

Global citizenship and the 'New, New' social movements: Iberian connections

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Abstract

The past two decades have witnessed the rise of a new global cycle of collective action not only organized through the Internet and made visible during mass protest events, but also locally shaped by diverse organizations, networks, platforms and groups. Focusing on specific cases in two Iberian cities — Barcelona and Lisbon — we argue that this protest cycle has given rise to new kinds of movements referred to here as 'new, new' social movements. We analyze particular aspects of each case, but also discuss their European and global dimensions. The article will also highlight the role of youth, discussing the characteristics associated with the participation of young people in the 'new, new' movements. After a short introduction to the research on this topic, focusing on the emergence of the 'anti-corporate globalization movement' and related theoretical implications, we provide a description of four protest events in Barcelona and Lisbon. Next, we analyze the local contexts that anchor these events. Finally, we discuss the main

characteristics of the 'new, new' social movements, examining the links between Barcelona and Lisbon and the wider international context that shapes them and paying particular attention to contemporary networking dynamics.

Keywords

youth, globalization, anti-corporate globalization, social movements, Barcelona, Lisbon

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In this article we intend to illustrate another way of thinking about and practicing active youth citizenship in the global era:¹ the participation of young people in the so-called 'antiglobalization movement', which we conceptualize here as the '*new, new*' social movements (in the plural).² We introduce this concept in order to better understand the continuities and changes across different waves of youth activism in late modernity. The rise of the '*old*'³ social movements in the nineteenth century was connected to the emergence of industrial society, often perceived as masculine, adult and class-based struggles, even if many of the protagonists were actually students, bohemians and young workers, giving rise to a new social actor: the *adolescent* (based on the 'Tarzan' syndrome: the youngster who tries to become an adult). The rise of the '*new*' social movements in the 1960s was connected to the emergence of new modes of collective action in the era of mass media and youth countercultures. These were often multi-class and multi-gendered youth struggles, giving rise to another new social actor: the extended adolescent (based on the 'Peter Pan' syndrome — the youngster who refuses to become an adult). The rise of the '*new new*' social movements in the 2000s is connected to the emergence of new modes of collective activism in an era of global networks and youth cybercultures: inter-generational, trans-sexual and cross-class struggles, giving rise to yet another new social actor: the '*yo yo*' '*adultescent*' (based on the 'Replicant' syndrome — the youngster who is *in between* Blade Runner conservatism and android resistance).⁴

The concept of citizenship arose in the nineteenth century in a specific context: the 'imagined community' of the (western) nation-state and bourgeois revolution. At the beginning of twenty-first century, citizenship is moving from 'national' to 'transnational'. This is not only true for economic, political and corporate multinational structures, but also for the networked resistances to those hegemonic forces. As pointed out by the editors in the introduction to this running theme: 'any contemporary analysis of the themes around active citizenship should be placed within the social and political context of increasing globalization and transnationalism' (Suurpää and Valentin, 2009: 2). In a previous article, one of the present authors defined citizenship as 'a formula for the political construction of identity' (Feixa, 1998: 54), arguing that its relevance in the youth is critical given the confluence of diverse 'identity transitions': biographical transition into adulthood, societal transition into civic rights and duties and historical transition into democracy. In the information age, citizenship has become more related to culture (from the identity of politics to the politics of identity) and to global networks (from national construction to transnational de-construction).⁵

The concept of 'global citizenship' is useful for extending Marshall's classic three dimensional definition of citizenship: civic, political and social. In the information age, the arena of citizenship is extended in three directions: first, economic and cultural rights and duties are added to Marshall's triad; second, new communication technologies are added to traditional citizenship institutions (school, political institutions and civil society) and third, the transnational level

is added to classic state and intra-state nation-building. As Henry Teune (2003) suggests, 'at issue in this question is the prospect of a world with an inclusive global civilization based on diversity' (quoted in Hoikkala, 2009: 11). The participation of young people in the 'new, new social movements is a key arena for these changes, not only because they are pioneers within the digital society and the space of flows (Castells, 1996/2004; Tapscott, 1998), but also because they are moving across national and social boundaries, living 'transnational connections' (Hannerz, 1998). This article explores one regional context: the Iberian connections that link (virtually and physically) young activists from Barcelona and Lisbon.

GLOBALIZATION, ANTI-GLOBALIZATION AND THE 'NEW, NEW' SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Over the past two decades, the world has witnessed the rise and consolidation of a new cycle of collective action, marked by new struggles and repertoires of resistance, by new contexts of participation and by new forms of organization. Although, it is difficult to establish the history of this cycle of protest in the Iberian context, it is possible to distinguish three phases we can metaphorically call: latency, emergency and consolidation (Romani and Feixa, 2002). The *phase of latency* comprises the last decade of the twentieth century. The turning point was 1 January 1994, when *Subcomandante* Marcos and the Zapatista Army of National Liberation (EZLN) rose against the Mexican government the day the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) came into effect. Unlike a classic *guerrilla* force, they fought with information more than arms (Castells, 1996), giving rise to a loose, decentralized global web of solidarity groups that would proliferate in Mexico and around the world (Khasnabish, 2008; Olesen, 2005). At the same time, international financial organizations such as the World Trade Organization (WTO), World Bank (WB) and International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the G8, worked together to create a new economic order, suppressing the barriers against free trade at the world level. The process of globalization of capital gave rise to a process of 'grassroots globalization' (Appadurai, 2001), as social movements, networks and non government organizations (NGOs) shed their national roots and became transnationally networked.⁶

