



World and European Social Forums: A Bibliography*

Oscar Reyes

Annotated Web Bibliography

World Social Forum [www.forumsocialmundial.org.br]

The official World Social Forum (WSF) website is the best place to start. It describes the Forum's origins, aims and organisational structures, as well as containing accounts of all five WSFs and initial details of the 'polycentric' WSF 2006 process. The official 'memory project' for the WSF is Memoria Viva [<http://www.memoria-viva.org>]. Details on the 2004 World Social Forum in India are still available from its website. A number of initiatives associated with the WSF also have their own websites, including the World Social Library and the Intercontinental Youth Camp.

European Social Forum [www.fse-esf.org]

The official website of the European Social Forum, including archived copies of the programmes and websites of the first three ESFs. Assessments of the ESF 2004 in London are gathered in the Euromovements newsletter. Further documents and opinions can be found at the unofficial ESF activist website [www.esf2004.net].

Autonomous Spaces at the ESF [www.altspaces.net]

The ESF 2004 was surrounded by a variety of autonomous spaces. These included the European Forum on Communication Rights, Beyond the ESF, Life Despite Capitalism, the Laboratory of Insurrectionary Imagination, the Urban Forum and the Carnival Forum.

Assembly of the Social Movements [www.movsoc.org]

The Social Movements Assembly is one of many spaces within the WSF that co-ordinates actions.

Babels [www.babels.org]

* Online at <http://www.ephemeraweb.org/journal/5-2/5-2biblio.htm>

Babels is an international network of volunteer interpreters and translators whose main objective it is to cover the interpreting needs of the Social Forums and of other international events, as defined in the calendar of the 'call of the social movements'.

Choike [www.choike.org]

A web portal disseminating the work of NGOs based in the global South. Choike contains an informative collection of reports and links about WSF in Porto Alegre [http://www.choike.org/nuevo_eng/eventos/10.html], WSF IV in Mumbai [http://www.choike.org/nuevo_eng/eventos/1.html] and WSF III in Porto Alegre [http://www.choike.org/nuevo_eng/informes/738.html]. It also contains an online copy of World Social Forum – Challenging Empires [http://www.choike.org/nuevo_eng/informes/1557.html], which is the most comprehensive book yet published about the WSF.

Delibera [<http://www.delibera.net/>]

An online tool for participatory democracy used by the WSF International Council. It also contains evaluations of WSF 2005.

Euromovements [www.euromovements.info]

Guide for social transformation in Europe, related to the ESF and its surroundings. Includes networking tools, social movement chronologies, newsletters and a directory of all the organizations registered to the first three ESFs.

Memoria-Viva [<http://www.memoria-viva.org>]

Memory of World Social Forum and regional forums, including reports on seminars and database of proposals.

Nomad [<http://www.nomadfkt.org/>]

An international network developing alternative technologies. Developed the Nomad Interpretation Free Tool (NIFT) as an alternative to commercial translation systems in use at social forums.

Network Institute for Global Democratization [www.nigd.org]

A transnational research association that has been heavily involved in the WSF process. Free, downloadable materials include a 240-page working paper called 'From a Global Market Place to Political Spaces' [[http://www.nigd.org/docs/Global Market Place.pdf](http://www.nigd.org/docs/Global%20Market%20Place.pdf)] with several important essays on the WSF; 'We, the Peoples of the World Social Forum' [[http://www.nigd.org/Discussion Papers.html](http://www.nigd.org/Discussion%20Papers.html)], with reflections on WSF II at Porto Alegre, and a report on 'The Politics of the WSF's "Open Space"' [[http://www.nigd.org/WSF itself summary.html](http://www.nigd.org/WSF%20itself%20summary.html)] a seminar with several key WSF organisers held at WSF IV in Mumbai. It is also a good source for keeping up with discussions within the WSF International Council.

Open Democracy [www.opendemocracy.net]

A global online magazine of politics and culture. The DIY World section contains informative articles on the WSF and its Davos rival the World Economic Forum.

