SOFIA LAINE

Young Actors in Transnational Agoras
Multi-Sited Ethnography of Cosmopolitan Micropolitical Orientations

ACADEMIC DISSERTATION

To be presented for public examination with the permission of the Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Helsinki, in Arppeanum, Snellmaninkatu 3, on Saturday, 11 February 2012 at 10 a.m.

ISBN 978-952-5994-07-0
(Print, Finnish Youth Research Network / Finnish Youth Research Society)
ISBN 978-952-10-7636-7
(Online, University of Helsinki)
ISSN 1799-9219

Finnish Youth Research Network
Finnish Youth Research Society
Publications 121
[...] When he reached the place he was aiming for, he began making holes in the ground with his rod, putting an acorn in each and then covering it up again. He was planting oak trees. I asked him if the land was his. He said it wasn’t. Did he know who the owner was? No he didn’t. He thought it must be common land, or perhaps it belonged to people who weren’t interested in it. He wasn’t interested in who they were. And so, with great care, he planted his hundred acorns.

After the midday meal he started sorting out more acorns to sow. I must have been very pressing with my questions, because he answered them. He’d been planting trees in this wilderness for three years. He’d planted a hundred thousand of them. Out of those, twenty thousand had come up. Of the twenty thousand he expected to lose half, because of rodents or the unpredictable ways of Providence. That still meant ten thousand oaks would grow where before there had been nothing.[...]

Gionno, Jean (orig. 1954) *The Man Who Planted Trees*
Contents

Tiivistelmä 9
Abstract 10
Acknowledgements 11

1. **Introduction: A generation of global community acting in transnational spheres** 15

2. **Global flow of the research: Accumulating agoras and articles, shaping the framework** 22

3. **Reaching for methodological cosmopolitanism** 29
   3.1 Marginality of the global perspective in Finnish youth research and in the EU youth policy 29
   3.2 Marginality of the youth and cosmopolitan perspectives in Finnish development studies 32
   3.3 Possibilities of performative social science 36
   3.4 Multimethodological approach to diverse actors and their manifold orientations 38

4. **Youth political participation in transnational agoras** 43
   4.1 Young EU policy experts as examples of expert citizens with cosmopolitan resources 47
   4.2 CIRCA clowns and Free Huggers as examples of everyday-makers with cosmopolitan resources 49
   4.3 The go-along method: Taking a walk through a slum to reach everyday-makers who lack cosmopolitan resources 51
   4.4 Amazonian region youth activists as examples of expert citizens who lack cosmopolitan resources 54
   4.5 Agoras are not democratic miniature societies 57
   4.6 Agoras are political choreographies 59

5. **Concluding and opening thoughts of the global generation acting on transnational spheres** 66
   5.1 Four concluding theses 70
   5.2 Emerging questions and future research 75

References 79

Appendix 1. Data and analysis 86
Appendix 2. Timeline 90
Appendix 3. Statistics and outline of the studied events 91
Appendix 4. Interview outline 94
Appendix 5. Questionnaire conducted in Hyvinkää EU Meeting 96
Articles

1. Laine, Sofia & Gretschel, Anu (2009)  
   Whose arena the EU youth policy is? Young participants’ involvement  
   and influence in EU youth policy from their own points of view: Case of  
   EU Presidency Youth Event in Hyvinkää, Finland. *Young* 17(2), 191–215.

2. Laine, Sofia (2009)  
   Contestatory Performative Acts in Transnational Political Meetings.  

3. Laine, Sofia (2011)  
   Grounded globalizations of transnational social movement. Ethnographic  
   [Accessed 22 November 2011]

4. Laine, Sofia (forthcoming)  
   Embodied and moral methodological cosmopolitanism opposing rising  
   neo-nationalism. Microanalytical perspective. In Pirkko Ahponen &  
   Päivi Harinen & Ville-Samuli Haverinen (eds.) *Methodological Nationalism  
   – Transnational Reality: Crossing Civic Cultural Borderlines*.  
   University of Eastern Finland.
Tiivistelmä

Tutkimus tarkastelee nuorten osallistumista kansainvälisiin poliittisiin kokouksiin. Tutkimuksen tavoitteena on selvittää osallistujien ja osallistumistapaajien kirjoja: kenelle kansainväliset a soarot ovat mahdollisia ja miten poliittinen argumentaatio niillä rakentuu. Lisäksi tutkimuksessa kehitetään metodologiosta kosmopolitianismia, uusia tapoja lähestyä ja tulkita nuorten kansainvälistä poliittista toimintaa. Tutkimus kiinnittyy poliittisen sosioligan, nuorisotutkimuksen, kehitystutkimuksen sekä performatiivisen yhteiskuntatutkimuksen aiempia keskusteluita.


Avainsanat: poliittinen toiminta, nuoriso, monipaikkainen etnografia, nuorisotutkimus, poliittinen sosioLOGIA, kehitystutkimus, performatiivinen yhteiskuntatutkimus
Abstract

This study examines young people’s political participation in transnational meetings. Methodologically the study aims to shed light on multi-sited global ethnography. Young people are viewed here as a social age group sensitive to critical, alternative and even radical political participation. The diversity of the young actors and their actions is captured by using several different methods. What is more, the study spurs us coming from the Global North to develop social science research towards methodological cosmopolitanism and to consider our research practices from a moral cosmopolitan perspective.

The research sites are the EU Presidency Youth Event (2006 Hyvinkää, Finland), the Global Young Greens Founding Conference (2007 Nairobi, Kenya), the European Social Forum (2008 Malmö, Sweden) and three World Social Forums (2006 Bamako, Mali; 2007 Nairobi Kenya and 2009 Belém, Brazil). The data consists of participant observation, documents and media articles of the meetings, interviews, photos, video, and internet data. This multidisciplinary study combines youth research, development studies, performative social science and political sociology.

In this research the diverse field of youth political participation in transnational agoras is studied by using a cross-table of cosmopolitan resources (or the lack of them) and everyday-makers – expert citizen dichotomy. First, the young participants of the EU Presidency youth event are studied as an example of expert citizens with cosmopolitan resources (these resources include, for example, language skills, higher education and international social network). Second, the study analyses those everyday-makers who use performative politics to demonstrate their political missions here and now. But in order to make the social movement global they need cosmopolitan resources to be able to use the social media tools and work globally. Third, the study reflects upon the difficulties of reaching those actors who lack cosmopolitan resources, either everyday-makers or expert citizens. The go-along method and the use of the interpreters are shown as ways to reach these young people’s political missions. Fourth, the research underlines the importance of ‘contact zones’ (i.e. spaces or situations where the aforementioned orientations and their differences temporarily disappear or weaken) for deeper democracy and for boosted dialogue between different kinds of participants.

Keywords: political participation, young people, multi-sited ethnography, youth research, political sociology, development studies, performative social science
Acknowledgements

This has been a great journey. I have been privileged to meet and work with professional, inspiring and good academic people. I have gained support in many different ways. And I have also experienced so many great moments and met inspiring youth during my fieldwork periods that already these young people’s positive energy has kept me going!

I warmly thank my two pre-examinators, Dr. Päivi Harinen and Dr. Geoffrey Pleyers for their competent work. I am deeply impressed by and grateful for their clear and encouraging statements that helped me to work on and write the final version of the manuscript. I would especially like to thank Päivi Harinen for crystallising the term *cosmopolitan micropolitics* while I’m most grateful to Geoffrey Pleyers for his own research comes closest to my own and has therefore strongly inspired my work. I truly look forward to continuing academic co-operation with both of them in the future.

The Finnish Youth Research Network has given me an academic home and the most enjoyable and inspiring working environment I can ever imagine. Network’s research Professor Tommi Hoikkala has followed my academic career even longer than this research project has been running. He has been a great supervisor and the most important ‘stand-by-bystander’ during this research process, in all four ways one may define the term ‘stand-by’. Therefore, I heartily thank Tommi first for being poised for meeting my acute questions whenever I have knocked on his door, second for following from the distance and being optimistic that I will figure out my research path by myself, third for always trusting my work and fourth for helping me to hold on to this academic home.

My two other supervisors were important actors in this research process as well. Professor Teivo Teivainen didn’t only read and comment on the different versions of different manuscripts but also participated in most of the fields where I conducted my research. Dr. Timo Kyllönen had a crucial role in adapting the development studies perspective more coherently into the entire manuscript. Thank you Teivo and Timo for your most important work!

This book wouldn’t be ready without the significant work of many talented people. I now know that the best grounds for proofreading is to take yoga classes and have lunch together with the language editor. I want to thank my soul sister Rosa Aaltonen for reading and correcting all the texts found in this book! In this kind of a project it’s very important to have a friend with whom to share all one’s thoughts — also the academic ones. Rosa has done a wonderful job with the language. Another sister of mine, Raisa Kyllikki Ranta, I want to thank for travelling with me to Nairobi, to share this fieldwork period. I owe her special thanks for the possibility to use her great photos as part of my data. Similar thanks go to the professional photographers Jorma Vainio, Paulino Menezes and Christian Leo. Minna Laukkanen I want to thank not only for the great covers of the book but also for her strong support. Tanja Kontinen — my favourite rocking witch — I thank for the outstanding outline of this book and for the best party attitude ever. Vappu Helmisaari I thank for her exact editorial work, and Minna Laasala I want to thank for keeping the salary running and the project budget straight for many years.

I am deeply indebted to a great number of people who have eagerly commented on the different versions of the articles. They include Eeva Luhtakallio, Tuija Lattunen, Veronika Honkasalo, Marja-Liisa Honkasalo, Lasse Siurala, Seija Astala, Jarkko Lehikoinen, Antti Kivijärvi and Niilo Rinne. Also the Helsinki Research Group for Political Sociology as well as
the ‘Sociological Parlor’ and their actors have been important academic groups and operational environments. I want to thank Anu Gretschel especially for her multidimensional cooperation, including commenting, networking, and support – not forgetting probably the most important one, the collegial friendship along the way.

I am very grateful for both the financial and academic support of the Finnish Youth Research Network. First three years I got funding from the Network and my office has been located at the East Pasila headquarters throughout the process. I also thank Kone foundation, Emil Aaltonen’s foundation and Helsinki University for their grants that enabled me to conduct full-time research work. Network’s research program, research seminars and scientific conferences have been very important spaces where to discuss and develop my thinking. Thank you Jaana Lähteenmaa, Elina Pekkarinen, Tarja Tolonen, Marja Peltola, Ansku Souto, Sini Perho, Pia Lundbom and Anni Ojajärvi – it has been a privilege to have such wonderful colleagues!

My warmest thanks to the Institute of Development Studies (IDS) at the University of Helsinki, it’s PhD seminars and other PhD courses. I am especially grateful to the other PhD students I had an opportunity to work with and to share our similar academic phase with. Here I also want to thank Professor Juhani Koponen, the head of the Institute – also for taking the role of custodian. For the last years, I have very much rejoiced the cooperation with Tiina-Maria Levamo, Elina Oinas and Henri Onodera, and hopefully we will continue the cooperation and research among the politically active youth in Africa in the near future! Here I also want to place my heartfelt thanks to the Finnish Youth Research Network’s research director Leena Suurpää whose encouragement and support towards more global youth research has been endless!

To return to the yoga classes, I want to thank the yoga school Shanti and especially the teachers Kylli Kukk and Marjaana Mäkelä for helping me to keep my body-mind-connection flexible and open through the process. I also want to thank Eino Roila Institute in Jyväskylä and my teachers Maarit E. Ylönen and Marko Punkainen as well as the whole student group (2010-2011) for kinesthetic analytical tools and new ways to experience the world. Thank you all in our ‘Authentic and Creative Movement’ group in Helsinki as well as everyone in the “End of the world” dance project in Zodiak (Centre for New Dance) – both of these have been important ways to work with the embodied material of the research project. Of course these have also been a lot of fun and good for the researcher’s health!

For friendship and encouragement throughout the process, I want to thank Anna Kervinen, Kaisa Dismulescu, Taru Lahti, Kerttu Aitola and Ulla-Maaria Engeström. In addition I want to thank Kirsi and Pekka Pitkänen, Tuija Lavonen and Jenni Vähäsöyrinki for shared everyday life and for keeping up the extraordinary Kumpula spirit. For the latter I also want to thank Ruby van der Wekken and Mika Rönkkö – thank you both for bringing the global to the local – and vice versa. All the power women of Kumpula (also the ones I didn’t mention yet!) I especially want to thank for showing how solidarity can start right where you are, and how the biggest miracles happen on an ordinary day – and that’s why the mundane tasks and mundane days in your company are brilliant and amazing.

My extended family, brother Max Laine (i.e. eno), father Unto K. Laine (i.e. vaari), Orvokki Ketola (i.e. mummo), Vappu Karjalainen (i.e. ‘stand-by mother’), Riitta Nummiranta (i.e. mummu), Antero Nummiranta (i.e. pappa), Anna Nummiranta (i.e. täti) and Eino Nummiranta (i.e. serkku) I want to thank for their support, not only with child care and play but also for reflecting this academic process with me. More than anybody else, I want to thank my mother Ritva Laine (i.e. mummi) for unwavering support, especially with child care that enabled this
research project in many ways. Finally, the loves of my life, the best husband I ever can imagine, Antti and Väinö Nummiranta – I thank for sharing their lives with me.

I dedicate this dissertation to all mothers – especially to my own – who have the strength, sensitivity and wisdom to support the next generation (when needed).

In Helsinki 1.12.2011

---

1 *hus* equals to 'house' or 'family room' in Swedish; and *band* equals to a 'band' as in English but also to a 'bond' or 'ties' and to a 'group' in Swedish – so the term 'husband' has here its unique and extraordinary contents that points to our great house band.
1. Introduction: A generation of global community acting in transnational spheres

This study examines young people’s political participation in transnational meetings. Methodologically the study aims to shed light on multi-sited global ethnography. Young people are viewed here as a social age group sensitive to critical, alternative and even radical political participation. The diversity of the young actors and their actions is captured by using several different methods. What is more, the study spurs us coming from the Global North to develop social science research towards methodological cosmopolitanism and to consider our research practices from a moral cosmopolitan perspective.

In December 2008, in his Nobel Peace prize speech in Oslo president Martti Ahtisaari stated:

Growing inequality within countries and between regions deepens the existing cleavages. It is our task to create a future and hope for regions and countries in crisis where young people suffer from unemployment and have little prospects of improving their lives. Unless we can meet this challenge, new conflicts will flare up and we will lose another generation to war.

There has been a great deal of talk this year about the financial crisis. This financial crisis also highlights the importance of maintaining the commitment of the international community to development cooperation. The effects of this crisis may prove another major setback for the developing world. The very poorest people are already being hit hardest by the impact of climate change, rising food prices and lower levels of foreign trade. A reduction in foreign assistance and investment would be disastrous for badly needed economic growth. At this difficult time, I call on all governments to remain committed to their stated goals of eradicating poverty.

What is said between these lines is that the economic crisis is combined with the ecological and social crisis. This combination is called by many western leftwing academics a civilization crisis which they claim to result from the post-colonial situation and the neoliberal capitalism to a large extent. The same academic actors have questioned Ahtisaari’s perspective asking whether the economic growth really is what we need for the world peace and sustainable living on this planet.

In his speech Ahtisaari also raises the generational perspective and the situation of the young people in the Global South\(^1\). Never before have there been as many young people in the world as there are today: 1.3 billion are aged between 12 and 24 (World Development Report 2007). It is not surprising that in the North-African countries, where the majority of the population is 28-years-old or younger, these younger generations raise a strong pressure for a political change. And yet, after democratisation of the local and national political spheres, the political challenges continue on the transnational and global levels.

Ahtisaari mentioned in his speech the future of ‘our communities’. In today’s world these communities aren’t necessarily geographically oriented. Even the family community may spread onto different continents, and the same is easily true about the professional, religious or political

---

\(^1\) The Global South and the Global North are used here as dynamic and movable concepts whose function is to shed light on the North-South dynamics. See one definition of the Global South and the Global North from http://faculty.ucc.edu/egh-damerow/global_south.htm [Accessed 17 May 2011].
communities. When the communities are increasingly international or even global, the question arises: What could be the aim of the cooperation of a global community? As Francine Menstrum wrote (2011), our common humanity and the equality of all people as well as the richness of our diversity should form a base for shaping a radically new version of modernity.

I disagree with Ahtisaari's claim that we would have one international community. We rather have several inter- and transnational communities and networks. I also disagree that the governments should "remain committed to their stated goals". It's better to regularly update the goals within the ever-changing global situation. What I call for in this research is a stronger transnational cooperation to tackle global challenges. What is more, not only politics needs to tune into the global sphere – the same goes for the social science research. Here I agree with Raewyn Connell (2007) that only the knowledge produced on a planetary scale is adequate to support the self-understanding of societies or communities on a planetary scale. To an individual researcher this kind of a research setting sounds very challenging if not impossible. How to conduct global research on global issues?

This is a study of young people's political participation in transnational events. In other words, this is a research about the cooperation and mutual understanding between the participants of transnational political communities. This is also a study on what the global youth research could offer in terms of political sociology and how to conduct a sustainable and cosmopolitan research in time of a civilization crisis. From this plural standpoint I ask: what counts as young people's political participation in transnational meetings and how to study it? What does a research on certain temporal global communities reveal about transnational and mutual understanding on a more general level: what does the research tell about the diversities and pluralities, or the hierarchies and the ways in which the transnational spaces are structured? What does it tell about today's young generation and its way to form global communities not only in the virtual world but also with concrete practices in a certain place at a certain time?

I see that the young people I study form an active segment of today's global generation. June Edmunds and Bryan S. Turner (2005) define the global generation starting from the latter part of the twentieth century (i.e. those whose transition from childhood to adulthood has taken place during that time) and highlight the role of the electronic communication technology as the primary characteristic of this generation. More recently Hanna Wass and Pilvi Torsti (2011) have formulated distinctive generations for the Finnish context. In their study the Finns born between the years 1975 and 1984, the generation most interviewed and studied in my research, are called the EU membership and recession generation referring to the respondents' two most common self-reported key experiences in the nation's history. At the world political level this generation is characterised by its members' key experiences on terrorism, war on terror and communication technology. This generation together with the younger generation (defined as technology, internationality and terrorism generation) tend to emphasise the role of international organisations and social movements for the future development more than the older generations. (Ibid., 172 and 167.)

Already Karl Mannheim (1952) underlined the relevance of the concept of generation for the understanding of the pace of social change. As becomes clear, the present day youth are the quintessential inhabitants of the planet as they are the first generation to live integrated with the changing spheres of cyberspace and other forms of global communication and interaction (Vautour 2006, 25). The 'global' of this generation looks very different in the Global North and the Global South, but the economic and material resources, the experiences of inequality as well as all sorts of opportunities vary greatly also more locally (see also Beck & Beck-Gernsheim
The generation concept is used in this study to show the differences between the global generation and older generation in the sphere of political participation and to analyse the social dynamism and social processes that take place in the transnational political meetings or in their surroundings.

Extended youth transitions are a contemporary global phenomenon. In this research there are no specific age-limits defining the youth. Most of the interviewees (see Appendix 1) were under 29 which is also the legal definition of youth in the Finnish Youth Act (27.1.2006/72). So, more or less half of the world’s population would fall into this kind of a category of youth (International Data Base 2011). Tommi Hoikkala (2009, 10) compares the age group of 20 to 30-year-olds, the scoop of this study, to a sandwich: ”These young adults are sandwiched between the ‘real’ youth of less than twenty years of age and the older generations (baby boomers and the following generations) holding societal power.” And it is not only a phenomenon in the Global North. For example, Henri Onodera (2009, 46) has studied the Egyptian youth political activism and found out that “the majority of young opposition activists were 20 to 30 years old unmarried men who live with their parents but compared to young women, were free from domestic duties”. In the Hyvinkää EU Meeting one of my informants told me:

Being young is much more a lifestyle question than a matter of one’s actual physical age. If I had started to work for a company at the age of 16, I would have got three children by the time I was 23. As a mom of three, I would not feel young. I’m still a student, I do not have children, I’m not married, I do not have a permanent job so I feel young. And I have the feeling, although I am 27 myself, so not the youngest either but I still think I can relate to a 20-year-old student who has a similar life. Whereas there might be 23-year-olds who have a family and the rest, who do not feel young or part of youth themselves. So I think it’s more a lifestyle question than an actual age question. (YFJ6)

When the focus is on youth political participation it is important to underline how this social age is sometimes depoliticized by older activists or politicians who conceive youth as “raw material to be shaped through careful cultivation within formal political organizations” (Juris & Pleyers 2009, 72). “We are not only the future, we are the actors of today” is a phrase the active youth state to their elders in almost every political occasion as a reaction to the undervaluation of the young people’s political participation. What is interesting here is that most of the young actors who I have observed in the transnational political meetings are young adults, i.e. legally full citizens of some nation state and even a region (the EU). The legal adulthood starts in most countries at the age of 18, and most of the young participants as well as my informants are nearly thirty years old. Yet they are called youth (by their elders, including myself) in order to make a contrast to the older adults who are full members of the transnational meetings.

Focusing on youth political participation highlights different kinds of generational perspectives related to politics. The elder participants may underestimate or misinterpret the younger generation’s new ways of doing politics (or new forms of political argumentation). The new, rising generation has not equal possibilities of asserting itself in every field of intellectual pursuit (Mannheim 1952), which may also lead them to use alternative ways of argumentation (e.g. different kinds of demonstrations). There is also a globally growing awareness of generational politics among the youth: both the young people’s interest in youth related issues (such as student financial aid and challenges of precarious work) and the awareness of the polarity of the generations’ interests and power positions are on the rise (Onodera 2009; Hoikkala 2009;
Paakkunainen & Myllyniemi 2007). As the demographic distribution is very different in the EU and globally, it’s not a surprise that the demographic challenges look very different inside and outside the EU (Laine 2011). Still both demographic situations generate reasons for generational politics that signal why the participation of young people in politics is a necessity. At the same time, not all politically active youth have an interest in generational politics or youth policy. These young activists work with those political themes and networks they have reason to value. “Thus they do not seek recognition as young people, but rather as activists, facilitators, etc.” as Rossi (2009, 482–483) describes.

Youth political participation has its own specific features that this study aims to tackle at the context of transnational political events. Still, the assumption that age is the central feature characterizing young people gives insufficient weight to difference, process and change (Wyn & White 1997, 13). The first of my four main statements is formed from this perspective: *Today’s global youth are highly important actors of today and the future.* The global generation is characterized by the enforced ‘individualisation’ that involves a new emphasis on self-determination, autonomy and choices (Leccardi & Ruspini 2006, 3). This becomes visible in the transnational political spheres when the youth actualise new spaces of experiment, use their freedom differently from each other to accomplish rich symbolic episodes and negotiate structures through these.

The aforementioned statement leads me to problematise the contemporary youth research and to state: *Youth research needs to be more conscious of its global responsibility.* Youth political participation is an important and specific research topic that actualises itself in local practices globally. Here I have reached towards a researcher’s global responsibility by focusing on the micropolitical events at different transnational localities in Europe, Latin America and Africa that have their connections to the macropolitics as well.

Cosmopolitan micropolitics of the global generation
This study is built around different examples of young people’s cosmopolitan micropolitical actions. With the term ‘micropolitics’ I refer to William E. Connolly’s (2002; 2006; Macdonald 2002) writings where he relates the term to arts of the self and techniques of the self. As David Campbell (2008, 296) encapsulates, micropolitics involves those practices that work on us or are drawn on by us to establish us, individually or collectively. They are techniques through which existing identities can be stabilized, new ideas permitted, or new formations enabled. They can locate in a multitude of cultural and social sites [...] though they always work at numerous “in-between” points, nodes, and lines of the network state. Micropolitics flows from the paradoxical relationship of identity/difference and is vital to a deep, multidimensional pluralism.

