced by NGOs today and facilitate a discussion on strategies that address these issues. She will put forward a vision based on cosmopolitanism. To deal with the coming global issues of the 21st century, she will show how we will need to take the idea of cosmopolitanism more seriously. Human Rights Resource Centre, Sue Kenny.

*The future is bright: Maitreya The teacher for the coming age* - The most profound historic event is currently unfolding behind the scenes of our everyday life - return to the world of Maitreya, the world teacher and the masters of wisdom. The workshop offers information on who the masters are, where they came from and what their return means for our future. We also introduce the

audience to transmission meditation. A potent world service activity. Australian Transmission Meditation Network, Valter Poropat.

*The Psychology of Sustainable Behaviour* - This experiential, interactive workshop will explore the psychology of sustainable behaviours. Attendees will be guided through an exercise to identify their values, explore how their values impact on their sustainability decisions, and commit to values-based actions which they can personally undertake. We will also discuss the role of psychology in sustainability and explore common dilemmas we face in living a sustainable life. Awake, Tim Cotter.

*The social construction of the institutional dimensions of life: conceptual tools for a sustainable existence* - Frank Fisher will introduce some ideas regarding social construction, which will then be digested over lunch. This dialogue will touch on the institutional dimensions of life, with the intention of facilitating some capacity in participants to use these notions to change the world. There will be a basic introduction to the concept of social construction, and how they apply to modern predicaments. Frank will then facilitate a session of eating over lunch, which will also be an opportunity for reflection and insight on the practice of leading a sustainable existence. Understandascope Institute, Frank Fisher.

*The Vegan Kitchen: meal planning, shopping and preparation* - Shopping and cooking for a vegan household does not need to be difficult or expensive. This session will provide information on planning for a vegan lifestyle in order to save time and money, reduce waste, and minimise your environmental impact. The discussion will cover topics such as scheduling weekly meals, writing a shopping list, buying in bulk, finding cheap organics and preparing delicious vegan dishes. This is an ideal session for anyone thinking about going vegan (but not sure where to start!) or for those who want to make their vegan lifestyle more economical, efficient and eco-friendly. Aduki Independent Press, Emily Clark

*The World Social Forum: Global Meets Local* - At this year's World Social Forum in Nairobi, Kenya, it was announced that next year's World Social Forum will happen at the local level. This means that next year's Melbourne Social Forum could also be the World Social Forum, that is, if the community of Melbourne supports such action. Shall we join local social forums all over the world in holding alternative meetings to the Davos World Economic Forum next year? This workshop will provide participants with some history and philosophical background of the Social Forum movement here and abroad and address some of the challenges faced by this growing grassroots network. Most importantly, participants will be invited to discuss the role of local social forums in the global movement, and to voice their suggestions for future social forum activity in Melbourne. Melbourne Social Forum, Maria Rodrigues and Jose Ramos.

*Transforming work: a whole of class strategy and worker cooperatives in a global context* - Union Solidarity coordinator Dave Kerin will talk about the strategy that Union Solidarity uses and implements for protecting and improving workers conditions and livelihoods and the environment in which people work. There exist in Australian history deep precedents for a whole of class strategy, originally articulated by the International Workers of the World. Union Solidarity has borrowed from this practice and theory, and we can discuss why that strategy is working and how it can be made to work even better. Union Solidarity will also talk about its initiative in connecting jobs and environment in a very practical way through the development of worker owned co-operatives. It is a very exciting initiative, as its scope is to put back into place needed manufacturing jobs while also protecting our best ecological interests. This initiative addresses the sad shift in Australia's economy toward a service sector which satisfies the

capitalist world economy rather than the need to protect workers and ecosystems. The consequence of this shift is that, as a citizenry we have an economy without any real value. The workshop will provide a new pathway toward building an Australian economy by developing worker owned cooperatives which can innovate and produce goods in a sustainable way and add real value to society, which co-operatives own and control. By doing this we can lay the foundations so that our young ones can also have a decent future. Union Solidarity, Dave Kerin

*Unarmed Bodyguards: Nonviolent Protective Accompaniment in Action* - PBI fields international teams of volunteers in war zones around the world in order to provide unarmed protective accompaniment for activists, unionists, lawyers, environmentalists and other human rights defenders who face threats due their work. PBI's strategic presence deters human rights abusers from carrying out their threats and aims to increase the political space in which activists have to organise and work for justice. It is vital work and highly effective. Jodie Martire has recently returned from 15 months with PBI's Colombia Project and will speak first hand of her experiences and how we can act to protect activists facing severe repression. Peace Brigades International (PBI), Jodie Martire.

*We can keep Australia GE-free*

- \* A short presentation of the issues set out in our tabloid news-sheet.
- \* Q&A plus discussion of the main topics.
- \* Action plan - what can everyone do to secure a GE-free future.
- \* The Five year Freeze campaign - extend state commercial GE crop bans till 2013.
- \* Petitions and pro forma letters - participants\ signing and taking for family and friends to also support.

Gene Ethics, Bob Phelps

*What kind of sustainability emergency?* - Climate change, peak oil, water, food shortage, species destruction, the list goes on. These sustainability issues are coming home to roost after decades of neglect. The time available for effective action is very , very short (a decade?), and the solutions will necessarily involve no less that a major physical reworking of the economy and our lifestyles. The threat and the required action is unprecedented. How do we break out of business-as-usual and engage the whole society, including the mainstream, without watering down what needs to be done? Philip Sutton argues that we need to recognise that we are facing an emergency. And in the not-too-distant future this will need to be declared formally by governments. How can we get society to engage with the sustainability emergency? How can we strengthen democracy, innovation and social diversity as part of the process? How do we ensure that authoritarian forces of all sorts do not hijack the sustainability emergency? These are some of the issues to be explored in the Sustainability emergency workshop. Greenleap Strategic Institute, Phil Sutton

*What sort of a neighbour does Timor-Leste need?* - The Melbourne Social Forum takes place after the Presidential elections but before the Parliamentary elections in Timor Leste (East Timor). The role played by Australia, whether we like it or not, has become an issue in those elections. At government level debate on what Australia could do for Timor-Leste gets stuck on issues such as troops and the level of aid. This workshop will endeavour to look more closely at Timorese voices on what Australia's role should be, and also suggest an alternative paradigm for thinking about the human development of the country, it will address issues such as needs of youth, women, educational transformation, etc. (speakers to be confirmed soon). Australia-East Timor Association (AETA), Natalie Moxham

*Whenua, Fenua, Enuu, Vanua: Indigenous resistance to Globalization in the Pacific* - "Australia and NZ remained unrepentant for their brutal suppression of indigenous independence movements in the Pacific. They rationalized such behaviour as enhancing the welfare of the Islands and the human development of their people – just as they justified similar behaviour towards indigenous peoples in their own countries." The settler gubbamments of OZ & NZ are forcing a neo-liberal economic agenda on the nations of the Pacific, for 21 years the settler gubbamments of OZ, NZ, Canada, & the US have blocked (and will continue to block) the passage of the DRIP (Declaration on the rights of Indigenous Peoples) though the UN. Things such as these and ancestral rights & treaties are meaningless in the face of economic and "security arrangements", which do nothing more than open up our region for the outflow of capital, (land, people, natural resources), evolutionary processes have run their course and the time for re-asserting a Nuclear free & independent Pacific has come. <http://uriohau.blogspot.com/> , S.I.S.I.S (Settlers in Support of Indigenous Sovereignty), Sina Ana Brown-Davis (Te Roroa, Te Uri o Hau, Fale Ula, Vava'u)

#### Workshops for MSF 2009

*En Masse: Activism in the Digital Age* - Is all you need to change the world an Internet Connection? This workshop will look at practical examples of what works and what doesn't when it comes to online activism... without getting too nerdy. Australian Centre for Democracy and Justice

*Is reconciliation relevant?* - A look at how working with Indigenous people and communities can benefit society. How the inclusion of Aboriginal culture into mainstream lifestyles can improve attitudes and help resolve issues. Reconciliation Victoria

*Start a sharing community in your neighbourhood* - The Sharehood is a community building and resource sharing network. Neighbourhoods are broken down into small areas which we call hoods. Within a hood, neighbours can share resources from power tools to fruit trees or skills from babysitting to legal advice. Setting up a hood is also a great way to get to know your neighbours, build a sense of community, while saving money and the environment. This workshop will explain the process of starting your own 'hood': letterboxing, the first meeting, organising social events as well as generally sharing the experience of starting a hood. The Sharehood

*Yoga and meditation, tools for building a sustainable world* - People often relate yoga with exercise and meditation with relaxation. This is a common misconception as they (yoga/meditation) are so much more. In fact, the principals of yoga, when applied can help provide a perennial source of inspiration and impetus for humans to create well being within and without. In this workshop, I will examine certain practical concepts of yoga philosophy that can be applied to our lives and the environment around us, thus creating true sustainability within our changing world. Ananda Marga

*Mass action at Anglesea Powerstation* - In September the climate movement will hold mass civil disobedience actions at powerstations and other coal infrastructure around the country. Find out about plans for the mass action at Anglesea power station in Victoria. Climate Action Centre

*Responding to climate change in the Pacific islands* - Australia will host the Pacific Islands Forum next August, for the first time in 15 years. But how will the Rudd government's policies on climate change affect people in neighbouring Pacific countries? Join us at this workshop for presentations on the impacts of global warming in the Pacific islands and also planning for action and advocacy in the lead up to the Forum leaders' meeting. Facilitators include Mosese Waqa (Pacific Islands Network), Damien Lawson (FOE) and journalist Nic Maclellan. Pacific Islands Network

*Rebooting economics as if people and planet mattered* - Learn the language of the powerful so we can turn market forces around to our advantage. There is a way that greens can discuss economics in a manner that is attractive to genuine businessmen. Learn some of the problems to bailout economics and help build the knowledgebase for the Next Economy, an Earth Rights Democracy. Karl Fitzgerald from the Renegade Economists and Earthsharing Australia will host this lively workshop. Earthsharing Australia

*Green Renters* - Promoting our blog for those who rent but still strive to lead an ecologically and environmentally sound existence. Including recipes, practical tips, samples and tastings. Green Renters

*Transition Towns Forum I* - Outline the Transition Towns model whereby a group of individuals in a local community get together and collectively plan for a transition to a low-carbon future creating a way of living that's significantly more connected, more vibrant and more in touch with our environment than the oil-addicted treadmill that we find ourselves on today TRANSITION MELBOURNE

*Transition Towns Forum II* - Outline the Transition Towns model whereby a group of individuals in a local community get together and collectively plan for a transition to a low-carbon future creating a way of living that's significantly more connected, more vibrant and more in touch with our environment than the oil-addicted treadmill that we find ourselves on today TRANSITION VICTORIA

*The Fabric of Resistance - Craftivism and developing local, sustainable economies* - A brief history of radical craft activism, and the current resurgence of domestic crafts as a form of diy activism. Followed by a discussion around some of the issues of ethics and consumerisation in contemporary craft practice. Bring your knitting, stitching etc. Free crafting resources will also be on hand for the uninitiated. Presented by the Craft Cartel - 'cause 'mall' is a four letter word. Craft Cartel

*Winning the campaign for a safe climate How will we actually win the campaign to restore a safe climate?* This workshop will presume the technical mechanisms to achieve a zero carbon world exist or are capable of being developed. The real battle is political – how to get the right decisions made so these mechanisms are urgently implemented?. Janet Rice will share her thoughts that we need four key strategies operating together: education and mobilisation, winning seats in Councils and Parliaments, working globally, and wedging businesses and unions. Janet's then keen to lead a vigorous discussion on these and other ways of winning! Janet Rice

*Protecting our planet and defending our communities* - Activism and Solidarity with Latin America and Australian Struggles, The inter-relationship on activism..how we relate our struggles with the same enemy...the same mutinational corporation are involved in the plunder and exploitation of our human and natural resources..here in Australia we have similar system of

repression and social control, how activism face this obstacles for organising and educated themselves in our everyday struggle LASNET and Salvadorean Community, Apolinario Serrano Committee FMLN.

*The relationship between Latin American Indigenous Struggles and Land:views from Australia and LA* - For more than 500 years Latin American people and its original peoples/ first nations are struggling to recovering their land taking by the European conquistadors(invaders), this struggles have many faces and ways of fighting and standing for popular and indigenous rights. The struggle for land have its meaning in that. Is the struggle for life and to save our planet ...indigenous people and the progressive sector of society organising in popular grassroots groups and communities are join in fighting against the same enemy, the neoliberalism which are the most conservative capitalist policies implemented against our peoples. LASNET, Alliance for Indigenous Self Determination and FOE.

