

The Newsletter of the Research Committee on Social Movements, Collective Action and Social Change

# **GRASSROOTS**

The Newsletter of the ISA Research Committee RC48 rc48isa@gmail.com www.facebook.com/isarc48/





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Programme.



# Note from the RC48 President

### Dear colleagues, members of RC 48

It gives us a great pleasure to present you the final program of RC48 for the IV ISA Forum of Sociology that will be held on-line February 23-27.

This Forum is a singular event in the ISA history, due to the pandemic limitations, but it is also a great opportunity to present our studies on social movements and collective actions before and during these difficult times.

The Forum is a challenge that the ISA community is facing together in order to overcome the Covid-19 limits and to offer a space of exchange and debate to the sociological research in the world.

RC48 program and session organizers worked hard to arrange a balanced and attractive program; it was a very demanding task to reorganize sessions in a virtual version and we really hope that all the sessions will be well attended by our members and other fellows, and have fruitful exchanges and debates.

Our research network received a considerable amount of abstracts and a good number of confirmations. This is the reason why we decided to set sessions with around four papers each, in order to have enough time for discussions. We also confirmed all the joint sessions planned in the original program. Cooperation with other RCs has always been of extreme importance

tion for new and challenging topics and connections.

Unfortunately, no pre-forum activities could were organized as usual. It will be challenging to experience this new form of meeting, even if our scientific relationships have significantly changed during the last year, mainly turning into virtual. Academics and researchers are now familiar with the on line meetings and conferences; rarely there was the opportunity to have a face-to-face scientific event in March 2020.

Also, collective actions and protests of social movements have changed as a result of the pandemic crisis. The Covid-19 pandemic imposed a good number of changes in our everyday life. It has produced serious effects on all aspects of social life, making huge political, cultural, and social consequences. Of course, several changes have occurred in social conflicts. Protests have not damped, but have changed actions and claim methods and platforms.

For this reason, RC48 launched a call for short papers to include in a Grass-roots special number (10/2020) to collect our members' reflections and considerations on the pandemic social issues and consequences. All of you can download this special edition of Grassroots accessing our ISA website page: https://www.isa-sociology.org/frontend/web/uploads/files/rc48-newsletter\_july\_2020.pdf. All members are invited to read it and to provide comments, opinions, and feedback to the RC48 committee board.

I would like to thank you all members that had contributed to make our newsletter attractive and interesting, focusing on different and emerging issues on social movements actions in the world. Papers follow the fil rouge of social change and collective action aspiring at a recount –even not exhaustive– on how protests changed around the world during and after the Covid-19 first and second wave.

It would be great if this Grassroots number can promote the opening of a sociological debate on the crisis protests, and on the consequences in our daily life. It would be also desirable if the social movement of researchers' reflections contribute to the future phases of re-starting, renovation and challenges.

The next edition of Grassroots, July 2021, will focus on report the Forum through informal impressions and pictures of those who took part to this event. Just few days before the Forum start, we will send a dedicated email to remind to social organizers and chairs to take screenshots of the sessions and send us a short summary to share contents and impressions with all RC48 members.

Finally, I warmly invite you all to participate at the RC48 Business Meeting. Even if it has been scheduled in a time difficult to attend for some regions in the world. In order to circulate what has been discussed at the meeting we will provide detailed report in the next newsletter.

With my best wishes,

Liana Daher

RC48 President

### About RC48 and ISA

he Research Committee on Social Movements, Collective Action and Social Change (RC48) is part of the International Sociological Association (ISA). It was founded as a Working Group in 1992, under the presidency of Prof. Bert Klandermans. In 1994, it was recognized as an ISA Research Committee.

The objective of RC48 is to foster intellectual, academic and scholarly exchanges between researchers of broadly defined social movements, collective action and social change. The RC48 is currently based at the Collective Identity Research Centre (Department of Sociology 2, University of the Basque Country, Spain).

The ISA was founded in 1949 under the auspices of UNESCO. With more than 5,000 members coming from 167 countries, the ISA is currently the most important international professional association in the field of sociology. Its goal is to advance sociological knowledge throughout the world, and to represent sociologists everywhere, regardless of their school of thought, scientific approaches or ideological opinion.

The on-going scientific activities of the ISA are decentralised in 55 Research Committees (RC), 3 Working Groups (WG) and 5 Thematic Groups (TG), each dealing with a well-recognized specialty in sociology. These groups bring together scholars who wish to pursue comparative research on a transnational basis and they constitute basic networks of scientific research, intellectual debate and professional exchange. Although they must fulfil certain minimum requirements, RCs have complete autonomy to operate. Each RC's governing body is the Board, formed by a President, a Secretary, and a variable number of board members. RC48 participates in the organization of both the ISA World Congresses, celebrated every 4 years since 1950 (Zurich), and the ISA Forums of Sociology, also celebrated every 4 years since 2008 (Barcelona).

In contrast to the ISA World Congress, which has a more professional and academic character, the forum's original purpose was to establish an open dialogue with colleagues doing sociology in public institutions, social movements, and civil society organizations. This means that every two years, we are involved in the organization of a worldwide event. In between ISA World Congresses and forums, our committee organizes smaller scientific meetings called RC48 international conferences. These meetings tend to be more narrowly focused than other ISA events and, on average, they gather between 30 and 60 scholars. Consequently, colleagues can make longer presentations, and we can go hold deeper and more enriching debates.

### RC48 Board Members (2018 - 2022)

#### **President**

Liana Maria DAHER
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#### Secretary

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### RC48 Board Members (2018 - 2022)

#### **Board Members**

Tova BENSKI

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Helena FLAM

University of Leipzig, Germany

Miri GAL-EZER

Kinneret College on the Sea of Galilee, Israel

Apoorva GHOSH

University of California, Irvine, USA

James GOODMAN

University of Technology Sydney, Australia

Lauren LANGMAN

Loyola University of Chicago, USA

**Dipti Ranjan SAHU** University of Lucknow, India

Debal K. SINGHAROY

Indira Gandhi National Open University, India

Ligia TAVERA FENOLLOSA FLACSO (Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales), Mexico



# President Liana Maria DAHER, University of Catania, Italy



I am currently Associate Professor in Sociology at the Department of Education at the University of Catania. My main research fields are young and women movements, focusing particular on citizenship issues. On this topics, I have authored numerous books, book chapters and articles in Italian and international journals. I am the current coordinator of the Erasmus +

Project NORADICA - Inter-Religious Dialogue Against Radicalization of Youth - and the FIRD Project 'When Disobedience is «social»': Democratic Protests and New Forms of Collective Action in Italy. For several years I have been a Board Member of RC48. Since 2015, I am also a Board Member of RN25 (Social Movements) of the European Sociological Association (ESA). I am the Co-editor of the series 'Disembedding, Times and Spaces of Radical Modernity', edited by Aracne (Rome). I am the Director of the Collective Action LAB of the Department of Education at the University of Catania.



Secretary

Anna DOMARADZKA, University of Warsaw, Poland

Assistant Professor and Associate Director for Research at Robert B. Zajonc Institute for Social Studies, University of Warsaw. Her main research interests concern the

issues of civil society, social movements and local activism in urban areas in their social and spatial context. She studies the development of urban movements and women movement in connection with quality of life in urban space and social policy changes. Anna also specializes in intersectional and international comparative research and evaluation in the areas of gender sociology and sociology of education and works as an expert and senior researcher in several international projects concerning civil society and welfare state issues, gender equality in public and private sphere, as well as higher education and life-long learning. Recent projects Anna is engaged in are World Values Survey, Welfare Innovations at the

Local Level in Favour of Cohesion (WILCO, http://www.wilcoproject.eu) and Gender Equality at the University (GENDEQU, http://grape.uw.edu.pl/gendequ/). Anna is a member of International Sociological Association (RC48, RC21, RC32) and European Sociological Association (RN14, RN25, RN37) as well as International Society of Third Sector Research (ISTR) and European Urban Research Association (EURA).



Treasurer Benjamin TEJERINA, Universidad del País Vasco, Spain

Benjamín Tejerina is Professor of Sociology at the University of the Basque Country in Spain and Director of the Collective Identity Research Centre. His research interests include collective action and social

movements, living conditions, precariousness and transformations in the work's culture, sociology of language and ethnolinguistic movements, collective identity, youth transitions, and sociological theory. Among his selected publications are Crisis and Social Mobilization in Contemporary Spain (edited with I. Perugorría, Routledge, 2018); From Social to Political: New Forms of Mobilization and Democratization (edited with I. Perugorría, Basque Country University Press, 2012); La sociedad imaginada. Movimientos sociales y cambio cultural en España (Trotta, 2010); Los movimientos sociales. Transformaciones políticas y cambio cultural (edited with P. Ibarra, Trotta, 1998); and Sociedad civil, protesta y movimientos sociales en el País Vasco (with J. M. Fernández and X. Aierdi, Servicio Central de Publicaciones del GobiernoVasco, 1995). In 1990, he received the National PhD Dissertation Award in Sociology and Political Sciences from the Sociological Research Centre (CIS, Spain).



Newsletter Editor

Camilo TAMAYO GOMEZ, Birmingham City University,
United Kingdom

I am a Senior Lecturer in Criminology and Security Studies at Birmingham City University (UK).

I am a member of the British Sociological Association (BSA) and the International Sociological Association (ISA). I am affiliated to the BSA 'Sociology of Rights' Study Group and I am a Board Member of the Research Committee on Social Movements, Collective Action and Social Change (RC48) of the International Sociological Association. The work that I have been developing in recent years focuses on the relationship movements, between citizenship, social human rights communicative citizenship from a socio-political perspective. My recent research explores how social movements of victims have been using different communicative citizenship actions to claim human rights in local, and regional public spheres; and how these actions have been affecting constructions of political and cultural memory, dimensions of social recognition, and degrees of solidarity and power.

Internet, Media
David DUENAS-CID, Tallinn University of Technology, Estonia
Kozminski University, Poland

David Duenas-Cid is Assistant Professor at Kozminski Universiy (Poland) in New Research on Digital Societies (NERDS) Department, and Researcher at TalTech (Estonia) in the Ragnar Nurkse Department of Innovation and Governance. David did his PhD in Social Movements and Organizations, analysing the process of institutionalization of Urban Social Movements. His current research interests are focused on Digital Democracy and e-Governance, specifically with the analysis of the impacts of the use of e-Vote and the patterns of creation of Trust in technology



Internet, Media Natalia MIRANDA, Université Catholique de Louvain, Belgium

Natalia Miranda is a PhD Researcher at CriDIS -Centre derecherches interdisciplinaires « Démocratie, Institutions, Subjectivité », at UCLouvain (Belgium). She is writing a thesis about the encounter of cultures of activism within the social movement against the Chilean private pension model (« No más Afp »). She is also a member of the research group SMAG (Social Movements in the Global Age).





Tova BENSKI, College of Management Academic Studies, Israel

Tova Benski is a senior lecturer emerita at the School of Behavioral Sciences, The College of Management – Academic Studies, Rishon Leziyon Israel. Her fields of

academic interest and research include: gender, social movements, peace studies, and the sociology of emotions. She has been engaged in research on the Israeli women' peace mobilizations since the late 1980s and has published extensively and presented many papers on these topics. She is the co-author of the book internet and emotions (Routledge 2013), and co-editor of Current Sociology special issue (2013). Her co- authored book Iraqi Jews in Israel won a prestigious academic prize in Israel. She served two terms as the president of RC 48 (2002-2007 and 2014-2018). Currently she is an elected member of the executive council (EC) of the ISA and member of the Board of RC 48, RC 36 and TG08 of the ISA.



#### Helena FLAM, University of Leipzig, Germany

Dr Helena Flam gained her Fil. Kand. at Lund University, Sweden and her PhD at Columbia University in New York City. Since 2017, she is an Emeritus Professor in Sociology at the University of Leipzig, Germany. Prior to this appointment, she assisted in setting up the Swedish

Colloquium for Advanced Study, was a Fellow at Max Planck Institute for Social Research in Cologne, and Assistant Professor at Konstanz University, Germany. Her recent research has focused on transnational social movements, transitional justice regimes, transnational financial institutions, and lawyers as harbingers of emancipation. Dr Flam has been a member of the RC48 Executive Committee since the early 2000s. She is the initiator of the RN 11 on Emotions affiliated with the ESA and TG08 on Society and Emotions affiliated with the ISA. She has served as the President of TG08 since it was established. She co-edited a volume on Emotions and Social Movements. Her most recent co-edited volume is entitled Methods of Exploring Emotions.



Miri GAL-EZER, Kinneret College on the Sea of Galilee, Israel

Miri (Miriam) Gal-Ezer PhD The Hebrew University of Jerusalem; Lecturer at Kinneret College on the Sea of Galilee, Israel. Previously, initiator and head of European research group on "Occupy" and populist movements. Guest editor of international and Israeli academic jour-

nals on women artists, conflicts and coexistence; war remembrance, and collective memory in art and culture. She had published in international and Israeli journals on neo-liberalism and media, visual communication, documentary, digital genres, memory studies, audience studies, sociology of art and culture, feminism and more. Art consultant, researcher and curator; initiated the first collective art exhibition on Israeli wars remembrance and memory; served as professional Community Social Worker. Supervisor of social workers and workers' union sat Israeli union HDQ; Programme Planner, Founder and Director of Art Education Centre, Tel-Aviv Museum of Art; Ministry of Education Media Studies Supervisor, founder and director of two years on-job training programme for high-school teachers in Communication Studies-Oranim College.



#### Apoorva GHOSH, University of California, Irvine, USA

Apoorva Ghosh is a lecturer in Sociology at the University of California, Merced. His research is located at the intersection of sociology of sexualities, social movements, globalization, family, and organizations. His

sole/ first-authored papers in these areas come from Gender, Work & Organization, Handbook of Research in Workforce Diversity: Technologies & Concepts, Indian Journal of Industrial Relations, Management and Labour Studies, Sexualities, Sociology Compass, South Asian Journal of Management, and the Wiley-Blackwell Companion to Sexuality Studies. The purpose of his research is to understand the factors shaping LGBTQ (lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, and queer) identities and political action. Specifically, he has studied gay men's experience of parental acceptance in the United States and India; the conditions for American LGBTQ activists' suc-

cess in winning social movement outcomes in business corporations; Indian gay men and lesbians' use of competing for sexual schemas to talk about their sexuality; and Indian LGBTQ activists' simultaneous use of strategies of assimilation and difference. Ghosh has held fellowships from the University of Maastricht, the Netherlands (METEOR Visiting Doctoral Student 2010), the U.S. Department of State (Fulbright 2012-13), XLRI- Xavier School of Management, India (Fellow Program in Management 2009-13), and the University of California, Irvine (Social Science Merit Fellowship 2015-21, The James Harvey Scholar Award 2020). As a teacher of sociology, Ghosh teaches courses on gender, globalization, sexualities, social movements, and social problems to undergraduate students. He has a BE in Mechanical Engineering, an MS in Quality Management, and a PhD in Sociology.



# James GOODMAN, University of Technology Sydney, Australia

James Goodman conducts research into social change and global politics, with a special focus on global justice and climate justice. He draws from a disciplinary background in

political sociology, international relations, political economy and political geography, and he has published more than eight books. He is an Associate Professor in the Social and Political Change Group of the Faculty of Arts and Social Sciences at the University of Technology, Sydney, where he has been based since 1996. In 2007, he was one of the three co-founders of the Research Centre in Cosmopolitan Civil Societies, at UTS, which has grown to play a major role in bridging social science and civil society research agendas. At UTS James Goodman is actively involved in undergraduate teaching, in subjects such as 'Global Politics, from Above and Below', 'Regulating Communication: Law, Ethics, Politics', and 'Climate Change: Politics and Ecology'. He has supervised 15 doctoral students to completion, mainly in the area of non-government organisations and international politics. Through his academic work, James Goodman has been actively involved in a number of research-based non-government organisations. He has hosted conferences for the Asia-Pacific Research Network and has been on the management committee of the overseas aid monitoring group, AidWatch, since 1999. He

played a central role in the AidWatch High Court case that in 2010 established the constitutional right for charities in Australia to have a dominant purpose of criticizing and agitating against government policy.

#### Lauren LANGMAN, Loyola University of Chicago, USA

Lauren Langman, professor of sociology at Loyola University of Chicago. He works in the tradition of the Frankfurt School especially relationships between culture, identity and politics/political social movements. He was the

past President of Alienation Research and Theory, Research Committee 36, of the ISA as well as past president of the Marxist section of the American Sociological Association. Recent publications deal with globalization, alienation, global justice movements as well as right wing populism, nationalism and national character. His most recent books include Trauma Promise and Millennium: The Evolution of Alienation, with Devorah Kalek in. Latest books are God, Guns, Gold and Glory, with George Lundskow and Inequality in the 21st Century/, Brill, with David Smith. The next book is Mobilizing for Dignity, Routledge with Tova Benski to be followed by Identity and Hegemony, that looks at how hegemony sustains elite class domination while counter hegemonic mobilizations by the "people" resist and contest domination.



Prof. Debal K. SinghaRoy MA, MPhil, PhD, is Professor of Sociology in the Faculty of Sociology, School of Social Sciences, Indira Gandhi National Open University, New Delhi. Pro-

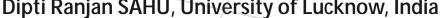
fessor SinghaRoy is a recipient of an Australian Government Endeavour Fellowship, 2010. Australia, Commonwealth Fellow United Kingdom (2006-2007); Alternative Development Studies Fellowship, Netherlands (2003); Shastri-Indo Canadian Fellowship, Canada (2001, 2018); Visiting Fellowship in La Maison des Sciences de l'Homme, Paris, (1999 & 2007). His

important publications include Identity, Society and Transformative Social Categories, Sage Publication, 2018, Towards a Knowledge Society: New Identities in Emerging India: Cambridge University Press, 2014, Peasant Movements in Post Colonial India: Dynamics of Mobilisation and Identity, Sage Publication, 2004; Social Development and the Empowerment of the Marginalised Perspectives and Strategies(ed), Sage Publication New Delhi, 2002; Women, New Technology and Development, Manohar Publication 1995; Women in Peasant Movements: Tebhaga, Naxalite and After, Manohar Publication 1992; Social Movements: A Course Guide, Athabasca University, Canada, 2006; Dissenting Voices and Transformative Actions: Social Movements in Globalizing World (ed) Manohar Publication, New Delhi, 2010; Interrogating Social Development: Global Perspectives and Local Initiatives (ed), Manohar Publication, New Delhi, 2010; Surviving Against Odds: Marginalized in a Globalising World, (ed), Manohar Publication, New Delhi, 2010

Ligia TAVERA FENOLLOSA, FLACSO (Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales), Mexico

Ligia Tavera Fenollosa was born and raised in Mexico City in a bicultural Mexican-Catalan family. She received her master s and PhD in Sociology from Yale University. She is a professor at

the Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales in Mexico City and a founding member of the Red Mexicana de Estudios de los Movimientos Sociales (RED). She is currently the editor of Movimientos, the first Mexican journal specialized in the analysis of protest, collective action, conflict, social contentious movements and politics http://www.revistamovimientos.mx. Her work has been published in several edited volumes and other scholarly outlets and her most recent research project consists of the development of a theoretical approach to the study of social movements and social change that looks at movements from an eventful perspective. She is a member of the Sharing Society project ,http://sharingsocietyproject.org; and principal researcher of the project "Social Movements and the Law," at FLACSO-Mexico.





27 years of teaching and research experience Served as Professor and Head, Sociology, Ravenshaw University, Currently serving as Secretary Indian Sociological Society New Delhi (2018-19). Served as Joint Secretary of Ethnographic and

Culture Society, Regional Secretary, Indian Anthropological Association, Treasurer, Orissa Sociological society, and Convener, Research Committee 17, Indian Sociological Society Social Movements (2011-15). Presently, serving as Professor and Head, Dept. of Sociology at University of Lucknow Secretary/Treasurer, Research Committee 48, Social Movements, Collective Action and Social Change, International Sociological Association, (2014-16). Publications include Sociology of Social Movement (ed), SAGE 2012 and more than 22 research papers. Completed more than 20 research projects and extended consultancies to various agencies. Currently serving as honorary board of director, CARAM ASIA, Kuala Lumpur Malaysia (2018-19).



### ISA IV FORUM OF SOCIOLOGY (FEBRUARY 23 – 28, 2021). ONLINE PARTICIPATION GUIDELINES.

The Newsletter of the Research Committee on Social Movements, Collective Action and Social Change (RC48)

#### 1. The website, your schedule

Please look at the ISA Forum Website before the 23rd to orientate yourself. You may create your own schedule for the Forum. https://isaconf.confex.com/isaconf/forum2020/meetingapp.cgi

OR

From the landing page, scroll down and click on the "Online Program 2021" at the bottom right of the page.

https://www.isa-sociology.org/en/conferences/forum/porto-alegre-2021

Also note you can choose between having all times in Brazilian time or your own time. Do not get confused!