Micropolitics indicate the significance of the transversal rather than the transnational, highlighting how the global is simultaneously local and the local necessarily global (Campbell 2008, 297). For this reason, when focusing on the micropolitical there is always a link to the macropolitical. To do micropolitics points to the importance of ‘techniques of the self’2. As

---

2 The classical social theorist Erving Goffman (e.g. 1959) sought to understand social structure by observing small events in ordinary social interaction. In addition Michael Foucault (e.g. 1977) studied the techniques and tactics of the self and their connections to different dimensions of moral and ethical life.
Connolly describes in an interview (Macdonald 2002, 169): "Such tactics mix image, movement, posture, concept and argument to new effect, simulating the process by which the habit in question became embodied the first time around." To study micropolitics calls attention to methodological mix of image and movement analysis, participatory observation and interviews, i.e. different techniques and equipments to capture the microworld (see also Scheff 1990, 28). What is more, when the focus is on the global youth it implies global multi-sited research (Feixa & Nilan 2006, 207).

When finding the micropolitics highly important in this study, my strategy has been to observe certain micro events inside the mass events where I conducted my fieldwork. When using several different methods during my multi-sited ethnography, my aim has been to understand different techniques of the self and different cosmopolitan micropolitical orientations. And from here rises my third statement: Performative social science functions as an important path to micropolitical analysis.

Focusing on the diversity of the youth political participation in transnational agoras

Agora is as old a concept in Europe as politics. An agora was an essential part of an ancient Greek polis or city-state that functioned both as a marketplace and as a forum for the citizens of the polis. In other words, agora means a place of assembly in any Ancient Greek state. Many things have changed in more than 2000 years, but there still exist political agoras, even if their shape is different nowadays. We have moved from the times of the ancient Greece and Aristotle’s polis towards a global society, where the ‘free men’ (concept used by Aristotle in Politics, Aristoteles VIII 1991) equals those men and women who have the opportunity to participate in the agoras – gather from the different locations of the globe to the common space, which is most probably a conference area, hotel or another mass centre. At the agoras various actors aim at calling the public attention to their personal interests and the interests of their group. They are places for discussion and argumentation. What is more, all political agoras have their borders that underline the question of who can participate and who are excluded.

The cosmopolitan ideals, too, have been put forward since antiquity. Already then the motivating idea to act like ‘a citizen of the world’ was to help human beings as such. Sometimes the best way to do this is to serve as a teacher or a political advisor in some foreign place and some people travel to learn. In other words, a cosmopolitan moves away in order to serve (the world). What Onora O’Neill writes (2002, xii):

(...) the countless institutional changes that we group under the label ‘globalisation’ may have altered the very context of political action, and created the space for something that we could well call ‘global citizenship’. If this is the case, the moral cosmopolitanism that has been articulated and praised since antiquity may perhaps from now on be increasingly realised through forms of institutional cosmopolitanism, in which actions whose effects go beyond borders will be judged in a new and more demanding light.

Not all cosmopolitanism is moral cosmopolitanism that tries to build universal human rights and world peace among the citizens of the world. Nor all the cosmopolitans search for global forms of democracy and governance. Another kind of cosmopolitanism is promoted by the capitalist globalisation of ‘free’ trade in terms of the freedom of global movement of the goods and individuals (cf. Massey 1999). Here the cosmopolitans are all those persons who have the interest and different resources necessary to travel abroad, to benefit the most from the different loca-
tions of the world. And the other way around, not all those who see the moral cosmopolitanism important have the resources to travel across the planet to the political spheres where the global political themes are handled. Some may even refuse to travel (at least by plane) for the global ecological (i.e. climate change) reasons. What is common to all transnational political meetings is the fact that these are spaces where institutional cosmopolitanism appears.

Globally, from these 20 to 30-year-olds, those who find their motivation from political participation, most start to act politically locally and nationally and from there their political participation might extend to the transnational level. The young people who travel abroad to a transnational political event many times have cultivated a psychological cosmopolitan readiness, which is defined by Villiina Hellsten (2005, 54) as knowledge of foreign languages (especially English), higher education, the possibility to travel abroad (in the purpose of leisure or work), having international friends, and acting internationally in organisations. They also handle the new technology (internet, chat and other forms of e-communication and spreading the information electronically). Still, as I will show in this study, not all the youth active in the transnational political events have a strong psychological cosmopolitan readiness.

In this research, youth political participation realises itself through two different orientations. Henrik Bang (2004) has used the definitions of ‘an everyday-maker’ and ‘an expert citizen’ of these two and Geoffrey Pleyers (2010) has called the same division ‘a way of subjectivity’ and ‘a way of reason’ in his study on alter-globalisation activists. In this study I will use the concepts of everyday-makers and expert citizens to illustrate the diversity of the young people’s political participation in transnational political events. Even though the everyday-makers and expert citizens might share the same goals, their actions in the meetings may be very different. What is more, the same young person might use both logics even in the same event.

Everyday-makers’ actions are rooted in experience, subjectivity and creativity rather than abstract figures and expertise that characterises the expert citizens (Pleyers 2010, 104; Bang 2004). Everyday-makers create new practices of participation – also in the transnational political events. Many times they use embodied techniques to raise new perspectives in the discussions, focusing on the practices of here and now, i.e. the event itself (see Articles 2 and 3). As Pleyers (ibid., 102) describes:

By establishing practices and empowering participants, their spaces of experience allow ordinary people to become actors in their life more and to contribute to social change in very concrete ways, starting with their everyday lives.

In contrast, the expert citizens have technical and abstract knowledge, expertise and popular education (Pleyers 2010, 110). These participants analyse policies and current debates in a precise area, construct rational and theoretical alternatives, confront opposing experts and convince policy makers (ibid. 118–120).

The transnational refers here both to the themes and to the participants of the agora. Both cross the borders of the nation states and connect the local and the transnational – even the global – in many different ways. In some cases people do represent their country and the na-

---

3 Alter-activists search for alternatives for the neo-liberal globalization. Alter-activism "represents a specific type of (sub-) cultural practice and an emerging form of citizenship among young people that prefigures wider social changes related to political commitment, cultural expression, and collaborative practice" (Juris & Pleyers 2009, 58).
tional citizenship has a function. The main emphasis in these transnational political meetings is still to form a cross-border collective, to search for transnational dialogue, networking and even action. What is more, the transnational differs from international as it stands here for the ‘beyond’ or ‘across’ where the main focus lies on how we bridge cultural differences in the multicultural spheres of action and even transcend (Boas 2006, 112) them: how it is possible to find interconnectedness within the common humanity and to develop common culture, i.e. forms of action.

From these perspectives rises my fourth statement that politics at global agoras needs to be further investigated. Therefore, while analysing my data I will ask: Who are today’s free young men and women — those who can enter the agora and participate in the political discussions? What kind of political spaces are the agoras? What kind of argumentation the young people use on an agora? What sort of influence the political acts of the young participants have? What roles do young people take, make or have in the agoras? These lead finally to the questions of freedom and emancipation and to the importance of leading a life one has reason to value — something that I will reflect upon at the very end as emerging questions for future studies.

This thesis follows the traditional academic structure of article based dissertations, being in two parts. The first part, i.e. research summary article, presents the theoretical and methodological framework of the study, summarizes the main findings of the multi-sited ethnography and discusses their implications. The second part consists of four original publications, arranged in a chronological order. As I have already in this chapter referred to these articles, and I will do the same in the following chapter as well, I suggest reading the articles at this point and continuing the reading of this research summary article after.
2. Global flow of the research: 
Accumulating agoras and articles, 
shaping the framework 

I did my research in different transnational political events (see Appendices 1–3): some of them were organised especially for the youth, some handled youth policy issues, and some had their own youth-spaces or youth-programmes. It was not always the chronological age that made a person youth but his/her orientation or role (such as youth delegate⁴), i.e. social age with distinctive social relations and processes (Edmunds & Turner 2005; Clark-Kazak 2009). The highest age-limit for the youth was described in the documents of the Global Young Greens founding conference (henceforth the GYG) as less than 35-years-old (GYG 2007). 
The EU youth policy tries to support the European young people’s active citizenship. As a model member of the EU, the concept of ‘young active citizenship’ has a strong role in the Youth Act of Finland (27.1.2006/72). It raises young active citizenship at the top of the list, in the 1st section of the 1st chapter, defining the goal of the law as follows: 

The purpose of this law is to support the growth and independence process of young people, forward young active citizenship and consolidate the social status of the young, and to ameliorate their growing and living conditions. The basis for achieving these goals is comprised of collectivity, joint responsibility, equality, multiculturality and internationality, healthy lifestyle, and respect for environment and life. 
[unofficial translation; italics by SL]

Moreover, during the Finnish EU presidency in 2006 one of the topics in the EU presidency youth event was to develop the definition of young active citizenship. The starting point of my research was Young Active Citizenships – EU Meeting, 1–4 July, 2006 (henceforth the EUP). I was involved in planning the meeting as the EU Meeting coordinator since October 2005, and for this reason had access to the documents as well as to the negotiations connected with the meeting before it was held. I also participated in the meeting itself and have taken part in the subsequent discussions.

The concrete extension of my study to the global scale was done by the fieldwork in the World Social Forums and the Global Young Greens conference. I had already started my job as the EU Meeting coordinator when I got funding for this research. The original idea of the study was to focus on ethnographic accounts on two different types of transnational political process in which young people participate. The empirical basis for the research would be formed by my participation in the EUP (representing the top-down political processes) and in the World Social Forum (henceforth the WSF) Nairobi in January 2007 (representing the bottom-up political processes). In the WSF my preliminary idea was to focus on the Intercontinental Youth Camp, which has been organised in connection with each World Social Forum, albeit 

⁴ In the Hyvinkää EU Meeting 13 out of the total number of 70 youth delegates were 26 or older. The oldest youth delegate was 33. Still in the EU institutions youth is regarded as “the period from 15 to 25 years of age, by analogy with what Parliament and the Council decided for the YOUTH programme” like is stated in the European Commission White Paper A New Impetus on European Youth (COM 2001, 6).
only since 2003 as a part of the official programme. The Youth Camp has traditionally existed as a radical attachment to the Social Forum (Pleysers 2010; Juris 2008; Nunes 2005; Teivainen 2004 and 2007a). Although there is always in the WSF a Youth Camp, not all the young participants stay in or visit the camp, and vice versa, not all the ‘campers’ are young. Still, almost all the previous studies focusing on the young people’s participation in the WSF analyse the Youth Camp (mainly Pleysers 2005, 2008 and 2010; Juris 2005 and 2008; Nunes 2005; Juris & Pleysers 2009; Morrison 2006; Wood 2008; Paz de Oliveira 2005).

In January 2006 I did a preliminary fieldwork trip to the WSF Bamako to find out that the Youth Camp did not have many participants, and based on my observation, most of the participants were children or adults. The organisers of the Youth Camp complained that the reason for the lack of people was the location: Youth Camp was situated on the other side of the city (Geloo 2006, 8). I, too, found that even by taxi it took a long time to reach the Youth Camp from the other venue locations. Already in Bamako I decided to look more generally at how young people participate in the WSF Nairobi, focusing naturally on the Youth Camp.

Organising the WSF in Nairobi in January 2007 was a political decision: the national elections were on their way and the WSF activated the grassroots activists from the slum areas of Nairobi. Furthermore, there were many political negotiations between the City of Nairobi and the organising committee of the WSF Nairobi about where in Nairobi the WSF would take place. In addition it was not a coincidence how different stands and restaurants were located inside the venue site. As I explain in Article 2 (p. 409) the best location for the food stall was given to the Internal Security Minister John Michuki’s five star golf club restaurant. The activists’ action of cleaning out the restaurant and distributing the food to the street children for free can be seen as an example of how young people contest the ruling order. Their contestatory performative acts pointed directly at how some of the practices of the forum support the politics that the WSF claims to resist, i.e. the contradiction between the statements and the practices of the event (Article 2). In the same article I also studied the contestatory performative acts that took place during the EUP.

The European Union as a supranational actor has been the subject of many recent studies. Still it was a novelty to study the EU Presidency youth events thoroughly, as I did together with Anu Gretschel. In Article 1 we studied the role of the EU Presidency youth events, their influence on the EU youth policy and young participants’ experiences of the event. For the article we interviewed young participants of the event, analysed the structure of the event as well as the different roles young people were able to get in the event.

One of the EUP informants told me by accident in an interview that just before the WSF Nairobi the Global Young Greens would have their founding conference also in Nairobi, next to the forum venue place. I contacted the GYG organisers and they welcomed me and photographer Raisa Kylikki Ranta to join the conference and observe the process as a researcher and journalist. This episode is also one example of how the WSF builds next to it different kinds of pre- and post-events of different activist groups, social movements and networks. Furthermore,

---

5 What Pleysers (2010), Juris (2008) and Nunes (2005) all describe as a special feature related to youth participation in Social Forums is the use of alternative media and technology in the form of ‘Caracol Inter-galactica’: “the Laboratory of Free Knowledge at the IYC in 2005, a space for creating and sharing audio, video, and software” as Juris (2008, 251) describes. In the WSF Bamako Youth Camp I found my way to the Radio Forum and to the Indymedia Centre run by quite few participants (as the whole camp had). After the WSF Bamako I didn’t see new technology and media projects in Youth Camp areas at all.
the young adults participating in the different transnational political events are not only networking with other young people participating in other transnational political events but they themselves also attend several events. For example, in the case of the WSFs one of my informants had participated in all the same WSFs as I (e.g. Bamako, Nairobi and Belém).

As is visible in Appendix 2, half a year after the WSF Nairobi and the GYG conference I started my maternity leave. When I returned to working life in August 2008, I decided to attend the European Social Forum (henceforth the ESF) in Malmö already in September. As I was still breastfeeding my son, I decided to travel with him. Luckily I also had my mother available for baby-sitting and caretaking that gave me more freedom to attend different sessions and actions in the ESF. The event which I study in Article 2, where the CIRCA clowns protect the demonstrators’ rights, was from the mass demonstration where all three of us participated – with the pram.

The sixth fieldwork trip took me to Brazil in January 2009 as the WSF took place in the city of Belém. From this trip sprang up the third article (i.e. Article 3), which is a methodological approach to global social movements. There I show how the use of one’s own body combined with the visual and digital methodologies when conducting global ethnographic research may be a useful combination for the global social movement research. In the article I look at how the embodiment happens in a specific location at a specific time and how the virtuality is needed to make the movement global.

During the year 2010 I read about Ulrich Beck’s (2010; Beck & Beck-Gernsheim 2009) ideas on methodological cosmopolitanism. These writings motivated me to write the fourth article on the same issue but to do it on a more concrete level. By using my multi-sited and global ethnographical research as an example, my aim was to explore what the embodied and moral methodological cosmopolitanism could be. Here I also build on Raewyn Connell’s thoughts (2007) on global sociology: how to study the social in the world arenas and how to realize this with a global responsibility. I will discuss Articles 3 and 4 in the following methodological chapter more thoroughly.

The fourth chapter handles my concrete findings of young people’s participation in transnational agoras. Building on the picture of the young people’s political participation given in the first three articles (i.e. Articles 1–3), the fourth chapter introduces new types of political orientation among young people in transnational agoras. What is more, these examples are selected to represent the different dimensions of young people’s political participation in transnational agoras and presented in a more systematic way (see Table 1). This framework is introduced in the following subchapter.

Frameworks of the study
This is a global ethnographic study. What is common to the global ethnographic studies is the extension of the site in time and space (Gille & Ó Riaín 2002). Here, the study is also a transnational study of various types of border-crossings by people, social movements and representations (Schiller 1997). Here the concept of transnationalism provides insight into the strategic actions of young people who develop new scale of social activity between the local, the national and the global (see also Gille & Ó Riaín 2002, 275). The transnational political meetings can also be seen as place-making projects (ibid., 278) where different actors contest the ruling order or the social setting of the space and seek to define new kinds of places. These issues are tackled in Articles 2 and 3. Gille and Ó Riaín continue (2002, 285):
An ethnographic approach to globalization requires the understanding of locally, socially and culturally specific ways in which people understand the place of their locality in the global scheme of things, and the actions they take to shape that place [...] Globalization involves the contesting of boundaries of places and negotiations concerning which geographical scale is best suited for action. As a result, the choice of the site also becomes political.

In this research I look the EU Meeting, the WSFs, the GYG and the ESF as examples of today’s agoras where young people participate and transnational political debate takes place. What I am doing is not strictly a comparative research, i.e. I am not analysing systematically how the young people (in total) participate in one event and how they participate in other events. My aim is rather to investigate the wide variety of different forms of young people’s political participation. In methodological terms I analyse the possibilities to reach and understand different forms of youth political participation.

To make the setting little more challenging, the different forms of political participation used by the young participants vary in the different events as do the purposes or goals of the meeting. Here the researcher’s task is to observe the diversity of the ways the youth participate in the agoras and to try to analyse what kind of impact the youth are trying to make and whether they succeed. At the same time it is necessary that the researcher asks what kinds of youth participate and in what way.

The main concepts of this study are young people, cosmopolitanism, transnational political sphere (i.e. transnational agora) and political participation. As the different events have different official functions, to simplify these differences I have found Jan Teorell’s (2006) theoretical framework of political participation useful. In his article Teorell first distinguishes three conceptions of political participation: as influencing attempts, as direct decision making, and as political discussion. These three conceptions are based on responsive, participatory and deliberative models of democracy. Secondly, he argues that each of these three models is associated with different desired consequences of political participation: equal protection of interests, self-development and subjective legitimacy. (Teorell 2006, 787.)

Teorell’s framework fit well with the three different kinds of agoras (i.e. the EUP, Social Forums and the GYG) on which I conducted my research. Even though I do not make comprehensive comparisons between these three models of democracy or between the three ways to organise transnational political sphere, I find Teorell’s theoretical framework illustrative as it clearly points out the different logics behind the different transnational political meetings where I conducted the field-work.

Participation as influencing attempts stands for the “aim at influencing the government, either by affecting the choice of government personnel or by affecting the choices made by government personnel” which allows citizens to express their preferences over the choices made by the government personnel. (Teorell 2006, 789.) Teorell terms this as a responsive model of democracy and in my research the EUP is an example of it (see Article 1).

---

6 For example Eeva Luhtakallio (2010) has done a systematic sociological comparative study of Finnish and French local political participation.

7 The ‘liberal’ model of democracy is left out as he argues that in this model “citizens only hold meaningful preferences over the personnel of government; these preferences are only expressed indirectly through a system of representation; and are considered to be fixed and exogenous to the democratic process itself.” In this kind of liberal model of democracy the political participation of citizens is limited to voting in elections. (Teorell 2006, 788.)
Participation as taking part in person in a decision-making process means that “the authority of the individuals is not delegated to some representative but is exercised directly by them” (Teorell 2006, 789–790). An example of this kind of political participation in my research is the GYG conference where “135 voting participants” (GYG 2007) took part in political decision-making directly. The outcomes of the conference included the statutes, objectives and statement of principles of the GYG, and the voting methods employed by the congress.

Participation as political discussion (rather than deliberation, i.e. a process of opinion formation rather than a procedure for decision-making) is a way of finding out what to say (Teorell 2006, 791). My research cases of this kind of political participation process are the WSFs and the ESF. The Social Forums are a space where the participants argue (again in different forms) how the influence should be made. Therefore, the forums can be seen as agoras of refining the best and common influence strategies to affect decision-makers.

What Teorell (2006) doesn’t analyse are the two different participation logics. To add, it seems that both everyday-makers and expert citizens attempt to influence and participate in the political discussions. Taking part in person in the decision-making process seems to be reserved in the transnational level for the expert citizens only.

In this research politics equals freedom. As Hannah Arendt (2005, 129) states:

Freedom of movement [...] is rather the substance and meaning of all things political. In this sense, politics and freedom are identical; and wherever this kind of freedom does not exist, there is no political space in the true sense.

Also here, where the focus of the research is on the youth political participation in transnational political processes, different kinds of boundaries, territories and forms of otherness are visible on the event sites as well as in the spoken and written representations and performances of the young participants. These spaces, places and micropolitical situations that highlight the frontiers of the political participation and the freedom of the participants show the restrictions and the power structures inside the agora and the event’s relationship with the surrounding society and geographic location. Quijano (2007, 178) writes:

[the] liberation of intercultural relations from the prison of coloniality also implies the freedom of all peoples to choose, individually or collectively, such relations: a freedom to choose between various cultural orientations, and above all, the freedom to produce, criticize, change, and exchange culture and society. This liberation is, part of the process of social liberation from all power organized as inequality, discrimination, exploitation, and as domination.

As it was the case already in the agora of ancient Greece, communication and argumentation are still today the two most important elements in political participation. Communication among differing perspectives maintains plurality. The plural standpoints in the public sphere enable each participant to understand more clearly what society means and what the possible consequences of a policy will be (Young 1996, 127).

According to the ideal of deliberative democracy, participants approach a political problem with an open mind with regard to its solution; they are not bound by authority, and the process of political discussion consists of reasoned argument. Participants put forward proposals for other participants to criticise, and each gives approval to a conclusion only because of the “force of the better argument”. (Young 1996, 122.) As Iris Marion Young describes (ibid., 122): “The goal
of deliberation is to arrive at consensus, even when this is not possible and participants resort to voting, their result is a collective judgement rather than the aggregate of private preferences."

This leads one to ask how democratic are the agoras for their different participants? Young (ibid., 120) has criticised the concept of deliberative democracy and developed it further to communicative democracy, which is more sensitive to cultural differences, social perspectives and particular commitments. She argues that the social power that can prevent people from being equal speakers\(^8\) derives not only from economic dependence or political domination but also from an internalised sense of the right one has to speak or the lack of it, and from the devaluation of some people’s style of speech and the evaluation of others (ibid., 122). It is useful to keep in mind that speech or written texts are not the only modes of political communication and that an argument can be expressed in a plurality of ways, interspersed with or alongside other communicative forms. If a polity is to be a communicative democracy, its members must be significantly interdependent, have a commitment to mutual respect and they must agree on procedural rules of fair-discussion and decision-making. (Ibid., 125–126.) This is especially important on the transnational agoras where both everyday-makers and expert citizens act, and where the political participation follows different kinds of orientations.

Here I want to remind the reader of the concept of psychological cosmopolitan readiness (Hellsten 2005) which was defined in the introduction and which I henceforth call cosmopolitan resources\(^9\). When combining these resources – or the lack of them – with the concepts of everyday-maker and expert citizen, it’s possible to form a two-dimensional table of these two. As is visible from Table 1, three of my articles focus on different dimensions and interconnections of the youth political participation in transnational political meetings.

I use the chart shown in Table 1 as a frame to focus systematically on some of the differences in the youth political participation in transnational agoras. What I have left aside in this research is the gender analysis. Both young men and women participate and use both logics. I have interviewed both men and women, observed both genders’ participation and found them both from all the different dimensions presented in Table 1. All in all, I have not found the gender as an important distinguishing factor in this study, and I therefore delimited it out of my analysis.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Table 1. Articles and their situation within the axis of cosmopolitan resources and everyday-makers/expert citizens.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Lack of cosmopolitan resources</strong></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Article 3: 'alter-globalisation activists' who use the way of subjectivity</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

8 Young (1996) writes only about speaking, here the forms of argumentation are widened to all different forms of action.
9 I use the term resources even if the list includes denominators that could be analysed by using Bourdieu’s
In Article 1 I focus on the EU Presidency Youth Events and their functions. The aim of the article is to act as a practical application\(^\text{10}\) that both academics and policy-makers would find useful. For this reason new action models are concretely proposed. The young EU youth policy experts (see Table 1) are interviewed on their experiences and their opinions of how these events should be developed in the future. During and after the Hyvinkää event there was a strong discussion going on about what kind of youth should participate in the event. Those young people who were the most involved in the EU youth policy processes wanted to reserve the event for the young EU youth policy experts only.