The *phase of emergence* began with the first Peoples' Global Action (PGA) global days of action in the late 1990s, including the November 1999 protest against the WTO in Seattle (USA), which some consider the first globally recognized battle between representatives of the new world order and the 'anti-globalization soldiers'. The WTO had summoned the so-called Millennium Round, a set of negotiations aiming to establish new rules for the liberalization of world trade. The information circulated rapidly on the web and social movement actors around the world organized a statement against the rise of a global market dominated by corporations. With the help of a powerful Internet mailing list, a wide coalition came together, encompassing traditional NGOs,

heroes of the counter-cultural activism and cyber-grunge youngsters. Some 50,000 people answered the call and demonstrated on the streets of Seattle, obstructing the meeting and helping to put a stop to the negotiations. During the year 2000, similar events occurred in cities of five continents, as each major summit became an occasion for an alternative summit and protest.

The *phase of consolidation* began in January 2001, in Porto Alegre (Brazil). Until that moment, the mobilizations had been more reactive than proactive: questioning the model of corporate globalization more than proposing an alternative. At the turn of the millennium, however, representatives from two Brazilian NGOs and ATTAC, an association created in Paris in 2000 under the initiative of *Le Monde Diplomatique*, proposed the organization of a World Social Forum (WSF) as an alternative to the World Economic Forum in Davos. The first WSF brought together 5,000 delegates from around the world, including trade unions, environmentalists, peasants, women, students, international solidarity activists and religious networks, to develop, share and debate alternatives to neoliberal globalization. Since then, subsequent forums have drawn hundreds of thousands of participants, including 150,000 at the third WSF in Porto Alegre. The forum process has also expanded transnationally, as global forums have been held in Mumbai (2004) and Nairobi (2008), while local and regional forum events have been organized in nearly every continent. Meanwhile, mobilizations following the confrontational direct action model of Seattle have continued, but lost their militant edge after the 'battle of Genoa' in July 2001, which is remembered for producing the first anti-globalization movement martyr in the North, and for the diverse forms of the struggle on display there: the institutional sectors represented by the Genoa Social Forum; the alternative sectors reflected in new types of civil disobedience practiced by the White Overalls and the violent sectors embodied by the spectacular Black Bloc (Juris, 2005a).

The short, but intense history of the anti-corporate globalization movement reveals a series of unique characteristics that have been explored in the literature: (i) an emphasis on globalism and transnationality and their articulation with local contexts; (ii) the use of new information and communication technologies, particularly the Internet; (iii) the articulation of economic and identity-based demands; (iv) the development of innovative forms of action; (v) the creation of new forms of organization; and (vi) the gathering of diverse traditions and organizations under a common umbrella (Castells, 2001; della Porta and Tarrow, 2005; Feixa et al., 2002; Juris 2004a, 2005b; 2008a; Juris and Pleyers, 2009; Sommer, 2003). These analyses reflect diverse approaches and tensions: highlighting the continuity with prior forms of contentious action; emphasizing its discontinuity; taking it as a new social movement, stressing its networked characteristics or considering it as a master frame that organizes and shapes diverse struggles. In this article we argue that anti-corporate globalization movements can be understood, in analytic and theoretical terms, as 'new, new' social movements involving the rise of a new wave of contentious action and its associated characteristics. At the same time, there are important continuities

between the so-called old and new social movements. Although, some have questioned whether such a distinction is relevant (Calhoun, 1993), we find it useful for our limited purposes here to highlight the characteristics associated with emerging forms of movement that combine elements of both old and new.

What have been called '*old*' social movements arose in Western Europe in the nineteenth century and during the first half of the twentieth century. The revolutionary wave of 1848, the Paris commune, the Soviet revolution in 1917 and the movement for university reform in Córdoba (Argentina) in 1918 are emblematic examples of old social movements. Their social base was defined by concrete borders of class, nation and social condition. They were often local, but occasionally involved in revolutionary or reform processes at the national and international levels. 'Old' social movements stressed economic-political protest: the primary claims are material; but can also be political and moral: democratization, the right to vote, and the equality of rights. The strike and the demonstration were the most visible action repertoires. Although, many of the participants were young, old social movements were not conceived as youth movements, but rather as adult struggles. The cultural features of these movements involve verbal language (the meeting), an aesthetic of struggle ('life is a struggle') and cultural production situated in the Gutenberg galaxy (newspapers, brochures, books). The dominant organizational model is best represented by the metaphor of the band given that old social movements were usually based in local groups with strong internal cohesion as well as signs and symbols of identity that clearly differentiated insiders from outsiders.

The so called '*new*' social movements arose in North America and Europe after World War II (1950–1970). The student movements in Berkeley in 1964 and in Paris, Rome, New York, and Mexico in 1968 were the foundational moments. The social base of these movements moved away from class, emphasizing other identity-based criteria: generation, gender, sexual orientation, affect and ethnicity, particularly marginalized communities (Blacks, Chicanos, Native Americans, etc.). The territorial base of the new social movements moved away from the local toward the regional and transnational. Environmentalist, pacifist, feminist, gay-lesbian and counter-cultural movements were characteristic examples. The most visible action repertoires had a playful dimension (sit-in, happenings) although traditional activities, including demonstrations and assemblies, also had a role. Although some participants were older, New Social Movements were often conceived as youth and gender-based movements, as they stressed youth emancipation and sexual liberation. The participation of young people gave rise to myriad youth micro-cultures, often with a transnational dimension but assuming diverse forms in each country. New social movements have been widely analyzed by social scientists, including works of great relevance (Melucci, 2001; Touraine, 1978).