Open Space Forum [<http://www.openspaceforum.net/>]

The politics of open spaces. This website was put together by contributors to the International Social Studies Journal special issue on the World Social Forum [<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/toc/issj/56/182>], and contains online versions of their articles.

Other Worlds [<http://www.mundi.org.uk/otherworlds/>]

Educational project inspired by the World Social Forum.

People's Global Action [www.agp.org]

An international anti-capitalist network that pre-exists the WSF. People's Global Action became known for calling Global Action Days (J18, N30, S16, etc.) [<http://www.nadir.org/nadir/initiativ/agp/mayday1.htm>] to coincide with international summits. Its website also contains an excellent library of writings on globalisation and war, which includes several pieces on the World Social Forum. Useful documents on the WSF are also collected in the All 4 All Global Action Database [<http://www.all4all.org/wsf/index.shtml>].

Red Pepper [<http://www.redpepper.org.uk/>]

Independent magazine of the green and radical left in Britain, which has a special section on European and World Social Forums (<http://www.redpepper.org.uk/socialforum/socialforum.html>).

Transform! [www.transform.it]

Transform! is a European network of research and political education organisations. Its informative 140-page newsletter, 'World Social Forum: a Debate on the Challenges for Its Future' [http://www.transform.it/newsletter/news_transform01.html] was produced by Transform! Italia in association with the Transnational Institute and Red Pepper.

Transnational Institute [www.tni.org]

The Transnational Institute has brought together activist scholars from all over the world since 1974. Its extensive coverage on the WSF can be found at [<http://www.tni.org/socforum/index.htm>].

Books

Fisher, W. and T. Ponniah (2003) *Another World is Possible: Popular Alternatives to Globalization at the World Social Forum*. New York: Zed Books.

Leite, J. C. (2005) *The World Social Forum: Strategies of Resistance*. Haymarket Books.

- Rikkilä, L. and K. S. Patomäki (2002) *From a Global Market Place to Political Spaces*. Network Institute for Global Democratisation. [<http://www.nigd.org/docs/GlobalMarketPlace.pdf>]
- Santos, B. de S. (2004) *The World Social Forum: A User's Manual*. Unpublished Manuscript. [www.ces.uc.pt/bss/documentos/fsm_eng.pdf]
- Sen, J., A. Anand, A. Escobar and P. Waterman (eds.) (2004) *World Social Forum: Challenging Empires*. New Delhi: The Viveka Foundation. [http://www.choike.org/nuevo_eng/informes/1557.html]

Book Chapters and Discussion Papers

- Cock, J. (2003) 'A Better or Worse World? The Third World Social Forum Porto Alegre 2003', *Centre for Civil Society Research Report 5*. Durban, 1-45. [<http://www.ukzn.ac.za/ccs/files/wsf.pdf>]
- Della Porta, D. (2004) 'Multiple Belongings, Flexible Identities, and the Construction of 'Another Politics': Between the European Social Forum and Local Social Fora', in D. della Porta and S. Tarrow (eds.) *Transnational Protest and Global Activism*. Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield, Chapter 8.
- George, S. (2004) 'Taking the movement forward', in H. Dee (ed.) *Anti-Capitalism: Where Now?* London: Bookmarks. [<http://www.tni.org/archives/george/forward.htm>]
- Hlatshwayo, M. (2004) 'The African Social Forum: Between Radicals and Reformers', in F. Polet and CETRI (eds.) *Globalising Resistance: The State of Struggle*. London: Pluto, chapter 15.
- Ibrahim, Y. (2003) 'Developments of the anti-globalisation movement, from Seattle to the World Social Forum: Is neo-liberalism in crisis?', in C. Barker and M. Tyldesley (eds.) *Ninth International Conference on Alternative Futures and Popular Protest*. Manchester: Manchester Metropolitan University.
- Mestrum, F. (2004) 'The World Social Forum: a democratic alternative', in F. Polet and CETRI (eds.) *Globalising Resistance: The State of Struggle*. London: Pluto, chapter 14.
- Nisula, L. and K. Sehm-Patomäki (2002) *We, the Peoples of the World Social Forum*. Network Institute for Global Democratisation Discussion Paper 2/2002 [<http://www.nigd.org/docs/DP%202%202002%20Content>]
- Santos, B. d.-S. (2004) 'The World Social Forum: towards a counter-hegemonic globalization', in F. Polet and CETRI (eds.) *Globalising Resistance: The State of Struggle*. London: Pluto, chapter 13.
- Schoenleitner, G. (2003) 'WSF: Making Another World Possible?', in J. Clark (ed.) *Globalizing Civic Engagement*. London: Earthscan, 127-149.
- Wainwright, H. (2004) 'Civil Society, Democracy and Power: Global Connections', in *Global Civil Society Yearbook 2004/5*. London: Sage. [<http://www.tni.org/archives/wainwright/globcivsoc.htm>]
- Waterman, P. (2002) 'Reflections on the 2nd World Social Forum in Porto Alegre: What's Left Internationally?', *Institute of Social Sciences Working paper 362*, May [<http://adlib.iss.nl/adlib/uploads/wp/wp362.pdf>]

