

THE RULE OF ALL

ABSTRACTS

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Panel 1: Spontaneity, Protest and Organisation

Leon Kunz: Democracy in Taiwan's 318 Movement:

In March 2013 activists of the "318 Movement" occupied Taiwan's parliament in a bid to prevent the passing of a controversial trade deal with China. Their radical democratic act was driven by outrage over the closed-door process by which the treaty had been negotiated and ratified. Moreover, it was motivated by criticism of free trade more generally and the fear that economic integration with China threatened Taiwan's young representative democracy. Following the seizing of the legislature a large-scale occupation of the area surrounding the building emerged that lasted for 23 days during which the legislative process was brought to a standstill. Contrary to many other recent occupation protests from around the world, the "318 Movement" was not a leaderless movement. But as the scale of the occupation quickly expanded, participants faced the challenge of organizing a decision-making process within the movement that was both inclusive and effective. They experimented with different forms of participation, deliberation, and leadership, involving the use of digital technology.

However, factional conflicts soon culminated in a poorly coordinated move to expand the occupation by seizing the executive branch of government. The attempt failed due to the violent response of the police. Trying to learn from this setback, activists in the remaining occupation zone developed a more structured, representative decision-making process involving different coordinating bodies and experimented with explicit implementations of deliberative democracy. There were debates about leadership, free trade, nationalism, and citizenship.

The proposed paper explores the experience with democracy in Taiwan's occupied legislature by contrasting it with examples of democracy in social movements elsewhere. It raises the questions of how democracy was conceived and practiced within the movement? What are the possibilities and limitations of these practices? What is their performative dimension? Does deliberative democracy work?

Nora Schröder: From Civil to Civic: The Anti-TTIP-protests and Europe's Democratization from Bottom-up

The case of TTIP has fostered transnational cooperation and solidarity between European civil society actors. In this paper, I argue that not only expert activists, but also “ordinary citizens”¹ joined the movement against TTIP when the European Citizenship Initiative (ECI) was rejected. Why? In this moment, the conflict surrounding TTIP became a catalyst for the general discontent over the marginal role European citizens play in the politics of the EU. I will outline how the civic participation in the Anti-TTIP-protests brought questions of European democratization to the fore.

The “official” end of the ECI was the beginning of a new phase in the TTIP-conflict that is characterized by a “double democratization”: First, the movement’s demand for a *civic* democratization of European decision-making processes gained major attention. Second, the movement itself democratized in the sense that “ordinary citizens” joined the protests - which is the reason why I use the term *civic* instead of *civil* society. While the latter puts an emphasis on the representative function fulfilled by non-governmental organizations and institutions, the term *civic society* aims to strengthen the aspect of direct involvement and expression of the citizens’ will.

Outrage over the rejection of the ECI encouraged ordinary citizens to join the movement and demonstrate against this free trade-agreement. What started as a movement of professional activists who lobby against specific policies, ended up being a civic movement for European democratization. Using the case of TTIP, I will show that European citizens want to have a say in European politics - and experienced the limited opportunities to do so. As a consequence, both the movement’s focus of content and its involved actors changed.

Natalia Buitron-Arias: Indigenous experiments with democracy: being and resisting government in Ecuadorian Amazonia

This paper explores the democratic uses of government by the Shuar, an indigenous people of Ecuadorian Amazonia. Shuar have been a decentralized society in which values of autonomy and conflict have long informed everyday relations. Over the past decades, Shuar have experienced a rapid transition from a highly mobile lifestyle based on small, fluid, politically autonomous family groups to a relatively sedentary life in large, nucleated communities highly integrated within the Ecuadorian nation-state. As part of this process of centralisation and integration, Shuar have won unprecedented electoral victories which have enabled them to place candidates in the most strategic provincial offices, thanks to their participation in the Pachakutik indigenous party – which results from one

¹ The term “ordinary citizens” is understood here as those people who do not have special power vis-a-vis the political institutions, in contrast to so called “expert activists” or holders of positions of power in organizations against TTIP. However, the term should not be misunderstood as *any* people, because the vast majority of people have never been active in protests.