What we propose to call '*new, new*' social movements straddles the frontier of physical and virtual space at the turn of the new millennium. They highlight the transformations and social conflicts associated with the consolidation of informational capitalism. Seattle 1999, Prague 2000 and Genoa 2001 are key

symbolic moments, but they are rooted in organizational processes initiated more than a decade earlier. The social base of these movements crosses generations, genders, ethnicities and territories. Their spatial base is no longer local or national, but is situated in globally networked space, like the neoliberal system these movements oppose. However, their decentralization constitutes a localized internationalism (*glocality*). The 'new, new' social movements emphasize both economic and cultural dimensions: their basic grievances are economic, but no longer exclusively revolve around self-interest; they also include solidarity with those who are marginalized by globalization. The struggle also takes place on the terrain of cultural identities, highlighting the right to difference. As with the new social movements, action repertoires involve marches and demonstrations, but calls to action are distributed through the Internet, while mass marches and actions articulate with multiple forms of virtual resistance.

Although, many of the participants in these movements are young, 'new, new' social movements have not generally been conceived as youth movements, but rather as intergenerational struggles (see Juris and Pleyers, 2009). Still, anti-corporate globalization movements involve several key features that facilitate the participation of younger activists. First, they are organized around informal networks facilitated by new information and communication technologies (ICT). Second, they are global in geographic reach and thematic scope, as activists increasingly link their locally rooted struggles to diverse movements elsewhere. Finally, they involve non-traditional and highly theatrical forms of direct action protest. Younger activists are also characteristically drawn to more non-conventional forms of direct action protest, involving creative, expressive or violent repertoires. In addition to their utilitarian purpose — shutting down international summit meetings — mass direct actions are complex cultural performances that allow participants to communicate symbolic messages to an audience, while also providing a forum for producing and experiencing symbolic meaning through embodied ritual practice (Juris 2005b; 2008b). The 'new, new social movements' are organized as networks, which are constituted by loose, decentralized groups and identity markers and involve both individualization and non-differentiation. These transnational 'movement webs' (Alvarez et al., 1998) comprise a wide field of individuals, organizations and structures with a strong but flexible core, a periphery that is not as active but is very diverse, and nodes of interconnection where resources and knowledge continuously flow.

This tripartite model of 'old', 'new' and 'new, new' social movements is not intended as a rigid, static model. Indeed, recent demonstrations bring together young anarchists and Christian groups from the first wave of social movements, environmentalists and feminists from the second wave, and ravers and cyber-punks from the third. On one hand, 'new, new' movement actors use tactics and ideologies that came from previous phases (the march, the boycott, etc). On the other hand, organizations born in the past are modernizing their forms and discourses, integrating themselves into the 'new new' movements and often playing a lead role. For example, movements that were the 'flagships' of old and new social movements (trade unions and ecologists, for example)

are on the front lines of the most recent mobilizations, although their organizational forms and even their social bases have changed. Moreover, virtual communities not only offer social infrastructures for global youth networks, the Internet has generated new youth cultures. One important difference from previous movements is that, for the first time, young people are not, by definition, in a subaltern position, particularly with respect to technological change.⁷

EVENTS: GLOBAL DEMONSTRATIONS

Our journey through the ‘new, new’ social movements will begin by focusing on four global mobilizations in two Iberian cities: Barcelona and Lisbon. Global protests and actions often act as historical turning points, and, as rich ethnographic moments, they can also help us begin a theoretical discussion of the rise of ‘new, new’ social movements. Events are unique time-spaces’, providing a forum for diverse social movement activities and enhancing their public visibility. Despite their ephemerality, events also generate ongoing processes that begin far in advance of their public expression and that result from the interconnection of multiple dynamics, including external political issues and opportunities as well as internal identities and resources. They emerge from processes of negotiation between different, often pre-existing networks. As time-spaces characterized by a dense alignment of individual and collective actors, these episodes also produce internal ‘collateral dynamics’, lingering as common shared references. Meanwhile, the networks that have developed around them often continue over time, incorporating new members and organizing new initiatives. In this article we highlight four ‘new, new’ social movement scenes: *(i)* a march in Barcelona in June 2001 planned to coincide with a meeting of the WB that was ultimately cancelled before the protest; *(ii)* another march in Barcelona in Spring 2002 against a Summit of the EU during the Spanish Presidency; *(iii)* the 2007 May Day parade in Lisbon, which was part of a global day of action and *(iv)* another demonstration in Lisbon that year during the EU-Africa Summit.