Waterman, P. (2005) 'Between a Political-Institutional Past and a Communicational-Networked Future? Reflections on the Third World Social Forum, 2003', in W. de Jong, M. Shaw and N. Stammers (eds.) *Global Activism, Global Media*. London: Pluto.

Journal Special Issues

International Social Science Journal, (ISSJ) 182

[http://www.openspaceforum.net/twiki/tiki-view_articles.php?type=Article&topic=3]

Keraghel, C. and J. Sen (eds.) (2005) 'Explorations in Open Space: The World Social Forum and Cultures of Politics'

Osterweil, M. 'A Cultural-Political Approach to Reinventing the Political'

Pleyers, G. 'The Social Forums as an Ideal Model of Convergence'

Baykan, B. G. and G. E. Lelandais 'Cross-Readings of the Anti-Globalisation Movement in Turkey and Beyond: Political Culture in the Making'

Biagiotti, I. 'The World Social Forums: A Paradoxical Application of Participatory Doctrine'

Khan, T. N. 'Trio'

Rioufol, V. 'Approaches to Social Change in Social Forums: Snapshots of Recompositions in Progress'

Daulatzai, A. 'A Leap of Faith: Thoughts on Secularistic Practices and Progressive Politics'

Caruso, G. 'Conflict Management and Hegemonic Practices in the World Social Forum 2004'

De Angelis, M. 'Opposing Fetishism by Reclaiming our Powers: The Social Forum Movement, Capitalist Markets and the Politics of Alternatives'

Andreotti, V. and E. Dowling 'WSF: Ontology, Ethics, Pedagogy'

Rojo, R. E., C. R. S. Milani and C. S. Arturi 'Expressions of International Contestation and Mechanisms of Democratic Control'

Wallerstein, I. 'The Dilemmas of Open Space: The Future of the WSF'

Solinís, G. 'UNESCO and the World Social Forum: The First Three Years'

Féron, E. 'Review of *World Social Forum: Challenging Empires*'

ephemera: theory & politics in organization 5(2)

[<http://www.ephemeraweb.org/journal/5-2/5-2index.htm>]

Böhm, S., S. Sullivan and O. Reyes (eds.) (2005) 'The Organisation and Politics of Social Forums'

Andreotti, V. 'The Other Worlds Educational Project and the Challenges and Possibilities of 'Open Spaces''

Biccum A. 'The World Social Forum: Exploiting the Ambivalence of 'Open' Spaces'