#### 2. Your paper and session

The **Speaker Centre** page is very informative and gives you detailed instructions about your presentation, and some tips for Zoom if you are not familiar with it.

https://isaconf.confex.com/isaconf/forum2020/speakercenter.cgi

Also, the "Meeting resources" page is quite useful to better use Zoom: https://isaconf.confex.com/isaconf/forum2020/meetingapp.cgi/ModuleMeetingInfo/0

A few summarised points to remember:

- Please click on the Zoom link 20 minutes before the session is due to start
- Please ensure you know how to share your screen if you have a presentation.
- Please stick to your time allocation start by saying the most important contribution your paper makes you can always clarify methodology and background later. Tell us what you have found and why your work matters.
- If you are presenting in a language other than English, please ensure your PowerPoint is in English to help others



	IV ISA FORUM OI	r Sociology, Porto Alegre, I	February 23-28, 2021			
Porto Alegre	09:00-10:30	10:45-12:15	12:30-14:00	14:15-15:45	16:00-17:30	17:45-20:00
UTC	12:00 - 13:30	13:45-15:15	15:30-17:00	17:15-18:45	19:00-20:30	20:45-23:00
Berlin	13:00 - 14:30	14:45-16:15	16:30-18:00	18:15-19:45	20:00-21:30	21:45-24:00
New Delhi	17:30-19:00	19:15-20:45	21:00-22:30	22:45-00:15	00:30-02:00	02:15-04:30
Tokyo	21:00-22:30	22:45- 0:15	0:30-2am	2:15-3:45 am	4am-5:30 am	5:45 - 8am
Melbourne	23:00-0:30	01:45-02:15 am	02:30-04:00 am	04:15-05:45 am	06:00-07:30 am (next day)	07:45-10am (next day)
New York	7:00-8:30	8:45-10:15	10:30-12 noon	12:15-13:45	14:00 - 15:30	15:45 - 18:00
Los Angeles	04:00-05:30	05:45-07:15	07:30-9:00	9:15-10:45	11:00-12:30	12:45-15:00
February 23 Tuesday	RC/WG/TG	RC/WG/TG	Opening ceremony Opening plenary		RC /WG/TG	RC/WG/TG 17:45-19:15
February 24 Wednesday	RC/WG/TG	RC/WG/TG	2 Semi-Plenaries (LOC-SBS & ALAS) PDS Publications	RC/WG/TG PDS Junior Senior Scholars	RC/WG/TG	Common Sessions
February 25 Thursday	RC/WG/TG	RC/WG/TG	2 Semi-Plenaries (LOC-SBS & CLACSO) PDS Publications	RC/WG/TG PDS Teaching Sociology	RC/WG/TG PDS Publications	Common Sessions
February 26 Friday	RC/WG/TG	RC/WG/TG	2 Semi-Plenaries (LOC- SBS & ISA) PDS Publications	RC/WG/TG PDS Teaching Sociology	RC/WG/TG PDS Publications	Common Sessions
February 27 Saturday	RC/WG/TG	RC/WG/TG	2 Semi-Plenaries PDS Publications	RC/WG/TG PDS Sociological Movies	RC/WG/TG	Closing Plenary Session
February 28	RC/WG/TG	RC/WG/TG		RC/WG/TG	RC/WG/TG	

PDS = Professional Development Sessions

RC/WG/TG = Research Committees, Working Groups, Thematic Groups sessions

#### Tuesday, 23 February 2021

10:45 - 12:15

592 Social Movement Theory and Research: Past, Present and Future

16:00 - 17:30

593 Old and New Forms of Collaborative Collective Action: The Impacts of Sharing in Contemporary Societies. Part I

17:45 - 19:15

594 Revisiting the Role of Digital Media in Social Movements. Part I JS-2 Imagining the Future: Social Movements, Political Imaginaries and New Utopias

Wednesday, 24 February 2021

09:00 - 10:30

10:45 - 12:15

596 Online Activism and Digital Social Movements

14:15 - 15:45

597 Old and New Forms of Collaborative Collective Action: The Impacts of Sharing in Contemporary Societies. Part II

JS-17 Alienation and the Reactionary Right

16:00 - 17:30

598 RC48 Business Meeting

JS-23 A New Sociological Paradigm for XXI Century Social Movements and Conflicts

Thursday, 25 February 2021

09:00 - 10:30

599 Protest Politics in Times of Crisis: Comparative Perspectives from the Global South

JS-27 Social Movements As Protagonists of New Agrifood Markets Part I

10:45 - 12:15

600 New Social Movements in Contemporary South Asia

JS-32 Young People, Collective Action and Participation: Diffusion and Innovation

14:15 - 15:45

601 Mobilization in the Age of the Arab Uprisings: An Intersectional Approach

JS-34 Religion, Environment, and Social Movements

16:00 - 17:30

JS-42 Revisiting the Role of Digital Media in Social Movements. Part II

Friday, 26 February 2021

09:00 - 10:30

602 Democratic Experiments in Social Movements and Society
JS-47 'Beyond the Factory Gates': The Broader Context for Workers'
Rights and Representation

10:45 - 12:15

603 From Subjectivity to Mobilization: A Critical View

JS-53 Organized Collective Action: Building Bridges from Social

Movements and Formal Organizations. Part I

14:15 - 15:45

JS-57 Organized Collective Action: Building Bridges from Social Movements and Formal Organizations. Part II

16:00 - 17:30

JS-64 Student Power

#### Saturday, 27 February 2021

09:00 - 10:30

JS-66 Social Movements, Contentious Politics, and the Imagination of Alternative Futures. Part II

10:45 - 12:15

604 Gender, (anti) Feminism and Emotions As Battlefields in Social Movements and Collective Action

JS-70 Solidarity Economy Projects in Diverse Social Contexts

14:15 - 15:45

JS-78 Social Movements, Contentious Politics, and the Imagination of Alternative Futures. Part I

16:00 - 17:30

605 Social Movements for Environmental Justice and Local Governance

Sunday, 28 February 2021

606 Public Problems, Public Social Science. Part II

10:45 - 12:15 607 Social Movements, Civil Society and Grassroots Activism

14:15 - 15:45 608 The Challenges of Democratic Political Agency in Social Movements Today

#### Tuesday, 23 February 2021

592 - Social Movement Theory and Research: Past, Present and Future

Tuesday, 23 February 2021 10:45 - 12:15

Theory and research on social mobilization are shaped by the conditions of their times the social positions and values of researchers and theorists. The history of SMS theory has generally shown a systematic move from "irrational mobs" to the structural functional analyses of "strain" and the highly rational, self-interested actor of resource mobilization theory. The legacy of the Frankfurt school analysis of the rise of fascism, based on how alienation, character, identity, and values, primarily authoritarianism, influenced the various new social movement theories, which have attempted to see most of the newer, especially progressive social movements, based upon "project identities" that aimed to transform collective identities and values whose occupations mobilizations take place in the public sphere that would critique existing identities and values, articulate newer, more progressive subjectivities and values rather than attempt to foster social change through partisan elections in the political sphere. The recent social mobilizations of our times, the progressive mobilizations that began with the various anti-globalization protests, to Arab spring, southern Europe and Occupy, and most recently, Black Lives Matter, Me Too the left politics of Millennials and Z generations as well as the various right-wing movements today, populism's, authoritarian nationalisms, etc. have required us to rethink

the outcomes of these mobilizations. This session will attempt to consider some of the newer perspectives emerging to explain contemporary social mobilizations in general, and some of the specific movements of today.

#### **Session Organizers**

Lauren Langman Loyola University of Chicago

Tova Benski College of Management Studies

Liana Maria Daher University of Catania

Camilo Tamayo Gomez Birmingham City University

#### Chair

Tova Benski College of Management Studies

# Presentations ORAL PRESENTATIONS

10:45

592.1 What Is Transformative Protest? Christian VOLK, Free University Berlin, Germany

11:00

592.2 Prosocial Disobedience: A New Conceptual Framework to Study Social Protests

Liana Maria DAHER1, Augusto GAMUZZA2 and Davide NICOLOSI2, (1) Educational Sciences, University of Catania, Catania, Italy, (2) University of Catania, Italy

11:15

Lawyers in Social Mobilization and Protest
Carolina VESTENA, University of Kassel, Germany and Luiz Otávio RIBAS,
IESP Institute of Social and Political Studies, Brazil

11:30 592.4 Toward a Global Historical Sociology of Social Movements Kei TAKATA, University of Duisburg-Essen, Germany

#### 592.1 - What Is Transformative Protest?

Tuesday, 23 February 2021 10:45 - 11:00

#### **Abstract**

The paper examines what is meant by "transformative political protest". I argue that we should speak of transformative protest in social- and democratic-theoretical terms when the practices of a movement reveal themselves as or can be interpreted as acts of resistance against the depoliticization of modern political orders. From a concept-building point of view, it is crucial to see that depoliticization is not an epiphenomenon of modern political order but marks the core mechanism of domination. As a concept, depoliticization encompasses the multifarious manners which could remove or prevent the central practices of reproduction of the social and political order from being contested in public. The consequence of this removal is the fixation and hardening of the status quo. At the same time, however, I argue that not every transformative protest is emancipatory in nature, but rather I point out that there are also regressive forms of activist critique of domination and try to name criteria.

#### **Author**

Christian Volk
Free University Berlin

### 592.2 - Prosocial Disobedience: A New Conceptual Framework to Study Social Protests

Tuesday, 23 February 2021 11:00 - 11:15

#### **Abstract**

Over the time, protests have changed as well the reasons of mobilizations. The concept of civil disobedience, defined by Thoreau (1849) as the active and declared dissent of a citizen toward public rules and regulations, systems of laws, and government directions, can no longer be an exhaustive model through which analyse several collective behaviour expressions of the nowadays global society.

Pro-immigrants and immigrants protests as well as several global movements, whose attitude is to advocate human rights and needs of certain social categories, demand social change through mobilisations, demonstrations, petitions but even through occupations and illegal actions. They can be seen and analyse through a model of pro-social disobedience, describing collective actions which aim to produce a positive social change to benefit the whole civil society, not only and not necessary involving the participants needs, looming a kind of collective action in favor of and not only against.

The new framework, not fully implemented in sociology, would examine this kind of collective action as a right granted to the citizen within democratic systems and/or duty imposed in the interest of society (human rights defence and tendency to equalization) and as a dynamic of alternative construction, often symbolic, of reality. Disobedience is seen as an action of protest moving within the boundaries of issues related to solidarity and cooperation, also in a moral, ideal, and sometime Utopian direction, therefore oriented towards projects that are not always feasible.

The concept can only move from a cross-disciplinary perspective and focus on identity issues.

This paper aims to develop the above framework and highlight how it could be useful in the analysis of recent form of solidarity social protests.

#### **Authors**

Liana Maria Daher University of Catania

Augusto Gamuzza
University of Catania

Davide Nicolosi University of Catania

592.3 - Lawyering for Social Transformation? a Debate on the Role of Lawyers in Social Mobilization and Protest

Tuesday, 23 February 2021 11:15 - 11:30

#### **Abstract**

The work is inscribed in a research agenda on legal professionals and cause lawyering in their interactions with social movements in processes of collective mobilization. The objective of our presentation is to discuss how groups of professional lawyers operate in social mobilizations and protests and how they articulate the purpose of their professional practice with the objectives of social movements. These actors are fundamental to support the struggles of social movements and to foster their demands and politicize a social issue. In this specific work, we offer in the first hand a theoretical debate drawing on the critical debate on the limits and potentials of cause lawyering. In the second hand we discuss insights from empirical research carried out on the engagement of lawyers both in the Brazilian large-scale demonstrations of June 2013 and the anti-austerity protests in Portugal in 2011-2012. This research opens questions for a research agenda on multiple forms of interaction between collective and legal actors and jurisdiction.

#### **Authors**

Carolina Vestena University of Kassel Luiz Otávio Ribas
IESP Institute of Social and Political Studies
592.4 - Toward a Global Historical Sociology of Social Movements

Tuesday, 23 February 2021 11:30 - 11:45

#### **Abstract**

The rise of the anti-globalization movement at the end of the 20th century has prompt social movement scholars to pay greater attention to activism taking place on a global scale. Since then, we have witnessed various development in the theoretical tools and empirical analysis used to capture the dynamics of the newly emerged global social movements. However, despite these progresses, there is a tendency to dismiss the obvious fact that the global social movements are not necessarily a recent phenomenon. Especially with the so-called "global sixties" movement that was salient in its size and scale in transnational activism. Nevertheless, from a sociological vantage point, its global aspect has yet to be fully explored. Within this context, the paper would then explores the methods and approaches to analyze the global social movements from a historical lens through the case of the Japanese sixties movements. In part, it introduces an emerging paradigm of "global historical sociology" and examines its relevance for analyzing the global sixties movements. The paper particularly focuses on the structural and cultural opportunity and hindrance for transnational network building among activists. As Japan being an archipelago in the "Far East" with policy restrictions on international travel and remaining geopolitical tensions within East Asia, opportunities for transnational movements were largely restricted during the 1960s. In other words – network capital for transnational activism was low, especially compared with the sixties movements in North America or Western Europe. The paper argues that the combination and balance between open and closed opportunities for transnational network building is crucial while grasping the characteristics of transnational social movements in different countries, particularly by at historical cases where transnational looking mobility comparatively restricted.

Kei Takata University of Duisburg-Essen

593 - Old and New Forms of Collaborative Collective Action: The Impacts of Sharing in Contemporary Societies. Part I

Tuesday, 23 February 2021 16:00 - 17:30

In the context of technologically advanced societies we have witnessed a progressive weakening of the moderating role that the welfare state was performing on inequalities and social imbalances, the gradual abandonment of mutuality and social bonds that used to guarantee mutual support and interaction structures capable of making precarious life bearable.

This session is looking for different case studies of collaborative collective action and its effects in practices, bonds, structures and mobilizations that transform contemporary societies. The aim of the session will be to present different examples of forms and experiences of collective actions with a lower degree of structuring and organization than social movements, but which have a strong collaborative component and try to respond to collective challenges.

The cases can belong to, but are not limited to the following areas:

Food and agricultural production: food sovereignty, agroecology, zero kilometer movement, urban agriculture and community gardens;

Arts: art and the commons, collaborative art and new forms of creative commons;

Science and knowledge: collaborative forms of scientific production, citizen science;

Care and co-¬-housing: solidarity networks for personal care, health care, age care, childcare, co-¬-housing;

Culture: collaborative culture, open culture movement;

Economy, work and consumption: collaborative economy, circular economy, new forms of collaborative work and co-¬-working, collaborative consumption;

Technology: Maker and DIY movement, open source technology initiatives, medialab, hacktivism;

Politics: political and institutional collaborative governance, institutions

government.

#### **Session Organizer**

Benjamin Tejerina University of the Basque Country

#### Chair

Adriane Ferrarini UNISINOS

# Presentation ORAL PRESENTATIONS

16:00

593.1 From Do It Yourself to Do It Together: Sociological Analysis of Knowledge Sharing in Stockholm Makerspace
Mayya SHMIDT, Uppsala University, Sweden

16:15

593.2 Collaborative Collective Action and Institutional Violence in Mexico Ligia TAVERA FENOLLOSA, Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, Mexico and Julia HERNANDEZ GUTIERREZ, University of Louvain, Belgium

16:30

593.3 The Mobilizations of Knowledge: From the Rejection of Science to Collaborative Collective Action in Scientific Production Benjamin TEJERINA, University of the Basque Country, Spain

16:45

593.4 Collaborative Collective Art Actions.
Cristina MIRANDA DE ALMEIDA, University of the Basque Country, Spain

# 593.1 - From Do It Yourself to Do It Together: Sociological Analysis of Knowledge Sharing in Stockholm Makerspace

Tuesday, 23 February 2021 16:00 - 16:15

#### Abstract

Strong civil society coupled with the Swedish innovative capacity created a dialogue between many stakeholders, which resulted in a creation of socially and economically important projects. The study focuses on one of such initiatives - Stockholm Makerspace -a community of nonprofessional makers. Through interdisciplinary collaboration and shared access to tools, classes, and each other's knowledge, the members of the makers' community promote knowledge sharing and grassroots innovation. The paper pinpoints the key elements of member-driven organisation functioning and answers two research questions: (1) Why do members become part of the sharing initiative? And (2) What are the collective outputs the members seek to create? The study is informed with the multiple kinds of data: (1) 11 in-depth

The study is informed with the multiple kinds of data: (1) 11 in-depth interviews conducted with active members of community and experts, (2) ethnographic observation in situations of planned workshops and everyday life of the Makerspace, (3) systematic online observation. Triangulation of these materials provide more holistic view on the phenomenon under study.

Results revealed members of Stockholm Makerspace, acting as prosumers, attempt to benefit not only community under study, but also contribute to societal development at large, by creating a public good. The collective outputs that Stockholm Makerspace community seeks to create are: (1) to sustain the non-for-profit organization through active communal involvement into care and maintenance practices and spreading "word of mouth" about the community to make it more visible, as such associations are significant for the civil society; (2) to enable forms of exchange, embedded in social structure and connectivity, based on weak ties; (3) to complement formal education sites by knowledge sharing, thus contributing to informal learning; (4) to provide

incentives of sharing, vocalized by participants in the study are open-ended socializing and community commitment, as well as self-expression and belonging.

Author Mayya Shmidt Uppsala University

# 593.2 - Collaborative Collective Action and Institutional Violence in Mexico

Tuesday, 23 February 2021 16:15 - 16:30

#### **Abstract**

Institutional violence is a common feature of public institutions in Mexico. The Mexican state often violates the constitutional rights of people in several ways among which malpractice, refusal of service and/or revictimization, are most common. Studies have shown that in order to resist institutional violence and have their rights respected, people fight institutions mostly through individual action. Obtaining the required service and having their rights met often requires people to act in ways that reproduce institutional violence rather than challenge it. In this paper we: 1) explore if and to what extent do petition platforms have provided citizens an opportunity to collectively respond to institutional violence and 2) ask if such a collaborative way of fighting institutional violence has a transformative rather than a reproductive effect. We look, in particular for petitions related to institutional violence in the Mexican health and justice public sectors posted on change.org, one of the world's favorite online petition platform.

#### **Authors**

Ligia Tavera Fenollosa Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales

# 593.3 - The Mobilizations of Knowledge: From the Rejection of Science to Collaborative Collective Action in Scientific Production

Tuesday, 23 February 2021 16:30 - 16:45

#### **Abstract**

It is now 40 years since Paul Feyerabend published Science in a free society (1978) where he denounced the surprising prestige of science in the West and its incompatibility with a democratic society. Since then, changes that have to the mobilizations around science in the center of attention and public debate have taken place. After a first rejection of the use of science and research for private purposes, there has been a growing collaboration with science to put it at the service of public and common goals. Numerous experiences based on the participation in various forms of citizens have continued to increase around the world (Haklay 2012; Irwin 1995; Irwin and Michael 2003; Lewenstein 2004). This communication has three objectives: 1) to identify the different forms of participation between citizens and scientists (Lafuente 2013; EU 2014); 2) to try to respond to the characteristics, means, purposes, social impacts and resistances of this form of collaborative collective action between citizens and professional scientists; and 3) to present the current debates on the role of participation of citizens in scientific projects in the scientific field.

The communication presents data from a survey conducted on the opinions of alterglobal activists, information from mobilizations on the subject tracked on the internet, as well as interviews with scientists and discussion groups among collaborators on scientific projects.

#### **Author**

Benjamin Tejerina
University of the Basque Country

#### 593.4 - Collaborative Collective Art Actions.

Tuesday, 23 February 2021 16:45 - 17:00

#### **Abstract**

There are countless examples of collaborative artistic action. We will explore 2 kinds of collective art strategies, those that (1) make visible the problems of the public sphere in postmodern and hypermodern society and those that (2) aim at creating new forms of common through art.

The methodology used is mixed, based on a review of various theories of collective action applying them to art (LeBon; Blumer; Kornhauser; Smelser; Davies; Gurr; Morrison; Olson; Lichbach; Chong; Opp; MacCarthy; Zald; Benford; Snow; Diani; Jasper; Emirbayer; Cefaï; Meg McLagan and Yates McKee) and a series of interviews.

Orsi proposed the concepts such as 'economy of sharing', 'politics of sharing' and 'practices of sharing' and of truly collaborative economy. The hypothesis is that the concept of Collaborative Collective Action (CCA) amplifies Orsi's concepts by posing that collaborating is more than sharing and, therefore, collaboration in art is more than sharing art.

CCA in art involves actively enrolling society in all phases of a process so that the ultimate goal is the development of a sense of belonging, a recovery of social bonds between equals, through a conscious commitment to the commons and society. Art, thus understood, would contribute to restore the bonds between subject and community lost with modernity from its specific creative processes, and emerge through collective practices generated by individual artists and collectives that focus on the relationship and the creation of bonds, not on the creation of objects for the market. Common strategies are, among others, the creation of platforms and events, actions of empowerment and education to recover the commons in the public sphere. When art is understood as collaborative collective action there are impacts in relation to various dimensions of the art system.

Cristina Miranda De Almeida University of the Basque Country

### 594 - Revisiting the Role of Digital Media in Social Movements. Part I

Tuesday, 23 February 2021 17:45 - 19:15

The advent of digital media has been observed to create opportunities for social movements to thrive in different regions of the world. The growing popularity of mobile technologies and social networking sites, in particular, has allowed activist groups and active citizens to self-mobilize and self-organize without being confined by mainstream media and traditional organizations. However, adopting new media and information technologies in collective or connective action requires citizen activists to operate under different premises and may expose them to police surveillance and internal conflict. The question remains about whether and how digital media empower or constrain the capacity of social movements.

This session seeks to revisit the contemporary relationship between digital media and social movements. It solicits submissions to discuss and debate about the role of digital media in recent social movements. In particular, we would like to address the following research questions: What is the role of digital media in the processes of mobilization and collective action? What are the opportunities and challenges of using new media and information technologies for political development and progressive social change? How does digital media adoption promote and/or hinder the advancement of diverse social and political agendas? At the theoretical level, how should we conceptualize the ways in which digital media expand and/or alter our understanding of contemporary Contributions are movements? from welcome various methodological approaches and geo-political contexts.

