

Regionalisation and Identity

-The role of the anti-FTAA movement in American processes of regionalisation

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1. Introduction

*"Para nosotros la patria es la América."*¹ (Simón Bolívar, Nov. 12th 1814 in <http://www.bolivar.ula.ve.htm>)

This project aims to explain the role of a social movement in the current process of regionalisation in the Americas. It will focus on the opposition to the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA), and try to uncover the opposition's influence on regionalisation and regionalism. The study will first discuss if the anti-FTAA movement can be seen as a regional advocacy network, and second if it may contribute to the construction of a regional identity. Third, possible intended and unintended effects of the campaign will be examined. It will be discussed if the movement can generate alternative regionalisms and contribute to informal regionalisation.

Regionalisation is an important contemporary characteristic of international relations. However, the phenomenon is not new. Regional cooperation has existed as long as humans have traded with each other, but the end of the Cold War and the process of globalisation have changed existing world structures, and thereby also the characteristics of regionalisation. International cooperation, organisations and corporations have weakened the role of the nation state, and the bipolar geopolitics has been transformed into a more complex structure. From having a clear East-West divide, the North and the South can be said to be central poles in international politics today (Marchand 2001).

It has been argued that while earlier forms of regionalism often were imposed from above, contemporary regionalisms seem to emerge from within the regions and the states. The old regionalism was to a large extent protectionist, while the new is characterised by its openness (Hettne 2003:23). This openness implies that contemporary regionalisation is not necessarily in conflict with the increased global

¹ "For us, America, is the homeland" [my translation].

interdependence in current international politics. In addition, the old regionalism focused on a limited number of objectives and took place between similar countries, while the cooperation today often stretches over a large number of interlinked societal issues and includes diverse countries in terms of culture, development, wealth and production. The current situation has opened up the global agenda for new actors and new issues. This situation challenges the explanations provided by the traditionally state centred realist paradigm, and makes the development of new theories crucial for the study of international relations (Hettne 2003:24). Some therefore argue that the world is witnessing a “new regionalism” (e.g. Hettne and Inotai 1994; Hettne et al. 1999; Söderbaum 2002) or “new regionalisms” (e.g. Bøås et al. 2003; Marchand et al. 1999).

The new regionalism is exemplified by the European Union’s (EU) inclusion of its Southern and Eastern neighbours. Formerly excluded countries with a variety of cultural, historical and economic backgrounds will now be incorporated in close cooperation with the more prosperous Western Europe. The ongoing negotiations between the democratic countries in the Americas with the aim of creating the FTAA are also a part of the new trend. This agreement will be one out of several regional agreements in the area, but it will still be unique since it includes all the American countries, except from Cuba. In this, it will unite some of the strongest and weakest economies in the world. Such an extensive agreement between countries this different has never before been signed, and one would have to go back to Simon Bolivar and the “Pan Americanism” in the Liberation Days to find thoughts comparable to this ambitious project in the Americas (see e.g. Fitzgerald 1971). However, the FTAA is trade related, and does not yet have the same ambitions as the EU of becoming an integrated political and social union. Still, I will argue that it can serve as an example

of new regionalism: The FTAA includes very diverse participating countries, it represents open regionalism and it can be said to emerge from within the region².

One of the aims of the FTAA is to unite the continent and deconstruct the traditional Latin American identity that has been organised in opposition to the United States (Gamble and Payne 2003:53-54). However, a regional anti-FTAA movement that is critical to the agreement and the US is emerging as a response to the FTAA negotiations. Instead of deconstructing the oppositional Latin American identity, a new critical regional identity may thus be under construction.

1.1 Research Questions and Objectives

Research Questions

The emphasis of this master's thesis will be the opposition to the FTAA, and I will try to uncover the movement's role in the processes of regionalisation and regionalisms in the Americas. The study will investigate along the line of three main questions: a) *Does the anti-FTAA movement represent a regional advocacy network,* b) *Does the movement's cooperation create a regional identity,* and c) *What are the possible consequences of the movement for regionalisation and regionalisms in the Americas?*

When discussing the anti-FTAA campaign as a movement I will rest my arguments on Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink's (1998) definition of transnational advocacy networks. Theories of social identity formation, some of which are borrowed from social psychology and sociology (Castells 1997; Deschamps and Devos 1998; Dunn 1998; Laraña et al. 1994; Melucci 1995; Neumann 2001), will contribute to the discussion of identity formation in social movements. Reflectivist theories of regionalism (See e.g. Söderbaum 2002 for an

² However, some Latin Americans argue that the FTAA is imposed from above because the initiative for the agreement came from the US and because of the special position of the US in the region.

overview) point to how social movements can become important actors of change, and how a regional identity may influence both regionalism and regionalisation. These theories will serve as the background for the analysis, and the discussions in the thesis may, hopefully, contribute to the process of forming a revised new regionalism approach.

Objectives

There are many reasons why the project of this master's thesis is important. First, I will argue that regionalisation is an important characteristic of international relations. The creation of a FTAA is an event that will have serious consequences for a large part of the world's population. Primarily, it will affect over 800 million people in the Americas, but it will most likely also have spreading economic, political and social consequences that will reach far beyond the American continent. An analysis of the process of regionalisation in the Americas is hence both interesting in itself, and as an example of a current tendency.

The study of regionalism has a long history and is extensive, but through the years it has been dominated by the realist and institutionalist schools (e.g. Buzan 1991; Nye 1965; Robson 1998; Waltz 1979). As explained above, the current regionalisation is different from earlier forms, and new approaches to regionalism thus need to be developed. The new reflectivist approaches to regionalism are still underdeveloped, and the importance of identity and the role of social movements in the process of regionalisation are essential aspect of regionalism that needs to be developed further. This study aims to contribute to the understanding of regionalism through an analysis of these aspects.

In addition, the inclusion of regional processes in Latin America is overdue because of the domination of the North in current theory building (Söderbaum 2002:1). The FTAA includes both poor and rich countries and it represents a unique opportunity for transcending this constructed divide. A central aim of the thesis is to turn the focus towards not only neglected regions and their inhabitants, but also

towards disregarded groups within the rich part of the world. This does not mean that these actors are seen as powerless. On the contrary, I support the Bøås et al.'s (1999) emphasis on the knowledge and power of non-state actors in the various countries, and their ability to influence and change existing structures.

1.2 Key Concepts

According to Helge Hveem (2000:72) there are three main ways of understanding a region. These are; as a geographical unit, as networks or structures of transaction and communication, and as a cognitive map and collective identities. The latter will be the main understanding of this thesis, even though I recognise that all the three aspects are important in processes of regionalisation. Furthermore, it may be fruitful to scrutinise three key concepts before the continuing discussion, namely regionalisation, regionalism and globalisation.

Regionalisation vs. Regionalism

For the description of regional cooperation and regional identities it is important to define regionalisation and regionalism. Many scholars have neglected the important distinction between these concepts; they have been dichotomised; or there has been an excessive emphasis on regionalism at the cost of regionalisation. Some understand regionalism as a state governed project, while regionalisation includes non-state actors. In this thesis the actor related definitions will be transcended through the application of Michael Schulz et al.'s definition of the notions (2001:5). Here regionalism refers to;

“...the body of ideas, values and concrete objectives that are aimed at creating, maintaining or modifying the provision of security and wealth, peace and development within a region: the urge by any set of actors to reorganize along a particular regional space.”

While regionalisation;

“...implies an activist element and denotes the (empirical) process which can be defined as a process of change from relative heterogeneity and lack of cooperation towards increased cooperation, integration, convergence, coherence and identity in

a variety of fields such as culture, security, economic development and politics, within a given geographical space.”

Regionalisation is the process of increased integration within a limited geographic space. This process can be a part of the strategy of both state and non-state actors, and its characteristics will be influenced by the goals the different actors pursue.³ It is shaped by societal structures, and actors try to influence it by promoting different regionalisms (Gamble and Payne 1996:250).

Regionalism represents the contents of regionalisation. It is a concept that includes ideas, values and concrete objectives that different actors may exploit to obtain certain goals, both materialistic such as wealth and security, and idealistic such as the distribution of certain thoughts, within a particular region. The concept of regionalism identifies what kind of regionalisation one pursues, as well as the main conflict lines in these processes (Hettne and Söderbaum 2002:34; Söderbaum 2002:5).

The FTAA is a formal regional agreement evolving in a process of regionalisation and the strengthening of a certain kind of regionalism. Through the FTAA negotiations there comes about a change from lack of cooperation and communication to increased cooperation in the region. At the same time a regional anti-FTAA movement can be expected to contribute to a diffusion of a different set of ideas and identities. While the FTAA is meant to be an agreement promoting free and increased trade in the region, the opposing groups advocate a regionalism that includes development, environment and labour concerns. Hence, it may be argued that the American people are currently experiencing processes of regionalisation that includes different regionalisms. These different regionalisms may seem contradictory, but they might also strengthen each other if they emerge in the same area. This thesis aims to uncover the role of the anti-FTAA movement in the processes of regionalisation and regionalism in the Americas.

³ However, this thesis will argue that the process is not dependent on strategic actors.

Regionalisation vs. Globalisation

“Globalization can be thought of as a process (or a set of processes) which embodies a transformation in the spatial organization of social relations and transactions – assessed in terms of their extensity, intensity, velocity and impact – generating transcontinental or interregional flows and networks of activity, interaction, and the exercise of power (Held et al. 2000:16).

Globalisation is one of the most popular concepts of our time, and it is hard to define. It is often seen as an essential characteristic of the contemporary world, and presented as something inevitable. However, some scholars argue that the phenomenon is more limited in scope than the impression given by the public debate. Hence, they call for more clarifying concepts (e.g. Held et al. 2000; Hveem 2000; Mace and Bélanger 1999; Zürn 2002). In the wake of globalisation the understanding of space and time have been challenged as new means of communication have brought the world together. Trade, and especially investment, are expanding, international crime is escalating, migration has increased significantly and the meaning of power and culture is changing. The process of globalisation is not only influencing the material world; ideas and identities are also being diffused. To the contrary from what one might expect, this is not necessarily creating a common global homogenous culture. Culture is not static, but rather something that is constantly being constructed by the people that experience it. Hence, ideas are interpreted and framed locally. Ronald Robertson (1992) has introduced the concept “glocalisation” to emphasise the importance of the local elements in globalisation. Increased interaction and cooperation may bring countries and people together globally, while differences increase locally.

Globalisation, as well as regionalisation, changes the characteristics of international relations and creates new opportunities and challenges for local, national and regional actors (Marchand et al. 1999:899). Most countries are, in one way or another, involved in cross-national agreements. Regional integration and cooperation have increased in the aftermath of the cold war, a development that can be seen both as a cause and a consequence of globalisation. Hence, the two concepts

are closely connected and their relationship is complex (Hveem 2000). The current open regionalism reflects the interdependence in the global economy (Hettne and Söderbaum 2002:46), but it can also counter globalisation.

One central question is whether regional agreements work as “stepping stones” or “stumbling blocks” to further globalisation (Bhagwati 1991; Hveem 2000; Stubbs and Underhill 2000). Regionalisation can serve as a stumbling block and slow down the process of globalisation if it is created as a protection for a region against external pressure. According to Karl Polanyi (1945), universal capitalism was one of the main threats to the world order, and he argued that regional collective action was the only fruitful international response to this threat. Regional blocks can then work as fortresses against the rest of the world, opening up for trade within the region, while at the same time strengthening the barriers towards external markets⁴ (Hurrell and Woods 1999). However, the new trend of open regionalism may contribute to reverse these effects.

On the other hand, regionalisation can also be seen as a stepping stone on the way to globalisation in a world where the sovereignty of the national state is threatened, but where global unity is far beyond reach. Both processes create integration and cooperation, but on different levels. Regionalisation of trade in the Americas can serve as a strategy to “smooth the insertion of national economies into the globalising process” (Iglesias 2002:1). Hence, there is not necessarily a conflict between regional and global cooperation. Illustratively, the FTAA agreement is expected to strengthen the WTO regulations and to make further liberalisation of trade more achievable on a global scale. Regionalisation and globalisation might then strengthen and enrich each other mutually, by stimulating competition and cooperation.

⁴ The US’ accusations of the EU as “Fortress Europe” can serve as an illustration here.

James Mittelman (2000:112-114) argues that regional cooperation can work as stumbling blocks at some levels and as stepping stones at others, and hence have both integrating and disintegrating effects, and Björn Hettne (1997:239) emphasises the complementary relationship between the two processes. To some extent a regional project may stimulate and expand trade and interaction within a region, and strengthen the region in relation to the outside world. Still, it may also increase trade with countries outside the region, and between regions, and contribute to globalisation. The processes may modify or strengthen each other. This understanding is to a large extent in accordance with the new approaches to regionalism (e.g. Bøås et al. 2003; Söderbaum and Shaw 2003).

Several scholars have argued that regionalisation and globalisation contribute to an increase of inequalities between and within countries (e.g. Castells 1998; Oman 1999; Marchand et al. 1999; Robertson 1992). A large part of the world's population is not integrated into the global economic, political and social system⁵ (UNDP Annual Report 2003). The same applies to regional projects. In this perspective, the most important threat to many poor countries might not be globalisation or regionalisation in itself, but rather to be excluded from these processes.

As a response to this exclusion, anti-regionalist and anti-globalist movements have evolved. These protest movements oppose economic regionalisation and globalisation, but are more ambivalent when it comes to the political and cultural aspects. Illustratively, the anti-FTAA movement opposes neo-liberal economic regionalism, while it represents cultural and political regionalisation. In addition, it promotes cultural integration as long as it is "alternative" or Southern cultures that are diffused, while it is critical to the expansion of Northern cultures, and the North American culture in particular. Hence, the movement resists some forms of regionalisation while welcoming and contributing to others.

⁵ Except for when it comes to migration (for a further discussion see e.g. Held et al. 2000).

1.3 Structure

In the next chapter the history of regionalisation will be presented. After an introduction to regionalisation in the Americas, a description of the FTAA process will be given. I will then examine the anti-FTAA movement and the role of the civil society, before entering a short clarification of the conflicting interests of the business sector.

The subsequent theory chapter will have the same structure as the analysis. First, there will be a short passage about the definitions of transnational advocacy networks. Second, central theories of identity formation will be presented and the role of identity in the process of regionalisation discussed. Third, rational and reflectivist theories will be presented and criticised. I will try to combine the two perspectives by introducing constructivism and presenting some suggestions for a revised new regionalisms approach.

Methodology will be discussed in the fourth chapter. The thesis will build its arguments on existing literature, participating observation, informal interviews and text analysis. The problems and advantages of these data will be presented, and a central question will be how to study cooperation, regional identity formation, and regionalism and regionalisation.

In the three analysis chapters I will try to uncover the anti-FTAA movement's role in the ongoing regionalisation process in the Americas. The first chapter will discuss if the movement can be seen as a transnational advocacy network, the second chapter will analyse the development of a regional identity, and the third analysis chapter will examine possible intended and unintended consequences of the movement's strategic framing.

The conclusion will summarise the analyses, and consider how this study may contribute to the development of a revised new regionalisms approach. Finally, suggestions for further research will be presented.

2. The History of Regionalisation

“We, the Ministers, reaffirm our commitment to the successful conclusion of the FTAA negotiations by January 2005, with the ultimate goal of achieving an area of free trade and regional integration” (Ministerial Declaration of Miami 2003 in http://www.alca-ftaa.org/Ministerials/Miami/Miami_e.asp).

2.1 Regionalisation in the Americas

The history of regionalisation in the Americas can be led back to pre-colonial times, where the Inca Empire was well known for its extensive regional trade and cooperation. Later, in the postcolonial era, with the newly won national independence, the Latin American states raised an agenda of Spanish American unity, with Simon Bolivar and his “Gran-Colombia” as the best known project⁶ (Fitzgerald 1971). Still, regionalisation did not become an important feature of world politics until the 1950s and ‘60s. After having experienced two world wars, regional cooperation was seen as a means to stabilise the international situation (Marchand 2001:199). The Cold War contributed to increased cooperation between the likeminded nations in the West and the East, since the US and Soviet governments ensured support from the rest of the world by including countries in “regional” agreements. Latin America, the US’ closest neighbour, played a central role in this power balance, and it was in this period that the US consolidated its dominant position on the continent.

A worsened economic situation in the post-war period also contributed to intra-regional cooperation in Latin America. The region had experienced a boom period during World War Two. As the war came to an end, the economies slowed down, and Latin American unity was a way to solve the increasing destitution

⁶ Similar views were also expressed in the “Pan Africanism” after the decolonisation on the African continent in the 1960s- and 70s.

(Hettne and Inotai 1994:51). The regional cooperation was seen as a way to reach industrialisation in Latin America. After years of failed Import Substitution Industrialisation (ISI) policy, the UN Economic Commission of Latin America (ECLA) promoted a regional ISI strategy as a solution to the lack of economic success. This resulted in the Latin American Free Trade Area (LAFTA) and the Central American Common Market (CACM) in 1961, the Andean Pact in 1969 and the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) in 1973 (Grugel 1996:135).

However, the old regionalism was never implemented on a large scale. One problem with for instance the LAFTA agreement was that it primarily benefited the strongest economies in the region: Mexico, Argentina and Brazil. This kept the smaller countries from participating, and the countries in the Andean region created instead the Andean Pact in 1969 as a counterweight to the LAFTA. Hence, the old regionalist projects did not manage to unite large parts of the region, but rather contributed to the division into smaller integrated entities. The spread of military dictatorships in several Latin American countries in the same period led to a culture of distrust, and further complicated large-scale regional cooperation in the area. In addition, the oil crisis of 1973-74, and the economic stagnation that followed, can be said to be an important explanatory factor behind a general crisis in regionalist projects throughout the world (Mace and Bélanger 1999:5). It created a pressure on both the developed and the developing economies, and a wave of protectionism. This climate did not encourage regional cooperation.

In the early eighties, the debt crisis further undermined the idea of South-South inter-regional cooperation. Every country had to fight for themselves to handle the difficult domestic economic situations that the structure adjustment programs created. These programs, together with democratisation, can still be said to contribute to the opening of the economies, and thereby facilitating regional cooperation. The fragile democracies learned that they needed to stay together to gain strength and stability, and this created a more open political culture. Illustratively, increased

cooperation between the traditionally competing states Brazil and Argentina opened up for the creation of “el Comision Sectoral para el Mercado Común del Sur” (Mercosur) in 1991, which is a vital economic actor in the region today. Compared to other regional agreements in the South, Mercosur has had remarkable progress in the implementation of its objectives.⁷

The United States for a long time pursued regional cooperation as a strategy of economic self-interest and hegemonic motivations. The Latin American countries, and in particular Mexico and Central America, were seen as parts of the US “backyard”. Through the Monroe Doctrine the US tried to keep the European countries out of the continent to secure its dominance, and in the 1930s and ‘40s, this power relationship was institutionalised through the Organization of American States (OAS) and the Rio Treaty. The US strengthened its position as global hegemon after the Second World War and this further enforced the unequal relationship (Marchand 2001:198-210). The US hegemonic role, and the politics of the other great powers in the region, has through the history shaped the regionalisation process in the Americas. This has made American regionalism an elite driven process, but opposition from diverse layers of society has also played a role by formulating alternative regionalist projects. The importance of these alternative projects is today being recognised more and more, since scholars of international relations to a larger degree are including non-state actors in their analysis.

During the 1990’s regional integration processes were revitalised in America and in the world in general. The fall of the Soviet Union and the reorganisation of the world economy around the US, Europe and Asia contributed to this development (Mace and Bélanger 1999:6). What is common for the current trends of regionalisms in Europe, America, Asia and Africa is that they are all examples of open

⁷ It might be interesting to note that the agreement can serve as an important alternative to the FTAA for some of the Latin American countries. At the 3rd of April 2004 the CAN, (the Andean community) and Mercosur established a trade coalition. This gave them increased negotiating power in the FTAA and it might work as an obstacle to the plan for American unity (Jensen 2004).

regionalism. This regionalism implies that instead of building barriers towards other regions, the borders are opened internally at the same time as the external borders are built down⁸ (Gamble and Payne 1996:251; Lee 2003:31-39). The Western economic model has been consolidated through this process, and the smaller economies both in Europe, Asia and Africa are being integrated into the strong and dominating economies on each continent. The Latin American countries also feel the need to secure the access to their closest markets, and they are today negotiating an extensive trade agreement with the strong economies of the North.

The Free Trade Area of the Americas

After a history of conflicts between and within the countries of the Americas, the strong divide between the North and the South has lately been transformed into increased cooperation.⁹ The first major steps towards this development were the signing of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) in 1994 and the US-Central America Free Trade Agreement (CAFTA)¹⁰ in June 2004. The current negotiations between the 43 American democracies to create the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) before January 2005 is the latest and most illustrative example of this new development.

The FTAA will unite the American economies into a single free trade area, and the hope is that it will contribute to increasing trade and creating a much needed economic growth and development on the American continent. Economic liberalism has been the dominant development strategy in the West since the 1980's, and most regional projects today, including the FTAA, are built on this idea. According to economic liberalists, the liberation of market forces and trade will create growth and strengthen the economies involved.

⁸ This is the ideal open regionalism. The opening of the external borders has often had backlashes and not been as extensive as planned.

⁹ However, there are still important conflicts and dividing lines that continue to play important roles in the region.

¹⁰ However, continued opposition has stalled the accord's final approval in the political area.

The FTAA process

The leaders of the 34 American democracies launched the Free Trade Area of the Americas at the Summit of the Americas in Miami, December 1994. The initiative for the negotiations was taken by the US government under the administration of President Bill Clinton (www.alca-ftaa.org/view_e.asp). Conflicting national interests have defined the process and created obstacles to the negotiations. On the basis of this, some argue that the FTAA process has the status more of a rhetorical exercise than substantial negotiations (Bouzas and Svarzman 2001:49). Still, the negotiations are bringing some results. The American democracies are being integrated and an extensive regionalisation process is evolving.

The first phase of negotiations, from 1994 to 1998, is called the preparatory phase. This period served as a diplomatic training and had limited practical relevance (Bouzas and Svarzman 2001:50). However, the Ministers of trade agreed on an initial work plan and time table, and established twelve working groups to identify the interests of the various countries. These are: Market access, Customs procedures and rules of origin, Investment, Standards and technical barriers for trade, Sanitary and phytosanitary measures, Subsidies, antidumping and countervailing duties, Smaller economies, Government procurement, Intellectual property rights, Services, Competition policies, and Dispute settlements (www.alca-ftaa.org/view_e.asp). These negotiating groups formed the basis for the further negotiations. This period uncovered the different visions and interests of the various countries. Gradually, however, the discussion went from debating the desirability of a FTAA to negotiating the form and contents of the agreement (Bouzas and Svarzman 2001:50).

In the fourth ministerial meeting in San Jose, Costa Rica, in 1998 the Ministers set out the structure of the negotiations, agreed upon general principles and objectives to guide these negotiations, and recommended that their heads of state and governments initiated the formal negotiation of the FTAA. In addition, a Joint Government-Private Sector Committee of Experts on Electronic Commerce (ECOM),

a Committee of Government Representatives on the Participation of Civil Society (CGR), and a Consultative Group on Smaller Economies (CGSE) were established to address horizontal questions in the negotiations (www.alca-ftaa.org/view_e.asp).

The negotiations continued at the second Summit of the Americas in Santiago, Chile, in April 1998. Despite mutual distrust and doubts about the possibilities of creating a FTAA, the FTAA negotiations were formally launched. It was agreed that the negotiating process should be transparent, take into account the different levels of development and size of the economies, and that the agreement should be WTO-consistent and constituting a single undertaking. In this phase it was most importantly the corporate sector that was included in the process, but also representatives of the civil society increased their participation (Bouzas and Svarzman 2001:51-54).

At the fifth Ministerial meeting in Toronto in 1999 the negotiating groups started to prepare a draft text of their respective chapters, to be presented at the sixth Ministerial meeting. Several business facilitation measures, designed to facilitate commercial exchange in the Hemisphere were agreed upon. In addition, transparency was an important issue at this meeting (www.alca-ftaa.org/view_e.asp).