Barcelona 2001 — Sunday at Passeig de Gràcia⁸

We already knew the WB meeting in Barcelona had been suspended but, even so, we decided to march. This was a victory for the movement against neo-liberalism, as the global financial leaders were unable to control their own calendar. We arrived in Barcelona on Saturday. After being picked up at Saints Station, we went directly to the Rambla del Raval for the plenary session of the alternative summit. After the initial presentations by more well-known personalities, which framed the situation, analyzed the role of the WB and IMF, and advanced several proposals; delegates from different movements spoke, expressing themselves in the diversity of languages and accents that are struggling for ‘another globalization’. Although we could sense the strength of the

movement, uncertainties about the following day's demonstration persisted, especially given the campaign of criminalization that had been waged. Still, the morning after, when thousands and thousands of people, with diverse styles and appearances (youngsters from diverse urban 'tribes,' musicians playing djambés of all sizes, women from Catholic action, concerned mothers, academics, feminists, a few politicians from the institutional Left, artists, lawyers, families and veterans of former struggles) gathered to begin the march down the Passeig de Gràcia, all the uncertainty ended. Songs, dances and a calm determination necessary to act prevailed. We joined the last third of the demonstration and everything was peaceful until we reached the Stock Exchange, although there had been rumours that glass had been shattered elsewhere. The police blockade around the Stock Exchange was impressive. When we reached the Plaça Catalunya we left the demonstration, and shortly thereafter the police attacked, which everyone knew was bound to happen. The so-called 'forces of law and order' had the final clash they desired.

Barcelona 2002 — Saturday at Passeig de Colom

Shortly before 6 pm we exit the subway at the Rambla da Catalunya. Barcelona is calm, despite the threats of chaos. According to reports the 'anti-globalization' demonstration set to take place that afternoon would gather around 50,000 people. The atmosphere is festive. The omnipresence of new technologies is particularly apparent. Indeed, everyone has a mobile phone and is using it to find their friends among the mass of demonstrators. As in all fiestas, one can hear music and distinctive sounds: from the international to salsa, from percussion to saxophone tunes belted out by a street performer. A police helicopter is flying overhead, agitating the crowd: nothing better to encourage your own team than provocations from your opponents. The march has been coordinated by a constellation of local, yet transnationally networked social movement groups and extra-parliamentary leftwing organizations that came together as the Campaign against the Europe of Capital. The diversity of organizers is reflected in the structure of the march, composed of three distinct blocks: the first, marching under the slogan 'No to Europe of Capital', is the space of the Campaign; the second, with the banner, 'For a Europe of Nations', brings together separatist and nationalist militants (the pro-governmental press insists that terrorists are hidden among this bloc); the third is the bloc of the Barcelona Social Forum, which encompasses institutional NGOs, trade unions, and parliamentary left-wing parties marching under the slogan from Porto Alegre, 'Another Europe is possible'.⁹

A multi-coloured wave emerges from the sea below. The internal diversity is reflected in multiple styles and generations: young people with crests and pensioners with umbrellas and gabardines, young girls with coloured hair and piercings and mothers carrying babies, teenagers happy to go to their first demonstration and middle-aged women with their recycled Flower Power

outfits, Latin-American immigrants selling beer, and, of course, attentive anthropologists. The protesters' imaginations are also on display in the ubiquitous signs and slogans. For example, a *drag-queen* carries a banner saying: 'Ni capitalismo, ni machismo, sólo revolución, te pone guapa' (neither capitalism nor machismo, only revolution makes you pretty). A collective of masked drummers carries a banner that says 'The happy revolution just started'. Songs and chants are also extremely diverse, opposing monarchy, supporting internationalism, and addressing a multiplicity of single issues. A car with a sound system plays music demanding the legalization of marijuana, and gay activists sing 'Contra la Europa del capital, penetración anal' (Against Europe of capital, anal penetration). Public order is not under threat, at least yet. The only sign of war are boxes painted with pink spray by the collective 'Caça lobbies' (Lobbies busters), and logos from the squatter movement painted on the traffic lights.

When we finally arrive at the Passeig de Colom, we see the illuminated multi-coloured statue of Christopher Columbus. The monument is peacefully occupied by a multitude of banners, posters, and people. It is difficult to leave, and it is already after 9 pm when we finally manage to make our way from the plaza. Then we see another — until then discreet — tribe: the anti-riot cops. In case there is trouble, we decide to enter a bar, an Irish pub in the gothic neighbourhood evoking images of the old sites where anarcho-syndicalists gathered a century ago. The battle had already begun by the time we finish our beer. The young marchers who were able to escape more easily from the anti-riot cops went to an outdoor space called the Sot del Migida on Montjuic for a concert headlined by Manu Chao, an anti-globalization movement hero.

Lisbon 2007- Saturday at Avenidas Novas¹⁰

The first Portuguese May Day began at Alameda Afonso Henriques, with a vegetarian barbecue. Similar events were taking place elsewhere in the world. The first May Day Parade was held in Milan in 2001. Since 2004 the process has spread around Europe, gathering mostly immigrants and young precarious workers for alternative May Day demonstrations to raise awareness about growing labor precarity: flexible, short-term employment; poor working conditions; minimal social security benefits; and a lack of collective bargaining. When I arrived, activists had already finished their lunch and were seated on the grass among all their posters and banners. Numerous journalists were on hand collecting statements. There was an atmosphere of expectation in the air — some young people were preparing for the event, while others were speaking on mobile phones to arrange meeting points with their colleagues. Most activists were young, but there were also many older people, veterans of past demonstrations and political leaders. I soon came across many people I knew: militants from left-wing parties and activists from several NGOs, collectives and associations. Shortly thereafter, we set off to a great fanfare. The march reflected the new symbolic logics of performative action, aiming to attract attention via spectacular street protests (cf. Juris, 2008b).