Session Organizers
David Duenas-Cid
Kozminski University

The Hong Kong Polytechnic University

Anna Domaradzka Institute for Social Studies, University of Warsaw

Chair

David Duenas-Cid Kozminski University

### Presentations ORAL PRESENTATIONS

16:00

594.1 Cyberactivism As a Sociopolitical Phenomenon: An Integrated Analytical Model for Democratization within Networked Societies Ricardo ROHM, Gabriel VALUANO, Sara RIOS and Sofia XAVIER, Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

16:15

594.2 Digital Media and the Lived Experience of Activism Maria BAKARDJIEVA, University of Calgary, Canada and Delia DUMITRICA, Erasmus University, Netherlands

16:30

594.3 Methodological Figurations: Why Media Multistability Matters in the Study of Digitally Mediated Social Movements Alberto LUSOLI, Simon Fraser University, Vancouver, British Columbia, Canada and Frederik LESAGE, Simon Fraser University, Canada

16:45

594.4 Air Pollution and Social Media Activism. Repertoires of Knowledge (re)Production in Anti-Smog Movement in Poland Bartosz SLOSARSKI and Anna DOMARADZKA, Institute for Social Studies, University of Warsaw, Poland

# 594.1 - Cyberactivism As a Sociopolitical Phenomenon: An Integrated Analytical Model for Democratization within Networked Societies

Tuesday, 23 February 2021 16:00 - 16:15

#### **Abstract**

To analyze the networked society (Castells, 2007, 2017; Tufekci, 2017) and the impacts of digital technologies in offline activism (Tufekci, 2017; Valenzuela, 2013), the present paper has discussed the power relations and activism dynamics from the datafication advent. Aiming to comprehend how activists can influence, by the means of the current digital technologies, companies' and governments' communicational and processes, a model was created to categorize organizational cyberactivism considering the following criteria: (a) intention of action, (b) target audience, (c) digital technology employed e (d) power intensity. After a bibliographical and documental gathering, it was possible to identify twenty modalities of cyberactivist actions and create four main categories: (1) Mobilization, (2) Stress, (3) Joint and (4) Support. It was possible, then, to systematize the modalities analysis so that one can comprehend what they are, which tools they can employ, what their goals and expected outcomes are and how they can be restrained. Hence, it was possible to not only identify and schematize how these actions can be practiced together, but also suggest ways of effective and collaborative interventions. Finally, the Cablegate case, which engaged actors such as Wikileaks and Anonymous, was analyzed in face of this model.

#### **Authors**

Ricardo Rohm Federal University of Rio de Janeiro

Gabriel Valuano Federal University of Rio de Janeiro Sara Rios Federal University of Rio de Janeiro

Sofia Xavier Federal University of Rio de Janeiro

594.2 - Digital Media and the Lived Experience of Activism

Tuesday, 23 February 2021 16:15 - 16:30

#### **Abstract**

Taking theoretical guidance from sociological phenomenology and theories of practice and mediatization, this paper discusses participation in progressive social movements at the level of lived experience. Individual citizens' enrollment and sustained participation is critical to movements' growth and political efficacy. Yet little is known about how movement-related activities mesh with everyday life. Activism is typically discussed as a type of subject position and performance with reference to a public context without tracing the links to the ways in which activist self-understanding and practice is embedded in private lives. Taking the use of digital media by movement participants as our entry point, we investigate the complex intertwinement of the personal and the political that leads individuals to align themselves with collective identities and causes and to invest time and effort in collective action and the pursuit of movement goals.

Our analysis draws on two projects conducted in two different political and cultural settings – Canada and Bulgaria. In the course of these projects, we collected a total of 65 in-depth interviews with people variously involved in collective mobilizations around issues related to environmental protection, support of refugees, defense of public education, challenging sexual harassment, racial and sexual exclusion. The analysis presented in this paper focuses on the role of digital media in the construction and performance of activist identities in the course of everyday life. We discuss how these media affect the structures of the

experienced social world and the emergence of political sociality; under what circumstances they enable people to transcend "networked individualism" (Rainie & Wellman, 2012) and see themselves as members of movement collectives; and what challenges and pressures the maintenance of private and public presence in digital media spaces creates for activists.

Rainie, L. & Wellman, B. (2012). Networked: The New Social Operating System, Cambridge MA: MIT Press

#### **Authors**

Maria Bakardjieva University of Calgary

Delia Dumitrica Erasmus University

# 594.3 - Methodological Figurations: Why Media Multistability Matters in the Study of Digitally Mediated Social Movements

Tuesday, 23 February 2021 16:30 - 16:45

#### **Abstract**

The growing ubiquity of ready-to-hand digital media platforms as means of social interaction raises some epistemological implications which scholars should consider when studying the relationship between digital media social movements. In particular, the supposed deterritorialization of the field, and the increase in digitally mediated interactions, require us to rethink our research practices in face of the increasingly complex digital mediascape. Building on, and extending, the session's goal, i.e. "to revisit the contemporary relationship between digital media and social movements", in this paper we problematize the relationship that we, as researchers, establish with digital media technologies in the study of social movements.

how digital platforms open possibilities for different kind of interactions between researchers, digital media and research subjects. Countering the supposed transparency and neutrality of digital platforms, we propose to conceive digital media as multistable objects that are capable of redefining, in multiple ways, the relations between us, them and the research subjects, e.g. participants to social movements. We claim that digital media, as in a Gestalt shift, can be framed according to different methodological figurations that generate multiple conceptions of the same social phenomenon. Conceiving digital media as inherently multistable quasi-objects means becoming attuned to, aware of, and responsive to, the ways in which they colour the interrelationships between researcher, research subjects and the research field. On the contrary, ignoring digital media multistability might lead us to either overlook the substantive role they play as part of social movements or, far worse, extend and legitimize their datafication logic.

To demonstrate how methodological figurations are well placed to account for digital media multistability, we examine a test case involving the event-planning platform Meetup as part of an ethnographic investigation into the organization of labour in the Vancouver creative industry.

#### **Authors**

Alberto Lusoli Simon Fraser University

Frederik Lesage Simon Fraser University

594.4 - Air Pollution and Social Media Activism. Repertoires of Knowledge (re)Production in Anti-Smog Movement in Poland

Tuesday, 23 February 2021 16:45 - 17:00

The main aim of the paper is to present repertoires of knowledge production and reproduction of Polish anti-smog movement (Della Porta, Pavan 2017) in the social media activism (Bennett, Segerberg 2013). The Polish Smog Alert is the network of local and urban-based social movement organizations (Clemens, Minkoff 2004; Diani 2015) dedicated to fight against causes and impacts of systemic air pollution. Polish cities have the most polluted air in European Union – 33 of the 50 dirtiest EU cities are located in Poland (Nabrdalik, Santora 2018). National economy is based in 91% on coal, and the authorities treat the interests of coal industry as a condition of Polish energetic and geopolitical security (Popkiewicz 2015)

The Polish Smog Alert is trying to make the problem of smog and air pollution visible by shaping and spreading the knowledge, mostly through scientific-like visualizations based on various types of records (Latour 1986) to stimulate public awareness and empower local inhabitants. In this sense, anti-smog activists are engaged in citizen science practices (Bonney et al. 2009; Strasser et al. 2018) including the mapping the most polluted areas in Poland, measuring dust levels in urban and suburban sites and monitoring current air-quality policies. Anti-smog activists are "re-politizing data" collection and visualizations (Shelton 2017) by widespreading the use of smartphone air-quality/air-visual apps to mobilize citizens for change in their city and municipality (Earl et al. 2015). However, the producing, sharing and spreading of air-pollution data is associated with norm entrepreneur strategy (Domaradzka, Wijkstrom 2016; Finnemore, Sikkink 1998), which aim is to introduce the new air-quality norm into public discourse.

We will discuss the results of a discourse analysis based on social media posts created by the Polish Smog Alert network. This method allows to gain an insight into framing practices and tactics/strategies (Corrigall-Brown, Ho 2015).

#### **Authors**

Bartosz Slosarski Institute for Social Studies, University of Warsaw

Anna Domaradzka University of Warsaw

# JS-2 - Imagining the Future: Social Movements, Political Imaginaries and New Utopias

Tuesday, 23 February 2021 17:45 - 19:15

This session will focus on Social Movements from the Global South and the way that new civil society initiatives are imagining novel alternatives to address the future. From queer Utopian theoretical frameworks to cosmopolitan perspectives, this session would also discuss issues around power, global dynamics and social interactions. As a result, this session will explore debates around post-colonial politics and state-building and developmental issues.

### **Session Organizer**

Camilo Tamayo Gomez Birmingham City University

#### Chair

Camilo Tamayo Gomez Birmingham City University

# Presentations ORAL PRESENTATIONS

17:45

JS-2.1 Repensando Los Movimientos Societales En Bolivia y América Del Sur: Continuidades, Rupturas y Desafíos De La Acción Colectiva y En La Relación/Tensión Con El Estado

(https://isaconf.confex.com/isaconf/forum2020/meetingapp.cgi/Paper/11,2764)

Pabel LOPEZ FLORES, Postgrado en Ciencias del Desarrollo, CIDES-UMSA, Bolivia; Instituto de Estudios de América Latina y el Caribe, IEALC-UBA,

7 gerrana

18:00

JS-2.2 Imagining the Future with the Tropicalists

(https://isaconf.confex.com/isaconf/forum2020/meetingapp.cgi/Paper/111 089)

Juliana DEMARTINI BRITO, University of Cambridge, Brazil

18:15

JS-2.3 Cosmopolítica Andina y Futuros Pluriversales

(https://isaconf.confex.com/isaconf/forum2020/meetingapp.cgi/Paper/11 2660)

Alberto ARRIBAS LOZANO, Maynooth University, Ireland

18:30

JS-2.4 Global Dynamics and Local Interactions? Shaping Alternative Visions in Land Conflicts in Argentina

(https://isaconf.com/ex.com/isaconf/forum2020/meetingapp.cgi/Paper/116156)

Anja HABERSANG, Ruhr-University Bochum, Germany

### JS-2.1 - Repensando Los Movimientos Societales En Bolivia y América Del Sur: Continuidades, Rupturas y Desafíos De La Acción Colectiva y En La Relación/Tensión Con El Estado

Tuesday, 23 February 2021 17:45 - 18:00

#### **Abstract**

Éste siglo se abrió en América del Sur, particularmente en la región Andina-Amazónica, con una innegable reemergencia de movimientos sociales, principalmente de matriz comunitaria e indígena históricamente subalternizados provenientes del 'subsuelo de la política', pero también desde sujetos sociales que desbordaron y/o resignificaron los marcos de los movimientos sociales clásicos y que al interpelar y contestar las lógicas

y estructuras de colonialidad vigentes y supuestos del Estado-nación configuraron verdaderos 'movimientos societales' (Tapia, 2008). Esta impronta de nuevos repertorios de acción colectiva, revelaron un nuevo ciclo de 'sociedades en movimiento' y una época de disposición para articulación de horizonte potencialmente contra-hegemónico en la región, con procesos paradigmáticos como en Bolivia, que se expresó a partir de ciclos de movilización colectiva desde movimientos sociales principalmente de matriz comunitaria que también fue reconfigurando, en escalas distintas, las relaciones con el Estado y abriendo horizontes de transformación, descolonización y emancipación. Sin embargo, en la última década se asiste a un proceso complejo de retroceso democrático, de recomposición geopolítica y de confusión sociopolítica en la región marcado; por un lado, por el llamado "fin de ciclo progresista"; por otro avance de gobiernos con narrativas y políticas neoconservadoras y neo-fascistas, pero también con la expansión o intensificación generalizada de modelos extractivistas y de despojos múltiples de la mano con procesos de represión y criminalización de la protesta social. Me propongo reflexionar, problematizar y discutir sobre los procesos de reorganización de la acción colectiva que darían cuenta de diversas continuidades, rupturas y cambios en los lenguajes políticos y en los repertorios de acción colectiva, así como de cambios en las relaciones entre el Estado y los movimientos sociales en América del Sur, a partir particularmente del contexto boliviano, dando cuenta, a su vez de los horizontes de posibilidad y potencialidad de alternativas societales.

#### **Author**

Pabel Lopez Flores
Postgrado en Ciencias del Desarrollo, CIDES-UMSA
Instituto de Estudios de América Latina y el Caribe, IEALC-UBA

JS-2.2 - Imagining the Future with the Tropicalists

Tuesday, 23 February 2021 18:00 - 18:15

#### Abstract

To this day, Tropicália is a widely contested movement. Amongst many complexities at stake in the movement was its success to reinforce to a younger generation that cultural production must be imbued with political contestation, during a moment marked by hardline repression, torture and exile. The group mixed bossa nova, samba, rock and roll, presented themselves in parodic tropical settings, at times cross-dressing and wearing androgynous outfits, drawing from earlier Brazilian modernist philosophical influences of anthropophagy (Brazil's devouring of cultures in order to produce something new) and contemporary international influences. I therefore analyze in this text the vast material and legacy of practices by selected Tropicalist artists to question the movement's engagement with transnationalism, modernization and its alternative modes of enacting the past to produce new visions of the future. Through a queer utopian theoretical framework, I locate in the movement new ways of understanding processes of modernization and the future at times of political repression, a topic increasingly relevant to the current phobic landscape of Brazilian society. I argue that some of the work produced by Tropicália artists indicate a mode of living through and resisting to authoritarian ruling that extends beyond a narrative suffering, one which is located in the overlapping of identities and the parodical allegorization of Brazilian history. In sewing unharmonious elements together, creating a circulation and literal consumption of the past through their use of anthropophagic ideology, dissolving traditional imagery back into mobile practices to call for the crafting of a new future, these artists' works embodied of a number of anachronisms that provided a different reading of political contestation and identity for the epoch.

#### **Author**

Juliana Demartini Brito University of Cambridge

### JS-2.3 - Cosmopolítica Andina y Futuros Pluriversales

Tuesday, 23 February 2021 18:15 - 18:30

#### **Abstract**

Esta comunicación explora la cosmopolítica andina y su contribución para imaginar y tejer otros horizontes de futuro. A partir del trabajo de campo realizado entre junio de 2018 y mayo de 2020 con el Proyecto Andino de Tecnologías Campesinas (PRATEC) y los Núcleos de Afirmación Cultural Andino-Amazónica en Perú, mi propuesta invita a pensar el futuro / los futuros (y su construcción) desde la perspectiva de la ontología política. En la concepción eurocéntrica del tiempo lineal, los futuros deseables implican a menudo la superación del pasado que pervive en el presente. Este ethos es compartido por la axiomática capitalista, que hace que 'todo lo sólido se desvanezca en el aire'; por la epistemología moderna/colonial, que enmarca los saberes-haceres subalternos como primitivos, atrasados, subdesarrollados; y por los grandes relatos progresistas, que ven en la ruptura revolucionaria su horizonte de deseo, su ideal de realización de una política emancipadora. Por su parte, en la cosmovivencia andina, con una concepción no-lineal del tiempo, el futuro los futuros deseables (cuya construcción no depende solo de la acción humana, sino también de la acción de otras comunidades no-humanas) pasan por la recreación/regeneración del pasado en el presente. No su imposible reproducción literal sino su repetición como diferencia. Recrear el pasado bajo las condiciones cambiantes del presente alienta hoy en el área andina múltiples prácticas de afirmación cultural, autonomía y descolonización que operan sobre las más diversas dimensiones: regeneración de las tramas comunitarias, formas de distribución de autoridad, salud y educación propia, tecnologías de producción, ritualidad, lengua, etc.

En este contexto, para las comunidades andino-amazónicas la posibilidad de tener futuros propios, singulares, auto-determinados, y en diálogo

entretejida/imbricada íntimamente con el pasado que se armoniza en el presente.

### Author

Alberto Arribas Lozano Maynooth University

# JS-2.4 - Global Dynamics and Local Interactions? Shaping Alternative Visions in Land Conflicts in Argentina

Tuesday, 23 February 2021 18:30 - 18:45

#### **Abstract**

In the wake of global crises and structural transformations, growing land acquisitions by (foreign) investors, land grabbing, can be observed – also in Argentina. These are aimed at implementing large-scale raw materials and infrastructure projects, or the mining or cultivation of mineral, fossil and agricultural resources. Consequently, land conflicts involving parts of the indigenous Mapuche population and movement have intensified, causing the actors involved to adapt and renegotiate their positions and strategies. How do Mapuche communities construct alternative visions of the future? During my research stay in Argentina in 2019, Ninvestigate this question empirically through methods of qualitative social research. Results show that the Mapuche struggle for a way of life that is constantly environment, re-establishing the harmony with the proclaiming the Buen Vivir (Good Living) as a guiding concept. The Good Living understood as an alternative concept to the capitalist and (neo)extractivist model deepened by the state in the name of progress and development, focusing on alternative pathways to sustainable post-development. Also, as an alternative to individualism, emphasizing a community-based living. Therefore, this vision of the future is closely related to identity construction, as the Mapuche cosmovision is practiced collectively, requiring community life tied to their ancestral territory. In

political, economic and spiritual process of rebuilding the Mapuche nation. They emphasize their identity as a nation and claim the transformation towards a pluri-national state. The analysis indicates that it is decisive for their utopia to be built, to dissolve the idea of progress that goes beyond development, or as an alternative to development by constructing a post-capitalist society. As this contradicts the state's development strategy and global dynamics, land conflicts are characterized by escalating conflict contexts.

#### **Author**

Anja Habersang Ruhr-University Bochum

Wednesday, 24 February 2021

595 - Publics Problems, Public Social Science. Part I

Wednesday, 24 February 2021 09:00 - 10:30

Social movement research has relatively recently turned its attention to transnational movements. Following similar sessions in Yokohama, Vienna and Toronto presentations in this session are to address research designs for a study of transnational movements that go beyond single-site ethnographic reports, the analysis of discourse imports & exports, or on-the-spot surveys of participants of the international fora. Explicitly encouraged are designs that capture the cross-country regional or transcontinental character of a social movement as a process, an act of mobility / a flow / a transfer (of money, people, communication, technology, emotion, organizing skills). Especially welcome is multi-sited research attentive to both solidarity and conflicts - catching the dynamics of communication, networking and cooperation over time, but also of (unequal) exchange stemming from or resulting in the hierarchies of

to investigate how the intra-regional as well as the Global North and the Global South social movements affect each other, and how they seek to influence, are influenced by, or contest key decision-making bodies of the major industries, international institutions or governance regimes.

### **Session Organizer**

Paola Diaz

Centre for Social Conflict and Cohesion Studies

#### Chair

Alicia Márquez Murrieta Instituto de Investigaciones Dr. José María Luis Mora

# Presentations ORAL PRESENTATIONS

09:00

595.1 Creando Conocimientos (i)Legítimos En El Contexto Del Cambio Climático, Chile.

Maria Consuelo BISKUPOVIC, Universidad Academia de Humanismo Cristiano, Chile

09:15

7595.2 "La Tragedia De Los Setenta" Como Problema Público Virgina VECCHIOLI, Universidade Federal de Santa Maria, Brazil

09:30

595.3 El Papel Del Número De Participantes En Los Nuevos Movimientos Sociales De Acuerdo Al Cambio Socio Tecnológico En Curso.

Paulina BENITEZ, Universidad de Concepción, Chile

# 595.1 - Creando Conocimientos (i)Legítimos En El Contexto Del Cambio Climático, Chile.

Wednesday, 24 February 2021 09:00 - 09:15

#### Abstract

Dentro de los desafíos de la gobernanza del cambio climático, integrar a la ciudadanía no sólo en la necesidad de cambios profundos en nuestros comportamientos, sino también en la movilización de conocimiento es central (Aldunce, Beilin, Handmer, & Howden 2016; Arriagada et al., 2018; Blanco & Fuenzalida, 2013; Hasbún- Mancilla et al., 2017; Sapiains, Ugarte, & Aldunce, 2017). Los conocimientos indígenas, o locales, "han sido ignorados como estrategias viables frente a la problemática climática" (Ulloa, 2008). La ciudadanía ha quedado al margen de la toma de decisiones frente al liderazgo de actores gubernamentales y científicos o expertos en el problema del cambio climático (Ulloa, 2008; Urry, 2015). A partir de esta desigualdad en término de participación, este trabajo analiza cómo la sociedad civil se organiza en Chile para construir y legitimar saberes sobre la gestión y definición del problema. Gracias a un enfoque etnográfico, nos centramos en cómo se vuelven (i)legítimos los saberes movilizados en diferentes instancias participativas.

Gracias al enfoque de la sociología pragmática – aún incipiente en América Latina (Breviglieri, Diaz, & Nardacchione, 2017) – rescatamos la idea que en la democracia representativa, la experticia no es inequívoca ni objetiva (Barbier et al., 2013). En ésta, es importante otorgar legitimidad a los problemas formulados por los "profanos" o "locales" (Biskupovic, 2015; Biskupovic & Canteros, 2019; Estades & Rémy, 2003).

Cuando no todos los conocimientos son incluidos en la toma de decisiones, aumentan las incertidumbres. Nuestro objetivo es mostrar que los diversos actores de la sociedad civil involucrados en el problema climático en el país desarrollan procesos participativos en los que se generan conocimientos que son claves para mejorar las acciones, a la vez

profanos, técnicos, científicos, etc.), creando espacios de discusión y desarrollando una cultura política propia.

#### **Author**

Maria Consuelo Biskupovic Universidad Academia de Humanismo Cristiano

595.2 - "La Tragedia De Los Setenta" Como Problema Público

Wednesday, 24 February 2021 09:15 - 09:30

#### **Abstract**

En el contexto de la reapertura de los juicios de Lesa Humanidad (2005) y la implementación de políticas de Estado en derechos humanos, un número creciente de actores y grupos se han hecho presentes en la escena pública argentina con el fin de denunciar como moralmente inaceptable algunas de sus consecuencias: a) familiares y camaradas de las Fuerzas Armadas impugnan los "juicios de la venganza," reivindican la libertad a los "presos políticos" y el reconocimiento a las víctimas del "terrorismo"; b) hijos de desaparecidos apropiados por militares y recuperados por sus abuelas se oponen a ser restituidos a sus familias biológicas y denuncian pública y judicialmente la obligación de sustituir el apellido de sus apropiadores. c) Hijos de genocidas rompen el vínculo con sus padres y exigen al Estado poder cambiar su apellido y testimoniar judicialmente en su contra.