A number of key decisions were made in 2001 at the sixth Ministerial meeting in Buenos Aires, despite disagreements over the formal rules of negotiations and the content of the negotiation groups' work. The most important discussion took place between the supporters of the "single undertaking" and the supporters of an "early harvest". While several of the South American countries see a single undertaking as a mechanism to provide the most equal result in the negotiations, other negotiating countries argue that there is no reason to wait for a complete agreement on a regional packet. The latter support an early harvest, that is, the current signing of smaller agreements as they are agreed upon. In spite of this divide, the ministers managed to agree upon several facilitating measures for the negotiations (Bouzas and Svarzman 2001:56). In addition, a wave of openness characterised the negotiations in Buenos Aires. The need to establish a dialogue with the civil society was expressed, and an

“open invitation” was launched to give various civil society actors the opportunity to express their opinions on the FTAA process through an e-mail service (www.alca-ftaa.org/view_e.asp). However, there were disagreements also here, as some of the Latin American countries argued that the openness would increase the influence of sectional interests and the protectionist lobby, and give disproportionate power to the Northern NGOs¹¹. This made the CGR a formal organ limited to receive, translate and distribute civil society suggestions (Bouzas and Svarzman 2001:58-59).

Following the trend of transparency the ministers decided to make the first draft of the FTAA agreement publicly available in all four official languages¹² at the Third Summit of the Americas in Quebec City in April 2001. In addition, the negotiators confirmed that the FTAA negotiations would be concluded by January 2005 and that the agreement should enter into force no later than December 2005 (www.alca-ftaa.org/view_e.asp).

The seventh ministerial meeting was held in Quito, Ecuador, in November 2002. After a period of slow progress, the ministers tried to energise the negotiations. The schedule for the exchange of initial market access offers was confirmed, the deadlines for new drafts of the agreement were set, and guidance for the negotiations was provided. The second draft was immediately made public. In addition, the needs of the less developed and smaller economies in the region were addressed. The Hemispheric Cooperation Program (HCP) was established to strengthen the capacities of the poorer countries in the negotiations, support them in the implementation of trade commitments, and address the challenges and maximise the benefits of hemispheric integration. Civil society participation was also discussed at this meeting, and the ministers encouraged the holding of civil society events¹³ at the ministerial and vice ministerial meetings, as well as the organisation of regional and

¹¹ Non Governmental Organisations.

¹² English, French, Portuguese and Spanish.

¹³ Similar to the forum for the business sector (American Business Forum) which has been held parallel to the ministerial meetings since the beginning.

national seminars related to the process of establishing the FTAA. The CGR committee was given the responsibility to keep up and strengthen the two-way communication with the civil society (www.alca-ftaa.org/view_e.asp).

At the eight ministerial meeting in Miami 2003, the first American Trade and Sustainable Development Forum (ATSDF) was held parallel to the ministerial. Here representatives from the civil society had the opportunity to discuss FTAA related issues and to present recommendations for the ministers. In the ministerial declaration it was proclaimed that the forum was important and should be made permanent (http://www.ftaa-alca.org/Ministerials/Miami/declaration_e.asp).

As the negotiations are turning increasingly towards substantial questions the conflict lines are being uncovered. Agricultural subsidies, foreign investments, tariffs and non-tariff barriers, intellectual property rights and governmental purchases have been among the main conflict lines in the FTAA negotiations (Gudyanas 2003; Korzeniewicz and Smith 2001). Agricultural subsidies in the US and Canada have created protests from the Latin American countries, which pressure for liberalisation of agriculture, but on the condition that the US is willing to discuss subsidies. The US for its part has argued that these issues should be left to the WTO negotiations. Several Latin American countries have been critical against the opening for private participation in delivering of goods and services to the public sector. The argument is that it will lead to a privatisation of central public services, such as education and health, which in turn may be detrimental to key developmental goals. Questions concerning foreign investment and intellectual property rights have also created problems. While the Mercosur countries, among others, wish to keep these sectors out of the negotiations, other countries, for instance the US, demand that they should be included (Gudynas 2003). Because of these and other controversies there were several proposals for the agreement on the negotiating table at the ministerial meeting in Miami.

A central proposal came from the Brazilian government. The critical Lula government promoted a less committing agreement than the one formerly launched by the US. After just two days of discussions in Miami the ministers agreed upon the Brazilian proposal. This means that the draft that will be discussed in the ninth ministerial in Brazil 2004 will not be as extensive as initially intended. The Brazilian proposal opens up for a two-levelled process with one level that everyone agrees upon, and a second voluntary level with deeper commitment. Countries such as Brazil and Argentina, which would not earn much from the US proposition, get the opportunity to negotiate less committing agreements over a long period of time, while more enthusiastic countries, such as Colombia and Peru, can sign extensive bilateral agreements.

The support for the Brazilian proposition was reckoned as a loss by a large part of the trade and business sector, and several of the more enthusiastic American negotiators, with the US in the lead. Mexico and Canada can be said to be the two countries that will have the least to earn from this agreement. They already have access to the US market through the NAFTA agreement, and will meet harder competition when the other American countries gain increased access to the US market. Brazil came out as a leading power from the negotiating process, and will probably also influence the further negotiations (Bussey 2003). After a history characterised by its many backlashes, the ministerial in Miami can be seen as a partial success.

The FTAA negotiations have had a slow, but steady progress in spite of the conflicting interests of the negotiating countries. Three main explanations for this progress have been emphasised: the large and skilled bureaucracy, the detailed working plans, and a political economy of compromise within the negotiating group (Bouzas and Svarzman 2001:66-68). Even though the ministerial meetings get the most of the public attention, the agreement is most importantly formed in the large FTAA bureaucracy. This contributes to making the negotiations less political and

gives an opportunity for solving conflicts away from public attention. Detailed working plans make the work of the bureaucracy possible and enforce progress. The policy of compromise comes to some extent as a consequence of the negotiating process. Even though the goals for the FTAA are ambiguous, the negotiators work to reach unambiguous part-goals. This opens up for wide use of compromising. However, the ministers have to a large extent evaded the most difficult questions, and these will have to be examined at the next meetings (Bussey 2003; Fields et al. 2003). Deep conflicts may be uncovered as these issues are brought to the negotiating table.¹⁴

Transparency has been an issue from the beginning of the FTAA negotiations. Through the ministerial meetings the agreement has moved towards an opening in relation to civil society. Still, it has been described as a centralised process and many are not satisfied with the ability to influence the negotiations. This has contributed to the establishment of a strong anti-FTAA movement.

2.2 The Anti-FTAA Movement

Civil society groups in the Americas have traditionally been centred on national issues (Drainville 1999:219), but this tendency seems to be shifting.¹⁵ The critics of the FTAA have created a strong and varied protest movement consisting of organisations and individuals from the whole continent. The movement is well organised and draws important lessons from the struggle against the NAFTA and the WTO. It is an extremely diverse movement, and it unites interest groups that in other cases would be opponents. The movement includes active members, who participate in demonstrations and meetings, financial supporters, who support the cause economically, and adherents, or passive supporters. Even though some governmental

¹⁴ Illustratively, the FTAA negotiation at the 6th of February 2004 broke down as a consequence of agricultural disagreements between Mercosur and the US (Jensen 2004).

¹⁵ National civil society groups are, however, still important actors and work simultaneously with the more transnational ones (See Drainville, 1999:219-235).

actors are engaged in the movement, civil society actors constitute the most important part of it.

This thesis will discuss the movement at an aggregated level and not analyse the individual organisations in depth.¹⁶ It is impossible to clearly define who belong to the anti-FTAA movement, and I have chosen to characterise it by some of its main organisations. A search through the organisations' Internet sites, and their links, and an analysis of the statements of various members have helped me develop a list of central supporters.¹⁷ It is important to point out that this is not a complete list of the supporting organisations, and some groups are most likely left out. The movement consists of various groups when it comes to organisational characteristics, attitudes towards the FTAA and which interests they represent. To be able to analyse the groups I had to organise them into various categories. First, I chose to divide the movement between the groups that participate inside the FTAA: the reformists (insiders), and those who do not: the radicals (outsiders). Second, I divided the radicals into three main subgroups according to their role in the movement. These are: the network organisations, who are the main coordinators of the movement; the labour movement, who is the main financial supporter; and the anarchists, who receive most of the media attention. I realise that there are a large number of other groups that are not included in this categorisation, and the most important of these may be said to be the environmental movement, pro-democracy groups, the feminists, human rights and the religious groups. Still, in my experience the reformists, the network organisations, the labour movement and the anarchists seem to be the most important and active groups in the campaign.¹⁸ Out of both analytical and substantial reasons, I choose to focus on these four groups.

¹⁶ For a more detailed description see Korzeniewicz and Smith (2001).

¹⁷ See list in the appendix.

¹⁸ One should also add that there are no clear dividing lines between these groups and several would fall under more than one of the categories.

Among the most important reformist organisations are the Esquel Group Foundation (EGF), the North-South Centre at the University of Miami, Corporación PARTICIPA, Fundación Futuro Latinoamericano (FFL), and the Inter-American Dialogue. Important network organisations are the Hemispheric Social Alliance (HAS), the International Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Development, the Alliance for Responsible Trade (ART), the Red Mexicana de Acción Frente al Libre Comercio (RMALC), Common Frontiers, the Rede Brasileira pela Integração dos Povos (REBRIP), the Foro de Consulta a la Sociedad Civil sobre el Ajuste Estructural (FOCO) and the Coordinadora Latinoamericana de Organizaciones del Campo (CLOC). Central labour organisations are the American Federation of Labor-Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO), the Canadian Labour Congress, the Organización Regional Interamericana de Trabajadores (ORIT), and Central Única dos Trabalhadores (CUT). Finally, important organisations representing the anarchist can be said to be the FTAA Resistance, Stop the FTAA, the Independent Media Centre and the No al ALCA.

These groups oppose the FTAA for various reasons. Some are afraid that a free trade agreement will strengthen the power of the business sector, and that profit will be valued higher than development. They recognise that liberalisation of trade may create growth, but they argue that it rewards and punishes unevenly. The protesters are afraid that it is the poorest and weakest countries and groups that will have to carry the burden of free trade. They argue that there are important values that are not economically beneficial, and that will not sustain in a market. Benefits such as distribution, environmental considerations and human rights are dependent on a central power to enforce them. Others contest the agreement out of economic self-interests. They are afraid of losing jobs, or of increased influence from other countries. What they all have in common is that they are representatives of civil society.

In some early studies of collective action the phenomenon was not perceived as important or even legitimate: “A man is likely to mind his own business when it is worth minding. When it is not, he takes his mind off his own meaningless affairs by minding other people’s business” (Hoffer 1951:23). Today, however, civil society¹⁹ has developed into a popular term that is widely used both by scholars, media, the public and politicians. How it is understood still varies, and I will use Michael Edwards’ definition of civil society as:

“...the arena in which people come together to advance the interests they hold in common, not for profit or political power, but because they care enough about something to take collective action” (2001: 2).

Civil society participation is recognised as an important part of democracy and crucial for social change (Gaventa 2001:275). Every society includes political inequalities. If questions such as gender, race, ethnicity, religion and distribution were left solely to popular elections, a majority would be able to tyrannise marginalised minority groups (Shamsie 2000:4). Civil society groups may thus contribute to democratic policy-making by advocating special interests that may be ignored by the majority.

It has been argued that civil society groups have increased their influence on national and international affairs during the last decades (e.g. Keck and Sikkink 1998). The end of the Cold War and later, the weakening of the so-called Washington consensus²⁰ have opened up for new ideas and new actors on the international arena. Changed conceptions of democracy have also contributed to an increased acceptance for civil society participation in national policy-making. A broad political dialog contributes to legitimacy, and even critical policymakers feel the need to include civil society voices. In addition, advances in technology have made communication and

¹⁹ According to Castells (1997:8-9) the concept was first used by Gramsci, and then to describe societal forces rooted both in the dominating institutions, like the Church, the parties, and also in the people.

²⁰ The Washington Consensus is used as the general belief in marked liberalisation and liberal democratisation as a source for development.

the distribution of information easier, thereby increasing the mobilising potential for civil society actors (Edwards 2001:2-5; Florini 2001:35-36). However, the private sector does not only consist of civil society actors. Groups representing various business interests are also important in the American process of regionalisation.

Business and Integration

The business sector is often portrayed as the main actor urging free trade and regional integration. To some extent this is correct, but it is important to keep in mind that this sector, especially in Latin America, is deeply politicised and consists of different groups with conflicting interests (Fischer 1999:198).

Exporters, importers, new industry and transnational corporations (TNCs) do not share the same interests. Companies that are dependent on the local market and that cannot compete with foreign products neither in quality nor price will lose from free trade and increased competition, while larger export and import oriented companies will gain from the opening of borders. TNCs are dependent on some degree of free trade, while new industry needs protection and may not survive if it is subjected to foreign competition. These different groups work for different solutions, and form new coalitions when confronting integration policies. In many Latin American countries, TNCs and export and import oriented companies have formed powerful coalitions that may influence regionalism on the continent. At the same time new industry and uncompetitive companies have joined forces with the labour movement and the political left to oppose free trade. Hence, the business sector consists of groups opposing and supporting regionalism in the Americas (Fischer 1999:200-206). This makes the integration process complex, and means that one cannot draw clear dividing lines between the interests of the private sector and of civil society.

3. Theory

“...we also see the inability to present adequate explanations for regionalization without taking into account not only the role of ideas and identities, but also how and in what way ideas and identities both facilitate the regionalization of economies and themselves also become regionalized ” (Bøås et al. 2003:208).

There are several different economic and political motivations and explanations for the development of regionalisation on the American hemisphere, but this study will emphasise the importance of common regional identities. In particular, it will discuss the role of social movements in regard to the construction of such identities. Contemporary regionalisation is in this context understood as a process; it has a continuous development and is influenced by a wide range of actors. The theories used to understand the phenomenon will reflect this recognition.

Traditionally, theories of regionalism²¹ have had an elite perspective and focused on rational actors (Söderbaum 2002: 24). In this chapter I will argue that even though the rational approach of the classical theories represents an important contribution to the field, these must be supplemented by theories emphasising identity, non-state actors and the social construction of regions. Reflectivist approaches include these aspects of regionalism and they can contribute to a broader understanding of the complexity of contemporary regionalism. Still, a study limited to the reflectivist approach will also lack some central aspects of social life as it does not include rationality. Constructivism has been promoted as a possible bridge between the rational and reflectivist approaches. It aims to uncover identity building, without rejecting rationality (Smith 1997:183-184). By taking a constructivist approach to regionalism this thesis aims to include elements of both rationalism and reflectivism. Two of the reflectivist perspectives that will be presented here: the New

²¹ For instance neo-realism, liberal institutionalism, and neoclassical and neo-liberal regional economic integration theory

Regionalism Approach and the New Regionalisms/New Realist Approach, include constructivist elements. Hence, these perspectives will be the most important to my analysis.

The structure of the theory chapter will resemble the structure of the analysis. It will first examine a definition of transnational advocacy networks. Secondly, it will present the theories of social or collective identity that are used in the analysis to understand regional identities and identity formation. Third, it will present the relevant theories of regionalism. A combination of the rational and reflectivist approaches to regionalism will be discussed, before implications for a new regionalism theory will be searched for.

3.1 Regional Advocacy Networks

Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink (1998:2) definition of transnational advocacy networks will be used to analyse the anti-FTAA movement:

“...those relevant actors working internationally on an issue, who are bond together by shared values, a common discourse and dense exchange of information and services.”

While international relations consist of state-actors, transnational relations include non-state actors. Hence, advocacy networks are transnational if their work transcends national borders. In this thesis the transnational will be defined as regional. The analysis will try to uncover if the anti-FTAA movement’s cooperation exceeds national borders within a region.²²

The concept advocacy implies that the networks consist of actors of change. Its members join the network to influence a cause and to promote an issue. These issues often include an altruistic aspect, and can seldom be traced directly to self-interest. Still, this does not imply that advocacy networks and their members are not rational

²² I acknowledge that the movement to some degree also can be said to be engaged in more global issues, such as liberalisation in general, and that there are organisations and individuals outside the region that will describe themselves as a part of the movement.

actors. They can follow a rational strategy to obtain their goals, even though they do not necessarily pursue self-interests.

Keck and Sikkink argue that networks differ from organisations since they have flat structure and are built on personal ties. Advocacy networks are organised around shared issues and discourse,²³ include elements of both agent and structure simultaneously, and create new links between state and civil society actors. This makes them important actors in international politics (Keck and Sikkink 1998:1-38). Networks serve as contact points for various groups and individuals, and even though they are flexible and have a large potential for change, they are also stable entities.

3.2 Identity

The study of social movements has been dominated by explanations focusing on ideology, and later on rational choice.²⁴ After the development of new social movements and the growth of new theory, the search for identity, and in particular collective, or social identity, is now reckoned as one of the main reasons for social movement participation (Johnston 1994:276; Laraña et.al. 1994:3; Melucci 1995). Engagement in social movements seldom endures over a long period of time, but it might nevertheless provide a social arena where individuals and groups can define who they are (Gamson 1992:56). The members of a social movement develop a common identity when they collectively invest certain aspects with meaning. They establish common understandings of shared history, destiny and values. One can, and normally will, have a plurality of identities: some in conflict and some complementary, enforcing each other. This can create stress and contradiction, and it represents some of the concept's complexity (Castells 1997:6-7).

²³ Discourse will in this thesis be understood as: "a system for producing statements and practices, that by being seen as more or less normal constitutes reality for its carriers, and introduces a certain degree of regularity in a set of social relations" (Neumann 2001:17) [my translation].

²⁴ For a throughout mapping of the history of social movement theory, see Mueller 1992.

These recognitions are not necessarily in conflict with the view that social movement participation is based on rational choice. Individuals may join movements out of rational calculations and movements may act as rational actors, but the consequences of these actions may transcend rational theorising. Social movements have constitutive and constraining effects on their members and the society at whole. This means that identity formation cannot be reduced to a strategic logic, even though it may include strategic elements.

Social Identity

According to social psychology, identity has both a personal and a social component. While the personal identity (the I) consists of the individual features and specific characteristics of a person, the social identity (the We) refers to “cognitions ensuing from social ecological positions” (Deschamps and Devos 1998:1-2). The personal and social elements of identity are closely interlinked. Still, this thesis will focus exclusively on social identity since it is identity formation within a social movement that it seeks to uncover.

Social, or collective identity is formed when the individual perceives itself as similar to others with whom it shares some common characteristics, and different from others with different characteristics. People who are not included in the in-group are, according to social identity theory, the Others.²⁵ In the process of social identity formation the individual will overemphasise inter-group differences and underemphasise in-group differences; the in-group will be understood as more heterogeneous than the out-group (Deschamps and Devos 1998: 8). This happens because the differences within the in-group are obvious to the individual and hard to fully ignore, while the characteristics of out-groups are less clear and can be understood in a more simplistic way.

²⁵ In the following I will use capital O to describe the Others in the out-group, and capital W to describe the We in the in-group

Humans have to categorise and simplify the world in order to make sense of it. Identification is part of this categorisation, as the social world is divided into an I, a We and the Others. The members of a social movement have to share some collective understandings of a “We” to be recognised as autonomous actors. The “We” is established through negotiations, interactions and conflicts (Laraña et al. 1994: 15-18). It can be based on all sorts of understandings and values, and even on individualism, since a group can unite around a “culture of Narcissists” (Lasch 1980 in Castells 1997:7). The identification of an in-group can be seen as a part of a rational strategy of the individual to improve its self-esteem, since people tend to identify with groups that they perceive as favourable (Deschamps and Devos 1998:6). The social identity is emphasised when the individual faces persons that are different from it, while individuality is stressed in interaction with similar people (ibid:55). According to this logic, the social identity will be emphasised in a heterogenic group, while a homogenic group can open for more individualistic expressions.

“Otherness” is also central to one's perception of group identity. Identities are relational, and must therefore be studied in relation to the understanding of other groups (Neumann 2001:56). As Melucci articulates it: “We are for you the you that you are for us” (1995:48). The creation of a collective identity is dependent on the movement's ability to define itself in comparison to its environment, and to distance itself from the people not belonging to the group (ibid:47). This is what one may call a negative definition of identity, or “the exclusion of the excluders by the excluded” (Castells 1997:9). Ironically: while social movements' ideologies often have been built on difference and inclusion, the logic of identity formation has led to a reinstatement of sameness and exclusion. The groups are premised on, but suppressing difference and, hence, they are forming an identity based on a contradiction (Dunn 1998:28).

Collective identities may be strengthened through conflict. A conflict increases the need for loyalty, creates a feeling of solidarity and agreement within the group,

and contributes to a clearer conception of a We and the Others. The identification of the self must, in addition, gain social recognition to provide the basis for identity (Melucci 1995:48). Hence, the way non-members, for instance media, the public in general, and opposing groups, conceptualise the movement may affect its self-recognition.

Identities are created by someone and for something. This does not mean that the identity is less real for the identity holders, but rather that identity formation is a complex process consisting of both conscious and unconscious elements (Castells 1997: 7). Social construction happens within a context of power relations, and leaders play an important role in defining the identities of a group. These are often the most conscious in the process and may follow rational strategies to ensure the group's community feeling and establish a shared understanding of reality, of goals and enemies: that is, to create a collective identity. Following this, the identity of a social movement can be understood as a part of a rational strategy to increase its political legitimacy. If the group manages to characterise itself as broad and integrated, the internal and external legitimacy may increase. The members justify their engagement in the movement, and the movement's influencing potential may increase as the group is understood as an important actor. However, different kinds of movements incorporate the members in different ways, and have various levels of identification. While some, for instance religious cults, offer an all-embracing identity, other, more loosely associated groups represent weaker collective identities (Gamson 1992). The anti-FTAA movement is an example of the latter, and if a regional identity is developed, it will be one of many, perhaps more important, identities for the members.

Identity and Regionalisation

Some argue that regions are created by region builders: these are entrepreneurs who have interest in imagining a certain identity for a region, and to make others understand the world in the same way (Neumann 1999). This means that identities

can be manipulated by economic and political elites, and that identity formation can contribute to the emerging of regionalisation (Bøås et.al. 2003:207-208). Several different region builders negotiate their conflicting visions of how to define the region, and the region will be constructed as a result of this negotiation.²⁶ However, this thesis wishes to point out that identity building and regionalisation do not have to be results of rational actors' strategies; it could just as well be a consequence of unconscious processes. Following this, identities may evolve as an unintended consequence of interaction, and regionalism can develop without strategic actors promoting it. Hence, the two processes do not have to coincide with any of the actor's imaginings.

Regionalisation may on the one hand be influenced by regional identities, and on the other it may itself influence these identities. People from different countries often lack knowledge of each other, mutual trust and common identities (Hettne and Söderbaum 2002:40). Trust and knowledge may grow, and shared identities may emerge as transnational interaction and cooperation increase. This can make cooperation easier also in other areas. Hence, social contact and relations between isolated groups can create regional identities and space for regionalisation. In this way, transnational social movements can influence processes of regionalisation and regionalism through identity formation. Again: regionalism and regionalisation may evolve, not only as a response to strategic action, but also as unintended bi-effects of the actions of regional actors. This does not imply that formal regionalisation cannot evolve without the existence of a regional identity. In the same way, regional identities and regional ideas might also exist without necessarily developing into regional agreements. Still, if the anti-FTAA movement creates a regional identity it might contribute to the process of regionalisation in the Americas. The process will

²⁶ As reflected by the fact that Cuba is geographically a part of the American continent, but not included in the regionalisation process defined by the FTAA negotiators. The anti-FTAA movement has however included Cuba in its definition of the region.

not necessarily lead to a regional agreement, such as the FTAA, but it could contribute to regionalisation and influence the regionalism that evolves.