The city could not remain indifferent to the chaotic scene: streets closed to traffic, police blockades, the typical sounds of street protest (slogans, megaphone feedback, police whistles, political commentary, the voices of journalists), and the flood of protesters invading the major arteries of the city, including the Avenidas Novas (New Avenues). The march was particularly colourful, and included songs and dances rehearsed the night before at the May Day party. The demonstration in front advanced in a coordinated fashion; toward the back, participants were more dispersed. During the march, the group adapted its activities to the area where they were marching, distributing leaflets at McDonalds or organizing performances in front of the Ministry of Labour. No one could ignore a caged activist proclaiming he had been arrested in a call centre or protesters carrying massive banners. The commotion was reinforced by a truck carrying a sound system at the front of the march. The mass of demonstrators was surrounded by the police, who watched the activist performances with curiosity, sometimes trying to restrain them, other times laughing quietly. At the end of Avenida Brasil, the front of the march met with up the Labour Day parade organized by CGTP-IN, a Portuguese trade union confederation. At the conclusion of the march, the precarious workers arrived at University City, where, as has become traditional, a popular fiesta had begun. The group's May Day action ended with a performance: they set up a tower of crates marked with keywords such as unemployment and insecurity, and then threw improvised weapons — rolled socks — at the tower, which collapsed as the crates flew everywhere.

Lisbon 2007 — Saturday afternoon at the Chiado

Although it was December, it was a sunny day, one of those cold and bright Saturdays that Lisbon often offers its visitors. The participants at the European Union-Africa Alternative Summit slowly finished their meal in the lunchroom at the Fine Arts Faculty. Carrying their banners they walked quietly towards Largo do Camões, one of the main squares of Chiado in the centre of Lisbon, a traditional meeting point for demonstrations. The European Union-Africa Summit was an important international event that brought together leaders from diverse European and African countries. The alternative summit, gathering a large group of Portuguese, European and African activists, included semi-plenary sessions on issues such as the environment, natural resources and food sovereignty; migrations; economic development and Human Rights, as well as self organized workshops. The Summit concluded with a plenary discussion to prepare a final statement followed by a demonstration in the streets of Lisbon. The protest gathered not only participants from the alternative Summit, but also groups of activists and individuals from the alternative milieu in Lisbon. At Camões, participants organized themselves around specific groups: the Portuguese organizers walked around the square making phone calls, the foreign participants from African and European NGOs gathered in small groups

displaying their banners in different languages, some addressing specific issues as the situation in Zimbabwe or other African countries, others proclaiming universal rights. Small groups of African immigrants in Lisbon made their demands visible, focusing on housing and legal issues, while young people from diverse ‘urban tribes’ walked around, smoking, talking, dancing and juggling. A group of clowns gathered in the centre of the square and began playing music. When the protest finally started, the clowns went to the head of the march, together with a group carrying the alternative Summit banner: ‘Europe-Africa: there are alternatives’, written in several languages. A popular jazz group closed the march playing happy tunes. The march went through some of the main streets of the Chiado neighbourhood, already completely crowded with people doing their Christmas shopping. Protesters shouted multi-lingual slogans, including ‘Africa is not for sale’ and the traditional chant against barriers to migration: ‘No borders, no nations, stop deportations’. In the middle of the demonstration, a French feminist group chanted slogans for women’s rights around the world, which Portuguese women tried to repeat. The march ended at the Praça da Figueira in the core of downtown Lisbon. A yellow van was parked in the middle of the square playing African tunes, and everyone began dancing. The police kept protesters contained in the square, as they watched the diverse group of bodies moving slowly to the rhythm of ‘Mornas’ and ‘Kizomba’.

Collective action tends to alternate between latent phases where movements develop discourses and identities and moments of greater public visibility (Melucci, 1989). With respect to the latter, social movements organize events that influence the rhythm of life in a city. Protest demonstrations and public happenings, on the one hand, forums, meetings and activist gatherings, then there are privileged times-spaces for social interaction where transnational activist networks are performed and embodied (Juris, 2008b). They also have an impact in terms of the appropriation of urban space. The four demonstrations we describe above have much in common: the heterogeneity of participants and messages, the diversity of themes and issues; media friendly actions, efforts to criminalize demonstrators, as well as a peaceful, playful character. These events can also be seen as ‘glocal’, anchored in a specific city, but involving a broader international context, often including solidarity actions with other demonstrations around the world. There are also differences, of course, particularly in the number of participants and the public and police reactions. More generally, mass public protests and actions are characteristic of the action repertoire of the ‘new, new’ social movements, but they are also rooted in specific cultural, geographic, and organizational contexts.

CONTEXTS: MOVEMENTS AND PLATFORMS

In the following section we examine the specific groups, networks and platforms in Barcelona and Lisbon that constitute the organizational contexts for

the 'new, new' social movements, paying particular attention to different modes of participation: virtual and face to face, informal and formal, discrete organizations to broader convergence spaces.