*Impact of international economic crisis in Latin American and Australian Workers & communities* - will be possible to globalise hope for new alternatives, LASNET and Yarra Union Solidarity & fairwear campaign

*Westside Carbon Reduction Action Group* - Westside CRAG will provide an overview of our journey, encourage and empower people to become energy literate, and share ideas and strategies for reducing GHG emissions in our daily lives. Westside CRAG

*climate justice fast!* - This is an Information and strategic planning session for a climate justice hunger strike planned for later this year. This action is aimed primarily at communicating the urgency of climate action to the public. With 11 participants already, we are now looking for more in order to attract the maximum media attention possible. We are also looking to network with anyone else interested, and any assistance or support is extremely welcome. climatejusticefast!

*Illustrated Stories* - makes part of a larger project of having a permanent space for illustrators and other graphic artists in the Outsider's Guide. The idea is to have a specific subject for the Illustrated stories and the first of these subjects will be public transport stories. Outsider's Guide to Melbourne

*Advocating for Community Development in Universities: Case Studies from Victoria and Timor-Leste* - In university systems throughout the world Community Development and its associated principles are regarded with suspicion, and marginalized in favour of academic subjects that will lead to financial success for graduates. At Victoria University (Melbourne) and the National University of Timor Loro Sa'e in East Timor, courses in Community Development have been going for some years. Nevertheless they are often under attack from various sections of the university community. This workshop will address the question of whether universities are a good location for courses in Community Development and if so, under what conditions? Victoria University Community Development Program, Helen Hill and Charles Mphande

*Peace is cool: how war worsens global warming* - This workshop will discuss the links between war and environmental degradation: put positively, how promoting and building peace can help mitigate climate change. Ruth is an experienced speaker and organiser, having recently been an elected student representative for the International Physicians for Prevention of Nuclear War (IPPNW). She is now IPPNW's deputy chair, and works as a junior doctor at the Alfred Hospital. Medical Association for Prevention of War.

*Preserving Your Own Olives* - Rescuing our family's unwritten southern Italian food traditions and recipes from extinction. In doing so Mangia! Mangia! also preserves the traditional approach to food which is about family, community and generosity of spirit. Mangia! Mangia!

*Genetic Engineering, Climate Change and Food Insecurity* - Industrial agriculture is at a crossroads. Either we plan for locally based polycultures which lead to resilience, or we allow the multinationals to own our seed stock and impose monocultures, controlling the world's food supply. The workshop will update you on the latest news internationally on the resistance to genetic engineering and the situation in Australia. MADGE and Gene Ethics

*Resistance in Latin America - from El Salvador to Venezuela and Colombia* - This is propose to be a joint workshop with the AVSN, Peace and Justice for Colombia and the El Salvadorian FMLN committee in Melbourne Venezuela Solidarity Network.

*Maitreya - The World Teacher* - Short history of Maitreya the World Teacher. Why he is here. His priorities for the coming time. His teaching.

*Freeganism/dumpster diving* - Are you feeling tohe grip of economic struggles and financial troubles why not come and learn about the life of a freegan! Jahwork Community/Justice and Peace Initiatives

*The politics of bike maitenance and cycling in Melbourne* - More and more people are riding in Melbourne. We're riding for transport, fitness, convenience and economic reasons. Whether you ride heaps or only occasionally, hopefully this workshop will assist you. It starts with an introduction to cycling, how to ride safely and legally. We'll talk a little about the politics of cycling and transport before moving into a little grease monkeying. Bring your bike and learn the basics of home bike maintenance including how to find out more and where you can always get help. Human Power

*Activalia 303* - A gathering of hardy activists share tactics on what works and what doesn't in the information marketplace for social justice. Campaign planning, strategic thinking and looking to the future. Sina Brown-Davis, Karl Fitzgerald and hopefully YOU. Earthsharing Vic and others

*Collectively healing Country, healing self, WE are many WE are one!* - issues from a multi cultural indigenous perspective Habitat Australia and Australia's first Treaty

*Grassroots media watering hole* - A meeting of quite different grassroots media organisations talking about what they do and exploring ways of collaborating Plug in TV, Engagemedia, Documunity, SYN, Create a Vibe.

*Yellowcake Country: Uranium Mining in Australia* - Friends of the Earth has been campaigning against uranium mining for over 35 years. This forum will cover the adverse environmental and social effects of uranium mining, including the ongoing pattern of 'radioactive racism', and the WMD proliferation risks. We'll also talk about the proposed expansion of Olympic Dam in SA - the world's largest uranium mine, and the upcoming Radioactive Exposure Tour. FOE

*Nuclear Power: No answer to Climate Change* - Nuclear power is dangerous for our environment, our health, and the economy. Having a nuclear power industry is a handy stepping stone to making nuclear weapons. But every day we see astonishing descriptions of nuclear

power as “green”, “clean” and the solution to climate change. Experienced anti-nuclear campaigner Bill Williams will outline why nuclear power is bad for our health, share resources, and lead discussion on dealing with the mining industry’s nuclear spin. Medical Association for Prevention of War

*Transition to Zero Carbon Future* - The transition to a zero carbon economy is a necessity and it is entirely achievable using existing technology. Al Gore's 100% renewables in 10 years campaign (called RePower America) has made headlines worldwide and added fire to the urgency of climate change and the need for action. Find out how Australia can match Al Gore by replacing coal-fired electricity with a mix of solar thermal power with storage, solar PV, wind and other proven renewable energy technologies. Also find out how you can contribute to the Zero Carbon Australia plan! Beyond Zero Emissions and Climate Emergency Network

*Solar thermal energy for a Zero Carbon future* - Concentrated Solar Thermal Power (CSP) is an exciting renewable energy technology that will certainly play a central role in Australia's transition to a clean energy future. One of its great advantages is that the heat it produces can be efficiently stored and dispatched to run turbines outside of sunlight hours. Discover the different types of solar thermal power plants that have been generating electricity around the world for decades. Learn about heating, cooking and other industrial applications for solar thermal energy, as well as the potential for storage of solar energy in Australia's new renewable energy infrastructure. Beyond Zero Emissions with ANU

*Repowering Victoria's transport system* - A zero emissions, efficient, socially equitable transport system is an essential part of our transition to a Zero Carbon future. Extending Melbourne's train, tram and bicycle networks, converting to 100% electric vehicles, and running it all on renewable energy will make for a cleaner, healthier Victoria. Find out how Victoria can save 9 billion barrels of oil every year and see the exciting work to date, from the Zero Carbon Australia transport group Beyond Zero Emissions

*After the fires* - Mapping Our Immediate & Emerging Community Conditions, Connectivity & Capabilities. Kinglake Ranges Community

*Waking up to being White* - The workshop is based on my story of claiming a famous ancestor linked to the White Australia policy through the example of Kevin Rudd’s apology to the Stolen Generations. It will be based on the idea of the good that comes from truth telling about the past, theory as to why it’s hard for us nationally and personally to own up to the past to create a shared history with Indigenous Australians, and a practice at being white in a new honest way.

*What is happiness and how can it be cultivated?* - New trends in psychology and what they have in common with the voluntary simplicity movement. Voluntary simplicity is a movement that promotes human happiness, creativity, engagement with meaningful activities over mindless consumerism. ‘Downshifting’ – or working and spending less in order to live more, a central core tenet of the voluntary simplicity movement. Positive psychology is an emergent branch of psychology that promotes the same. I want to basically look at what these two movements have in common – and how they can both be explored and used in order to promote pleasure, meaning, engagement and environmental sustainability. Life's Poet's Simplicity Collective

## Appendix H: MSF Analysis

1)

Campaigns included 'Childcare and paid maternity leave – for a woman's right to choose' (Campaign for Woman's Reproductive Rights, 2004), 'The campaign for justice in Colombia' (Socialist youth organization, 2004), 'Notes for a union campaign during the coming attacks' (Dave Kerin, Union Solidarity, 2004), the campaign against channel deepening in Port Philip Bay (2005), 'Lobbyocracy: The Hypocrisy of Democracy' - an online campaign 'exposing the undemocratic activities of corporations in Australia' (The Australian Centre for Democracy and Justice, 2004); PACE - Pedal Australia for Clean Energy (2005) announced 'We will be running workshops at universities to help build environment collectives, training students about campaign strategy while using the recent Monash announcement of a new Clean Energy Policy as an example of a campaign success and a successful campaign strategy.' Other campaigns included anti-sweatshop, refugee rights, public transport, anti-GM food, (2007) and campaigns for renewable energy, anti-uranium mining and anti-nuclear power (2009) are other examples. Policy oriented workshops ranged from addressing the 'effectiveness of the neo-cons in increasing inequality while sidelining welfare policy', to 'some of the effects of current transport policy and the benefits of creating a sustainable Transport system', to 'clean energy policy' (2005), 'economic policy' and the legacy of the 'White Australia Policy' (2009). Web / online activism was another important mode of agency. This included workshops such as 'Breaking the media monopoly: web based video distribution' (EngageMedia 2007), and 'En Masse: Activism in the Digital Age' (Australian Centre for Democracy and Justice, 2009). A number of workshops concerned direct action and protest organising. Interestingly, the StopG20 coalition was launched in 2005 in a workshop entitled 'Innovative Direct Action and Community Organising for the G20' (Friends of the Earth 2005), and in 2007 a workshop entitled 'Protesting against George Bush at APEC' was held by Unity for Peace. Witnessing and legal enforcement were also important, and specifically pertained to differing domains of international law. Controversially, one workshop held was titled 'Should we support the resistance in Iraq?' (moreland peace group 2004). In a workshop entitled 'Whales under attack' Sea Shepherd promoted itself as 'the whales navy [who] enforce the laws of the sea including IWC rulings that come under the UN' (2005). Peace Brigades International promoted its work as 'PBI fields international teams of volunteers in war zones around the world in order to provide unarmed protective accompaniment for activists, unionists, lawyers, environmentalists and other human rights defenders who face threats due their work.' (2007) Finally following the extradition of US activist Scott Parkin using anti-terror legislation, the Friends of Scott Parkin discussed in a workshop 'how citizens can respond to five common methods that perpetrators use to inhibit public outrage against gross injustice' (2005). To can be added approaches to communication / awareness raising, combating dis-information and exposing or making transparent the workings of power (state and corporate).

2) [field empty]

3)

Such convergences included: a 'Round table' (LASNET) on indigenous struggles, 'Pacific conversations', 'Voices from the south' (Latin American struggles), 'Grassroots media watering hole' (local media alternatives), re-localist 'Voices of local alternatives' (creating community), and 'Shoalwater bay peace convergence'. Dialogues held have included issues such as climate change, debt-poverty, justice, civil liberties, peace, labour struggles, sustainability, and 'Community responses to the Howard catastrophe'.

Another theme was creating an efficacious global justice movement, with discussions like

'Navigating the global grassroots movement', and 'creating a movement for global justice'. This can be connected to discussions on social forums themselves, such as conversations entitled: 'The European social forum and beyond', 'Creating an Australian Social Forum', 'MSF 2006', and 'The WSF: global meets local'.

The capacity to draw the community into campaigns, movements and activities was another theme, with workshops such as: 'En Masse: activism in the digital age', 'Building relationships with community', 'Transition towns', and 'Activalia 303'. A final theme concerned discussing political reconfigurations: 'the politics of a red/green alliance' and 'After labours defeat - why we need a new workers party'.

4)

Resistance to corporate predation of contextually specific commons included examples such as: 'Corporate watch Australia', resisting 'McOccupation' (stopping McD influence in Iraq), 'Australian corporate complicity in Iraq', 'Indigenous Cosmovisions' stopping multinational incursions against the Mapuche people, 'What's wrong with Coca Cola - the campaign for justice in Colombia', 'Mass action at Anglesea power station', 'Innovative Direct Action: win the battle of the story against capitalism and corporate led globalisation' (at G20 week), and 'Lobbyocracy' (tracking political donations).

Related to resistance to corporate predation was resistance to the nuclearization of Australia and uranium exporting, including discussions on 'Nuclear groundhog day' (industry propaganda), 'Yellowcake country' (expansion of SA Olympic Dam), 'Nuclear power: no answer to climate change', and 'indigenous sovereignty' reassert a nuclear free and independent pacific'. Resisting the nuclear industry was part of a larger theme of defending ecosystems, with workshops on issues such as: Channel Deepening in port Phillip Bay, 'Forests and climate change', 'Privatizing biodiversity' (protection of agricultural commons and food rights for food security), 'We can keep Australia GE free', and 'Whales under attack' (Seashepherd). Protecting the atmospheric commons also fits into this theme: 'Avoiding dangerous climate change', 'Community organising for climate action', 'Winning the campaign for a safe climate', 'climate justice fast!', and 'protecting our planet and defending our communities'.