3.3 The Rational Approach to Regionalism

Rational approaches have for decades dominated the study of regionalism, and the most important rational theories of regionalism are neo-realism, liberal institutionalism and neo-classical/neo-liberal economic integration theory (Söderbaum 2002:15). Since the rational approach is fairly well known, I will only present it rather briefly.²⁷ The main assumption of rational approaches is that the world consists of rational self-seeking actors. The actors have certain given, often material, interests and are able to make rational calculations on how to fulfil these interests. Ideas and identities are given little space in the explanations of the rational approach, since interests are conceptualised as material and given entities. Different actors' interests may at times be in conflict with each other, and the concept of conflict thus represents a dominant feature of international politics.

Most rational theorising in political science has an outside-in approach to regionalism and regards states as the main actors in the international system.²⁸ These are understood as unitary, rational, self-seeking, and with the disposition for competition and conflict. States interact in a zero-sum game where all states have to fight for themselves. When rational states calculate costs and benefits and decide to cooperate, it is because they think it will serve their interests. As economic interdependence increases, more actors will consider cooperation as a rational strategy (Gamble and Payne 2003:44). Liberal institutionalists argue that institutions also play an important role in international relations. However, the institutions are reduced to the member states and have little meaning except for serving the interests

²⁷ See e.g. Buzan 1991, Waltz 1979 (neo-realism), Nye 1965 (liberal institutionalism), Robson 1998 (neo-classical and neo-liberal regional economic integration), Söderbaum 2002:17-25 (all) for good reviews of the theories.

²⁸ Even though one of course can have a rational approach without focusing on states.

of the states. They are established to fulfil a function; non-functional institutions will not survive (Söderbaum 2002:9-21).

According to the approach, regional cooperation does not necessarily mean peace, but rather inter-regional conflicts instead of inter-state conflicts. A regional world might, however, be more stable, since it implies fewer actors. The rational approach has grown out of the experiences of regionalism led by formal states in the Western world, with the European Union as the most important empirical case. It has focused on economic and security cooperation, and seen regionalisation as a process where cooperation develops from a basic level to constantly closer integration. The European model has served as a prototype for integration in the rest of the world (Nye 1965:241-251). The rational approach has been dominating political science and economics, and regional studies here have to a large degree focused on formal regionalisation and not been able to explain more informal processes of integration.

3.4 The Reflectivist Approach to Regionalism

While rational theories see interests and identities as given entities, and try to respond to a set reality, reflectivists try to understand how identities and interests are socially constructed. This approach is not as clearly defined and consistent as the rational tradition, and it has been criticised for not producing testable conclusions. However, this critique is built on rational premises that are not consistent with the reflectivist perspective. Reflectivist theories do not so much share common acceptances, but rather common rejections: they reject the rationality, the statism, or the positivism inherent in the rational approach (Smith 1997:172). Some of the scholars within this tradition have called the current trend of regionalism a “new regionalism” (e.g. Hettne and Inotai 1994; Hettne et al. 1999). They understand regionalism today as a heterogenic, plural and diverse process, and argue that contemporary regionalism includes diverse countries cooperating over a wide range of topics.

Three reflectivist theories of regionalism will be presented here: the World Order Approach (WOA), the New Regionalism Approach (NRA) and the New Regionalisms/ New Realist Approach (NR/NRA). The WOA is a Marxist or critical theory, and can be called reflectivist because of its rejection of positivism. Among its main contributions to the field is the recognition that all theory is political, and henceforth that it is impossible to construct objective theories. The NRA introduces identity formation and can be said to be a constructivist theory since it regards regions as social constructs. The NR/NRA is close to postmodernism in its rejection of the possibility for constructing general theories. It argues that regionalism can and will be different in different situations, and that there is not one regionalism but several regionalisms existing simultaneously. In the following the three reflectivist approaches and their critiques will be presented briefly, before they are compared with the rational perspective.

The World Order Approach

In the last decade several critical studies have contributed to challenge the rational approach to regionalism (Söderbaum 2002:25). One of these, the World Order Approach (WOA), was developed through a collective research project at the Political Research Centre (PERC) at the University of Sheffield. It was designed to present alternative ways of understanding the current developments of regionalism in international politics, and is based on Robert Cox' (e.g. 1981; 1983) theorising of world order. The approach represents a turn towards a new critical international political economy (IPE). It wishes to question the clear separation of subject and object, and fact and value, inherent in most rational theorising (Gamble and Payne 2003:46). The approach emphasises the importance of uncovering how dominant world orders are established, to be aware of the power structures that underline both theory and practice, and to understand the historical structures behind cooperation. In

addition, it argues that one should go beyond the material definitions of power and include ideas (Gamble and Payne 1996:6).

According to the WOA all theory is political, and one must thus uncover the motivations behind theory building. The WOA criticises the rational approaches for trying to cover the normativism inherent in their theorising. The WOA reveals its own motivations; it aims to change the existing structures of dominance to create a more just world. Scholars within this approach argue that theorists can play an important role in the political debate if they do not hide their intentions. Ideological power is important both in theory building and in the processes that are studied, and in regionalisation ideological power can be used to construct a common identity in a region (Gamble and Payne 1996:17). WOA theorists see current regionalism as an expression of the capitalist hegemonic power, and a result of negotiations between political elites in the periphery and in core countries (Gamble and Payne 2003:71-72). The approach is fundamentally sceptical to regionalism and argues that integration will strengthen the hegemonic order and existing power relations. It will contribute to a broadening of the gap between rich and poor, within and between countries (Söderbaum 2002:27).

People are influenced by historical structures and in turn influence future structures, since structures are social practises. World orders will dominate at times but they are not permanent entities. They change as the structures change, influenced by the negotiations between states and social actors (Gamble and Payne 2003: 46-47). Basic concepts in the World Order Approach are hegemony (Cox 1983) and centre/periphery (Galtung 1971). The approach emphasises the importance of uncovering the interests and the *position* of the hegemonic order, and the interests and the *possibilities* of the periphery. The hegemonic authority contains both coercive and consensual elements of power (Gamble and Payne 2003:48). It can force its will, but is also dependent on some degree of cooperation from the subjected (Gamble and Payne 1996:6-10). Hence, the periphery plays a central role in the

process. The interaction and negotiations between the hegemon and the periphery can change power relations and create new powerful actors, and in this way open up for alternative regionalisms. Critical theorists have thus included a more complex understanding of power to the study of regionalism, and contributed to the understanding of “Otherness” and the western dominance in theory building.

It is in particular the approach’s emphasis on social movements that will contribute to the analysis in this thesis. Still, this focus can also be criticised. While Gramsci, harking back to Machiavelli’s Prince, promotes socialism and class struggle as “the Modern Prince”²⁹ (1957), social movements can be said to represent a “Modern Prince” in the WOA. Social movements are seen as an important part of the periphery, and as promoters of equality and a more just development. This may represent oversimplification of the role of the civil society, since social movements represent special interests, and are not necessarily advocating a common good. Hence, the WOA can be criticised for idealising social movements.

Counter to the emphasis on social movements, it can be argued that World Order theorists have a state-centric view on regionalism. They focus on formal regionalism, argue that states are the main actors in the process (Gamble and Payne 2003:50), and that regionalism from below is a marginalised phenomenon (ibid:52). It is states, or the elites within states, that constitute the hegemonic order, and it is states that cooperate regionally. Hence, one could criticise the approach for having a state centric view at the same time as it is over-emphasising and idealising social movements’ effects on regionalisation.

The New Regionalism Approach

While the WOA presents regionalism as an expression of historical structures of dominance, the New Regionalism Approach (NRA) argues that current processes of

²⁹ Machiavelli’s Prince is the main actor, and Gramsci promotes in the same way socialism as the most important force of change.

regionalism are something qualitatively new. Globalisation, a changed position in world politics and a more positive attitude towards regionalisation in the US, the move from a bipolar to a tri- or even multipolar structure, the increased importance of non-tariff barriers to trade, and the consolidation of the neo-liberal economic paradigm have created new prospects and constraints to regional cooperation, which are qualitatively different from the Cold War context (Schulz et al. 2001: 3-5). The NRA emphasises both endogenous and exogenous factors explaining regionalism, and argues that analysis of regionalism should include both dominant structures in international politics and the role of various local and national actors (Hettne 2003:26).

Regionalisation has spread to new areas, and is no longer a Western phenomenon. The process is complex, heterogeneous and multidimensional. It involves several actors, and one cannot take for granted that the state is the most important one. This makes the new regionalism harder to grasp than the old one. While the earlier forms of regionalism often came about as a response to pressure from above, the new is more spontaneous and grows from within the region, as a reaction from internal groups and a response to its particular problems and needs (Hettne and Söderbaum 2002:34; Mittelman 2000:113; Schulz et al. 2001:4; Söderbaum 2002:28-29). The construction of cultural identity at the civil society level can contribute to this process of regionalisation from below. If the corporate sector and other powerful institutions try to enforce neo-liberal regionalisation from above, they will meet resistance from below. This creates a dialectic that forms the process of regionalisation and contributes to its complexity (Mittelman 2000:129).

The NRA argues that regions are social constructs and not “naturally given”. Through processes of meaning construction and identity formation, regions may be created, recreated or dissolved by collective actors. A region can evolve as a consequence of strategic and intentional region building, but it can also be constructed unconsciously as a result of interaction between collective actors. Hence,

regions can be overlapping, and different regionalisms can exist simultaneously on different levels (Schulz et al. 2001:14; Söderbaum 2002:28-29). Still, unintended regionalism is not discussed in depth by any of the reflectivist approaches. Regionalism as a political project has dominated theories of regionalisation, while more unintended processes have been underemphasised.

The NRA has been criticised for having a functionalist understanding of regionalism (e.g. Bøås et al. 2003). It argues that regionalisation develops through stages towards increasingly more advanced integration, with the EU as the currently most advanced institution. There are different layers of “regioness”, and the process of regionalisation might evolve with different speed in different sectors (Hettne and Söderbaum 2002; Hettne 2003: 28-29; Söderbaum 2002:29). Critics have argued that regional processes in different parts of the world develop in very dissimilar contexts and that this influences the kind of regionalism that evolves. In other words: different regions develop their own regionalism, since they have different needs and goals (Mittelman 2000:114-117). This also means that the European integration model is not fit to fully understand integration in the rest of the world. Regionalism is often a complex process with several backlashes, and regionalism in different parts of the world cannot easily be compared.³⁰ However, this critique has not been left unanswered. The NRA scholars recognise that the evolutionary logic inherent in the concept regioness is problematic, but nevertheless point out that it is not meant as a recipe for regionalisation. It is rather a presentation of different possible levels of integration and a useful framework for comparative analysis (Hettne 2003:29).

The New Regionalisms/New Realist Approach

The scholars behind the New Regionalisms/New Realist Approach (NR/NRA) have been explicit critics of the NRA’s functionalism. Among the most important

³⁰ Even the European integration process has had several backlashes and not advanced in a linear fashion (Gamble and Payne 2003:55).

contributions of this approach is its combination of ideas, identities and material interests. With its emphasis on identity, it is different from for instance the WOA and the rational approaches, and thus becomes especially interesting for this thesis. Its proponents argue that flows of ideas and identities play an equally important role in regionalisation as material flows (Marchand et al. 1999:1062; Bøås et al. 2003:200). Ideas are not only diffused and shared; they are also interpreted into different local environments (Marchand et al. 1999:899). Hence, the identity as a member of the anti-FTAA movement can be shared by several local protest groups across the American continent, but this identity does not necessary mean the same for the different actors since it may be understood differently in different environments. Another implication is that regional integration may be both integrating on the regional level, since actors from different countries share some common understandings, and it may integrate actors at sub-regional levels, as they interpret and adjust these understandings to local conditions.

This takes us to another crucial concept developed by the NR/NRA: “The Weave World”. Regionalisation is seen as a contradictory and multidimensional process, where cooperation and conflict are interwoven and inseparable characteristics. It is through these processes that ideas and identities are constructed, deconstructed and reconstructed. This means that several regional projects can happen at the same time; there is not one process of regionalisation or one new regionalism, but several regionalisations and regionalisms (Marchand et al. 1999: 1063). The NR/NRA theorists argue that regionalisms will happen differently in different conditions, and hence, that one cannot develop universal theories of regionalism (Bøås et al. 2003:199). This counters the motivations of the NRA, and the constructivism of the NR/NRA can be said to stand closer to postmodern or relativist ideas than the constructivism inherent in the NRA.

Another aspect that is emphasised by these scholars is David Harvey’s “time-space compression” (1989). The modernisation of technology and communication has

made the world relatively smaller, since the constraints to human activity imposed by time and space are reduced. As the world is shrinking, the obstacles to regional and global activities also disappear. These new conditions imply both challenges and possibilities for regional actors, which must develop new strategies. In accordance with these changes, civil society groups, such as the anti-FTAA movement, have also had to adjust to the new realities. They have to become a regional actor to influence other regional actors and regionalisms.

The NR/NRA is not a realist theory in the traditional sense of the word, but it claims to present a more realistic view of the world than other approaches. Their focus on the third world and complex and conflicting processes is meant to grasp the complexities of the “real” world (Söderbaum 2002:31). To get the whole picture it is important not only to analyse formal and advanced regionalisation, but also to uncover the different layers, actors and types of regionalisation that constitute regionalisms. This implies that integration can have diverging effects, not only creating peace, development or economic growth. In addition, to bring in the realist perspective on power and dominance is also among the motivations of the NR/NRA. However, the use of the word realist may lead to misunderstandings, since the concept is widely used with a different interpretation and has a long tradition in social science. In addition, it is not in accordance with the constructivist approach to present a “real” image of social life. Various people understand the world differently and there is not one “real” regionalism, but a multitude of conceptions of it.

3.5 Combining Rational and Reflectivist Approaches

The conflict between the rational and reflectivist approaches to regionalism is not a given. This thesis is based on the assumption that the two perspectives are complementary: they both explain important but different aspects of regionalism.

The rational approach helps us understand rational motivations behind human behaviour, and this is an important part of what motivates several of the members of

the anti-FTAA movement. The protesters wish to stop the FTAA because they think an agreement is counter to their interests. There are clear, but different, material motivations both of groups in the North and the South for resisting the FTAA. The rational approach may, in this way, help uncover motivations, strategies and constraints to action of various actors.

The actors might be motivated by material needs and acting according to rationality when joining the movement, but interaction with other people and the fact that they are a part of a network influence them. It influences both how they understand the environment, themselves and their own interests. In other words: social movements have constitutive effects. In this, the reflectivist approaches call to attention new aspects that the rational approach does not explain. The reflectivist approaches introduce norms, social relations and inter-subjective understandings. They prepare the field for more complex analysis of actors and motives, and explain how interests and identities might change in the course of time. This does not imply that the actors necessarily are irrational, but rather that they work with a different rationality. In addition, the actors lack perfect information, they have several and conflicting interests, both material and immaterial, and learning, relationships with other actors, and identity will influence the choices they make in decisive ways. Ideational and relational aspects are central to regionalism, but not included in the rational approach.³¹

Both rational and some reflectivist theories have tended to reduce regionalism to formal state led processes. Informal processes are hidden and harder to grasp, but they still represent central aspects of regionalism. More empirical studies on the field have to be done to improve the theoretical tools, so that this aspect can be included. Connected to this is the narrow empirical selection of regional studies. A large part of both rational and reflectivist theories have been built on experiences from the

³¹ Still, it is not fair to criticise the rational approaches for the inability to include identity, since it is not arguing that it does.

North³², and have not included the rest of the world in their analyses. When the South has been included, it has been interpreted from a Northern point of view, and understood by theory developed for Northern relations. Thus, focusing on other actors and informal interaction, and developing empirical studies from Southern parts of the world might contribute to improve our understandings of regionalism.

The focus on security and economic questions has led the rational approach to underestimate the significance of regionalisation. Regional cooperation is, according to the rational approach, a tool which rational actors can use in the pursuit of material interests. Even though the institutional theory stresses learning and spill-over effects, the independent value of regional cooperation has not been recognised. Regionalisation represents more than the actual cooperation for its members. Regional cooperation can create regional identities, and these identities have had important influence on regional organisations and the actors involved.³³ This is a critical understanding that will be further elaborated in the analysis of this thesis.

While the reflectivist scholars tend to be more critical of economic regionalist projects, and focus more on political and cultural regionalisation, the rational school has had a more optimistic view on regionalism. The rational approach has to a large extent built its analysis on quantitative data, and produced hypotheses that are easier both to measure and to falsify, but this also means that its analyses are limited to certain questions. It is even argued that the realist discursive hegemony, with its rational approach to international relations, is maintained by reducing critical and reflectivist approaches as unscientific or speculative, or one has ignored them completely (Wendt 1992).

One final critique of the rational approach is that it has a material definition of power. It does not address the question of by whom, for whom and for what purpose

³² Mostly the EU.

³³ Illustratively, in the EU country representatives have developed a culture and identities different from the ones they had before entering Brussels. Interaction may change their interests and understandings, in other words: the union is something other than its member countries (Jørgensen 2003).

regionalism occurs (Neumann 1999). It has been criticised by reflectivist scholars for constructing a world in which power is reproduced and subjection is left unquestioned (Wendt 1992). It is, however, necessary to uncover the power relations involved in the process of regionalisation. This will assist our understanding of by whom and in which ways the processes are influenced. The power to influence people's identities and ideas, ideational power, is an important force in the process of regionalisation.

The rise of social constructivism is among the most important theoretical developments in international relations in the last decades (Söderbaum 2002:39). It has been argued that the constructivist approach can serve as a bridge between the rational and reflectivist approaches (Smith 1997:183-184). The reason is that constructivism³⁴ includes the reflectivist rejection of positivism and tries to uncover how identities, interests, and our understanding of reality are socially constructed, at the same time it does not reject rationality. Constructivism has a sociological, agent oriented and micro oriented perspective. It tries to transcend the distinction between objectivism and subjectivism, and argues that a clear-cut distinction does not exist in social sciences. It emphasises the mutual dependency between agent and structure, where meaning, constructed by individuals, is institutionalised or transformed into social structures. These structures then become a part of the system of meaning that the individual thinks and acts within (Giddens 1979:69-73). Social actors thereby create and are created by social structures.

With the inclusion of constructivism there may be substantial areas of agreement between rationalism and reflectivism, and one could understand these concepts pragmatically, as analytical tools, and not as metaphysical positions. The approaches ask different questions and look at different aspects of regionalisation,

³⁴ Recognising the rich tradition of constructivist studies and the variety of constructivist approaches I use the term constructivism here in the understanding reflectivist constructivism (or wider; social constructivism) as described by Söderbaum (2002). For a further discussion of the concept see Söderbaum 2002:38-40.

but are not necessarily contradictory. At times the disagreements within the different approaches might be deeper than the ones between them³⁵ (Fearon and Wendt 2002), and if one ignores zero-sum understandings and instead involves in research which includes insights from both approaches, one may reach more fruitful findings.

A Revised New Regionalisms Approach

Several reflectivist scholars present an overview of the main approaches and discussions of new regionalism in a newly published reader: “Theories of Regionalism” (Söderbaum and Shaw (eds.) 2003). One of the main disagreements in the field occurs between the generalists and the contextualists. There is no consensus on the possibility or even preferability of constructing a universal theory of regionalism. Several of the writers emphasise the diverse conditions in which regionalisms evolve. They argue that regionalism will develop differently and take on different meanings in different contexts (Bøås et al., Falk, Hettne and Mistry). It is thus difficult, if not impossible, to create one universal theory that could apply to all the diverse contexts. Still, all the theorists make generalist claims, and some, the editors in particular, support the creation of a New Regionalism Theory (NRT). They argue that such a theory may contribute to comparative studies of regionalism, something that has been lacking in regional studies (Söderbaum and Shaw 2003:214).

Fredrik Söderbaum (2002), one of the NRA scholars, presents several insights that could be included in a New Regionalism Theory. The theory should be built on constructivism, and recognise that regionalism is constructed by social processes. These processes will be influenced both by external and internal forces. The NRT should see regionalism as multidimensional, dynamic and political. It can result from strategic interest-seeking actors, but it can also be created unintentionally. He proposes that the role of ideas and identities should not be ignored, and that these can be equally important as material motivations for regionalism (ibid:55-57). Söderbaum

³⁵ This is especially true for the reflectivist approach.

argues further that a NRT should be built on critical International Political Economy, but should not be too heavily focused on power and hegemony. What one should try to uncover is in whose interests regionalism is constructed, and include the developmental aspect of regionalism (ibid:35-54). The NRT should include a more nuanced understanding of space, and reject the space as container schemas inherent in classical theorising. Regionalism can happen on several levels at the same time. Even though most new research on regionalism recognises the importance of a variety of non-state actors, the actual studies carried out are often state-centric. A challenge to further research is to go beyond the state-centric view of political science, without over-emphasising the role of societal actors. This could be done by transcending the traditional divide between state and non-state actors (Söderbaum 2002: 55; Söderbaum and Shaw 2003:222). None of these issues are new to regional theorising, but they are nevertheless important aspects that could improve studies of regionalism.

This study aims to contribute to the new regionalisms debate. It supports the development of a revised new regionalisms approach, if not a Regionalism Theory. This is because I share the NR/NRA understandings of regionalism as a product of specific geographical, cultural, social and structural surroundings. At the same time I recognise the need for improved theoretical tools in the study of regionalisms. A background for studying the role of social movements could be to regard states as complex, and not unitary, actors, to understand that the domestic and international levels are interrelated, and that states do not monopolise political processes (Smith et al. 1997:74). Through an analysis of the anti-FTAA movement's role in the processes of regionalisation and regionalism in the Americas, I wish to produce case-specific conclusions that might contribute to a better understanding of new regionalisms. It has been argued that both rational and constructivist approaches should be included in future regionalist analyses, and insights from both approaches will inform to the discussions in this thesis. The main contributions that the thesis aims to present to the debate are: The combination of rational and reflectivist insights, the role of social

movements in regionalism and regionalisation, and informal regionalisation as an unintended effect of social mobilising.

4. Methodology

“There is no such thing as a logical method of having new ideas (...) every discovery contains “an irrational element” or a “creative intuition”” (Popper 1959:32).

The differences between quantitative and qualitative research methods have been overemphasised by many scholars. Style and techniques clearly divide the two methods, but they build to some degree on the same underlying logic (King et al. 1994:3). Some even argue that they are not different methods, and that they just use different kinds of data (Grønmo 1996:73). This thesis will not continue this discussion, but acknowledges its importance.

The choice to use qualitative analysis is based partly on practical and partly on theoretical reasons. I find it difficult to build the analysis on quantitative data since both time and economy is limited, and existing quantitative data on the field are few, if not absent. From a more substantial point of view, the choice of focusing on qualitative data was based on the insight that cooperation, identity, regionalism and informal regionalisation are notions that are hard to quantify. Consequently, I chose to build the study on participatory observation, interviews, conversations and existing texts. The key variables which are included are regional cooperation, identity formation, regionalisation and regionalism. I will try to uncover if the anti-FTAA movement can be understood as a regional network, if its cooperation contributes to the creation of a regional identity, and the effects of this identity formation on regionalisations and regionalisms in the Americas.

4.1 The Case

It can be argued that the anti-FTAA movement is a tough case. First, the diversity of the movement makes identity formation less likely. Identity formation in the anti-FTAA movement can thus provide us with complex understandings of how regional

identities evolve and diffuse from regional cooperation. Second, the general conception is that social movements influence issues with high moral importance and have only limited influence on economic issues (see e.g. Keck and Sikkink 1998:2). This is because economy demands technical expertise, it has a certain prestige, and has been connected to an atmosphere of secrecy. Hence, civil society participation in economic issues is not seen as useful or even appropriate by policymakers (Shamsie 2000:8). The recognition of social movement influence on these issues may strengthen the belief in social movements as important actors in transnational politics.

4.2 Data Material

The selection of the material for analysis is dependent on the research problem, already existing knowledge on the subject, and of course, the access to data. I chose to build my analysis on a variety of data, since social movements, identity formation, regionalism and regionalisation are complex concepts.

Participatory Observation

The participatory observation was carried out in Miami during the eighth FTAA ministerial in November 2003. During the days before the meeting I attended the First American Trade and Sustainable Development Forum (ATSDF). This is a civil society forum, held inside the security perimeters of the FTAA Ministerial, and its objectives was to present suggestions from the civil society to the negotiating trade ministers. After attending the ATSDF for three days, I studied several civil society events outside the security perimeter. I went to the anarchist camp and witnessed their planning of the demonstrations, attended various workshops before and after the demonstrations and saw how these meetings contributed to the mobilisation of demonstrators, and attended the main demonstration and some smaller protests.