To turn to Article 2, what I find important in the ‘contestatory performative acts’ is that they break down the dichotomy of the expert citizens and everyday-makers (see Table 1). In addition, in this type of orientation the significance of cosmopolitan resources sometimes even disappears. Therefore it can be said that the contestatory performative acts are crucial for the deeper democracy, in building cross-border collectives and in the search for transnational dialogue and actions. As I show in Article 2, many times the innovators who start up the contestatory performative act are everyday-makers, but as their actions make an invasion to the core of the political space, the expert citizens cannot ignore these actions, and as I show, they might also join in (see e.g. Picture 19).

Article 3 is mainly methodological but the actors whose actions I study are young everyday-makers from the WSF Belém who have at least some cosmopolitan resources. As their demonstration sign was in Portuguese and as I didn’t hear them speaking English, their action could also be placed on the border of the cosmopolitan and lack of cosmopolitan resources (see Table 1). Contrary to the language question, what makes their political action cosmopolitan is their awareness of the global ‘Free Hugs Campaign’ (i.e. the knowledge of how the campaign is carried out in demonstrations) and how they are globally networked through their actions.

In the next chapter I will describe how I conducted the research and explain the methodologies used in this study in more detail. Here I will show how the study contributes to the discussions of methodological cosmopolitanism. In the fourth chapter the youth political participation in transnational agoras is viewed from three different perspectives. First, the four categories of youth (see Table 1) are analysed. In this section I will tackle the reasons why so often ‘the poor and minority youth’ as called by Geoffrey Pleyers (2010, 75) are left aside in research reports. I will also ask why it was difficult for me to reach those expert citizen youth who lacked cosmopolitan resources. After this, the events are analysed as democratic miniature societies. Last, I will look at the agoras as political choreographies.

---

\(^{10}\) See chapter 3.1 for an in-depth definition of the term ‘practical application’.
3. Reaching for methodological cosmopolitanism

In this sub-chapter my aim is to argue how a multidisciplinary research setting that uses multiple different methodologies and where the research is carried out in transnational political meetings in Europe, Africa and Latin America may contribute to methodological cosmopolitanism. I would say that every research project can be placed on a line where in one end there is something like ‘pure methodological nationalism’ and in the other ‘pure methodological cosmopolitanism’. In practice, all research settings are somewhere in between.

Ulrich Beck (2010, 286) has stated that ‘new cosmopolitanism’ unites at least three interconnected commitments:

1. a shared critique of methodological nationalism;
2. the shared diagnosis that the 21st century is an age of cosmopolitanism; and
3. the shared assumption that for this reason we need some kind of methodological cosmopolitanism.

To open the first commitment more, as Andreas Wimmer and Nina Glick Schiller (2002) have stated, the methodological nationalism affects the research in three ways. First, the research ignores other points of view than those promoting national context. Secondly, the nation-state is seen as the “neutral” environment for processes and things. Thirdly, the research is narrowed down geographically to concern only the internal issues of a certain nation. (Wimmer & Glick Schiller 2002.) What Beck (2010, 287) claims to discover, map and understand is the cosmopolitan condition: what is cosmopolitanism in the 21st century – and how to reach towards methodological cosmopolitanism. As Beck (ibid.) asks: “what are alternative, non-national units of research? What are post-national concepts of the social and the political?”

In this research setting the non-national units of the research are the transnational political meetings where the actors gather from all over the world. The focus is on a cosmopolitan sphere where the participants handle global themes. The national context is diminishes when the local (i.e. location of the event) and the global (i.e. the participants and the issues of the event) gets more attention. What I have been arguing in Article 3 is: the researcher who tries to understand young people’s transnational political participation needs to follow young people and their transnational political acts to different transnational political spheres (i.e. “global spaces of experiences and expectations” as Beck and Beck-Gernsheim describe it, 2009) that flare up and disappear in different locations of the globe. This multidisciplinary research is situated amidst political sociology, youth research, development studies and performative social science, and aims at contributing to the sociologically tuned global youth research on young people’s political participation.

3.1 Marginality of the global perspective in Finnish youth research and in the EU youth policy

As I state in Article 2, I identify myself first and foremost as a youth researcher within the Finnish model of youth research as a good practice (Hoikkala & Suurpää 2005, 287). Since
2003 I have worked in different positions in the Finnish Youth Research Society and the Finnish Youth Research Network. During the years I have grown within the research ethos of the Network. The story of the Finnish Youth Research Network dates back to the beginning of the 1980s by first launching a Finnish youth research journal (Nuorisonutkimus) and next the Finnish Youth Research Society that later on started to coordinate the research projects through the Finnish Youth Research Network. Tommi Hoikkala and Leena Suurpää describe (2005, 287) the specialty of the Finnish youth research as follows:

One of the special features of Finnish youth research is its clear connection with those active in the field of youth policy. [...] Finland's Ministry of Education has also financed youth research on a long-term regular basis. This type of research financing has been in form of applied research funding, but it has been used primarily for multidisciplinary studies being carried out within universities. Over the years a dual articulation of youth research in terms of academic and applied research has taken shape – a sort of contradiction, the resolution of which has produced fruitful research in which researchers have succeeded, at least in principle, in presenting questions of practical application to academic research. (Italics in the original version.)

This contradiction has also been one of the reasons why the intergenerational relationships in political participation and active citizenship in a more general level have long been the central topics of discussion in Finnish youth research (Hoikkala 2007, 25). What I find (Laine 2011; Levamo et al. 2010) as a scantiness in the Finnish youth research is the global perspective. In my opinion, this is firstly because the Youth Unit of the Ministry of Education focuses on the nation-state. My research project has so far been the only one with a transnational perspective of the research posts funded by the Ministry\(^\text{11}\).

Not all the research funding for the Finnish Youth Research Network comes from the Ministry of Education. The Academy of Finland's projects have a major role as well. In addition, the Network has participated in joint European research projects\(^\text{12}\). In the research projects two central trends of European youth research are combined: the emphasis has been on the qualitative research concerned with youth cultures, young people's attitudes, ways of thinking

\(^{11}\) The Finnish Youth Research Network, operating in association with the Finnish Youth Research Society, gets funding for 3–4 researchers for three years research projects from the Ministry of Education and Culture. Ministry decides the general topic after which the recruiting of the researchers who write their own research plans is in the hands of the Society's board. In the beginning of 1999 the head of the department demanded: "organise this new research network so that the researchers produce different kinds of presentations, recommendations and opinions that handle current questions", as Finnish Youth Research Network's research professor Tommi Hoikkala told in an oral presentation (10 Jan 2011). So, the knowledge production to the youth field actors is strongly in the ethos of doing research. This model of youth research as a good practice differs from the public sociology (e.g. Burawoy 2005) as it not only cooperates with civil society but mainly with public sector, governmental institutions and municipal actors. My research was part of the Finnish Youth Research Network’s Identities of Finnish youth work and civic action research project and continued in the next project called Young peoples' leisure time practices and youth work in Finland.

\(^{12}\) Research projects include the EU-funded comparative youth study EUYOUPART (Spannring et al. 2008) and “IntTo – Inside the Outsiders: Deviant Immigrant Minors and Integration Strategies in European Justice Systems” (Honkarukia & Suurpää 2007). The European Fund for the Integration of Third-country Nationals has funded a research project “Moving Societies towards Integration” where Marja Peltola's study (2010) represented the Network.
and taking action (including participation and active citizenship), but there has always been the quantitative research operating with large statistical data to examine the shifts in the labour, education and relationship markets of young people, from the perspective of transition studies (Hoikkala 2007, 25). Hoikkala (ibid., 26) continues:

The [Finnish Youth Research Society and Network] system highlights the researchers’ part in the field of four actors: the decision-makers and administration, youth work, the voice of the youth (including youth organisations) and research. The cooperation between the administration (the Youth Policy Division of the Ministry of Education), the youth organisations and the youth researchers has become an established practice which can be described to be in accordance with the aim of structured dialogue. (Italics in the original version.)

The Ministry wanted the Youth Research Network to be the main coordinator of the EUP to ensure the strengthening of the youth research’s position in the structured dialogue within the European youth field. As the EUP was the starting point of my research and as I was highly involved in the planning process of the EUP, the aim of my research was also to produce knowledge of and for political decision-making in the youth field – transnationally.

As we mention with Anu Gretschel in Article 1, the EU Presidency youth event is also named as an existing instrument of structured dialogue (Council of the European Union 8771/07, 6). In practice, the structured dialogue turned out to be a challenging task already during the planning process of the event in the steering committee, but especially in the event itself. What we report in the article is that the young people lacked different roles during the event even though the steering committee had tried to take into account the division of the roles in the planning process. One of the informants described:

I think a lot of frustration was caused because many had thought of a few things that they wanted to advance but these issues were lost stage by stage until you felt as if nothing was left of these proposals in the final papers. The young people at the meeting were underestimated and our programme was too structured. (HEU1.)

I believe that the special role of the Finnish Youth Research Network, and its structured dialogue with the Finnish Ministry of Education, Youth Unit enabled me to conduct an ethnographical research on the EUP. After the EUP the Ministry continued the work in the form of Presidency Working Paper that worked as a background document (14473/0613) for the council work. On this level it was already impossible to say whether any of the youth participants’ work in Hyvinkää had trickled-up to these documents. As stated in Article 1, likely nothing. This working paper was also cited in the Council of the European Union meeting (14965/06) in November 2006. The themes of youth research have remained in the Council Resolution (2009/C 311/1). Its general initiatives that should be considered in all the fields of action state:

– Supporting the development of better knowledge about the situation of young people, for instance through support to youth research, research networks, specific studies, etc.,

13 Not available freely but cited in other documents of the Council of the European Union.
This summation of youth research's role in the EU youth policy tells that in the European Commission's work its relevance is recognised. This kind of recognition is much weaker on the global scale, which is also visible in the fewer numbers of more global youth researches conducted within the Finnish Youth Research Network or in any other instance in Finland (Levamo et al. 2010).

What made the Hyvinkää event exceptional was that the UN youth delegates participated in the full programme. It really seems that while the EU promotes the active young European citizenship, the global citizenship is marginalised at the same time (Laine 2011). In the Council Resolution (2009/C 311/1) on a renewed framework for European cooperation in the youth field (years 2010–2018) the seventh of the eight main fields of the action is Youth and the world. What is significant in this specific section is the repeated recognition of different transnational meetings, virtual and physical agoras for networking and cooperation. Another issue brought up in the document is the ‘alter-globalisation’ (Pleysers 2010) everyday-maker who is aware of the global connections in the consumer society – who teaches his/her family, friends and neighbours how to live more ecologically and ethically. Thirdly, the concrete projects where the youth from the Global South and Global North cooperate are mentioned.

To conclude, as my academic home is rooted to the Finnish Youth Research Network, and as my academic motivation is to follow practical application of academic research (Hoikkala & Suurpää 2005, 287), my aim is to conduct this study in a way it benefits both the academic and policy practitioners, i.e. to provide valuable information for policymakers on young people’s active citizenship in transnational political meetings. This kind of practical application is often also encouraged by the EU youth policy (Council Resolution 2009/C 311/1). From this dual standpoint also rises my motivation to propose 'what should or needs to be done' in the future.

What is more, there is a global demand to increase the level of practical applications to academic research in the field of global youth research. As the Finnish Youth Research Network has a long tradition in this kind of dual articulation, it would be important from the globally responsible research perspective (see Article 4) to take an active stand also more globally. This study is one opening to this kind of a field.

3.2 MARGINALITY OF THE YOUTH AND COSMOPOLITAN PERSPECTIVES IN FINNISH DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

Besides youth research, also development studies is a multidisciplinary discipline the distinction being its focus on issues concerning the Global South. Presently, the research activities in the Department of Development Studies in the University of Helsinki, Finland are broadly organized around the following themes: political, social, economic and cultural systems in developing countries; aid effectiveness and aid impact; global and local structures and institutions in development as well as Finnish relations with developing countries\textsuperscript{14}. As it stands, also in Finland development studies has historically placed a particular focus on issues related to social and economic development, and therefore its relevance extends to communities and

\textsuperscript{14} See more in detail at \url{http://www.helsinki.fi/developmentstudies/research/research_postgraduate.html} [Accessed 9 May 2009].
regions outside of the developing world. The youth perspective has stayed marginal\textsuperscript{15}. Closest study to my study is Petri Hautaniemi’s (2004) research on Somali young men’s transnational family network and living in Finland. He focuses on the cross-border adolescence as well as to the transnational biopolitics as a form of transborder global action. More recently Henri Onodera (2009) has studied the politisation of urban youth and their lived experiences in contemporary Egypt.

Christina Rose Clark-Kazak (2009) states that the marginality of youth research in development studies has to do with the widely applied chronological age definitions of children and adults in international development policy and practice that generate an arbitrary dividing line – one’s eighteen birthday – between childhood and adulthood\textsuperscript{16}. What Clark-Kazak (ibid.) suggests is in line with the recommendations of Edmunds and Turner (2005): that there is a need to an analytic distinction between biological and social age. She (ibid., 1310) sees this distinction particularly useful for the development theory, politics and practice:

because it helps to move beyond a polarized universal versus social construction debate, focusing instead on the need for a greater understanding of the social meanings ascribed to biological development. In other words, even as development agencies continue to apply the chronological age definition of children […] their programming would benefit from a social age analysis to contextualize their initiatives within particular localized realities.

It seems that the global youth is a rising theme not only in youth research and in development studies but also in youth and development policy as the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of Finland have recently awakened to the centrality of the youth issues in the Global South (KPT 2011). What remains a challenging task for the future is a fruitful cooperation between these two national policy bodies – even though we have a distinguished ex-teacher, president Ahtisaari who has underlined the issue – and how the two research institutions (i.e. the Finnish Youth Research Network and the Development Studies at University of Helsinki) could knit the knowledge in joint research projects on global youth. But until these days the youth as well as cosmopolitan perspective have stayed marginal in development studies in Finland\textsuperscript{17}.

In a more general level, I place my research mainly to the post-development trend of development studies\textsuperscript{18}. I have started to critically reflect upon the idea of development studies as a research committed to improvements. I follow in the footsteps of a development critical (or post-development) thinker Majid Rahnema (1997, 395; see also Article 3) who asks: “Who are we – who am I to intervene in other people’s lives when we know so little about any life, including our own?” Rahnema strongly encourages changing our own lives first and from there the change may happen in other people’s lives as well. This is close to the orientation of the everyday-maker. From this perspective, the development may focus on the researcher’s personal development and how the changes in his/her action and in the way of conducting research (e.g. where to focus, how to analyze, how to write) may open up new world-views,
perspectives or research methods to the researcher himself/herself, to the academic society, to
the different actors or processes – and from there create other changes in the world. This kind
of attitude towards the role of research and how to conduct a study has connections to Beck’s
and Beck-Gernsheim’s (2009, 26) thoughts on the methodological cosmopolitanism. They
divide it to two levels:

first the level of social scientific observer, who researches generations in a global frame of reference (observer perspective); second the level of the active subjects, the members of the global generations, who see themselves in a global frame of reference (actor’s perspective). (Ibid., 26, italics in the original version.)

So, the young people I study see themselves in a global frame of reference. And I, as a researcher
have been observing these young adults when they have been acting in the transnational politi-
cal spheres and tried to view my own actions (i.e. methods) in a global frame of reference (see
Articles 3 and 4). For these reasons it is necessary to ask, what kind of development our ways
of conducting research (i.e. methodologies) support. And then, while conducting research one
needs to ask, how strongly the routines, ways of organising the agora, ways of participating in
the agora follow the western tradition of political participation and how much there is room
for non-western forms of participation (see also Conway 2011). As Teivainen (2007b, 122)
argues the North is sometimes seen more ‘adult-like’ than the underdeveloped or developing
South. The former therefore functions as a teacher “whose role is to instruct and guide the
more ‘child-like’ countries towards the path of development”

Throughout the centuries, European colonial domination has been intertwined with a mission civili-
isations, based on the conviction that Europeans have a duty to educate and civilise non-Europeans
(Teivainen 2007b, 121, italics in the original version.)

I agree with Teivainen that this kind of one-sided pedagogical domination has to be replaced
with the democratic principle of learning together. The domination of the participants coming
from the Global North in transnational political meetings can lead to “Western-style improve-
ments to institutions and processes that rest upon Western values and that have already created
unequal relations of power in the global system” as argued by Milko Kuisma (2008, 622).

If the same statement is analysed from a researcher’s perspective, it becomes clear why most
of the western academic researchers find themselves analysing the ‘adult-like’ or the expert
citizens as the orientation of the knowledge in the academic and in the political worlds are
much more similar than the orientation of the ‘child-like’ or everyday-makers. The most dis-
tant from the orientation of the western academic research is that of the everyday-maker who
lacks cosmopolitan resources and comes from the Global South. Their logic doesn’t follow the
“Cultural Europeanisation” whose history Quijano describes (2007) as follows:

The repression fell, above all, over the modes of knowing, of producing knowledge, of producing
perspectives, images and systems of images, symbols, modes of signification, over the resources, patterns,
and instruments of formalized and objectivised expression, intellectual or visual. It was followed by
the imposition of the rulers’ own patterns of expression, and of their beliefs and images with reference
to the supernatural. These beliefs and images served not only to impede the cultural production of
the dominated, but also as a very efficient means of social and cultural control, when the immediate
repression ceased to be constant and systematic. [...] Cultural Europeanisation was transformed into
an aspiration. It was a way of participating and later to reach the same material benefits and the same power as the Europeans: viz, to conquer nature – in short for ‘development’. European culture became a universal cultural model. (Quijano ibid., 169.)

As this research consists of articles published in international scientific journals, I also need to underline the fact that the majority of the academic journals follow strictly the western academic rules – with little or no room for a variation of the style of presenting the research (see also Connell 2007, 219). It really seems that the academic world doesn’t give very much room to the representations of the knowledge of the everyday-makers who lack cosmopolitan resources as their form of knowledge is many times presented in forms other than written text. Also, the education in the universities doesn’t really support the researcher’s ability to reach ‘the other knowledge’. The Global North continues the colonialism also by ruling the scientific journals and controlling the price of the access to this knowledge. One of the reasons to submit Article 3 to the open access web-journal was to open the knowledge to everyone who is interested and has an access to internet.

In western science knowledge takes the form of a written text most of the time. Unlike the traditional paper journals, the web-based journals also enable the use of video data. Academic written text, if its aim is to reach the majority of the western audience, needs to be written in English. I was concerned about the language question many times during my research, and how translating one’s ideas into this *lingua franca* tends to reduce the real and lived languages to “plastic” words (see Rahnema 1997, 400) and how these kinds of words may colonize peoples’ languages.

Still, the conversations and sessions I was able to follow without interpretation during my field work were in English or Finnish. In addition to this, what I found highly important was the responsive listening to body language. The interpretation was available in some of the sessions in the Social Forums, in the main sessions in the Hyvinkää meeting – and also in some of the interview situations (as the one presented in the beginning of the sub-chapter 4.4). The language issue has been taken seriously in the Social Forums since the very first Forum that was held in Porto Alegre in 2001, and the organisers of the forums try to organise the interpretation to all the sessions where the session organisers would like to have it. It is one way to open the agora for different voices and perspectives and this way find new alternatives to globalisation.

To conclude, what I wanted to trace in this sub-chapter, is the path I have taken in order to contribute to global youth research. From my point of view, common humanity, equality of all people as well as the richness of our diversity19 should form a base for global youth research. Even though I try to be sensitive to diversity and to be responsible, I continue with this work a production of a white western perception of reality, and western traditions of social and cultural analysis (see also Nilan & Feixa 2006, 5). What Rahnema (1997, 399) gives as one answer to the so-called development is to focus on the “emergence of a different, an *aesthetic*, order arising from the grassroots.” This ‘difference’ does not necessarily imply the unequal nature of the ‘other’ (see also Quijano 2007, 177). And what Rahnema (1997, 401) continues:

19 For example, I have found helpful to choose that kind of methodological orientation that imitates the orientations of the young people studied at the certain micropolitical minute.
This way of being has firm roots in the traditions of resistance by the weak. In these traditions, ‘right action’ involving others starts always as a personal work of oneself. It is the fruit of an almost divine kind of exercise, which usually takes place in the solitude of thought and creation.

Therefore, in the next subchapter, I study the possibilities of performative social science.

3.3 Possibilities of performative social science

"Performatives", in the widest sense of the word, have become a "working title" for the efforts of social science researchers who are exploring the use of tools from the arts in research itself... [and] are often shifting existing boundaries or transforming them through relational process. (Yallop, Lopez de Vallejo & Wright 2008, [1].)

The editorial of the performative social science special issue opened with these words. The editors also state that the performative social science challenges the thinking about research, our audiences and how to widen them and/or further engage them in a participatory research process (Yallop, Lopez de Vallejo & Wright 2008, [3]).

In her study of an Indian community theatre group Satu Ranta-Tyrkkö (2008; 2010) claims that the aim of a performance is to disturb the minds of the audience. She understands the performance as a public narrative of suffering or oppression. It is an effort to cultivate critical citizenship (Ranta-Tyrkkö 2008). These kinds of performances many times rise from the periphery – or are composed and acted by oppressed people. The performance may awaken the audience to reflect upon their own positions and scopes for action to change one’s own life and the life of others (ibid., 9–10). Performance required to create discomfort in the audience – and in order to succeed in this, the performance must somehow connect with the audience’s ideologies. Ranta-Tyrkkö (2008, 25) sees that performances are one possible route to learn responsibility, to learn from below.

In Article 2 I study the contestatory performative acts in three different transnational political processes. There the actions as well as the documentation of the actions have a crucial role. In Article 3 I elaborate the performative social science approach and end up with a multidimensional performative setting: how the use of the researcher’s own body combined with the visual and digital methodologies when conducting global ethnographic research may be a useful combination for the global social movement research.

Methodologically, when the social setting is analysed as a performance, the focus is on corporality, presence and the pre-discursive (especially vision, embodiment and emotions). Eyerman (2005, 43) states:

Performance theory gives central place to emotion and emotions, as both actors and audiences must be moved if a performance is successful. The adoption of performance theory allows us to better address questions concerning what happens when people enter a movement, how this affects their actions and the actions of others, and to ask how social movements move.

In Article 3 I state that a (radical social) movement is understood when the body of the researcher has grasped it. I also suggest that the global ethnographer would benefit from using his/her own video clips like quotations: to illuminate the situation to the research rapport
readers, to support the arguments made and to provide direct information about the field under study. Making the video available in the same media that the global social movement uses the researcher will deepen his/her understanding on how the global public sphere (here, the internet) supports the construction of a global movement.

When thinking performatively one needs to focus on the data and one’s personal experience from the field (Gergen & Jones 2008: [14]). My aim in Article 3 is to explore how to grasp those activists who employ distinctive bodily techniques and styles to occupy space while expressing political messages, visions and identities (see Juris 2008, 329). In addition to this, in this more methodological article the performative also refers to researcher’s different bodily techniques and styles to understand and gain knowledge on global social movements. Like Lis Engel (2008, [8]) describes:

This means that we, as embodied qualitative researchers, must attune ourselves to the event as openly and fluidly as possible, and then express the felt meaning in relation to human practices and possibilities through embodied scenic description, inviting a critical dialogue and embodied understanding in relation to human practices, possibilities and existential meaning.

My personal interest to understand the politically moving bodies dates back to my own life history as an amateur dancer: this education to understand kinaesthetic language and the joyfulness of moving one's body differently in space and time, have also shaped my understanding of knowledge, of what is important and why. The more recent dance movement therapy theories and education have been very useful in this research as they have helped me to understand how to be aware of and reflect upon one's own emotions and embodiment as well as how to research other participant’s actions and corporality.