of the strongest social movements in South America. Empirically, the paper focuses on the different uses of democratic government Shuar deploy at various levels of organisation: assemblies at the village level; participatory budget allocation at the municipal level; and major mobilisations against provincial and national administrations to resist land encroachment or political minimisation from the officialdom. By analysing how Shuar structure decision-making processes at various levels of organisation, and the reasons why they choose to implement or do away with institutional devices borrowed from surrounding administrations – the paper identifies ‘the rule of all’ as a fluid practice, ever mindful of context, and orientated to the goal at hand. In so doing, it locates the strengths of democratic practice precisely in its experimental and in-the-process-of-making quality, which, ironically, observers and commentators often understand as the Achilles heel of democratising movements. This will be shown in relation to the flexibility of Amazonian everyday politics – i.e. Shuar conflict-driven egalitarianism – and their temporary appropriation of centralised government and statecraft to scale-up collective action at critical moments.

Panel 2: Democratic Self-Organising

Bahar Mahzari: Challenging Lebanese Politics-as-Usual One Neighbourhood at a Time? The Role of Local Municipal Platforms in Processes of Democratization

How does the municipal platform Beirut Madinati challenge sectarian structures through its facilitation of radical democratization processes in Beirut and beyond? Drawing on in-depth, semi-structured interviews with electoral candidates, founders and volunteers of Beirut Madinati and an analysis of documents provided by the participants, this study argues that Beirut Madinati has facilitated processes of radical democracy, which can disrupt patron-client relationships and challenge sectarianism, by attempting to advance egalitarian political structures through the enhancement of participation for and representation of Beirut’s diverse population. In particular, the Lefebvrian ‘right to the city’ approach implemented by Beirut Madinati through its various activities is a practical example of radical democracy. For example, the municipal platform organizes residents through its Neighborhood Groups to demand public goods and service provision from the municipality instead of being dependent on local chapters of sectarian political parties. At an institutional level, Beirut Madinati’s Alternative Municipality functions as a shadow municipality, which keeps officials and sectarian political parties accountable. Its Electoral Working Group, on the other hand, pursues political mobilization countering the sectarian political establishment attempting to build an independent labor union movement and co-creating a national coalition comprising civil society groups and independent parties for the 2018 parliamentary elections in Lebanon.

The research explores Beirut Madinati's role and impact at a national and global level examining specifically the transnational character of municipal platforms, which are able to frame local everyday struggles in a global context. The results of this study provide for a better understanding of the relations between urban social movements, the applicability of radical democracy and the potential for transnational social mobilization of municipal platforms.

Riccardo Buonanno & Maria Francesca de Tullio: Commoning and Law as "Aesthetics" of New Democratic Participatory Institutions. The Case of L'Asilo in Naples

This paper focuses – from a Constitutional law and post-foundational political thought standpoint – on urban commons as a form of self-management of public spaces. Hence, the main question addressed is how they can implement and transform democracy, by imagining new participatory, inclusive and open decision-making democratic institutions, through the inhabitants' self-organization in the fulfillment of social and political rights.

The question arises from a political background where commons are becoming — in many parts of Europe — a way to rethink political subjectivation by imagining and practicing new forms of relation and institutional organization beyond the neoliberal imprint. Within this context, the work analyses the case of L'Asilo, an emergent urban commons in Naples, Southern Italy. This experience spurred from the contingent occupation of a city-owned unused building – performed by immaterial workers – but was soon transformed in an experimental process, where assemblies – open to everyone and deciding by consensus – have collectively elaborated a "Declaration of Civic and Collective urban use", providing that the management and fruition of that good shall be open to whomever. Subsequently, these rules were acknowledged by two Naples city Government Resolutions, that have recognized the community's self-government of the space and the distribution of the economic responsibility between the community itself and the Administration, which has to ensure the accessibility of the building.

In this case, the reason why a juridical recognition was vindicated was not to gain a legal protection, but to "hack" legality, i.e. to use the disruptive energy of the process to carve the rules and create a precedent to change institutions. Thus, the paper will observe how this political sequence engages commoners in the use of law as an instrument to make visible – in a rancierean perspective – a different, interdependently co-authored, political rationality, through an "aesthetic" performance acting as a seed of new democratic institutions. And, indeed, the juridical praxis inspired other communities self-managing real estates, in the city and all around Italy – like, e.g., Turin and Palermo – because it provided an imaginary in

which many other heterogeneous and shifting political experiences could recognize themselves.