As an observer I had the opportunity to witness how the various parts of the movement cooperated and worked at the events. Several of the attendants at the ATSDF, the workshops and the demonstrations were students or academics. I had

consequently few problems with becoming a “normal” protester and it seemed like, except from the people that were interviewed, most protesters saw me as one of them, and did not change their actions notably because of my presence.³⁶

Unstructured Interviews

I had very limited knowledge about the anti-FTAA movement before going to Miami, and tried to keep an open mind when studying the protesters. I interviewed representatives of the reformists, the workers, the anarchists and the network organisations, and I used informal and unstructured interviews trying to establish an informal situation and to make the respondents talk as freely as possible. The respondents did to a large degree guide the conversations. Standardised interviews increase the comparability, give complete data and reduce the control effect, but it is not a very flexible method and can function as a “strait jacket” (Mikkelsen 1995:103). This method would be less fruitful for my analysis, since I am interested in what the respondents choose to talk about and what words they choose to use. The use of open interviews increases the possibility to uncover the complex nature of identities.³⁷

In all, I interviewed 13 representatives of the anti-FTAA movement. Still, I wish to give prominence to three of the interviews: these were with Sarah Kendall from the Independent Media Centre, Eric Dannenmaier, the director of the Tulane institute, and Sarah Anderson from the Hemispheric Social Alliance. Kendall represents the anarchists and the most radical opponents to the FTAA, Dannenmaier was one of the participants and organisers of the ATSDF and represents the reformers, while Anderson represents one of the largest networks in the movement and was among the organisers of the workshops and demonstrations. These interviews were the deepest and most informative. In addition, I did several shorter

³⁶ Except from the anarchist camp, where my appearance clearly separated me from the rest of the crowd.

³⁷ I do not include an interview guide in the appendix because of the informal style of my interviews.

interviews that helped me create a broader picture of the movement.³⁸ Speaking both Spanish and English made it possible for me to adjust to the language of most of the respondents,³⁹ and this minimised misunderstandings due to language.

In addition, the Latin American Group in Norway (LAG) arranged a discussion about the FTAA in Oslo in March 2004. Among the participants was the coordinator of the “No al ALCA Comité”⁴⁰ in Uruguay, Damian Osta. I interviewed Osta and attended the meeting, where David Andres Duarte Raventos, the president of the student council at Universidad de Valparaíso, Chile, also gave a speech. This gave me a chance to study the representatives of the anti-FTAA movement outside the Americas, and to note interesting changes in rhetoric from the ones attending the protests in Miami.

I tried to get in touch with representatives from countries different in wealth and economic importance, from organisations representing different interests, and from different levels of the hierarchy in the organisational structure. The actual selection could not be as broad as one would prefer, since it was dependent on whom I was able to get in touch with, and who accepted to be interviewed. My three main interviews took place with leaders of three main groups in the movement, and my shorter interviews were with people from lower levels of the hierarchy.

Text Analysis

Little has been written about the anti-FTAA movement, but the members of the movement are producing a large amount of texts. Because of the complexity of the movement I found it fruitful to supply the collected data with important texts. Discourse analysts often use existing texts, since these texts have the advantage of not being written for the study and thus not be influenced by the research situation (Jørgensen and Phillips 1999: 127). Because of the limited economic resources of

³⁸ See a complete list in the reference.

³⁹ All I met spoke either Spanish or English.

⁴⁰ “No to the FTAA Committee”.

many of the groups in the movement they do not publish much on paper, they rather use the Internet to distribute their messages. Internet texts are also more accessible, and may thus serve as an important source of information about the movement.

There is a multitude of Internet pages coordinating the anti-FTAA campaign. The Internet pages are produced to engage and motivate the readers and they thus use a specific type of language. They can be understood as the clearest and most extreme expression of the opposition. These pages also tell us about the extent of cooperation in the movement. They are used to arrange events such as the FTAA demonstrations and workshops, and they are important meeting points for the different groups and individuals in the movement. In addition to the Internet articles, flyers and brochures gathered in Miami also contributed to the study. The text analysis includes a study of 38 articles⁴¹ published by the network organisations, the reformists, the labour movement and the radicals.

4.3 How to Measure the Central Concepts

Cooperation

The first research question that the analysis will try to answer is if it is accurate to call the groups and individuals in the anti-FTAA campaign a movement. To illuminate this issue I will compare my empirical findings with Margaret E. Keck and Kathryn Sikkink's description of transnational advocacy networks. The discussion will depend on the protesters' own understandings of themselves, but it will to a larger degree than the other analyses build on empirical observations. The interaction I observed between the various groups in Miami, and what I learned from the interviews and the text analysis will serve as the main indicators of cooperation and interaction within the movement.

⁴¹ See a complete list in the references.

Identity

The main methodological challenges of this thesis will be to uncover the actors' identities, and to point to changes in identities. For the identity formation process to proceed the actors have to internalise the identity, which means that they have to give it meaning (Castells 1997:7). The internalisation is hard to measure empirically, and one will have to try to interpret the actors' own understanding of their identity from the stories and the words they use to describe themselves. It is imperative here to notice how people speak about the material and social world, and to understand why they choose the words they use. The questions asked will be of great importance. Having good understandings of central concepts and being able to interpret the statements of the respondents is of course also decisive. In the interviews I tried to make the respondents tell stories that described what groups they felt they belonged to, and who represented the main obstacles to their campaign. Implications of a common identity will be close and stable cooperation, common understandings of a We and common descriptions of the Others.

It is crucial to point out that it is the identity of a limited number of opposition members that is studied here. The study of these selected protesters will be used in the more general argument about the feeling of regional identity in the opposition. One cannot claim that the public in general share this regional feeling. Nevertheless, I will argue that if the regional identity is an important part of the anti-FTAA movement's identity, it may also influence the identities of other sections of the American society. This is because the movement is a powerful actor, and it plays a central role both in local communities and at the national and regional level. Both national and regional decision-makers and the general civil society have realised that they must take them into account, and one can thus expect these actors to be influenced by identity formation within the movement.

Regionalisation and Regionalism

It is not enough to understand regionalisation by formal treaties or defined border lines. Formal agreements and negotiations, such as the FTAA, can be used as implications of a regional process, but the process may evolve without creating a formal agreement. Increased contact, cooperation, and the creation of a common hemispheric identity will serve as indicators of a process of informal regionalisation. The analysis will try to describe how some central actors in the anti-FTAA movement understand their own situation. To reveal how alternative regionalisms may evolve after social movement pressure, I will study processes of strategic framing and point to possible changes created by these processes.

4.4 Methodological Interpretations

When doing interviews, one will always have to accept that some of the answers might be influenced by the way the questions are asked, the interviewer, and the interview situation. The researcher's own understanding of reality will influence the conclusions reached, and the respondent's answers might be influenced by the interviewing situation. By studying regional identities, the researcher will make the respondent aware of the research questions. The awareness might make the interviewed believe that such an identity exists and confirm the hypothesis of the researcher. In the last resort it might even contribute to the construction of a regional identity for the involved respondents. Hence, it is important that the researcher is constantly aware of her position in the research situation.

All the people interviewed for this study knew that I was a master's student writing about their movement, and this off course also influenced the answers they gave me. The media was well-represented in Miami during the ministerial meeting, and some of the people I spoke with were used to talking to the press. At times they tried to give me information suited for this genre, but after having attended both the

demonstrations and the meetings I managed to some extent to be defined as one of the protesters. This contributed to more open and diverse conversations.

The respondents were strongly influenced by the special situation they were in. Being in Miami during these hectic demonstration days influenced us all, and even the researcher felt the cause strongly. The enormous police attendance, the media's presence everywhere, the masses of people, the speeches and the banners created a strong feeling of community, of being in the centre of attention, and of the importance of the cause. These feelings might be exaggerated compared to the community feeling in the protesters' everyday lives.

One important weakness of the data is that most of the people going to Miami to protest were from the US. The majority of protesters that came from the rest of the continent were either elites and/or paid by organisations in the North. The reason for this bias is both that it is expensive to travel, and that it is hard to get a visa if you are from Latin America and want to go to the US to demonstrate. Hence, the impressions I got might not be representative for the anti-FTAA movement in general. The text analysis of Internet pages from the entire continent will help reducing this problem.

An important recognition when studying the interviews and the texts is that the members of the anti-FTAA movement have an interest in presenting themselves as a wide-reaching movement, with broad cooperation and regional support. This aspect had to be taken into account when interviewing certain parts of the movement. Leaders and organisers of the events had a special interest in creating this impression. Hence, I asked indirect questions and tried to get behind the "official" versions.

It is not possible to draw wide reaching conclusions from this project, but I will argue that it represents an important building block for the study of new regionalisms. It raises interesting questions that might contribute to improve the understanding of the process of regionalisation both in the Americas and in the world in general. The project may also stimulate the understanding of identity formation and the role of social movements in the regional process.

5. A Regional Advocacy Network

“...everybody was part of the same thing. Our differences did not matter. We were all thinking the same, feeling the same. There I understood the struggle is really regional” (Kendall 2003[interview]) [about a former demonstration against the FTAA]).

This study aims to uncover if the anti-FTAA movement, through its regional cooperation, creates a regional identity and if it plays a central role in processes of regionalisation in the Americas. The first question that will contribute to answer this is: *does the anti-FTAA movement represent a regional advocacy network?*

For analytical reasons I have chosen to divide the movement into four main subgroups: the reformists, the network organisations, the labour movement, and the anarchists. The reformists participated at the ATSDF and they wish to reform, and not abolish, the FTAA. They are academics or elites from the various organisations. The network organisations are among the main organisers of the campaign and play a central role coordinating the movement. The labour movement is a main financial supporter of the campaign and is also among the most profiled. The network organisations and the labour movement are described as radicals, but it is the anarchists who are the most radical opponents of the FTAA, and who receive most of the media attention.

This chapter will examine whether the anti-FTAA campaign can be understood as a *movement*, or if it is a collection of separate groups advocating personal interests. I will compare my research on the anti-FTAA movement with Keck and Sikkink’s (1998) definition of transnational⁴² advocacy networks. I will focus on four main network characteristics: regional cooperation, shared issues, flat structure, and entrepreneurship.

⁴² Here defined as regional.

5.1 Regional Cooperation

To be understood as a regional network the groups have to cooperate regionally and this implies an inclusion of actors from the whole continent. A quantitative survey of the frequency and characteristics of contacts could have produced a clearer picture of the cooperation. Still, a qualitative research has the advantage of uncovering the complexity of this interaction.

Social movements in the Americas have historically had a national and local focus. There has been little hemispheric cooperation between the different movements, even though many of them have worked for related issues (Drainville 1999: 219-223). In the campaign against the NAFTA social movements in Canada, Mexico and the US started to cooperate, and this cooperation has later inspired cooperation on the rest of the continent (Anderson 2003 [interview]). Today this campaign includes close and frequent cooperation between organisations and individuals from most of the American countries, including Cuba (Coronado 2003 [interview]). It seems as if regional projects, such as the FTAA, have forced civil society actors to communicate and to create regional networks to be able to meet their opponents at the regional level. Large hemispheric networks, such as the Hemispheric Social Alliance (HSA), are proofs of the growing regional cooperation.

States and institutions can play an important role in civil society mobilisation and networking (Korzeniewicz and Smith 2001:6), and there are some institutional traits in the FTAA which support civil society cooperation. Regional organisations can contribute to the building of regional networks by establishing NGO programs and policy consultations. In the same way as the IMF, the IDB, OAS and the World Bank (Drainville 1999: 224-229), the FTAA has launched a forum for civil society participation: the American Trade and Sustainable Development Forum (ATSDF). Hence, it seems like claims for civil society participation have forced the FTAA to support the development of regional coalitions of civil society groups. Meeting places such as these are crucial for the creation of networks.

Interaction and personal contacts are important for identity formation. The different meeting places mentioned above, the ATSDF, the demonstrations, the workshops and the Internet sites, play a central role in the construction of an anti-FTAA identity. These alternative events have, most likely, few direct effects on the outcome of the negotiations, but they may create press coverage and influence the general opinion, dominating discourses and future negotiations (Shamsie 2000:21). Most importantly they influence the protesters, and may in this way create informal processes of regionalisation. Both the protesters themselves, the police, the media, the corporate sector and the negotiators learn that the movement exists through these kinds of events. In other words: the movement becomes real.

The anti-FTAA movement does not only work regionally, it uses a multi-sided strategy to influence regionalisms in the Americas. It tries to affect local state actors, regional negotiations and the general public simultaneously. It is the regional actions that have gained the most attention, since these gather the largest number of people. Still, the daily cooperation between various groups in order to influence local actors is an important part of the movement's work. Some of the activists even argued that it was the local level that was most important (Rosenberg 2003 [speech]). This attempt to influence various levels simultaneously can be expected to increase the movement's mobilising and influencing potential.

Still, it is important to note that regional interaction does not have to create community and solidarity between the various groups involved. Interaction may just as well reinforce national or sub-national identities and sustain to a division of the groups (McCarthy 1997:248). One of my respondents, Damian Osta, argued that, in spite of the increased hemispheric interaction, the cooperation was still closest between the Latin-American organisations. He was rather sceptical towards the North American ones, even though he cooperated with them and regarded some of them as

“compañeros”.⁴³ For him there was a clear divide between the ones who advocated solidarity with the Latin American people and those who fought for own national interests. When among the Latin-American organisations he did not operate with this divide (Osta 2004 [interview]). This implies that there are limitations to the regional cooperation, and that some groups, especially some of the Latin American ones, still operate with a clear divide between the North and the South.⁴⁴

The uneven relationship between the Northern and Southern organisations may also counter regional cooperation. Organisations from North America are financially stronger than their Southern neighbours, and one would expect them to dominate the anti-FTAA campaign. However, most of the people I interviewed did not support this assertion. They admitted that the US had dominated the movement in the beginning, but argued that the Latin American organisations are the most important today (Kendall 2003 [interview]; Anderson 2003 [interview]; Coronado 2003 [interview]). Illustratively, the working language in several of the big network organisations is Spanish. The reasons for the North American dominance in the Miami protests are clear: the meeting was held in the US and travelling and getting a visa to the US is not easy for Latin American residents. At the seventh ministerial in Quito, Ecuador, it was, according to protesters that had attended both events, the Latin American protesters that dominated the demonstrations (Kendall 2003 [interview]; Cook 2003 [interview]).

In spite of some obstacles, it is the extensive regional cooperation that makes the anti-FTAA campaign possible. For a civil society movement it is crucial to be able to present itself as a representative of a broad section of the people. Without the broad support the campaign would not have had the same legitimacy in the political process.

⁴³ Spanish for comrades, colleagues, friends.

⁴⁴ It should be noted that Osta was interviewed in Norway, and that he therefore could be more explicit in his critique of the US.

The Internet

The Internet has revolutionised networking, and it has never before been this easy to coordinate large numbers of people. It contributes to a new kind of social mobilisation, and proximity and financial strength is not as decisive as before. Illustratively, the anti-FTAA Internet sites are central in the coordinating of the anti-FTAA campaign, and were widely used in the time before the demonstrations in Miami.⁴⁵ In periods with no major mobilisation one must expect them to be less used, but the ability to enter these sites and reach contact and information is important for the daily running of a movement. The different anti-FTAA sites have links to other pages that work with related issues. They bring organisations, individuals and networks together, distribute information, coordinate events and may contribute to a feeling of community and common cause for the various groups. E-mailing lists,⁴⁶ chat rooms, and articles open up for a broad and informal debate without creating sharp confrontations. This makes it possible for the movement to be both coordinated and diverse at the same time, and it represents new possibilities for decision-making.

New technology is also used by the FTAA secretariat to increase civil society participation. “The open invitation to the civil society” is an Internet based communication channel, where civil society actors can articulate their concerns and suggestions to the FTAA. However, the Internet has important limitations both for mobilising adherents and as a channel for participation. A study conducted by Oxford Analytica⁴⁷ revealed that there are only 8 million Internet users in Latin America (Shamsie 2000:9). The differences in training and access to computers may create a gap between organisations from rich countries and those from poor ones. Still, there are examples of relatively marginalised groups that use the Internet to spread their

⁴⁵ For instance, in the months leading up to the FTAA protest in Miami, the “FTAA resistance” site had close to 500,000 hits a month.

⁴⁶ I signed up to one of these lists, and received several messages a day in the period before and shortly after the demonstration in Miami.

⁴⁷ I have not been able to check this statistic. A possible source of errors may be that Internet use is defined as Internet access at home. In poorer countries the Internet is to a large degree used at Internet cafes or at the work place.

message and get in contact with other groups.⁴⁸ In addition, technology is currently spreading to an increasingly larger part of the American population.

An Obstacle: Language

Language is an obstacle to communication between the anti-FTAA protest groups. Even though a large part of the leaders speak both Spanish and English, the majority of the protesters speak only one of the four official American languages. With Spanish and English as the two most used languages, the language problem represents a burden on the people that are bilingual, at the same time as they are given a disproportionately central position in the movement. The different languages enforce the division between the various cultural groups in the Americas, and learning to handle this obstacle will therefore be crucial for the anti-FTAA movement. Still, there are reports and stories of frequent cooperation and close relationships between people that do not speak the same languages (Anderson 2003 [interview]).

Illustratively, limited resources made it difficult to operate in all four official languages also in Miami. In all the anti-FTAA meetings in Miami translations were made into Spanish and English, but only a few meetings also had translations into French and Portuguese. Still, the wide use of the Internet helps reversing the language problem, since it is easier to communicate and understand a written than a spoken language. In addition, it should be pointed out that other transnational movements in more linguistically diverse regions would face greater language problems than the anti-FTAA movement.

⁴⁸ The Zapatista movement in Chiapas in Mexico is the most known of these groups. The Internet has helped them spread their message and establish a close cooperation with organisations both on the American continent and from the rest of the world (Castells 1997:79-81). The Zapatistas have played an important role first in the campaign against the NAFTA agreement, and now in the anti-FTAA movement.

5.2 Shared Issues

“...they are organized to promote causes, principled ideas, and norms, and they often involve individuals advocating policy changes that cannot be easily linked to rationalist understanding of their interests” (Keck and Sikkink 1998:9).

The most defining characteristic of the anti-FTAA movement is its heterogeneity. The movement consists of different groups with different motivations, some of which have existed for years and some that are newly mobilised. The groups have varying economic, personal and organisational resources, and one may say that values and goals define the movement more than social characteristics. Some of the protesters, the majority of the network organisations, the labour movement and the anarchists, are completely against the FTAA and want to abolish it all together. However, some are reformists and want to influence the agreement, but does not oppose it completely.

Still, one can argue that it is not different goals, but rather how to reach these goals that differentiates the various protesters. While the reformists believe that it is impossible to stop the FTAA, and that civil society participation is the most effective way to influence the agreement, the majority of the more radical protesters believe that it is impossible to reform the FTAA, and that the only way to influence it is to oppose the entire agreement. They all wish to influence the agreement, but they choose different means for this end. In addition, there is no clear division between the ones that cooperate with the FTAA and the ones that choose to stay outside: “Both the reformists and the HSA protest groups have members in both camps. So there is a grey area between insiders and outsiders.” (Rosenberg 2004 [personal communication]). Illustratively, about 75 HSA representatives, including the leadership, registered for the ATSDF after stating that they would not participate.

Several of the groups within the protest movement arranged their own meetings in Miami, and the labour movement and the reformists had their own forums. This may imply that the various groups are motivated by special interests. However, the different groups did not participate only on their own arrangements;

there were a wide mixture of people at most meetings (Anderson 2003 [interview]). They also discussed each other's issues, and not only issues directly related to their own particular interests.⁴⁹ These meetings represented a unique chance for the groups to learn about the different situations, and the inclusion of other groups' problems may imply a feeling of solidarity. Hence, it seems that the groups are motivated by a mix of both personal and altruistic interests and that these cannot easily be separated from each other.

Conflicting interests between the Northern and Southern groups may also fragment the movement. As demonstrated, some argued that the North American groups were motivated by national interests, while the Latin-Americans were motivated by solidarity (Osta 2004 [interview]). This created the impression of a division between the interests of the North and the South. However, my experience was that the different groups used similar rhetoric, and that the differences within Northern and Southern groups were as strong as the ones between the North and the South.⁵⁰

The campaign against the FTAA should be the groups' main focus if they are an integrated movement. The FTAA is the top case in most of the Internet sites I have studied, but many of the sites also include other issues, such as liberalisation in general.⁵¹ Hence, it may seem that it is not the FTAA, but the battle against liberalisation, or globalisation, that unites the groups in the anti-FTAA movement. In addition, several of the protesters attend other demonstrations and campaigns: "the core of the anti-FTAA movement also showed up in Seattle, Geneva, at WTO meetings etc" (Rosenberg 2004 [personal communication]; and "the WTO, the IMF, the World Bank and the FTAA are all parts of our battle" (Kendall 2003 [interview]).

⁴⁹ The workers for instance included several issues that were not directly related to workers rights: like environment, gender and sovereignty.

⁵⁰ See Chapter 6 for a further discussion.

⁵¹ E.g. Global Exchange, Attac, Oxfam and the Alliance for Responsible Trade.

However, there is not necessarily a contradiction between globalisation and regionalisation, and regional networks may exist simultaneously with global ones.

According to Keck and Sikkink (1998) regional advocacy networks are built on shared issues and motivated by values, and the actions of protesters can not easily be led back to personal interests. Much of their actions are built on a shared discourse⁵² between the members, and their motivations are not only to change an outcome, for instance to stop the FTAA agreement, but also to change the terms of the debate, for instance to change the focus from free to fair trade, or from profit to workers' rights. Advocacy network are trying to establish their understanding of the world, to distribute information and frame issues to motivate support. They try to influence the identities of their members, and if they are successful in their work, they can have constitutive effects, not only on their members, but also on external actors. The anti-FTAA movement is complex and its members have different goals inspiring their engagement in the movement. The groups would be opponents in most other questions, but they are united in the campaign against the FTAA.

5.3 Flat Structure and Close Personal Bonds

“Networks are forms of organization characterized by voluntary, reciprocal, and horizontal patterns of communication and exchange” (Keck and Sikkink 1998:8).

The cooperation in the anti-FTAA movement has different forms and consequences for the various groups and for the various people within these groups. Briefly, it can be said that the closest cooperation seems to take place between the leaders, or elites, in the movement. These meet regularly and some of them even characterise each other as friends (Anderson 2003 [interview]). On a lower organisational level the cooperation is more random and not as wide-reaching. The cooperation is closest between groups with related interests, but large musters such as the demonstrations in

⁵² The components of this discourse will be elaborated further in the next chapter.

Miami contribute to the creation of tight bonds also between groups that oppose each other in other cases.

The debates at the ATSDF were characterised by a friendly and informal style, and several of the participants knew each other from earlier events. The cooperation seemed to be close, personal and long-lasting for a number of the participants. Several of them had contributed in organising the forum, had organised similar events earlier, were planning events in the future, or had worked together on research projects. In addition, an extended exchange of business cards and e-mail addresses indicated contact in the future. The need for close and lasting contacts was discussed at several occasions and the participants all seemed to value networking highly.

At the demonstrations and the workshops similar trends could be witnessed. Demonstrations of this scale demand a lot of planning, and several groups had worked together for months before the events.⁵³ The planning of the demonstration required cooperation between new groups and it contributed to the building of new networks. The AFL-CIO, America's largest workers' union, was one of the main organisers of the demonstrations, and among the largest financial contributors to the campaign (Dannenmaier 2003 [interview]). They were well organised, wearing similar t-shirts, had coordinated banners, and common slogans. Because of the cooperation between the labour movement and the other groups, personal bonds were established, and they managed to combine the various special interests of the workers' movement and the other interest groups both at the demonstration and at the workshops.