I want to underline the fact that the movements of bodies can have a crucial role in the strategies of certain social movements – especially emphasised in the Free Hugs Campaign (i.e. by giving free hugs to strangers) – and therefore the researcher needs to focus analytically on the embodiment: the changes of localization of bodies, body parts and objects or the changes in their extensions (Parviainen 2008, 5).

The analysis of a motion has also to do with the language question. Not all the participants in the transnational political meetings can express their thoughts fluently in English or other major languages used in the event. Therefore, the common body language can even have an increased significance in these kinds of spaces: participants can communicate using transnationally well-known body language – such as hugging (Article 3).

The notion of movement can be used as both verb and noun, a performance perspective, however, calls attention to an experience of moving and being moved and to the centrality of ritual and the emotion fusing of identities. (Eyerman 2005, 45.)

I agree with Parviainen (2008, 7) that, “within our capabilities of moving and understanding movement, we are an inherent part of the moving world”. Movements, especially when situated in the transnational political meetings, are strategic. These events are needed for the performers to question our embodied limits of morality (Parviainen 2008, 3). They also shed light on the vulnerability of the body as a political tool in activist work.
3.4 MULTIMETHODOLOGICAL APPROACH TO DIVERSE ACTORS AND THEIR MANIFOLD ORIENTATIONS

In this subchapter I focus more concretely on the different methods I have been using during the research process, and how the methods are interlinked to different types of data. I will look at the interviews, the questionnaires, the photos and the videos — but also the fieldwork in a more general level as well as the final work of writing — one by one in order to show how the different methods illuminate different perspectives. I will also underline the importance of researcher’s self-reflection.

The fieldwork period at some certain transnational political meeting was always very hectic. The participants of these events were many times tightly scheduled which made the interviewing quite difficult onsite. I conducted some interviews in the lunch queue, during the lunch break, in a bus or a taxi, if someone was leaving a seminar early (at the same time as I was), or while walking from one session to another. In this kind of a research environment the researcher needs to be sensitive to the social situations all the time and ready to drag the voice recorder out from the bag even in the middle of the street if the situation seems conceivable for an interview.

When I returned to my office, I continued to conduct the interviews. Here my geographical location and contacts lead me to interview mostly Finnish participants of different events. I also did some of the interviews by e-mail. In all these occasions I used my Interview outline (see Appendix 4). During the events I always gave my contact details to each young participant I met and encouraged them to contact me after the event and reflect upon his/her experiences with me. As I also coordinated a column series in a web-portal Kommentti (engl. Comment, www.komentti.fi) on young people’s participation in transnational politics, I also tried to motivate some of the youth to write a column20 to gain a little fee of their reflection-work. Unfortunately these strategies didn’t generate too many contacts.

In the different articles, I have used the interview data to show how the young participants told me about their experiences in these events. As I write in Article 2, what the young people told me in the interview has also to do with memory (see also Appendix 1). In addition, in the interviews the young people had an opportunity to reflect upon their political mission: what are they going to change, what is the problem, what needs to be done. Therefore, their answers also tell about their cosmopolitanism as a moral ideal (Nowicka & Rovisco 2009, 2): how these youth emphasise their tolerance towards difference and the possibility of a more just world order.

To turn to the questionnaires, as Wimmer and Glick Schiller have stated (2002, 306), it has been widely recognised that the survey questions in the social sciences are many times based on the idea that those who answer are citizens of the country they inhabit (Harinen & Kivijärvi 2010). In the international surveys the first question is often the nationality and this is also the case in the IBASE (e.g. 2009) surveys in the World Social Forums. Research tuned to methodological cosmopolitanism demands a critical look for alternative categories to the national ones. When studying global generation or global citizenship the informants many times express their loyalty to several nation-states, to wider global areas or even towards the globe as a whole. This has been recognised especially in the studies on multiculturalism (Wimmer & Glick Schiller 2002; Harinen & Kivijärvi 2010; Ronkainen 2011).

20 See a column “Another world is possible” from Kommentti: http://www.komentti.fi/kolumnit/%E2%80%9Canother-world-possible%E2%80%9D [Accessed 10 May 2011].
In this study, I conducted a questionnaire survey among the participants in the EUP (see Appendix 5). There the first questions were gender and age, followed by the question: “Do you come from (residence) 1) Finland, 2) other EU country, 3) country outside EU”. As the Finnish were the biggest nationality group of the event, the question sorted them out as the only national group. And as the questionnaire handled questions concerning that event as well as participants’ own work and (political) activities, it was relevant to see how the citizens and non-citizens of the EU experienced the meeting. What is more, I found it highly relevant to ask the young people how much they identify themselves with the different types of citizenship (see Chart 1 in Chapter 4).

Already in Article 2 I found the photos a relevant source and form of information when the thing analysed is in a shape of visible action (here contestatory performative acts). The pictures I use in my research are not the reality itself but its perfect analogon (Barthes 1977, 17). Turning to cosmopolitan micropolitics, the pictures show a microsecond from a certain event site at a certain moment that is documented by the use of camera to the research project’s data archive. From this picture there is a clear connection to the subject of the research (here young people’s political participation in transnational political events). Still at least one dimension vanishes when the two-dimensional photograph represents the three-dimensional world.

I underline the fact that I am not analysing the pictures but young individual’s cosmopolitan micropolitics, and some of their actions are at certain moments highly visible, i.e. useful to record by camera or video camera. Similarly, I am not analysing interview transcriptions but I’m interested in the interviewees’ experiences of the events that they are willing to share with me. In this research report the photographs firstly represent microseconds from the field to the reader’s eyes and mind, and secondly the pictures represent something that is not actually present. (Seppänen 2005; Seppänen 2001.)

For performative social science, the attention to the visual “highlights the centrality of the enacted, embodied, communicative-symbolic performative dimensions of lives, alongside the verbal-textual” as Roberts (2008, [70]) writes. As I write in Article 2 (p. 403 and 408), by using the pictures I make ‘a demonstration’ (i.e. point out, make known, describe or explain). The photos perform (i.e. carry out, present) the situation during my fieldwork: one moment from one angle. But the demonstration is also politically tuned. As I mention in Article 2 (p. 403), the use of photos is also a political action of the researcher as by giving a space for the contesters’ actions in the article, I empower their actions once more.

Most of the time, the arguments concerning the use of photographic data also fit in the use of video data. In Article 3 I argue that a video is a relevant source of information when the research tries to understand embodied political argumentation (here the Free Hugs Campaign). Photo and video data seem crucial when the focus is on the performative politics because this kind of action makes the invisible politics visible and the video or photos emphasise, evidence and demonstrate the reality where the performance takes place.
TABLE 2. The type of data relevant to grasp different kind of knowledge of the informants.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lack of cosmopolitan resources</th>
<th>Everyday-makers</th>
<th>Expert citizens</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>photos, videos, observation, (interviews)</td>
<td>observation, (interviews), (questionnaires)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cosmopolitan resources</td>
<td>photos, videos, observation, interviews</td>
<td>interviews, questionnaires, observation</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In Table 2 I visualise the different methods that seem the most useful in the light of my research in order to catch different kind of knowledge of the participants whose orientations vary. The words in parentheses mark the difficulties to interview those informants with whom the researcher doesn’t have a common spoken and/or written language. The same goes for the questionnaires. The orientation of the everyday-makers is bound to the embodiment and moving in space at a certain time as a strategy of argumentation. Therefore, the photos and videos may be a useful source that shows the situation to the readers. This does not mean that there is no reason to interview also the everyday-makers – many of them can verbalise their embodied strategies well (Pleyers 2010). The knowledge of the expert citizens is mostly in the form of speech and text and therefore the video and photos are mostly relevant in order to keep a record of who is speaking21.

To reflect upon subjectivity is a way to generate more reliable ethnographic data (Honkasalo 2011; Souto 2011). In short, this applies to both the professional and the more subjective history of the researcher. Like Bishop and Phillips (2007, 271) crystallise:

> Knowledge implies two related but rather different kinds of problem. The first involves the relationship between the knower and what is known, between the subject of knowledge and its object. Science seems to demand this kind of distinction, even when the subject of knowledge itself becomes an object of knowledge. The second involves the relationship between the knowledge one has, or would like to develop, and previous knowledge or already established knowledge.

On a general level, the argumentation in the academic world comes close to the argumentation of the expert citizens (i.e. expert citizens are many times also academic actors). Even though the academic actors might also be everyday-makers in their leisure time or even during their research, it is quite rarely reported self-reflectively. Jeffrey S. Juris (2008, 20) states:

> To grasp the concrete logic generating specific practices, one has to become an active participant. With respect to social movements, this means organizing actions and workshops, facilitating meetings, weighting in during strategic and tactical debates, staking out political positions, and putting one’s body on the line during direct actions.

---

21 There is a wide variety of research going on analyzing speech-gestures of politicians (e.g. Casasanto & Jasmin 2010). Even though body gestures and articulation have important functions in speech situations, this study doesn’t focus on that issue. If that were the case, the photos and video would be highly important sources of data.
For example, in the case of the EUP, while working as an EU meeting coordinator, I made practical political decisions as an everyday-maker. For example, I organised Fair Trade coffee and tea to the event as I found it problematic to consume something that might threaten the rights of the children and youth in the Global South while promoting active young citizenship in the Global North. This kind of methodological work may help the researcher to find those black holes on the research field that are the most distant and unfamiliar.

As I show above, in the ethnographical research setting the researcher is also an active subject on the field where he/she conducts the research. Therefore, the analysis of one's own emotions and way of moving – or being moved – is one path to understanding and knowledge. This becomes even more important when analysing the everyday-makers’ embodied actions. This methodological dimension I develop in Article 3 by exploring the methods of mirroring and kinaesthetic empathy: here one’s own body not only imitates the movements of others but communicates with them. One’s body tunes into the surrounding energy, to the movements of others (Ylönen 2003, 77; Gieser 2008, 299; Parviainen 2002).

My roles during the different fieldwork periods varied from the EU meeting coordinator (the EUP), to mother (the ESF), to journalist (the GYG) and activist (sometimes in the WSFs and also in some instances during the EUP; see e.g. Article 2). Everywhere I was also a researcher and a PhD student. I carried my notebook, voice recorder, camera and video camera with me at all times. My different roles and positions in different events gave me different perspective and location at the field (Laine 2010). The closest to the ‘core politics’ I was as the EU meeting coordinator – in the other events I was a more or less critical observer at the periphery of the event.

Another aspect of fieldwork is the interaction regulation. As ‘the field’ is full of impulses and action, the ethnographer needs to decide where to direct his/her attention, where to locate himself/herself and how to locate or embody the situation. How to adapt to different situations? How to react? And also: how to protect oneself and set borders (defend oneself and the boundaries of one’s own body). The ethnographer also needs to have a capacity to push some things or someone away if he/she finds them harmful.

My own solution in Article 2 and Article 3 was to focus micro sociologically on certain important but short moments (i.e. contestatory performative acts or Free Hugs demonstration) to analyse cosmopolitan micropolitics. The reason I found these episodes special was the way they opened up different methods of doing research (i.e. visual ethnography and the kinaesthetic mirroring in Article 3) and gave new information of youth political participation in transnational agoras. The selection of the situations was also an ethical choice – I wanted to show in the pictures and in the videos that kind of examples that most probably would not harm the informants.

Writing about the experiences during the fieldwork has much to do with memory. The chaos of all different kinds of information, memories and data from the field needs to be worked through and clarified – and here, many times the distance and time helps one to generalize a statement or a new idea. Researcher is both a social being and actor learning to read the world – and in the writing process the ethnographer shows these connections to the academic audience.

Writing is a political act where the writer actively decides what to write, how to write and where to write – especially in the case of academic articles. And while writing, it is useful to ask “what do we mean with the text”. In the words of Norman K. Denzin (2001, 29): “The text can be a collage, a montage, with photographs, blank spaces, poems, monologues, dialogues, voice-overs, and interior streams of consciousness”.

Connell (2007, xii) is sceptical towards oral and embodied knowledge as he states that
only text allows us to trace and reflect the process and allow the “communication of complex social knowledge” across planetary distances. My criticism towards Connell is based on the fact that he doesn’t give attention to the social media (here especially the shared videos and/or the pictures) and to its functions and possibilities in global communication (e.g. Doerr 2010); neither does he turn towards something like ‘communication of simple social knowledge’ as the contestatory performative acts could be looked at, i.e. something that the majority of the people understand quite easily when facing a situation. Here the digital ethnography is one opportunity to reach the global connections and the global societies but it is important for the ethnographer to embody and ground this knowledge to concrete time and location as well (see Article 3).

What Darren J. O’Byrne (2003, 107) sees as a failure of the moral cosmopolitan universalism is the difficulty of translating thought into action, and its inability to appropriate systemic forces. Therefore, in the future the research methods are required to include much more reflection of the practices and global responsibility of the researcher. As I state in Article 4, when tuning to moral cosmopolitanism, researcher needs to think what kind of a global effect his/her research practices have. For example, how the multi-sited global ethnographical project could reduce flying or other kind of “wrong” mobility in terms of environmental ethics (Luhtakallio 2011). More generally, how could the researcher’s everyday practices support moral cosmopolitan way of living?

To conclude, in the future, much more work needs to be done to develop the connections—as well as the contrasts—between the different orientations of informants as well as researchers (see also Connell 2007, xii), different type of data and between different methodologies. Much the same way as during the nation-building period, the building project needed research knowledge, the global age and the EU member states now need methodological cosmopolitanism (Beck & Beck-Gernsheim 2009): researches that shed light on the international connections of localised phenomena multidisciplinarily, multimethodologically, polyphonically and multilocationally across the national borders. To turn from the research practices to practices of the subjects under study, the next chapter deals with the concrete actions of the cosmopolitically tuned young people when they participate in the transnational agoras.
4. Youth political participation in transnational agoras

This section will focus on the concrete practices of the young individuals while they were acting in the transnational events. To start with the concept of political participation, I have found Jan W. van Deth’s definition (2001, 5) useful:

First political participation refers to people in their role as citizens and not, say, as politicians or civil servants. Second, political participation is understood as an activity (‘action’) – simply watching television or claiming to be curious about politics does not constitute participation. Third, the activities of citizens we define as political participation should be voluntary and not ordered by the ruling class or obliged under some law or rule. Finally, political participation concerns government and politics in a broad sense of these words (‘political system’) and is neither restricted to specific phases (such as parliamentary decision making, or the ‘input’ side of the political system), nor to specific levels or areas […]. (Italics in the original version)

To shortly open the concepts marked with italics, the first one (i.e. citizen) shows how the concept of political participation is many times strongly interwoven with the citizenship-discussion. So, in this study the concept would be ‘transnational citizenship’, ‘European citizenship’ or ‘world citizenship’ – which all have different kinds of definitions. According to the definition of the multi-level citizenship, individuals are able to be simultaneously members of different political communities at a variety of spatial scales (from local to global) and of various non-territorial social groups, such as religions, sexual minorities or ethnic diasporas (Painter 2002, 94; Frey 2003, 97–99; Soysal 1994). This became evident in the EUP where the youth participants answered in the questionnaire how much they identify with different kinds of citizenships (see Appendix 5, question 28). What is notable in these results (see Chart 1) is that the young participants of the EUP identify themselves more as European or global citizens than local citizens.

![Citizenships of the youth representatives](chart.png)

**CHART 1.** Results to the question “How much do the following statements characterize you as a citizen” among the EUP youth participants, (N=45).
van Deth's second point (i.e. activity, action) leads me to look at how the young people's actions at the agoras are very different from each other. Therefore, the word action refers in my study to a wide range of activities from listening, speaking and writing to organising events, sessions or counter sessions, demonstrations or performances. The action can be a resolution or it can be a show. An action can be a move, a pose or a reaction to something that just happened on the agora. Some young participants may work hard while others may pretend to be interested – or simply get bored during some of the sessions (i.e. such obligatory parts of the event programme in the planning of which the young person hasn't been able to participate). The latter kind of situations Majid Rahnema (2010, 127) calls manipulated participation: the participants don't feel they are being forced into doing something, "but are actually led to take actions which are inspired or directed by centres outside their control" (ibid.).

In addition, Rahnema (2010, 140) underlines the importance of understanding the plural dimensions of participation. Rahnema's perspective comes close to Hannah Arendt's politics as freedom (2005, 129) as they both state that no form of social interaction or participation can ever be meaningful and liberating, unless the participating individuals act as free and unbiased human beings. As Rahnema (ibid., 140) continues:

[...] to participate means to live and to relate differently. It implies, above all, the recovery of one's inner freedom – that is, to learn, to listen, to share, free from any fear or predefined conclusion, belief or judgment. [...] As such, inner freedom gives life to outer freedom, and makes it both possible and meaningful.

To turn to van Deth's third point (i.e. voluntariness), many of the youth participated in the events voluntarily. Some participated as part of their job, but for most of the young people the meeting was a social event in which they wanted to participate in their free time22. And referring to van Deth's fourth point, i.e. of the 'political systems': the WSFs, the ESF, the GYG and the EUP can all be viewed as events in some kind of a 'political system' (cf. Teorell's 2006 typology from the sub-chapter "frameworks of the study").

Returning to youth political participation, the Council of Europe (CoE), and especially the Advisory Council of youth, have elaborated their own definitions of youth participation. In The Revised European Charter on the Participation of Young People in Local and Regional Life stands the following definition:

Participation in the democratic life of any community is about more than voting or standing for election, although these are important elements. Participation and active citizenship is about having the right, the means, the space and the opportunity and where necessary the support to participate in and influence decisions and engaging in actions and activities so as to contribute to building better society. (Council of Europe 2003, 1–2.)

The CoE's definition is useful as it underlines the right, the means, the space, the opportunity and, where necessary, the support perspectives. It is evident that different kinds of definitions of participation and more precisely youth participation are numerous. To keep it simple, in this

22 More than 40 % of the EUP youth representatives answered in the questionnaire (Appendix 5, question 5) that someone (person or institution) had asked or ordered them to participate. For some of these youth the EUP event was part of their work. (See also Laine & Dorff 2008, 119.)
study the freedom perspectives of Rahnema (2010) and Arendt (2005) are highlighted together with young people’s concrete actions in practice, and from here the different orientations of young people and constructing categories for the research purposes are developed.

Categories of youth political participation in transnational agoras
In the next four subchapters I apply Geoffrey Pleyers’ (2010, 73–76) five categories of different forms of youth political participation among the alter-activist youth. As my data differs from Pleyers’ and comes from different kind of event sites (the GYG and the EUP) I will expand these categories to fit the wider range of youth political participation at transnational agoras. In addition, I try to place them in the two-dimensional table I have formulated and used in earlier chapters (see Table 3).

The first group Pleyers calls the young revolutionaries who are part of the extreme left and mostly committed to the state-oriented strategies of change and “more traditional forms of membership, recruitment and belonging” (Pleyers 2010, 75). This group was the most difficult to find from my data. In my data the examples are youth activists from the Amazonian region.

The second group Pleyers calls the NGOs and institutional youth actors and describe them to belong to political parties, NGOs or other formal associations behaving similarly as their older counterparts or by bringing a ‘fresh approach’ that enable “productive collaborations between the dynamism and the experience of older activists” (Pleyers 2010, 75). These kinds of actors are expert citizens with cosmopolitan resources. Here my example comes from Article 1 where I analyse the EU youth policy experts.

The third group Pleyers defines as poor and minority youth. Here Pleyers (2010, 75) mentions the young slum dwellers’ demonstration in the WSF Nairobi but doesn’t give more attention to their contestatory performative acts (Article 2). Pleyers states that paradoxically, this group is often less visible in the alter-globalisation movement. But what I find even more problematic is that the same group is many times left out from research reports, and this way the researchers contribute to the weak integration of the marginal youth in transnational processes. My example of young everyday-makers who lack cosmopolitan resources is something that Pleyers doesn’t mention from the WSF Nairobi. This is the slum walks: how the local young residents took the WSF participants by foot to experience their place of living and their youth work projects.

Pleyers (2010, 75–76) calls the fourth group libertarian youth who in his view stress local struggles and collective self-management. He writes:

These autonomous activists reject all forms of hierarchy, stressing independence from parties, unions, NGOs and representative institutions. They are extremely critical of what they perceive as more institutional alter-globalization events, including world and regional Social Forums.

The contestatory performative acts from Article 2 can be seen as part of this category – at least the initiators who are everyday-makers. Actually, I found it difficult to separate the libertarian

---

23 Here I would like to point out as I write in Article 2 how I was actually one of the initiators of the beanie episode: “Because the theme of the meeting was ‘young active citizenships’ I was all the time raising the question of diversity in the steering committee while planning the event. This was also the case with the conference gifts: in other EU Presidency events in Finland participants got silk ties and scarves. I refused this and consulted my friends by email what alternatives they could come up with that would fit the
youth from what Pleyers calls young alter activists. As he writes, this latter group of alter activists stress “horizontal coordination, direct democracy and contingent, flexible forms of commitment” (Pleyers 2010, 76) and he continues:

However, whereas libertarians emphasize the local and are wary of forging wider alliances, alter-activists are committed to an ethic of openness, local-global networking, and organizing across diversity and difference.

Pleyers (ibid.) states that young alter activists participate in the WSFs and regional Social Forums but they do it by maintaining a critical attitude towards internal hierarchies and non-democratic practices. They participate by creative forms of action and an emphasis on process and experimentation.

In Table 3 the libertarian youth equal those who initiate the contestatory performative acts (Article 2). Some of the initiators lack cosmopolitan resources, some don’t. In the following sub-chapter I will use the CIRCA clowns and the Free Hugs demonstrations as examples of libertarian and alter activist youth’s political participation. Here the young actors are those who use everyday-makers strategy and have cosmopolitan resources (at least some).

### TABLE 3. Different categories of the youth political participation in transnational political events applying Pleyers (2010, 73–76) and Bang (2009, 2004).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Lack of cosmopolitan resources</th>
<th>Everyday-makers</th>
<th>Expert citizens</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Low cost</td>
<td>‘local everyday-makers’ Poor and minority youth</td>
<td>‘local experts’ Young revolutionaries</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Initiators of the contestatory performative acts Libertarian youth</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cosmopolitan resources</td>
<td>Article 3: ‘alter-globalisation activists’ who use the way of subjectivity Young alter activists</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Article 3: ‘the EU youth policy experts’ NGOs and institutional youth actors</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

While going through these four different orientations and ways of participating in transnational political events I will also look what kinds of ‘contact zones’ are visible in each dimension. With the term ‘contact zone’ I firstly refer to Mary Louise Pratt’s (1992, 4) definition, where she sees them as:

social spaces where disparate cultures meet, clash, and grapple with each other, often in highly asymmetrical relations of domination and subordination - like colonialism, slavery, or their aftermaths as they are lived out across the globe today.

---

theme of the meeting. This way I came across with Outwear beanies. I proposed them to the steering committee of the meeting and the Ministry agreed.” (p. 416.) This shows how my orientation was at some moments similar to everyday-makers, and at some other moments my orientation was more as the expert citizens’.
What the ‘contact zone’ produces in its best is transculturation (Pratt 1992, 6; see also Boas 2006). Boaventura de Sousa Santos (2008) and more recently Janet Conway (2011) have analysed the WSFs as ‘contact zones’. Here Santos (2008) sees the interpretation and translation as important factors in the building process of ‘contact zones’:

The point is to create, in every movement or NGO, in every practice or strategy, in every discourse or knowledge, a contact zone that may render it porous and hence permeable to other NGOs, practices, strategies, discourses, and knowledges. The exercise of translation aims to identify and reinforce what is common in the diversity of counter-hegemonic drive. Cancelling out what separates is out of the question. The goal is to have host-difference replace fortress-difference. Through translation work, diversity is celebrated, not as a factor of fragmentation and isolationism, but rather as a condition of sharing and solidarity. (Italics in the original version.)