- Böhm, S. 'Ground Zero of the Forum: Notes on a Personal Journey'
Caracol Intergalactika 'The Future of the World Social Forum'
- Caruso, G. 'Open Office and Free Software: The Politics of the WSF 2004 as Workplace'
- De Angelis, M. 'PR like PRocess! Strategy from the Bottom-Up'
- Dowling, E. 'The Ethics of Engagement Revisited: Remembering the ESF 2004'
- Eschle, C. and B. Maiguascha 'Research in Progress: Making Feminist Sense of 'the Anti-Globalisation Movement''
- Gilbert, J. 'The Forum and the Market: The Complexity of the Social and the Struggle for Democracy'
- Glasius, M. 'Deliberation or Struggle? Civil Society Traditions Behind the Social Forums'
- Juris, J. S. 'Social Forums and their Margins: Networking Logics and the Cultural Politics of Autonomous Space'
- Mueller, T. 'Notes from the WSF 2005: The Good, the Bad, and the Ugly'
- Nunes, R. 'Networks, Open Spaces, Horizontality: Instantiations'
- Nunes, R. 'The Intercontinental Youth Camp as the Unthought of the World Social Forum'
- Paz de Oliveira, R. 'Constructing the Intercontinental Youth Camp'
- Reyes, O. 'World and European Social Forums: A Bibliography'
- Sullivan, L. L. 'Activism, Affect and Abuse: Emotional Contexts and Consequences of the ESF 2004 Organising Process'
- Sullivan, S. 'An *Other* World is Possible? On Representation, Rationalism and Romanticism in Social Forums'
- Sullivan, S. and S. Böhm 'Sensing the Forum: A Collage'
- Tormey, S. 'From Utopian Worlds to Utopian Spaces: Reflections on the Contemporary Radical Imaginary and the Social Forum Process'
- Wright, C. 'Opening Spaces: Power, Participation and Plural Democracy at the World Social Forum'
- Ylä-Anttila, T. 'The World Social Forum and the Globalization of Social Movements and Public Spheres'

Journal Articles

- Baiocchi, G. (2004) 'The Party and the Multitude: Brazil's Workers' Party (PT) and the Challenges of Building a Just Social Order in a Globalizing Context', *Journal of World Systems Research*, X.1, Winter, 199-215
[<http://jwsr.ucr.edu/archive/vol10/number1/pdf/jwsr-v10n1-baiocchi.pdf>]
- Böhm, S. (2002) 'Movements of Theory and Practice', *ephemeria: critical dialogues on organization*, 2(4): 328-351 [<http://www.ephemeraweb.org/journal/2-4/2-4bohmf.pdf>]
- Cassen, B. (2003) 'On the Attack', *New Left Review*, 19 Jan-Feb.
[<http://www.newleftreview.com/NLR25303.shtml>]

- Ching, P.-Y. (2004) 'Critical views of the world social forum – from Mumbai resistance', *Inter-Asia Cultural Studies*, 5(2).
- Conway, J. (2004) 'Citizenship in a Time of Empire: The World Social Forum as a New Public Space', *Citizenship Studies*, 8(4): 367 – 381.
- Hardt, M. (2002) 'Today's Badung?', *New Left Review*, 14: 112-118. [<http://www.newleftreview.com/NLR24806.shtml>]
- Kavada, A. (2005) 'Exploring the Role of the Internet in the 'Movement for Alternative Globalization': The case of the Paris 2003 European Social Forum', *Westminster Papers in Communication and Culture*, 2(1):72-95. [<http://www.wmin.ac.uk/mad/pdf/Kavada.pdf>]
- Mertes, T. (2002) 'Grass-roots Globalism', *New Left Review*, 17 [<http://www.newleftreview.org/NLR25106.shtml>]
- NextGENDERation (2004) 'Refusing to be 'The Women's Question'...Embodied Practices of a Feminist Intervention at the European Social Forum 2003', *Feminist Review*, 77(1): 141-151.
- Patomäki, H. and T. Teivainen (2004) 'The World Social Forum: An Open Space or a Movement of Movements?', *Theory, Culture & Society*, 21(6): 145–154. [<http://www.selvas.org/download/FSM05/TEIVO1.pdf>]
- Perera, V. (2002) 'Globalization from Below and New Political Identities: The Case of the World Social Forum', *Journal of Economic and Social Research*, 4(2): 73-93. [<http://jesr.journal.fatih.edu.tr/GlobalizationfromBelowandNewPoliticalIdentities.pdf>]
- Reyes, O. (2004) 'Thinking the Global Locally', *Soundings: A Journal of Politics and Culture*, 27(Autumn): 124-130.
- Sader, E. (2002) 'Beyond Civil Society: The Left after Porto Alegre', *New Left Review* 17. [<http://www.newleftreview.org/NLR25105.shtml>]
- Seoane, J and E. Taddei (2002) 'From Seattle to Porto Alegre: The Anti-Neoliberal Globalization Movement', *Current Sociology*, 50: 99-122
- Smith, J. (2004) 'The World Social Forum and The Challenges of Global Democracy', *Global Networks*, 4(4): 413–421 [<http://www.blackwell-synergy.com/doi/abs/10.1111/j.1471-0374.2004.00102.x>]
- Streck, D. R. (2003) 'The World Social Forum and The Agenda of Grassroots Education', *Concepts and Transformation*, 8(2): 117-132.
- Teivanen, T. (2002) 'The World Social Forum and Global Democratisation: Learning from Porto Alegre', *Third World Quarterly*, 23(4): 621-632.
- Tormey, S. (2004) 'The 2003 European Social Forum: Where Next for The Anti-Capitalist Movement?', *Capital & Class*, 84: 149-158 [<http://homepage.ntlworld.com/simon.tormey/articles/ESFweb.pdf>]
- Vanaik, A. (2004) 'Rendezvous at Mumbai', *New Left Review*, 26: 53–65. [<http://www.newleftreview.com/NLR26003.shtml>]
- Vargas, V. (2003) 'Feminism, Globalization and the Global Justice and Solidarity Movement', *Cultural Studies*, 17(6): 905-920.