A large number of groups and individuals were engaged in the organisation of the events in Miami. Information and housing, travel and other practical help were offered by a significant number of organisations and groups on beforehand. Several of the protesters had met before on former ministerial meetings, and informal

⁵³ The main organisations participating in and organising the demonstrations were: AFL-CIO, Alliance for Responsible Trade, Citizen Trade Campaign, Friends of the Earth, Jobs with Justice, Oxfam America and Public Citizen.

networks seemed to exist at the lower levels of the hierarchy. A lot of the participants also knew, or tried to get to know the leaders, and contributed to further integration across the hierarchy. Networking is a rational strategy to improve future career possibilities in a civil society milieu. Hence, personal bonds can be interpreted as a part of a rational strategy both for the campaign and for the individuals.

The anarchists represent a small minority in the movement and had little direct contact with the other groups in the demonstration (Anderson 2003 [interview]; Dannenmaier 2003 [interview]; Kendall 2003 [interview]). They were masked and costumed, and organised several unofficial smaller demonstrations. Still, even the anarchists contributed to the integration of the movement. They had their own welcoming centre, the so-called “convergence centre”, where they lived, ate, made banners and organised everything from babysitters to the distribution of gasmasks. This was a place where young protesters could meet, make friends and learn to know the movement.

Advocacy networks are characterised by their flat structure, and close personal bonds hold them together. They have a more decentralised and loose structure than most organisations, and they have no formal leadership. Hence, the existence of a network depends on continuing communication between the various groups (Keck and Sikkink 1998; Söderbaum 2002). The anti-FTAA network is built both on face-to-face communication and via the Internet, and it is important to point out that this cooperation is not restricted to events such as the Miami ministerial. Local, national, regional and global groups and organisations meet on a more or less regular basis also between the grand events. In addition, more random and small-scale demonstrations and solidarity acts occur all over the continent without reaching the media headlines. These actions express the same engagement as the anti-FTAA movement represented in Miami, and they all contribute to the construction of an American advocacy network.

5.4 Entrepreneurship

“Just as oppression and injustice do not themselves produce movements or revolutions, claims around issues amenable to international action do not produce transnational networks” (Keck and Sikkink 1998: 14).

The anti-FTAA movement does not evolve on its own; it is constructed by political entrepreneurs (c.f. Neumann 1999). This does not mean that it necessarily evolves solely as a part of a project of a rational self-seeking actor, but that there are some actors that exert decisive influence on the process of networking. The leaders of the main organisations in the movement seem to be the main entrepreneurs in the anti-FTAA movement, and they have, to a large extent, the power to define the campaign. I had the opportunity to talk to and observe leaders of the reformists, network organisations, the labour movement⁵⁴ and the anarchists. The leaders were the ones who had the most conscious attitudes towards the movement’s strategies since it was they who had constructed these strategies. Sometimes these actors had different views on the framing of the campaign, but the ones I spoke with had surprisingly similar understandings of the movement and the FTAA, and it was mainly the choice of tactics that divided them. They combined their different views in some common understandings of themselves and their main opponents. Some consistence is expected since the leaders are often pragmatic and have a reflective view, but it can also be read as a sign of an integrated movement. If the different leaders are integrated, this will most likely have a spill-over effect on lower institutional levels. The existence of these entrepreneurs is necessary for the development of the movement, and their integration determines the efficiency of the campaign.

In addition, the anti-FTAA movement can be said to be an entrepreneur in the American process of regionalisation. It tries to influence existing structures, and change the trade discourse on the continent. Social movements often precede the general political development in the society, and in this way define structural

⁵⁴ I did not interview any of the labour leaders, but I attended the labour forum and got to observe them and listen to their speeches there.

features. Institutional structures in the FTAA have been changed as new participation mechanisms have been established. In addition, the debate has changed its scope from being strictly economic to include participation, development, labour rights and the environment.⁵⁵ However, the movement is also constrained and constituted by the same structures. The structures influence the protesters' abilities to participate, their understandings of themselves and their interests, and the means they can use to reach their goals.

Keck and Sikkink argue that social movements are promoted by entrepreneurs or activists who believe that the campaign may create the changes they seek. The anti-FTAA campaign is upheld by entrepreneurs who believe that the movement can change regionalism in the Americas, and it may seem that the movement operates as an entrepreneur as it creates political and social changes in the region.

5.5 Concluding Remarks

The opposition to the FTAA has created alliances between a variety of groups that seldom before have cooperated, such as academics, labour unions, anarchists, environmentalists, feminists and religious groups. These groups are evolving into a regional advocacy network as the campaign against the FTAA proceeds, and this development represents a historical change for the civil society in the Americas.

With its regional cooperation, shared issues, informal and flat structure and entrepreneurship the anti-FTAA movement shares several of the characteristics of a regional advocacy network. However, this is just the beginning of an integration of the different groups, and several obstacles, both political and practical, still need to be handled before one can truly speak of an integrated movement. It is also important to point out that interaction does not necessarily create integration and cooperation. Regional interaction may just as well be a source for conflicts and disintegration.

⁵⁵ This will be discussed further in the 7th chapter.

What I am arguing is that in this particular case, namely the integration process in the Americas and the mobilisation of the anti-FTAA movement, a regional network is evolving.

The next chapter will reveal that much of the strength of the anti-FTAA movement is based on its internal diversity. The movement has managed to create a broad opposition to the FTAA, and an otherwise almost impossible unity of interests. The groups are aware of their differences, and at times even underline them, but at the same time, they manage to cooperate. This is the basis for their identity. The construction of a regional identity is a long process, and it will not happen overnight on a continent as large and divided as America. What we see evolving in the FTAA process is the beginning of a process that might have decisive effects on international politics both in the Americas and in the rest of the world. As explained above, contact and interaction increase the possibility of creating collective identities, and regional cooperation that is not invested with meaning does not constitute a movement. Hence, the discussions in this chapter are closely interlinked with the analysis of the two next chapters.

6. Constructing a Regional Identity

“¡El pueblo desunido jamás sera vencido!” (Castells 2004:147) 56

This chapter will discuss if *the anti-FTAA movement's cooperation creates a regional identity* and describe the characteristics of this identity. It will be difficult to uncover changes in identity since I am only studying the movement at one particular point of time. However, the arguments will rest on existing research that claims that a united American regional identity has not existed earlier, and that political identity in Latin America for a long time has been framed in opposition to the US (Castells 1997; Drainville 1999; Gamble and Payne 1996:253). If I uncover the development of a regional identity today, it may imply that a change has occurred connected to the anti-FTAA campaign. Collective identity is here seen as a social construct and this makes it hard to measure empirically (Melucci 1995:43-51). This is because the nature of the identity, collective, constantly changing and a result of negotiations, makes it a moving target. What a group's collective identity consists of will change over time and for different members of the group. Identity formation can be a part of a rational strategy, but it can also evolve as an unconscious process. The following discussion will try to describe the dynamic aspect of identity, recognise that process is a key characteristic of identity formation, and include the rational aspect of identity formation.

The chapter will reveal traces of a common identity within the anti-FTAA movement. First, the movement's main characteristics of a We will be presented. Second, the characteristics of the Others will be examined. Third, the complexity and antagonism inherent in the identity will be elaborated, before I discuss if the movement's identity can be understood as American.

⁵⁶ “The people, disunited, will never be defeated” (Cardoso 2002 in Castells 2004:147).

6.1 Constructing a We

Identities are always becoming, not being (Mudimbe 2000), and the findings here are clearly just temporal and parts of a current development. A movement's identity is dependent on a common understanding of a We, which means that the individuals and groups within the movement must describe each other according to some common characteristics. In the anti-FTAA movement the understanding of the We is complex, and I will point to two dominating discourses that constitute some of this complexity.

Traditional Leftist and New Post-development Discourse

New social movements share several of the concerns of the labour movement, but they also include new thoughts and respond to new forms of domination (Laclau and Mouffe 1985:159). The anti-FTAA movement is, among other things, promoting human rights, solidarity and development. These claims fit into traditional leftist discourse. Parts of the movement are, however, also endorsing issues and values that correspond with the post-development discourse and changed societal features, such as autonomy and diversity, and reject the development paradigm. These two discourses constitute important parts of the identity formation in the anti-FTAA movement.

The post-development theory (e.g. Latouche 1993; Rahnema and Bawtree 1997) has strong roots in Latin-American academic discourse (see e.g. Escobar 1995). It argues that development is a Western concept and that it is not necessarily the best for all countries. The development project has instead contributed to the strengthening of the Northern powers at the cost of the South, as the North has been defined as developed while the South is underdeveloped. The development discourse has become a given truth, and even the Southern countries understand themselves according to it. The only way the South can get out of this inferior position is to start to redefine themselves. Hence, everyone should be able to decide if, and what kind of, development they want. Economic growth is thus not necessarily the goal for all

societies. Autonomy and self-determination are among the main claims of the anti-FTAA movement, and this places it within the rhetoric of this discourse.

Traditional leftist discourse is built on Marxism and has been articulated most explicitly by the labour movement (Laclau and Mouffe 1985). This discourse has focused on economic distribution and universal rights. Power has been an important aspect, and revolution is framed as the most effective tool for change. Solidarity, unity and equality are central values and constitute the main mobilisers for action. The truth has a strong legitimising potential in traditional leftist discourse, and in accordance with this rhetoric the anti-FTAA movement presents itself as a monopolist of truth. Articles such as “FTAA Myths vs. Realities”⁵⁷ and “Straight from the Horse’s Mouth”⁵⁸ argue that the proponents of the FTAA are liars, while the protest movement reveals the truth. The celebration of truth is connected to the movement as a representative of the people. It is the movement as “the little man’s voice” that creates their credibility, and it is through this representation that they gain legitimacy at the cost of the powerful economic interests.

One explanation for the mixture of traditional and post-development claims in the movement’s rhetoric could be that the opinion, and the dominating discourses, in various American countries are different. One could expect traditional claims to have a strong appeal in Latin America, since a large part of its population can be characterised as poor or working class. Traditional material claims have direct appeal if one experiences material distress in the daily life. In North America the opinion has higher education and is not to the same extent experiencing these problems personally. They can afford to engage in more theoretical and ideological discussions and rise above the direct material questions. The mixture of discourses is thus seen as a compromise between the various organisations in the anti-FTAA movement.

⁵⁷ <http://www.stopftaa.org/article.php?id=21>

⁵⁸ <http://www.stopftaa.org/article.php?id=23>

However, Latin American scholars (e.g. Escobar 1995) have been among the major proponents of post-development theory, and the thoughts have been well received in the Latin American public. A more plausible explanation for the mixture of traditional and new discourses can thus be that it is rather the North American public that endorse the traditional discourse. North American workers are afraid of loosing jobs to the South and hence, they are experiencing the consequences of liberalisation directly. The labour movement in the US has historically been a strong actor, and old and established organisations like this often have problems with adjusting to new discourses.

In studies of anti-globalisation movements it has been argued that their success can be seen as a matter of framing old questions in a new way (Sandberg 2003). Since novelty is an attractive value in modern society (Kumar 1995), it is crucial for a campaign to be conceptualised as something new. New problems have larger mobilising potentials than old ones, since they may be seen as more urgent and with a larger potential to be solved. However, also traditional claims may have strong appeal as they correspond with existing belief systems, and traditional leftist discourse has a broad appeal in both North and South American civil society. Hence, the choice of combining the two discourses when identifying oneself can either be seen as a rational strategy, the movement can combine the various and at times contradictory discourses to increase their mobilising potential (Snow et al. 1986), or it can be seen as an unconscious consequence of the development of new discourses (Tarrow 1992), or as a grand compromise between the various groups in the movement.

In the following, the various characteristics of the movement's identity will be presented. First, I will examine the understandings of the We, presented in Figure 6.1 as a combination of traditional and post-development discourses. It will be argued that the movement sees itself as a united people, motivated by solidarity and promoting revolution, but also as a diverse movement of academics, motivated by autonomy and promoting participation. Second, the understanding of the Others will

be discussed. The Others are more simplistically framed within a traditional leftist discourse as homogenous undemocratic elites, motivated by economic interests.

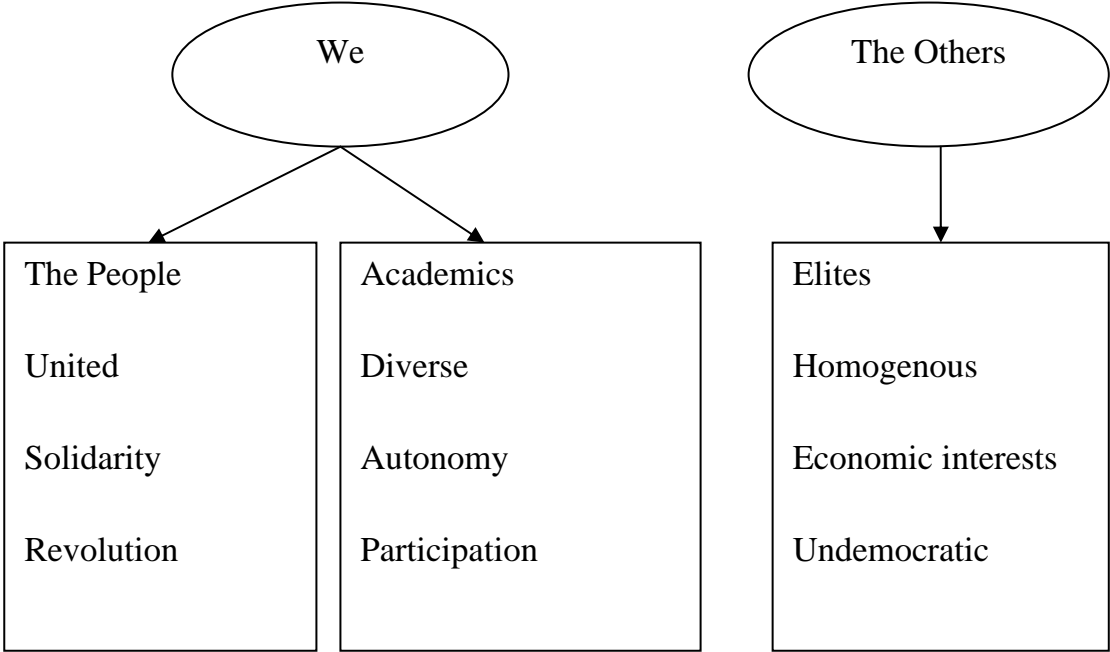


Figure 6.1 Constructing a We and the Others in the anti-FTAA movement

The People and the Academics

The left has, for the last century, declared a monopoly on the right to represent the people, or the lower classes, and this has implied legitimacy and power ever since democracy was established as an unquestionable norm in the Western world (Laclau and Mouffe 1985:2). The anti-FTAA movement is dominated by the political left, and they consequently articulate statements such as: “We are the people of the hemisphere”.⁵⁹ The people is by one of the North American organisations described as “the marginalised (...) immigrants, the poor, women and the people of colour”⁶⁰ and by a South American organisation described as “the farmers, the Indian people

⁵⁹ <http://www.stopftaa.org/article.php?id=123>
⁶⁰ <http://www.peoplesconsultation.org/>

and the afro-descendants”.⁶¹ Hence, it is the marginalised groups in the different communities that are described as the people, and that the movement wants to represent and support.

One explanation for the strength of traditional leftist discourse in the anti-FTAA movement could be that the labour movement is an important resource in the campaign. The labour movement has capital strength, it has a large number of members and it has a high level of legitimacy and good-will in society at large. It represents a strong organisation characterised by its members’ worker identity, and it has a long history of both national and international solidarity. There is an extended cooperation between the dominating labour groups in the US and the ones from the rest of the continent. As a consequence, some argue that parts of the anti-FTAA movement are controlled by the large labour organisations (Dannenmaier 2003 [interview]).

However, the understanding of the people is complex. While a large part of the protesters present the campaign as a solidarity act with all American peoples, some emphasise the differences between the North and the South. Latin American unity has been an important aim for the Latin American left, and the US has for the last century been described as the main enemy. It was in particular the Latin Americans I met outside the US and some of the Latin American Internet sites that made this claim (e.g. Osta 2004 [interview]; Raventos 2004 [speech]; <http://www.lasolidarity.org/index.shtml>). The Latin Americans were identified as the “real” people, while the North Americans were said to be ignorant and to pursue self-interests. Some groups from the North were certainly described as “compañeros”, but they were presented as exceptions rather than typical North Americans

In addition, the workers in the South and the ones from the North have conflicting interests and this complicates the understanding of the people as a

⁶¹ <http://www.fenocin.org/menu.htm>. [my translation]

consistent entity. If liberalisation of trade means loss of jobs in the North, it also means creating new jobs in the South, since the corporations that move from the North have to move somewhere. To create a strong, coordinated and legitimate campaign against the FTAA, the issue has to be framed without addressing this conflict. In Miami it was done by referring to the loss of jobs while talking to the workers in the North, and the lack of labour rights and environmental protection while talking to workers from the South. The different interests were framed as a common problem: increased power to the transnational corporations at the cost of the workers, enabling the corporations to move workers as commodities (e.g. Global Workers' Forum (2003) [speech]).⁶² This supported the belief that there are common problems across the region, and that the workers in the various countries share the same interests. The framing was done consistently and it did not seem that the issue implied an important conflict for the movement.

One explanation of this successful framing is that there were few Latin American workers present in Miami. The Latin Americans were relatively well-represented in panels, but not in the streets. The majority of the ones that came to Miami were funded by the North American labour movement, and could hardly be critical to the movement's policies. In addition, groups of North American workers had travelled to Latin American countries to get to know the situation of their colleagues in the South. This can be seen as a part of the labour movement's process of socialisation, and it contributes to a strong and united American labour movement.⁶³ One could therefore argue that "the people" is an artificial construct, designed by the labour movement. This does not mean, however, that it cannot be a strong and decisive part of the protesters' definition of themselves. According to

⁶² <http://www.aflcio.org/aboutaflcio/ecouncil/ec02272003k.cfm?RenderForPrint=1>

⁶³ However, one may argue that this constructed consensus will not last if the agreement is implemented, since the conflict structures then would present themselves more explicitly.

constructivism, reality is a construct, and its “realness” is not dependent on who the constructor is.

However, the anti-FTAA movement is not only using traditional leftist rhetoric and presenting themselves as representatives of the people. Traits of post-development discourse can also be found in their tactics. The post-development discourse includes a critique of the naive belief in truth and knowledge of traditional discourse. The theory is based on academic rhetoric and argues for a critical view on our most basic understandings (Escobar 1995). Academics are among the main organisers and proponents of the anti-FTAA campaign, and they were the most explicit users of this type of discourse: “The ATSDF (...) aim to advance both the intellectual debates and the policy-making process”.⁶⁴ But also other parts of the movement articulated post-development rhetoric: “We have to create our own representations of ourselves and tell our own stories” (Osta 2004 [interview]). The analytical and critical attitudes to established truths and traditional forms of engagement are demonstrated in the way several of the protesters acted in the demonstrations. These protesters seemed to adopt an observer role during the events in Miami.

First, there were several students present at the demonstrations, at the ATSDF and at the workshops.⁶⁵ They partly identified themselves with the movement, by supporting the causes and being engaged in the campaign, and partly functioned as observers, interviewing each other and the other participants. They were thus trying to understand themselves, seemingly without recognising it. By focusing on social movements, and also attending the events and building networks, they contributed to the construction of an anti-FTAA movement. Still, they did not go fully into the role as protesters.

⁶⁴ Rosenberg (2003) [pamphlet].

⁶⁵ These thoughts counts for the writer as well.

Second, also the regular protesters had an undefined observer role in the demonstrations. A majority of the demonstrators carried cameras and took pictures of the events. The enormous media presence further added to this image. It seemed as if the protesters did not completely accept the role as protesters, but also kept some distance and observed the demonstration.

Education and an increased access to information have made our perceptions of the world more complex. Clear answers are not longer as easy or legitimate to find, and even protesters may try to keep an “enlightened distance” to the causes they advocate. A different interpretation could be that the protesters did not identify strongly with the movement. They all felt like tourists experiencing a demonstration, and not like protesters themselves. Or, one might see the anti-FTAA movement as a pluralist movement, with a regional protest identity that is not all-encompassing, and that comes in addition to several other, perhaps, more important identities for the protesters. Still, even if all the protesters were observers and not “actual” protesters, it does not have to mean that the anti-FTAA movement does not exist. According to constructivism the whole world is a social construction, and a movement constructed by observers is not less real than a movement constructed by protesters. The main point is that these attitudes demonstrate the anchoring of post-development discourse in the movement.

Unity and Diversity

The identity formation process involves an attempt to make a variety of internally contradictory events seem arranged and relatively tensionless (Neumann 2001:127). This implies the creation of unity, which is a central value in traditional leftist discourse (Laclau and Mouffe 1985:2). However, it seems like some fractions of the anti-FTAA movement are not trying to present the movement as a homogenous group; they rather stress their inner diversities. One of the Internet articles included in the material illustrates this plurality: “we are not necessarily immediate allies, nor are we each others greatest enemies (...) solidarity is the way in which our diversity

becomes our strength.”⁶⁶ The reformists had the most explicit openness on the lack of consensus (e.g. Dannenmaier 2003 [interview]; Grebe 2003 [interview]). Consequently, it could seem as if it would be difficult to construct a common identity within this group. However, the diversity served instead as a fundament for identity formation. The ATSDF delegates avoided inner conflicts by openly discussing disagreements, and not depending on a consensus.

However, the network organisations and the labour movement are creating an image of unity. They try to frame the different views and interests into a simple message that they all can agree on: “Stop the FTAA”. In addition, they adjust their language and arguments to the various situations and audience in order to minimise tension. An explanation could be that the conflicts and differences within these groups are more serious than the ones within the reformists (c.f. Deschamps and Devos 1998:55). While the reformists can be open about their minor disagreements and become strengthened through this openness, the network organisations and in particular the labour movement face conflicts that have to be disguised.

The anarchist movement is an identity movement built on the inclusion of the excluded. They see themselves as outside the established, outside society, and as different. This has created a strong inner solidarity, and ironically an exclusiveness that may represent an obstacle to the creation of a common identity within the anti-FTAA movement. However, representatives of the anarchists also told stories about an increased community feeling with the rest of the movement: “Most people do not feel that they are first and foremost part of a group, but that they are here because of the cause. The cause brings them together, and the march empowers the people by showing them that they are all fighting for the same thing. This creates solidarity across borders” (Kendall 2003 [interview]).

⁶⁶ <http://www.stopftaa.org/article.php?id=123>

Unity in diversity is valued in the anti-FTAA movement. Some degree of unity is necessary for a social movement, since this is what makes it one movement, and not several movements. Still, the anti-FTAA movement has chosen to be open about its diversity and this may be a strategic choice. Pluralism is valued in post-development discourse. It argues that there are not one but several understandings of the world, and a variety of voices to be heard (Escobar 1995). A pluralist protest gives the impression of a strong and broad movement, and not a special interests' campaign. In addition, pluralism may have a strong mobilising potential in the diverse American opinion. Pluralism creates legitimacy and opens for a broader participation, since it does not force people to support an extensive program. In this sense the diversity unites the movement, and makes regional cooperation and identity formation possible.

Solidarity and Autonomy

Motivations are among the defining points in the identity formation of a social movement (Gamson 1975; Snow and Benford 1988; 1992), and solidarity has been a dominant motivation in the traditional workers' movement. The basic thought of solidarity is that the affluent has a moral duty to help the less fortunate (see e.g. Aiken and LaFollette 1977). Most of the anti-FTAA protesters believe that the FTAA will gain powerful economic interests, and worsen the lives of the poor. Solidarity implies that people should engage to stop the FTAA, even though it does not directly harm themselves: "We will (...) build alliances and solidarity with our brothers and sisters in developing countries."⁶⁷ However, solidarity implies a degree of interventionism, and this is in conflict with the value of autonomy in the post-development discourse.