Buscando resolver estas situaciones problemáticas, estos actores se nuclean en nuevas y diversas asociaciones civiles y llevan adelante repertorios de movilización desde el cual interpelan a los poderes públicos. La toma de la palabra bajo la forma de dramáticos testimonios hechos públicos en los tribunales, la prensa y la publicación de relatos autobiográficos testimonia la vocación militante presente en esta dinámica colectiva que hace surgir a un mismo tiempo al problema público, su público y la causa que los convoca. Este trabajo se propone

cual testimoniar deviene una performance política. Se examinará en base a estos materiales el trabajo crítico realizado por los colectivos en la estructuración de un nuevo problema público que, utilizando las categorías consagradas del activismo en derechos humanos, las redefine al tiempo que busca objetivar los contornos de la "tragedia de los 70."

#### **Author**

Virgina Vecchioli Universidade Federal de Santa Maria

595.3 - El Papel Del Número De Participantes En Los Nuevos Movimientos Sociales De Acuerdo Al Cambio Socio Tecnológico En Curso

Wednesday, 24 February 2021 09:30 - 09:45

#### **Abstract**

La ponencia plantea el desafío que implica la participación masiva de manifestantes en las nuevas acciones colectivas. Basada en el cambio socio tecnológico, que consiste en la convergencia de Internet, telefonía móvil y redes digitales, y la adopción que hicieron los individuos de ellas, al inicio de la década (Rainie y Wellman, 2012). Entre otros efectos, este hecho logró transformar la manera de difundir información e influencia, y desarrollar la acción colectiva.

El trabajo se propone discutir sobre la masividad de la participación de manifestantes convocados por reivindicaciones necesariamente implica heterogeneidad de los participantes y la pérdida del control central de los intermediarios sociales tradicionales en el marco del análisis de la acción colectiva universitaria chilena del año 2011.

#### Author

Paulina Benitez Universidad de Concepción

### 596 - Online Activism and Digital Social Movements

Wednesday, 24 February 2021 10:45 - 12:15

This session will analyze innovative perspectives to understand how new technologies landscapes are helping collective action online and offline in different social contexts. Particularly, this session focuses on to explore how emotions, affection, radicalization, and solidarity are helping to promote new forms of engagement between activists and digital platforms. The role of visual communication, and the creation of new narratives, are other aspects that this session would address.

### **Session Organizer**

Camilo Tamayo Gomez Birmingham City University

#### Chair

Augusto Gamuzza University of Catania

597 - Old and New Forms of Collaborative Collective Action: The Impacts of Sharing in Contemporary Societies. Part II

Wednesday, 24 February 2021

14:15 - 15:45

In the context of technologically advanced societies we have witnessed a progressive weakening of the moderating role that the welfare state was performing on inequalities and social imbalances, the gradual abandonment of mutuality and social bonds that used to guarantee mutual support and interaction structures capable of making precarious

lite bearable.

This session is looking for different case studies of collaborative collective action and its effects in practices, bonds, structures and mobilizations that transform contemporary societies. The aim of the session will be to present different examples of forms and experiences of collective actions with a lower degree of structuring and organization than social movements, but which have a strong collaborative component and try to respond to collective challenges.

The cases can belong to, but are not limited to the following areas:

Food and agricultural production: food sovereignty, agroecology, zero kilometer movement, urban agriculture and community gardens;

Arts: art and the commons, collaborative art and new forms of creative commons;

Science and knowledge: collaborative forms of scientific production, citizen science;

Care and co-¬-housing: solidarity networks for personal care, health care, age care, childcare, co-¬-housing;

Culture: collaborative culture, open culture movement;

Economy, work and consumption: collaborative economy, circular economy, new forms of collaborative work and co-¬-working, collaborative consumption;

Technology: Maker and DIY movement, open source technology initiatives, medialab, hacktivism;

Politics: political and institutional collaborative governance, institutions and citizenship, participatory democracy, participatory budgeting, open government.

#### Session Organizer

Benjamin Tejerina University of the Basque Country

#### **Chair**

Benjamin Tejerina University of the Basque Country

Presentations ORAL PRESENTATIONS

597.1 Sharing City and Collaborative Governance: The Case of Collective Civic Imagination Process Implemented in the City of Bologna Giulia ALLEGRINI, University of Bologna, Italy

14:30

597.2 Negotiation and Collaboration in the Canadian Refugees Welcome Movement

Maria BAKARDJIEVA, University of Calgary, Canada and Delia DUMITRICA, Erasmus University, Netherlands

14:45

597.3 POA Inquieta - a Novel Form of Collective Action for Urban Transformation

Adriane FERRARINII, Celma PAESE2, Antonio PEREIRA3, Alexandre PEREIRA SANTOS4, César PAZ3, Claudio FREITAS3 and Elisa MÜLLER3, (1)UNISINOS, Brazil, (2)Laureate International Universities, Brazil, (3)Unisinos, Brazil, (4)Hamburg University, Germany

15:00

597.4 Theoretical Emergencies in Collective Production. Knowledge and Praxis of Quilombolas Communities in the State of Paraíba Alberto Leonard BIALAKOWSKY1, Ruth LENARA IGNACIO2, Luz MONTELONGO3, Raysa PRADO2, Nora M. HAIMOVICI4 and Antonio PRADO5, (1)Universidad de Buenos Aires, Argentina, (2)Paraíba-COOPSSOL Brasil, Brazil, (3)FES Acatlán, UNAM, Mexico, (4)Instituto de Investigaciones Gino Germani, Argentina, (5)Paraíba-COOPSSOL, Brazil

597.1 - Sharing City and Collaborative Governance: The Case of Collective Civic Imagination Process Implemented in the City of Bologna

Wednesday, 24 February 2021 14:15 - 14:30

Sharing and collaboration have come to prominence in the public and political discourse in the last decade. Cities themselves are increasingly described as "sharing and collaborative" cities. "Collaboration" is also a key dimension of participatory practices carried out by citizens in micro urban areas, to take care of "urban commons". Practices which are often an "hybrid" since citizens take the lead while collaborating with public authorities. Moreover, a new phase of democratic experimentalism can be observed characterized by an increasing interest of public institutions to go beyond the implementation of "time limited" deliberative arenaswidespread from the '90 in different cultural and geographic contexts- in an attempt to promote new forms of relationship between institutions and citizens to be practiced over time, to foster a process of co-production of policies and a collaborative urban governance in the perspective of a "shared administration". Starting from the framework of analysis described above in this contribution I will present the case of the city of Bologna in Italy and in particular the process of democratic innovation promoted by the Municipality along the last 5 years, mainly with the adoption in 2014 of a "Regulation on collaboration between citizens and the city for the care and regeneration of urban commons" implemented trough the instrument of the "pact of collaboration" and in 2017 with the implementation of a new public function named "civic imagination" fostered trough the implementation of Neighborhood Laboratories every year in each neighborhood of the city and the shaping complementary participatory budgeting, administration itself defines as a "collaborative ecosystem". I will then critically discuss the participatory and collaborative practices and dynamics emerging in the context of this institutional innovation, particularly through the lens of the generation of a public dimension, meant as a collective and collaborative process of democratic imagination.

Author
Giulia Allegrini
University of Bologna

# 597.2 - Negotiation and Collaboration in the Canadian Refugees Welcome Movement

Wednesday, 24 February 2021 14:30 - 14:45

#### Abstract

The impending federal elections and the refugee crisis unfolding on the world stage in 2015 created both a political and a discursive opportunity structure for the rise of the Refugees Welcome movement in Canada. This movement represents an instructive case because it comprised a wide variety of stakeholders and creatively combined social-media facilitated communication and embodied collective action in its repertoire. It attracted intense public attention and left an enduring political and symbolic legacy.

This paper reports the results of a multi-method case study that aimed to capture the dynamics and practices of this broad-based (and relatively short-term) movement in which formal civil society organizations and grassroots citizens on the one hand, and communities driven by different moral principles on the other, collaborated to influence official refugee policy. The goal of our analysis is to identify the factors that led to their success. We draw from several data sets comprising (1) in-depth interviews with organizers (2) qualitative content analysis of Facebook group discussions (3) quantitative and qualitative analysis of Twitter posts (4) thematic analysis of mass media content. Theoretically, we build on ideas from Benford and Snow (2000) on collective action framing and Jasper (1997) on moral protest.

Our conclusions highlight several key achievements that paved the way for the high public resonance and political impact of the movement: (1) The use of social media facilitated a participatory discursive process that allowed diverse views to be negotiated (2) Affective symbols were successfully mobilized in collective action frame alignment between different moral communities (3) CSO activists acted as skilled mediators and symbolic resource providers.

An overview and assessment. Annual Review of Sociology 21:611-39

Jasper, J. M. (1997). The art of moral protest. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

#### **Authors**

Maria Bakardjieva University of Calgary

**Delia Dumitrica**Erasmus University

### 597.3 - POA Inquieta - a Novel Form of Collective Action for Urban Transformation

Wednesday, 24 February 2021 14:45 - 15:00

#### **Abstract**

Contemporary society is marked by increasing global inequalities and disbelief in institutions, but also by the emergence of new forms of collective action. This paper aims to present the Porto Alegre Inquieta Collective (PI), from Porto Alegre (Brazil). It aims to identify how the genesis, dynamics, and characteristics of PI can germinate the expansion of sociological analysis.

PI presents itself as a collective aimed at positive urban transformation from a local, human, creative, and inclusive vision stemming from Creative Economy. The collective organizes itself through Whatsapp groups (inspired by a significant truck-driver's strike in 2018) and in-person meetings (inspired by Medellín's "dialogue circles"). It constitutes an emancipatory platform that includes human elements: people with various places of speech; social processes (collaboration, facilitation, and meetings), and technological processes (observation, monitoring, communication and conflict management); as well as diverse human resources and technological, financial and material resources provided by

pararers and members and

The collective has no legal identity or partisan bias but understands itself as a political agent for social change. After a year of existence, it mobilizes over 2,000 members in 27 thematic groups and 21 ongoing projects. There are articulating roles to foster the "dialogue circles" and to horizontally and openly discuss governance. The collective adopts coexistence agreements instead of norms, such as "tolerance for failure"; "just do it!"; "act lovingly"; "love small-scale-deliverables"; "the abundance principle"; "work with creativity and knowledge"; "ideologies or parties do not drive us", and "there is no creativity without diversity and sustainability".

The empirical analysis of PI will scrutinize its characteristics (such as informality, horizontality, randomness, and plurality), which seem to provide new elements for collective action epistemology and analysis. Categories from Complexity Theories and Epistemologies of the South may provide new insights on contemporary collective action and on expanding Sociology analytics.

#### **Authors**

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Elisa Müller

# 597.4 - Theoretical Emergencies in Collective Production. Knowledge and Praxis of Quilombolas Communities in the State of Paraíba

Wednesday, 24 February 2021 15:00 - 15:15

#### **Abstract**

The academy has prevalently established scientific development through regulations with the instrumentation of "epistemic individualism", and privileged in its competitiveness metrics individual authorship. As well as it has privileged the theoretical production in the classrooms and laboratories. This paper will expose the results of studies that refer to the production of knowledge of collective subjects that overflow the claustral spaces. Whose condition and additionally build an emerging critical theoretical perspective, detached from a praxis as a collective subject. This will put into analysis the emancipated communities ex slavers Quilombolas of Caiana dos Crioulos (municipality of Alagoa Grande -Paraíba) and Rufinos (municipality of Pombal-Paraíba). The thesis that is Holding is the the flow of theoretical proposals that are expressed in forms of both language diversity and inter-languages, such as, oral and graphic narratives, the aesthetic, plastic, musical and community dance forms produced by the collective subjects, which transcend the mercantile labor logic. Thus entangling the environmental system with the demonstration of reciprocity with nature and the socialization of their ancestral knowledge with other subjects. For this, it is considered for the from the three convergent dimensions of research co-production: knowledge creation, creation of cognitive collective and interpellation to the hegemonic social intellect that segregates them.

#### **Authors**

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### JS-17 - Alienation and the Reactionary Right

Wednesday, 24 February 2021 14:15 - 15:45

In his now classical Escape from Freedom, Eric Fromm, one of the first scholars influenced by the 1844 Manuscripts and the 18th Brumaire of Louis Napoleon, attempted to understand the socio-historical basis of alienation. He did so primarily in terms of the anxieties of freedom that included the breakdown of stable communities, uncertainty over status, powerlessness, and the thwarting of self-realization that disposed people authoritarianism, domination, subordination, and tó projection/expression of aggression. For Fromm, authoritarianism was a major factor underlying the embrace of fascism by large segments of the German population, primarily the lower middle classes, some of the working classes, and, indeed, some of the industrial elites. Fast forward to today, when a period of slow but sure trends toward more progressive values has been followed in the last decade by a number of right wing movements, mobilizations, and political victories in the United States, Europe, the Middle East, and even Southeast Asia. How do the legacies of Marx, Critical Theory, a number of studies of history, and social psychology help us understand the various right-wing mobilizations,

virulent today? Moreover, this tradition of emancipatory critique suggests, despite the gloom, doom, and pessimism so prevalent, that democratic, inclusive, and tolerant postcapitalist society is possible. This session will be an attempt to further explore the relationships of alienation to the many right wing movements of today and address contesting these movements, while also imagining that "a better world is possible."

### **Session Organizers**

Andrew Blasko Bulgarian Academy of Sciences

Lauren Langman Loyola University of Chicago

Vessela Misheva Uppsala University

#### Chair

Lauren Langman Loyola University of Chicago

# Presentations ORAL PRESENTATIONS

14:15

JS-17.1 Populism, Alienation, and the Logic of Commodity Fetishism: Lukács's Theory of Reification and Authoritarian Leaders Richard WESTERMAN, University of Alberta, Canada

14:30

JS-17.2 Philippine Social Movements and the Perpetual State of Dictatorship

Phoebe Zoe Maria SANCHEZ, University of the Philippines Cebu, Philippines

14:45

JS-17.3 From Retrotopian Politics to Dystopian Future: An Appraisal of Contemporary India

Rajesh MISRA, University of Lucknow, India

15:00

JS-17.4 'Sometimes Anti-Social, Always Anti-Fascist' – Interplay between Moderate and Radical Actors within the Polish Anti-Racist and Anti-Fascist Movements.

Grzegorz PIOTROWSKI, University of Gdańsk, Poland

### JS-17.1 - Populism, Alienation, and the Logic of Commodity Fetishism: Lukács's Theory of Reification and Authoritarian Leaders

Wednesday, 24 February 2021 14:15 - 14:30

#### **Abstract**

The long aftermath of the 2008 financial crisis and its aftershocks has seen, on the one hand, the electoral collapse of the technocratic centrism that dominated in the 1990s and early 2000s, and on the other, the corresponding rise of authoritarian populists such as Trump and Rodrigo Duterte. Such figures portray themselves as "strong men," the only ones capable of protecting their supporters from a globalized economy. Their very disregard for established norms of law, politics, and even truth seem rather to have strengthened them in the eyes of their supporters; their irrationality seems to be part of their appeal.

For Georg Lukács, such an opposition between rational-technocratic expertise and the soi-disant 'great man' who operates outside the logic of the system is a necessary product of the alienation produced by commodity fetishism in capitalist society. For Lukács, this is seen in 'bourgeois' theories of history; I extend his argument to suggest that it explains the rise of authoritarian leaders in practice too.

account of the commodity structure as a structure of social forms in the Simmelian sense. Commodity fetishism means that people and objects can only come into social relations to the degree that they can be rationalized and universalized – everything substantial and particular is alienated from social relations, signified as irrational. Authoritarian populism, I will argue, appeals precisely to such 'irrational' elements, grounding social unity on immediate particulars such as blood, culture, or spirit. They are defined in opposition to the abstract forms of social relations defined by commodification and rationalization. They consist, in other words, of that which the commodity form alienates from social relations. In this way, capitalism symbolically defines its own antithesis – not, unfortunately, a revolutionary proletariat, but a mystical unity of the Volk.

#### **Author**

Richard Westerman University of Alberta

JS-17.2 - Philippine Social Movements and the Perpetual State of Dictatorship

Wednesday, 24 February 2021 14:30 - 14:45

#### **Abstract**

This is a comparative analysis on Philippine social movements during the Marcos regime and its prospects in the recent Duterte regime. It looks into civil society political action during the period of Marcos authoritarianism and the possible path it would take in today's Duterte regime, its differences and similarities.

The first Filipino experience of dictatorship was that of the Marcos regime from 1965 until 1986. Marcos dictatorship stood on sultanism spreading himself in all affairs of government albeit its lackluster of legitimation (Sanchez 2017). It was the first time Philippines was introduced to the

political arrests, enforced disappearances and torture (Karapatan Alliance for the Advancement of Human Rights 1986).

The 1935 Commonwealth Constitution of Tydings-McDuffie Law was transformed into the 1973 constitution catapulting Marcos' "reign of terror." It had constitutional authoritarianism to start with. All other social and political actions in the era of President Marcos became illegal, such as: the right of labor unions to strike, the right of students to protest, and even the right of landless peasants to clamour for land. But an EDSA People Power Revolution toppled down Marcos dictatorship. The Filipino aggregate psychological clamour for justice ushered EDSA 1 as a political mobilisation that ousted a dictator. But did EDSA 1 offer a democratic transition that effected social structural change in Philippine society after Marcos? There were a new breed of politicians who came after EDSA People Power 1, but did they satisfy social structural change in the Philippines?

What is the difference and/or the similarity between today's Duterte dictatorship and Marcos' dictatorhip? Will a People Power revolution happen again in the future? What are the prospects of Philippine Social Movements?

#### **Author**

Phoebe Zoe Maria Sanchez University of the Philippines Cebu

JS-17.3 - From Retrotopian Politics to Dystopian Future: An Appraisal of Contemporary India

Wednesday, 24 February 2021 14:45 - 15:00

#### **Abstract**

India is a glaring example of the rise of retrotopian politics and authoritarianism in recent times. Though in India the retrotopian politics started emerging a century ago during the independence struggle but started thriving for the last three decades. The last three decades are particularly marked by a variety of collective initiatives and politically organized mobilizations by a right-wing socio-political formation to transform India from a conglomerate of diverse identities to a singular Hindu nation by recalling past and by provoking disenchantment from the present. At the substantive level, a century-old highly organized militarist initiative (National Associations of Volunteers) may be underlined to bring about change in the Zeitgeist, in order thereby to hegemonize collective conscience, to gain control over repressive state apparatuses as well as ideological state apparatuses, and to attain the final goal of a totalitarian regime. This has given rise to subversion human rights and democratic institutions, on the one hand, and on the other hand ascent to a brutal ochlocracy characterized by lynching mobs and the police state. Nevertheless, in India, there is a history of dissent, democratization and people's struggles for rights, equality, and freedom. This ostensive contradiction gets expressed in people's resistance and engagement with alternative visions of the future vis-à-vis the nature of intensification of the totalitarian state power. A conceptual and theoretic explanation is called for. To explain the interplay between people/citizens and the emerging authoritarian state the two fundamental issues are addressed in this paper, (i) to what extent and in what ways the present and the future of India as democracy have shrunk and entered into a dystopian condition? and (ii) the possibility of reconstruction of history (democracy) by the people as collective agencies in terms of enlarging the public sphere.

#### **Author**

Rajesh Misra University of Lucknow

# JS-17.4 - 'Sometimes Anti-Social, Always Anti-Fascist' – Interplay between Moderate and Radical Actors within the Polish Anti-Racist and Anti-Fascist Movements.

Wednesday, 24 February 2021 15:00 - 15:15

#### **Abstract**

In the last years, Polish politics have radicalized and more xenophobic, homophobic, and racist claims are being made publicly. One of the turning points were the 2015 parliamentary and presidential elections, when fear against refugees and immigrants became one of the key themes. After the victory of the Law and Justice party, openings were created within Political and Discursive Opportunity Structures for radical right wing groups in Poland. This has sparked a reaction: re-invigoration of the Polish anti-fascist and anti-racist movement scene, with new groups emerging throughout the country, growing numbers of participants at anti-racist and anti-fascist demonstrations etc. The goal of this paper is to critically examine the concept of unspoken intra-movement division of labor between moderate and radical flanks in the context of Polish anti-racist and anti-fascist movement, basing on data from ethnographic fieldwork conducted in Poland between 2017 and 2019. Particular focus is put on the issue of radicalism and the role it plays in alliance-formation processes. The title of the paper – a name of a 1999 punk album recorded by Stage Bottles – indicates one of the key issues within the broadly understood Polish anti-racist movement (of which anti-fascist activities are part of): the common ground for cooperation between moderates and radicals is rather limited. The conceptualization of radicalism by both types of actors (radicals and moderates), its use as a bargaining tool in coalition-making, and how radicalism backfires against the movement by jeopardizing the coalitions and provoking repressions are the main questions driving the analysis. Interestingly, concept of radicalism is used by social movements beyond the usual conceptualization as a choice of radical repertoire of action or radical political claims, but is also visible in

claims affected by intersectionality of the movement.

#### **Author**

Grzegorz Piotrowski University of Gdańsk

#### 598 - RC48 Business Meeting

Wednesday, 24 February 2021 16:00 - 17:30

#### Chair

Liana Maria Daher University of Catania

# JS-23 - A New Sociological Paradigm for XXI Century Social Movements and Conflicts

Wednesday, 24 February 2021 16:00 - 17:30

The classic sociological paradigm involves including the tension between analyses that privilege structure and analyses that privilege action. Its principle components are Durkheim's structuralism, Weber's rational action and Pareto's elitism and the struggle between elites. XX Century Social movements studies where connected to this classical paradigm to analyze both working class movements and new social movements. The post-modernist theory and the post-colonial studies as well the post-western studies suggest themselves as new analytical patterns opposing classical sociological paradigm focused essentially on explaining the structure of the nation state in Europe in the industrial era. These theories really represent new paradigmatic models to explain today

can explain the social and cultural meanings of social movements like Arab Springs, Occupy Wall Street or Umbrella Movement? We invite to propose theoretical and empirical studies on the issue.