Olga Lafazani: City Plaza Squat: Challenging multiple borders

City Plaza is an occupied 8 floor Hotel in the center of Athens. It was squatted on 22 of April 2016 in the midst of what was named a "refugee crisis". The aim was twofold: On the one hand to provide housing in decent conditions in the center of the city for hundreds of migrants who were homeless or living in camps under very difficult circumstances. On the other hand to create a community of struggle and resistance to the dominant border and migration policies, fighting for freedom of movement and the right to settle.

The process of organizing everyday life in City Plaza is based on the principles of self-organization and participation of everyone. However, when the project accommodates more or less 400 people from ten different nationalities which have totally different experiences in terms of class, gender, religion, social and political background while most of them are in transit, things become complicated. In this paper I will discuss the ways we managed to cope with these differences and the ways we failed. The multiple ways people understand collective action and participation, the multiple ways in which different forms of power interplay in the everyday. In opposition to romanticized readings of social movements City Plaza is not -and it could not be- an "island of freedom and equality" within the wider relations of exploitation, repression, racism and antagonism between the oppressed. It is, however, a place where strong collective social and political experiences are produced, where self-organisation and cooperation are manufactured—for a short time or for a while longer.

Panel 3: Ecology and Municipal Government

Sunyana Ganguly: Civil Society and State Interactions on environmental Policy in India

The tension between the historically centralized approaches of the state to environment management with more heterogeneous demands of civil society mark almost every sphere of dialogue around environmental issues. This paper gives an overview of state-society interaction over the decades after independence in the environmental domain. It also creates a basic typology of dominant kinds of Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) present in the environmental domain in India and their strategies with respect to the state. The analytical framework employed here highlights the importance of viewing state and civil society as evolving institutions that have specific historical identities, objectives, and social histories that continue to create both opportunities and constraints for competing discourses in the environmental domain.

Rachel Carvalho: Citizen Participation in municipal environmental Management: A Proposal for Analysis to strengthen incidence in Public Environmental Policies in Brazil

According to MOURA (2016) it is known that the environmental issue is a growing issue in the international agenda and multilateral agendas. Under the aegis of the UN, the theme came more strongly into Brazil from the 1970s. It can be said that the creation of many environmental agencies was the result of the quest to respond to external pressures. Under this external pressure, Brazil has been guided by an agenda of international interest.

However, in Brazil the effects of the transformations caused by the globalization process are manifested mainly by the adoption of a conservative policy of economic adjustment that has brought the environment and social justice back to the status of "obstacles to development", putting at risk the fundamental environmental achievements of the last three decades. The very liberation of market forces characteristic of globalization requires the spread of a deregulation policy capable of removing any barriers to the movements of the large groups of private capital (CHESNAIS, 1996).

On the other hand, for CARVALHO (2017) the problems that permeate the socio-environmental issue have immediate global and international reach, however, they are still perceived as phenomena distant from the daily life of the Brazilian population. Reversing this situation requires the constant involvement of people in social and environmental issues through their participation in public spaces so that, in fact, they acquire knowledge about various sustainable possibilities for action and that they actively intervene in the management not only of natural resources, but also in relationships that are inserted.

This article seeks to analyze the current state of citizen participation in Brazilian municipal environmental management and tries to classify the necessary requirements to influence public environmental policies. In this way, legal, economic, administrative and institutional requirements are identified. In each of them, the central concern about the promotion of qualified citizen participation is examined. The main challenges are related to the need to promote more multidisciplinary studies of citizen participation in municipal environmental management involving political-institutional decision-making and forms of interlocution of local public administration with organized civil society groups regarding the definition process, monitoring and implementation of public environmental policies.

Jonas van Vossole: Demodiversity: Imaginations, contradictions and re-articulations of Democracy in context of crisis in Portugal

This work uses the concept of demodiversity, elaborated by Boaventura de Sousa Santos, for the analysis of the crisis period in Portugal (2011-2015) and the change of regime in México (2018). Demodiversity designates a

situation of coexistence of conflicting and complementary practices of democracy which has the potential of emergence of unsuspected imaginations.

During the crisis period in Portugal, the hegemonic model of liberal democracy is undergoing a crisis of profound legitimacy and proved to be a fertile period for the emergence and affirmation of apparently "new" democratic imaginaries. In the same way, the security and economic crisis of México that started in 2008, was fought by new forms of organization and everyday struggles.