The post-development theory argues that marginalised groups should be heard, not because they need help, but because they have something important to say. These

⁶⁷ <http://www.aflcio.org/aboutaflcio/ecouncil/ec0214d2001.cfm?RenderForPrint=1>

groups have key knowledge that is lacking in the dominant discourse (Escobar 1995: 215-216). Sovereignty and protection of own culture is essential in this theory, and this also serves as a motivation for some of the protesters in the anti-FTAA campaign. Several of the protesters argue that the FTAA represents an annexation of Latin-America, and that the western model of liberal economy is not necessarily the best for all countries: “FTAA is not a project of integration; it is annexation, an imperialist initiative” (Osta 2004 [interview]). The south should be left alone to be able to define their own “development”.

Conflicts may emerge as a consequence of the mixture of post-development and traditional leftist discourses. During one of the civil society meetings in Miami this conflict was expressed. When one of the representatives from the Hemispheric Social Alliance argued that the social movements should stand together and that the North Americans should use their resources to raise money for the organisations in the South, the response from one of the Southern representatives was: “what we want from the civil society in the North is that they influence their governments to let the South in peace” (Alternatives vs. the FTAA 2003 [discussion]). Hence, the combination of these discourses may create conflicts and inconsistent claims, but the movement has the advantage of both being able to represent the traditional and get attention by presenting something new.

Revolution and Participation

A fourth aspect of the identity formation in the anti-FTAA movement is the strategies they use to promote their interests. The most important claim for the anti-FTAA movement has been to be able to participate in the decision-making processes of the FTAA: “The people need to get access both to the implementation and the creation of the agreement” (Dannenmaier 2003 [speech]); “tens of thousands of people from throughout the Americas will be there [Miami] (...) to showcase what real vibrant

democracy looks like”.⁶⁸ Increased citizen participation is a part of the new understandings of democracy, the improved legitimacy of the social movements, and in accordance with post-development discourse. Even though the post-development discourse promotes a revolution of thoughts, this is expected to happen through participation. The theory was established when Southern scholars entered Northern Universities (Hoogvelt 2001:172), and it is by taking control over one’s own development that changes can take place.

Still, large parts of the movement do not believe in increased public participation. These groups see revolution as the only means to reach radical changes: “the FTAA will certainly result in the intensification of prolonged and bloody conflict between American elites and the people of the Western Hemisphere” and “We recognise and support armed struggles for liberation in the Western hemisphere – sometimes violent defence of culture, livelihood, and autonomy in the face of a vicious capitalist-state behemoth is an unfortunate necessity in many instances.”⁶⁹ These radical leftist groups argue that civil society participation in the FTAA decision-making will have few, if any, effects, because the political and economical structures of the FTAA will block their potential to influence (Macdonald and Schwartz 2002). Hence, revolution is the solution.

The combination of these discourses creates conflicts within the anti-FTAA movement. The most explicit proponents of revolution are the anarchists. Some of the ordinary protesters argue that the anarchists are not a part of the anti-FTAA movement, and that their presence is destructive for the cause: “Their revolutionary stand creates a critical attitude in the press and the society at large, and may remove focus from the real issue” (Cook 2003 [interview]). However, others argued that the anarchists had the right to express their opinions in the way they wanted: “I

⁶⁸ Citizen Trade Campaign (2003) [pamphlet].

⁶⁹ <http://www.ftaaresistance.org/militarism.html>

understand that some people want to make conflict with the police” (Joshua 2003 [interview]).

It is complicated to mix revolution and participation. The revolutionary stand and the acting on this stand is what attract the media attention. This attention gives the protesters a unique change to promote their message. In addition, the conflicts created by violence may strengthen the inner solidarity in the movement: “When they throw the teargas you forget which group you belong to and we are all the same” (Two workers 2003 [interview]). Because of former violent actions the police in Miami described the protester as “a group of activist punks” and “outsiders coming in to terrorise and vandalise our city.”⁷⁰ This may have contributed to strengthen the feeling of unity within the protest group, and also to a broader acceptance for violent means to respond to police intimidation. Still, the revolutionary stand may overshadow the broader arguments the movement tries to communicate, and it may also contribute to a negative attitude from the public, as the protesters are presented as troublemakers. Several of the groups are thus conscious about the negative attention violent uprisings have created in the media, and instead emphasise peaceful anti-violent actions.⁷¹ Most of the protesters condemn the violence, but at the same time cooperate with, and invite, more revolutionary groups to participate in the demonstrations. Hence, both aspects are included in the campaign.

6.2 Constructing the Others

Identity can be characterised by its boundaries, as the members of a group identify with each other through the exclusion of other groups (Barth 1969). Consequently “there is no inclusion without exclusion” (Neumann 1999:15). Excluded groups can be called out-groups or Others, and social movements are dependent on a common

⁷⁰ According to the Miami police chief, John Timoney (Klein 2003:1).

⁷¹ <http://www.stopftaa.org/article.php?id=57>

understanding of an Other.⁷² The main Others for the anti-FTAA movement are the corporate sector, the FTAA, the police, and the media. The treatment the movement experiences from these surroundings contributes to their understandings of the Others and the definition of themselves.

The corporate sector is characterised as the main enemy by several of the protesters, since they promote the regionalism the movement opposes. This can create the impression of a main conflict line, not between the North and the South, but rather between the corporate powers and the American people. This is in accordance with one of the main arguments of this thesis: the campaign creates new bonds and conflicts beyond the traditional North-South divide.

This is, however, not the whole picture and there is still a strong division between the traditional lines. The FTAA and its negotiators are framed as enemies, since the movement is constructed to oppose the FTAA, but the Southern negotiators are not as much included in this enemy description. This contributes to a simpler definition of the others, but can also create conflicts within the anti-FTAA movement.

The police are by large parts of the movement seen as obstructers to their cause and not as protectors of their rights. The police' aggressive attitude, brutal response, and biased framing of the protesters in Miami contributed to this feeling. The relationship between the two groups was almost characterised as a war, and words like "militarization", "paramilitary", "police state" and "state repression" are used to describe the police.⁷³

Also the media is seen as an Other. It has an ambiguous role since it is both an important tool for distributing information and mobilising people in the campaign, and it has the ability to distort the message of the protesters. Since protest movements

⁷² See chapter 3.

⁷³ <http://www.geocities.com/ericquire/articles/ftaa/mad031205.htm>, <http://www.stopftaa.org/article.php?list=type&type=57>, <http://www.citizenstrade.org/stopftaa.php>, Klein (2003:1),

often are portrayed as violent and anarchist, and the issues seldom are presented in depth, many protesters regard the media as a challenge.

I will in the following give a presentation of how the actors described as the Others are characterised. According to identity theory the framing of the Others is often not as complex as the framing of the We. This is because one's own complexity is self-evident, and it is thus easier to operate with a simple enemy than a simple understanding of oneself. The Others are by the anti-FTAA movement described according to traditional leftist discourse as homogenous undemocratic elites who follow economic interests.⁷⁴

Elites

While the anti-FTAA movement describes themselves as academics and representatives of the people, the Others are seen as elites. It might be interesting to note that the academics within the anti-FTAA movement are not as much described as elites by the movement,⁷⁵ even though they may be portrayed as such in the general public. This can be explained as a rational strategy to unite the movement.

The FTAA is described as: “the corporate power promoted by the elites”,⁷⁶ and the FTAA ministers are framed as arrogant representatives of corporate interests. The negotiations are seen as an alliance between powerful elites in the various countries, as a conspiracy against the interests of the people: “negotiations behind closed doors with no citizen input, but plenty of suggestions from the business sector”.⁷⁷ The interests of the elites are, according to leftist discourse, often seen as contradictory to the interests of the people. Hence, defining the FTAA negotiators, the corporate sector, the police and the media as representatives of the elites implies a delegitimation of their motivations and goals.

⁷⁴ See Figure 6.1.

⁷⁵ Except by some of the critiques of the ATSDF (c.f. Anderson, 2003 [interview]).

⁷⁶ <http://www.zmag.org/content/showarticle.cfm?SectionID=45&ItemID=5044>

⁷⁷ <http://www.globalexchange.org/ftaa/>

The members of the anti-FTAA movement find themselves marginalised by these elites and believe that they are not treated respectfully by the FTAA negotiators, the business sector, the police or the media. They rather feel that these actors see them as unimportant and naive, and this may contribute to the impression of the FTAA proponents as exclusive elites. However, the movement is currently becoming a more important actor in the FTAA process, since they represent the left and are cooperating with leftist governments, such as the Brazilian and Venezuelan ones. In this process the movement is empowered and they may themselves become allies of the elites. To avoid this conflict and be able to frame the Others within traditional leftist discourse the movement define the FTAA supportive governments as elites, while the more critical governments are seen as representatives of the people.

Homogenous

One main difference between the understandings of the Others and the We, is that while the description of the We is complex and includes different discourses, the characterisation of the Others is simple and follows traditional leftist discourse. The anti-FTAA movement describes itself as: “rich in our diversity”,⁷⁸ while the Others are characterised as a homogenous group with common interests and even at times as a conspiracy of these common interests: “The FTAA is basically a tool that large corporations can use to make more profit at the expense of working people”.⁷⁹

The movement sees the various Others as a part of the same system, and argues that they cooperate secretly behind the backs of the people: “The trade ministers huddled behind policy lines”,⁸⁰ “Multilateral corporations have used secret negotiations”,⁸¹ “The elites control the media” (Osta 2004 [interview]). The

⁷⁸ <http://www.encuentropopular.org/areas/alca/>

⁷⁹ http://www.ftaaimc.org/en/static/faq_en.html

⁸⁰ http://www.web.net/comfront/cf_campaign_top_miami.htm

⁸¹ <http://www.therootcause.org/action/call/index.shtml>

characterisation of the Other as homogenous contributes to the image of the enemy as simple and narrow-minded, something which again decreases the legitimacy of the Others.

As argued, the Latin American governments that are in favour of the FTAA are not in the same way made into enemies. They are rather understood as forced to participate in the negotiations by the US: “Historically our governments have been governed by the US, they are subordinated to US interests” (Osta 2004 [interview]). This differentiation can be read into the movement’s strategy. The enemy conception is held as simple as possible, to avoid conflicts and to create a message that is easy to communicate.

A description of the Other as homogenous is thus both possible and rational from a mobilising perspective. An inclusion of the poor Latin American countries in the Other would have complicated the movement’s understanding of themselves as representatives of the people. However, several of the Latin American countries have economic interests in a trade agreement, and the anti-FTAA movement can be criticised for underestimating them when it ignores their abilities to act rationally and out of their own will.

Economic Self-interests

Solidarity and autonomy are among the main incentives for the anti-FTAA movement’s engagement. The Others are, on the contrary, described as motivated by economic self-interests: “Their only motivation is profit” (Magro 2003 [interview]), “Unbridled corporate greed”,⁸² “politicians often own or have large sums of money invested in corporations and therefore have personal interests at stake”⁸³ and “they only oppose it insofar as it threatens their own elite interests”.⁸⁴

⁸² www.jwj.org/global/FTAA/FTAAMiamiReport.htm

⁸³ <http://www.globalexchange.org/campaigns/ftaa/topten.html>

⁸⁴ <http://www.ftaaresistance.org/burning.html>

The anti-FTAA campaign is a campaign against neo-liberal economic politics and the capitalist market logic, and the Others are understood as proponents of this ideology. The movement claims that the power of the FTAA proponents is based on material strength. They dominate the American society and represent hegemonic power. This may contribute to an impression of injustice, and emphasis the necessity for change. While the anti-FTAA movement works to change these structures through revolution or participation, the elites are criticised for trying to keep the existing economic structures as they are.

According to the anti-FTAA movement the trans-national corporations (TNCs) are the driving wheels of the FTAA process: “While citizens are left in the dark, corporations are helping to write the rules for the FTAA”.⁸⁵ The TNCs work regionally: in the South they produce labour intensive products, and in the North they gather the advanced industry. This has made them major beneficiaries of, and active lobbyists for, regional integration schemes. To explain the FTAA’s one-sided focus on growth, the anti-FTAA movement suspects the trade ministers of being controlled by corporate interests: “The FTAA will benefit multilateral corporations at the expense of people and the environment”.⁸⁶

A problem with this framing could be that the focus on economic growth in the FTAA negotiations legitimates the exclusion of civil society groups. This is because economic questions are complex and demand expertise. In addition, economic development is an urgent need in large parts of the American continent and an economically beneficial agreement would be welcomed. Still, if the anti-FTAA movement manages to frame the proponents of the FTAA as promoters of own economic interests the logic is turned and increased participation can be seen as a necessity for a just agreement.

⁸⁵ <http://www.globalexchange.org/campaigns/ftaa/topten.html>

⁸⁶ Citizen Trade Campaign (2003), pamphlet.

Undemocratic

Among the most important claims of the anti-FTAA movement is increased participation, and the FTAA process is consequently described as undemocratic: “its antidemocratic character (...) the pressure and blackmail tactics that have been used behind the scenes”,⁸⁷ “Despite repeated calls for the open and democratic development of trade policy, the FTAA negotiations have been conducted without citizen input”.⁸⁸ The movement claims that its members have not been able to participate on the same terms as the business sector, and this even though the movement represents a larger part of the society.⁸⁹ This is, according to the anti-FTAA movement, undemocratic, and legitimates the movement’s claims for participation and revolution.

Some argue, in addition, that the process is undemocratic since the national parliaments are not included in the negotiations (Osta 2004 [interview]). The parliaments will have to accept the agreement or not: if they accept it, they will have to implement a finished agreement. As a consequence, the contents of the agreement will not be the result of a democratic process, but decided by a small number of elites from the most powerful countries. The movement is afraid that in this process the business sector will manage to promote their interests through undemocratic means.

It is interesting to note that the anti-FTAA movement has a tendency to describe leftist governments as democratic, while conservatives are per definition acting against the will of the people: “Rightist governments are promoting liberalisation behind the backs of the people” (Raventos 2004 [speech]). Since neo-liberalism and free trade have been the politics of the right, these are seen as anti-people politics. The FTAA is framed into the history of US dominance on the

⁸⁷ http://www.web.net/comfront/HSA_miami_declaration.htm

⁸⁸ <http://www.globalexchange.org/campaigns/ftaa/topten.html>

⁸⁹ The marginalization of the ATSDF and the shutting out of the rest of the civil society during the negotiations contribute to this feeling.

continent, their support of Latin American dictatorships in the past, and explained as a part of US hegemony (Osta 2003 [interview]).

The media is also seen as part of this undemocratic structure. The anti-FTAA movement criticises it for not fulfilling its role as a non-political source of information and a criticiser of dominating power structures (Osta 2004 [interview]). The media instead pursues economic profit and is more interested in selling stories than promoting the truth. This is of course closely connected to the way the anti-FTAA movement, and other similar protest movements, have been presented in the media. The anti-FTAA Internet pages use for these reasons considerable space on media tactics.⁹⁰ They have strategies on how to influence it and how to avoid being exploited by it. They describe the media as an enemy at the same time as they recognise that it is an important tool in the campaign. In accordance with this, I experienced that the protesters' attitudes towards me became more sceptical when they thought that I was a journalist and not a student.

6.3 A Complex Identity

After this elaboration on the anti-FTAA movement's understandings of a We and the Others it might be fair to say that the identity that is evolving is complex. This discovery does not support the classical understanding in social psychology of identity building in heterogeneous groups (c.f. Deschamps and Devos 1998:55). Heterogeneous groups are expected to pursue a homogenous identity and not open for complex understandings. Still, the anti-FTAA movement is complex and operates with a complex identity. An explanation could be that while homogenous groups may open up for complex identities, and groups that are a bit more diverse try to suppress this complexity, extremely heterogeneous groups cannot succeed in this suppression.

⁹⁰ See e.g. <http://www.stopftaa.org/article.php?list=type&type=2>

The inner differences are too obvious to be concealed, and must be articulated. Hence, the collective identity will be complex.

The various, and at times conflicting, representations used to define the We in the movement can be said to constitute an antagonism. Antagonism implies a situation where there are not one, but several conflicting understandings that exist at the same time. Antagonism is the lack of clear boundaries and consistency, and where ambiguity is the rule (Laclau and Mouffe 1985:93-148). The We plays an important role in identity formation and it is difficult to establish compromises here. Several of the Internet pages express a wish to cope with this conflict situation.⁹¹ They present strategies of how to act in the streets, towards the media, and on a personal level to avoid creating conflicts in the movement. There is a lot of attention on the different tactics and motives of the various groups, and it is pointed out that these should be respected. In this chapter two main discourses have been emphasised in the understanding of the We of the movement. The reformists use to a larger extent a post-development discourse to characterise themselves, and also a large part of the radicals, especially some Latin-American groups, share this discourse. However, most of the radical groups, especially the labour movement, continue to use traditional leftist discourse. The conflict pertains both to strategy and to definitions of themselves. A combination of traditional and new discourses is actively being used in the understanding of the We. Hence, the We has no clear boundaries, it includes inconsistencies, and it can be said to represent an antagonism.

Hegemony describes totality, consistence and lack of conflict in meaning (Laclau and Mouffe 1985). It may seem that the description of the Others by the anti-FTAA movement constitutes hegemony, since the Others are characterised within traditional leftist discourse. Still, there are conflicts also within this definition. The main conflict in the framing of the enemies takes place between the radicals and the

⁹¹ E.g. <http://www.stopftaa.org/article.php?id=123>

reformists⁹². The reformists cooperate with the FTAA negotiators, they do not see the US as a clear enemy, they recognise to a larger extent that there are various stands in the North American society, and they include Latin-American governments into the enemy conception. In addition, they see the police as a protector from violent protesters, and the media is to a larger degree reckoned as a resource. However, the reformists do not enforce their alternative views, and accept to a large degree the more simplistic radical understandings.⁹³ Hence, even though the definition of the Other may seem as a hegemony, it is instead a compromise between conflicting understandings; it represents an antagonism.

The concepts antagonism and hegemony are borrowed from Ernest Laclau and Chantal Mouffe's (1985) discourse theory. They see the subject as fundamentally divided: it will never really develop a uniform identity, since there is a plurality of different discourses that influence the identity formation. Important to Laclau and Mouffe's theory is their emphasis on the contingency of discourses. There are always a variety of other possible discourses than the ones that are dominating at a given time. The identities are fragmented and decentred, and groups and individuals have a variety of identities dependent on a mixture of possible discourses. Identities are also over-determined; identification may happen in a variety of ways in a specific situation. A given identity is possible, but not necessary. Total consistency in meaning will, according to Laclau and Mouffe, never exist, and antagonism will characterise all meaning and identity. This is consistent with my findings about the anti-FTAA movement. The whole process of identity formation is complex and a variety of conflicting understandings of the We and the Others exist simultaneously. In addition, it seems that the movement articulates different discourses depending on

⁹² See e.g. the different description of the FTAA in <http://www.participa.cl/alca.html> and in <http://www.ftaaresistance.org/burning.html>

⁹³ It should be added that the post-development definition of an Other would not be very different from the traditional leftist definition. This may account for the simplistic characterisation of the Other in the anti-FTAA movement.

the audience. This makes discourse in the anti-FTAA movement contingent, and the identities fragmented, decentred and over-determined.

6.4 An American Identity?

The question asked in the introduction to this chapter was if the anti-FTAA movement is creating a regional identity. Through the analysis it has been showed that the collective identity being built is complex. The next question one may ask is if this identity can be called an American identity. I will argue that the evolving identity in the anti-FTAA movement may be regional, but that it is more Latin American than American. It is built on Latin American values and symbols. There may be many explanations for this “latinamericanisation” of the identity, but the one emphasised here is that Latin America is the poorest part of the American continent, and that a movement that wishes to represent the people will gain legitimacy if it is connected to the poor. In solidarity with this part of the region it is the Latin American values and symbols that are given meaning within the anti-FTAA campaign.

A widely used symbol in the anti-FTAA movement is the carnival: “It is a call to actively use the symbols of carnival. The fool, the king, the grotesque, the mask, the crowd and laughter – to subvert notions of power and dreams of control (...) We must reclaim the symbols and images of carnival that have the power to subvert assumptions and create new ways of thinking about the world”⁹⁴ and “The Free Carnival Area of the Americas”.⁹⁵ The use of bright colours, of banners, songs and extravagant costumes in the demonstrations gives an impression of carnival. The carnival is a strong and positive symbol. It has been interpreted as a means to challenge hierarchies, but it has also served as a preserver of dominance as it is turning public anger into symbolic, rather than material reversal (Averill 1994). Using the carnival as a symbol has a resistant, rebellious and revolutionary potential,

⁹⁴ <http://www.ftaaresistance.org/carnival.html>

⁹⁵ <http://www.mediamouse.org/fcaa>

since it brings the powerless into collective organisation and encourages the “mockery of the politically powerful” (Kertzer 1988:146 in Averill 1994). The use of the carnival in the anti-FTAA campaign illustrates and intensifies its critique of the powerful and the demand for change. Carnival can also be said to represent plurality, or “unity in diversity” for the movement (Sommers 1991:47-48). This is crucial for a movement as heterogenic as the anti-FTAA movement. The carnival tradition is strong in Latin America, and the use of this symbol connects the movement to this part of the continent.

Language is used to define the world, it describes what is accepted and not, and it is the means for constructing group identities. The dominating language in the anti-FTAA movement is Spanish. Spanish can be seen as the language of the South and poorer countries, while English is the imperialist language of the Northern countries. The wide use of Spanish in the movement can be explained by the fact that it is a more legitimate language in these milieus and it can be used to create an impression of a movement that represents the working and poor. In this way the movement is made more Latin American than American.

Also in the demonstrations the Latin American was emphasised. In Miami the street demonstrations were dominated by North Americans, but the few representatives from Latin America were set to walk in the front of the parade. Most banners were in both English and Spanish, even though the majority of the protesters were English-speakers. The protesters tried to highlight that there were people from all over the continent present at the demonstration: “This message is sometimes overstated because we think it is so important” (Anderson 2003 [interview]). In this way the demonstration added to the creation of bonds between the organisations from the different countries (e.g. Kendall 2003 [interview]), and set the focus on the Latin American protesters.

The North and Latin American identities have different positions in the civil society. North America, and in particular the US, has been criticised by the protest

movement for imperialism, annexation, and for representing the interests of the rich and powerful. This has made North American protesters critical to their own identity. The Latin Americans are, on the other hand, conscious and proud of their identity, since they can claim to represent the poor, the people and the oppressed. These are characteristics that give legitimacy within civil society discourse. Consequently, both groups have interest in emphasising Latin American symbols and building a Latin American identity; the identity is “latinamericanised”. Hence, one may argue that the anti-FTAA movement is about to construct a common regional identity, but this identity is diverse and more Latin American than American.

6.5 Concluding Remarks

Even though it might be too early to speak of a regional identity, it seems that a hemispheric identity is evolving in the anti-FTAA movement. However, several of the protesters expressed a concern for liberalisation on the global scale, and it might be more accurate to talk about a process that creates a regional identity with a global consciousness. Regional and global processes are interlinked and may happen simultaneously, and the identities that are constructed in these processes are more complementary than contradictory.

The anthropologist Ruth Cardoso pointed to the strength in diversity in new social movements when she reformulated the old Mexican slogan, “The people, united, will never be defeated” to “The people, disunited, will never be defeated” (Castells 2004:147). The discussion in this chapter has demonstrated that this is also a well-suited description of the anti-FTAA movement. The movement’s identity is diverse, and this diversity is its strength. In addition, it has been argued that the identity is built on Latin American values. Nevertheless, the identity can be seen as regional. In the next chapter I will examine possible intended and unintended effects of this identity formation on the process of regionalisation in the Americas.

7. Actors of Change

*“We all agree it’s time for fundamental and radical change”*⁹⁶

The third question this thesis aims to answer is *what are the possible consequences of the movement on regionalisation and regionalisms in the Americas?* The concept “social movement” indicates change, and social movements are central actors of change in international and national politics (Johnston and Klandermans 1995:4-6). Also the anti-FTAA movement can be expected to play an important role in policy-making. Through strategic framing they may change the context in which decisions are made, mobilise civil society actors, and influence policymakers (Kriesberg 1997:3). I will suggest that the strategic framing of the anti-FTAA movement may have both intended and unintended effects. As discussed in the introduction⁹⁷, regionalisation is here understood as the process from lack of cooperation and interaction towards increased integration, and regionalism is seen as the contents of regionalisation. Possible effects on regionalism are seen as intended, since the objective of the campaign is to promote alternative regionalisms. Informal regionalisation, which may evolve in the wake of the anti-FTAA movement, can, however, be said to be an unintended effect. The movement is not advocating increased regional integration.⁹⁸

This chapter will be based on the framing theory of David A. Snow and Robert D. Benford (1986; 1988; 1992; 2000). First, the opportunities and constraints inherent in the movement’s context will be discussed. Second, strategic framing processes are elaborated, before the obstacles of counterframing are introduced. Third, possible intended and unintended effects of the anti-FTAA campaign will be examined.