#### **Session Organizers**

Antimo Luigi Farro Sapienza University Of Rome

Kevin Mcdonald Middlesex University

Daishiro Nomiya Chuo University

Co-chairs
Kevin Mcdonald
Middlesex University

Daishiro Nomiya Chuo University

### Presentations ORAL PRESENTATIONS

16:00

JS-23.1 New Conflicts, Social Movements and Forms of Collective Action in Brazil Post 2013 and New Theoretical Approaches Maria da Gloria GOHN, University of Campinas, São Paulo, SP, Brazil

16:15

JS-23.2 The Residential Is Personal and Political: Experiences of Social Movements for Housing in London and Rio De Janeiro.

Taísa SANCHES, Pontifical Catholic University Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

JS-23.3 The Crowd and the Logic of Action of Contemporary Movements Paolo GERBAUDO, King's College London, United Kingdom

16:45
JS-23.4 New Sociological Paradigm
Antimo Luigi FARRO, Sapienza University Of Rome, Italy

JS-23.5 Vision Pathways: How Value Frames and Collective Identity Co-Shape Imaginations of the Future Birthe SOPPE, University of Innsbruck, Austria and Nadine ARNOLD, University of Lucerne, Switzerland

JS-23.1 - New Conflicts, Social Movements and Forms of Collective Action in Brazil Post 2013 and New Theoretical Approaches

Wednesday, 24 February 2021 16:00 - 16:15

#### **Abstract**

This paper part of the question of the panel: do postmodern, post-colonial or post-western analyses can explain the social and cultural meanings of social movements like Arab Springs, Occupy Wall Street or Umbrella Movement, and adds another question: These theories explain social movements from young autonomists and young conservatives of the right in Brazil, post June 2013? What theories can explain them? It is known that most of them are organized as 'collectives'. Can they be called social movements or are a new form of collective action? How do they articulate with society, and with current public policies? What news do they bring? It is known that they are diffuse, fragmented, represent a broad range of political-ideological tendencies-from conservators libertarian to autonomists. Many refuse partisan politics but not participation in the state public sphere. The paper presents a retrospective of these groups and collectives in Brazil from 2013 to 2020 and draws possible theoretical

approaches to analyze them.

#### **Author**

Maria da Gloria Gohn University of Campinas

JS-23.2 - The Residential Is Personal and Political: Experiences of Social Movements for Housing in London and Rio De Janeiro.

Wednesday, 24 February 2021 16:15 - 16:30

#### **Abstract**

Struggles of social movements related to housing are traditionally analysed - albeit from different perspectives - from their directed demands to the state. This perspective is important, as the provision of social housing is recognized as a duty for public authorities in most of democratically governed countries. This article, however, seeks to explore which experiences, in addition to the precarious access to housing (also considered), led individuals to engage in social movements for housing as a way to struggle for recognition of their subjectivities, such as memory and voice. Therefore, this analysis is inspired by the sociology of experience as proposed by François Dubet (1994), who defines three distinct logics capable of embracing the heterogeneity of subjective actions: integration, strategy and subjectivation.

This article is based on a research carried out with four different social movements in London and Rio de Janeiro, cities that are quite distinct from each other, but are approached from the experiences of subjects struggling to broaden their understanding of social housing. Public policy for housing in both cities is increasingly anchored in the concept of affordability, which translates the social housing financialization phenomena that is common to many countries. The members of the movements, however, seek not only the democratization of access to

sense of dignity, which includes sentiments of belonging, equality and the right to memory, in a way of fighting against the "territorial stigmas" (Wacquant, 2005) associated with those facing housing precariousness.

**Author** 

Taísa Sanches

Pontifical Catholic University Rio de Janeiro

#### JS-23.3 - The Crowd and the Logic of Action of Contemporary Movements

Wednesday, 24 February 2021 16:30 - 16:45

#### **Abstract**

One of the most surprising interesting trends in commentary on present protest movements is the debate about the return of crowds . This notion has been associated with many protest movements such as the French Yellow Vests, the Spanish Indignados, and the Hong Kong pro-democracy protests, that are usually taken as incarnarting a different protest logic from the one he anti-globalisation cycle. Besides their adoption of a rhetoric of "the people", what marks them out from previous social movements is a shift in organisational logic. These movements project a "crowd logic" in the way in which they seem to involve a moment of amassing and indistinction. They typically adopt tactics in which people gather in large numbers in routine occasions, either in the same space, or in the occasion of repeated events, as the Acts of the Gilets Jaunes. I will argue that these tactics are not merely picked for the purpose of organisational efficiency. They also communicate the values and meanings of these movements. They bespeak the way in which these movements are expression of highly atomised societies in which traditional forms of class organisation, such as trade unions, pressure groups and traditional parties, are uncapable of mediating between the individual and the state. In this context, the crowd acts as a moment of public representation of grievances that are piling up yet they cannot be

in this sense the manifestation of a demand for new forms of collectivity and community, that remain at a gelatinous level, failing to crystallise into more longstanding structures. This situation, it will be argued, condenses well the political dilemmas, of our society at a time at which polarisations are returning but are yet to find a stable form.

#### **Author**

Paolo Gerbaudo King's College London

JS-23.4 - New Sociological Paradigm

Wednesday, 24 February 2021 16:45 - 17:00

#### **Abstract**

A new sociological paradigm has to analyze: New planetary powers that impose models on individuals and groups while, at the same time, remaining detached from their fields of existence. They are systemic powers constituted principally through: a)The development of financial flows – also fed by capital of criminal origin – that occur in a manner separate from the performance of the real economy and the world in which individuals and groups actually work. b) The allocation of investments on a global scale that accentuate the disparities between developed and non-developed areas, with direct consequences for the lives of individuals and groups in under-developed areas, where it becomes difficult or impossible to access resources required to sustain their existence.c) The emergence of new techno structures that give rise to the application of techno-scientific models aimed at modeling the evolution of individual existence (for example, in fields such as medicine and foodstuffs).

#### **Author**

Antimo Luigi Farro

# JS-23.5 - Vision Pathways: How Value Frames and Collective Identity Co-Shape Imaginations of the Future

Wednesday, 24 February 2021 17:00 - 17:15

#### Abstract

Visions imagined by social movement organizations can expand by enrolling more and more actors and becoming enacted and accepted in everyday life. Such a pathway shows the vision of the Swiss solidarity movement which imagined more justice in international trade. Its expanding development was unclear from the outset, but we can now interrogate it retrospectively to better understand what shapes the dynamics and development of a social movement vision.

We mobilize institutional and organizational theory for developing a conceptual framework which enables us to study the historical pathway of an idea that envisages a particular future. The framework puts an emphasis on the link between field- and organization-level dynamics and guides our attention towards the relationship between a field's 'value' frame and collective identity in the context of a specific vision.

Drawing on an extensive analysis of archival data supplemented by interviews, we study the beginnings and growth of fair trade in Switzerland covering the period from 1970 until today. We observe a reciprocal, co-evolutionary process between changes in the field frame and shifts in the identity of fair trade organizations during the expansion and burgeoning enactment of the vision. This co-evolutionary process progressed through four stages during which the field frame and collective identity both clash and evolve together.

Based on our findings, we suggest that field members' identity and the frame of a field represent an interdependent 'bundle' which carries visions through time while shaping their pathways. During times of expansion, values can clash. Efforts at expanding a vision can erode the existing consensus between collective identity and field frame and result

organizational values in response to these issues.

**Authors** 

Birthe Soppe University of Innsbruck

Nadine Arnold University of Lucerne

#### Thursday, 25 February 2021

599 - Protest Politics in Times of Crisis: Comparative Perspectives from the Global South

Thursday, 25 February 2021 09:00 - 10:30

Protest Politics in Times of Crisis: Comparative Perspectives from the Global South

**Convenors:** 

Jojo Nem Singh, Leiden University, the Netherlands Isamu Okada, Nagoya University Japan

The contemporary politics of protests should be understood in relation to the rise of conservative forces, right-wing national populism, and the retreat of progressive politics in tackling issues such as poverty, inequality and difference. In Latin America, we have witnessed the return of the Right, whose electoral legitimacy was based on the failure of centre-left policies to sustain economic growth. In Asia, populist nationalists like Rodrigo Duterte have campaigned to promote public security and rule of law, oftentimes at the expense of civil liberties and human rights promotion. This session aims to explore the conditions, processes, and limits of protest politics as well as their consequences to democracy and

grounded papers that offer comparative and cross-regional perspectives on protest politics, social movements, and their relationship with states to explore any of the following themes:

- New forms of protests and social movements in response to changing political contexts
- Identifying macro-political, meso-, and micro-level factors that explain the causes and consequences of collective action
- Regional and country-level cases examining multiple forms of contentious politics
- Social justice, activist, and alternative framings to analyse contemporary global challenges
- The limits of protest politics in the face of conservative politics
- Theoretical and methodological papers to push frontiers of social movements research

#### **Session Organizers**

Jewellord Nem Singh Leiden University

Isamu Okada Graduate School of International Development

#### Chair

Camilo Tamayo Gomez Birmingham City University

### Presentations ORAL PRESENTATIONS

09:00

599.1 State-Led and Movement-Led Incorporation: A Framework from Latin American Cases

Isamu OKADA, Graduate School of International Development, Japan and Jewellord NEM SINGH, Leiden University, Netherlands

09:15

599.2 The Political Content of Protest in Recent Argentina.

09:30

599.3 El Rol De Las Tecnologías Digitales En La Acción Colectiva De Las Organizaciones Sociales De La Ciudad De Rafaela - Argentina Ana MAROTIAS, Mario RUSSO, Sofía BELTRAMO, Marianela TALLANO, Erica LÓPEZ and Candela EZQUERRO, UNRAF, Argentina

# 599.1 - State-Led and Movement-Led Incorporation: A Framework from Latin American Cases

Thursday, 25 February 2021 09:00 - 09:15

#### **Abstract**

The burgeoning literature on the second wave of popular incorporation in Latin America has focused on the conditions that have produced different pathways across the region. Specifically, we now have better knowledge about the effects of democratization and post-neoliberal political economy models in explaining how and why popular protests have been contained in the region. The debate, however, remains inconclusive. Although some scholars focus on leftist ideology of leaders and the underpinning social mobilization towards incorporating the poor, other scholars place both protest-led changes and the significance of state-led social policies in targeting the poor. Our paper seeks to contribute to these debates by answering two key questions: (1) what explains the different types of popular incorporation in Latin America, across heterogeneous ideological leanings and mobilization capacities, since the late 1990s; and (2) what role do popular protests play in incorporation projects, if any? To answer them, we propose an original conceptual framework based on the assumption that the state plays a crucial role in the political incorporation process. This is not to deny the relevance of societal pressure—on the contrary, popular pressures are necessary conditions for incorporation—but our paper argues that popular incorporation hinges on policy regimes, political coalition, and state capacity. While our empirical illustration from South American countries

theoretically recasts the puzzle of popular incorporation in a comparative perspective beyond the region.

#### **Authors**

Isamu Okada Graduate School of International Development

Jewellord Nem Singh Leiden University

599.2 - The Political Content of Protest in Recent Argentina.

Thursday, 25 February 2021 09:15 - 09:30

#### **Abstract**

Social protest is considered today in the scientific literature as a quite regular informal expression of social demands and is assumed to be proper and constitutive of contemporary democracies. It is characteristic of complex societies and often has transnational significance. In Latin America, social protest has a strong historical background and a very relevant impact on the present. Its study and consideration are of the utmost importance for the better understanding of the social demands existing overtime and the configuration of social subjects of political impact. Studies of social protest today form a prolific and relevant subfield within the research on collective action and social movements. Is social change a result from politics? Or is it an embedded property of society itself? Which is the role played on it by social mobilization? This paper will analyze these questions from a theoretical perspective but under an empirical consideration of a case, namely Argentina's events from 1989 to the present. We aim to reconstruct the configuration of recent collective action, with special reference to protesting actions as the emergence of demands and subjects in the public space, with an impact on the political system. Taking advantage of its complexity and the

imbrication between political and social, agency and structure in the study of social change. What happened then and there is quite a laboratory for social and political studies. Within social mobilization, our empirical research shows how social protest, politics, policies and society mutually imbricate themselves. We expect to discuss a few relevant issues, not only of collective action, of the forms of social claim, of relations between society and politics, but also limits (circumstantial or structural) of party systems and, ultimately, of the perspectives of our democracies.

#### **Author**

Federico Schuster Universidad de Buenos Aires

599.3 - El Rol De Las Tecnologías Digitales En La Acción Colectiva De Las Organizaciones Sociales De La Ciudad De Rafaela – Argentina

Thursday, 25 February 2021 09:30 - 09:45

#### **Abstract**

La ponencia analiza las prácticas y estrategias comunicacionales, basadas en el uso de las tecnologías digitales e Internet, en dos tipos de organizaciones sociales de la ciudad de Rafaela: las tradicionales y las nuevas, surgidas en los últimos quince años y cuyas temáticas están relacionadas con lo que se ha denominado nuevos movimientos sociales. Se hace foco en la manera en que estas organizaciones combinan las prácticas cara a cara y las mediadas por las tecnologías digitales, analizando a partir de allí la construcción de las subjetividades e identidades colectivas y su inserción en la cultura digital.

Se realiza una comparación entre ambos tipos de organizaciones tomando como indicadores los modos de utilización de estas tecnologías y el rol que cumplen para alcanzar los objetivos de cada organización. Se estudian las producciones intelectuales -materiales escritos, programas

centradas en la acción colectiva, tanto en espacios de encuentro en línea como presenciales.

Se usa una metodología cualitativa de diseño transversal, la delimitación temporal comprende los últimos 15 años (2004-2019), el recorte geográfico refiere a diez organizaciones sociales que intervienen políticamente en la ciudad de Rafaela, incluyendo tanto las tradicionales como las denominadas nuevas, no sólo por ser de reciente creación, sino por las temáticas de las que se ocupan. Se relevaron los sitios web y las redes sociales de estas organizaciones, analizando la utilización de estas tecnologías tanto para la comunicación interna como externa. También se realizaron entrevistas semiestrucutradas, grabadas en audio y video.

El análisis tiene como marco la transformación de las sociedades industriales tradicionales en postindustriales y el surgimiento de una cultura digital atravesada por prácticas comunicacionales con base en las tecnologías digitales e Internet que, además, permiten la realización de producciones intelectuales muchas veces relacionadas con la libre distribución del conocimiento.

#### **Authors**

Ana Marotias UNRAF

Mario Russo UNRAF

Sofía Beltramo UNRAF

Marianela Tallano UNRAF

Erica López UNRAF

Candela Ezquerro UNRAF

### JS-27 - Social Movements As Protagonists of New Agrifood Markets Part I

Thursday, 25 February 2021 09:00 - 10:30

Social movements have become protagonists in the restructuring of the agrifood system. This is not only due to the criticism they build of the oligopolization and financialization of food markets. Increasingly, the social movement's repertoires of action also include the construction of new organizational structures and institutional devices, from which they seek to disseminate political and moral principles that question the idea of food as a pure commodity or financial asset. This process of political construction of markets reveals that, rather than an impersonal and abstract structure that operates with a universally preconceived logic, they are concrete social arenas where the visible hands of different actors compete to organize relations and economic practices according to their interests and values. This session proposes a dialogue of approaches from the sociology of agriculture, social movement theories, public policies analysis, and economic sociology, with the aim of understanding how different social movements – from the traditional agrarian movements to the new food consumption collectives – are building social and political engagement to support civic food markets. The session is interested in discussing conceptual approaches such as alternative food networks, food movements, food democracy, food citizenship, prosumers and prosumerism, and other concepts used to describe such politicization of food production, marketing and consumption. It also invites works that critically debate this issues taking into account dynamics of inclusion and exclusion in terms of class, race, gender, citizenship, that is, the emancipatory possibilities of such social movements.

**Session Organizers** 

Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul

Camila Penna Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul

Simin Fadaee The University of Manchester

Renata Motta Lateinamerika-Institut FU Berlin

#### Chair

Paulo Niederle Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul

#### **Discussant**

Camila Penna

Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul

### Presentations ORAL PRESENTATIONS

09:00

JS-27.1 Brazilian Agrarian Movements and New Politic Arenas: MST and MPA's Urban Food Markets

Jennifer TANAKA, CPDA/UFRRJ, Brazil and Fátima PORTILHO, UFRRJ Federal Rural University of Rio de Janeiro - Brazil, Brazil

09:15

JS-27.2 The Role of Women in Agrifood Markets: Contributions from the Marcha Das Margaridas

Marco Antonio dos Santos TEIXEIRA, Freie Universität Berlin, Germany

09:30

JS-27.3 Social Movement Organizations and Food Markets: The Meetings and Mismatches in Brazil and Chile

09:45

JS-27.4 Buycott y Boycott Alimentario. Nuevas Formas De Participación Política En España

Isabel GARCIA ESPEJO and Amparo NOVO VAZQUEZ, Universidad de Oviedo, Spain

### JS-27.1 - Brazilian Agrarian Movements and New Politic Arenas: MST and MPA's Urban Food Markets

Thursday, 25 February 2021 09:00 - 09:15

#### **Abstract**

Despite the countless experiences of networks which (re)connection between production and consumption by constructing alternative food networks and short food supply chains, theoretical efforts to analyze these two fields in an integrated manner are still limited. In the Brazilian context, several movements of urban consumers have been supporting the "cause" of agrarian reform and family farming, as part of the processes of politicizing consumption and "eticizing" food. In parallel, as a strategy to resist agribusiness, the development of commercialization spaces in the large urban centers has come to occupy a central part of the political agenda of traditional agrarian movements. Movimento dos Trabalhadores Sem Terra – MST (Brazil's Landless Workers Movement), for instance, since 2015 has been working on a chain of stores called "Armazém do Campo", which are already presented in 5 Brazilian capitals, and has been organizing national fairs which has gathered more than 250.000 people to market products identified as being from "agrarian reform". Meanwhile, in Rio de Janeiro city, Movimento dos Pequenos Agricultores – MPA (Brazil's Small Farmers Movement) inaugurated a space called "Raízes do Brasil" that organizes, among other activities, with "peasant food" box schemes which has

paper aim to analyze how such traditional agrarian movements have been constructed new agrifood markets in the last years. It also explores how, despite their criticism towards capitalism and financialization of food markets, MST and MPA have developed actions and discourses that describe the market as a resistance and a political arena, whereas they have been promoting as well the politicization of food production, marketing and consumption. This paper is expected to bring contributions from economic sociology and consumption studies to rural sociology, expanding interdisciplinary dialogue.

#### **Authors**

Jennifer Tanaka CPDA/UFRRJ

Fátima Portilho UFRRJ - Federal Rural University of Rio de Janeiro - Brazil

# JS-27.2 - The Role of Women in Agrifood Markets: Contributions from the Marcha Das Margaridas

Thursday, 25 February 2021 09:15 - 09:30

#### **Abstract**

The sexual division of labor makes it difficult for the contribution of women's work in the agrifood markets to be seen. Women's work is usually related to reproductive labor, while men are responsible for productive labor, which includes the production and marketing of agricultural products. However, women have an important role in the commercialization of production by different ways, such as marketing products in street markets, by institutional markets and CSAs. This paper will focus in the analysis of the women's role in the process of building agrifood markets. How do women family farmers contribute in the building of agrifood markets? Are women innovative in terms of

analyze the contribution of the Marcha das Margaridas to this process focusing on two dimensions. Firstly, what are the Margaridas' proposals and practices to the marketing of agrifood products? Secondly, how are women mobilized in the Marcha taking part of the agrifood markets? This contribution will be discussed in the focus of a combination between theoretical perspectives on sociology of agriculture and social movement theories. The methodology employed includes the analysis of documents; interviews with activists; participant observation in both the 2015 and 2019 edition of the Marcha das Margaridas; survey conducted in the 2019 edition of the Marcha; and, finally, an analysis of the academic literature. The Marcha das Margaridas is a mobilization driven by women from the Brazilian union movement of rural workers, in partnership with other movements and organizations, including women's movements, trade unions and rural social movements. The Marcha started in the year 2000 and has had six editions since them. The last one was in 2019. With a broad political coalition, the Marcha includes in its agenda proposals for fair and sustainable agrifood markets.

#### **Author**

Marco Antonio dos Santos Teixeira Freie Universität Berlin

JS-27.3 - Social Movement Organizations and Food Markets: The Meetings and Mismatches in Brazil and Chile

Thursday, 25 February 2021 09:30 - 09:45

#### **Abstract**

The consequences of the expansion of the corporate food regime have led to a series of countermovements, which combine a civic critique based on the societal demands for equity, justice, social participation and sustainability. This paper presents a comparative analysis between the

(ANAMURI, MAELA and MUCECH) that represent challenging actors to the corporate food regime. The survey was conducted from 2016 to 2018, through interviews with leaders of social movement organizations, technical teams of economic enterprises and consumers of selected marketing channels, as well as direct observation of marketing practices. While in Brazil, the MST mobilizes and develops a diversity of productive and commercial actions, in Chile it is exposed that ANAMURI, MAELA and MUCECH have difficulty on achieving the same advances. This led to a change in the Chilean case, where INDAP, or the State, assumed centrality in the food markets. The main results of the research indicate that, in the last two decades, countermovements to the expansion of the corporate food regime opened spaces for different food market modalities, attributing new roles of economic agents to social movements' organizations, which enabled the emergence of innovative trajectories of development. However, such initiatives do not represent a dispute for a capitalist market per se, as the mainstream of economic theory devises. It is the social construction of markets that may have multidimensional viability (social, economic, environmental and cultural), at the same time as it is articulated with the principles and values that guide the organizations of family and peasant farming social movements, where political flags such as food sovereignty, agroecology and buen vivir have gained centrality and reveal attempts to re-embeddedness these markets.