In the following subchapters I ask: what is young people’s political participation at transnational agoras and what kind of ‘contact zones’ are available or taking place in different spheres, among and across differently resourced and orientated young people.

4.1 YOUNG EU POLICY EXPERTS AS EXAMPLES OF EXPERT CITIZENS WITH COSMOPOLITAN RESOURCES

In Article 1 Anu Gretschel and I study young participants’ involvement and influence in the EU youth policy from the young people’s points of view. Among the interviewed youth there are different kinds of expert citizens: some are members of the European Youth Forum, some of the European Youth Parliament and others are members of different national or international youth organisations.

Henrik Bang (2009, 131) describes that the expert citizens

- have a wide conception of the political as a discursive construct; a full-time, over-lapping, project identity reflecting their overall life style;
- possess the necessary expertise for exercising influence in elite networks;
- place negotiation and dialogue before antagonism and opposition;
- embody a view of themselves as autonomous parts of the system, rather than as identical with it or external and oppositional to it.

This description is quite suitable to the young EU youth policy experts. In addition to the previous list these youth have good or excellent cosmopolitan resources. What we criticise in Article 1 is the fact that in the actual meeting there were not enough room for the young experts to show and use their expertise.

In Article 1 we describe how the roles available for the different participants differed from each other in different events. Our study shows that there were much more different roles available for the youth in the European Youth Parliament events than in the EU Presidency Youth Events. In the latter, the young EU expert citizens’ political participation was mainly sitting and listening. Some of the youth worked as a chair in the working groups and even fewer had an opportunity to speak in the plenary sessions. Outside the official programme the youth were active in networking – both with other youth and administration as well as other adults.
As we mention in Article 1, during and after the Hyvinkää event there was a strong discussion going on on what kind of youth should participate in these events. In the interview a youth who participated in the event makes a strong distinction to those ‘everyday-makers’ who lack cosmopolitan resources – and explains why they should not be invited to EU Presidency Youth Events:

It can be that these Youth Forum guys [...] this kind of elite youth don’t represent, or may have difficulties to represent the Eastern-Helsinki problem youth who are outside of any [official] organisation as well as the youth who organize themselves in a new manner [refers to everyday-makers more generally [...] The conflict comes when we want to do EU youth policy, and when the EU as a political entity is so complicated [...] and if we want young people’s concentration on these issues, I think it is quite narrow to go and ask it from some Eastern-Helsinki problem youth [...] I know that he would not say that ‘from my perspective in the structures of the open method of coordination we need to enhance the youth policy consultation and in the next chapters I have analytically described it’. This he wouldn’t say. (YFJ7.)

The quotation shows the gap between the young expert citizens and the other youth of their generation. The expertise means to understand ‘the system’ (here the EU youth policy) and act inside the system with the system’s logic and language. To become a successful actor of this sphere non-formal and/or formal learning and training is needed. There is almost no room for the laypeople’s knowledge at this level.

If we look at the young EU youth policy experts from the ‘contact zone’ perspective it becomes clear that the EUP event in Hyvinkää was planned to be a ‘contact zone’ for youth representatives, youth administration, youth research and youth work (i.e. an instrument of the structured dialogue). This turned to be a difficult task in reality. Still, what the young representatives demanded was more time to make ‘contact zones’ between the different youth representatives and this way produce stronger political and social bounds to different corners of Europe. As one of the youth representatives answered to the open question in the questionnaire (see Appendix 5):

It was really a shame that there was no farewell party and that we had to make it ourselves. Networking is crucial in these meetings and you need space for it.

The difficulty of forming the EUP as a ‘contact zone’ lies also in the fact that these events don’t form a process but are single spots of political participation24. What we also describe in Article 1 is the fact that the informal forums – that were launched after Hyvinkää meeting – are the real ‘contact zones’ of the different youth policy experts. As one of the youth participants from the European Youth Forum describes:

24 This fact has improved as the Resolution on the Renewed Framework for European Cooperation in the Youth Field (2010-2018) is now running. The Trio Presidency of Spain, Belgium and Hungary made a common decision about executing the structured dialogue on the theme of youth employment during the 18 months of the Trio in 2010 and the first semester of 2011. Still, for the youth delegates, it is unsure whether they will participate in all three EUPs or only one.
The national youth councils of troika countries had been invited to take part so there was all this background and commitment. There was a real dialogue. It was the first try, but even so an important signal to citizens’ organizations that the Council takes them seriously. For example this is a totally normal routine in the field of employment. Before every council of employment ministers’ meeting each presidency troika organizes this kind of meeting [...] (YFJ11.)

To conclude, as we state in Article 1, it seems that there is a need to describe more concretely what kind of an EU youth policy instrument the EU Presidency Youth Event is. After this, it would be easier to define what kind of experts from the EU youth policy field should be invited to these events. At least around the time of the Hyvinkää event, different youth field actors had different aims and thoughts of the event and its participants. To function as important and versatile learning-by-doing arenas that enable the growth of the ‘young active EU policy citizens’ much more focus is required to the idea of the ‘contact zone’: how to give space for the different people’s expertise and enable networking better between different kinds of actors.

4.2 CIRCA CLOWNS AND FREE HUGGERS AS EXAMPLES OF EVERYDAY-MAKERS WITH COSMOPOLITAN RESOURCES

In this subchapter I analyse the young people who had cosmopolitan resources as ‘the EU expert citizens’ but whose orientation was equal to everyday-makers. Henrik Bang (2009, 132) sees that the everyday-makers underline the importance of the everyday experiences, stating:

- Do it yourself
- Do it where you are
- Do it for fun, but also because it is necessary
- Do it ad hoc or part time
- Do it concretely, instead of ideologically
- Do it self-confidently and show trust in yourself
- Do it with the system, if need be.

These statements fit in with the ideology of the CIRCA clowns in the ESF Malmö that I analyse in Articles 2 and 4. Furthermore these statements go hand in hand with the idea behind the Free Hugs action that I analyse in Article 3. First, in the case of the CIRCA clowns their political actions were strongly carnivalesque. By imitating the police men and wearing a clown costume mixed with army clothes (see Picture 18, p. 60), the clowns brought about a carnivalesque micropolitical moment and turned the controlling mechanisms upside-down (Bakhtin 1995, 12–13): the lowest (clown) and the highest (police) changed their places. Clowns brought sarcasm into the moment: they stood in the lines between the police, marched behind the police and tried to look as serious as the police men, as we can see from Picture 18.

On their official web page25 the clowns use the word ‘clandestine’ in their name refusing the spectacle of celebrity:

---

Because without real names, faces or noses, we show that our words, dreams, and desires are more important than our biographies. Because we reject the society of surveillance that watches, controls, spies upon, records and checks our every move. Because by hiding our identity we recover the power of our acts. Because with greasepaint we give resistance a funny face and become visible once again.

To Bakhtin (1995, 83) seriousness was related to violence, restrictions and prohibitions. This kind of seriousness is always scary. Power, violence and authority never speak the language of laughter. When people start to laugh and win the fear, the world opens to them in a new way. But this kind of victory is always temporary.

Also the ‘free huggers’ carry out temporary changes. At the WSF Belém these young participants made their demonstration and delivered free hugs for the passers-by in order to brighten up the strangers’ day, to increase social connectivity, human contact and to give support. As I write in Article 3, not all the participants in the transnational political meetings can express their thoughts fluently in English or other major languages used in the event. Therefore, the common body language can even have an increased significance in these kinds of spaces: participants can communicate using transnationally well-known body language – such as hugging.

Geoffrey Pleyers (2010, 54) lists different weaknesses of this kind of action:

> The actors of the way of subjectivity are highly dedicated to the movement’s internal issues, and see it both as a tool to improve the world and as a space where alter-globalization practices should be implemented. They focus on their own experience sometimes to the point of neglecting their adversaries and the societal change they aimed to struggle for. The focus on the movement’s own organization may, for example, lead some actors to focus all its energy on internal logic and aims or to the emergence of closed identity. Individualized features of this activism culture may lead to hedonist actions lacking in general significance or dissipating in sporadic activism.

What makes the CIRCA clowns and Free Huggers cosmopolitan is mainly the social media. Both actors download videos of their actions onto YouTube. In the case of the Free Hugs Campaign, people around the world (Asia, Europe, Australia, Africa, North and South America) got their inspiration to act from the first (original) Free Hugs video\(^ {26} \) that became quickly very popular, and now thousands of action groups and individuals shoot similar videos of their actions and download them onto YouTube. The movement extraordinarily travelled around the planet finding its way to the WSF Belém, too, where I experienced it. Now the original video has been viewed over 70 million times and there are more than 1,000 similar videos on YouTube from Uganda, San Francisco, Helsinki, Tokyo etc. including also my recording from the fieldwork. The CIRCA is not as popular and global but there are videos on YouTube at least from Europe and North America.

In Article 3 I write that the new social media tools – that have also generated the YouTube communities – link the people all around the world. The Free Hugs Campaign as well as the CIRCA clowns are transnational social movements that use the new social media, especially YouTube channel to sustain collective actions around the globe. YouTube is the third most popular website on the internet\(^ {27} \) and therefore a strong actor in the global media. YouTube changes the power structures in the media world as its use is free of charge and it is free for

\(^{26}\) See http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vr3x_RRJdd4&cob=av3e (Accessed 19.10.2011).

\(^{27}\) See http://mostpopularwebsites.net/ (Accessed 1 July 2010).
the users to download videos onto the site, comment others’ videos with text or a video message. This way YouTube is also much more interactive media than the traditional mass media (i.e. newspapers and the TV programmes), creating new forms of self-consciousness and self-reflection (Wesch 2008). It is also important to notice here that the young generations are the most active users of YouTube. They are also active in organising the Free Hugs and the CIRCA demonstrations around the world which can be seen from the YouTube videos, and which was also the case in the events that I study. Therefore, the radical social movements “continue to express their utopian political imaginaries through ongoing organizational and technological experimentation” as Jeffrey Juris describes (2008, 289).

As the Free Hugs Campaign and the CIRCA clowns are transnational social movements, their strategy aims to support both the local and global presence: a local collective self-presentation is the act I experienced in the WSF Belém and in the ESF Malmö. These acts are visible from the videos and photos I use (i.e. the documentations of these self-presentations). A global collective self-presentation can be viewed by watching the videos of several different actions around the globe from YouTube. Both forms of collective self-presentation are part of the process of collective identity formation (Eyerman 2005, 50). From this collective identity formation rises another reason for young people’s cosmopolitanism: that is their mission which is global, and therefore concerning the whole humanity.

As I have already stated, it really seems that different kinds of contestatory performative acts are crucial moments also in terms of the ‘contact zones’. In these moments the hierarchies and dichotomies disappear and there is much more room for diversity and solidarity. Therefore, these moments are crucial for deeper democracy. These moments open up the space for new kinds of contacts – and while weighting and testing our values they might open new doors and perspectives also more sustainably and long-term among both the observers and the participants.

4.3 THE GO-ALONG METHOD: TAKING A WALK THROUGH A SLUM TO REACH EVERYDAY-MAKERS WHO LACK COSMOPOLITAN RESOURCES

The largest group of the ‘non-cosmopolitan everyday makers’ at the WSF Nairobi were the youth living in the different slum areas of the city. One group of young slum residents took the WSF participants by foot to their living area Korogocho which was only 20 minutes walking distance from the forum. First I didn’t want to participate in these walks, to go and observe people’s misery, but when I found out that the walks were a political mission of the young slum dwellers, we decided to go – photographer Raisa Kyllikki Ranta and I together. I found out only afterwards that I had applied the go-along method on this part of my field work. And in this light the slum walks started to look even more fundamental.

In the go-along method the interview is combined with walking and observing: the informant leads the path and decides where to take the researcher, which gives much more active role to the informant than the traditional interview situation (Kusenbach 2003). Two young informants

28 The ‘active’ refers here to multidimensional use of the YouTube site and I refer here to the statistics of the Sysomos’ study that looked at the demographics of bloggers who embed YouTube videos on their own sites (i.e. blogs). In general, 20-to-35-year-old bloggers embed most of the videos (57%), followed by teenagers (20%) and bloggers over 35 (20%). http://www.readwriteweb.com/archives/whats_hot_on_youtube_and_who_is_embedding_those_vi.php (Accessed 12 October 2010)
and residents of Korogocho served as concrete tour-guides for us. All together, we were around 15–20 WSF participants coming mostly from the Global North and around 5 tour-guides, all young residents from the slum. We paid a small participation fee for the tour-guides.

The go-along method allows the researcher to be led along the spatialised journey, to learn about the local area via the interplay of the respondent’s ideas and the researcher’s own experience of the respondent’s environment. Go-along can also be used to help residents to recognize the sources of the problems facing their neighbourhood. As the informants are those who know the area, this method may help to reduce typical power dynamics that exist between the interviewer and interviewee (as subject). (Carpiano 2009, 267–268.)

Our informant guides told us during the walk about the different activities the youth work organization coordinates in Korogocho: how it is important to try to increase the living conditions in the entire area, to restrain conflicts and increased violence. As I have mentioned, the slum walk was a political mission of these youth: they wanted to show the visitors from the Global North how the majority of the Nairobi residents live in houses that are 10 square feet. In spite of a strong government opposition to visitors being allowed to see these communities, the young people wanted to show that the slums are not as dangerous as the officials claim – at least if you walk there in the daytime together with the residents of the area (Brewer & Cerda 2007, 31).

![Picture 3](image)

**PICTURE 3.** Guided walk to the nearby slum. The youth wearing a yellow t-shirt was one of the guides of the walk. On the back-side of her shirt is printed “Slum Youth Struggles, Youth Alternatives”. (Photo: Raisa Kyllikki Ranta)

---

29 Many times in the go-along method the tour guides are not working (for living) as a tour guide, taking visitors to their neighbourhoods. "The slum walk" was only organised for the 5 days of the WSF Nairobi as a side-event.
When you ask the government, they will say that the Kenyans are OK. They tell you that we are OK, we have good houses, we have good roads but we don’t. When there is some fund which comes to be given to the slum, we don’t get that money. (WNA7)

Walking is a way of knowing. It is one of the simplest forms of kinaesthetic empathy where the researcher uses his/her body similarly to what the informants are doing at the studied moment. Thus, walking as a method is not just moving the body around, it’s experiencing the world and being present in the world by foot (Ingold & Vergunst 2008). This kind of method is even more significant in the environment where the young people studied always walk to get to different places:

SL: So what do you do when you get sick?
WNA6: I go to the mission hospital.
SL: OK. Where is it?
WNA6: In Kariobangi. […] So if you want to go there, you have to wake up early, and go there.
SL: Walk there all way or how do you get there? Do you have to walk?
WNA6: I walk.
SL: So you are sick and you have to walk all the way there? How can you do it?
WNA6: You just go slowly.

The go-along method was successful in creating ‘contact zones’ between different kinds of participants. When the young residents showed the rest of the world concretely their way of living in the slum and different youth work projects and actions, the concreteness (i.e. facing the locations in reality) helped the visitors to ask questions and understand their way of living. This way the go-along method can be seen as a performative research method that not only reports the reality but helps to generate new realities and actions (Jokinen et al. 2010, 260).

The other way around: by placing the WSF to Nairobi in 2007, the young people from the slums who otherwise would lack the cosmopolitan resources had an opportunity to participate in a transnational political event (especially after the successful contestatory performative acts, see Article 2). For example, those two tour-guides I interviewed during our common walk felt that the WSF Nairobi had made a positive change in their life. At the venue area they had an opportunity to speak about issues (e.g. gay and lesbian rights) that the Kenyans don’t otherwise discuss in public. They had experienced new kind of togetherness and solidarity during the WSF and they found the forum very empowering:

I think it [the WSF Nairobi] is going to change the situation of the youth in our country. I think they are going to talk about the issues that are affecting youth in the community. Issues that are affecting youth in the slums. And I hope [strong wind disturbs the recording] it gives us a change in our community. (WNA6)

For many WSF participants coming from the Global North, the WSF Nairobi was their first visit to the African continent. The slum walks were not their only possibility to come face-to-face with the “grinding poverty: fragile mud-huts; choking stench from streams of open sewers; no water, roads or services of any kind” (Mulama 2007, 1). Many took part in the opening march or on the “Marathon through the slums”, both passing Kibera – the biggest and best known slum in Nairobi, with the population of 700,000 it is East Africa’s largest slum area. Not all who participated in the
marathon through the slums concretely. Many more attended by walking. From the ‘contact zone’ perspective, walking enables making contact much better than running which is a much faster way of moving one’s body and makes speaking at the same time a lot more challenging.

To conclude, it seems that to generate ‘contact zones’ different kinds of embodied techniques are highly relevant (e.g. hugging, walking, running) and the experts of this kind of political action are the everyday-makers – both those who have as well as those who lack the cosmopolitan resources. The go-along method helps to generate research settings that give a voice to the actors who otherwise would be easily skipped. The common walk generated a common ground – common rhythm to the informants and the researcher for the common time and space experience – and these shared experiences make a fruitful ground for the research to spring up from (see also Mattila 2011, 73).

Finally, if compared to the previous sub-chapter on the everyday-makers with cosmopolitan resources (i.e. CIRCA clowns and free huggers), the young tour-guides, too, made their actions themselves, in their present location, ad hoc and part time, concretely and self-confidently with the system (if need be), for fun but also because it is necessary (Bang 2009, 132). Both groups of actors also emphasise the importance of techniques, ‘arts of the self’, and micropolitics applied to bodies to alter the established patterns of thought, judgement and feeling (Connolly 2006, 68). What makes these two groups different from each other is their different amount of freedom – or even lack of it – especially visible when focusing on the differences in their cosmopolitan resources.

4.4 Amazonian Region Youth Activists as Examples of Expert Citizens Who Lack Cosmopolitan Resources

The ‘group’ I found the most difficult to reach during my research were the expert youth who lack cosmopolitan resources. The difficulty was mainly due to language reasons, i.e. without a common language I had difficulties to follow their expertise. Here my example comes from the Amazon region and from the WSF Belém. First, I had by chance an opportunity to interview one Amazon region youth activist, member of the PT board in the Amazon region (C). I bumped into him and another person (A) who was eager to translate our conversation in the middle of street in Belém downtown. As I (B) didn’t know Portuguese and the interviewee didn’t know English, the translation was the only way to reach his expertise:

[...]

A: The key question, he says, to keep the [Amazon] region in the way it is now and the way they try to keep it is the knowledge growth, you see. The way knowledge passes through the generations, the original knowledge about the people who live there [...] is a big deal to keep going with the preservation of Amazonian rainforest, to keep the culture, keep the people’s culture going through the generations.

B: How can they fight against the big companies who are just coming and using the forest, and cutting the trees down and starting to cultivate the soya beans?

A: [translates to Portuguese]

C: [answers in Portuguese]

A: He says that [...] the soya cultivation issue is much bigger in the other states but not much with the Amazon state. So, the big conflict is about cultural struggle, to keep the original culture passing, and not much the development thing, the company, corporation kind of culture. So, it’s a much more complex struggle. Which is not only... how can I say... pointing the finger on soya culture. [...]
B: Did he participate in the World Social Forum and what did he think about it?
A: [translates to Portuguese]
C: [answers in Portuguese]
A: The fact that it’s here in Belem, Para, Brazil, in Amazonian region it’s a big thing for the people who live here. He says although, it’s a very singular thing that the people from the Amazon forest they get it very serious, about the forum being done in Belem, in Amazon region, talking to the people from the other regions of the country, to other countries, even..There is a very similar thing that is the knowledge possession. Who possess knowledge is an important issue here in Amazon state, in the Amazonian rain-forest and also in the other regions. He is also saying that the knowledge, keeping the knowledge transmission is the most important thing to keep the Amazon rain-forest as it should be.
[...]

Second, many of the Amazonian youth activists didn’t even speak Portuguese. As shown in Pictures 4–6, many times when there was a demonstration or other event taking place in the WSF venue site grasping the attention of the media and other participants as well, there was also a translator, a supporter of the indigenous knowledge and expertise, explaining the issues to the wider public. Many times this translator was speaking Portuguese – and sometimes there was even a second translator translating the message into English.

Geoffrey Pleyers (2010, 119–120) describes six principal functions of the expert citizens acting in the alter-globalisation movement. First, they analyse policies and current debates in a precise area (here Amazon policies), and sometimes this leads them to ‘alert’ others, for example in a public debate – also through the media as is the case in Pictures 4, 5 and 6. Second, the expert citizens construct ‘rational’ theoretical alternatives and show the relevance and feasibility of these alternatives “in order to prove that it is possible to act, and that rational and coherent measures can be taken”, as Pleyers (ibid.) writes. Thirdly, these experts must arouse indignation, fourthly the expert citizens need to organise spaces for popular education that is especially visible in the Social Forums where numerous ‘specialised’ seminars and workshops take place.

Fifth, the individuation of political involvement within the alter-globalisation movement raises the importance of convincing each activist, as Pleyers (ibid.) describes: “through well-founded argument, of the relevance and feasibility of the advocated position.” Finally, these expert citizens are often chosen to confront opposing experts and to convince policy makers on the basis of a ‘rational analysis of the situation’ (ibid.). What Pleyers doesn’t describe is how the expert citizenship functions differ when the person lacks cosmopolitan resources.

If we look at the actions of those expert citizens who lack cosmopolitan resources from the ‘contact zone’ perspective it seems that in order to travel to the Global North, the expertise of these young people needs to have a mediator. For the Amazonian PT activist, I used as an example, the structure of the (western) political institutions was already clear and ‘contact zones’ much wider than for those Amazonian region youth who didn’t speak even Portuguese. Still they both needed a translator for expressing their opinions in English. The researcher coming from the Global North also has minimal opportunities to reach those young people who are expert citizens but lack cosmopolitan resources. Therefore, if the researcher doesn’t have a translator, the opinions and actions of these expert youth are left out from the research.

To continue with the Amazonian activists and ‘contact zones’, as I explain in Article 3, many of the young participants as well as entire indigenous Amazonian families were accommodated in the Youth Camp area of the WSF Belém. In practice these two groups lived together for five days, interpreting and learning from each other by using all the languages
needed from speaking to body language and from singing and dancing to body paintings. One
of my informants experienced this intercultural learning occasion and was excited about the
experience. For a researcher YouTube was again useful as there are several documents from the
Youth Camp, for example how the indigenous people teach their dancing and singing rituals
to the cosmopolitan youth:

Video 1: http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=5rYb9UUReB (Ritual Xamánico - Fórum Social Mundial

PICTURES 4–6. A demonstration of the Amazon region experts in the WSF Belém. (Photos: Sofia Laine)
To conclude, some young people participate in the transnational political agoras as expert citizens who lack cosmopolitan resources. It might be a challenge for the researcher to reach these young people if there is no common language. Still, it is important for the researcher to be aware of the difficulties to grasp certain groups of participants, and think over how this kind of a lack affects the overall picture of the young people’s participation in transnational agoras he/she gives in the research report.

4.5 Agoras are not democratic miniature societies

In Article 1 I analysed with Anu Gretschel the EUP meeting from the democratic miniature society perspective. From our point of view, a democratic miniature society exists when participants of the event form a community where equal dialogue and different roles and duties take place. In practice, this would mean that in the future the roles and duties of the event are not only designed by adults for adults, but shared equally by the participants. It is important that the participants also have an opportunity to develop the event/process at the events themselves. It is also relevant to notice the importance of a possibility to build networks and make progress in one’s individual career as an active citizen. Our hypothesis was that the variation of roles (learning by doing) offered to young people widens the possibilities to become a more active citizen. In addition to this, in the future studies it would be important to view what roles young people take or make themselves (see Kiilakoski et al. 2011). In the EUP, when the focus is on the EU youth policy, the generation politics is automatically highlighted. As I here shortly show, also in a more general level, the policy events and their practices easily create an open political situation where the questions of generations are at the centre of the debate (cf. Hoikkala et al. 2007).