⁹⁶ <http://www.stopftaa.org/article.php?id=123>

⁹⁷ See page 8-9.

⁹⁸ Even though parts of the movement are working for Latin American regionalisation.

7.1 Framing

Framing is “the conscious strategic efforts by groups of people to fashion shared understandings of the world and of themselves that legitimate and motivate collective action” (McAdam et al 1999:6). Hence, framing is an important device for social movements in their efforts to mobilise bystanders and build an efficient movement. An analysis of framing processes can be used to uncover the constraints and facilitations for social mobilisation, and thus a movement’s influencing potential. In framing theory social movements are seen as “signifying actors” that actively produce meaning for supporters, opponents and bystanders (Snow and Benford 2000:613). In uncovering the effects of framing one must thus study which symbols are given meaning by the movement, and how these may be received by the group’s surroundings. Collective action frames will be different for different movements, but include four core framing strategies: bridging, amplification, extension and transformation (Snow and Benford 1988:464). Before these strategies are discussed, the possibilities and constraints inherent in the context will be presented.

7.2 The Context

Both new regionalist theorists (e.g. Bøås et al. 2003) and framing theorist (e.g. Snow and Benford 2000) emphasise the importance of context in analyses of the social. This is because framing does not occur in a structural or cultural vacuum; it is instead constantly being contested and transformed by a variety of actors and societal features. Also the anti-FTAA movement and its effects on regionalisation and regionalism will depend upon context. Here, I will emphasise two main contextual aspects: political opportunity structures and cultural opportunities and constraints.

Political Opportunity Structures

Framing processes are constrained or strengthened depending on political opportunity structures (Smith et al. 1997:66; Snow and Benford 2000:628). The concept of political opportunity structure has been formulated vaguely and given a

wide, almost all-encompassing, definition by many theorists.⁹⁹ This has made scholars (e.g. McAdam 1999) argue for a clarification of the concept. By excluding cultural aspects and strictly focusing on the political, the concept will be more clearly defined and fruitful for analytical purposes.¹⁰⁰ Political opportunity structures are in this thesis understood as the institutional structures and informal relations of the FTAA (c.f. Snow and Benford 2000:628). Three aspects of political opportunities will be discussed: the openness of the system, the stability of elite alignments, and the existence of alliances between the movement and political elites.¹⁰¹

First, the openness of the political system will determine a movement's ability to influence (MacAdam 1999:27). There has been a process of democratisation throughout the Americas during the last thirty years, and the FTAA negotiations are also opening up for increased participation¹⁰² (cf. the publishing of the drafts of the agreement, the ATSDF, the open invitation and the CGR). Still, it is by many criticised for being a centralised process, and civil society actors find themselves marginalised within the negotiations (Korzeniewicz and Smith 2001). The participatory mechanisms are by some seen as mere blinds of real participation (Dannenmaier 2003 [interview]). However, studies of social movements have demonstrated that the combination of openness and exclusion in the political opportunity structure is the most effective for mobilisation (Eisinger 1973; Tilly 1978: 100-115). This is because movements then expect to be included, but are still kept from total participation; a gap evolves between expectations and experience. Hence, the opening for, but continuing marginalisation of alternative voices within the FTAA negotiations may create a feeling of injustice. Claims for increased participation are legitimised and conceptualised as both necessary and possible.

⁹⁹ See an overview of the debate in McAdam (1999).

¹⁰⁰ Even though the political will always exist within culture.

¹⁰¹ McAdam (1999: 26-29) operates with a fourth aspect: state repression. This is not relevant to the study of a movement's ability to influence a trade agreement. In addition, this aspect is not included in most studies of political opportunity.

¹⁰² <http://www.esquel.org/summit.htm>

Second, the stability or instability of elite alignments will determine the effectiveness of a movement's framing (MacAdam 1996:27). Strong and stable elite alignments can exclude other actors from participating in decision-making. It is therefore interesting to note that the regional integration of elites in the FTAA may contribute to the strengthening of such alignments throughout the continent. The American Business Forum (ABF) has been a permanent institution in the FTAA negotiations, and stable and close bonds between political and economic elites are expected to exist. However, all the state representatives, or the representatives of the corporate sector, do not share the same interests, and the FTAA negotiations have been haunted by conflicts limiting effective decision-making. These cleavages within the elites create room for social movement influence (Diani 1996:1056). In addition, the process may also integrate the civil society, creating stable grassroots alignments and increasing the movement's influencing potential.

Third, the movement can take advantage of leverage politics: the ability to call upon powerful actors (Keck and Sikkink 1998:16, McAdam 1999:27). These actors can serve as agents promoting the policies of the movement. The anti-FTAA movement has elite alliances within the FTAA negotiations: "Both the insiders (reformists) and the outsiders (radicals) have solidified informal regional civil society networks with important nexes to government and the private sector" (Rosenberg 2004 [personal communication]). The Venezuelan negotiators have been the most explicit in their solidarity and cooperation with the movement,¹⁰³ but also the leftist governments of Lula in Brazil and Kirchner in Argentina have close bonds to the anti-FTAA movement. Since Brazil came out as the leading country in the negotiations in Miami, it can serve as a particularly important ally for the anti-FTAA campaign. Through these webs of contacts they can pressure policymakers from

¹⁰³ Illustratively, representatives of the Venezuelan negotiating team participated at protest meetings in Miami.

above, through powerful allies, and from below, as networks of local groups and individuals (Brysk 1993; Risse and Sikkink 1999).

Cultural Opportunities and Constraints

Cultural context is also a decisive element in mobilising, since it “shapes the framing processes themselves, typically in ways unrecognized by actors themselves” (Goodwin and Jasper 1999:48). It influences the resonance of new frames and how these are interpreted. Social movements must adjust their framing to central values in the population, they are themselves constituted through culture, and they contribute to create new cultural meaning (Tarrow 1992). It is evidently hard to point out a limited number of cultural opportunities and constraints that will influence *all* the various groups in the anti-FTAA movement, since they are facing a variety of different local, national and regional contexts. Still, there are some common trends. For instance the meaning of democracy is changing throughout the Americas. New groups are demanding participation in policy-making, also apart from the general elections. This has contributed to an increased legitimacy of civil society participation, and may also increase the effects of the movement’s framing.

The resonance of the issue in the general public will determine the effects of the anti-FTAA movement’s strategic framing. This will depend, among other things, on the centrality of the problem, its empirical credibility, and on the “narrative fidelity”¹⁰⁴ (Snow and Benford 1988). First, a regional free trade agreement will not be reckoned as a central issue in most Americans’ daily lives. However, the anti-FTAA movement is framing it as a question of development, of unemployment and of human rights. These questions may gain resonance, as they are understood as central to the American public. Large segments of the population in both North and South America are workers or poor, and questions concerning development and labour rights can be expected to be highly valued in this part of a population. In

¹⁰⁴ See below.

North America the labour movement and its rhetoric has played an important role in shaping the opinion. In addition, one can expect post-development rhetoric to have resonance in large parts of the American civil society, since claims for autonomy and participation have been an important part of the Latin American history. The post-development theory has its roots in the region and the radical left has been strong throughout its post-colonial political history. This can explain why the movement is framing their campaign as they are: it increases their mobilising potential.

Second, the empirical credibility of the framing is important. However, the arguments articulated by the anti-FTAA movement will be speculations, since the agreement is yet to be signed. Still, the movement tries to increase the empirical credibility of their arguments by connecting the FTAA to the NAFTA and point to negative experiences from this agreement: “The proposed agreement is essentially NAFTA on steroids”¹⁰⁵ and “NAFTA+WTO=FTAA.”¹⁰⁶ In addition, the use of personal testimonies,¹⁰⁷ or “promoting change by reporting facts” (Thomas 1993:83) increases the empirical credibility of a frame (Keck and Sikkink 1998:19). In accordance with this strategy the anti-FTAA movement presents personal narratives of individual fates connected to the NAFTA. In Miami there were numerous examples of this strategy as workers from the US that had lost their jobs due to outsourcing told their stories together with Latin American workers explaining their unjust conditions at the workplaces.

Third, narrative fidelity, or the coherence between existing myths and the movement’s stories, will influence the effects of the framing processes. When the narratives of the movement fit existing myths they are more easily accepted as true. North American imperialism has a central place in Latin American myths, and the framing of the FTAA as an imperialist project (e.g. Osta 2004 [interview]) can thus

¹⁰⁵ <http://www.globalexchange.org/ftaa/faq.html>

¹⁰⁶ <http://www.stopftaa.org/article.php?id=13>

¹⁰⁷ See e.g. <http://www.globalexchange.org/campaigns/ftaa/314.html>,
<http://www.globalexchange.org/campaigns/ftaa/601.html> and <http://www.globalexchange.org/campaigns/ftaa/587.html>

be expected to increase the campaign's potential for success. This also means that the movement has to adjust its rhetoric to its varying audience. The participants at the ATSDF used an academic discourse to gain resonance in the group of negotiators. They claimed that the ATSDF "provide a logical, cohesive, constructive, and substantive treatment of the theme."¹⁰⁸ The radicals, on the other hand, apply a more traditional leftist discourse, focusing on injustice and solidarity, towards the general civil society.¹⁰⁹ The effectiveness of the rhetoric depends on the ability to combine these strategies without creating conflicts or contradictions.

These contextual characteristics are not static; they are constantly being contested, transformed and reconstructed (Meyer and Staggenborg 1996:1634). Framing processes can, and will, contribute to redefine existing values, beliefs and structures (Gamson and Meyer 1999; Tarrow 1999). The anti-FTAA movement try to turn the focus towards civil society participation, and on the leftist and post-developmental values they are promoting in the FTAA negotiating group and in the general public. Both political and cultural contexts will change as new groups try to influence and establish new values and give new aspects meaning. This may change their own and other group's opportunities to influence.

7.3 Strategic Framing Processes

Within the given context, social movements act strategically to mobilise supporters and to gain influence on policy-making. Through the use of discourse they try to present the problem as consistent, new, and important. In addition, they highlight some stories and events that contribute to present the movement in a favourable way (Snow and Benford 2000:623). Frame alignments - "the linkage of individual and SMOT¹¹⁰T interpretive orientations, such that some set of individual interests, values

¹⁰⁸ <http://www.miami.edu/nsc/pages/ATSDFbrief.html>

¹⁰⁹ See e.g. <http://www.aflcio.org/issuespolitics/globaleconomy/ftaamain.cfm?RenderForPrint=1>, <http://www.icftu.org/displaydocument.asp?Index=991212680&Language=EN>

¹¹⁰ Social Movement Organisation.

and beliefs and SMO activities, goals, and ideology are congruent and complementary” (Snow et al. 1986: 464) - are important parts of this strategy. Four main frame alignment strategies will be elaborated here: bridging, amplification, extension and transformation.

Bridging implies “the linkage of two or more ideologically congruent but structurally unconnected frames regarding a particular issue or problem” (Snow et al. 1986: 467). The members of the anti-FTAA movement are clearly utilising this strategy to increase their mobilising potential. Among their main characteristics is the inclusion of a variety of critical groups that are connected to different frames or aspects of the FTAA. Reformists, radicals, the labour movement, feminists, environmentalists and religious groups are among the adherents of the anti-FTAA campaign. These groups frame the FTAA in different ways according to their various motivations. Illustratively, the outsourcing of North American corporations is described as an unemployment issue by the labour movement, as a question of female suppression by feminist groups, and as an environmental concern by the environmentalists. These different frames are combined in the anti-FTAA movement: “We reiterate our commitment to an integration process that includes human, social, economic, gender, cultural, labor and environmental rights”.¹¹¹ Together these frames create a strong campaign with a large mobilising potential.

Amplification refers to “the clarification and invigoration of an interpretive frame that bears on a particular issue, problem or set of events” (Snow et al. 1986:469). The FTAA is not automatically seen as a problem by the American population. Hence, the movement has to identify it as a problem, make the connection to people’s lives clear, identify it as intolerable and stress the urgent need for action: “What it means: Global capitalism (an economic system responsible for the impoverishment of billions of people for the sake of enriching a few dozen

¹¹¹ http://www.web.net/comfront/HSA_miami_declaration.htm

billionaires) will become even more entrenched under the FTAA.”¹¹² The cause must include elements that have a broad appeal and are understood as important problems by a large part of the population (Keck and Sikkink 1998:16). The anti-FTAA movement points to negative effects of the FTAA, and tries to frame it as a current danger that will threaten the lives of most Americans: “The US corporations are leading a new push to colonize our communities – plundering the land of the Americas, forcing people into slave wages and sweatshop jobs, demanding cuts in governmental spending for health and education, and creating laws and private courts to enforce their plans.”¹¹³ The FTAA is thus framed within a discourse that is hard to oppose. Even the proponents of the FTAA cannot totally deny claims for development, labour rights and participation. They may in this way be forced into the debate, and if they participate in the debate they are recognising the anti-FTAA movement as a legitimate actor.

Extension is “to extend the boundaries of its primary framework so as to encompass interests or points of view that are incidental to its primary objective but of considerable salience to potential adherents” (Snow et al. 1986:472). While the proponents of the FTAA present the agreement as a trade and narrowly economic question, the anti-FTAA movement try to frame it as a question of human rights, labour rights, environment and autonomy: “The FTAA will empower corporations to constrain governments from setting standards for public health and safety, to safeguard their workers, and to ensure corporations do not pollute the communities in which they operate.”¹¹⁴ A clear chain of responsibility also provokes mobilisation for an issue and forces reactions from the charged. For the anti-FTAA movement it is important to connect the FTAA, or its precursor NAFTA, to labour rights violations, environmental problems and increased inequalities: “We know the true results of

¹¹² <http://www.stopftaa.org/article.php?id=23>

¹¹³ <http://www.therootcause.org/about/index.shtml>

¹¹⁴ <http://www.globalexchange.org/ftaa/faq.html>

NAFTA: US factories abandoning communities here and moving to Mexico in search of low wages and freedom from unions; US agricultural exports to Mexico forcing small farmers to leave the land they have worked for generations and a join growing, desperate migration to dead-end jobs in maquilas in Mexico and low wage jobs here in the US; increased poverty and human rights violations across North America, including modern-day slavery; and growing environmental and health hazards, (...) FTAA (...) seeks to expand NAFTA.”¹¹⁵ The anti-FTAA movement extends the meaning of the agreement and in this process increases its mobilising potential and its legitimacy as participants in the negotiations.

The frames of a social movement do not always correspond with the dominating values in a society. Transformation implies that “new values [are] planted and nurtured, old meanings or understandings jettisoned, and erroneous beliefs or “misframings” reframed” (Snow et al. 1986:473). The anti-FTAA movement’s reframing of old leftist rhetoric into new post-development discourse can be read into a strategy of adjusting to new dominating values in society. As the traditional frames no longer resonate with certain levels of society, the movement has to reframe the issue to mobilise support: “It is about suspending the rules of every day existence and inverting the social order. It is about challenging people (including ourselves) at the points of our assumptions”.¹¹⁶

Counterframing

Framing is not an unproblematic process. Actors within and outside the movement may have conflicting views on how to frame the diagnosis (the problem), the prognosis (the solution) and how to motivate action (Snow and Benford 1988). This can serve as an obstacle to effective framing and constrain the mobilising potential and hence also the movement’s ability to influence policymakers.

¹¹⁵ <http://www.therootcause.org/about/index.shtml>

¹¹⁶ <http://www.ftaaresistance.org/carnival.html>

The first and most evident obstacle is counterframing from opposing groups (Kriesberg 1997:16; Meyer and Staggenborg 1996). Civil society actors have the greatest mobilising potential if the issue in question has high moral value, and is politicised and loaded with meaning (Keck and Sikkink 1998:2; Macdonald and Schwartz 2002). However, the FTAA proponents have tried to depoliticise the negotiations, in order to keep social movements out of the debate. Transnational networks often have relatively scarce resources in comparison to the economic interests that support trade liberalisation (Rucht 1997:205). The economic strength of the corporate sector implies that these groups can educate, pressure, and communicate their policies in a more effective and direct way than civil society actors. Still, they cannot in the same way as a social movement claim to present the people or use moral rhetoric to gain support. The anti-FTAA movement's framing of these groups as homogenous, undemocratic elites contributes to a delegitimation and weakening of their potential for counterframing. If the movement succeeds in framing the FTAA within a discourse where the movement has legitimacy, within the development, participation or human rights' discourse, the movement will gain mobilising strength on the cost of these economically strong actors (cf. Neumann 2001:171-172; Price 1998:627-631).

Second, even inside the movement there might be forces that represent obstacles to the framing process (Snow and Benford 2000:627). The complexity and heterogeneity of the anti-FTAA movement implies internal conflicts. As demonstrated in chapter 6, the various groups have different ideas of what the problem is, how to solve it and how to mobilise support. The anti-FTAA movement is open about its inner disparities and operates with several different tactics and discourses. If this is understood as a contradiction, the mobilising potential of the movement may be weakened, but if it is done successfully it may contribute to an increased mobilising potential.

Third, there may also be tension between the movement’s collective framing and its actions (Snow and Benford 2000:627). Contradictions here may destroy the legitimacy and credibility of the campaign. The anti-FTAA movement’s emphasis on democracy and participation can be seen as in conflict with the violent actions of some of its member groups at the demonstrations against the FTAA. The way the majority of the movement frame the campaign may thus be contested and even lose its resonance in the public because of the contradictory actions of a minority. The movement tries to resolve this tension by openly stating that it consists of different groups with different tactics, but that they are all fighting for the same cause.

Despite these constraints, this thesis argues that regional advocacy networks are important actors in transnational politics. In the following I will examine two possible effects the anti-FTAA movement may have on regional processes on the American continent: alternative regionalisms and informal regionalisation. The main argument is presented in Figure 7.2:

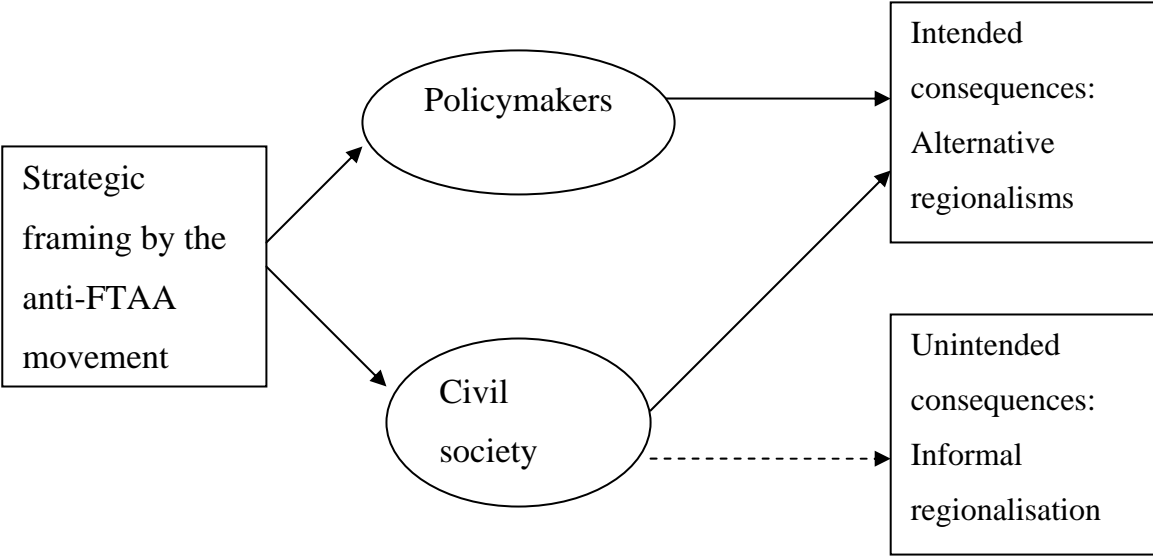


Figure 7.2: The anti-FTAA campaign’s effects on regionalisation and regionalism.

7.4 Intended Consequences

Alternative Regionalisms

The main goal for the anti-FTAA movement is to stop the FTAA or to influence its contents. Hence, the movement works to influence regionalism on the American continent. Changes in the agreement and in people's conceptions of regionalism are thus reckoned as intended effects of the campaign. This study identifies four main intended effects of the anti-FTAA campaign: the civil society has been mobilised against the agreement, and so has the political left, critical voices have increased their negotiating strength, and the extent and contents of the agreement has been changed.

First, the civil society has been mobilised by the campaign. It is through mobilisation that the movement influences policies, and this aspect is thus decisive for the movement's success. The movement has had to present reasons for why participation is appropriate and necessary. The anti-FTAA movement argues that participation is a moral obligation for the American people, either for one's own sake or in solidarity with others that will be affected by the agreement: "Now is the time to organize to defeat the FTAA! Millions of people throughout the Americas are taking a stand,"¹¹⁷ and "each struggle is everyone's struggle."¹¹⁸ The large amount of supporting organisations and participants at the various protest events speak for themselves. In my study I have registered 125 organisations, and there are several groups that are not included in my list. Also the variety of organisations that supports the campaign gives the impression of a widely mobilised civil society. The movement's framing of the FTAA as a problem and of social mobilising as a solution to that problem can therefore be reckoned as successful.

Second, also leftist policymakers have been mobilised. Because of the large number of people mobilised and the wide media coverage of the issue, the politicians

¹¹⁷ Citizen Trade Campaign (2003) [pamphlet].

¹¹⁸ http://www.web.net/comfront/HSA_miami_declaration.htm

have had to act on it, or at least pretend to be engaged. Several Latin American governments, and especially leftist governments, have used the issue in their election campaigns and won.¹¹⁹ Still, they have been criticised for not being as critical to the agreement after they have secured their election. The anti-FTAA movement makes policymakers become responsible for their statements and actions, as it reports to the public if they do not act according to their promises (Keck and Sikkink 1998:24). Here, they play an important democratic role as a control instance. The mobilising of critical policymakers has increased the internal debates in the FTAA, and this may influence the contents of the agreement.

Third, FTAA-critical governments have increased their legitimacy and strength in the negotiations. The wide popular support of the anti-FTAA movement has created a power base for critical governments, and the FTAA proponents have also had to take these forces into consideration. The clearest example of this is that the agreement that was reached during the Miami Ministerial was less comprehensive than the original US proposition. Critical countries, led by Brazil and supported by the anti-FTAA movement, managed to impose a watered-down version of the agreement. The movement gave the critical negotiators increased legitimacy at the negotiation table, while the strong proponents of the FTAA did not have the popular support to force their views on the other countries.

Fourth, and as a result of the changed power-balance, the contents of the agreement have been changed through the process. It is not strange that a ten-year lasting negotiating process changes an agreement, but the changes that are consistent with the claims of the protest movement and their allies can be taken to their credit. The Consultative Group on Smaller Economies (CGSE) was established to take the special needs of smaller economies into account, and the agreement is no longer seen

¹¹⁹ This was especially evident in Ecuador and Brazil.

as a strictly economic matter, but rather as a highly political issue.¹²⁰ Still, most important is maybe the continuing inclusion of the civil society. The FTAA negotiators have increased the space used on participation in the drafts of the agreement,¹²¹ a Committee of Government Representatives on the Participation of Civil Society (CGR) has been established, an “open invitation to the civil society” has been presented, and the first American Trade and Sustainable Development Forum has been held. All these factors have contributed to increase the influence of alternative civil society voices in the FTAA negotiations.