Newsletters

Transform! 'World Social Forum: A Debate on the Challenges for its Future'

[http://www.transform.it/newsletter/news_transform01.html]

Attac F. 'Evaluation on the II ESF' (In French)

Berlinguer, M. and H. Wainwright 'Introduction: The New Global Resistance and the Emergence of the WSF'

Brazilian Organising Committee / WSF Secretariat Brazil

Brazilian Secretariat 'Towards the Activity Plan of the WSF Secretariat WSF Charter of Principles'

Cassen, B. 'Repenser le "format" des Forums sociaux, passer à l'acte politique'

Gauthier, E. 'Nouvel espace public, politique'

Gupta, A. S. 'The WSF 2004 Programme and Methodology'

Jeon, S. 'The World Social Forum at a Crossroad'

Leite, J. C. 'Political Parties and the Forum'

Leite, J. C. 'WSF (a Brief History): a New Method of Doing Politics'

List of International Council members (March 2004)

McLeish, P. 'The Promise of the European Social Forum'

Nicholson, P. and J. Equireun 'WSF, Necessary Shifts'

Pilichowski, C. 'D'un Forum Social l'autre...'

Reyes, O. and N. Bouteldja 'Networking Activities within the Social Forum Process'

Roy, A. 'Do Turkeys Enjoy Thanksgiving?'

Santos, B. d.-S. 'The Future Of The World Social Forum'

Social Movements Assembly: an Actor within a Space

Teivainen, T. 'Twenty-Two Theses on the Problems of Democracy in the World Social Forum'

Vanaik, A. 'Rendezvous at Mumbai'

Wainwright, H. 'From Mumbai with Hope'

Wallerstein, I. 'The Rising Strength of the World Social Forum'

Whitaker, F. 'Tout a continué à Mumbai...'