#### **Author**

Estevan Muñoz Federal University of Santa Catarina

JS-27.4 - Buycott y Boycott Alimentario. Nuevas Formas De Participación Política En España

Thursday, 25 February 2021 09:45 - 10:00

(DStruct

Este trabajo analiza el consumo político alimentario como forma de participación en la que la ciudadanía a través del mercado transmite sus preocupaciones asociadas a la producción y consumo de alimentos, y su compromiso con una sociedad más justa y sostenible. Las acciones del consumidor político de alimentos se materializan a través del buycott, o la compra de determinados productos basada en valores éticos, medioambientales o políticos; y del boicott o el rechazo a adquirir determinados alimentos, manifestando de este modo su crítica a los valores que representan. Este artículo persigue varios objetivos: analizar qué factores predicen el comportamiento (buycott y boycott) de los consumidores políticos alimentarios. También queremos conocer la percepción que tienen de que sus acciones pueden contribuir a un cambio social o político (eficacia política interna) y de que el sistema político responderá a sus intereses y a las necesidades de la población (eficacia externa). Además, descubrir si el comportamiento de buen ciudadano para el consumidor político alimentario se acerca más a las normas de compromiso social o de obediencia. Este trabajo presenta un análisis empírico del consumismo político alimentario en España. Para llevar a cabo este análisis, se diseñó una encuesta ad hoc a la población española de 18 años y más. Los principales resultados reflejan a un consumidor político alimentario interesado en la política que desconfía del gobierno y las grandes empresas, seguro de su capacidad de influencia para cambiar prácticas alejadas de sus valores y con un alto grado de compromiso social.

#### **Authors**

Isabel Garcia Espejo Universidad de Oviedo

Amparo Novo Vazquez Universidad de Oviedo

#### 600 - New Social Movements in Contemporary South Asia

Thursday, 25 February 2021 10:45 - 12:15

The session would like to articulate on contemporary voices from the margins from South Asia. The session will be thematically divided; conceptual and theoretical issues; agrarian unrest, mobilizations and movements: movements of indigenous communities and minorities of the subcontinent and contemporary environmental movements in south Asia. The session makes an attempt to provide a sociological understanding of various social movements of South Asia and attempts to contextualize the perspectives that emerged from the selected papers.

# Session Organizer Dipti Ranjan Sahu University of Lucknow

#### Chair

Antimo Luigi Farro Sapienza University Of Rome

### Presentations ORAL PRESENTATIONS

10:45

600.1 The Politics of Alliance in Farmers' Movement in India Simin FADAEE, The University of Manchester, United Kingdom

11:00

600.2 Emerging Trends in Indian Anti-Displacement Movements Akhaya Kumar NAYAK, Indian Institute of Management Indore, India 1111)

600.3 Assessing Trajectories of People's Movements in Eastern India Dipti Ranjan SAHU, University of Lucknow, India

11:30

600.4 The Contours and Trajectory of the Dalit Movement in Bijnor: Congruities and Incongruities

Meghna ARORA, Vardhaman College, Bijnor, India

600.1-The Politics of Alliance in Farmers' Movement in India

Thursday, 25 February 2021 10:45 - 11:00

#### **Abstract**

On the 30th November 2018 tens of thousands of Indian farmers marched to the parliament and demanded a special session to discuss the deepening agrarian crisis which began over twenty years ago. While climate change and its effects on Indian agriculture has played a role, activists and opponents of the government's agricultural policies see the Green Revolution and the transformation of Indian agriculture into large scale corporate industrial agriculture as the main reason behind India's agricultural crisis. The protest march to the parliament was only the latest in a series of protest marches which have been organised by an umbrella group of over two hundred farmers' organisations from all over India within the past year. Moreover, for the first time an alliance of different activist groups, oppositional political parties and students has cohered to support the farmers and their cause. Despite its political, empirical and theoretical significance, research on processes and mechanisms of the formation of alliances across classes, movements, organisations and political parties has gained scant attention in social movement studies. Based on original research this paper reflects on dynamics and implications of alliance building in contemporary farmers' movement in India.

Simin Fadaee
The University of Manchester

#### 600.2 - Emerging Trends in Indian Anti-Displacement Movements

Thursday, 25 February 2021 11:00 - 11:15

#### **Abstract**

Development-induced displacement in India for long has remained a bone of contention. Between 1951 and 1990, 21.3 million people in India are displaced due to development projects, out of which 40% are tribals. Consequently, there emerged numerous anti-displacement movements in several parts of India. The purpose of this paper is to explicate the trend of these anti-displacement movements in independent India. This conceptual study is based on the information derived from secondary sources such as published academic literature and government records. It critically analyses several cases of anti-displacement movements using the frameworks of New Social Movement Perspectives (NSM) and Resource Mobilization Theory (RMT). Based on the nature mobilization, tactics used by movement actors, and the outcomes, the author discusses the anti-displacement movements originating in Independent India through three separate phases. The paper concludes that the existing social movement theories explain these movements to a certain extent. However, these theories are inadequate to explain the emerging trends in the Indian anti-displacement movements originating in the last (third) phase. The nature of mobilization of the movements happening in this phase usually follows a 'controlled from the top" approach. Opposition parties highlight the tribal identity to mobilize the aggrieved mass and use the protest as a means, not to protect the interests of the tribals, but to discredit the political party in power. Indian legal system being negligent towards the interests of marginalized eases the endeavour of opposition. In this process of politics of development, identity politics, and the battle between political parties, the project affected people, particularly tribals, stand losing a lot. The paper adds a fresh dimension to the existing social movement perspective and has

significant policy implications.

#### **Author**

Akhaya Kumar Nayak Indian Institute of Management Indore

600.3 - Assessing Trajectories of People's Movements in Eastern India

Thursday, 25 February 2021 11:15 - 11:30

#### **Abstract**

Social movements and protests in contemporary India is the reflection of socio-political instability, emerging voices of dissents and rising aspirations of the people. Contentious collective issues triggered many violent 'cycles of protests' which had shown enormous repercussions on almost all the spheres of public life, sometimes emanating complete breakdown of order. Volatile movements, sluggish nature of the state, and sometime proactive temperament of communities often aggravate the problem. The state cannot accommodate all the demands, often competing demands by communities. The relationship between the state, communities and social movements in various parts of India require comprehensive understanding of protests and movements through which one can assess the broader socio-political structures in various sites of India. The present paper makes an attempt to review various movement studies and their theoretical standpoints and tries articulate the dynamics of existing relationship between the State, communities and social movements in eastern part of India. Further, it also tries to articulate the role of caste, class, gender and ethnicity in the process of mobilisations.

#### **Author**

Dipti Ranjan Sahu University of Lucknow

# 600.4 - The Contours and Trajectory of the Dalit Movement in Bijnor: Congruities and Incongruities

Thursday, 25 February 2021 11:30 - 11:45

#### **Abstract**

The Dalit movement, before independence, under the leadership of Dr. B. R. Ambedkar struggled for recognition, space and identity. However, as the period of freedom of the country approached, the movement was eclipsed by the Indian Freedom movement and the issues of nationalist concern over the dalit issues. Though Ambedkar and his party AISCF tried hard for pushing these issues to the forefront, but could not succeed. His party performed badly in the General as well as Assembly elections held after the independence. The dalit issues and movement took a backseat after the demise of Ambedkar due to the lack of any strong leadership. The dalit movement continued to be in crisis in the northern region, until Kanshi Ram appeared on the political forefront. He provided the much needed catalytic momentum to the movement. He launched BSP in 1984 for intruding into the political arenas. in 1989, it made successful entry into the Loksabha and the Legislative Assembly of Uttar Pradseh. Bijnor, a district in the western UP, became the launchpad of Mayawati by making her win the Loksabha election 1989, which until then was ruled by Indian National Congress party. The Assembly seats from this area also were won by the BSP. However, the journey has been a chequered one. The present paper attempts to explore the trajectory of the dalit movement and politics with the entry of the Bahujan Samaj Party in this district and Uttar Pradesh region. It seeks to analyse the contours and the various phases of the Dalit movement in Bijnor as well as at the State level.

For the purpose, the data have been collected empirically through in-depth interviews conducted with the leaders of BSP and other

collected from various written records.

#### **Author**

Meghna Arora Vardhaman College, Bijnor

JS-32 - Young People, Collective Action and Participation: Diffusion and Innovation

Thursday, 25 February 2021 10:45 - 12:15

In social and cultural studies the concept of "diffusion" refers to the spread of cultural beliefs and social activities from one site to another. In social movement studies, the same concept is widely used to describe forms of "political imitation" which entails processes of learning, adaptation, and innovation of practices and ideas between social movements developing in different socio-spatial contexts.

The session wishes to apply the concept of diffusion to the analysis of forms of "political contagion" driven by young people and emerging from/in a variety of initiatives of youth participation.

In particular, the session aspires to analyze issues such as:

young people's role in the diffusion of topics, modes, and practices of participation across the globe;

transnational processes of imitation, learning, adaptation and innovation in initiatives of youth participation;

challenges and opportunities in diffusion of topics and practices of youth political participation from one site to another;

relevant actors, experiences, contexts and spaces in dynamics of diffusion of youth participatory practices.

The session welcomes both theoretical and empirical contributions applying a wide range of methodological approaches.

**Session Organizers** 

University of Catania

Ilaria Pitti University of Siena

Maurizio Merico University of Salerno

Michela Freddano INVALSI

#### Co-chairs

Liana Maria Daher University of Catania

Michela Freddano INVALSI

10:45

JS-32.1 Building Group Collective Agency in Youth Led Initiatives in Palestine

Abeer MUSLEH, Bethlehem University, Palestine

11:0Ø

JS-32.2 When Youth Lead Change: Tracing the Journey of a Promising Youth Collective in Mumbai, India
Doel JAIKISHEN, Youth for Unity and Voluntary Action, India

11:15

JS-32.3 Lived Experiences, Social Imaginary, and Horizon of Expectations: Investigating Activist Youth Cultures in Europe in the 2010s Cihan ERDAL, Carleton University, Canada

11:30

JS-32.4 Youth Movements: Mediation, Defiance, Assimilation?

Labs, Germany

# JS-32.1 - Building Group Collective Agency in Youth Led Initiatives in Palestine

Thursday, 25 February 2021 10:45 - 11:00

#### Abstract

This paper will look into How do youth led organizing groups in Palestine build their collective Agency. The paper researched five youth initiatives that have been active for more than three years, interviews were conducted with groups leaders and members, in addition to observation for groups activities. The groups indicated that building internal trust among members, finding ways to share power, and the joint learning process are all factors that developed the individual and collective power of the group. The world view of the group members for their social and political role impacted the process of building power of the group through the mechanisms and approaches it utilized. A group who perceived its role in working without any dependency on organizations, meant that it needed to find new ways to channel resources into their activities which varied through creating new income generating projects, or sharing the personal resources. While groups who perceived its role in supporting the local community could depend only on networking for conducting its activities.

Individuals showing commitment to the group, sharing their personal knowledge, resources, and networks, in addition to finding ways for alternating power of decision making were all ways that the groups utilized to build their agency. Founders of the groups played an important role in enhancing the positive atmosphere in groups and in providing a sense of assurance to group members, in addition, mentoring in the groups especially for young women was vital in enhancing the inclusion of young women in the groups. Engagement in Palestine is not risk free, in such context, collective power is essential for the sustainability of the work and to create an impact for youth group members in particular, and

in the confinitionity in large.

Author

Abeer Musleh Bethlehem University

JS-32.2 - When Youth Lead Change: Tracing the Journey of a Promising Youth Collective in Mumbai, India

Thursday, 25 February 2021 11:00 - 11:15

#### **Abstract**

This paper elaborates on the assertion of young people's citizenship. Youth for Unity and Voluntary Action (YUVA), a non-profit development organisation working in India to help disadvantaged groups access their rights, has been working to enable marginalised youth self-determine the course of their lives through collective action. This involves the right to associate, participate and undertake action at different levels, from the individual level, to the family-unit, community, society, city and beyond. The process of collectivisation has driven change, and the paper highlights the case of the formation and strengthening of one such youth group, Malvani Yuva Parishad, in Mumbai, and the setup and action of associated city-level groups to highlight change and impact.

#### **Author**

Doel Jaikishen
Youth for Unity and Voluntary Action

JS-32.3 - Lived Experiences, Social Imaginary, and Horizon of Expectations: Investigating Activist Youth Cultures in Europe in the 2010s

Thursday, 25 February 2021 11:15 - 11:30 Abstract

As the post-2008 movements disappeared from public view, the rise of far right, anti-democratic, racist, sexist, homophobic and climate denial politics have shaped an alternate reality in Europe towards the late 2010s (Traverso 2016; Douzinas 2017; Panitch & Gindin 2018). The relative silence of progressive youth-oriented movements as well as the rise of right-wing authoritarian politics has arguably damaged the relationship of youth with the democratic public space. My research investigates these tensions through an in-depth, qualitative study of experiences of activist youth that have been engaged in movements in the European cities of Athens, Istanbul and Paris since 2008. These cities are perceived as some of the hot-spots of youth activism contesting neoliberal and authoritarian visions in Europe in the 2010s.

Specifically, the study addresses the following questions: (i) In what ways have the rise of right-wing authoritarian politics and the ongoing ascendance of neoliberal rationalities shaped the perspectives and political subjectivities of activist youth since the 2010s? (ii) How are utopias, imaginations, expectations and desires, which carry temporal meanings within themselves, reflected in young activists' political narratives? (iii) What theoretical contributions can the concept of temporality (e.g. memory narratives and future anticipations) offer to our collective understanding of how both transnational and local characteristics have shaped activist youth identities?

The conceptual framework of this qualitative research project integrates Bourdieusian social theory (1977; 1986; 1991; 1992; 2000), hermeneutic phenomenology (Ricoeur 1984; 1992) and feminist intersectionality (May 2015). The presentation will include preliminary outcomes from my ongoing doctoral fieldwork which incorporates participant observation of youth-led activist events alongside semi-structured in-depth interviews with young activists (aged 17 to 30) in Athens, Istanbul and Paris.

Author Cihan Erdal Carleton University

#### JS-32.4 - Youth Movements: Mediation, Defiance, Assimilation?

Thursday, 25 February 2021 11:30 - 11:45

#### **Abstract**

Young people, as individuals as well as in movements, have always been subjected to a polarised response from media and politics. In a nutshell, they are either heralded and elevated, or dismissed and ridiculed. Fridays For Future, however, seems largely impervious to either of these typical reactions – despite the enormous attention they have attracted over the past months.

In our contribution, we will explore reasons for the teflonic nature of the movement to attempts to adulate, co-opt, dismiss, downplay, glorify, slate, or stilt them. What is different at this moment in time, and/or what are they doing differently compared to previous youth movements?

#### **Authors**

Andreas Karsten Youth Policy Labs

Anneliese Mehlmann Youth Policy Labs

Erik Dubs Youth Policy Labs

601 - Mobilization in the Age of the Arab Uprisings: An Intersectional Approach

Thursday, 25 February 2021

17.10 10.70

This panel will look at mobilization in the Arab world beyond the Arab uprising moment of 2011. It will explore social movements in countries in the region that have not directly witnessed the uprisings but that have had important cycles of contention and mobilization (such as Lebanon, Iraq, Jordan, Sudan, Morocco, Algeria, Palestine, etc.). In doing so, the panel will adopt an intersectional approach in understanding the links between class dynamics, gender inequality, environmental crises, identity politics, and mobilization in the Arab region. It will focus on social struggles and alternative worldview in a region that is overwhelmingly studied through the lens of conflict and violence. More precisely, the panel will examine the recurring cycles of mass mobilization in the Arab region by focusing on the structural conditions that shape these movements and the modes of resistance from below.

#### **Session Organizer**

Rima Majed American University of Beirut

#### Chair

Rima Majed American University of Beirut

### Presentations ORAL PRESENTATIONS

14:15

601.1 Social Movements in Post-Revolutionary Tunisia: An Intersectional Analysis

Mounir SAIDANI, El Manar University, Tunis, Tunis, Tunisia

14:30

601.2 Protest Movements in Post-Invasion Iraq: From Recognition to Redistribution?

Zahra ALI, Rutgers University, USA

14:45

Liminal Space

Deniz Günce DEMIRHISAR, Institut Français d'Etudes Anatoliennes, Turkey

# 601.1 - Social Movements in Post-Revolutionary Tunisia: An Intersectional Analysis

Thursday, 25 February 2021 14:15 - 14:30

#### **Abstract**

Even though Tunisian new social movements were born before Tunisian 2010-2011 Revolution, the latter has invigorated the former. The Revolution gave hope to young Tunisian people, opened windows to their aspirations. Disappointed and with expectations a governmental political parliamentary and class, post-revolutionary young men and women come to decide to face their fears. Sociologically speaking, there was a double-faced socio-historical process: the first is the one of sentiments' social (de/re)construction, the second is of youth agency (re)building.

Between 2015 and 2017, Tunisian new social movements experienced coordination meetings, summer universities and national conferences enhancing their capabilities. The main slogan of all these bringing-together encounters was "Diversity, Resilience and Solidarity". Away from traditional parties, political associations and unions' means, new post-revolutionary Tunisian social movements were surfing on a surface of disappointments, fears and hopes, the very Tunisian youth mixed feelings and sentiments. Standing on a multifaceted social fed-up, the new Tunisian social movements path led their young activists to (re)forge their unity upon an intensive emotional integration.

Students, early graduated and newly recruited young men and women in both public and private sectors, showed up in big and smaller towns and urban areas, trying to bring together laid-off women foreign financed textile factories, victims of chemical and mining industries pollution, unemployed women and men, and even semi-legal sub-Saharan African Build upon qualitative and quantitative data collection, participation observation and semi-directed interviews, the presentation will try to offer a sociological analysis of Tunisian post-revolutionary social movements considering two perspectives: intersectionality and socio-historical construction-deconstruction-reconstruction process of social hopes, fears and agencies. Will be privileged the point of view assuming that the birth of such new social movements is closely linked to multiple other end signs of the Post-Colonial Tunisian State.

#### **Author**

Mounir Saidani El Manar University

# 601.2 - Protest Movements in Post-Invasion Iraq: From Recognition to Redistribution?

Thursday, 25 February 2021 14:30 - 14:45

#### **Abstract**

This presentation explores the waves of protest that Iraq is experiencing since 2015. Based on fieldwork among protestors in Baghdad, Najaf-Kufa, Karbala, Nasriya and Basra, it draws on theorization on contemporary civil society and social movements. I argue that the protests allow Iraqi youth and women's rights activists to find spaces of organizing that challenge the NGOization of civil society activism. The young protestors that initiated these movements associate recognition politics to the Iraqi regime and its political elite and put forward politics of redistribution as central in their demands for radical change. Moreover, I argue that the trauma of sectarian and political violence experienced in 2006-2007 and during the 2014 Islamic State invasion makes the demands for individual freedom as crucial as economic equality and access to state services. The presentation first situates the protests within the country's social, political and economic contexts and engages with notions of recognition

society and social movements, it explores women's involvement within the protests. The presentation then turns to Bayat's notions of 'refolutions' and nonmovement and shows the importance to consider the traumatic experience of sectarian and political violence to understand Iraqi youth organizing and demands.

#### **Author**

Zahra Ali Rutgers University

> 601.3 - Gezi Park Protest Camp : Expansion of Imaginable Futures in a Liminal Space

Thursday, 25 February 2021 14:45 - 15:00

#### **Abstract**

At particular moments of mobilizations and at certain places where collective action goes beyond the political habitus of the social actors, the horizons of imaginable futures expand. Protest camps are good examples of transformative experiences. Indeed my research on Gezi Movement in Turkey in 2013, sheds light on the conditions that realize such a shift of political imaginary and agency. First, I will describe the conditions under which collective representations about future tended to be utopian despite brutal repression. I will argue that one can observe the public performance of utopia under particular circumstances that I call "conditions of liminality" e.g. coexistence of differences in a restricted space-time interval; shared protest emotions such as indignation, enthusiasm, hope; shared vulnerability against the same opponent; non-violent resistance; turning daily life activities into prefigurative practices (ritualization, mise-en-scène of egalitarian social bonds); heterogeneity of protesters in terms of class, age, gender and political opinions... Second, I will insist upon the boundary work in order to

boundaries. What happens when protesters go back to social boundaries after the protest camp? A protest camp's time is a time outside the social time. In our case study, after Gezi movement, the horizon of imaginable futures continued to expand with the creation of counter-institutions until the intense repression wave and criminalization of dissent. Finally, I will argue that the question of imaginable futures requires twofold analysis: 1) a close ethnographic gaze to the interactions and emotions during protests 2) the political processes and factors external to the movement. Finally, I will defend that "utopian practices" are still a relevant concept for us to understand collective action, even though prefigurative politics and imaginable futures replaced the discredited term utopia.

#### **Author**

Deniz Günce Demirhisar Institut Français d'Etudes Anatoliennes

JS-34 - Religion, Environment, and Social Movements

Thursday, 25 February 2021 14:15 - 15:45

A growing number of studies discussed the "greening of religion" and "religious environmentalism," as well as a "spiritualisation of ecology." For instance, Father Sean McDonaugh, SSC published "Greening the Christian Millennium" (1999). Many social scientists and theologians acknowledged the increasingly significant role of religious actors, religions, and spiritualities in addressing environmental problems. The book, How the World's Religions are Responding to Climate Change: Social Scientific Investigations (Veldman, Szasz, and Randolph Haluza-DeLay 2014) discusses different responses to the most challenging environmental problem.

Since poverty and vulnerability to extreme weather events are the

some religious leaders have publicly stood by environmental groups and taken the cudgels for their partner marginalized sectors. New-found alliances between the environmental civil society organizatons and religious actors have emerged. Religion have been expected to kick-start or strengthen the environmental movement.