Another very common theme was resistance to militarism, imperialism or neo-colonialism (via aid money). Discussions included Australia's role: 'The howard doctrine: Australia's role in US militarism', 'Australia in the pacific', 'Real aid or region thuggery' (on Australian aid money in the pacific). Some workshops drew inspiration from Latin America: 'Resistance in Latin America', 'Cuba and Che Guevara' (re-awakening anti-imperialist struggles), 'History of rebellion in Latin America', 'Colombia, between state terror and revolution'. Other workshops in this theme discussed US imperialism and the 'war on terror': 'The politics of fear', 'Iraq - America's Achilles heel', 'Should we support the resistance in Iraq?', 'Protesting against George W Bush at APEC', 'What is poverty?' (on the neo-conservative framing of social welfare policy). More general discussion covered 'Oil wars', 'What is imperialism?' and 'State, transnationals and opiates of the people'. Related to this was the defence or protection of peace: 'Peace is cool: how war worsens global warming' and 'Women for peace: no weapons no wars'.

The last theme in this second category of 'defence of the commons' can be seen as 'defending the right to defend', the preservation of 'political space' and civil liberties, with discussions on: 'Strategic non-violence', 'Notes for a union campaign during the coming attacks', 'The Parkin Backfire' (discussing the Scott Parkins incident), 'Democracy : teach it or lose it', and Peace Brigades International 'Unarmed bodyguards' promoting rights of dissent and political freedom.

5)

The largest category belonged to those that suffer from under-documentation and are legally disempowered, and / or many of which have suffered or still suffer from institutional discrimination and racism. This included discussions on Aboriginal rights: 'Reflections from camp sovereignty', 'Black GST' 'Sacred Treaty Circle Concept', 'Proceeds of crime and the liability of modern Australia', 'Institutionalised discrimination: heart of a racial nation', 'What next for indigenous justice in Australia?', 'Connections with the land', 'Aboriginal genocide', 'Is reconciliation relevant?', and 'Reconciliation : what can I do?'. In this category were other struggles for indigenous enfranchisement: 'Creating a future for people in Mexico', 'Mexico and the Zapatistas', 'Land of opportunity: privatizing the pacific' (struggle to protect indigenous lands in the pacific), and 'Indigenous resistance to globalization in the pacific'.

A second category in the struggle for enfranchisement centred around statehood and statelessness. Here were discussions on independence for Western Sahara, support for fledgling nation East Timor 'What sort of neighbour does Timor Leste need?', as well as a number of workshops on refugee rights in Australia, 'The campaign for justice for refugees continues' (addressing Christmas Island detentions), and large numbers of discussions on Palestine-Israel: 'peace for Israel-Palestine', 'The other occupation', 'The iron wall', 'Eye witness accounts from Palestine', and 'Justice for Palestine'. Other discussions addressed marginalisation related to socio-economic position: 'Q&A on housing rights' (to stop forced evictions and secure housing equity in South East Asia), and 'The anti-sweatshop movement', as well as the issue of climate justice and 'Responding to climate change in the pacific islands'. And finally addressing marginalisation due to unequal abilities: 'In a sick society' (to change how 'mental illness' is seen and treated), 'Queer Activist Network Meeting' (repeal homophobic laws), and 'Close to home: resisting family violence in our communities'.

6)

Building local commons was an important theme, with workshops on: 'Relocalization' aiming to 'reduce consumptive lifestyles while enriching our personal lives', 'Cuba's relocalisation' and 'Transition to post industrial future', Transition Towns workshops, 'Peak oil and community solutions', 'Urban Agriculture' as well as cooperation building through new entities such as 'Co-operatives, share it all', 'Creating a Ceres in Darebin', 'Start a sharing community in your neighborhood' and 'Advocating for community development in universities'.

Challenging property and developing new land commons was another theme, with discussions on: 'The relationship between Latin American struggles and land', 'Power, property, responsibility', 'Green renters', 'Renegade economists explore our pyramid society' (Georgian economics), 'Common Wealth' and 'Rebooting economics as if people and planet mattered'.

Building social equities was another expression of this with conversations on 'Childcare and paid maternity leave', 'Health, Howard's neo-liberal campaign, and social harmony', and 'The peoples health movement', 'People's health charter', and 'Venezuela - making poverty history today', and discussion on white privilege 'Waking up being white'. Another aspect of equity building was through education: such as 'Oases post graduate education for transformation', 'Literacy and justice', and children's education.

Building the political commons included workshops such as 'Lobbyocracy', 'Human rights and Canberra', 'Simultaneous Policy Organisation' (Simpol) toward democracy in global policy

making , ‘The coming crisis of the NGOs’ (cosmopolitan humanitarianism), developing a children’s parliament and proposals for a ‘world referendum on formation of earth council’ and planetary government.

Building an informational and knowledge commons was another key theme, embracing open source and creative commons licensing in workshops such as ‘Politics of Information’ (information commons) and ‘Grassroots online video distribution’, and the participation of EngageMedia and Plug in TV, as well as Gene Ethics (below).<sup>126</sup>

Genetically modified organisms and biological patents are related to the larger theme of food security, such as ‘Genetic engineering, climate change and food insecurity’ (advocating for resilient polycultures), Freeganism/dumpster diving, ‘Preserving your own olives’, and ‘The Vegan kitchen’.

A move to build a transport commons was could be discerned, with workshops such as ‘The politics of bike maintenance in Melbourne’, ‘Repowering Victoria’s transport system’, ‘Our public transport campaign’, ‘Meta-transport’, ‘Putting the public interest back into public transport’ (to set up an accountable public agency to effectively manage Melbourne’s transport system).

Articulating and developing an energy commons (developing energy that protects the commons) was yet another theme with discussions such as: ‘Solar thermal energy for a zero carbon future’, ‘Transition to zero carbon future’, home biodiesel production, and PACE (Pedal Australia For Clean Energy), as well as discussions on ‘carbon rationing or carbon taxes’ and carbon quota systems.

A productive commons could be distinguished focusing on ‘craftivism’ in workshops like: ‘The fabric of resistance’, ‘A stitch in time’, and ‘Becs tree house’ which use recycled products to create value. ‘Transforming work’ discussed developing worker owned cooperatives, and other workshops discussed ‘turn[ing] workplace into wellness place’.

Finally one might distinguish a spiritual / mental commons with workshops on ‘Yoga and meditation, tools for building a sustainable world’ and ‘What is happiness and how can it be cultivated?’

7) [field empty]

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9)

Australian law/straw in state, civil society, climate/atmosphere/sea level, community/grassroots/urban ecological systems/bioregions, corporations/ multinationals/political economic systems/ agribusiness, culture/ethnicity, ecosystems, economic infrastructure/policy, educational institutions/culture, energy/Peak oil/ fossil fuels, food/waste systems, geopolitics, global movements, Internet/Web, land/resources/property, law/civil rights/legal doctrines, media/ICT, networks/relationships, nuclear industry, oil economy/production/war, political economy/policy/space, recycling materials, state imperialism / geopolitics, universities, public transport, families, work/workers, Asia Pacific/Oceania, global institutions / neoliberal system / APEC / IMF / UN / WTO-TRIPS / World Bank, Palestine, military industrial complex,

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<sup>126</sup> Important to note that Melbourne’s own EngageMedia created the video sharing platform for WSF TV.

housing/peri urbanity, aid programs, prison systems, social/ population health, In addition to these diverse structures were also what might be referred to as social constructs which included things like moral force/spirituality, patriarchy/sexuality/gender, ethics, psychology/values/thinking, consumerism, and constructs on race/whiteness/blackness.

### **Appendix I: Melbourne Social Forum Mission, Charter and Rules**

#### Mission Statement

To create an open public space to discuss, share and act on ideas for sustainable social and ecological justice.

#### MSF charter of principles

This Charter of Principles is what the Melbourne Social Forum (MSF) does and why. It forms the basis of our decision making process and future directions. The principles contained in this Charter are to be respected by all those who wish to take part in the process and to organise the MSF. This document represents the ideas that the MSF feels are needed to preserve its core intentions which we consider to be valuable in themselves. It is intended that these fundamental principles do not change, however they may be amended and added to as may be necessary in publicly pre-announced periods of review.

1. The Melbourne Social Forum provides an open space.
2. We consider the current dominant and hegemonic form of globalisation to be unjust; however, we see peaceful and non-exploitative alternatives as potentially valuable and therefore seek to build global and local communities that are both socially and ecologically just.
3. We are inclusive of all people, both within and outside of the mainstream, and respect both equity and diversity by encouraging the participation of all people regardless of age, ethnicity, religion, gender or sexual preference and are committed to reducing their barriers to participation as much as possible.
4. We operate under the principles of pluralism and “deep” democracy. The organising body operates on a consensus-based democratic model however participants are welcome to operate at the democratic level that they feel is appropriate.
5. We have a non-violent mandate.
6. We are plural, diversified, non-confessional, non-governmental and non-party. We operate in a decentralised fashion that interrelates organisations and movements engaged in concrete action at levels from the local to the international to progress social and ecological justice.
7. Neither party representations nor military organisations shall participate in the Forum. However, government leaders and members of legislatures who accept the commitments of this Charter may be invited to participate in a personal capacity.
8. We operate from a position of social unity that respects human rights and acknowledges the responsibilities that come with these rights.

9. We provide a space to interlink civil society on a global and local level, however we do not represent civil society.

10. No one can speak for the MSF, and similarly the MSF cannot speak for anyone.

11. Participants in the Forum, including attendees and organisers, shall not be called on to take decisions as a body, whether by vote or acclamation, on declarations or proposals for action that would commit all, or the majority, of them and that propose to be taken as establishing positions of the Forum as a body.

12. We organise in a manner that is transparent and honest. This means that we are responsible and accountable and provide sound management for the MSF. Moreover our communications are respectful and strategic.

13. We encourage creativity and actively seek to facilitate this creativity.

### **Meeting Procedures**

1. The goal of organisational meetings is to facilitate events that uphold the charter of principles.

2. Organisational meetings will be pre-announced and open to all members of the public.

3. Decisions may be made at organisational meetings or through the electronic organising list.

Decisions will be made by organisers and a quorum shall be determined to be five.

- Organisers shall be those who attend face-to-face meetings and take on or carry out responsibilities pertaining to the MSF.
- Core organisers shall be those who have been organisers for more than 12 months or who have completed substantial work on behalf of the MSF.
- Membership of the electronic organising list shall be conferred upon vouching by an extant member or attendance at a face-to-face meeting.

4. Decisions may concern principles, procedures or organisational work.

- Proposals that contravene the charter of principles will be rejected summarily. Where there is disagreement over whether a proposal contravenes the charter, veto requires consensus of a quorum of five core organisers.
- Decisions concerning principles will be made by core organisers, based on full consensus, as defined in point (5).
- Decisions concerning procedures and organisational work will be based on modified consensus, as defined in point (6).

5. Full consensus shall mean:

- That all organisers agree with a decision.
- Organisers may block consensus stating a block at a face-to-face meeting or sending an e-mail to the organising list with the subject line "BLOCK:" and the title of the proposal in question.

6. Modified consensus shall mean:

- All measures shall be taken to reach full consensus as defined in point (5).
- If full consensus cannot be reached, decisions can be passed with a two-thirds majority

- vote.
- Negotiations shall be determined to have reached breakdown on consensus by a quorum of five core organisers or if no agreement can be reached over three consecutive meetings.

7. Meetings shall be chaired on a rotating basis.

- No one can chair two consecutive meetings.
- It is the responsibility of the chair to generate a meeting agenda based on discussion in the previous meeting and the email list.
- The decision as to who will chair the meetings shall be decided at the previous meeting.
- The chair shall be shared amongst the broad number of people practical.
- We aim to represent the broadest cross section of the community as possible in this rotation.

8. The meetings value the role of a healthy debate and dialogue and to allow proposals to evolve through this debate towards more encompassing decisions.

9. We endeavour to provide the highest level of openness and accountability.

#### **Appendix J: Plug in TV**

Some of the critical issues that were documented concerned indigenous ‘Sorry’ day, the campaign against dredging Port Phillip Bay, the construction of Federation Square, the campaign against voluntary student unionism, the campaign for refugee rights, and the land warfare conference. In subsequent years Plug in TV showcased groups such as Oases, Vox Bandicoot, the MSF and WSF, Cyclovia, Collingwood kids college, and the ‘Happy School’ in Cambodia. Plug in TV also covered issues like the economic exploitation of West Papua, Australia’s military involvement in East Timor and industrial relations in Australia. Seasons three and four focused on issues around global governance/the G20, climate change and global indigenous solidarities.