Barcelona — the case of MRG¹¹

Although, young squatters and solidarity activists in Barcelona had taken part in previous globally coordinated actions against the G8 and WTO, anti-corporate globalization movements in Catalonia were largely spearheaded by a network called the Movement for Global Resistance (MRG), which was founded to coordinate the Catalan mobilization against the WB and IMF in Prague in September 2000. Prague led to an explosion in grassroots participation and media coverage, diffusing an anti-corporate globalization discourses and linking local and global struggles.¹² MRG specifically involved the convergence of two sectors: a radical anti-capitalist bloc, involving squatters, anti-militarists, Zapatista supporters, and anti-EU organizers, and a less militant group of international solidarity and NGO activists. Many of the latter had previously taken part in a state-wide Consulta asking whether the Spanish government should cancel the debt owed to it by developing nations organized by the Citizens Network to Abolish the Foreign Debt (RCADE). Younger activists within networks such as MRG and RCADE precipitated anti-corporate globalization activism in Barcelona, but the entire Catalan Left would join the fold during subsequent Campaigns against the WB and EU in June 2001 and March 2002. Although Catalan anti-corporate globalization movements are intergenerational, younger activists have occupied their leading edge, infusing them with creative energy, a confrontational spirit, and an emphasis on technological, political, and social innovation. For example, more radical youth movements including anti-militarism (Pastor, 2002) or squatting (Feixa et al., 2002) brought with them their critique of the state, focus on decentralization, horizontal relations and self-management, and experience with non-violent direct action. Meanwhile, younger solidarity activists contributed their global awareness, commitment to grassroots participation, and knowledge of development and global economic justice issues. With the founding of MRG, this focus on participatory democracy and global solidarity converged with an emphasis on local autonomy and grassroots self-management among militant squatters, anti-militarists, and Zapatista supporters, generating a unique form of activism guided by emerging networking logics and practices.¹³

As discussed previously, anti-corporate globalization movements involve several key features that are characteristic of the 'new, new' social movements, such as the use of new ICTs, non-traditional and highly theatrical forms of direct action protest and a global perspective (both geographic and thematic). Each of these characteristics is reflected in the discourse and practice of MRG. For example, MRG-based activists have used digital networks to organize actions, share information and resources, and coordinate activities. Although, organizers

have primarily used e-mail and electronic listserves, they have also built temporary web pages during mobilizations to provide information, resources, and contact lists; post documents and calls to action; and house discussion forums and chat rooms. Indeed, new ICTs were central to the development of MRG. The MRG listserv was initially created to plan for the protests against the World Bank and IMF in Prague. By communicating via Internet, activists from diverse groups were able to share information and coordinate in a flexible, decentralized manner without the need for hierarchical structures. The Internet thus not only allowed activists to coordinate more rapidly, it also reinforced their broader libertarian ideals. New technologies have greatly reinforced the most radically decentralized network-based organizational forms within anti-corporate globalization movements, leading to flexible, diffuse and ephemeral formations, including MRG in Catalonia. Grassroots movements and collectives can now directly link up across space without the need for organizational hierarchy. In contrast to traditional political parties and unions, network-based politics involve the creation of broad umbrella spaces, where diverse organizations, collectives and networks converge around a few common hallmarks, while preserving their autonomy and specificity. Indeed, given their growing dissatisfaction with institutional politics young people are increasingly attracted to such informal, grassroots forms of political participation. In this sense, MRG was founded as a loose, decentralized space for communication and coordination, designed to mobilize as many sectors, groups, and collectives as possible around specific objectives. The network's organizational structure thus reflected the emerging networking logic prevalent among many anti-corporate globalization activists (see Juris, 2004b, 2008a).

The theatrical performances staged by activists associated with diverse networks — including physical confrontation (Black Bloc), symbolic conflict (White Overalls) or carnivalesque revelry (Pink Bloc), capture mass media attention, but also embody and express alternative political identities. MRG-based activists were particularly active within White Overall and Pink Block circles during anti-corporate globalization mobilizations in cities such as Prague (September 2000), Barcelona (June 2001), and Genoa (July 2001), while the network organized a successful 'Decentralized Day of Actions' preceding the half-million person march against the EU in March 2002 (see Juris, 2008b). Actions included a spoof 'Lobby Buster' tour targeting Spanish transnationals, Critical Mass bike ride and Circus against Capitalism, among many others. Beyond putting their bodies on the line to communicate political messages, younger direct action activists express themselves stylistically through clothing and bodily adornment. Style can thus be viewed as a form of intentional communication through assemblage and subcultural mixing and matching, or 'bricolage'. Young people have grown up in a more globalized world than ever before; given that geographically dispersed actors can now communicate and coordinate through transnational networks in real time. Indeed, despite their uneven geographic distribution, the transnational activist networks which

MRG-based activists have taken part in, such as PGA, the WSF process and Indymedia provide the infrastructure necessary for the emergence of global fields of meaning and identification, which accord with the life experiences and political imaginaries of young activists in Barcelona. At the same time, MRG-based activists have also expressed utopian visions based on a global network of locally rooted communities. Beyond geographic reach, contemporary anti-corporate globalization movements are also global in thematic scope, bringing together diverse struggles in opposition to growing corporate influence over politics, society, and the economy as well as increasing commercial penetration into the most intimate aspects of our everyday lives.