We will analyze how the emergence of "new" dominant practices - such as those of exception state imposed by the troika in Portugal (IMF, ECB and EC) and by the dominant political parties (PRI, PAN and PRD) in México- were contrasted by the emergence of new utopian democratic practices in the newest social movements - such as the acampadas, indignados, QSLT, Occupy, Zeitgeist, indigenous autonomies, self- defense organizations and the elements of the radical left. At the same time, we will analyze their own and particular contradictions.

Finally we analyze how this divergence, reemergence and democratic continuity re-articulate in a new normal: can we speak of a "democratic revolution", or is it a "democratic thermidor"?

Panel 4: Democracies and Parties

Matthew Myers: Searching for the mass or majoritarian class subject: Debating the left's conception of democracy between the long 1970s and post-2008 crisis in Britain, France, and Italy

Through using case studies from the left in Britain, France, and Italy during the long 1970s, this paper will explore how changing conceptions of democracy depended on a certain understanding of what constituted the class political subject. Taking internal debates inside the Communist Parties in all three countries at the end of the 1970s as my starting point, I will show how the role of the working class in communist political strategies was intimately tied to whether the working class constituted a mass or a (actual or potentially) majoritarian democratic subject. I will explore how key symbolic spaces which played host to different left political strategies – from the factory to the city and municipality to the state – shaped radically different conceptions of democracy. These differing conceptions also shaped differing attitudes as to what kind of political organisation should act as a mediation of that subject. I will explore how different sides of the

left either sided more with a mass or with a majoritarian conception of a democratic-class subject, and how these conceptions were challenged under serious electoral and industrial defeats of the labour movement of the 1970s and 1980s. I will then draw out the processes that have transformed the left of the late 1970s and early 1980s and its legacies (and divergences) present in the left today, with especial reference to the current British and French experiences with Momentum and Jeremy Corbyn's Labour and France Insoumise and the Gilets Jaunes movement. In so doing I will show how the question of mass or majoritarian democratic and class subjectivities are still crucial in structuring left debates about strategy today.

George Souvlis: Syriza: Decoding the Defeat

Syriza is at moment the largest party in the Greek parliament after the September 2015 legislative elections. It was the only party from the family of the European left that succeed not only to take power but also to create a momentum that triggered turbulences among the European elites and inspired movements and parties to follow its example. The party's defeat that followed after signing the agreement with the European Union should therefore be analyzed at not only because it caused a blockage of the political momentum in Greece but also had an impact across Europe by discouraging all subjectivities who were involved in anti-austerity struggles from 2010 and onwards and believed that it was possible for a left government to succeed promoting progressive reforms within the framework of the European Union. The most important consequence of this disillusionment within the Greek context but not only was that it contributed to the increase of the widespread disbelief of the electorates towards the political personnel's of the European governments, a condition that paved the way to the emergence of the far right across the continent. Thus, there is the need to decode the Greek experience of Syriza in order for the European left to reorientate itself away from the destructive path that Syriza followed since July 2015. It should be noted though that the limitations of Syriza cannot be limited only to the days after the OXI referendum and Tsipras' agreement with the European Union. This decision was due to the structural features of the physiognomy of the party since its formation. More precisely, the causes should be found in the conjuncture after the elections of 2012 and the decisions of the political leadership of the party to adopt a milder discourse within the internal affairs of the country and to promote the idea that a fair solution to the Greek problem was feasible within the framework of EU. The outcome of these decisions was the agreement of the July 2015 that forged a condition of a TINA within the country but also abroad closing in that way the contentious circle that started in 2010 with the emergence of anti-austerity. But before to provide the analysis of the events of the post-era crisis a historical context of Syriza as a political formation, necessary in order to understand the character of the party before its electoral success in the years of austerity.

Arbër Zaimi: Vetëvendosje: Independence and Social Justice in Kosova

What are the organizational challenges of a radical socialdemocratic and anti-colonial party in Kosova, where the country's sovereignty is constantly undermined by hostile neighbors who do not recognize its independence and by superpowers who treat it as a protectorate, or as a laboratory for political experimentation? What are the answers of the Movement for Self-Determination to the massive unemployment and precarity brought by forced and corrupt privatization and deindustrialization before and after the war? What is the perspective of a developmental state in Kosova? The history and the actuality of the Movement for Self-determination, its economic and social program, the challenges of organizing and combining extra-institutional activities with parliamentary politics, the movement's emancipatory goals and the limits it faces.