#### **Appendix K: Community Collaborations (interpretation of interviews)**

There was an overall consensus that Community Collaborations (CC) is a valuable and important space and process to keep going. Of the main positive aspects of CC cited, this included the informality of the meetings, the positive feelings people got from being in the meetings, the level of trust between people and the level of awareness in the group.

Linking and sharing as opposed to projects and united aims

A general consensus can be seen in favour of keeping CC as a space for linking and sharing, as opposed to a group that runs a project or campaign. There was a sense that the links in the community between groups are not that well established, and it is important to be able to link the various issues that activist groups are doing. Some of the words that were used in this regard included CC as a ‘conduit’, ‘it is where the rivulets of water meet, from various streams.’ Another saw it as strategic and birds eye view thinking, where links between campaigns can come together.

It was felt that for CC to initiate projects and carry them out was an onerous burden for organisers

and activists who are already overcommitted. One person cautioned against straying from the true purpose of CC, and getting stuck, while another cautioned that we need to take care not to overcommit, as failure to get results on projects can be demoralising. The projects that are taken on need to be one that will 'be small but manageable' and 'we need to think strategically about how projects might actually happen without people taking on too much.'

#### Strategy – big picture and context

Generally it was felt that CC was a place to assemble the parts and strands of issues into a more strategic vision and landscape. One said 'we need to see the wider issues involved that manifest in particular issues – understand the wider political and social shifts.' There was a number of people who said that the Melbourne and/or progressive scene was typified by 'fragmentation'. One said: 'At the moment we are not being an effective resistance, looking at the groups working on social justice, how can we create a broader movement, rather than fragmentation, we are not necessarily working effectively, where the issues interlink because they are part of a social justice agenda, which I feel is common, more or less.' One spoke about developing an 'overarching framework, that would pull all the various work together into that vision, so that we are working in a context that is sufficiently grounded.' Another spoke about CC having a 'synchronising effect'.

Establishing conceptual and practical connections was seen as a key strategy 'because they will try to divide and rule', through stereotypes and fear.

#### Developing clarity of purpose and vision

There were a number of responses about what CC is or should ideally become. Some of the recurring ideas were the following:

- To bring people together
- To share, bridge many issues and learn to collaborate
- To make activism more sustainable, rather than re-inventing the wheel
- To find commonalities, shared values and a shared 21st century vision
- To form a more coherent strategic landscape for the work we do (as above)

It was stated by at least 4 people that CC needs to have greater clarity about its purpose, as one person said a 'dialogue around purpose.' Another wanted to have a clearer sense of the 'long term strategy' that CC was undertaking. This was seen as key in being able to communicate CC to others, and get others involved. The two key elements of this were what CC wants to achieve and who it wants to get involved.

#### Stories and narrative

There was a recognition that story telling and narrative was an important part of the work that we need to do. One aspect of this was addressing how the Liberal government distorts history to suit its own self-legitimising purposes. The way that history is 'framed' was seen as important, and the re-framing of Australian history equally important, for example the need to talk about social justice heroes, or heroic social movements for justice and for the environment.

Practically however, stories were seen as a way of engaging in a nurturing way with people. One saw it as a way of inter-generational exchange: 'My duty now is to pass this on... To a younger

generation .... The education in the workers movement is nonexistent  
 ..... What is left is direct heart to heart.’ Another saw story as a way of emotionally empowering each other: ‘One of the great things about story telling is that it is therapeutic, it does not obligate people, it does not burden people, it is about connecting with people.’ Thus story and narrative is not just about communication but about connecting.

### Shared values and principles

Various contributors felt that CC should be used to develop shared values and purposes across the progressive / activist community. One contributor said we need to ‘break through the environment movement and social movement dualism’ as ‘we cannot work towards one without the other.’ Others saw an opportunity to develop an expanded framework: ‘We need to provide an overarching framework that would pull all the various work together into that vision – so that we are working in a context that is sufficiently grounded.’ One argued that developing this type of framework or coherence was the basis for being able to communicate effectively with the world of people at large:

‘another part of the connection function is to find coherence of the messages between groups, and understanding across the general population in words that everyone understands, but also about the groups in between having coherent demand, to explain why they are there in a coherent way. Down the track to be “on message”. Another reiterated this by saying: ‘If CC works well it will get clarity between many groups before anyone hits the streets, so we have already dissected and found out what the weaknesses are and have found out what the message is and what gets taken forward, but there is an essential message.’

Another perspective emphasised commonalities and trust. This was seen as less intensive as developing a shared framework, and more about establishing solidarity. One said: ‘the right has been very successful at wedge politics – and successful at stigmatising groups, so there is a need to develop trust across organizations and a sense of common purpose... There are common principles that most will agree, but these still need to be articulated.’ Instead of having to work out the details of values or purpose, this view felt that a thin and broad / encompassing articulation was more important: ‘The aim of CC is not necessarily to sign on to common objectives, but I feel we need a network as broad as possible with shared aims and objectives – with commonalities as a starting point.’

### Building Bridges

One of the most interesting themes to emerge from the interviews was the importance of building bridges across organization in the community. There were two key aspects to this. The first can be described as dialogue across difference, and the second as inter-generational dialogue.

‘Dialogue across difference’ was seen as the process through which many different groups and their perspectives are able to communicate in a positive way. It was felt this was weak in Australia: ‘From old left in Latin America to new left – liberation theology, [there is dialogue across difference]. In Australia community networks are weaker because of the industrial consumer world. It is identity politics instead of community – we find community through affiliation, it is not a deep community. Some not only strategise together they also live, play eat together. Another termed this ‘bridgebuilding’, which were not just people who could dialogue across difference, but as well:

‘we must train the people that can hold the vision of something else. Create the people that can hold the alternative visions. The bridge builder is key – to communicate to people in different languages and perspectives – how do you build those bridge builders, who can hold the contradictions? Bridge builders hold the contradiction of many elements and transcend these contradictions to create something new. Over the long term it is not about having a few of these bridge builders, but how we build a community of these bridge builders: a few to start and then build a culture of it – not just 5 or ten but thousands – we need methods creating a movement of bridge building. This requires more solid foundations – to speak ten different languages – linking the perspectives.’

The above comments dovetail with the comments of others who saw bridge building as inter-generational: ‘we are the bridges with future generations, we are the bridge from our children, - we really need to know how we connect with the past, and how this propels itself into the future. Essentially leveraging from an understanding of history to have influence on the future.’ This was seen as a way of healing: to help the younger generation heal, so we will be in a position to have youngsters come in, to give space to youngsters to define themselves. It needs to be an inter-generational space of bridge building...’ One contributor framed this in very personal terms: ‘My duty now is to pass this on, to a younger generation. Telling the story of the struggle is our remaining lifework, there is some urgency in [communicating] it...’

#### Conclusion

There are some very important overlaps in the various thematic categories of responses from participants. We can see obvious links between inter-generational bridge building and story telling, or between story telling and developing shared values, or between linking and sharing, dialogue across difference and creating a more robust strategic landscape. No doubt there are many links that need to be further developed. We will need to look deeper into the various aspects of CC to find a deeper coherence in what we do.

As well, my framing and interpretation of the responses should be seen as one of a number of possible interpretations. It is important that participants in CC go back to the original interview transcripts to make their own conclusions, bringing new insights into the development of CC.

23 Feb 2007 Jose Ramos

### **Appendix L: A Proposal for Reframing Human Rights**

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights sets out the minimum standards needed for every person in the world to live a dignified, peaceful life that is free from injustice. It is a visionary document – one that dreams of a world free from war, genocide and tyranny. It is truly global – one that values each and every person who walks on the face of the earth irrespective of their sex, colour, religion or politics. For progressive people, it presents the primary foundations for building a better world.

But as a topic, human rights isn't exciting public attention. Like peace, many people refer to human rights as if it was passé – a leftover from the loony left. There are a number of reasons. First, in political theory and public thinking, individual Responsibilities are overtaking Rights as the method to leverage social change (in use, for instance, to address disparities in the economic,

social and political access held by Aboriginal communities and those without work). This effectively passes the 'buck' for social justice outcomes from governments to the people.

Second, in political parlance 'values' have overtaken 'rights' as the benchmarks for minimum standards expected in a civil society. Values are hot. Human rights are not. Thus, in a recent interview given to *The Age*, Federal Treasurer Peter Costello denied any immediate aspirations to become Prime Minister and nominated instead his agenda of three items: security, immigration and values. Yet politicians like Peter Costello who advocate that this country needs to govern and educate according to its values give very little guidance about what those values might be (see below for some examples). This 'values vacuum' creates an opportunity for us. Values are politically presented as standards of conduct that should be promoted by governments, our communities and our schools. If we can fill the 'values vacuum' with human rights (that are framed much more seductively than in the normal way we talk about human rights) then the public may warm more to the social justice outcomes that these rights offer. Before we develop this idea further,

lets take a look at... The values vacuum – some examples

The myth of multicultural Australia: Since the 1970s, Australia has celebrated its multiculturalism. Yet in stark contrast, our historical predisposition is to a white Australia. Since the 1850s, organizations representing workers fought for a white Australia policy to stop outsiders competing for Australian jobs. The Immigration Restriction Act – which enshrined the blatantly discriminatory White Australia policy – was the first major piece of legislation to be passed by National Parliament in the newly Federated Australia of 1901. Historical shrouds like this may help explain why – a century later – the public supported the Howard Government's resistance to Middle Eastern refugees and its strict (sometimes inhumane) detention policies. By 23 February 2006, when the Treasurer Peter Costello addressed the Sydney Institute, he confidently told his audience that instead of 'mushy misguided multiculturalism', immigrants to Australia wanted to embrace our country's values. The values he nominated were vague, but included economic opportunity; security; democracy; personal freedom; and (very interestingly).

Australia and the ANZAC myth: In August 2005 the Minister for Education, Brendan Nelson, warned 'if people don't want to be Australians and they don't want to live by Australian values and understand them, well then they can basically clear off.' He then cited Simpson and his donkey as an example of the kind of values that he meant. It was an interesting example: one that has since been supported in conservative speeches. Nelson says that Simpson – by putting himself in the line of fire for 40 days in order to transport injured soldiers on his donkey across the battlefield – was selflessly giving of himself. Yet Simpson's story carries more significant propaganda much more helpful to the Howard government and its war on terror. By his presence at Gallipoli, Simpson was a foot soldier fighting to maintain the supremacy of Empire (the British), obeying the orders of his country's army against impossible odds. In the story, the individual is less important than the sovereign state. The individual's independence is subservient to his country's. (These subconscious messages – given at a time when the public support for Australia's presence in Iraq is waning – are interesting enough. But Nelson's proposition becomes ridiculous given that Simpson was a merchant marine from the British Navy who jumped ship in Western Australia and joined the Australian armed forces in an attempt to get back to England. Simpson was therefore an illegal immigrant to Australia, displaying the very values that the conservatives have been battling against.). Nevertheless, the story of the ANZACS – not the one about the ANZAC pawns thrown to their deaths by British military manoeuvring, but the one about the selfless fighters laying down their lives for Australia – is presently

resonating with Australians. Celebrations surrounding the Aussie Digger have increased significantly over the last decade. Importantly, many Australians – young people in particular – now embark on what is effectively a pilgrimage to the shores of Turkey each April to pay tribute to the ‘heroes’ of Gallipoli.

A suggestion about what can be done to change the landscape:

Fighting the war on terror is sexy, whilst struggling for human rights is not. Indeed, fighting generally is sexy and occupies a central place in popular culture such as prime-time TV. Therefore the war on terror leads the news, crime fighters follow it. The fact that ANZAC’s warriors fill a vacuum at the moment is indicative of opportunities that are there for us to take – to resurrect Australia’s social justice fighters and illustrate their stories through the conflicts they faced and overcame.

A nation draws pride and a sense of direction from the heroes who built it. Yet Australia is a nation born of convict blood. This historical context (perhaps shameful to some) is being buried – now not even taught to any significant degree in Australian schools. While the US takes many of its heroes (such as Paul Revere and Abe Lincoln) from its civil war, Australia has never had a recognized civil war. Instead, it relies on smaller conflicts such as the Eureka Stockade to grace its history books. As a consequence, there is a dearth of well-known Australian heroes (both men and women). Many of us have a poor idea of who we are and what we represent. This in part may explain Brendan Nelson’s reliance on Simpson (above) and the difficulty that conservatives are having in explaining ‘Australian values’. Indeed, ask someone about who they’d nominate as Australian heroes and (aside from sporting or war-time heroes) you’re likely to get agreement on just one (Ned Kelly), who would no doubt not be the kind of hero that Peter Costello had in mind.