This analysis has a connection to John Dewey’s (1899) perspectives on the child’s classroom experience, where he has looked the classroom and schools from a miniature community perspective. Dewey underlines how the educational process is necessary to build upon the interest of the child, that it must provide opportunities for the interplay of thinking and doing, that the teacher is required to guide and co-work with pupils rather than act as a rigid taskmaster assigning a fixed set of lessons and recitations, and that the goal of education is the growth of the child. This kind of a basis could be useful in the EU Presidency youth events. What is more, Dewey highlights the question of the power geometry when questioning how democratically the spaces have been set up, and does the spatial setting support the democracy.

In the GYG the roles available for the young participants were much more numerous than in the EUP. Those who were under 35 and with other status than ‘observer’, ‘researcher’ or ‘journalist’ were full participants with voting rights (133 in total). The organizers had also an eye on the gender question: “Despite efforts of the organizers, the gender balance was still 2:1 male to female. The numbers were approximately as follows: Africa: 89 (50 Kenyans), Americas: 5, Asia Pacific: 31, Europe: 26” (GYG official report, overview). As there were only young people acting, contrary to the EUP youth events, here the youth had real possibilities to influence the formulation of the GYG – especially the full participants. What is more, the youth were convinced that they were already doing real party politics at the transnational level.
GYG3: The Federation of Green Youth and Students are the biggest member organization of the [Finnish] Greens, so we are heard in the Greens, we really have a lot of influencing possibilities there. It is not youth politics, our work is not like 'here the youth are kind of practicing politics' but we are doing the politics. That's the difference. They are not training the future decision-makers but we are those already. Now the elections are coming up and we have many good candidates and we start to do the campaign with euphoric minds. (translation SL)

To continue from the young participants' experiences, many of the participants (also GYG 2) found the conference empowering:

GYG3: This is very empowering, so many guys who fight for the same issues […] and the networking of course […]. (translation SL)

In sum, if compared to the EUP meeting the GYG conference was also quite strictly assigned by the organisers and the forms of participation were quite equal to those used in the EUP event. The main difference from the perspective of 'democratic miniature society' was the experience of the membership and the experiences of influence; young people were in charge of arranging the whole GYG conference and were therefore true actors and makers of the event. They experienced the start of a new youth-led transnational political process and had positive ideas and thoughts on how the started process would continue in the future (GYG1; GYG2; GYG3). In contrast, the EUP youth participants were much more sceptical about the future of the EU youth policy process.

To turn to the Social Forums, as I have stated already in the previous chapters there is always a huge variety of opinions on how, what and why different arguments and actions get room in the forum. From this division rises also the experience of the elitism in the WSF that was underlined by many interviewees:

We can divide the participants of the forum roughly in three groups: extras, intellectuals and influencing participants. Extras believe in making the world a better place, they are leftist travelers who don't have any clear project in the social forums (or anywhere in their actions). Intellectuals are very well aware of at least one of the main substances of the forum. They are often part of some of the most significant movements for the forum (e.g. Attac, NIGD, Les Amis de Le Monde Diplomatique...). Many times they have quite a strong position in their home country, but in the forum their actions also stay in the margins. Influencing participants are the core persons from the International Council [of the WSF] and these bosses have been part of the forum from its very beginning. Their words counts the most, and they combat with each other about the future of the forum. (WNA1, translation SL)

There are a huge number of that kind of people who are quite egoistic and want to make themselves as significant persons. And this is why it [WSF] doesn't really work. […] The event itself is right-thinking and important. There has to be a great amount of reasons why these should be organized, but how it is now carried out doesn't work. And especially because some perspectives and ideologies are excluded – if not on purpose, at least in practice. (WNA2, translation SL)
The youth experienced that the elitist expert citizens from the specific social movements, organizations or institutions dominated the forum. There was very little space for young people to join this ‘bunch’. And even at the WSF Belém where majority of the participants (61%) were 18 to 34 years old (IBASE 2009, 8), there didn’t spring up any formulation from the generational politics perspective.

In sum, the democratic miniature society of the Social Forum was strong in that sense that everyone who had the interest and enough resources to travel and pay the entrance fee was welcome to participate, organize sessions or make another kind of a statement (e.g. dance, rap, theatre) in the agora or next to it (e.g. slum walks). What makes this kind of a society weak are the challenges of real networking, the lack of influence and the hidden hierarchies and elitism of certain participants of the forum.

To conclude this sub-chapter, the transnational political agoras studied in this research are not democratic miniature societies. Closest to this definition comes the GYG conference, but also there it was difficult to integrate each participant to be an active citizen in the process. From the generational perspective it seems that the more young people are involved in planning the event, the more they also have different roles at the event, and the more equally they are treated during the event. To apply Dewey’s (1899) thoughts, could the goal of the participation on the transnational agoras be the educative learning process: how to build these kinds of agoras more democratically in the future and how to use the space more effectively as a ‘democratic-transnational-meeting-citizen-agora’ next time.

### 4.6 Agoras are Political Choreographies

This summer I have learned what politics is.
That the some are more important than others.
That two persons control the daily rhythm of 200 others.
The Minister arrives, gives the speech that someone else has written and leaves.
The Commissioner arrives, gives the speech that someone else has written, answers a few questions, places himself in the family portrait, sits in the room decorated with pink curtains.
The Commissioner demands the small flags of the EU and Finland to be placed on the table before the press event can start.
Personnel and secretaries run around the hotel in a mortal terror.
This is politics.
When the commissioner leaves, I drink the rest of his mineral water.
(July 2006)

Ten days after the EUP meeting ended, in the morning of the second day of my holiday, I woke up with this poem in my head. The poem represents the EUP event from one perspective: after the first three sentences it turns to the actions, to the strictly set choreography of the event. The most strict and concrete choreography for all of the participants was the moment when the family portrait was shoot and all the participants were squeezed in the tight group and still pose, visible in Picture 7. Pose, so familiar to most of us not only from the school and other institutional groupings but from the earlier experiences of political conferences as well.

---

30 The poem is also published as an author note within Article 3.
A family portrait has a long tradition both in the international relations and more generally as part of the social life in the Global North. The development of the photographic portrait corresponds to the rise of the middle class in Western Europe, when for the first time, fairly large segments of population attained political and economic power (Freund 2004, 79). As Gisèle Freund (ibid.) describes: "By having one's portrait done an individual of the ascending classes could visually affirm his new social status both to himself and to the world at large." In addition to the rise of the social status, Picture 7 also symbolises the European Union, the transnational community of the EU youth policy where the commissioner is at the centre. If compared to the G8 or other high class international relations meeting pictures, here the background is visible and 'natural' – giving a youthful feeling to the picture. In addition, this kind of family portraits are also tools for participants' memories: by looking at this picture it is easier to remember who 'we' in the EUP were in the summer 2006.

In the poem I start off with my frustration with the timetables: I needed to plan four times a new timetable as the personal timetable of the commissioner changed. These changes shortened the time available for the working groups – that I (read, a planner of the meeting) valued much more. My attitude, too, becomes clear in the poem: was it really worth bringing the commissioner to the meeting if there was no real opportunity for dialogue between him and the other participants? As one of the informants stated:

The meetings like the EUP could act as channels for the people to bring up important issues and perspectives. But then, one should ensure that the decision makers would really take part, would bind themselves to the goals and truly listen to what people say in the meeting – seeing that it didn't happen here [in the EUP]. It was mostly a youth-discussion-club. Even though I think it is important to discuss things, I also think that in this level, we could benefit more from the events if the invited decision makers would honestly participate in the discussions and not only visit the event. (HEU5)

When agoras are viewed as political choreographies, the focus is on the movement. No matter if it is a social movement, a demonstration, a performance or a speech from the podium it is useful to analyse the movement from five perspectives. First, to ask who or whose bodies are moving and secondly where (i.e. geographical location), in what kind of space the movement happens. Thirdly the power of the movement is an important factor: how the people in the movement move, what is the impact, the reaction from the audience or the public. Fourthly come the relationships, and here the focus is on with whom is the movement happening. Finally comes the action itself: what is being moved, what is moving.

Jaana Parviainen (2008, 5 and 9) applies the term choreography to protest actions. She refers by choreography to

[... all activities and events in which movement appears as meaningful interactions and relations between various agents]. Choreography includes both a plan for the action, the action itself and all moving agents it draws together. [...] By choreographing movements and interactions between ourselves and other people in certain situations, we are capable of creating new dynamic relations in these environments.

31 Choreography is composed of the Greek words χορέω (circular dance) and γραφή (writing). [Footnote in the original version.]
On one hand, this perspective to political participation can be generalised to apply to a whole range of transnational political meetings. On the other, it can be used to focus on the specific micropolitical situations of a meeting. As in artistic performances, the choreography in transnational agoras can be strict (i.e. what happens is carefully planned beforehand, step by step) or allow participants’ own planned choreographies to make an invasion in some location of the event site, or allow improvisation. In addition, some unofficial counter-choreographies may appear unexpectedly.

Methodologically, when the transnational political meeting is analysed as a choreography, the focus is again on corporality, presence and the pre-discursive (especially vision, embodiment and emotions) as choreography is one perspective to the performance of the event. Pictures, videos as well as poems may be useful ways of presenting the information in the research report.

It seems that the choreography of the event is more set when there is a certain goal for the event. Still, the goal of the EUP stayed unclear for many of the participants which generated frustration. I was frustrated, too: the EU Presidency youth event is something each EU Presidency organises (i.e. you have the event as you have to have the event). The task of the working groups was to define ‘active young citizenships’ from different perspectives, but how it concretely turned out frustrated some of the participants:

The worst thing was that finally, all what we discussed in the working groups was watered down to EU jargon and the things youth had tried to say were lost for good. From my perspective, the frustration occurred especially because many participants had thought before the event few things they wanted to promote, and step by step these things disappeared. [...] The youth were underestimated in the event and our programme was too structured. (HEU1)
During the planning process of the event I proposed that we could leave 'an open space' to the working groups so that the participants could form a new working group if they found it necessary. This idea came from the way the WSFs are structured. The ministry refused.

The GYG also had clear goals set beforehand, but still the programme was discussed and set up partly during the event, when the participants saw how and where the process developed. The larger freedom to express subjective experiences is also visible in Pictures 8–10. In the GYG, the youth had elaborated different hand signs (agree, disagree, fast forward and don’t understand or technical question) that made the listener’s role much more active and responsive to the facilitators and speakers. This way the set choreography of the GYG event allowed larger freedom to the participants to express themselves – almost all the time.

PICTURES 8–10: (Left) Two ‘voting participants’ showing ‘fast forward’ sign. (Right) Participants showing ‘agree’ sign. (Below) Voting situation. (Photos: Raisa Kyllikki Ranta)
In the EUP the roles of the audience were minimised to listening and applauding (see the picture 11). Of course, in all of the cases the audience could ask questions. But especially in the EUP and in some of the session in the Social Forums, the sessions run out of time or there was too little time saved for general discussion (i.e. not everyone who wanted to speak could use the floor).

The chorographical setting inside the seminar rooms was very similar in the Social Forums and in the EUP: in the prototypical setting around three middle-aged, western and (mostly) male speakers occupied the front. Their voices were mostly heard during the session. The audience sat still and quiet.

Turning to participants’ own planned choreographies, especially in the Social Forums there is always space next to the seminar rooms where to set up a performance – as a drama play (see Picture 14). Singing, dancing, drumming and marching as well as acrobatics were other forms visible in the ‘open space’. Some of them might also have happened by ad-hoc improvisation, what is at least true for most of the demonstrations that circled around the stadium building in the WSF Nairobi (see Picture 15).
PICTURES 14 AND 15: (Left) participants’ own planned choreography (here, drama-play) at the WSF Nairobi. (Right) Improvised demonstration inside the WSF Nairobi event site (Photos: Raisa Kyllikki Ranta).

PICTURES 16 AND 17: (Left) Demonstration outside the entrance gates at the WSF Nairobi (Photo: Raisa Kyllikki Ranta). (Right) Hungry street-children getting food for free from an occupied restaurant at WSF Nairobi (Photo: Paulino Manezes).

PICTURES 18 AND 19: (Left) CIRCA clowns protecting the ESF Malmö demonstrators (Photo: Christian Leo). (Right) Finnish Minister of Education and Culture trying the beanie on at the EUP (Photo: Jorma Vainio)
Finally the *unofficial counter-choreographies* (see Pictures 16–19) that were handled as contestatory performative acts in Article 2 overtake the space and use it in a different form than the organisers planned. Demonstration to free entry as well as occupation of the Internal Security Minister John Michuki’s five star golf club restaurant – or the CIRCA clowns at the ESF Malmö mass demonstration, can be viewed as counter-choreographies that perform oppression and disturb the minds of the audiences. In the case of the EUP, in the strictest choreography, the beanies performed “all different – all equal” – an ideology which was minimised in the practices of the event.

As Jaana Parviainen (2008: 13–14) writes:

Activists and social choreographers are often sensitive to the moral dilemmas the rest of us ignore. They sometimes generate new ways of understanding the complexities of today’s society. By using public spaces, they help us articulate formless intuitions of which we are barely aware, bringing them into a new light in our everyday lives. Protesting choreographies create controversy, and controversy is important because it leads to the weighing and testing our values. [...] At a deeper level protest can inspire us all, even nonparticipants, to probe our intuitions and question our actions (Jasper 1997, 367). Single event can have a big effect on protest by arousing strong emotions, encapsulating hopes and desires, constructing interests, even defining new collective actors on the political stage.

Analysing a politically active moment from the choreographical perspective may give a fruitful new viewpoint to the transnational political meetings. Especially in the transnational setting the importance of embodied political argumentation needs to be better recognised as one type of argumentation in the political sphere.
5. Concluding and opening thoughts of the global generation acting on transnational spheres

The last time I met Finnish fair and alternative trade – and human rights – activist Jyrki Jaakkola was on the deck of Estelle sail cargo vessel in the ESF Malmö. We had a cup of coffee and exchanged thoughts on the Latin American small farmers’ life. Jaakkola was 31 at the time, planning his trip to Mexico, a trip whose mission he also describes in the video available on YouTube[32] – recorded just few weeks before his takeoff to Oaxaca:

I have a strong feeling, and everything seems to point to the direction, that to solve the climate change problem and other socio-economical problems there is a need for a big societal and cultural change. Different technical solutions do not really lead to any solution. They just move the problems from one place to another. Capitalism, which is based on continuous economical growth, is not sustainable. It got to be changed. In Europe, I cannot see much hope for the quick, radical societal change. But in Latin America and in Mexico the situation is bit different. There are social movements, from which I would like to learn something. Perhaps also bring their knowledge about the fact, that the actions for change are possible. That there really are different ways of living, the hope for other ways. Hope for a good life apart from capitalistic system.

[...]So, I want to be there [in Mexico], to learn about it. If by my own presence. I have a chance to prevent the violent moderation that would be the thing to do. Something like Paolo Freire said: “The real solidarity is, that you put yourself in to the same position with the ones that you are loyal with.” Which means for me, that somehow I got to put myself in to the game. Even though I will never end up to the same position as locals. I will have plane ticket back to Finland, and also this blond skin color which will work as some kind of protective coloring etc. Just to be there with local people, if it helps them. And to try to spread information about their struggle and their goals. I think that is the main reason, why I am leaving there.

[...]I feel like it is worth of going there. As I have connections to the political movements, who might really need that kind of presence and support. And that way I might have a possibility to be a real help for them. Not only for collecting own personal experiences or just travelling. After all, I feel that my mission is mostly here in Finland, in my own culture. To work for a cultural change here. Our solidarity cannot be so, that we concentrate on the changes that are taking place elsewhere, and letting our own society be as it is. After all, the biggest cause of the earth’s destruction is our own culture, and the global economy, which serves our needs and consuming habits, power structures and relationships, where we are the ones, who take all the benefit. So the struggling and rebuilding here, is the thing that I feel important. [...]Plain duplication is impossible, but some kind of inspiration and perhaps the hope of alternative world, can be brought from elsewhere. Which might be valuable and honorable.

---

[32] See the full video ‘Jyrki Jaakkola interview 01.02.2010’ from http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tMy7yTvFfNU [Accessed 5 May 2011]. To address his motivation as an example of the global generations’ political participation at transnational agoras is a way to cherish his lifework. Considering that his murder remains unsolved, reminding of this human rights violation is also a political and ethical choice of the author.
In this research summary article I have focused on the diversity of today’s young global generation’s political participation at the transnational political agora. To explain the diversity of these youth I made an outline by using the everyday-makers and expert citizens as one dimension and the cosmopolitan resources as the other. This framework also sheds light on the ‘contact zones’ between the participants having different amount of cosmopolitan resources and using different orientations. In addition, I have underlined the importance of using different kinds of research methods in order to capture and understand different orientations and strategies of political participation (at the events). I have interviewed Finnish youth who have a strong transnational political orientation. In addition, I have also done multi-sited global ethnography on three different continents to reach other kind of cosmopolitan or transnational political participation among the global generation. In the end it seems clear that the challenge lies in how this diversity could be turned to a common resource for the global cooperation.

Jyri Jaakkola like other cosmopolitan everyday-makers that I had the privilege to meet during this research project act as the change they want to see in the world. As Arto Lindholm and Pia Lundbom (2010, 188) describe, performativity, aesthetics, visibility and embodiment are increasingly taking place in the political social movements. And as I have shown, these strategies are used by the everyday-maker-youth in the transnational agora. What is important in their actions is that they produce plural ‘contact zones’ with a low threshold. They activate the spontaneous participation of the people, and in addition they gather publicity and media attention well (cf. Stranius 2010, 95).

In contrast, the expert citizens are well organised in official organisations and political systems. They have considerably more possibilities to influence administration and/or governance as well as legislation. The ‘contact zones’ the expert-citizens realize are spaces of those who think similarly, promote similar issues or have a similar education. The expert citizens are not that good in promoting loose networks – but new members are welcome. (Cf. Stranius 2010, 95.)

What Henrik Bang (2004) crystallizes of the challenging cooperation between expert citizens and everyday-makers is that

ECs [expert citizens] together with established elites from the parliamentary and corporatist arenas should appreciate EMs [everyday-makers] as not only a threat to their political and social autonomy and solidarity (the free riding problem), but also as a political capital which can be drawn upon to forge new, more viable and balanced relations of autonomy and dependence between political authorities and laypeople. (Bang 2004.)

In the transnational political events the expert citizens are mainly those who speak from the podium – and also those who ask questions in the seminar sessions. It is this logic that mainly works on the seminars and panels of these events. The spatiality and use of the event site and its surroundings is much stronger among the everyday-makers. This comes close to what Doreen Massey (1991, 1999) calls power geometry: how the different groups and individuals are located differently to the networks and global flows of information, meetings and objects. Here the researcher would benefit from looking at the spaces and movements on the events as political choreographies.

Focusing on young people’s political participation during a time that some of the leftist intellectuals call a civilisation crisis is highly important as these young people are involved in solving the intertwined crisis of economics, ecology and social affairs during the coming decades. What Jaakkola also mentions in the cited interview, these crises have mainly been
produced by traditions and ways of living promoted by the Global North, while the answers may be found from totally different traditions and ways of living. Therefore in this study I have methodologically questioned how a western researcher can try to reach towards information that has traditionally been left in the margins in the western academic social science.

In addition, the answers to the crises may also have a connection to the development of the social media that has in the most optimistic predictions been seen as a revolutionary global tool. Here the young generation beats the older as the social media is their way of living. The social media is changing the world politics and the young people are strong actors in this process (Article 3, see also Onodera 2009, Pleyers 2010 and Juris 2008). Global generation is largely forming the new global, decentralised and digital movements (Nilan & Feixa 2006, 10) – that may locate themselves concretely also to the transnational political events.

My aim in this research was to show how the diversity of the participants and the forms of political participation are forms of richness and resources for creativity, and as Majid Rahnema (2010, 140) states, at its best participation can act as recovery of one’s inner freedom. What could be an aim in cooperation with the global community (could we even extend the term development cooperation to include this perspective as well) is some kind of a shared cosmovision of the sustainable and peaceful living on this planet. This vision needs to include the statement of diversity as a resource. This vision also needs to notice that the actors of the global community are diverse in terms of their economic, social and cultural resources (Hellsten 2005). Jaakkola also mentions how the Global North is many times the stronger and privileged political power compared to the Global South. Therefore it would be fruitful for a number of reasons to turn the motivation of the Global North to listening and learning from the Global South.

The mainstream social science falls easily to mononational and monocultural way of practising research. The discipline is mainly done in the metropoles for the metropoles. Globally academic publishing is part of the neoliberal economics, where the big publishers compete with each other, and where the only global scientific language is English. To challenge the limits of social science and in an attempt to collect more wide and diverse information in order to reach the manifold understandings of the diverse fields and their diverse actors, I have adopted in this study kinaesthetic, aesthetic and moral cosmopolitan analysis methods and gazes (especially in Articles 2, 3 and 4). This comes close to Jaakkola’s citation on Freire, and if translated into the language of research methodology it would be something like: “put yourself in the same position with the ones you are researching”. As the research setting has been exploratory to a large extent, there has been a need to construct the setting and methodology on the way. For this reason the researcher becomes part of the method, and hence autobiography becomes an important medium (Heinze 2011).

The global research ethics or moral methodological cosmopolitanism, as I call it in Article 4, is a manifold acute question. Especially in the transnational research settings but more generally on ‘whatever cosmopolitan setting’ the researcher needs to be aware of intellectual or epistemological colonialism (see also Saarikoski 2010): how the local knowledge of the everyday-
makers is many times restrained to academic knowledge and know-how. And on the other hand: what kind of globalism our research project supports. In the way that Jaakkola thinks: Do we westerners only travel for hedonistic and individualistic reasons or do we think beforehand how to do our best for the planet when travelling? When do we travel to learn or to help?

The two-dimensional frame for this research summary article, where the everyday-makers and the expert citizens are divided into groups of those who have and those who lack cosmopolitan resources, is useful both as an analysing instrument and as an perspective to research practices. With the former I call forth “the ecology of recognition” (see Santos 2009, 197), i.e. a new articulation that allows mutual recognition that reaches beyond the sociology of absences. With the latter I underline the importance of looking at the researcher’s own everyday actions on the research field and also more generally in the academic world. This also sheds light on the practical choices each and every researcher makes in their everyday work — and what kind of cosmopolitanism these actions promote, support or restrain. Here I follow in Jaakkola’s footsteps and promote/motivate to make everyday-life changes also in the academic world and academic communities locally.

Limitations of the study
The polyphony of the sites, young people’s political participation and the methods used in this study may turn out a confusing soup with too many ingredients. For this reason I have found the article format a helpful working method because it forces the researcher to limit the length of an argument and narrow down the focus to support one strong statement. It is impossible to give a full picture of the youth political participation in transnational political agoras. I have conducted my multi-sited fieldwork in six events in which the number of the youth participants in total was around 150,000 (see Appendix 3). My four articles draw a narrow picture. Still I open up an entirely new perspective in each of the four articles, and here, in the research summary article, I build on these articles a more coherent and general view of the phenomenon.

Second, I criticise my “anti-conquest” perspective. With this term Mary Louise Pratt (1992, 7) refers to

> the strategies of representation whereby European bourgeois subjects seek to secure their innocence in the same moment as they assert European hegemony. [...] The main protagonist of the anti-conquest is a figure I sometimes call the “seeing-man,” an admittedly unfriendly label for the European male subject of European landscape discourse – he whose imperial eyes passively look out and possess.