Lisbon — Emergent networks¹⁴

The years 2006 and 2007 witnessed the birth of a series of different social movement platforms in Portugal, along with the consolidation of previously established ones. The incorporation of 'new, new social movement' tactics and discourses in Portuguese politics began several years earlier through the activity of organizations involved in global networks. Local faces of international movements such as ATTAC, radical left-wing political parties, and activists within emergent national movements brought anti-corporate globalization movement rhetoric and new action repertoires to the country. The Portuguese Social Forum (PSF) was one of the first efforts to bring left wing and alternative movements in line with recent global movement trends. The organization faced deep tensions between different factions inside the PSF process and after the first PSF an informal group called *Afinidades* (Affinities) was created as a way of gathering representatives from smaller organizations to challenge the efforts to monopolize the PSF by trade unions and parliamentary left wing parties. In 2006 the second PSF took place, and it was marked by the same kind of tensions. In the same year a network called *Rede G8* (G8 Network) was formed to mobilize Portuguese organizations around the Anti-G8 protest in Heiligendam. This new network gathered activists from *Bloco de Esquerda* (BE), a left wing party (and particularly those linked to the Internationalist group, a more or less informal group inside the party that aims to organize and participate in international events and networks) and *Gaia*, an ecologist activist group that is playing a lead role in the Portuguese 'new, new' social movements, importing new methods and tactics. In March 2007, a European Social Forum (ESF) Preparatory Assembly took place in Lisbon, hosting activists from all over Europe, which concluded with a demonstration by the recently created Lisbon Clown Army.

As discussed previously, 2007 was also the year of the first May Day parade in Lisbon. Several days earlier, another platform was created called *Plataforma Direitos e Diversidade* (Platform Rights and Diversity) following the 'Multicultural Gathering' against an international meeting of extreme right wing parties and movements that took place in Lisbon. In this Multicultural Gathering, several voices suggested the need to continue the discussion and to organize further

activities. The group decided to promote a meeting in the same venue, two weeks later, in order to discuss further action. In this second meeting, which was more institutional, representatives from ATTAC, Afinidades and Immigrants and Fair-trade collectives, met; non aligned individuals were also present in this meeting. Over the next few months a common statement was written, new individuals were involved, information was shared on a new mailing list, and a wiki was created to discuss the activities of the platform. Eventually, the platform began to demobilize as some of their informal promoters were involved in many other struggles and activities, and the rest of the participants could not sustain the platform. The platform is currently defunct, but the mailing list is active and is used to disseminate information. The pre-existence of other coalitions (such as Afinidades) and the formation of new ones (including the network created to organize the EU-Africa alternative summit) complicated efforts to promote a stable coalition. Indeed, the EU-Africa alternative summit, which arose from a combination of local and broader European efforts beginning in spring/summer 2007, led to the constitution of a new Portuguese network, which is still active. The official flyer of the alternative summit mentioned 15 Portuguese organizations, including grassroots immigrant and youth groups, most of them rooted in Lisbon's so-called 'problem' neighbourhoods; ATTAC and a network of collectives against racism and discrimination against immigrants, cultural groups, and ecologists, as well as fair trade, feminist, Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender (LGBT) and student associations. An informal nucleus of activists from these groups spearheaded the alliance.¹⁵ Although the contentious forms of action among the 'new, new' social movements in Lisbon are more recent, smaller and less visible than in Barcelona; they display many similar characteristics. The Internet plays a critical role, disseminating information and preparing events, mainly through mailing lists, websites and blogs. Mobile phones are increasingly being used to call for demonstrations and public happenings. Free software is gradually making its way into social movement discourse and practice, and alternative media groups, such as Indymedia, are also active. On the other hand, activists are developing new forms of political expression and action. Large demonstrations include increasingly symbolic actions and performances, and particular groups are specializing recognizable routines. The clown army and the 'Sounds of Resistance' Samba Orchestra (two phenomena that were first developed in the UK) are good examples of this trend. Recent media-friendly protests, such as the action to destroy Genetically Modified Organisms, reflect the globalization of new forms of direct action. Finally, as suggested earlier, these local movements and platforms are gradually incorporating themselves into pre-existing international networks. Portuguese social movements are thus part of a wider process of grassroots globalization: participating in international platforms, traveling to mass global events such as the ESF or anti-G8 Summit protests, and organizing global events in a local context: these are all important mechanisms that link Portuguese collectives to a broader context of collective action associated with 'new, new' social movements.

DISCUSSION: IBERIAN CONNECTIONS AND BEYOND

The previous sections evoked snapshots of Iberian contentious action. Stories of global demonstrations in Lisbon and Barcelona as well as analyses of the local interaction contexts, collectives, movements, networks and platforms point to the rise of a new cycle of protest associated with the rise of the 'new, new' social movements. Barcelona and Lisbon are thus linked by an invisible, yet solid connective tissue that reflects a parallel history involving similar events and processes, although with distinctive features and at different stages of development. Barcelona and Lisbon are thus caught up in a broader transnationally networked movement web involving a complex interweaving of agents, events, spaces and discourses. New kinds of social movement are emerging within this network of relations. Literature focusing on new social movements highlighted the fact that changes in the production system are associated with changing forms of contentious action. In this sense, the rise of youth, student and ecology movements reflected a partial decline of the central role of factories, the increasing importance of universities, and the rise of the middle class (Touraine, 1978). 'New, new' social movements also have to be understood in the context of broader social changes: the globalization of the economy and politics gives rise to the globalization of social movements; the emergence of a new social morphology — the network — leads to networked social movements (Castells, 2001; see Juris, 2004a, 2008a). Indeed, anti-corporate globalization movements are deeply infused with this network effect, involving an increasing confluence between network norms (values, ideals), forms (organizational structures), and technologies (notably the internet), mediated by concrete activist practice (Juris, 2008a).