At our last meeting, we discussed the benefits of reframing human rights by exhuming the bodies of Australians who have fought for human rights and recasting them as Australian heroes: –

- \* It’s a positive and celebratory way in which to present and explain human rights;
- \* It would produce stories full of conflict and how adversity was overcome for the greater good, which would present human rights as an Australian tradition worth fighting for;
- \* The stories should immediately connect with people, giving greater insight into who they are and where they

come from;

- \* It escapes the present human rights rhetoric;
- \* If we’re right that there aren’t enough Australian heroes, then the public and (even better) schools will be curious and willing listeners;
- \* Good news well-told could be very popular; and last but certainly not least
- \* It is very hard to argue against.

So who is worthy of inclusion in the list? No doubt, there are hundreds of heroes to unearth. To get the ball rolling, people at our last meeting talked about:

- \* The Afghans who helped both build the railway and open up Central Aust.
- \* Tolpuddle Martyrs
- \* Womens suffrage in SA – the first place in the world where women got the vote.
- \* Victoria’s 8 hour workday

Importantly, these are groups, not individuals. Whilst a list of heroes will undoubtedly contain individuals, Australian stories that can help shift the emphasis away from individuals to collectives have particular value at the moment. Collective links and ties are presently weak. In theory and rhetoric, the spotlight is too much on the individual: one person's right to both make money and to live the suburban dream is painted as the way to progress our communities and secure our country. Yet in practice individual rights of ordinary Australians are being progressively undermined by a host of laws and policies, most recently the new industrial laws. To achieve the right to make money (ie to be rewarded adequately for the work that they do) individuals will need to link up with a significant mass of other Australians who share their experience.

There were an exciting number of ways that were suggested to bring these Australian heroes onto the public stage:

- a book for adults;
- a book for schools, that will hopefully make it into school curricula;
- a series of programs for radio and TV;
- presenting the heroes' stories through song, dance, cabaret, poetry and art.

One idea raised after the last meeting warrants special mention – to introduce the heroes to the public in streets and outdoor stages through a combination of song, poetry, prose and plays. Traditional activism in Melbourne has often relied on public education through opposition – resistance and struggle. New-breed activists point out how alienating this can be to ordinary people faced with a range of personal problems in their own lives. They say that people will respond more to celebratory messages laced with humour and song – events that literally bring people together and get them singing in the streets. In other words – let's all have a bit more fun! It's certainly an idea that could attract prominent actors and songsters in addition to people who don't come to protests. This approach is part of a much more general aim. Colm McNaughton is working up this concept to get people thinking and talking about a range of issues (not just heroes). His first aim is to build a choir. He'll tell us more at the next meeting.

For books and presentations like these to work, there would need to be a credible process for selecting our heroes – a process that would immediately give them respect. We could call for nominations and then place them before a specially constituted board of eminent Australian historians (such as Henry Reynolds and Humphrey McQueen) for final selection. The selection process itself could help set the media stage for the heroes we exhume and why we're digging them up. For instance, we could announce the hunt for Australian heroes very publicly through the media, giving a couple of examples, telling people frankly why we think that the search is necessary and encouraging the public to send us written nominations. Nominations could also be sought through unions, NGOs, community groups and clubs, historical societies, and councils, and publicized through their newsletters. Processes like this would create anticipation and could help start an attitudinal shift. It could also give ownership of the idea to the community.

Chris Richards and Jose Ramos

### **Appendix M: Oases**

Predominant notions were 'Human rights [is] fine but Oz rights come first; We must fight to protect ourselves [from the outside]; we require moral authority [strict father] and an enemy /

other; Family and the father is the basis of moral authority in society; National interests come first (linked with our own interests); The UN imposes Human Rights on Australia; there are deserving vs. undeserving people (Bolt vs. Adams); An atomised version of social life and family is natural; Freedom equals / equates to the right to make money (freedom fighters are entrepreneurs); Nationalism is repackaged for global corporate purposes; Consumerism gives 'difference' (we buy identity through niche market consumerism); we all have the (capital R) Right to the sub-urban dream (with all the conveniences that come with this); Weber's 'Protestant Ethic' is still relevant as moral worth is based on individual accumulation (vs savings and charity). In contrast to the naturalisation of 'Our system is the best (ie Anglo legal system)', the Left support 'loony' ideas like 'land rights for gay whales'.

### **Appendix N: Make Poverty History**

#### 1) Analysis of historical dimensions of MPH

'Giving more and better aid' – MPH does not historicise aid within a geo-political framework, or address how aid and corruption are geo-politically coupled as do Galbraith and Perkins (Perkins, 2004). However MPH does state that concerns about corruption should not stop the fight against poverty. Corruption should change how we give our aid, it shouldn't determine whether we give aid.' (MPH, 2009), as well as showing through a personal narrative how resource privatisation has led to further impoverishment.

'Dropping poor country debt' – MPH make emphatic and poignant statements about the harm debt has on poor countries, and also point out: 'Much of the debt of poor countries is left over from the 1970s - and often arose through reckless lending by wealthy nations.' (MPH, 2009). But MPH stops short of discussing the legacy of colonialism and patronage, as well as geo-political struggles that are implicated in debt making. 'Recklessness' is historically insufficient and throwaway terminology.

'Making trade fair' – MPH states 'The problem is that policies aren't decided democratically, but on the basis of who has the most economic clout. While paying lip-service to fairness, the richest countries, with their almost limitless resources, steer decision-making in their own interests' (MPH, 2009). Yet again trade is not looked upon as part of geo-political dynamics, and thus the trade warfare that typified both colonial and neo-colonial eras, both between industrialising states and between politically powerful states and politically weak states, goes unmentioned.

'Helping poor communities keep their governments accountable' – MPH points out a growing asymmetry between 'top down' governance and 'bottom up' governance in the first decade of the 21st century. Top down, law enforcement oriented governance, has increased while bottom up governance, the capacity for communities to keep their governments accountable, has lagged. Interestingly, the process by which the neo-liberalisation of an economy further strips control over government policy from communities is not mentioned. As well the link between the maintenance of unequal social relations and instruments of state control or violence like police also goes unmentioned.

'Tackling climate change' – climate change mitigation was the most recent addition to MPH's advocacy platform. MPH takes a strong stand on climate and acknowledges the great disparity between emissions and their impacts: 'Australia is responsible for the emission of 60 times more

carbon per person than Bangladesh yet the impact of climate change will fall more heavily on the poor in Bangladesh and other developing countries than communities in developed nations' (MPH, 2009). Yet the historical legacy of the West's culpability goes unmentioned.

## 2) List of Australian members

1. Act for Peace: National Council of Churches in Australia
2. Action Against Poverty
3. Adventist Development and Relief Agency (ADRA) Australia
4. Amnesty International Australia
5. Aidwatch
6. Anglican Board of Mission
7. Anglicord\*
8. Archbishop of Sydney's Overseas Relief and Aid Fund
9. Assisi Aid Projects
10. Australian Business Volunteers
11. Austcare: World Humanitarian Aid
12. Australian Conservation Foundation
13. Australian Council for International Development (ACFID)
14. Australian Doctors International
15. Australian Education Union
16. Australian Lutheran World Service
17. Australian National Committee on Refugee Women
18. Australian Relief and Mercy Services
19. Australian Reproductive Health Alliance
20. Australian Services Union (ASU)
21. Australian Volunteers International
22. Baptist World Aid Australia\*
23. Burnet Institute
24. Business for Millennium Development
25. CARE Australia
26. Caritas Australia\*
27. Catholic Mission
28. ChildFund Australia
29. Christian Blind Mission International
30. Comic Relief
31. Credit Union Foundation Australia
32. Engineers Without Borders Australia
33. Eureka Street
34. Fair Trade Association Australia and New Zealand
35. Family Challenge
36. Foundation for Development Cooperation
37. Fred Hollows Foundation, The
38. Friends of the Earth Australia
39. Greenpeace Australia Pacific
40. HOPE (Householders for the Protection of the Environment)
41. International Centre for Eyecare Education
42. International Needs Australia\*
43. International Women's Development Agency
44. Jubilee Australia

45. Justice and International Mission Unit, Synod of Victoria and Tasmania, Uniting Church in Australia
46. Marist Mission Centre\*
47. Mercy Works
48. Melbourne Catholic Commission for Justice, Development & Peace
49. Oaktree Foundation
50. Open Door Mission
51. Opportunity International Australia
52. Oxfam Australia
53. PALMS Australia
54. Plan International Australia
55. Quaker Service Australia\*
56. RESULTS Australia
57. Save the Children Australia
58. Sense Foundation
59. Sexual Health & Family Planning Australia
60. TEAR Australia\*
61. The 40K Home Foundation
62. UNICEF Australia
63. Union Aid Abroad—APHEDA
64. Uniting Care Wesley Adelaide
65. Uniting Church Overseas Aid
66. United Nations Association of Australia
67. United Nations Youth Association (UNYA)
68. Water Aid Australia
69. World Education Australia
70. World Vision Australia\*
71. YMCA Victoria

### **Appendix O: G20 Alternative**

“There will be two hour-long discussion panels at the G20 Alternative meeting, held with the intention of fostering as much public participation as possible. For each topic there will be three panel participants and a mediator. The panel participants (include Geoff Davies, Karen Iles, Mike Cebon, Cam Walker, and Steve Jolly) will have 20 minutes to discuss the question ‘What is your strategy for dealing with the issue at hand?’. The audience will then have 20 minutes to ask questions about the discussion, followed by another 20 minutes for the audience to share their strategies for dealing with world poverty and climate change”. (MSF newsletter, Nov 2006)

### **Appendix Q: 21st Century Demonstrations Against Neo-liberal Globalisation**

1. June 18, 1999 – Carnival against Capitalism worldwide, including London, England / Eugene, USA / Cologne, Germany, J18 or Global Action Day protests [1]
2. November 30, 1999 – 100,000 protest in Seattle, against the WTO Third Ministerial conference
3. January 27, 2000 – Clashes in Davos, Switzerland, ahead of the World Economic Forum
4. April 16, 2000 – Washington, DC, IMF
5. May 1, 2000 – Global, May Day protests in London, Berlin, and other cities.

6. July 29, 2000 – Philadelphia, Mass protests at Republican National Convention.
7. August 11, 2000 – Clashes in Los Angeles, USA, during Democratic National Convention.
8. September 11, 2000 – Melbourne, World Economic Forum
9. September 26, 2000 – Protests in Prague, Czech Republic, against the World Bank/IMF
10. November 20, 2000 – Montreal, Quebec, G20 meeting
11. December 7, 2000 – Protests at EU Summit in Nice, France
12. January 20, 2001 – Washington, DC, Mass protests against Bush's inauguration ceremony.
13. January 27, 2001 – Clashes in Davos, Switzerland, at World Economic Forum
14. April 20, 2001 – Clashes in Quebec City, Canada, at the Summit of the Americas (FTAA).
15. May 1, 2001 – Global, May Day protests in London, Berlin, Sydney, and other cities.
16. June 15, 2001 – Riots in Gothenburg, Sweden at EU Summit; three protestors shot by police, 600 arrests.
17. June 25, 2001 – Protests in Barcelona, Spain during World Bank summit.
18. July 1, 2001 – Salzburg, Austria World Economic Forum
19. July 20, 2001 – 250,000 protest in Genoa, Italy against the G8 summit protestor Carlo Giuliani shot dead by police.
20. September 29, 2001 – Washington, DC, Anti-capitalist anti-war protests
21. February 1, 2002 – New York City, USA / Porto Alegre, Brazil World Economic Forum / World Social Forum
22. March 15, 2002 – Barcelona, Spain EU Summit
23. April 20, 2002 – Washington, DC (War on Terrorism)
24. May 1, 2002 – Global, May Day protests
25. June 24, 2002 – World Bank Oslo 2002 Protests
26. June 26, 2002 – Calgary, Alberta, and Ottawa, Ontario, G8 summit at Kananaskis, Alberta J26 G8 Protests
27. September 27, 2002 – Washington, DC, IMF/World Bank
28. November 4 to November 10 – Florence, Italy, First European Social Forum
29. Weekend of February 15, 2003, March, April – Global protests against Iraq war about 12 million antiwar protesters
30. May 1, 2003 – Global May Day protests
31. May 29 - June 3, 2003 – Mass protests in Evian, Geneva, and Lausanne, Switzerland against the G8 summit.
32. June 26, 2003 – Clashes in Thessalonika Greece, during EU Summit.
33. July 28, 2003 – Montreal, Quebec
34. September 14, 2003 – Cancún, Mexico – Fifth Ministerial of the WTO collapses [2]
35. October, 2003 – regional WEF meeting in Dublin, European Competitiveness Summit, cancelled [3]
36. November, 2003 – Paris European Social Forum
37. November 20, 2003 – Miami Mobilization against the Free Trade Area of the Americas FTAA
38. April 29, 2004, Warsaw, Poland, European Economic Forum
39. May 1, 2004 – Global May Day protests
40. November 19, 2004 - November 23, 2004, Santiago, Chile, Protests against President Bush and the APEC summit. 50,000 protestors denounce the global 'dictatorship of the rich'.
41. May 1, 2005 – Global May Day protests
42. July 2 to July 8, 2005 – Mass protests in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Stirling, and Gleneagles,