Whitaker, F. 'World Social Forum: Origins and Aims'

WSF 'Governance: Secretariat, International Council and Organising Committees'

Euromovements, 'European Social Forum: Debating the Challenges for its Future'

[<http://www.euromovements.info/newsletter/>]

Andreotti, V. and E. Dowling 'Social Forums, Ethics and Pedagogy: Another Possible Ethic'

Attac Europe 'Contribution to the Discussion on the ESF Process'

- Attac France 'The European Social Forum: Appraisal and Future Perspectives'
- Babels France 'Bilan du FSE 2004 de Londres'
- Belgian Social Forum 'Some Practical Suggestions on the ESF Process'
- Bodie, A. 'Autonomous Spaces: As an Alternative ESF Experience'
- Boeri, J. and S. Hodgkinson 'Babels and the Politics of Language at the Heart of Social Forum'
- Bohn, L. 'ESF: Addressing the Democratic Deficit'
- Bouteldja, N. 'Complot Islamiste au Forum Social Européen?' Callinicos, A. 'Building on the success of the London ESF'
- Candeias, M. 'Antinomies: Relations between Social Movements, Left Political Parties and State. Reflections on the European Social Forum in London and Beyond'
- Cannavo, S. 'The success of the London Forum'
- COBAS 'Il Forum Sociale Europeo A Londra'
- De Angelis, M. 'Evaluating the London ESF'
- Diesner, D. 'Kids-Space at the ESF' and 'Migration Report'
- European Social Forum 2004: The Call of the Assembly of Social Movements
- Fawkes, G. 'Il limite del movimento, la forza del movimento: Intervista a Ken "il rosso" Livingstone'
- French Initiative Committee for the ESF
- FSU (France) 'Bilan et perspectives après le 3ème FSE'
- Fuster I Morell, Mayo 'InvestigAction and Social Forums'
- George, S. 'Taking the Movement Forward'
- German participants 'Explanation of the ESF Process'
- Gineste, P. 'Quelques réflexions concernant le FSE de Londres'
- Gosselin, S. 'Nomad'
- Greek Social Forum 'A Statement on the 4th ESF'
- Gruppo di lavoro per l'assemblea di Parigi 'Notes For The Extraordinary Meeting Of ESF Paris (December 18-19, 2004)'
- Habermann, F. 'This is What Democracy in Education Looks Like: The Social Forum Process and Popular Education'
- Hache, A. 'Communication and social movements, some ideas and thoughts while I wonder how it all works!'
- Haeringer, N. 'Towards the WSF 2005'
- Jones, D. 'ESF Media and Communications Strategies'
- Juris, J. 'The London ESF and the Politics of Autonomous Space'
- Kagarlitsky, B. 'Social Forum Does London'
- Kingsnorth, P. 'The European Social Forum: Time to Get Serious'
- Levidow, L. 'ESF 2004: Facilitating or Precluding Another World? Contradictory process'
- Local Social Forums Network, UK 'A Different ESF is Possible'
- London Social Forum

- Longhi, V. 'Trade unions and the ESF'
- Maeckelbergh, M. 'Perhaps we should just Flip a Coin: Macro and Microstructures of the European Social Forum Processes'
- Marsdal, M. E. et. al. 'European Assembly: Could we have Better Meetings?'
- Massiah, G. 'La Place Des « Sans Droits » Dans Les Forums Sociaux'
- Middlesex Declaration of Europe's Precariat
- Nunes, R. 'Not the Icing: Experiences of and Challenges for Culture at Social Forum'
- Nunes, R. 'Territory and Deterritory: Inside and Outside the ESF 2004, New Movement Subjectivities'
- Pizzo, A. 'Londra val bene una mossa'
- Preiss, P. and E. G. Tiago 'Social Forums and the Environment'
- Reyes, O. 'Paying for Another World'
- Reyes, O., H. Wainwright, M. Fuster and M. Berlinguer 'European Social Forum: Debating the Challenges for its Future'
- Tavolo Migranti Italia, Act Up Paris, Amplitude-No One Is Illegal Germany
- Wainwright, H. 'For a Participatory ESF'
- Wainwright, H. 'The European Social Forum Comes to London'
- Yulis, P. 'One step forward, how many back?'

the author

Oscar Reyes teaches Cultural Studies at the University of East London and is web editor of Red Pepper magazine (www.redpepper.org.uk). He was also one of the organizers of the European Social Forum 2004.

Address: Department of Government, University of Essex, Wivenhoe Park, Colchester, Essex. CO4 3SQ
E-mail: oscar@redpepper.org.uk