In June 2015, Pope Francis issued a trailblazing encyclical, Laudato Si': On the Care for Our Common Home. Addressing more than just climate change, this papal encyclical is a call for solidarity in light of the common ecological crisis humanity faces. A few world leaders articulated their enthusiastic reception about this encyclical. The Executive Secretary of the United Nations Framework for Climate Change (UNFCC), Christiana Figueras affirmed: "Pope Francis' encyclical underscores the moral imperative for urgent action on climate change to lift the planet's most vulnerable populations, protect development, and spur responsible growth."

This joint session welcomes papers that discuss the nexus of religion, environment, and social movements.

## **Session Organizers**

Maria Cecilia Medina
Asian Center, University of the Philippines

Anna Maria Leonora University of Catania

Debra Davidson
University of Alberta

#### Chairs

Maria Cecilia Medina Asian Center, University of the Philippines

Anna Maria Leonora University of Catania Debra Davidson University of Alberta

# Presentations ORAL PRESENTATIONS

14:15

JS-34.1 Unholy Development. Religion As an Emerging Voice in the Global Debate on the Future of the Planet.

Julien VANHULST, Universidad Católica del Maule, Chile and Adrián E. BELING, FLACSO Argentina, Global Studies Programme, Argentina

14:30

JS-34.2 Catholic Environmental Movements and Its Opponents in Brazil Renan William DOS SANTOS, University of São Paulo, Brazil

14:45

JS-34.3 Ecological Citizenship: Philippine-Based Catholic Green Priests in the Public Square

Patria Gwen BORCENA, Greenresearch Environmental Research Group, Inc., Philippines

15:00

JS-34.4 Trajectories of Concern: The Role of Race, Religion and Politics in Support for Environmental Policies over Time across the US Kerry ARD and Tiffany WILLIAMS, the Ohio State University, USA

JS-34.1 - Unholy Development. Religion As an Emerging Voice in the Global Debate on the Future of the Planet.

Thursday, 25 February 2021 14:15 - 14:30

**Abstract** 

socio-environmental crisis conceals a potentially important activator in a sustainability transition: religion. Historically, religion has significantly influenced individual and collective ways of feeling, thinking and acting. Hence religion could contribute to an expanded understanding of sustainability (which includes ecological, social and spiritual well-being) and of its cultural assimilation, as well as political and everyday life orientations to build sustainable societies.

Several studies have analyzed the role of religion and churches in fostering sustainability. Here, we propose a discussion of the current and potential role of religion in the necessary socio-ecological "Great Transformation" of our world, taking the encyclical Letter of Pope Francis, Laudato Si' (2015) as a conceptual cornerstone.

Laudato Si' opens a historic window of opportunity for mainstreaming a critical reflection on the idea of development and its structuring role in the dominant political and economic world-order, as well as its social and ecological consequences. The narrative of "integral ecology" promoted by Pope Francis introduces three central points into religious thought in a novel way: care of the environment (our "common home"), the interrelation between environmental and social justice, and a criticism of economicism and technocentrism. Thus, the Church joins a growing chorus of "transition discourses" (Escobar, 2011) that seek to promote a change in the subjective and objective conditions underpinning unsustainability. Under which conditions can religion and churches fulfill their potential as transition agents? in which concrete ways could religion and churches contribute to such a transition in cultural, environmental, and socioeconomic terms? Which risks are associated with religious actors becoming more active agents towards a socio-ecological transition? These are the central questions we seek to address in our presentation.

#### **Authors**

Julien Vanhulst Universidad Católica del Maule

Adrián E. Beling FLACSO Argentina, Global Studies Programme

## JS-34.2 - Catholic Environmental Movements and Its Opponents in Brazil

Thursday, 25 February 2021 14:30 - 14:45

#### **Abstract**

This paper aims to investigate the mobilization of the Catholic Church in Brazil around the environmental issues and the organized counter-offensive (also coming from the Catholic milieu) that this engagement has been raising in the current national scenario, marked by the conservative rise.

Three main axes ground this analysis: 1) The official Catholic milieu in Brazil; 2) The unofficial catholic actors sympathetic to the environmental agenda; and 3) The catholic countermovements that aim to break the "green wave". The first one is represented by the activism of Brazilian priests and bishops who, based mainly on the guidelines of Laudato Si, the Pope Francis' encyclical, seek to theologically encourage the eco-activism. The second one acts outside the institutional influence sphere of the Catholic Church in Brazil and is represented here by the activism of Leonardo Boff. Finally, the third one has as its exponent in the national scenario the famous Plínio de Oliveira Institute (IPCO), a kind of think tank of Brazilian Catholic conservatism.

It is the aim of this discussion: a) to examine the symbolic resources mobilized in each religious circle to motivate environmental awareness; b) to analyze whether the focus is on the theological repertoire or on secular categories; c) to identify the connections between religious identity and environmentalism; d) to recognize the meaning given to the concept "ecologically correct" in each case; e) to explore what conception of "nature" is at stake when it is said that it must be protected; f) to identify the structures and networks mobilized both by ecotheological initiatives and by the countermovements which intend to bar the advance of the green agenda in the religious milieu.

Matrioi

Renan William dos Santos University of São Paulo

JS-34.3 - Ecological Citizenship: Philippine-Based Catholic Green Priests in the Public Square

Thursday, 25 February 2021 14:45 - 15:00

#### **Abstract**

The increasing poverty of the Philippines's environmental and social landscapes is worsened by a changing global climate. Economic poverty and vulnerability to extreme weather events are interrelated crises. Against this backdrop in the Philippines, an increasing number of religious leaders and lay groups have responded to both the "cry of the poor" and "cry of the earth." As stated in Pope Francis' encyclical, Laudato Si': On the Care for Our Common Home: "Strategies for a solution demand an integrated approach to combating poverty, restoring dignity to the excluded and at the same time protecting nature." (No. 139)

This descriptive and exploratory research focuses on selected Philippine-based Catholic priests who consider being environmentalists, environmental activists or environmental advocates as among their key identity claims. This paper explores the careers of these selected Catholic priests to better understand how they promote "ecological citizenship" by integrating care for creation with their pastoral duties and/or supporting environmental social movements.

This paper also identifies the ways in which the environmental and social justice encyclical of Pope Francis, is relevant to these priests and has influenced them. This important development in the Philippine religious sector may well portend an emerging trend in the global Catholic community.

### **Author**

Patria Gwen Borcena

Greenresearch Environmental Research Group, Inc.

# JS-34.4 - Trajectories of Concern: The Role of Race, Religion and Politics in Support for Environmental Policies over Time across the US

Thursday, 25 February 2021 15:00 - 15:15

#### **Abstract**

Since the late 1960s the relationship between environmental concern and religion has been increasingly studied. Much of this work has been in response to Lynn White's (1967) provocative argument that Christian teachings are fundamentally opposed to protecting the environment. In the years following, there has been a great deal of research investigating the role of religiosity in environmental concern. However this work has not sufficiently disentangled the role race plays in these relationships. We hypothesize that the trajectory of White fundamentalists will become increasingly less concerned about environmental protection over time as a function of increased political polarization on these issues. Whereas the trajectory of African American fundamentalists will become increasingly more concerned about environmental protection, as a function of increased vulnerability to environmental hazards, as measured by vulnerability to flooding and hurricanes and exposure to air pollution. In addition, we expect to see denominational differences in trajectories. We argue that religious communities have framed their changing environmental positions as being morally and religiously aligned with their denomination's positions on the environment. We test these hypotheses with a mixed-methods approach, joining data environmental hazards, race, fundamentalism, denomination, political preference to support for environmental policy spending using annual data from the General Social Survey from 1972 through 2018. Using content analysis of denomination's stance on environmental issues, we explore if and how religious groups have framed environmental issues as a moral one to determine if their congregants environmental concerns line up with the religious leaderships positions.

Kerry Ard the Ohio State University Tiffany Williams the Ohio State University

# JS-42 - Revisiting the Role of Digital Media in Social Movements. Part II

Thursday, 25 February 2021 16:00 - 17:30

The advent of digital media has been observed to create opportunities for social movements to thrive in different regions of the world. The growing popularity of mobile technologies and social networking sites, in particular, has allowed activist groups and active citizens to self-mobilize and self-organize without being confined by mainstream media and traditional organizations. However, adopting new media and information technologies in collective or connective action requires citizen activists to operate under different premises and may expose them to police surveillance and internal conflict. The question remains about whether and how digital media empower or constrain the capacity of social movements.

This session seeks to revisit the contemporary relationship between digital media and social movements. It solicits submissions to discuss and debate about the role of digital media in recent social movements. In particular, we would like to address the following research questions: What is the role of digital media in the processes of mobilization and collective action? What are the opportunities and challenges of using new media and information technologies for political development and progressive social change? How does digital media adoption promote and/or hinder the advancement of diverse social and political agendas? At the theoretical level, how should we conceptualize the ways in which

social movements? Contributions are welcome from various methodological approaches and geo-political contexts.

#### **Session Organizers**

David Duenas-Cid
Tallinn University of Technology

Tin-Yuet Ting
The Hong Kong Polytechnic University

Anna Domaradzka Institute for Social Studies, University of Warsaw

#### Chair

Tin-Yuet Ting
The Hong Kong Polytechnic University

# Presentations ORAL PRESENTATIONS

16:45

Digital Vs. Social? for a Socio-Technical Theory of Mobilization in the Datafied Society

Stefania MILAN and Davide BERALDO, University of Amsterdam, Netherlands

17:00

Social Movements and Contentious Branding. Lessons from the Digital Exploration of #Occupy and #Anonymous Davide BERALDO, University of Amsterdam, Netherlands

16:00

JS-42.1 The Role of Social Media in Mobilizing the Trans-Movement in Pakistan

Sheba SAEED, University of Central Lancashire, United Kingdom

10.20

JS-42.2 Framing Mohsen Fikri's Death: A Comparative Analysis of Mainstream & Alternative Media Hayat DOUHAN, GIGA, Germany

16:40

JS-42.3 Do Political Scandals in the New Media Environment Still Are Able to Initiate Social Change?

Monika VERBALYTE, Freie Universität Berlin, Germany

17:00

JS-42.4 Feminist Cyberactivism Against Against Sexual Violence and Rape Culture. the Spanish Case.

Elisa GARCIA-MINGO, Centro Universitario Villanueva, Spain

# Digital Vs. Social? for a Socio-Technical Theory of Mobilization in the Datafied Society

Thursday, 25 February 2021 16:45 - 17:05

#### **Abstract**

Datafication—the last transformation of digitalization—has brought about a fundamental paradigm shift in the contemporary socio-political order. On the one hand, the diffusion of 'big data' and artificial intelligence alters our conditions of existence in society, affecting also social movements. On the other, the crisis that has infected liberal democracy at the turn of the century has been accelerated by the so-called 'surveillance capitalism', with democratic norms being challenged by the new expression of power enshrined in the global architecture of data commodification—at the expenses of political mobilization. The state-industry surveillant complex is replacing governments as the primary holder of the monopoly over information and control, leaving little room for human agency. Linked databases,

changing the definition of what constitutes public sphere and political participation in the datafied society—hence, of what constitutes democratic agency today. How are social movements changing? What makes collectivity nowadays? But also: What sort of spaces, mechanisms, and actors meet the growing demand for citizen participation?

This theoretical contribution addresses three notions, namely 'data citizenship', 'data activism' and 'data epistemology'. Taking data and datafication simultaneously as objects of contentions and elements of a novel politics of the quotidian, it explores how contemporary engagement with grassroots and top-down data politics and practices alters the way people enact their democratic agency. Emerging data practices have the ability to give new meaning to the notion of democratic agency, forcing us to rethink the relationship between the state and its citizens. Data citizenship, data activism and data epistemology are offered as the building blocks of an emerging socio-technical theory of agency and mobilization in the datafied society, neededto meet the ontological challenges datafication poses to established socio-political practices and mobilization patterns in Western democracies.

#### **Authors**

Stefania Milan University of Amsterdam

Davide Beraldo University of Amsterdam

Social Movements and Contentious Branding. Lessons from the Digital Exploration of #Occupy and #Anonymous

Thursday, 25 February 2021 17:00 - 17:20

**Abstract** 

protest movements by developing the notion of 'contentious branding', as a reflection emerging from the digital exploration of two empirical cases that challenge social movement theory: Occupy and Anonymous. The empirical research has followed the Occupy and Anonymous hashtags around popular social media, letting their appropriation to delimit the boundaries of the research objects. Network analysis and computer-assisted content analysis techniques have been employed to trace and unfold these complex assemblages. Adopting a branding perspective on contentious politics is aimed at highlighting the diverse and sometimes contradictory appropriations of the 'semiotic repertoires' of protest movements; this aspect, in the analyzed cases, is so evident and pervasive to problematize the application of current definitions of social movements to the traced 'assemblages'. Contentious brands such as Occupy and Anonymous are thus understood as affective devices, capable to catalyse and refract diverse mobilizations. This calls for a recognition of the analytical autonomy of branding and assessing its relation with the current conceptual toolbox of social movement studies. Whereas the paper argues that the materiality of digital media is involved is re-mediating the dynamics and relevance of contentious branding, it opens the question of whether even traditional, pre-digital mobilizations could be re-thought in terms of 'contentious brands'. A branding perspective on social movements, indeed, not only tries to fit these specific cases better: it intends to provide an epistemological and methodological device to sustain a non-essentialist understanding of social movements, between (or beyond?) their connective and collective dimensions.

#### **Author**

Davide Beraldo University of Amsterdam

# JS-42.1- The Role of Social Media in Mobilizing the Trans-Movement in Pakistan

Thursday, 25 February 2021 16:00 - 16:20

#### **Abstract**

In recent years there has been an increased visibility of transwomen within the Pakistani media. We see transwomen walking the ramp amongst cisgender women, reporting news daily as news anchors, presenting their own shows and employed in high end coffee franchises. These may be few and far between and some amongst us may also attribute this to a certain "tokenism", however, what we cannot deny is that a decade ago these pioneering transwomen were nowhere to be seen on mainstream channels.

Having researched the transgender community since November 2017, the author has noticed an evolution within the community. This has evolved from traditional roles which involved performing, begging within a cultural sphere and resorting to begging to a movement involving a self-identification as being transgender. The paper explores the rise of an urban transwoman and the role of social media in mobilizing the trans-movement in Pakistan and therefore empowering this community. It will also explore the complexities that this exposure brings to the community. In doing so, the paper will firstly explore how these transwomen are self-identifying their gender using feminist and queer theories in order to understand the complexities of gender and gender fluidity.(Beauvoir, Butler, 1990) It will 1949; analyse then socio-cybernetics in relation to the trans-movement and how a digital platform has brought a marginalized minority group into the public sphere (Habermas, 1962).

The paper will also explore intersectionalities amongst the trans-movement as well as an exploration of how social media is assisting it through the process of "scaling". (Mundt, Ross, Burnett, 2018)

Viatiloi

Sheba Saeed

University of Central Lancashire

JS-42.2 - Framing Mohsen Fikri's Death: A Comparative Analysis of Mainstream & Alternative Media

Thursday, 25 February 2021 16:20 - 16:40

#### **Abstract**

On the 28th October 2016, Al Hoceima has witnessed a horrific incident as a fish-seller was crushed to death by a garbage compactor while trying to retrieve his confiscated merchandise. Given the incident and the specificities of the region, this incident has sparked a set of protests in the Rif region, which became known as the "Hirak". This latter has attracted the attention of different media outlets at the national and international level. This thesis tends to look at the dialectics of Moroccan online mainstream and alternative media representations of Mohsen Fikri's death and, therefore, the Hirak. It examines how each media formation, mainstream and alternative, have framed the target incident. Drawing on the comparison between the two media representations, the paper also evaluates the nature of the relationship between online mainstream and alternative media in terms of their framings of the incident. Based on a comparative framing analysis, it is surprisingly found that online mainstream and alternative media converged in using a set of similar frames namely, state visibility, call for accountability and attribution of responsibility. However, they diverged in using various framing strategies and, therefore, providing different representations of the target incident. Mainstream media have used the episodic framing of Mohsen Fikri to de-dramatize the incident, mitigate the public outrage and disclaim the responsibility of the state apparatuses. By contrast, citizen journalists made the best use of thematic framing to contextualize the incident within the 'troubled' history between the region and the central state with the aim of mobilizing people and making the state accountable for the incident.

Author

GIGA

# JS-42.3 - Do Political Scandals in the New Media Environment Still Are Able to Initiate Social Change?

Thursday, 25 February 2021 16:40 - 17:00

#### **Abstract**

How new media environment has changed the dynamics of political scandal? Have social media became its most important drivers and facilitators? Have they replaced mainstream media in the role of the main scandalizer and invalidated their traditional gate-keeper function? Have they destroyed their ability to effectively react to norm violations and trumped their power over reputation of politicians?

In my analysis of different media sources of one political scandalization, I will try to tackle these issues and find some, even though definitely not ultimate, answers. Annagret Kramp-Karrenbauer, the new leader of the German Christian Democratic Party, started a scandal by attacking 70 youtube vlogers for mobilizing voters against her party before the European election 2019. She suggested that it was manipulation of public opinion and invited to discuss regulations for social media since mainstream media underly legal limitations in their abilities to agitate in the electoral campaign. This suggestion has been interpreted as a call for censorship, scandalized and moralized by the media, yet did not become a successful scandal, i.e. did not end in a real political consequence for the politician: AKK did not resign, was not fired, did not lose her post or went to jail for her scandalous utterance. After a while, accusations just evaporated in the air.

Internet community, however, was very much indignated, yet did not seem to have been able to reach the dominance of the pubic discourse. This contribution investigates whether this happened due to the (still) strong gate keeper abilities of the mainstream media or because social media failed to capitalize on their scandalization potential and mobilize the public. Qualitative trans-sequential discourse analysis of different media sources – online newspaper, youtube, facebook and twitter –

diverse actors and audiences.

#### **Author**

Monika Verbalyte Freie Universität Berlin

JS-42.4 - Feminist Cyberactivism Against Against Sexual Violence and Rape Culture. the Spanish Case.

Thursday, 25 February 2021 17:00 - 17:20

#### **Abstract**

In this presentation I reflect about how digital culture has reconfigured the ways activists fight against rape culture. To do so, I analyse the case of La Manada, a notorious case of gang-rape that took place in Spain in July 2016 that has shaken the public opinion and has created a huge debate about social attitudes towards sexual violence. The public reaction to this case has sparked a cultural movement against rape as hundreds of thousands of Spanish women have taken to the streets in protest during the three years of the case and have flooded the social media with hashtags such as #IdoBelieveYouSiter, #WeAreYourWolfpack, #NoIsNo). Through a mixed-methods approach (social media metrics analysis and qualitative interviews with activists) I analyse how feminist associations have created new activist strategies that combine on-line and offline actions. I propose that new activist repertories for action are challenging rape culture and gender stereotypes in the Spanish legal system.

#### Author

Elisa Garcia-Mingo Centro Universitario Villanueva

### Friday, 26 February 2021

## 602 - Democratic Experiments in Social Movements and Society

Social movements and the spaces in which they organize have been studied as laboratories or schools of democracy. Porto Alegre hosted at least two important laboratories of democracy: Participatory budgeting and the World Social Forum. Participatory budgeting was meant to increase the participation of ordinary citizens in the local political system and to increase the accountability of politicians and state officials. The World Social Forum can be considered as an attempt to bring some form of participatory democracy to the transnational level. Some see it as a significant step towards democratizing globalization others see it as a highly ambivalent and fragile process. In general, scholars tend to highlight the democratic idealism in social movements. At the same time, research shows that activists often fail to turn their ideals into reality because power imbalances are not sufficiently addressed.

This session invites submissions on the following or related issues:

- What are the contemporary experiments in democratic organizing in social movements?
- How does the same/similar democratic experiment such as participatory budgeting work out in different cultural, political and socio-economic contexts around the world?
- How do democratic experiments affect the participants' self-understanding as political subjects, how do participants engage with it and what are the barriers of effectively participating in it?
- Is democracy (only) an organizational problem or an issue of clashing cultural and political norms?
- How do organizers of (transnational) activist meetings (fail to) reconcile different political cultures and expectations of democratic organizing?

York University

Chair

Micha Fiedlschuster York University

# Presentations ORAL PRESENTATIONS

09:00

602.1 Sandpit Democracy. about the Third Wave of Participatory Budgeting in France

Gil PRADEAU, University of Westminster, United Kingdom

09:20

602.2 Political Participation and Democratic Attitudes in Brazil: Political Talk and Perceptions on Democracy

Camila PENNA, Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil, Priscila CARVALHO, Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais/ Federal University of Minas Gerais, Brazil and Priscila ZANANDREZ, UFMG, Brazil

09:40

602.3 Internet Voting and Trust, an Open Debate David DUENAS-CID, Tallinn University of Technology, Estonia

10:00

602.4 Constructing People Living in Poverty As a Subaltern Counter-Public: Assessing a Democratic Experiment in Self-Representation in the Belgian Anti-Poverty Movement

Stijn OOSTERLYNCK and Pieter COOLS, University of Antwerp, Belgium

602.1 - Sandpit Democracy. about the Third Wave of Participatory

Budgeting in France

09:00 - 09:20

#### **Abstract**

Many works have been studying how participatory budgeting (PB) has been adapted within a country. PB used to be in Brazil a first step towards radical changes between administration and the citizens' role with a much bigger discussion about local assets and source of incomes. Looking at how these policy transfers in France have been adopted in 2019, this paper analyses 161 active cases of municipal PB. 10 years ago, Sintomer's team was labelling French PB as typical of "proximity democracy". If lack of precise rules and the omnipresence of elected officials were prominent in the first generation of PB in France, now most of processes are more formal and we might wonder if "selective listening" or cherrypicking typical from that time is still occurring as budgets are bigger (Parisians are voting for €100,000,000 each year). Still most of participatory budgeting processes are only discussing less than 1% of local budgets and half of them less than 0.27% of budget.