- Scotland against the G8 Summit
43. Dec 13 to Dec 18, 2005 – Protests in Hong Kong, China, World Trade Organization Sixth Ministerial Conference
  44. May 1, 2006 – Global May Day protests
  45. Nov 18, 2006 to Nov 19, 2006 - G20 protests in Melbourne, Australia.
  46. March 9, 2007 - Clashes in Sao Paulo, Brazil as protests greet the start of President Bush's six-day tour of Latin America.
  47. March 12, 2007 - Anti-Bush protests in Bogotá, Colombia.
  48. March 14, 2007 - Clashes in Mexico City, the last stop on Bush's Latin America tour.
  49. May 1, 2007 – Global May Day protests
  50. May 29, 2007 - Clashes in Hamburg ahead of the G8 Summit in Heiligendamm.
  51. June 2, 2007 - 80,000 protest in Rostock ahead of the G8 Summit.
  52. September 8, 2007 - APEC Australia 2007 [4]
  53. October 18, 2007 - IMF/World Bank annual meeting in Washington, D.C

Source: [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List\\_of\\_anti-globalization\\_demonstrations](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_anti-globalization_demonstrations)

### **Appendix R: WSF Global Call to Action 2008**

Wsf bulletin February 13th 2008

#### 1) Grasping the size of WSF2008

More than 800 actions in 80 countries. That is the span of World Social Forum in 2008: a decentralized mobilization process that culminated in a Global Day of Action on January 26th.

- access 800 action spaces in <http://wsf2008.net/eng/og>
- access 800 actions in <http://wsf2008.net/eng/findaction>
- access directory of 2500 organisations having participated in <http://www.wsf2008.net/eng/taxonomy/vocabulary/1>
- browse 80 countries in <http://www.wsf2008.net/eng/countries>

As a result of this journey, hundreds of thousands of people gathered in their home towns and cities, exchanged information, discovered different organisations and movements, demonstrated on the streets for local and global change, celebrated alternatives and acted together against any kind of exploitation and for another possible world. Global day of action inaugurated a new form of mobilization, that can grow to gathering millions of people

In order to make this rich and diverse global journey visible to all the participants and beyond media coverage, we invite you to build the collective memory of World Social Forum 2008.

#### 2) Visualizing richness and diversity of GDA

- Visit <http://wsf2008.net/eng/node/6893> to view all the memory built so far. The content is separated into countries and is being constantly updated from information posted on WSF Blog and from emails received through [report@wsf2008.net](mailto:report@wsf2008.net).

#### 3) Building memory of GDA - reporting is part of the action!

Many people and organisations have already started to make their reports using websites and mail lists to collect and publicize photos, articles, pamphlets and media clipping about January 26th. Let us act as a “global reporting team” any material about what happened in WSF 2008 can also

be placed on wsf2008.net. For that, you can:

Also actions which were not presented on the wsf2008.net site can be presented now (look for support at support@wsf2008.net)

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CACIM Announces e-Publication of The WSF's Global Call to Action : A Directory

<http://www.openspaceforum.net/twiki/tiki-index.php?page=GDA08Directory>

January 24 2008

Dear Friends,

Greetings !

The World Social Forum is presently attempting a fundamentally new experiment for the 2008 edition of its world meeting : In place of what has happened every year since it was founded in 2001 – a world meeting in a key location of the South -, and for which it is now so well known, it has this year called for a Global Day of Action culminating on January 26 2008.

The Call for this Global Day of Action was generated inside the World Social Forum and launched in May 2007 in Berlin by many international networks. (<http://dev.wsf2008.net/eng/node/52>, accessed on 090108). Their position was that “Each self-organized group of networks, movements, organizations decides independently how to organize their own public initiative [...] and which issues, form and international connections with other actions or activities to adopt.” (<http://dev.wsf2008.net/eng/node/53> accessed on 090108). For this purpose, a new website has been launched,[1] which is designed to be used for presenting, finding, joining, showing and connecting with actions.

The idea of a global day of action is not new; as mentioned in one of the articles included here ('Is the World Social Forum Approaching a Point of Crisis?'), there have been calls for such days of action since the 1970s, and more recently, it has been the PGA (People's Global Action) that has popularised this tactic and issued several calls for such days. But with the WSF also now deciding to adopt this approach – as, apparently, a complement to its normal vocabulary of an annual world meeting – we surely need to ask : How effective is this, as a mode of social and political action; and just what does an action like this add up to ?

This Directory : Following the Call it made on November 26 2007 for a global debate on the WSF's Global Day of Action in January 2008 and on the future of the Forum,[2] and in the spirit of critical engagement that informs all its work with respect to the WSF, and as a part of its work of providing public information on the WSF and other movements, CACIM has decided to prepare this Directory on the Global Call to Action - on the Global Day of Action and more generally on World Social Forum processes during and for 2008. We hope that having a Directory available will be able to help us all 'read' and assess the GDA as a means of social and political action and as the alternative and development that it is meant to be, to the Forum's normal vocabulary of a major annual gathering.

We at CACIM believe that the GDA is a significant experiment but that it needs to be closely and critically read. This Directory gives you a ready-reference compilation of what actions are being proposed in different parts of the world at this point in time (January 22-23 2008), so that you, as reader and as doer, can get an objective understanding of the action and accordingly make your

assessment. That there are large numbers of actions taking place in Brazil is perhaps no surprise, nor the large numbers in France and Italy (given the record of activists and organisations from these countries traditionally taking part in the WSF); but why and how are there such large numbers of activities in Russia and the USA ? What does this mean ? And what does the type of actions taking place mean ? Do they add up to a struggle against neoliberalism, war, and exclusions ? We invite and urge you to consider putting your assessment down in writing and invite you to either send your assessment to us or post it directly on [www.openspaceforum.net](http://www.openspaceforum.net).

The actual Directory – chapter 6 in this document – is organised alphabetically by continent and within that, alphabetically by country; and within that, alphabetically by event title.

But please note that this composition is constantly changing, with more and more actions taking shape and being announced each day and each hour ! So the picture you will get from this Directory (and especially from this working draft – the second draft; the first preliminary one was issued on January 11 2008 for a GDA action by CACIM in New Delhi) is NOT any final picture. That picture will emerge only on that day itself – as is the case with any swarm, which is what the Global Day of Action is and is going to be.

Caveat : This is largely an unedited draft, mostly just a compilation of information that we have found on the web, with quick rough translations of some of the entries from French and Spanish using Google Translation to allow readers in English to have access to that information. This also means that we have not as yet had the time to check the language of all the entries, and where in some cases we are aware that the rendition in English from other languages is very crude. And at this stage, and with due apologies to those for whom this is not your language, this Directory has been prepared only in English.

Nevertheless, and despite all these limitations, we hope that you find this a useful document; and we would be very glad to have your feedback !

### **Appendix S: Global Week of Mobilisation and Action Against Capitalism and War**

(From, WSF Bulletin, March 27th 2009)

From the 28th March to the 4th April, women and men from all over the world will be in the streets to protest against capitalism and war and to affirm that they will not pay for the crisis. Launched by the Social Movements' Assembly, that gathered during WSF 2009 in Belem. Three moments mark this week of mobilisation:

\*28th March: Mobilisations in protest of the Group of 20 meeting (the G20), composed of representatives of Central Banks and governments from the 20 countries that represent two thirds of world commerce and population and more than 90% of the gross world product. The World Bank and the International Monetary Fund (IMF) are also members of the G20. They will meet in London (United Kingdom) at the beginning of April.

\*30th March: Day of mobilisation against the war and the crisis, and in solidarity with the Palestinian people. This day coincides with Palestinian Land Day, which remembers the 1976 Israeli massacre of Palestinians in Galilee. It was chosen to strengthen the campaign for boycott, disinvestments and sanctions (BDS) against Israel.

\*4th April: Day that marks the 60th anniversary of NATO – North American Trade Organisation, an alliance of military cooperation between the USA and several European countries. NATO will meet between the 3rd and 4th April in Baden-Baden and Kehl, in Germany, and in Strasbourg, in France.

In Europe, movements will concentrate their actions in London and Strasbourg. There are many different street activities (such as marches, flyering and bike rides) planned in the following countries: Australia, the Basque Country, Belgium, Brazil, Canada, Catalonia, France, Germany, Greece, Kenya, Holland (the Netherlands), India, Italy, Norway, Pakistan, Quebec, the Spanish State, the United Kingdom (Scotland and England) and the USA.

During this week and particularly on the days mentioned above, movements will affirm that in order to overcome the different crises (food, finance, economy, climate, energy and population migration), it is necessary to tackle with the root of the problem and build a radical alternative to the capitalist system and patriarchal domination.

In the face of the false answers presented by companies, banks and governments to deal with the crisis – such as dismissals and privatisation of public services, natural and energy resources – which merely aim at socialising losses, social movements will demand a number of urgent measures such as:

- Nationalising the banking sector without compensations and with full social monitoring,
- Reducing working time without wage cuts,
- Taking measures to ensure food and energy sovereignty,
- Stopping wars, withdrawing occupation troops and dismantling foreign military bases,
- Acknowledging peoples' sovereignty and autonomy, and ensuring their right to self-determination,
- Guaranteeing rights to land, territory, work, education and health for all,
- Democratising access to means of communication and knowledge.

Click on the following link to read the full Declaration of the Social Movements' Assembly, held during the WSF 2009 in Belém: <http://www.fsm2009amazonia.org.br/programme/alliance-day/results-of-assemblies/declaration-of-the-assembly-of-social-movements/> (ou <http://is.gd/piHg>)

For further information about the BDS (Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions) campaign, visit the website: <http://www.bdsmovement.net/> Read below some of the actions already scheduled:

**AUSTRALIA** - 30th March: In Melbourne, the Coalition of Palestinian Support Groups is launching a campaign called “The Sack Connex, Boycott Israel”.

**BELGIUM** - 28th March: In Brussels, an action drawing attention to the financial crisis and the Palestinian question will take place under the slogan “Palestine occupied, Dexia implied”, as well as a symbolic action between 1.30pm and 16.30pm with the performing of the street theatre “Who will pay for the crisis?” In addition, as part of the mobilisations against the crisis and war, the largest Belgian trade union (FGTB) has launched a campaign with the theme “Capitalism is seriously bad for our health”. More information (in French): <http://www.contre-attaque.be/>

**BRAZIL** - 30th March: In São Paulo a national demonstration organised by various different social movements and Brazilian trade union networks will affirm that: “Workers will not pay for the crisis!” The demonstration will begin in the Avenue Paulista and will continue throughout the

centre of the city. The act will be accompanied by actions and demonstrations in cities around the country. Look at the flyer by clicking on the following link:

[http://www.cut.org.br/component/option,com\\_banners/task,click/bid,18](http://www.cut.org.br/component/option,com_banners/task,click/bid,18) (ou <http://tinyurl.com/c4pxdo>)

Demonstrations against the ratification of the Mercosur-Israel trade agreement, and in support of the BDS (boycott, disinvestments and sanctions) campaign against Israel will also take place in the centre of the city, organised by the Solidarity with the Palestinian People's Front.

CANADA AND QUEBEC - 28th March: In Montreal, peaceful demonstration in front of the Guy-Favreau Complex at 1.30pm to say no to the G20, considered an illegitimate forum in which to solve the crisis.

30th March: In Toronto, "Resisting War from Gaza to Kandahar", a talk by George Galloway organised by the Toronto Stop the War Coalition.

30th March: In Montreal, symbolic olive tree planting in front of the Israeli consulate, and an exhibition and sharing of testimonies with regards to the Gaza situation.