To overcome becoming something like a “seeing-woman” I have firstly tried to make my research decisions explicit seeing that as one of the responsibilities of reflexive ethnography. Secondly, even though I am different I might have something in common with those who I study: insider and outsider may not be stable binary positions, but they rather form a continuum where positionalities change in time and space. (See Mattila 2011, 72–75.) In this study this means for example sensitivity to spatiality and power geometry (see also sub chapter 4.3).

Third, one could question whether it is even desirable to identify one model of youth participation for transnational political meetings when the events and their aims, participants and their missions are so different from each other. Well, this is what I have done, and while I might not do an identical research in the future, I do intend to utilize some of the framework, methods and perspective in the future studies of political participation in different (transna-
tional) political spheres. In a way, the study surprisingly shows micropolitical moments where the practices of the EUP and the WSF are not so different (e.g. see Pictures 12 and 13).

Fourth, the division to the everyday-maker and the expert citizen is a little bit misleading as one person can be part of both groups – even to use both orientations in the one and same transnational political event (see e.g. the page 5 where the GYG participants are planting the trees). In addition, the everyday-makers are also experts – experts of their everyday-life, experts of their way of living, experts of their local communities. Why I still find this dichotomy useful, is because it helps to articulate the different orientations behind the different types of knowledges and political actions (that many times actualise themselves in different political spheres, although not necessarily).

Last and most self-reflectively, the limitation of this study is also the fact that I did it by myself, i.e. this was a single researcher project. For example, choosing the sites was based on both the possibilities to access and participate as a researcher in the events and more personal reasons (e.g. when it was possible to travel depending on available funding, family issues etc.). This final outcome (i.e. research report) would look different if this research project had been a team effort.

Shortly to evaluate in a more general level, this research has been an important learning process for the author. I would even call it personal self-development – as a researcher and as a world citizen. Therefore, when looking back, I see how my ‘path-become-road’ (Bishop & Phillips 2007, 266), how one thing lead to another. As the perspective in this study has not been much studied, the research design has been exploratory to a large extent. Earl Babbie (2010, 89) states that the exploratory studies are “almost always valuable as they yield new insights into a topic for research”. But what he found to be the weakness of these studies is that they seldom provide satisfactory answers to research questions as such (Babbie ibid.).

5.1 Four Concluding Theses

I close my study with four theses that I introduced in the introductory part of the research:

1. Youth research needs to be more conscious of its global responsibility
   The UN’s year of youth started in August 2010. It is not a surprise that the UN has woken to address the demographic global situation with this special year dedicated to youth issues. Still, the youth unit in the UN is relatively small with less than ten permanent workers. Much more needs to be done with the youth for the youth on transnational level and in the global institutions. At least, the social age (Clark-Kazak 2009) must be taken into account in development programming. Like Clark-Kazak (ibid., 1310–1311) describes, ‘social age’ and ‘generation’ may be used as synonymous if the perspective is on the social meanings and roles “ascribed to different stages in the human life cycle”. In addition, the concept of social age also underlines the importance of investigating the intra- and inter-generational relationships.

---

34 My profession as an EU Meeting coordinator gave an access to the EU Presidency Youth Event where otherwise would be very difficult to get a research access. The Social Forums are open for the researchers to participate and analyse. For the GYG I applied research permission from the organizers.
35 See also Kuusisto (2011) who has developed her mixed method during the research process.
As during the nation-building period the building project needed research knowledge, now at the global age the EU as well as the UN would need methodological cosmopolitanism: researches that would shed light on the international connections of a local phenomena multidisciplinarily, multmethodologically, polyphonically and multilocationally across the national borders. Here the researcher is also demanded to take the full advantage of the digital ethnography (see Article 3) and develop other methods as well to reach the global connections and global societies without moving around the globe himself/herself. In the future, the diverse co-operation of the youth researchers located in the Global South and in the Global North is a necessity, and we need to start elaborating this trend right away. This would also yield important knowledge for the elaboration of the global generation concept.

Hopefully from now on the Finnish youth research as a good practice assigns more global responsibility to its research projects. To reach to the methodological cosmopolitanism, there is a demand to understand the global in the local and vice versa. Our methods, disciplines, roles and data is required to twist towards the global perspective as our understanding of the world affects our understanding of academic knowledge. In the future, the North-South relationship needs to be investigated in the multidisciplinary and multimethodological research settings. The aspects what Connell (2007, 232) has emphasised more generally about social science needs to be applied to youth research: we need to put an effort on methods for cooperative intellectual work across regions and across traditions of thought (see also Levamo et al. 2010).

2. Today’s global youth are important actors of today and the future
The youth I had the opportunity and privilege to meet, follow, observe and interview during my multi-sited field work, are already actors and might become key-actors in transnational politics during our times. Their missions have divergences but also similarities. At least they all find it useful, fruitful, educative and even moral to act in the transnational political spheres. For very few the mission is to concretely go and help the people on the other side of the world who need help, as Jaakkola describes in YouTube as one important reason behind his mission.

One of the young participants of the WSF Belém, Marion Brulport, reflected her forum...
experience after the event: "I had the impression that the participants had made the journey to promote their cause, to gather new ideas and to draw the courage and hope needed to continue their 'fight.'" This seems to apply to the transnational political events and youth participation in them on a more general level: to build courage, knowledge and to network are already reasons to travel.

The socio-economical and environmental crisis needs to find the solution during the coming decades that are also the decades of the youth: as the Finnish Development Policy Committee's report (KPT 2011, 4) states the global demographic peak of the youth will be achieved during the next ten years. What I found interesting in this declaration is that even though the committee highlights the global youth they do not say anything about their active political participation. Building new jobs for the youth is stated as the most important thing. In contrast the European Commission's Joint Research Centre CRELL's (Centre for Research on Life Long Learning) main focus is on the active citizenship and youth civic competence. For instance, the description on its webpage39 says:

Democracy in Europe is not a foregone conclusion. To assure that it flourishes, democracy requires active citizens who participate in civil society, community and political life and hold governments accountable for their actions. To develop active citizens individuals need to learn a certain set of values, attitudes combined with knowledge and skills.

To criticize the quotation, it sounds that the elder generation who has built the EU would like to assimilate the junior Europeans to that Europe and to those European values the elders see correct, decent and right. But is this the same image that the young people see and try to create in practice? And what would this picture look like on a world scale? The instruments for raising young active global citizens are in a much weaker position, which is not only a negative thing: at least the elder generations do not shape the global citizenship path for the younger as much as is the case with the EU citizenship.

Young people's political participation may take a form of influencing attempts, direct decision making or political discussion. The political participation may also serve as a self-development and/or subjective legitimacy. (See also Teorell 2006.) The political participation of the young people in the transnational political spheres is a necessity already from the generational perspective (e.g. equal protection of interests).

Also in the transnational political spheres the 'individualisation' of the global generation means that they may have fewer options but are highly reflexive towards the social situations they presently live (see also Nilan & Feixa 2006, 7). This reflexivity may actualize itself in the different forms of resistance that aim to challenge the conservative ideas of elder generations. As shown in this study, the young people are many times more eager to use diverse forms of political participation in the transnational events. They are the ones who initiate the contestatory performative acts on the site or on its borders. They are also the ones who know the best how to use the social media for political purposes as an effective tool. In a more general level, young people are many times more critical towards the practices or the contents of the events.

39 See the site at http://active-citizenship.jrc.it/ [Accessed 5 May 2011].
3. Politics on global agoras needs to be further investigated

It is surprising that even though the world is full of inter- and transnational gatherings, these spheres have not been too much in the research focus. The wide range of research on the WSF is an exception in this field. From this wide spectrum of researches very few have focused on young people’s political participation. What this research didn’t reach, is the follow-up how the political processes (the EUP, the GYG and the WSF) develop or change. Is the critique changing the practices of the event and boosting the democratisation of the structures and action? For this reason it would be important to have a long-term evaluation available on the event processes and on their different functions and perspectives in the future. On the other hand, the data of the study sheds light on the fact that the transnational agoras many times lack continuity. Therefore it is not that clear whether there really appears a process, at least from the participant’s point of view.

When doing research on transnational political meetings the event site becomes crucial in many different ways. And if the focus is on the young people as a social age, it becomes important to notice how many times those who decide the location of the event and do the divisions of the space are ‘the real’ adults (Article 1). Some spaces inside the transnational meeting may be exclusive for the young people. In addition, young people may want to co-create new spaces with or without the adults. (See also Mannion 2010, 333.) At their best, these events teach “collectivity, joint responsibility, equality, multiculturality and internationality, healthy lifestyle, and respect for environment and life” that the Finnish Youth Act as well as the European Commission, Youth sector calls for.

Another power geometry (Massey 1991, 1999) perspective arises when the focus is on the boundaries and different territories of the event sites and on what happens outside these borders (see e.g. Article 2, 404–411). The agoras themselves might be made up of several sub-territories where different types of participants may have different rights to access different sub-territories. At the same time, the organizers of the agora may wish, help or even demand certain people to occupy certain territories. This is self-evident in the case of the Youth Camp of the WSF (see Article 3). In the case of the EUP the majority of the youth participants couldn’t receive any other role in the conference than the ‘ordinary young’ (see Article 1). The aim of constructing democratic world (or the EU) has not been accompanied by sufficient attention to constructing democratic social relations within the WSF or the EUP itself (see also Teivainen 2007a, 79).

Therefore, the researcher is encouraged to keep an eye on how the agora is structured, what kinds of participants have access to different sites and what are the roles of the different actors in the different spheres. And are some of the actors contesting the set order (see Article 2).

In the future, the learning experience of the participants could stand out as a justifiable perspective and focus of study. Like Giuseppe Caruso documents in his research on the WSF, some of the active participants have defined the WSF as a university of, or a living laboratory for, global citizenship (Caruso 2007, 150, 130). If the transnational meetings have a schooling function for the participants, it is required to be thoroughly thought out what kind of lessons these meetings give to the participants. In addition to networking, fostering knowledge and courage, these meetings ideally assure the variation of roles to young people and give them opportunities to take part in a series of events where equal dialogue with other participants is possible (see also Article 1, 208).
4. Performative social science is an important path to micropolitical analysis
In this research I have encouraged researchers to reach for the alternative logics of knowledge other than the written and spoken ones. In Articles 2 and 3 I focus on performances, corporeality, presence and pre-discursive politics (especially vision, embodiment and emotions). In order to reach this kind of understanding I have seen it necessary also to use my own (here, researcher’s) bodily techniques, styles and locations to understand and gain knowledge on these different types of political statements. In addition to researcher’s own embodied experiences, photos and videos are a useful source to performative social science.

A movement – no matter if it is a social movement, a demonstration, a performance or a speech from the podium – is useful to analyse from a plurality of dimensions and perspectives. Movement first moves in reality, and later it might place itself on a social media site to form a global movement, in order to inspire people across the planet to move similarly and to raise political issues in other people’s local surroundings. Here the researcher needs to embody himself/herself, use methods like kinaesthetic empathy or mirroring, in order to understand the motivation behind the actions.

Sometimes the aesthetics is difficult to separate from the ethics as is the case in the contestatory performative acts that are important in the fight against superficial politics, where the politics of disturbance stands in an opposition for deeper aesthetics/ethics, contesting the ruling order and making its limits visible to the participants. The use of video and pictures among the text in the research reports gives evidence to the readers of the heterogeneous orientation that takes place in the transnational political fields.

Connell (2007, xii) has stated that only written text allows sustained argument and systematic critique. However, we also need to think what information is left outside if no other forms of representation are allowed to the research reports. I state, that the research topic and the field should give a form to the research and to the research report itself, so that the final academic production performs the whole research. By using the methods of performative social science, the research may reach new information, and from there it is possible to extend the borders of customary ways of thinking.

Micropolitics are ubiquitous. They appear by relational techniques of the self – many times performative – choreographed mixture of image, word, gesture, sound, rhythm, smell, and touch (Connell 2002, 20) at some crucial moments. The importance of micropolitics is threefold for Connolly. First, because they play a critical role below the threshold of political visibility. Second, because they are underappreciated by intellectuals “entranced by unlayered images of thinking, thin conceptions of culture, and deliberative conceptions of democracy” (ibid., 21). Third,

because those who do address them often join a thick image of culture to a mandatory vision of national or civilizational unity inimical to the diversity needed during a time when the pace of life has accelerated and territorial distance has become compressed. (Connell 2002, 21.)

When young people participate as actors in radical social movements (such as the Free Hugs Campaign analysed in Article 3) – or when they organize a contestatory performative act – they do these demonstrations to generate affective solidarity, to make hidden conflicts visible, and to challenge the dominant meanings (Juris 2008, 289; Articles 2 and 3). At its best a performative act weighs and tests our values and creates new dynamic relations in the political spheres. What is more, the everyday-makers “continue to express their utopian political imaginaries through ongoing organizational and technological experimentation” (Juris 2008, 289), like
the Free Hugs videos in YouTube do (see Article 3). In the case of contestatory performative acts the impact and the influence is visible during or right after the action – whether it succeeded or not (Article 2). In this kind of cosmopolitan micropolitics it is highly important that the resistance is a choice of the resisters who also decide the sites, time, strategies, tactics and techniques of resistance (Campbell 2008, 301). To conclude with the words of David Campbell (ibid., 301–302):

What is not a choice is the requirement of resistance once the abundance of life, and its affirmation contra sovereignty and strategies of governmentality, are recognized. It is a political bond which might offer a more productive predicate for humanitarianism than any of the other codes, norms, or values currently in circulation. Therefore it is a political bond that might be the beginning for more creative practices about how we can be with others in a period of global tempo.

What Carles Feixa and Pam Nilan (2006, 206) correctly remark: “youth transnationalism is a double-edged sword” as also terrorist groups organise international networks, and are connected through digital technologies that play a very different “social drama” and construct exclusive global identities. These (semi-)clandestine groups are not carnivalesque, but rather monotonic in their thoughts and styles. These phenomena lead to ask how to study unmoral cosmopolitanism? Would something like ‘kinaesthetic antipathy’ be possible when following with multi-sited ethnography young members of cosmopolitan terrorist groups?

In this study I have looked at the methodological cosmopolitanism from the moral cosmopolitan point of view, stated that it is also the researcher’s responsibility to contribute to the common humanity, and widen the perspective across the national borders. Here the researcher is also required to think how his/her everyday practices could increasingly support a moral cosmopolitan way of living. From this perspective the short-term ‘kinaesthetic antipathy’ on the field (e.g. while conducting the study among the young terrorists) may be appropriate if the results of the study may contribute to the common humanity in the long run. Still, what comes to the micropolitics of ethnographic field work, each incident should be separately reflected. And to make precise interpretations of events in the microworld one needs to call upon the extended context, the larger institutional framework in which the dialogue and the actions take place (see also Scheff 1990, 183).

5.2 EMERGING QUESTIONS AND FUTURE RESEARCH

The era of agoras has made a global comeback. Tens of thousands of people gather to a common location for political participation on different continents: Wall Street in New York, US; Tahrir Square in Cairo, Egypt; masses demonstrate in London, England; Athens, Greece; Madrid, Barcelona and Valencia, Spain. The biggest generation at the agoras is many times the global generation, frustrated of the growing inequality and uncertainty of their future prospects. The occupations are fast but the political changes are slow, and this contradiction leads one to ask: what happens after occupying. Something that easily happens can be called patronising when the relationship between the global generation and its elders is far from neutral. If dominant actors would listen to young people more carefully and open-mindedly the democracy would grow stronger. In the future studies the practical relationships of the adults and young people should be more systematically studied. Furthermore, when the agora has settled the expert
citizens may patronise the everyday-makers — and men overtake women. For these reasons the question of who will represent ‘the ordinary young people’ is crucial.

In addition to the practical knowledge of the micropolitics at the agoras and their surroundings, there needs to be methodological studies of research techniques. This statement I made clear in the previous subchapter. Where I want to close this study is the emancipatory approach toward scientific knowledge because it is a highly relevant approach when there is a demand to change the current situation. Here the task of the research is to uncover the present social structures and hierarchies that might lead to structural changes. From this perspective of emancipatory interest there opens up several different questions for the future studies that I briefly want to bring up.

First, during this research, the questions related to politics as freedom have been central. In one of his most well-known books Amartya Sen studies development as freedom (1999). My data supports Sen’s argument that different kinds of freedoms are tied together. The young people I have studied have political freedom (i.e. opportunities of political dialogue, dissent and critique as well as in some of the cases the voting rights in the conferences) but many of them also have economic facilities (i.e. freedom to travel abroad with their own money or reimbursement of the organisers/ other supporter) and social opportunities (i.e. they know how to read and speak different languages, they have studied international relations, they know the right people or they are active in the networks or organisations who can support their participation). This all points to the direction that there is still work to be done for the future studies on politics as freedom and emancipation.

Second, the “basic level” of freedom to Sen (2001 [1999], 56) is “to lead the life one has reason to value”. Sen also seems to look at this level as an ideal development goal for each individual on this planet. In addition, everyone has to recognise that others have the same rights as well as human rights and everyone has to use environment sustainably to reach the “life one has reason to value”. This kind of “basic level” of freedom is very challenging to research as it is different for every person. It goes hand in hand with the difficulty to analyse the ‘satisfactory’ level of political participation. Still there is a demand for understanding these ‘levels’ better in the future.

Third, in the light of critical realism, it seems that in order to be satisfactory, the political participation of an expert citizen or an everyday-maker should include emancipation. Critical realism has been mentioned as a new approach to international relations studies that locates agency, and the knowledge upon which such agency is based, in this world not another (Patomioki & Wight 2000). From here rise my questions on how to adapt the concepts of freedom and emancipation in future research, and how to study this relationship from the critical realism point of view at the transnational agoras.

To quote Roy Bhaskar (1986, 170-171), emancipation is a special qualitative kind of becoming free or liberation, and:

For to be free is:

(1) to know one’s real interests;

(2) to possess both (a) the ability and the resources, i.e. generically the power, and (b) the opportunity to act in (or towards) them; and

(3) to be disposed to do so.

---

40 Here I simply apply Habermas’ (2005) three knowledge-constitutive interests: technical, practical and emancipatory interest.
Fourth, in reference to the quotation above, the young individuals acting on transnational agoras know their interests, have the resources and opportunity to act in them and experience that they are disposed to do so. For Bhaskar (ibid., 171) emancipation depends on the transformation of structures. Critical realism situates a critical moment at the heart of analysis, “a moment that depends at once upon values being factually explained and facts being subject of evaluation” as Patomäki and Wight (2000, 234) write. This leads one to ask: how does a critical and emancipatory moment change social structures?

For example, when the Free Hugs Campaign landed itself to the WSF Belém it was a political act to enforce social connectivity and human contact as a counterforce to the social crisis. The participants of the WSFs can easily spend hours and hours of the day time in the seminar rooms just sitting still and quiet, just listening to what the people on the podium want to tell them about the crisis. The timing for the hugging action right after the long seminar day was excellent and worked as a counter force to the lack of human contact. Here the social movement succeeded to perform the lacking emotions in their demonstration (see also Eyerman 2005, 46). As the hugging happened in the WSF Belém full of different forms of criticism of the free trade and free global movement of goods, the hugging action can also be seen as a counter force: free movements of bodies (here hugs). Free hugs can be looked at as an emancipatory moment, as an example of the ‘pleasure of being’ as well as a way of forming new communities – and therefore it has connections to what Majid Rahnema has written:

The Economic Age, like all its predecessors, is not an eternal state. The deep crises it is traversing in all its fields of activity and, above all, the threats it is now posing to the very existence of our planet, are already preparing for the coming of new age. The flourishing of other, higher forms of convivial poverty may then appear as the last hope for creating different societies based on the joys of ‘more being’, rather than the obsession of ‘more having’. (Rahnema 2010, 190)

To conclude, emancipation equals to joys of ‘more being’. And I personally hope to be able to follow this kind of social change actors across the globe in my future studies. Crucial questions for this kind of work include: who hears the voice of the radical social movements? Who understands their argument, their message? What effect do their political actions have in the long run? Do they have an effect to the macropolitics?

Concluding remark: Leading a life one has reason to value
This dissertation is my contribution to the discussion on global youth activism. At the agoras young people influence policy makers, take part in person in the decision-making processes and political discussion. Through this study I hope to stimulate debate on how democratic the agoras are. To be democratic, the agoras should celebrate the diversity and use it as a common resource. In addition, much more attention should be given to similarities of human beings. Here the movements as well as vitality are crucial characteristics in the search for interconnectedness of the common humanity. A common walk, run or a hug may be a right path to take in order to achieve a mutual understanding. Too structured dialogue that has been set beforehand reduces the possibilities for the ‘contact zones’ to appear.

Practice is important for both everyday and theoretical mastery. What the agoras need is the acts of learning together, where the participants would actively look for alternatives and critically reflect upon those western-style improvements that have already created unequal relations of power in the global system. Performances are one possibility to learn responsibility, to
learn from the grass-roots. Peaceful demonstrations have a strong potential generate ‘contact zones’ as different kinds of embodied techniques are actively present.

In the context of the young people’s political participation in transnational agoras this would mean that the agora supports each participant’s freedom to follow their inner flow. Some value the expert-citizenship, another wants to act as an everyday-maker – the challenge is to get these two orientations to work together, side by side. In the best scenario, these orientations will support one another, and from there the shaping of a radically new version of modernity where the basis is the richness of our diversity and where the similarities of our common humanity could prosper.

[...] In the direction we’d come from the land was covered with trees between six and seven metres high. I recalled what it looked like in 1913: a wilderness.[...] Peaceful and regular work, a frugal way of life, the bracing air of the uplands, and above all his tranquility of mind – all these had given the old man an almost awesome good health. He was an athlete of God. I wondered how many more hectares he was going to cover with trees. Before we left, my friend [i.e. the senior forest warden] briefly and simply suggested that certain other trees might be very suitable for this terrain, though he didn’t press the point. “After all, he’s wiser than I am,” he said. Then, after my friend and I had walked on for about an hour, he added: “He’s the wisest man in the world! He’s discovered a perfect recipe for happiness!” [...]  

Gionno, Jean (orig. 1954) The Man Who Planted Trees
References


Gieser, Thorsten (2008) Embodiment, emotion and empathy. A phenomenological approach to apprentice-
[Accessed 17 Jan 2011]
Habermas, Jürgen (2005) Knowledge and Human Interests: A General Perspective. In Jean-Christophe Ag-
about national loyalty (English abstract). In Sami Myllyniemi (ed.) Puolustuskannalla. Nuorisobarometri
2010. (Youth Barometer 2010.) Helsinki: The Finnish Youth Research Network/ The Finnish Youth Re-
search Society, publications 107 & Nuora, publications 43, 262. (Full article in Finnish pp. 158–168.)
hood of Somali Youngsters in Finland.) Helsinki: The Finnish Youth Research Network/ The Finnish
Youth Research Society, publications 41.
Heinze, Carsten (2011) “The Private Is Becoming Political”—Interdisciplinary Perspectives on Autobio-
graphical Writing in the Horizon of the Culture of Remembering and Contemporary History. Forum
Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research 12(2): Art. 9, http://www.qualitative-
Castren Yndigegen & Kari Paakkunainen (toim.) Internet, Interaction and Networking. Post-National Identities of Youth in Cities around the Baltic Sea. The Finnish Youth Research Network/ The
Finnish Youth Research Society, publications 58 & Aleksanteri Papers 3.
– Young People’s Individualized Relation to Politics. Paper presented at ESA RC Youth and Generation,
Glasgow, September 5.
Young, 13(3), 285–312.
girls. Youth Work, Multiculturalism and Gender Equality.) Helsinki: The Finnish Youth Research Network/
(Young Men’s Multicultural Life Course and Criminality.) Helsinki: National Research Institute of Legal
Policy, publications 232 & The Finnish Youth Research Network/ The Finnish Youth Research Society,
publications 80.
Ingold, Tim & Vergunst, Jo Lee (eds.) Ways of Walking. Ethnography and Practice on Foot. Aldershot:
Ashgate.
worldpop.php [Accessed 4 Apr 2011]
(Walking interview as a case study method.) Soziologia 47(4), 255–269.
University.