Panel 5: Which Demos? Nation, Race and Decolonisation

Dina Beatriz dos Santos: The Rise and Fall of a democratic racial Pact in Brazil

For many years, there was in modern Brazil a mythical construction of a society without prejudice and racial discrimination. However, the black social movement in Brazil that developed in 1978 as the Unified Black Movement Against Racial Discrimination (MNU) represented a new vision in the Brazilian political system: The movement wanted to unmask the "racial democracy" as the official discourse of a state, which wanted to prevent anti-racist struggles and black resistance. During 1985 - 1995 the so-called New Republic was developed. Black activists were called upon to occupy positions in the newly created Councils and Secretariats of the Black Community, in the scope of the state governments and in the federal government. In addition, a new anti-racist legislation was introduced in this period. Thus, the reconstruction of democracy in Brazil, beginning in 1978, revealed an effort to build a democratic racial pact. However, the recent years this racial pact has been dissolved. Brazil is experiencing a moment of political and economic regression fomented by the coup of the Temer government in 2016, which had and has as its premise the attack on labour, social security, women's rights, and the rural population, while aiming at giving more privileges to the Brazilian elite. Specifically in relation to blacks, the recent elected president Jair Bolsonaro said throughout his political campaign that he would reduce the percentage of vacancies in public universities reserved for blacks. Bolsonaro denies that Brazil has a historical debt to the black population, despite the slavery in the country for almost four centuries. Faced with this violation of substantially human rights, it is necessary to recognise these challenges to democracy as a privileged space for the deconstruction of prejudice and discrimination. The

Unified Black Movement is facing a challenge: the need for public management that considers the racial issue.

Raquel Lima: From the social movements of Afro-descendants to the occupation of a critical awareness of the discourse on the public space

The main monuments of the historical centre of the city of Lisbon establish a narrative that celebrates the Portuguese “discoveries” period and legitimates it as a glorious and triumphant time that contributed to the cultural and technological development of the country and its excolonies. Simultaneously, there are no monuments in this area that demonstrate Portugal's preponderant role in the transatlantic slave trade between the fifteenth and nineteenth centuries or promote a reflection on the present consequences that ensue. This presentation seeks to recognize the challenge of implementing democratic government, by questioning this dominant narrative mostly ruled by elites, through the election by the Portuguese society of the project to build a Memorial to Victims of Slavery in the scope of the Lisbon City Council's Participatory Budget 2018/2019. The project was proposed by Djass - Association of Afro-descendants and is defended as a possibility of a counter-narrative in the public space of the city of Lisbon, underlining the voices of resistance and indignity that were silenced then, and broadening the potential of participatory state mechanisms to more people. The main objective of this communication is to highlight the articulation of society movements (afro-descendant's social movements) and municipal governments (Lisbon City Council) in the implementation of mechanisms of cognitive justice, historical recognition practices and, finally, representation and reparation policies. The Memorial (and the debate it generates around the internal disagreements and incorporated critique) is considered in this presentation as an exemplary case study in the scope of affirmative and constructive democratisation processes, that enable us to reflect on concrete political practices, produced by contemporary postcolonial thought.

Francisco Venes: Plurinationality in Ecuador: from a politics of assimilation to a democratizing project

In 2008, Ecuador's Constitution declared Plurinationality as a fundamental element of the State, an achievement that resulted from a long time struggle of the indigenous movement. The Plurinational State would be implemented in a gradual manner through public policies effected by different governmental institutions, but also directly by the different Nationalities empowered with a certain degree of autonomy. However, ten years after the Constituent Assembly, very little has been achieved. On the contrary, disputes over education, justice, the management of resources and territorial autonomy have increased tensions between the central Government and Nationalities. In this context of disenchantment, some Nationalities are putting in practice counter-proposals that directly

challenge State's authority over their lives. They go beyond demanding more recognition, participation and redistributive policies to assume a role as political subjects actively producing the reality they want to live in.

My argument is that Plurinationality developed into a rhetorical discourse on multiculturalism that abstains from questioning both the ontological and epistemological assumptions underlying the modern Nation-State. Under the liberal democratic framework upon which the Ecuadorian state has been conceived, Plurinationality does not constitute a democratizing proposal to counter the State's Eurocentric nature and its developmentalist project.