This demonstrates that the anti-FTAA movement has not only influenced the FTAA negotiations in the past, but that they will most likely continue to influence regionalism also in the future. As more people are mobilised, as they continue to participate in the debate, and as new participating mechanisms are established the movement might play an increasingly important role. However, a key problem of the anti-FTAA movement’s strategic framing has been that it has focused most of its attention on increasing participation, and spent less time and effort on the policies that it wishes to influence if it gains access: “One of the most important effects of meetings like this [the ATSDF] is that members of the civil society get together” (Joffe 2003, [interview]). The overemphasis on prognosis at the cost of diagnosis may make the main causes disappear in the public consciousness, and limit the mobilising potential of the movement. Still, issues of conflict have been avoided, since the participants focus on their common interest: participation. This may contribute to a more integrated movement, which again may create one of the more unintended consequences of the campaign: informal regionalisation.

¹²⁰ Illustratively the negotiations have played an important role in several Latin American elections, and there is a increasingly open between the liberal market friendly countries and the more critical leftist governments.

¹²¹ At the first Ministerial in Denver only 48 words (3% of total) were used to discuss civil society participation, while they used 704 words (19% of total) at the 8th ministerial declaration. It is not until the 6th ministerial in Buenos Aires that the issue got its own title in the manuscript. Before this meeting the issues had been placed under “other issues”. The 6th ministerial also marked a clear change in the space given to the subject. There was an increase from 129 words (3%) on the 5th meeting to 502 words (10%) in the 6th (http://www.alca-ftaa.org/Minis_e.asp).

7.5 Unintended Consequences

Informal Regionalisation

Since regionalisation is not one of the aims of the anti-FTAA campaign, this can be seen as an unintended effect. Regionalisation as an unintended effect or unconscious process is described both by the NRA and the NR/NRA (See e.g. Bøås et al. 2003; Söderbaum 2002:29). However, it is not studied thoroughly, and an elaboration on the unintended effects of the anti-FTAA campaign may contribute to the new regionalisms debate.

The construction of collective identities is an important element of the strategic framing of social movements (Snow and McAdam 2000). The movement needs to be integrated and coordinated to construct an effective campaign, and identity formation can be seen as a part of this strategy. If they manage to construct an integrated movement the influence on the civil society and policymakers increases. Chapter 5 demonstrated the increased regional cooperation within the anti-FTAA movement. It was argued that the anti-FTAA campaign is developing into a regional advocacy network. Chapter 6 discussed the evolving of a regional identity in the wake of the anti-FTAA campaign. When communication and interaction throughout the region increase, ideas may diffuse and create collective identities for actors also outside the movement. Regionalisation implies “a change from relative heterogeneity and lack of cooperation towards increased cooperation, integration, convergence, coherence and identity in a variety of fields such as culture, security, economic development and politics, within a given geographical space” (Schulz et al. 2001:5). This is exactly what is happening within the anti-FTAA movement as it is integrating social movements throughout the Americas and creating a common American identity.¹²² However, regionalisation does no longer imply a strategic element, but rather evolves unconsciously. Hence, the anti-FTAA campaign can

¹²² Even though the identity may be built on Latin American symbols.

contribute to a process of informal regionalisation in the Americas, and this is an unintended effect of their campaign.

In addition, a large and integrated protest movement can also be expected to influence the FTAA negotiators. The internal solidarity of the negotiators can be strengthened as they face strong criticism from external groups, and regional negotiator identities may evolve. This means that informal regionalisation can evolve also on the elite level. Still, the negotiators have different ambitions for the FTAA, and some of the negotiators even seem to share interests with the protest movement. The anti-FTAA campaign may thus both have integrating and disintegrating effects on the negotiating group.¹²³

Informal processes of regionalisation may evolve more easily than formal ones. Since the movement, the general public, the media and the policymakers are not as conscious of these processes, the processes do not meet the same resistance as formal ones. Informal regionalisation may thus be incorporated and taken for granted if it evolves without the use of power. This means that informal regionalisation may have just as, if not more, important effects on the general opinion and policy-making.

These unintended effects do not necessarily detract from the successes of the campaign, even though informal regionalisation is not directly promoted by the movement. The movement opposes the formal regionalisation of the FTAA, but not informal processes. Still, it could be argued that informal processes may pave the way for formal regionalisation. The FTAA agreement might be easier to implement in a region where the inhabitants are integrated by regional identities. Even if this is the result, the campaign will not have been useless. As has been demonstrated, the movement also influence regionalisms on the continent. The FTAA that evolves may be different from the one the movement opposes, and more in terms with the regionalisms promoted by the movement.

¹²³ However, these effects have not been analysed in this study.

7.6 Concluding Remarks

This chapter has examined the strategic framing of the anti-FTAA movement. Possible intended and unintended effects of these framing processes have been presented. The movement does not have much conventional power; it does not exercise mandates legitimised by democratic elections, and it has few material resources. Still, it has alternative sources of power: specialised knowledge, values, ideas and moral convictions (Korzeniewicz and Smith 2001:32). It tries to create policy changes by influencing people's identities, interests and understandings. Hence, framing is decisive for the movement's success.

It has been argued that regionalisation does not have to be part of a political strategy; it may evolve as an unintended effect of a social movement campaign. Consequently, the most important effect of the anti-FTAA campaign may actually not be its direct influence on policy-making, but rather the strengthening of a hemispheric protest movement. In addition, these unintended effects can make the networks and the cooperation that emerge in the wake of this FTAA process more important integrating mechanisms than the FTAA.

Regionalisation and regionalisms, and formal and informal processes, are tightly connected. Various processes may evolve simultaneously, influence each other and create complex webs of interests, ideas and identities. This complexity is covered by the NR/NRA concept "weave world" (c.f. Bøås et al. 2003). The way these processes interact, enforce or weaken each other will depend on the various internal and external societal actors in the region, and the regional and international contexts. As a consequence, it is difficult to develop universal theories of regionalism. Nevertheless, some theoretical insights can be drawn from this study, and contributions to a revised regionalisms approach will be presented in the conclusion.

8. Conclusion

“As far as our propositions are certain, they do not say anything about reality, and as far as they do say something about reality, they are not certain” (Albert Einstein, cited by Schumpeter (1936), 1991: 298-99 in King et al. 1994:7).

8.1 Regionalisation and the Anti-FTAA Movement

The anti-FTAA movement is diverse and complex, and this diversity makes the movement a particularly interesting case for the study of identity formation. A range of groups and individuals are united in the movement by one common cause: the protest against the FTAA. In spite of their varying interests and motives they manage to cooperate and build a shared and common ground. This thesis has argued that the anti-FTAA movement can be seen as a regional advocacy network, that it may seem like a process of regional identity building has started, and that the campaign might create both intended and unintended effects on regionalism and regionalisation.

First, I have discovered that the anti-FTAA movement can be seen as a regional advocacy network. The cooperation is still modest, but it exists on a regional level and it is currently increasing. The anti-FTAA protesters share one common cause; the wish to influence regionalism in the Americas. The movement has a flat structure and is held together through close personal bonds. The leaders and organisers of the campaign serve as entrepreneurs by coordinating the movement. In addition, the movement itself can be seen as an entrepreneur since it creates new issues and influences the context of policy debates. While language may serve as an obstacle¹²⁴ to the integration of the movement, the Internet has proven an important recourse for mobilising, coordinating and communication in the campaign.

¹²⁴ However, not necessarily more than in other transnational networks.

Second, the cooperation contributes to the construction of a common regional identity in the movement. However, the identity is complex. The descriptions of a We have included attributes from both traditional leftist and post-development discourses. Using traditional leftist rhetoric, the movement presents itself as a revolutionary, united and solidary representative of the people. At the same time, they also frame themselves within post-developmental discourse as diverse and academic, and demanding participation and autonomy. The existence of excluded groups or enemies is an important part of identity formation. The corporate sector, the FTAA negotiators, the police and the mass media are among the groups described as the Others. In the anti-FTAA movement the framing of the Others is more simplistic than the framing of a We. Within traditional leftist discourse the Others are characterised as undemocratic and homogenous elites who only pursue economic self-interests. Identities in the Americas have through the history been divided between sub-regional, national, ethnic, language, political and religious groups, and the development of a regional American identity within the civil society will be new to the continent. Based on the discussion in this thesis it seems as if a regional identity may be evolving in the anti-FTAA movement. However, the identity can be said to represent an antagonism: the identity lacks clear boundaries and consistency, and ambiguity rules. In addition, it seems that the identity is built on Latin American symbols, and not creating new regional *American* symbols. However, the “latinamericanisation” of the identity may be read as a rational strategy to integrate the movement, and does not necessarily imply that the identity is not regional.

Third, it has been argued that the movement’s strategic framing may have important implications for regionalism and regionalisation. Alternative regionalisms are promoted through the campaign and both the civil society at large and policymakers in the Americas have been influenced by the movement. In addition, the campaign may have some unintended effects: its integration of the civil society creates informal regionalisation. Hence, the anti-FTAA movement can be said to be a

central actor in the process of regionalisation in the Americas. In the following I will describe some contributions this thesis represents to the study of new regionalisms.

8.2 Contributions to a Revised New Regionalisms Approach

The scholars behind the NRA have called for the development of a revised new regionalism theory. Questions that are central to new regionalism are: how are regions socially constructed? What actors and coalitions are upholding the processes? What visions and strategies exist? And who are the winners and losers in regionalism? (Söderbaum 2002: 35-57). The theory is currently under development and this thesis intends to contribute to the discussion. It is difficult to construct a general and comprehensive *global* theory of regionalism since context is crucial for regionalism and regionalisation. Hence, the main aim here is to supplement the understanding of regionalisms and regionalisation in the Americas, and point to some general characteristics that may contribute to a new regionalisms approach, but not to contribute to a regionalism *theory*.

There are three aspects of new regionalisms that I wish to illuminate in this thesis. These are: The combination of rational and reflectivist insights for studies of regionalism; the role of social movements in regionalism and regionalisation; and informal regionalisation as an unintended effect of social mobilising.

The Combination of Rational and Reflectivist Insights in Regional Studies

This thesis has been based on social constructivism and tried to include both reflectivist and rational insights. It has been argued that constructivism is an important contribution to political science and to the study of regionalism, and that this perspective can serve as a bridge between rational and reflectivist approaches. This is because constructivism includes the social construction of ideas, interests and identities, without necessarily excluding rationality.

The rational approach argues that interests are given, and that rational strategic action is motivating regionalisation. The analysis has demonstrated that self-interest

is an important motivator for the actors in the mobilisation phase. Actors engage in the movement because they believe that their interests, being material or ideational, are threatened by the FTAA. Even identity formation can be seen as a rational strategy, since it is necessary for a movement to construct a positive and coherent identity in order to legitimate action for its members and policymakers. Strategic framing is central to the movement's mobilising and influencing potential. The movement acts as a rational actor and uses the necessary means to influence policymakers and the civil society to promote alternative regionalisms.

Constructivism manages to include rationality in its analysis. Still, the approach tends to focus on other aspects of the social, and often to study the processes prior to rational theorising. Constructivism supplements the explanation of how ideas, interests and identities are socially constructed. This thesis has demonstrated that identities may develop, not just as a rational strategy, but as an unconscious consequence of interaction and cooperation. This identity formation process has constitutive effects on the involved actors. Hence, the suggestion is that a revitalised new regionalisms approach should be based on constructivism since this approach includes insights from both rational and reflectivist theorising.

Social Movements as Important Actors in Regionalisation

Regionalisation is political and evolves in a process of negotiation between a range of actors with a variety of interests and motivations. Networks of both state and non-state actors compete over different definitions of the region, and regionalism will be a mixture of these diverse understandings. Still, the civil society has been a neglected actor in studies of regionalism (Söderbaum and Shaw 2003:222). An aim should be to go beyond the traditional divide between state and non-state actors, since regionalism includes a variety of interlinked actors, some which are both state and non-state. Social movement actors may, and often will, have strong links to state actors, and it is thus impossible to clearly separate the two. Consequently, an inclusion of social

movements in the analysis may uncover some of the complexity of political processes.

The characteristics of social movements can make them influential actors. They are often flexible, and members can easily enter and exit a given group. Social movements often have flat structures and are built on close bonds and shared values. This means that they are strong organisations with high degrees of loyalty from their members. They can transcend state borders and include actors from all levels of the hierarchy, and multiply in this way their influencing potential. In addition, they can claim to represent grassroots' voices and often rest on an argumentation loaded with values. This provides them with a potential to influence the opinion making in the general public and it makes them an opponent policymakers hardly can ignore.

This thesis has argued that the anti-FTAA movement can be seen as an important actor who may influence both regionalism and regionalisation on the American continent. Through strategic framing the movement influences the context in which regionalism and regionalisation occur, its campaigning may construct or redefine values, and it influences the identities of its own members as well as of other groups. As a possible consequence of this framing, the regionalism in the FTAA has moved towards civil society participation and the inclusion of the developmental aspects. The important role that the anti-FTAA movement seems to play in the process of regionalisation in the Americas demonstrates that social movements can be among the central actors influencing both regionalism and regionalisation. Hence, such actors should be included in further studies of new regionalisms.

Informal Regionalisation as an Unintended Consequence

Identity formation has been left little space in political science, as well as in theories of regionalisms. An important purpose of my project has been to study the role and importance of identity in the regionalisation process. The discussions in the thesis have illustrated that regional identities can evolve in an advocacy network. The network in question consciously tries to construct a common identity in order to

strengthen its inner bonds, but the identity also evolves independently of these rational strategies.

As demonstrated above the identity formation has strengthened the movement's influencing potential and created some intended effects on regionalism. In addition, the construction of a regional identity may have unintended effects: informal regionalisation on the civil society level. Regionalisation evolves when new actors cooperate regionally, are integrated and develop a regional identity. One of my arguments is that there are not necessarily any strategic actors promoting this process. Regionalisation may rather evolve as a unintended effect of social mobilising. Nevertheless, this informal process can play an important role on the continent and influence a wide range of actors. Even formal processes may be influenced by informal regionalisation.

An important lesson to be learned from this discussion is that regions are in constant change. Regionalisation may happen at different levels of society and will be constructed, deconstructed and reconstructed by diverse regional actors (c.f. Bull [forthcoming]). It can, but does not have to come as a result of strategic action. Hence, regionalisms and regionalisation are evolving at a macro level in the Americas, but there are also processes being developed from below that may reinforce or work against the macro level processes. Similar trends could be expected to exist also in other regions. Informal regionalisation as an unintended effect should therefore be a central part of studies of regionalisms.

8.3 Concluding Remarks

The consequences of an evolving regional identity in the anti-FTAA movement may be many and may certainly range beyond the implications presented here. In relation to the complexity and comprehensiveness of the anti-FTAA movement, the empirical material in this thesis is limited. All though I wish to contribute to the study of

regionalisms and to point to possible consequences of the movement, I do not presume to present absolute findings.

Further studies on the anti-FTAA movement could lead to interesting and new conclusions. The movement has had an impressive success in mobilising a wide and diverse group of people in terms of interests, language, societal level and nationality. However, the movement is constructed to oppose the FTAA, and hence the movement's future may seem as uncertain as the future of the FTAA. The anti-FTAA movement may dissolve, it may merge with the general anti-liberalisation movement, or it may continue to work against the FTAA. Also after a possible implementation of the agreement, the movement may still have a function: it can work to renegotiate, reconstruct and redefine the regionalism inherent in the agreement. If the agreement is not signed, however, the movement can still try to influence other processes of regionalisation on the continent. Hence, the anti-FTAA movement can, and most likely will, continue to play an important role in the process of regionalisation in the Americas.

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- Frequently Asked Questions About the Free Trade Area of the Americas (FTAA) (2003, November 28th) [online]. – URL: <http://www.globalexchange.org/ftaa/faq.html>
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Straight from the Horse's Mouth (2003, December 1st) [online]. – URL: <http://www.stopftaa.org/article.php?id=23>

What is the FTAA? (2003, December 1st) [online]. – URL:
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Action for Community and Ecology in the Regions of Central America: www.asej.org

Agricultural Missions: <http://www.compasite.org/English/members/us.htm>

Alliance for Global Justice (AGJ):

<http://www.public.iastate.edu/~arichard/The%20Alliance%20for%20Global%20Justice.htm>

Alliance for Responsible trade: www.art-us.org

Alliance for Sustainable Jobs and the Environment: <http://www.asje.org/>

Alianza Chilena por un Comercio Justo y Responsable (ACJR): <http://www.comerciojusto.cl/>

American Federation of Labor- Congress of Industrial Organizations: www.aflcio.org

American Federation of state, country and Municipal Employees (AFSCME):

<http://www.afscme.org/>

American Federation of Teachers: <http://www.aft.org/>

American Friends Service Committee, Democratizing the Global Economy Project:

<http://www.afsc.org/>

Americans for Democratic Action: <http://www.ada-sepa.org/>

American Lands Alliance: <http://bapd.org/gamnce-1.html>

Anti-capitalist convergence: <http://www.abolishthebank.org/>

Anti-FTAA Action: www.antiftaa.org

Association for Flight Attendants: <http://www.unitedafa.org/>

ATTAC - Asociación por un Tasa a las Transacciones financieras especulativas para Ayuda a los

Ciudadanos: <http://www.attac.org/>

Campaign for Labour Rights: <http://www.campaignforlaborrights.org/>

Campesinos del Ecuador : <http://movimientos.org/cloc/confeunassc-ec/>

Canadian Foundation for the Americas (FOCAL): <http://www.focal.ca/>

Canadian Labour Congress: <http://www.clc-ctc.ca/>

Cáritas y Foro Panamá: <http://www.caritas.es/>

Central Única dos Trabalhadores (CUT): <http://www.cut.org.br/>

Centre for Concern/ US Gender and Trade Network: <http://www.coc.org/focus/women/trade.html>

Church world service: <http://www.churchworldservice.org/>

Coalition for Justice in the Maquiladoras: <http://www.enchantedwebsites.com/maquiladora/cjm.html>

Coalition to Shutdown the OAS/FTAA: <http://www.tao.ca/~stopftaa/index.htm>

Colours of resistance: <http://www.activist.ca/view.php?id=0-3786>

Comisión para la Gestión Integral del Agua en Bolivia:
<http://www.aguabolivia.org/presentacionX/presentacion.htm>

Comité Colombia de Lucha contra el ALCA: <http://www.memoria.com.mx/165/colombia.htm>

Common Frontiers: <http://www.web.net/comfront/>

Communications Workers of America: www.cwa-union.org

Comunidad de Movimientos Sociales: <http://www.movimientos.org>

Comité Mexicano de la Campaña Continental Contra el ALCA: <http://www.noalca.org>

Confederación Nacional de Organizaciones Campesinos, Indígenas y Negras (FENOCIN):
<http://www.fenocin.org/>

Convergence of Movements of the Peoples of the Americas: www.sitiocompa.org

Coordinadora Latinoamericana de Organizaciones del Campo (CLOC): <http://movimientos.org/cloc/>

Council of Canadians: <http://www.canadians.org/>

Corporación PARTICIPA: <http://www.participa.cl/>

Corporate Watch: <http://www.corpwatch.org>

Development Group of Alternative Policies: <http://www.developmentgap.org/>

Encuentro Popular: <http://www.encuentropopular.org/>

Ecumenical Advocacy Alliance: <http://www.e-alliance.ch/>

Ecumenical Program on Central America and the Caribbean: <http://www.epica.org/>

Environmental defence: <http://www.environmentaldefense.org/home.cfm>

Environmental Health Coalition: <http://www.environmentalhealth.org/index1.html>

Encuentro Hemisférico de Lucha contra el ALCA: <http://www.alcaabajo.cu>

Esquel Group Foundation (EGF): <http://www.esquel.org/>

First Hemispheric Meeting Against Militarization: www.antimil.org

Florida Fair Trade Coalition: www.flfairtrade.org

Foro Social Mundial: <http://www.forumsocialmundial.org.br>

Frente Auténtico del Trabajo: www.fatmexico.org

Friends of the Earth, international: <http://www.foei.org/>

FTAA resistance: www.ftaaresistance.org

Fundación Futuro Latinoamericano: <http://www.tecnibusiness.com/ts/main01.php?website=ffla>

Fundación Heinrich Böll: <http://www.boell-latinoamerica.org/>

Global Exchange: www.globalexchange.org

Grantmakers Without Borders: <http://www.internationaldonors.org/>

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Independent Media Centre: www.ftaaimc.org
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International Confederation of Free Trade Unions: <http://www.icftu.org/>
International Brotherhood of Teamsters: <http://www.teamster.org/>
International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers: <http://www.ibew.org/>
International Jesuit Network for Development :<http://www.jesuit.ie/ijnd/>
Jobs with Justice: <http://www.jwj.org/>
John F. Henning Center for International Labor Relations: www.henningcenter.berkeley.edu
Jubileo/Sur Americas, Argentina: <http://www.jubileesouth.org/sp/>
Lake Worth Global Justice Group: <http://www.mediamouse.org/fcaa/index.php>
Latin America Solidarity Coalition: www.lasolidarity.org
Mexico Solidarity Network: <http://www.mexicosolidarity.org/>
Movimiento de los Trabajadores Rurales sin Tierra – Brasil: <http://movimientos.org/cloc/mst-br/>
Network: A National Catholic Social Justice Lobby: <http://www.networklobby.org/>
No al ALCA: <http://www.alcaabajo.cu/>
North-South Centre at the University of Miami: <http://www.miami.edu/nsc/>
OXFAM America: <http://www.oxfamamerica.org/art1716.html>
Organización Regional Interamericana de Trabajadores (ORIT): <http://www.cioslorit.org/>
PACE International Union: <http://www.paceunion.org/>
People's Consultation on the FTAA: www.peoplesconsultation.org
Project South: Institute for the Elimination of Poverty and Genocide: <http://www.projectsouth.org/>
Public Citizen's Global Trade Watch: www.citizen.org
Red Colombiana de Acción frente al Libre Comercio y el ALCA:
http://www.moir.org.co/ALCA/Colombia/recalca_130803.htm
Red de Quebec sobre Integración Continental: <http://www.rwor.org>
Rede Brasileira para a Integração dos Povos: <http://www.rebrip.org.br>

Red Internacional de Género y Comercio Capítulo Latinoamericano:

<http://www.generoycomercio.org>

Red Mexicana de Acción Frente al Libre Comercio: <http://www.rmalc.org.mx/>

Red Sinti Techan, El Salvador: <http://www.soapbox.nu/postings/02101407.txt>

Red Social para la Educación Pública en las Américas (Red SEPA): <http://www.vcn.bc.ca/idea/>

Réseau Québécois sur l'Intégration Continentale: <http://www.csq.qc.net>

Resist the FTAA: www.geocities.com/ericsquire/ftaafla.htm

Resistencia Civil Continental: <http://www.laneta.apc.org/rcc/>

Rights Action: <http://www.rightsaction.org/>

Root Cause: www.therootcause.org

Sierra Club: <http://www.sierraclub.org/>

Sierra Student Coalition: <http://www.ssc.org/>

Sisters of the Holy Cross Congregation, Justice Committee: <http://www.cscsisters.org/>

South Floridians for Fair Trade and Global Justice: www.mobilizemiamiftaa.org

Stop the FTAA!: www.stopftaa.org

Texas Fair Trade Coalition: <http://texasfairtrade.org/>

UNITE HERE!: <http://www.unitehere.org/>

Unitarian Universalist Congregation of Miami, Social Justice Committee:

<http://dev.uua.org/aboutuua/vis0799.html>

United Auto Workers: <http://www.uaw.org/>

United Church of Christ Justice and Witness Ministries: <http://www.ucc.org/jwm/>

United for a Fair Economy: www.faireconomy.org

United Mine Workers of America: <http://www.umwa.org/>

United Steelworkers of America: www.uswa.org

United Students Against Sweatshops: <http://www.studentsagainstsweatshops.org/>

U.S. Interfaith Trade Justice Campaign: <http://www.tradejusticeusa.org/>

Vía Alternativa: <http://www.viaalternativa.com.co/>

World Council of Churches: <http://www.wcc-coe.org/>

Witness for Peace: www.witnessforpeace.org

Zapatista Block: www.geocities.com/zapatistablock/