Menstrum, Francine (2011) The civilization crisis explained to my leftwing friends in Western Europe. Published via worldsocialforum-discuss@openspaceforum.net -email list 23° of March 2011.


Soysal, Yasemin Nuhoglu (1994) *Limits of citizenship. Migrants and postnational membership in Europe*. Chi-
cago: University of Chicago Press.


When the original source is in Finnish, the English name given in parenthesis is without quotation marks if the name is originally translated into English. The quotation marks are used when the translation is made by the author.
Appendix 1. Data and analysis

In all the cases I am applying ethnography (i.e. in total this is a multi-sited ethnography) in order to deepen the understanding of these processes and their meanings with regard to their political surroundings.

In today's increasingly widespread technological society, all six meetings were naturally preceded by communication in electronic form; in other words, the exchange of ideas takes place via the Internet and e-mails. These gave me an opportunity to prepare the fieldwork.

During the events I conducted participant observation and interviewed the young people acting on the field. Furthermore, in order to create an understanding of the processes it was sometimes also necessary to interview adults working in the field or involved in creating its structure and/or content.

Afterwards, i.e. after returning to my office from the meeting venue sites, I continued the research by following from the e-mail-lists and media (both electronic and newspapers; alternative and mainstream). In addition I conducted interviews face-to-face as well as via e-mail. I transcribed the face-to-face interviews¹, and placed them as well as the e-mail-interview answers to Atlas.ti qualitative data analysis software. I made 107 codes (where the biggest number grounded was 21) to the 32 primary documents. In addition I have done numerous word-searches to this data (e.g. slum, alternative, ordinary). Then, while reading the quotations marked with the same code, I have looked for similarities and differences; exceptions and shared features – and from there tried to give a coherent picture of the issue under study.

The interviews are just a fraction of my overall data, i.e. from the data used in the research summary article and in the four other articles. I state that I have mainly used the interviews as part of the overall data. By focusing on a certain phenomenon from the field, and searching at the same time from the different forms of the data how and where the phenomenon occurs (e.g. how the informants speak about it, how the media writes about it, how I documented it etc.) my aim is to give a thick description (Geertz 1973) of the specific cosmopolitan micropolitical episode of the entire transnational political meetings. The selected situations have also to do with memory. These moments moved me as a participatory observer, media was interested in these situations, other researchers have also mentioned some of these situations, and participants spontaneously spoke and/or wrote their memories related to these moments afterwards. For Arendt (2006[1961], 53) freedom exists “in events which are talked about, remembered, and turned into stories before they are finally incorporated into the great storybook of human history”.

In the following I have outlined the different data types from the different events. The WSF is an exception where I have listed all the three events under the same column as in this process it is sometimes hard to draw a line where one meeting ends and another one starts. For example, the speculation and politics of where the next forum should be held starts right away when the prevailing event ends. Furthermore, in the interviews the informants reflect upon their experiences from multiple forums.

¹ I also used external help for making the transcripts.
EU Presidency Youth Event, Finland 2006 (the EUP)

- observation and notes (also from the planning process)
- video recordings (9 h)
- tape recordings (also from the planning process) (13 h)
- photos (by professional photographer Jorma Vainio)
- documents (also from the planning process)
- web page: www.citizenships.fi
- newspaper articles and some fill-in questionnaires made by young journalists
- questionnaire (see Appendix 5)

After the meeting:
- interviews of the participants (6 face-to-face, 2 by email)
- following the process from the web pages, documents and by interviewing people involved
- 2 Personal communications:
  - 16 May 2007 Jarkko Lehikoinen, Finnish National Youth Council, Head of International Affairs

Transcribed:
HEU1 = Finnish participant of the Hyvinkää meeting, female, 22 (email interview)
HEU2 = Finnish participant of the Hyvinkää meeting, female, 26 (email interview)
HEU3 = Finnish participant of the Hyvinkää meeting, male, 26
HEU4 = Finnish participant of the Hyvinkää meeting, female, 24
HEU5 = Finnish participant of the Hyvinkää meeting, female, 26
YFJ6 = Austrian participant of the Hyvinkää meeting, female, 26, Representative of the European Youth Forum
YFJ7 = Finnish participant of the Hyvinkää meeting, member of the steering committee of the meeting, male, 24, Representative of the European Youth Forum
YFJ11 = Finnish participant of the Hyvinkää meeting, member of the steering committee of the meeting, male, 27, Representative of the European Youth Forum

Global Young Greens Founding Conference, Nairobi 2007 (the GYG)

- observation and notes
- video recordings (4,5 h)
- tape recordings (2,5 h)
- photos (by professional photographer Raisa Kylikki Ranta)
- documents (also from the planning process)
- web page: http://www.globalyounggreens.org/
- e-mail list
- interviews of the participants
Transcribed:
GYG1 = Finnish participant of the Global Young Greens Founding Conference, male, 30
GYG2 = Finnish participant of the Global Young Greens Founding Conference, female, 19
GYG3 = Finnish participant of the Global Young Greens Founding Conference, female, 19
GYG4 = Ethiopian participant of the Global Young Greens Founding Conference, male, 16
GYG5 = Kenyan participant of the Global Young Greens Founding Conference, female, 23

After the meeting:
• following the process from the web pages, e-mail-lists and documents

WORLD SOCIAL FORUMS (BAMAKO 2006, NAIROBI 2007 AND BELEM 2009)

• observation and notes
• video recordings (2h from the WSF Bamako, 5h from the WSF Nairobi, 6h from the WSF Belém)
• tape recordings from the field (other than interviews 6,5 h)
• photos (by a professional photographer and some by me)
• documents
• interviews of the participants
• e-mail lists (volunteers of wsf, social-forum-list, nigd-list etc.)
• Terraviva newspapers from the all three events (The independent newspaper of the WSF)
• other newspaper documents

After the meeting:
• interviews of the participants
• following the process from the web pages, e-mail-lists, documents and by interviewing people involved

Transcribed interviews (some offsite, some afterwards):
• WNA1 = Finnish participant of the World Social Forum Nairobi 2007, male, 26 (email interview)
• WNA2 = Finnish participant of the World Social Forum Nairobi 2007, male, 27
• WNA3 = Finnish participant of the World Social Forum Nairobi 2007, female, 29
• WNA4 = Finnish participant of the World Social Forum Nairobi 2007, female, 29
• WNA5 = Finnish participant of the World Social Forum Nairobi 2007, female, 29
• WNA6 = Kenyan participant of the World Social Forum Nairobi 2007, female, 26
• WNA7 = Kenyan participant of the World Social Forum Nairobi 2007, female, 23
• WBE1 = Finnish participant of the World Social Forum Belém 2009, male, 27
• WBE2 = Group of four Scandinavian youth interviewed in the World Social Forum Belém 2009, females and a male, aged between 22 to 29.
• WBE3 = Brazilian participant of the World Social Forum Belém 2009, male, 28
European Social Forum (Malmö 2008)

- observation and notes
- video recordings (2 h)
- tape recordings (1 h)
- photos (by a professional photographer and some by me)
- documents
- web pages
- interviews of the participants (1 transcripted)
- e-mail lists
- newspapers

After the meeting:
- following the process from the web pages and e-mail-lists

Additional interviews and other tape recordings (transcripted)
Transcribed and interviewed by Anu Gretschel:
- EYP8 = Finnish, participated in several international sessions of the European Youth Parliament on the years 2005–2007, male, 19
- EYP9 = Finnish, participated in one international session of the European Youth Parliament, female, 22
- EYP10 = Finnish, participated in several international sessions of the European Youth Parliament on the years 2005–2007, male, 23
Appendix 2. Timeline

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>EU Meeting coordinator</td>
<td>Researcher</td>
<td>Maternity leave</td>
<td>Researcher</td>
<td>Researcher</td>
<td>Researcher</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- Oct 2005 - Jul 2006: EU Meeting coordinator
- Aug 2006 - Jul 2007: Researcher
- Aug 2007 - Jul 2008: Maternity leave
- Aug 2008 - Jul 2009: Researcher
- Aug 2009 - Jul 2010: Researcher
- Aug 2010 - Jul 2011: Researcher

Diagram:
- Article 1 is accepted
- Article 2 is accepted
- Article 3 is accepted
- Article 4 to referee-process

Events:
- the WSF Bamako
- the WSF Nairobi
- Young Active Citizenships EU Meeting
- Global Young Greens Founding Conference
- the EUP
- the GYG
- the ESF Malmö
- the WSF Belém
Appendix 3. Statistics and outline of the studied events

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Event</th>
<th>Dates</th>
<th>Number of participants (total estimation)</th>
<th>Youth</th>
<th>Number of youth participants</th>
<th>Articles where used as a data</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>WSF Bamako</td>
<td>19–23 January 2006</td>
<td>40,000</td>
<td>No official age limits</td>
<td>No official estimation, 24,000 my own</td>
<td>(Article 3) (Article 4)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>EUP Hyvinkää</td>
<td>1–4 July 2006</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>Officially recommended for those under 26 but 21 youth participants out of 70 were over 25 (the oldest was 35)</td>
<td>61 official youth delegates and 23 other youths, in total 84</td>
<td>Article 1 Article 2 Article 4 RS 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>GYG Nairobi</td>
<td>16–20 January 2007</td>
<td>156</td>
<td>Under 35. Those who were older didn’t have voting rights.</td>
<td>133</td>
<td>Article 4 RS 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WSF Nairobi</td>
<td>20–25 January 2007</td>
<td>66,000</td>
<td>No official age limits</td>
<td>No official estimation, 40,000 my own</td>
<td>Article 2 (Article 3) (Article 4) RS 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ESF Malmö</td>
<td>17–21 September 2008</td>
<td>10,000</td>
<td>No official age limits</td>
<td>No official estimation, 6,000 my own</td>
<td>Article 2 RS 4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WSF Belém</td>
<td>27 January – 1 February 2009</td>
<td>150,000</td>
<td>No official age limits</td>
<td>91,500 (61 %)³</td>
<td>Article 2 Article 3 Article 4 RS 4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

1 This group includes assistants, organizers, UN youth delegates and working group chairs from the YFJ.
2 Source to all statistics: GYG 2007.
3 Source: IBASE survey (2009) where the youth were 14–34 years old.

Markings (Article 3) and (Article 4) are used to show how earlier fieldwork in the WSFs has contributed to my understanding of the WSF process. RS equals research summary article.

The EU Presidency Youth Event (the EUP)
Since 2000 each EU presidency has organized a youth event, which has served as a political discussion space where current EU Youth Policy topics could be discussed with young people. The interaction between the EU and young people is assumed to happen in the form of structured dialogue, and the EU Presidency youth event is also named an existing instrument for it. The Finnish EU Presidency youth event was organised in the city of Hyvinkää in 2006. In every youth event there has been approximately 70 to 200 young participants representing the different EU member states, acceding countries, EFTA countries and some other countries (e.g.
Russian Federation). The funding for the meeting comes from the European Commission and EU Presidency's Ministry responsible for youth policy. Typically every country has organized the event in their own way but in a dialogue with the European Commission.

In the year 2009 the role and function of the EU Youth Conferences was strengthened as it was raised as an important element of the structured dialogue by the Council of the European Union in the Resolution on a renewed framework for European cooperation in the youth field (2010–2018). For the duration of the 18 month Team Presidency (1 July 2011 – 31 December 2012), the Team Presidency of Poland, Denmark and Cyprus in cooperation with the European Commission and the European Youth Forum made a common decision to implement the structured dialogue on the theme of youth participation in democratic life in Europe with a chosen specific focus area for each of the three presidencies: the second 18 month cycle of structured dialogue with young people. (http://ec.europa.eu/youth/youth-policies/structured-dialogue_en.htm)

The World Social Forum (the WSF)
The WSF is an open meeting place where social movements, networks, NGOs and other civil society organizations opposed to neo-liberalism and a world dominated by capital or by any form of imperialism come together to pursue their thinking, to debate ideas democratically, to formulate proposals, to share their experiences freely and to network for effective action. Since the first world encounter in 2001, it has taken the form of a permanent world process seeking and building alternatives to neo-liberal policies. This definition is in its Charter of Principles, the WSF’s guiding document.

The World Social Forum is also characterized by plurality and diversity, is non-confessional, non-governmental and non-party. It proposes to facilitate decentralized coordination and networking among organizations engaged in concrete action towards building another world, at any level from the local to the international, but it does not intend to be a body representing world civil society. The World Social Forum is neither a group nor an organization. The first three WSFs were held in Porto Alegre, Brazil in 2001, 2002 and 2003. In the beginning it was clearly emphasised that the WSF was organised simultaneously with the World Economic Forum. Furthermore, the best-known slogan of the WSF ‘Another world is possible’ can be understood as a counter-hegemonic challenge to the equally famous slogan of Margaret Thatcher ‘There is no alternative’.

In 2004 WSF was held in Mumbai, India, to really make it global, but also to make it return to Porto Alegre in 2005. During these years the number of participants grew from approximately 12,000 to 155,000. In the year 2006 the number of participants decreased as the WSF was held polycentric on three different continents: Asia (Karachi, Pakistan), Africa (Bamako, Mali) and South America (Caracas, Venezuela). The WSF Nairobi was the first time the WSF, as a whole, came to Africa. The next WSF was held in Belém, Brazil. WSFs are one instance in the larger Social Forum process which is made up of national, regional, global and thematical forums. In 2011 the WSF was held in Dakar, Senegal. (www.forumsocialmundial.org.br)

The European Social Forum (the ESF)
The ESF is an open space where civil society groups and movements opposed to neo-liberalism and a world dominated by capital or by any form of imperialism, but engaged in building a society centred on the human person, come together to pursue their thinking, to debate ideas democratically, to formulate proposals, to share their experiences freely and to network for

Global Young Greens Founding Conference (the GYG)
The objective of this GYG conference was to bring together the next generation – or as many as possible – of young Green activists and explore the possibility of working together globally. Originally in the conference program there was an entire day designated for workshops. The purpose was to give participants a chance to present on their area of expertise or interest; to give us the chance to learn from each other. It also gave the participants a chance to be leaders and to develop their public speaking skills. However, it was reasoned that the major purpose of the GYG founding congress was simply to establish the organisation, and therefore the workshop were unnecessary and should be sidelined. During the conference days Organisational Principles of the Global Young Greens and Steering Committee were constructed. Accommodation was at the MF Hostel, a leafy property on the outskirts of Nairobi. Tents were rented, and mattresses and blankets were bought. These were later donated to two local facilities in Nairobi, caring for orphans suffering from AIDS and terminal diseases. The conference was held in the nearby United States International University (USIU), a twenty minute walk away which participants did as a group at the beginning and end of each day. GYG hopes for a strong relationship with Green political bodies but also wishes to remain an autonomous organisation. Many of GYG’s members are from political parties, but roughly half of the conference participants are involved in NGOs. (www.globalyounggreens.org)
Appendix 4. Interview outline

Background information
• Name, age, place of living, profession, workplace now and where you would like to work in the future
• Marital status (is your partner an activist)

Personal activist history
• What was the first spark that activated you to do something?
• Has anyone from your family (relatives or friends) been active in politics (one way or another)?

Tell your personal story as an activist or a political actor.

Present moment and future
• What do you think about young people's political participation / activism?
• Do you think there is a European or a global civil society? Are you part of it? How?
• From your perspective, what are the worst problems in the world? Is it possible to influence those things by meetings such as X? How?
• What should be done?
• What is your personal mission?

Meeting X
• What do you think about the X on a general level?
• Why did you want to participate in the X?
• (How did you become selected in the X)?
• Do you feel that you represented some group or some other people in the X? What/who?
• How many participants did you know beforehand? Would you like to tell their names?
• Did you get to know new people at the event? Would you like to tell their names? Have you contacted them after the event? How? Why?
• Are you going to participate in the X in the future? Why (not)? How?
• What was the best thing in the X? What was the worst thing in the X?
• Did the youth have a possibility to influence a) the programme, b) during the event, c) after the event? Were the young people heard in the X?
• Who should represent the youth in the X? Why?
• What kind of youth participated in the X? Are the meetings like X elitist? Do you feel that you are part of the elite, pioneers or something else?
• Were there inner and outer circles in the X (adults vs. youth or inside the youth or something else)?
• Do you think it is a problem that some of the youth delegates were older than 26? (the EUP)
Process and development

- What do you think, is the X part of a larger process? How?
- How does the X look like if you put it in a longer process? Is it processing somewhere?
- What kind of role is offered to the youth in this kind of meetings/ in this process?
- What criteria you find important in this kind of a process where young people participate to make the meeting/ process successful?
- What other tools youth should have / use in this kind of meetings in addition to speaking and writing the final declaration? What do you think of that in Hyvinkää no final declaration was written? (the EUP)
- Who owns the representational democracy? Could more power be given to young people?
- What kind of structured dialogue is successful from your point of view? (the EUP)
- What do you think about the tripartite structure and working method? How could it optimally support young people’s participation? (the EUP)
- Do you trust / the Ministry of Education Youth Unit? The European Commission? The European Youth Forum? The European Youth Policy? (the EUP) / the International Council? (the WSF)
- Is the politics in X top-down or starting from the grassroots?
- How to generate a continuance from one meeting to another?
- Can you see some kind of development in (the process of) the X? What kind of development?

Another Comments?
Appendix 5. Questionnaire conducted in Hyvinkää EU Meeting

Dear participant of Young Active Citizenships - EU Meeting,

We would be grateful if you could kindly answer the following questions. Your answers will be used in Saara-Maria Juvonen’s diploma work in Humak University of Applied Sciences, HUMAK, Sofia Laine’s PhD research and in the evaluation of this meeting by the organizers.

Thank you for your answers!
Saara-Maria Juvonen and Sofia Laine

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

1. Gender
   □ male
   □ female

2. Age ____________________

3. Do you come from (residence)
   □ Finland
   □ other EU country
   □ country outside EU

4. Are you
   □ Youth representative who acts mainly in a youth organisation
   □ Youth representative who acts mainly outside a youth organisation
   □ Representative of government / youth administration
   □ Youth researcher
   □ Organizer
   □ other, what______________________________________________________________?

5. What made you / Why did you attend Young Active Citizenships - EU Meeting?
__________________________________________________________

6. Have you attended similar meetings (for example, the meeting in Vienna and Bad Ischl, Austria in March 2006)?
   □ No
   □ Yes (Please, specify):________________________________________________________
GENERAL INFORMATION OF YOUNG ACTIVE CITIZENSHIPS – EU MEETING

7. General mark for the meeting on the scale of 1–5 (when 5 is the highest mark and 1 is the lowest). Please, circle the number.

1 2 3 4 5

8. Did the content of the meeting correspond to your expectations?

☐ Yes
☐ No

Explanation______________________________________________________________

9. What was the best part of the meeting?

_______________________________________________________________________

10. What could have been improved?

_______________________________________________________________________

11. Do you feel that you got enough information and support from the organizers during the meeting?

☐ Yes
☐ No

Explanation______________________________________________________________

WORKING IN THE MEETING

12. If you attended the youth pre-meeting, please answer this question:
How useful was the Pre-meeting which was only for youth representatives 30 June – 2 July? (circle your answer)

Very useful fairly useful not so useful not useful at all

Explanation______________________________________________________________

13. In your opinion, how well was the Joint Meeting justified, when talking about its:
(circle your answer)

3 main themes: well pretty well not so well not well at all

12 workshops: well pretty well not so well not well at all

Explanation______________________________________________________________
14. What did you think about the number of the plenaries: (circle your answer)

   too many       too few       right number

Explanation__________________________________________________________

15. Was the program of the plenaries well constructed?

   □ Yes
   □ No

Explanation__________________________________________________________

16. Were the speeches and comments in the plenaries: (circle your answer)

   Interesting       fairly interesting       not so interesting       not interesting at all?

Explanation__________________________________________________________

17. How did the work in the working group succeed in the Joint Meeting 3-4 July?
(circle your answer)

   well       pretty well       pretty badly       badly

Explanation__________________________________________________________

18. How was the meeting led? (circle your answer)

   In plenaries

   Well       pretty well       pretty badly       badly

Explanation__________________________________________________________

   In working groups: (circle your answer)

   Well       pretty well       pretty badly       badly

Explanation__________________________________________________________

19. During the meeting, did you have discussions in your peer group? (circle your answer)

   None at all       some       many
Did you find these discussions profitable?

☐ Yes
☐ No

Explanation______________________________________________________________

20. Did you have discussions with other participants (outside your group)?
(circle your answer)

None at all some many

Did you find these discussions profitable?

☐ Yes
☐ No

Explanation______________________________________________________________

21. Do you feel that you had an influence in the meeting?

☐ No
☐ Yes, on what? ____________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

22. How well did the co-operation between the different participant groups (youth, representatives of government, youth researchers...) function, in your opinion?
(circle your answer)

Well pretty well pretty badly badly

Explanation______________________________________________________________

________________________________________________________________________

23. Do you feel that everyone had an equal chance to participate?

☐ Yes
☐ No

Explanation______________________________________________________________
PRACTICAL ARRANGEMENT OF THE MEETING

24. How well did the meeting succeed in the following?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Well</th>
<th>Pretty well</th>
<th>Pretty badly</th>
<th>Badly</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Information provided beforehand</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Information provided during the meeting</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Guidance</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Transportation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Accommodation</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dining</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Evening programme</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Explanation__________________________________________________________

YOUR OWN WORK AND ACTIVITIES

25. Do you work in an organisation (voluntary or employed)?

☐ No (move to the next question)
☐ Yes, what kind of organisation?
   ☐ Trade union
   ☐ Sport organisation
   ☐ Student or school organisation
   ☐ Political organisation
   ☐ National Youth Council
   ☐ Charity or aid organisation
   ☐ Organisation for protection of animals or nature
   ☐ Organisation for human rights or peace
   ☐ Some other interest-group
   ☐ Other organisation
   What______________________________

26. Are you involved in activities of a new kind of a network, group or movement (which is not a youth organisation)?

☐ No (move to the next question)
☐ Yes, what kind of activities? ______________________________________
27. How interested are you in civic/social issues (circle your answer)?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Not interested at all</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>very interested</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

28. How much do the following statements characterize you as a citizen (circle the number)?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Not at all</th>
<th>1</th>
<th>2</th>
<th>3</th>
<th>4</th>
<th>5</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Completely</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

A. Local citizen
B. Member of municipality or city
C. Member of province / state
D. Citizen of your country
E. European
F. Global citizen

29. According to you, what are the most effective ways to make a difference (choose max. 3)?

1. Voting
2. Working for a party
3. Writing opinions to letters to the editor
4. Working for an organisation
5. Filling in addresses
6. Contacting the leaders and/or lobbying
7. Trying to get media attention
8. Demonstrations
9. Own living habits
10. Performance, music/culture
11. Other, what?

Explanation

_______________________________________________________________________

30. Which of the above ways to make a difference do you employ? (you can use the given numbers)

_______________________________________________________________________

31. What originally inspired you to start acting as an active citizen / do voluntary work (choose one)?

Friends
I wanted something interesting to do
I wanted to make a difference
Some social issue or problem
The prospect that it could be useful for me later in my life
Parents, teacher or someone else encouraged
International opportunities
Other, what?

Explanation

_______________________________________________________________________
32. In which level do you prefer to influence (choose one)?

☐ My immediate surroundings
☐ Own locality
☐ Own country
☐ European Union
☐ Europe
☐ Global level

33. How did this meeting affect your own work?

________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________

Other comments:

________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________
________________________________________________________________________

Thank you for your answers!