CATALONIA, THE BASQUE COUNTRY AND THE SPANISH STATE - 28th March:

Demonstrations against the crisis and G20 and in solidarity with Palestinian people will be held in Albacete, Almería, Barcelona, Bilbao, Cádiz, Córdoba, Alicante, Elche, Madrid, Murcia, Pontevedra, Tarragona and Valencia. Check the agenda at:

[http://www.nodo50.org/?page=convocatorias&id\\_article=189](http://www.nodo50.org/?page=convocatorias&id_article=189)

FRANCE - 28th March: In Paris, demonstration organised by a wide coalition of organisations, movements, trade unions and political parties will leave from the Place de l'Opera at 2 pm.

Activities are also scheduled in a further 30 cities. Read the full list at: <http://www.stop-g20.org/>

On this same day, various activities in solidarity with Palestine, such as demonstrations, film exhibitions and conferences will take place in Paris, Lille, Le Mans, St Briec and St Denis, organised by the France – Palestine Solidarity Association (AFPS, in French).

On the 4th April, under the slogan « No to war! No to NATO ! », thousands of people from all over Europe will meet in Strasbourg where different forms of action will take place to demand an end to militarisation and to NATO: workshops, flyering to raise awareness, street blockades, meetings and civil disobedience actions. A large demonstration is scheduled to depart at 1pm. An alternative camp also will be organised. Further information (only in French): <http://sommel-otan-2009.blogspot.com>

GERMANY - 3rd April: Demonstrations and blockades are planned in the city of Baden-Baden, one of the entrance points for Heads of State and military chiefs who will participate in the NATO ceremonies in Strasbourg. More information:

[http://gipfelsoli.org/Home/Strasbourg\\_Baden-Baden\\_2009/NATO\\_2009\\_Links](http://gipfelsoli.org/Home/Strasbourg_Baden-Baden_2009/NATO_2009_Links)

GREECE - 2nd April: In Crete, demonstration in support of sports boycott and protest of the Greece – Israel soccer match in Heraclion.

HOLLAND (NETHERLANDS) - 28th March – 31st March: Cycling event calling for the suspension of the EU – Israel Association Agreement. Bicyclists will begin at the International Courts of Justice at The Hague on the

28th and arrive at European Parliament in Brussels on the 31st to deliver a petition to European MPs. Organised by The Peace Cycle.

INDIA - 30th March: In Delhi, Exhibition, poetry and films commemorating Palestinian Land Day.

ITALY - 28th March: Demonstration will take place at 2.30pm in Rome under the slogan “Loro la crisi, noi la soluzione” (“Their crisis, our solutions”), organised by COBAS. Sit-in at various shopping centres in Milan, Turin, Pisa, Bologna, Rome, and Naples, organized by Forum Palestine will also be held. 4th April: large demonstration organised by CGIL and other organisations and networks through the streets of Rome in direction of the Circo Massimo.

KENYA - 28th March: the World March of Women will participate in actions in support of women artists, and to affirm that women will not pay for the crisis. They will be accompanied by a feminist drumming group and will base their actions around the themes of women’s work, the common good, food security, domestic violence and peace.

NORWAY - 30th March: in Kristiansand and Oslo debates and workshops around the Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions campaign as a tool to pressure Israel. In selected neighbourhoods of Oslo, the Socialist Youth will engage in a face to face boycott action, going door to door and informing inhabitants about the BDS campaign, which products to boycott, and how they can get involved. Finally, the Palestine Committee and others will hold a joint BDS demonstration at the Israeli embassy in Oslo.

PAKISTAN - In Karachi, a conference on the Palestinian situation will be held on 28th March. On 2nd April, demonstrations against the G20 will take place in the city streets.

UNITED KINGDOM - 28th March to 4th April: London will receive participants from all over Europe for the demonstrations against the capitalistic system and the crisis, on the 28th March, and against the war and the NATO, on the 2nd April. Surprise actions, meetings and debates will take place during the week, as well as a camp in the city centre. Further information:

[www.putpeoplefirst.org.uk](http://www.putpeoplefirst.org.uk)

In Glasgow and Edinburgh, in Scotland, boycotts of supermarkets will take place on the 29th March in solidarity with Palestine.

On 30th March, mass calls to Waitrose and Tesco supermarkets’ customer services to complain about the sale of Israeli products across the UK.

UNITED STATES - 29th March: Film projections, discussion around BDS actions with speakers recently returned from Gaza and on links between Mexico and Palestine walls, will be held in Santa Cruz, and on the 30th March in San Diego and Los Angeles, California. In New York, the Campaign for the Boycott of Israel will launch a broad boycott campaign against the Motorola Company on the 30th.

### **Appendix T: Auto-ethnographic vignette of the Mumbai WSF**

I and other forum participants were greeted at the airport by a Marxist group protesting the event called 'Mumbai resistance'. They were making the point that the WSF was a talk-fest which was co-opting revolutionary forces, largely backed by Western donors (e.g. the Ford Foundation). NESCO grounds was massive, and I was overwhelmed by the size and scope of the whole thing. There were so many stalls one could walk through the grounds for a month and not cover all the

organisations involved. An environmentalists I met commented that the WSF suffered from the very gigantism that some of its organisers criticised. Celebrity activists and writers seemed to be everywhere. I went from a talk by Joseph Stiglitz, to another by Arundati Roy, to another by Vandana Shiva, to listening to Edward Goldsmith, and then a talk by Immanuel Wallerstein and Samir Amin - and this would only be half a day, or they would all be bunched together in one workshops. As others have commented, it can be a kind of 'Woodstock Experience' for people.

Aside from celebrities, the WSF attracts those people genuinely involved in initiatives of change - activists or academics or artists. I met a woman presenting at one workshop from Argentina, who taught the group how to create 'social money'. She related her experience developing local currencies after the financial collapse in 2001. Rather than presenting 'social money' as an abstract concept, she taught the group how to create 'social money' and run a collective. Everyone I met seemed to be doing something interesting.

Outside workshop spaces it was crowded and bustling, with chanting, songs, music and dance on every corner. The word inspiring is not sufficient to describe the event. I felt that I had arrived spiritually HOME, a space where being a concerned planetary citizen was normal, first and foremost, a space beyond nationalism, a space of motivation and action and transformation.

Yet the workshop I held said something different. It was positioned at the furthest end of NESCO grounds. It was to be about the integration of visions about the future that existed in this movement for alternatives, but that workshop never happened. The workshop space was simply too far removed from the main area, and my workshop seemed to be of little significance to the approximately 130,000 people there. Luckily Richard Neville came with his daughter (on a promise) as well as Damian Grenfeld (on a promise). Besides my planted audience, two others came, one women who was promoting parabolic (solar) cookers and one other man who was just curious. My expectation of holding a (large) workshop on integrating alternatives seemed dashed. Nevertheless we had a good chat. I later realised that the actual process within the WSF entailed a lot of internal promotion to gather participant interest. This meant that groups either partnered with other groups to hold joint workshops and gather members together, had a toe hold within the organising process by which they were assured an official panel or good location, and groups heavily promoted their events with leaflets. The leafleting was out of control, and if you didn't promote your work, it was likely very few people would turn up. In short the biggest, most connected, well resources and loudest would be heard, the smallest would not. Groups were in fact competing for hearts and minds in the marketplace of initiatives of change.

This was the first time I experienced a sort of contradiction between concept and experience of the WSF. This sort of NGO competition seemed strange to my idealistic eyes. I had some naïve assumption. First, the WSF as open space was supposed to be about participatory democracy, inclusive voices being heard, and yet some voices were indeed 'privileged' or more enfranchised in this space. Secondly, the 'competitiveness' of the space did not gel with my hidden Gramscian desires to see movement formation. As well I also realised that I was a western activist, relatively unconnected to larger global social movements. I did not understand the social processes at play, and it was ultra naïve and egocentric for me to expect the forum to conform to my vision of process, fairness and democracy. I could afford to fly to one of these events - was I, by representing the middle class suburban West, (though of mixed ethnicity) an example of the disproportionate mobility and voice of the North over the South, (a South hamstrung by poverty and hostile international migration laws)? I began questioning the representativity of the WSF as a purported example of participatory democracy.

Another insight I had at the time was that it was quite naïve of me to plonk down in Mumbai, and expect people from different social movements to 'integrate visions', as my workshop intended. My assumption that one could simply do a visioning workshop and produce a grand synthesis of visions may have come from my degree in Strategic Foresight, where people learned and solved problems in tightly facilitated corporate style workshops. By contrast in Mumbai I realised that the real world struggles of each movement, or organisation, to create social change, was also reflected in the specificity of their practices and ways of knowing. This specificity emerges from their ongoing experiences of struggles to transform their worlds. In short each of these social movements (from dropping Third World Debt, to the Breast Feeding Movement) carries a deep history of struggle for change, and each movement's critique and conceptualisation of alternatives are hardened and sharpened over time. Such cognition is deeply embodied, and cannot 'be integrated' so easily. A dialogue between the many visions at the WSF, leading to some kind of integration, would take longer than a workshop facilitated by a suburban neophyte from the West! However, in the same instance, I was also intuiting an urgent need, also felt by others, to develop a comprehensive and united program and vision for global social change, later reflected in things such as the Porto Alegre Consensus 19, Bamako Appeal, Belem Declaration, as well as Ponniah's articulation of the synthesis of alternatives presented at the 3rd WSF. Such 'manifestations' are the closest the still young 21st century has come to a multi-perspective and multi-movement vision of counter-hegemonic change.

However, beyond this asymmetry in organisational power in the forum process, the WSF is what one makes of it. Participation is dynamic and not formal. It is up to people to form relationships, find project collaborators, and develop alternatives. As an example, my networking in Mumbai achieved two important things. A Danish man I met on one of Mumbai's crowded but efficient trains on the way back to my hotel, was developing a project to produce a CD compilation of music, poetry and prose called 'The art of resistance'. This was to link activist artists from around the world in a global art project. I became one of the collaborators, contributing some money and writing a postscript for the CD. Later I would receive a large box of the CDs at my home that I donated to Borderlands. This first example underlines the dynamism of participation, and the openness to non-instrumental activism - art, education, spiritual practice. In a second example, while at the forum I had met others from Melbourne. Upon returning to Melbourne we kicked off a steering committee for a Melbourne Social Forum. This would later lead to ongoing MSF events, numerous forums of varying size.

#### **Appendix U: Auto-ethnographic account of Caracas WSF (2006)**

Not long after the second MSF, I had planned a trip to the 6th WSF in Caracas. The Caracas WSF was one of three WSFs in 2006 as part of a 'Polycentric' WSF process, to be held also in Bamako, Karachi and Bangkok (although the Bangkok event was later cancelled - martial law had been imposed in Thailand among other difficulties there). The Polycentric approach was an effort to further globalise the social forum process and make it more accessible to more people.

The Caracas WSF was distinctly different from the Mumbai WSF. Delegates were greeted at the airport as if they were special guests of the state, with a lounge waiting room with tea and coffee and bus shuttles ready to take them through the mountainous road into the capital (the main bridge has been closed). Many of the volunteers were clearly Chavistas, in the way they praised the government, but some were not. I knew little of the city and it happened that the modest hotel I had booked was located in the financial district. The next day after landing a long protest against the Chavez government and for support of candidate Ortega emanated from this wealthier sector and winded its way into the city. From the outside the marchers did not fit the stereotype of

wealthy oppressors, and yet my memory still invokes John Pilger's unflattering portrait of Caracas' wealthy elite in 'The War on Democracy'.

Getting registered was a nightmare. This only compounded the bad reputation social forums have a for being dis-organised (in addition to self organised!), but the money my mom had wired and the registration I had sent had little influence on the actual registration, and volunteers that told me that we did not exist in the database (this was after wiring \$400 for registration!). Finally, after pleadings and exhortations I managed to sneak out with one delegate pass for me and one participant pass for my mom, Elia, who was to arrive the next day.

With the passes, and thanks to the Chavez government, travel on all buses and subways was completely free. I could tell from the looks we got we were easily identified by passer bys as foroistas (lit. 'forum-ists'). Some would start conversations in an embracing fashion, expressing their solidarity with the forum participants. Other would come up to us out of the blue and tell us not to believe anything the Chavez government said. One came up to me emphatically and explained that Venezuelans all suffer, and nothing has changed.