The networking logic of the 'new, new' social movements gives rise to a complex, multilayered and ephemeral structure characterized by an unstable geometry of linkages and connections between groups that coalesce for specific events. Multiple, shifting agents serve as key nodes within this never completed network. Individuals and collective actors with varying degrees of formalization are drawn together and then shortly after split apart. However, although ad-hoc coalitions converge for particular purposes they sometimes congeal into enduring partnerships. In this sense, the juxtaposition of contingent platforms with more permanent alliances makes this variable geometry even more dynamic. Young people play an important role within this complex geometry. As mentioned previously, 'new, new social movements' are inter-generational, but a significant number of their protagonists are young (see Juris and Pleyers, 2009). One of the major characteristics of the 'new, new' social movements is precisely the interaction between different generations of collective action as well as different generations of individual activists. Concrete and universal demands, traditional and innovative action repertoires, old issues and new proposals are aligned under common umbrellas in a multidimensional, fractal way. 'Old', 'new' and 'new, new' social movement demands are interrelated,

as are their forms of action. Strictly social questions are interspersed with more cultural and symbolic issues. Indeed, youth subcultures and counter-cultural forms exist in relation to political and economic concerns. In this sense, if new social movements were conceived as identity-based movements, ‘new, new’ social movements combine cultural and material demands, as well as local and global scales of action. ‘New, new’ social movements are also based on an infra-structural web of technical tools and new technologies.¹⁶ Finally, and partly due to these technological innovations anti-corporate globalization movements are multi-scalar, active on local, regional, and global levels. In particular, local initiatives diffuse transnationally, while global events manifest themselves in diverse local contexts. In this sense, Lisbon and Barcelona appear as two axes of a broader ‘new, new’ social movement kaleidoscope.¹⁷

Notes

- 1 We are grateful for the comments by two anonymous referees and the help and patience of the editors of this running theme on active citizenship: Leena Suurpää, Tommi Hoikkala and Sofia Laine.
- 2 Carles Feixa first employed the concept ‘new new social movements’ in a book about youth movements in the Latin American context (Feixa et al., 2002), after a talk with Jeffrey Juris on their first fieldwork experiences in Seattle, Mexico and Barcelona. Thanks to Sofia Laine we recently learned that the Italian sociologist Donatella della Porta also used the concept in her work in the late 1990s (della Porta and Diani, 1999).
- 3 The term ‘old’ social movements generally refers to the labour movement, particularly during the classic period from the late nineteenth to the early twentieth centuries. In this article we are building on and playing with the opposition within the social movements literature between ‘old’ and so-called ‘new’ social movements — ecological, peace, feminist, student and other movements that emerged in the late 1960s and early 1970s and have been associated with an overriding concern for identity as opposed to the strategic focus of older movements (Cohen 1985). Such differences between old and new movements are often exaggerated (Calhoun 1993), but we continue to use these categories for heuristic purposes to analyze and compare the characteristics of different movements in distinct historical periods.
- 4 For the evolution of youth movements in contemporary society, see Gillis, 1981; Feixa, Costa and Pallarés, 2002; and Nilan and Feixa, 2006. Of course this triadic typology is not only evolutive: in our present fieldwork we can find symbols, strategies and interpretations from the three models of social movements and juvenile actors.
- 5 The concept of global citizenship has been used by Maurice Roche (2002) and Henry Teunes (2003), among others. For a complete state of the art on the concept and its implications for youth studies, see Hoikkala (2009).
- 6 Social scientists have analyzed this cycle and have attempted to conceptualize it using various notions: anti (or alter)-globalization movement, anti-corporate globalization movement, radical democracy, global justice movement or Neoliberal Resistance Movement. In this paper we use the term ‘anti-corporate globalization movement,’ which reflects the term favoured by Iberian activists, but emphasizes that activists are against a specific type of globalization, not globalization *per se* (see Amoore, 2005; della Porta and Tarrow, 2005; Juris, 2008a).

- 7 As Castells (2001) has noted, cyberculture itself was the creation of *hippies* and *cyberpunks* and other young people active in the diffusion of the network society (see also Tapscott, 1998).
- 8 This section is derived from the Barcelona field notes of Feixa, who is the narrator (see Romani and Feixa, 2002).
- 9 For an ethnographic account of the complex micro-political struggles that led to the formation of the different protest blocs, see Juris (2008b).
- 10 This section is derived from the Lisbon field notes of Pereira, who is the narrator (see Pereira, 2006).
- 11 This section is based on PhD research by Juris (2004b, 2008a).
- 12 Many Spanish and Catalan organizations from the traditional Left had previously taken part in the December 2000 mobilization against the European Union in Nice.
- 13 MRG was ultimately disbanded in January 2003, when activists 'self-dissolved' the network as a response to declining participation and a political statement against permanent structures.
- 14 This section is based on PhD research by Pereira (2009).
- 15 After the alternative summit, many initiatives were organized on local, regional and global scales. At the local level, the group that had been most deeply involved in the organization of the alternative summit continued meeting to evaluate the activity and then to organize a new event, the WSF Global Day of Action in Lisbon, in January, 2008. This group also decided to create a semi-formal network called *Rede: Que Alternativas?* (Network: What Alternatives?), which helps organize and disseminate the activities of member organizations and more generally engages global issues and events in a Portuguese context.
- 16 The Internet, in particular, has stretched the limits of interactivity among diverse social movement actors. Web-based directories, mailing lists focusing on different topics and alternative media constitute some of the most important Internet-based networking tools (see Castells, 2001; Juris 2008b).
- 17 As Tommi Hoikkala (2009: 9) suggests: 'As a sole rhetoric, global citizenship is doomed to remain sheer verbiage'.

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