I intend to develop this argument in two steps. First, I plan to engage critically with theoretical approaches on Plurinationality and the Politics of Difference, reading them through Ecuador's experience. Secondly, I intend to explore the counter-proposals mentioned above and how they provide elements to re-think Plurinationality as a project that contributes to the political subjectification of Ecuador's Nationalities. Overall, I find this proposal offers valuable insights on both the potentials and limits of the Nation-State and the agency of civil society movements, not only in Ecuador but also in a broader (global) setting.

Panel 6: Whither Brazil?

Fabrício Fernandes: Rearticulating Counter-Hegemony under Post-Democratic Depoliticisation: A Contemporary Analysis on the Brazilian Case

It is commonly agreed amongst scholars that liberal democracy is going through one of its most critical periods in history. In this sense, Levitsky's recent book, *How Democracies Die* (2018), is a fine example of a theoretical approach that converges with plenty of the negative democratic indicators put forward by organisations such as IDEA (2016), Freedom House (2018) or the World Bank (2017). Democracy has been constantly devoided of its substance towards a post-democratic state (Crouch, 2011), in which the far-right found a fertile terrain of popular discontent to capitalise on. Yet, the usual liberal argument depicting the far-right as the main cause for democratic instability is barely persuasive. Departing from this problem, I argue that liberal democracy crisis has to be understood not through its contemporary symptoms, but rather through its own constitutive tension with neoliberal depoliticising rationality. The result is a post-democratic state that naturalizes the status quo and suppresses the conflictual dimension of the *political* (Rancière, 1992; 2004a), thus disavowing the construction of alternative political imaginaries. As Chantal Mouffe (2013: 18) points out, "a well-functioning democracy calls for a confrontation of democratic political positions".

Drawing upon Gramsci's concept of 'hegemony' and Rancière's notion of 'subjectification', this paper aims to comprehend the limitations and potentialities of the re-democratising struggles in this depoliticised context.

To do so, the study pays special attention to the contemporary Brazilian case, where 'resistance' and 'moral condemnation of the far-right' have been the major rhetorical leftist strategies since Bolsonaro's election. In a deeply polarised society, politicisation arises as an urgent necessity to re-imagine democracy beyond its procedural form.

Marcela Uchoa: Democracy, representativeness crisis and hate speech: The institutionalization of the State of Exception in Brazil

The present proposal intends to examine the growing expansion of the exception in Brazilian Representative Democracy and the parallel rising of the hate speech as a political capital, for which we will use as a theoretical basis especially the thought of Giorgio Agamben and Carl Schmitt put together with the enunciation of the four discourses as designed by Jacques Lacan. We will start from an analysis of the State's failure to observe fundamental rights and guarantees, as a way of trying to criminalize social movements through the use of dictatorial methods and threats to the constitutional text. The arrest of activists for alleged demonstration planning, which has led to the arrest of people even before the crime occurred, many of these prisons being based on "futurology", with open investigations without concrete goals, is typical of fascist societies. According to a report by Amnesty International in 2017, Brazil is the country in the Americas where human rights defenders are most often killed, with a noticeable increase in the last three years. Under the pretext of protecting the people from terror, the state of exception becomes a lasting strategic practice of contemporary governments, living in a kind of permanent exception which converts into an institutionalized hate against the unrepresented communities.

Sergio Barbosa & Andressa Liegi: What's the future of Brazil after the 2018 election? New democratizing movements emerging in civil society

The Brazil parliament, since 2016, through a political coup, meanwhile within a formal legality, took out of the power the former President Dilma Rousseff. After her impeachment and the new illegitimate representative Michel Temer assumed the power. In 2018, this process was further aggravated by a victory of right-wing candidate-elected Jair Bolsonaro. The exit for this model may be useful for a cocktail of participatory tools to increase the possibility of real citizenship and the way of emancipate the autonomy of Brazilian citizens. In search of greater participation for beyond the institutional channels, collective resistance are building political alternatives. In this sense, civil protests combined with digital activism becomes not only a tool for struggles, but also, the battlefield itself and the central element guiding collective action against neoliberal times. Based on this scenario, how is it possible to complement on-line actions in the physical space? What type of relationships can be seen between democratic potentials of information technologies and media? This article presents

empirically and updated new forms of resistance linked to the Brazilian political arena. The framework adopted is the *Emancipatory Communication Technologies* of the Italian sociologist Stefania Milan that explore those practices at the intersection of the social and technological dimension of human action that create alternatives to existing communication tools or patterns.