We were seemingly conferred privileged status as participants. This was also highlighted by the influence of teleSUR (The New Television Station of the South). The satellite news channel started by left wing governments of Latin America (Nicaragua, Uruguay, Venezuela, Cuba, Argentina, Bolivia, Ecuador, ), carried updates about the forum on an hour or even half hourly basis, interviews with participants and highlights, and generally conferring legitimacy and importance to the event. It was a stark contrast from the (Anglo) world that I had come from, where there might as well have been a media ban on social forums, they are so obscure(d). There could not be a greater difference than going from Melbourne/LA to Caracas, from 'political ratbag' to 'progressive intellectual' or something of this colour. I remember crying watching Evo Morales being sworn in as President of Bolivia on teleSUR, not just because Morales, an indigenous man and socialist, was coming to power, but also because I was watching this on major satellite network conferring legitimacy and rightfulness to this political act! teleSUR with the WSF were creating the basis for 'cognitive justice', giving the embodied experiences and knowledges of the Global South public expression.

Representation at the event seemed suspect. The Hilton hotel became the de facto centre of the forum experience, an important meeting point, with the government booking out a large number of rooms. Those that knew people in the Venezuelan government or the United Socialist Party of Venezuela were able to gain other privileges like a hotel room in the Hilton, cell phones and entry to a circle one step closer to power. This was accentuated by the lack of a central location for NGO stalls. Unlike Mumbai where stalls came together in the hundreds to form labyrinths, in Caracas they were dispersed in sometimes the most marginal parts of the city, for example a military airport. By contrast large stalls set up by the Chavez government to highlight their credentials and work to address social injustice and poverty were located squarely at city centre.

It appeared to me that the Chavez government was very consciously using the forum to boost its populist legitimacy, with the local population and also with the forum guests. Yet equally the WSF received much from that government, material support, volunteers, university spaces, TV coverage (local and teleSUR), giving the WSF a very special status. So who was using who? Could the forum have happened without such support? How could the WSF organisers criticise this level of solidarity, hospitality and financial and material support without seeming to be hypocritical? I also noted that the Workers Party of Brazil was instrumental in its support of the first 3 WSF in Porto Alegre, Brazil. Caracas squarely contradicted the idea of a forum outside the

influence of governments and political parties.

As usual, the large movements and organisations took the best locations and largest spaces. In social forum style, the workshop I had registered to do, this time as a representative of the MSF organising group, had been positioned in two places at two different times. I had to go to one location and put up a note saying "please go to this other location at this other time for this workshop". I ran a workshop on forming a solidarity network between local and regional social forums (by this time I had identified a gap that existed in the WSFP - local social forums had neither formal representation in the WSFP or much support, and they were not interlinked in a local social forum network). As in Australia, many of these efforts were beginning to lose momentum, with little communication between forums, and not a lot of support between the various efforts. Only four people attended, but all of them were very interested in such a thing, two of them were organising the Houston social forum and could see the value of drawing from experience. (Later we would set up a mail list using the Rise-up activist website, and we would have communication for about 2 months before the energy tailed off). A local social forums network would later emerge through the Nairobi WSF and WSF process website. My mom, Elia, had registered to do a workshop on a forum in LA, which also attracted about 4 others.

In the margins, those huge university buildings or the marquees set up at distant parks or the military airport, all challenging to find, about half the sessions were empty. One of the best ways to find good sessions was to identify other participants and ask them what workshops they were going to, and just tag along. Although even in this case sometimes the whole group found themselves in an empty classroom waiting for no-one to arrive. One person who I interviewed as part of the research drew me into a workshop by the army general who helped save Chavez from the 2002 military coup. The general's recounting was moving, he and his family also had to escape attempts on his life during those crucial weeks. But I also wondered how this general's workshop did not contravene the WSF charter of principles against participation by armed organisations? Well he and the WSF had a good excuse: the workshop was being held on a military airport! The Zapatistas were also holding workshops, but at least they had renounced armed resistance for their Latin America tour.

From one interviewee I learned about the crisis of governance and representation with the WSF. While the IC has a mandate to expand the composition of the IC, based on various geographic and social criteria (ensuring Southern participation for example) and the adherence of the Charter of Principles, the acceptance of any one new member is predicated on universal consensus of all IC members. This persons group, an international organisation that does a variety of educational and charity work, were denied membership on very shaky grounds. Worse, after the WSF IC made the decision to exclude this group, there was not even a system of appeal. No adjudicating processes, just a consensus system with no mechanisms for deepening disputes and conflicts.

If the Mumbai forum was my introduction to the forum process, showing its power and dynamism, the Caracas forum showed me its contradictions, human weaknesses, and an alternative logic. I could no longer be sure whether the WSF was democratic, or whether it was autocratic. Even 'participatory democracy' seemed a bit generous. The power of the Chavez government to dominate the forum itself, using it to boost its credibility, and to even patronise the forum (I remember seeing Chavez on teleSUR practically give the Assembly of Social Movements an hour lecture)! Alternatively I could see new strange linkages forming, the synergy of media, government and citizen produced media through TeleSUR, and the emerging capacity for 'cognitive justice'. I had departed from the idealised world of 'civil society' engaged in 'participatory democracy'. Having read William Robinson and Leslie Sklair, civil society no longer made simple sense. What I began to see were synergies of power at a structural level. I would later come to see the process at work as emerging ecosystems of counter power, based on

synergies between alternative political forces, alternative cultural leadership and alternative economic bases. The double edge sword of structural power became quite real: the influence of TeleSUR, its coverage of the WSF, and its connection with its political masters; the role of the military in intervening on behalf of Chavez and its presence in the WSF; the role of the Chavez government in supporting economic alternatives, participatory budgeting and land reform; and the role of the Chavez government simultaneously supporting AND co-opting the Caracas WSF. The role and importance of structural synergies of counter power were very real in Caracas, yet equally present was the question over the politicisation and democratization of institutional power. My appreciation for the WSF's engagement in such formations of power became much more complex.

### **Appendix V: 22 Theses on Democracy in the WSF**

By Teivo Teivainen (source: radical theory forum - 27.04.2004 16:33)  
 Twenty-Two Theses on the Problems of Democracy in the World Social Forum\*  
 Network Institute for Global Democratization ( <http://www.nigd.org>)

5.1.2004

WSF Mumbai

this text has recently appeared in the "library of alternatives" of the main wsf homepage ( <http://www.worldsocialforum.org>) and in the newsletter of transform ( <http://www.transform.it/newsletter/892004618183.php>).

In the meeting of the Strategy Commission of the World Social Forums International Council, held in Paris in November 2003, some tasks were distributed among the participants. I was asked to prepare notes on the strategic challenges of the World Social Forum process.

In the following notes, I will focus on one particular issue that I feel we have not discussed sufficiently. There are also other important issues we should discuss about the future of the WSF process and I do not pretend to cover all of them in this note.

My main argument is that the WSF in general and its International Council in particular have such depoliticizing features that may hinder our possibilities to apply democratic principles. In order to make your comments and refutations easier, I will present this argument below in the form of twenty-two theses. In some parts, I have formulated my arguments in a bit simplistic way to make them provocative so that we may have a debate. I send these theses now in a very preliminary form to get comments from you.

Before formulating the theses, let me say a couple of words of my general understanding of democracy, which takes into account the institutional features that enable the processes through which people can take control over their lives. In most theories of democracy, the relevant institutions are associated with states. While I believe that states are important, my definition of democracy does not depend on them. I find it more important to analyze to what extent particular social processes are democratic than to rely on nation-state-centric categories of democracy. In this case, I find it important to reflect on to what extent the WSF process is democratic. More particularly, I will focus on the politicizing dimension of democratization.

About Politicization

1. Politicization is a key aspect of democratic struggles. It means showing the political nature of such relations of power that are presented as neutral. It has been a central feature of most socialist (politicize the capitalist economy), feminist (politicize the patriarchy) and other radically democratic movements.
2. The growing power of the seemingly nonpolitical global economic institutions during the last decades of the 20th Century generated conditions for the politicizing reaction that was symbolized by the massive protests during the World Trade Organization meeting in Seattle in 1999. It was no longer possible to reproduce the claim that global economic institutions were nonpolitical and neutral.
3. Politicization is important both for the movements that aim at transformations within the limits that the capitalist system places and for the movements that fight for a post-capitalist world.

#### About Democracy in the WSF

4. It is strategically and morally desirable that movements that want to radically democratize the world apply democratic principles to themselves and the articulations they build with other movements. Democratic principles should be applied to the way the World Social Forum (WSF) is organized.
5. The WSF rules and practices include depoliticizing elements that block the possibilities for more democratic and transparent procedures. Some depoliticizing elements are more problematic than others.
6. Pretending that there are no relations of power that should be made visible within the WSF process is the most harmful of these depoliticizing elements. Even if it is often presented as "not a locus of power", "not an organization", and "only a neutral space", the WSF does have relations of power.
7. The fact that these relations of power are not sufficiently transparent does not necessarily mean that there would exist a conspiracy or conscious attempt to silently rule the International Council and other WSF organs. It does, however, mean that we have a problem that we should face.
8. Claiming that the WSF is "not an organization" and that therefore questions of power and organizational democracy are not relevant resembles the claim that the International Monetary Fund is only a purely technical institution. Both claims are ideological mystifications. Both claims should be rejected by those who believe in radical forms of democracy.
9. The rules and procedures of the International Council should be made more explicit and transparent. Without more formalized rules, it will be particularly difficult for movements and organizations with few material resources to take part in the decision-making of the WSF process.

#### About Representation

10. Traditional conceptions of territorial representation cannot and should not be applied to the WSF process. Nevertheless, if we want to create a more democratic International Council,

considerations related to representation should not be rejected in a too absolutist way. A binary opposition between (good) participatory democracy and (bad) representative democracy leaves unaccountable power relations with too many places to hide.

11. If we accept that Africa and Asia do not have enough presence in the International Council, that they are in this sense underrepresented, we should also accept that some principles of representation do have a role in our attitudes toward the WSF.

12. When the WSF process was less well known, it was relatively easy to organize the International Council without too many concerns about who its members are and what they may represent. The problems the International Council has had in trying to establish a procedure for incorporating new members are an indication of the difficulties of trying to operate without formal structures and procedures.

13. As there exists an increasing number of "national" social forums, there will be increasing demands to articulate them with the International Council and other official organs of the WSF. This will increase the pressures to talk about issues related to balanced representation in the International Council. This does not necessarily mean that we should create numerical formulas to ensure fair representation of the unjustly underrepresented groups or areas.

14. In the construction of the WSF in India, issues of representation have been more explicitly debated than in the construction of the global WSF process. We should learn from the Indians.

15. The depoliticizing elements of the WSF rules and practices can help to avoid conflicts within the WSF, but at the same time they make the WSF governance bodies an easy target for accusations of reproducing nondemocratic practices.

#### About Strategic Goals

16. Apart from the depoliticization that hinders democratic practices within the WSF, there also exists another kind of depoliticization. It consists of the idea that the WSF is not a movement or a political actor but simply a space, an arena.

17. This second kind of depoliticization is reflected in the practice that the International Council has not made public declarations about political issues, for example about the imperialist war in Iraq. This unwillingness to take a public stand has been used by many opponents of the WSF process to claim that the WSF serves no good purpose in anti-imperialist struggles.

18. We have to move beyond rigid movement/space dichotomies if we want to understand the role of the WSF. The WSF can play and has played a role in facilitating radical social action. One example is the fact that the massive antiwar protests of 15 February 2003 were to a significant extent initiated and organized from within the WSF process. We should use this example more consciously to counter the claims that the WSF is politically useless. We should also use it as a learning experience, to build more effective channels for concrete action without building a traditional movement (of movements).

19. The slogan "another world is possible" has been useful in partially breaking the hegemony of the there-is-no-alternative discourse. Since learning implies growing, the WSF must move to a new stage in its learning process. At some point, it is no longer enough to repeat that another

world is possible. It is increasingly important to envision what the other (post-capitalist) world may look like.

20. The WSF should not be turned into a political party or a new international. It should, however, have better mechanisms for exchanging, disseminating and debating strategies of radical transformation. More explicit mechanisms and procedures mean more possibilities for getting things done.

#### About the Charter of Principles

21. The Charter of Principles, as the key document that defines the political orientation of the WSF, should not be amended or replaced too easily. It could, however, be useful to define procedures for revising it if needed in the future.

22. The article 6 of the Charter of Principles, in a phrase that is strangely missing from the Spanish version of the Charter, states that the WSF "does not constitute a locus of power to be disputed by the participants in its meetings". It is a useful reminder of the fact that the WSF is not a party-like organization. If, however, the phrase is interpreted to mean that there are no relations of power within the WSF, or within its International Council, it becomes an element of ideological mystification.

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