Panel 7: Resistance and Democratic Alternatives

Konstantinos Poulis: What's Wrong with Fake News? Moralizing as a Weapon Against System Failures

Despite the widespread moralising against fake news, truth in the media is compromised by systemic corruption, which is rarely analysed as such. Journalistic integrity is not an abstract moral value; it is intrinsically connected to the business model of each media enterprise.

ThePressProject is a reader funded media outlet in Greece. The real challenge is to fight against the deeply-rooted idea that the internet is 'for free'. That idea is widely propagated by media which depend on the financial support of banks in order to spread the banks' narrative of what actually happened.

What was unheard of before the crisis is now a working model for us. We ask people for money, in order to sustain a media that produces content which is available online for free. This paradoxical situation would not be viable for us (at least to the extent that it is) if it had not been for the Greek crisis. It took us 8 years of crisis and the collapse of historic media organisations, the rise of a radical left political party to power and its eventual compromise, a referendum and a political overturn of its outcome, for a part of the Greek people to realise that media is not about readily available information, it is part of the problem and the solution.

Maria Mercone: Tourism and Urban Space: Social Movements in Naples and Southern Europe's Transnational Network against Touristification

In the last few years, different cities located in the South of Europe have been experiencing the aggressive impact of the touristic industry – what has been called “touristification” – that could be defined as the multiplicity of consequences of mass tourism on the reorganization of urban spaces occurred in the last decades. Considering the fast and broad-based expansion of this rather new and heterogeneous phenomenon and the complexity of its social and economic implications, it is quite difficult to give a cohesive definition of touristification that could aggregate all the issues in a unique interpretative frame. For this reason, I propose to focus my analysis on the political praxis of social movements for the “right to the city” against touristification, starting from the situated case of Naples, South of Italy, that has recently joined SET (Southern Europe against

Touristification), a network of organized resistance which aims to create an exchange circuit of experiences and political strategies of resistance, to find collective solutions to the consequences of over-tourism.

To avoid abstract speculations and broad generalizations on the subject, my intent is to explore how the social and economic issues linked to the processes of turistification are affecting the city of Naples and how the local social movements (ex Asilo Filangieri, Zero81, Santa Fede Liberata, Scugnizzo Liberato, ex Opg Occupato, among others), are responding to it. In particular, I am interested in the ways they contest the material effects of touristification on housing policies, by occupying abandoned facilities in the center of the city and how they are responding to the discursive exoticized representations of the city by creating artistic and cultural counter-productions.

Are those movements challenging the decision-making processes concerning touristic and urban policies? Are they creating more inclusive possibilities of influencing those processes? Are their political strategies effective? This contribution is an attempt to answer these questions.

Alexandros Kioupiolis: Counter-hegemony, the Commons and New City Politics

In tune with several activists and advocates across the world, the present argument holds that the 'commons' outlines a horizon of historical transformation which is already in motion, in fits and starts. Since the dawn of the new millennium, from the Bolivian Andes (for example, in the water war in Cochabamba from 1999 to 2000) to the US (for example, in the case of Creative Commons licences) and Southern Europe (for example, in the Italian city regulations for urban self-management) the commons have arisen as a historical alternative to both neoliberal capitalism and defunct socialism or Leninist communism. Crucially, a commons-based politics could counter the rise of nationalist populism by advancing a progressive way of tackling social dislocation and alienation, restoring solidarity, collective ties, and common welfare. Moreover, alternative commons harbour a radical emancipatory ideal, a visionary pragmatism, and an accent on massive, bottom-up participation, which hold out the promise of overcoming the political frailty, the vertical hierarchies, the personalism, and the impoverished imagination of leftist populist parties in Europe, from Podemos to Syriza and Mélenchon. The following discussion attempts to sketch out the new paradigm as well as indicate the lack of an adequate political strategy of transition and counter-hegemonic struggle for the commons. To start plotting such a strategy, we will draw on the 2011 cycle of mobilisations and the latest pro-commons politics in Spanish municipalities. The aim is to explore how powerful counter-hegemonic praxis could be pursued in ways which recast hegemonic politics in the direction of alternative commons –horizontal self-government, equality, sustainability, plurality, openness, and sharing.