Most of winning proposals in PB are related to marginal urbanism such as sport facilities, community gardens and basic urban infrastructures whereas submitted proposals are broader than these issues. But city halls are filtering proposals before the vote, in order to choose which proposals are "feasible" or "desirable" from their point of view. This means than informal cherrypicking is still happening and interviews confirm how political filter is maintained. Poor accountability happens in most cases also due to the nature of filtered proposals. Only 13% are explaining the motives for rejecting proposals prior to the vote. So French PB cases can't be seen as robust democratic innovations and they can't help to foster accountability and appears unlikely to increase citizenry trust.

#### **Author**

Gil Pradeau University of Westminster

# 602.2 - Political Participation and Democratic Attitudes in Brazil: Political Talk and Perceptions on Democracy

Friday, 26 February 2021 09:20 - 09:40

#### **Abstract**

Political participation has been a recurring theme in political sociology. Authors who study political culture (Putnam, 1994; Almond, 1956; Almond and Verba 1963; Inglehart, 2000) point to participation as an important democratic value, just as studies of participatory experiences consider it a significant factor in deepening democracy. Studies on political culture and democratic attitudes in Brazil have pointed to the persistence of a distrust of democratic institutions (Moises, 2010) and a passive and anomic political culture (Baquero and Stumpf, 2014). Nevertheless, since the promulgation of the Federal Constitution of 1988 until the mid-2000s, the country has consolidated a considerable trajectory of participatory and associative experiences.

Although the practices of participation have been well studied, there is a gap regarding the ability of these experiences to affect the participants' opinions about their own democratic values, especially when considering moments of political instability. Thus, the present project seeks to answer the following question: How do participation practices influence the democratic values of Brazilian citizens? The aim is to analyze how the experience of citizens who get involved in different spaces of participation influence their beliefs about democracy and their own democratic values. This research proposes the use of focus groups as a qualitative methodology capable of providing in-depth information about perceptions on democracy and its relations with political participation and trust in institutions. By conducting and analyzing the material of ten focus groups in Porto Alegre, São Paulo and Belo Horizonte, from March to September 2019, will seek to build a more complete picture of how Brazilians view democracy and how they process political information.

### **Authors**

Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul

Priscila Carvalho

Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais/ Federal University of Minas Gerais

Priscila Zanandrez UFMG

602.3 - Internet Voting and Trust, an Open Debate

Friday, 26 February 2021 09:40 - 10:00

#### **Abstract**

The growing popularity of ICT use for government purposes brings along certain threats (Zhao and Zhao, 2010) that are affecting the social perception on its suitability (Alzahrani et al., 2017), putting trust as the cornerstone of the social development of e-government (Gefen, 2000; Gefen et al., 2005). According to Rieder and Simon (2016), trust has always played a key role in building and maintaining social order (Hacking and Shapin, 1995) but its very definition is subject to changes. Systems of trust are not fixed and the conceptions of whom to trust, what to trust or under which circumstances, are mutable in time.

Even if there are many countries where citizens do not trust in the use of online services and e-Government applications, others (e.g. Estonia) have high degrees of trust in e-Government. For Governments, aiming to improve the quality of the services provided, increasing the trust of citizens in their interaction systems is of significant interest. For citizens, being able to trust in the systems provided by the Governments plays a central role on their keenness to its use. In this interaction there is still a gap that will be explored in this presentation: namely, why do people trust or distrust in voting technologies?

**Author** 

Tallinn University of Technology

## 602.4 - Constructing People Living in Poverty As a Subaltern Counter-Public: Assessing a Democratic Experiment in Self-Representation in the Belgian Anti-Poverty Movement

Friday, 26 February 2021 10:00 - 10:20

#### Abstract

This paper analyses a democratic experiment in self-representation in the anti-poverty movement in Belgium. Belgium is a corporatist welfare state, in which social service provisions and social dialogue are organized through a dense network of highly formalized state-civil society relationships. In the (late) aftermath of the democratization movement of the late 1960s, people living in poverty, with the support of social work organizations and academics, started organizing to represent themselves in the public debate social policy-making process, thus constituting counter-public. After two decades of political mobilization, so-called 'Associations where Poor People Raise their Voice' were recognized by the 2003 Poverty Decree as official partner in social policymaking. These participatory organizations work to create public support for poverty reduction, organize activities and services for people in poverty and try to influence local policy making by claiming expertise and raising awareness. In this paper, we assess this rather remarkable democratic experiment in self-representation by people living in poverty, especially the tensions triggered by its institutionalization. In particular, we analyse how these poverty associations respond (differentially) to the increasing challenges and pressures put on their political identity and legitimacy. The associations are criticized, for example, for not representing the increasing group of migrants living in poverty in Belgium or for being too slow and inflexible (due to their participatory nature) to respond to the demands of the policy making process. Combining survey data on the self-perception of the local anti-poverty associations and qualitative interviews with association- and network representatives and local and regional policy makers, the present paper shows how external pressures generates both attempts to deepen

bigger role for middle class professionals in the organization and away from social movement work towards social entrepreneurship.

**Authors** 

Stijn Oosterlynck University of Antwerp

Pieter Cools University of Antwerp

JS-47 - 'Beyond the Factory Gates': The Broader Context for Workers' Rights and Representation

Friday, 26 February 2021 09:00 - 10:30

The democratic representation and participation of workers cannot be divorced from the broader social context within which workplaces are situated. Professional and industrial relations are also anchored in grassroots social movements, citizen and political networks, as well as coalitions gathering a variety of actors: trade unions, associations, informal groups, political parties, lobbies and interest groups, etc. Thus, new forms of representation – formal or informal, legal or not - such as migrant and undocumented workers associations, or "community organizing" dynamics in relation to labor need to be investigated. Common issues with RC48 should be studied by sociologists of work, to address the ways in which social movements and collective action impact on employer behaviour, and concerns with corporate image, including via the control of standards along supply chains (e.g.: Clean Clothes Campaign), and equally to consider the ways in which social action is rooted in labor dynamics.

### **Şession Organizers**

Helen Sampson

Cardiff University, School of Social Sciences

Ben Gurion University

#### Chair

Helen Sampson

Cardiff University, School of Social Sciences

# Presentations ORAL PRESENTATIONS

09:00

JS-47.1 Business and Employment Cooperatives in France: When the Cause of Solo Self-Employed Testifies to Workers' Creativity and Renewal of Mobilizations

Flora BAJARD, CNRS-LEST Institute of Labour Economics and Industrial Sociology, France

09:12

JS-47.2 Trade Unions and International Resistance to Global Corporate Strategies in Brazil: The Case of the Auto Sector

José RAMALHO1, Rodrigo SANTOS1, Raphael LIMA2 and Cristiano MONTEIRO2, (1) Federal University of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, (2) Fluminense Federal University, Brazil

JS-47.1 - Business and Employment Cooperatives in France: When the Cause of Solo Self-Employed Testifies to Workers' Creativity and Renewal of Mobilizations

Friday, 26 February 2021 09:00 - 09:12 Appliant

Since cooperatives first appeared in the 19th century, history has shown the diversity of this movement. This contribution highlights the role of Business and Employment Cooperatives (BEC) i.e. a peculiar kind of cooperative of self-employed workers. The way the latter organize themselves in a context of growing incentives to self-employment and decline of trade unions challenges the classical debate of continuity/renewal of workers' collective action.

Unlike the classical model of cooperatives, in which all workers produce a common good/service, BECs gather different entrepreneurial activities (services, intellectual and professional services, building trades...). Actually, not only do BECS create solidarity among workers, but they also aim at providing them an indefinite employment contract - and its social protection; to some extent, making them 'salaried-entrepreneurs' is way of 'hijacking' the wage-labor contract. Besides, BEC are considered to be new actors at the crossroads of policy making, industrial relations and academic world: they are employers of these freelance workers, but also interest groups (e.g.: their attempts along with European trade unions to play their part regarding the status of 'uberised' workers), and think tanks (e.g. SMart in Belgium and their research activities). In parallel, some BECs endorse the rules and shape of the Social Sector, but actually work as traditional companies: they include a CEO, profit goals, and very few workers' participation is observed. These BECs deviate from the 'cooperativist spirit' companies' used to support individuals' resemble 'umbrella entrepreneurial projects.

Despite such diversity, BECs appear as the testimony of the inventiveness of actors to adapt the existing rules of the cooperation movement to current political issues, whether they emerge from local and informal initiatives, or highly institutionalized dynamics. This communication aims at showing empirical and theoretical elements to think through these new forms of cooperation, which nowadays shape the cause(s) of self-employed workers.

Author

Flora Bajard

CNRS-LEST Institute of Labour Economics and Industrial Sociology

# JS-47.2 - Trade Unions and International Resistance to Global Corporate Strategies in Brazil: The Case of the Auto Sector

Friday, 26 February 2021 09:12 - 09:24

#### **Abstract**

Post-2008 in Brazil meant changes in corporate strategies regarding work and union action. The consolidation of global production networks (GPNs) led by automotive transnational corporations and the demands imposed by this process on productive territories have resulted in production flexibility, reduced labour rights, and weakened workers' bargaining power. The purpose of the paper, based on empirical research underway on the workers in automobile production networks in the Southern region of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil (where large transnational companies predominate in value chain's first layers), is to identify the signs of resistance and potential for contestation and political confrontation at the most varied scales (global, national and local), and bet on the possibility of building new resources of power by workers and their representative bodies, such as initiatives aimed at establishing world standards of labor relations and union networks.

#### **Authors**

José Ramalho Federal University of Rio de Janeiro

Rodrigo Santos Federal University of Rio de Janeiro

Raphael Lima Fluminense Federal University

Cristiano Monteiro Fluminense Federal University

### 603 - From Subjectivity to Mobilization: A Critical View

Friday, 26 February 2021 10:45 - 12:15

The 21st century was marked by a number of progressive social movements, the Zapatista movements anti-globalization movements first evident in Seattle,. At about this time the World Social Forum emerged as a meeting place for thousands of progressive organizations, movements, NGOs and I NGOs, that could exchange ideas and establish networks for a diverse number of struggles, anti-globalization, peasant struggles, opposition to privatization of resources and services, feminism, gay rights, animal rights, ecology, etc. While the WSF was not a political movement per se, it nevertheless set the tone for a number of progressive mobilizations, collectively known as Arab Spring, Southern Europe and Occupyhad been ascendant against neoliberal capitalism. But that was not to be-indeed, there were a number of right wing mobilizations and/or shifts of political parties, to the right has seen a number of European countries, Holland, Austria, Hungary, England, Germany, Italy, and especially significant, the election of Donald Trump. How can we understand these movements? Many movements scholars, have argued that many contemporary social movements were precipitated by if not indeed caused by political economic factors as well as the arousal of intense, affects and emotions, perhaps precipitated by political economic factors, became the moving forces. The Spanish Indignados reminded us, many of occupations, were more likely "mobilizations for dignity." Analyses of right wing movements, suggested that fears, anxieties, anger and ressentiment at the potential erosion if not extinction of white, male and often Christian identities -fostered right populisms, authoritarian nationalisms, and indeed, neo fascisms.

### **Session Organizers**

Lauren Langman Loyola University of Chicago University of California Santa Barbara

Tova Benski College of Management Studies

#### Chair

Ben Manski

University of California, Santa Barbara

# Presentations ORAL PRESENTATIONS

10:45

603.1 Chasing the Spirit: The Rise and Fall of the Gezi Uprising Kaan AGARTAN, Framingham State University, USA

11:00

603.2 #Weekendformobilization. Contradictions and Un-Predictable Consequences in Mobilizing Ideas

Liana Maria DAHER1, Anna Maria LEONORA2, Giorgia MAVICA2 and Alessandra SCIERI2, (1)Educational Sciences, University of Catania, Catania, Italy, (2)University of Catania, Italy

11:15

603.3 Democracy and Identity Politics: A Complex Interplay

Ana Flávia PEREIRA VENTURA1,2, Josevânia NUNES RABELO1,2 and Rosinadja MORATO1,2, (1)Universidade Federal de Sergipe, Brazil, (2)Federal University of Sergipe, Brazil

### 603.1 - Chasing the Spirit: The Rise and Fall of the Gezi Uprising

Friday, 26 February 2021 10:45 - 11:00

#### **Abstract**

The excitement, optimism and anticipation among the activists in Istanbul had not subsided even after the police cracked down the occupation in Gezi Park in June of 2013. After all, this extraordinary uprising, which had dared to challenge the government and especially its leader Erdogan who was defiantly adamant in transforming the society along conservative religious lines, could continue its mission to build a new, pluralistic, and more democratic society in public parks and neighborhood forums. The yearning for a radical reorganization of the society around the motifs of commonality and diversity that would emerge from the spontaneous, horizontal and leaderless prefigurative politics in these parks and forums blinded everyone to the coming of the authoritarian backlash from the political establishment in the years that followed.

I aim to demonstrate that the failure of the Gezi uprising in delivering its promise of transforming political structures and social relations contributed to the constitution of a semi-dictatorial regime in Turkey. I claim that the very features of the Gezi episode had a contradictory, if not centrifugal, impact triggering several structural faultlines in the Turkish society. For instance, the need for constant political mobilization in many different urban sites simultaneously caused activists adopt and enact different political identities at once, the fluidity of which resulted in the loss of the common shared identity that formed the "Gezi spirit" in the early days of the episode. Similarly, the spatial fragmentation in the urban context eventually caused lack of trust, coordination and harmony between politics in different sites, forcing activists go even more local in their political practice, and embrace a narrower understanding of the common.

Author

Kaan Agartan

indimingually state of inversity

# 603.2 - #Weekendformobilization. Contradictions and Un-Predictable Consequences in Mobilizing Ideas

Friday, 26 February 2021 11:00 - 11:15

#### **Abstract**

Ethics is a very complex and multifaceted concept indissolubly linked to contemporary times. In front of this unprecedented diffusion, its enduring presence in the scientific and public debate has weakened its semantic domain because everything, in present times, seems to be "a question of ethics." From and analytical point of view the ethics of sustainability refers to human believes and behaviour in relation to environmental conservation and the quality of Earth ecosystems. Ethics of sustainability, as a broader version of the ethics of care, answers to humanity needs in terms of respect, equity and protection assuring well-being to the present and future generations. But episodic mobilizations do not automatically translate a subjective disposition into societal change.

Bearing in mind these premises, the aim of this work is to explore the associations networks working beneath the protests and demonstrative acts linked to the ethics of sustainability. In particular, we will take into account the Italian cases of three global protests: Friday for future, No-buy day and Saturday for future.

Starting from the subjective ethics the presented exploratory fieldwork unveils the contradiction in mobilizing ideas and implementing sustainable behavior and habits.

#### **Authors**

Liana Maria Daher University of Catania

Anna Maria Leonora University of Catania University of Catania

Alessandra Scieri University of Catania

603.3 - Democracy and Identity Politics: A Complex Interplay

Friday, 26 February 2021 11:15 - 11:30

#### **Abstract**

This paper discusses the connection between democracy and the struggles for identity recognition, as there seems to exist a conflict nowadays between the idea of common good and how certain groups perceive their exclusion from power within the State dimension. Thus, we aim at comprehending their conceptions of democracy and how they relate specifically to their claims. Therefore, this paper analyzes a survey on appreciation for democracy in Brazil conducted by Datafolha in October 2018, registered under BR02581/2018 in the Superior Electoral Court, and the 2018 LatinoBarômetro poll. Based on both polls, we interviewed four representatives of groups struggling for justice and recognition in Aracaju (capital city of Sergipe, in northeast Brazil), as follows: "CasAmor", a host home for LGBTQI+ individuals; the first Urban Quilombo of Sergipe, known locally as "Praça da Maloca"; the Núcleo de Acolhimento de Imigrantes e Refugiados (NAIR), a project developed by Universidade Federal de Sergipe that works with migrants and refugees living in Aracaju; and "Ocupação Beatriz Nascimento", a squatting of the Homeless Workers Movement MTST. Indeed, three of them relate directly to the identity perspective. Such perspective is also implied in the fourth group due to the reference to one of the greatest representatives for Afro-descendants rights recognition in Brazil. Hence, another goal is to observe how the interviewees reflect on the contends regarding the defense of a common right superior to the identity struggles, thus problematizing democracy definitions. This enables reflections about the actions of these groups and their relation, in a broader for democracy has achieved its highest rating, some discourses and practices endorsed by the population contrast directly with the idea of democracy, as based on an equitable space for coexistence of the different, and could not be categorized as democratic.

#### Authors

Ana Flávia Pereira Ventura Universidade Federal de Sergipe Federal University of Sergipe

Josevânia Nunes Rabelo Universidade Federal de Sergipe Federal University of Sergipe

Rosinadja Morato Federal University of Sergipe Universidade Federal de Sergipe

JS-53 - Organized Collective Action: Building Bridges from Social Movements and Formal Organizations. Part I

Friday, 26 February 2021 10:45 - 12:15

This session seeks to explore the convergence between organizational theories, social movements and the collective action sociologies, as identified by Friedberg (1993), in order to entail a dialogue and make some improvement towards a more general and common theoretical framework. If, in one hand, the social movements and collective action is more studied by social sciences, in general, and also having a more fluid and diverse empirical object; in the other hand, organizational theories have focused more often in formal organizations and their structure. However, as pointed out by Erhard Friedberg and followers, in what has been called Organized Collective Action (Action Colective Organiseé), these theories and empirical

of structuration of collective action. Following this rationale, Pimentel (2012) has made his own interpretation, in a critical realist manner, delivering an updated model of Organized Collective Action. In this context, this session aims collect contributions from those are working in some kind of fusion, dialogue or comparative models dealing with social movements and organizational theory as two different sides of the same object: the collective action. We hope to foster and produce a debate getting closer these different schools and their specific interests, in order to generate a broader and fully overview, aiming to construct deeper theoretical models and their applications.

### **Session Organizer**

Thiago Pimentel

Federal University of Juiz de Fora / UFJF

#### Chair

Thiago Pimentel

Federal University of Juiz de Fora / UFJF

Marcos Ancelovici

Université du Québec à Montréal (UQAM)

# Presentations ORAL PRESENTATIONS

10:45

JS-53.1 Building Bridges between Social Movements and the State: An Analysis of the Flow of Individuals in Strategic Action Fields
Carla RECH, Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil

11:00

JS-53.2 Strategic Mobilization of Shareholder Activists on Environmental, Social, and Governance Issues

Kevin CHUAH, London Business School, United Kingdom

11:15

JS-53.3 Brazilian Labour Action between "Movement" and "Organization" in the 1980's.

Antonio CANHA, Programa de Pós-Graduação em Sociologia e Antropologia (PPGSA/IFCS/UFRJ), Brazil

JS-53.1 - Building Bridges between Social Movements and the State: An Analysis of the Flow of Individuals in Strategic Action Fields

Friday, 26 February 2021 10:45 - 11:00

#### **Abstract**

Studies conducted in recent decades in Brazil have shown patterns of interaction between state and non-state organizations, identifying the existence of a dynamic of relationships between these social spaces, partly shaped by the flow of individuals. Despite that, such research does not indicate which elements would make it possible to occupy key positions and other workspaces within governments, posing researchers with an analytical challenge to understand how and why certain people take such a journey and end up occupying positions within the government state bureaucracy, specifically those that have or had in their trajectory links with organizations of social movements. This paper aims to present results of the doctorate in progress, whose research has been dedicated to investigate the flow of people who worked in the Brazilian federal government from 2003, through discretionary ways. This research is theoretically based on the theory of strategic action fields (Fligstein; Macadam, 2011), the approach of social networks (Marques, 1999, 2000, 2003) and the concept of institutional activism (Santoro; Mcguire, 2007; Abers, 2017; Cayres, 2017). We start from the hypothesis of the transit from the societal field to the state field may be determined by political and institutional conditions; educational/work experiences and relational conditions (links mediations) and that the existence of strategic saction fields, connected by

(institutional activists) would be the necessary conditions for the traffic to occur. By conducting and analyzing 23 interviews, it was possible to confirm the hypothesis and verify that the fields of action were historically constructed and that individuals connected to them either during university education and/or through their work experiences, with the social movements, highlighting the links formed and the multiple recognitions derived from the trajectory type as important elements for the flow.

#### **Author**

Carla Rech

Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul

JS-53.2 - Strategic Mobilization of Shareholder Activists on Environmental, Social, and Governance Issues

Friday, 26 February 2021 11:00 - 11:15

#### **Abstract**

This study advances a strategic actor-centered view of social movement mobilization, using evidence from shareholder activism on environmental, social, and governance issues. Shareholder activists face an important strategic choice when engaging with target firms: some shareholders raise issues with firms on an individual basis, whereas others participate in organized collective action by collaborating with their social movement partners. Put differently, shareholder activists face a choice of either mobilizing with collaborators or individually pressuring firms they seek to change.

How and under what conditions does the mobilization of social movement coalition partners contribute to successful activist engagements? To study this research question, I analyze a detailed database of 2,218 shareholder resolutions targeting 386 firms from 2003 to 2016, filed by members of the Interfaith Center on Corporate Responsibility, a US-based coalition of faith-based and secular institutional investors. I investigate the interaction

firms and firms' willingness to "supply" those actions. On the demand side, I examine the effects of the size of activist coalitions that are mobilized and their composition in terms of activists' identities. Specifically, I find that shareholder activists are more likely to successfully engage with firms when investors belonging to the "radical flank" mobilize their mainstream counterparts. Meanwhile on the supply side, I find that while an unfavorable corporate opportunity structure based on firms' attempts to shape their external environment—indicated by firms' participation in lobbying activities—inhibits successful activism, mobilization through larger coalitions helps to overcome firms' resistant tendencies.

These findings emphasize the strategic choices available to social activists regarding whether to mobilize, with whom they mobilize, and the effects of mobilization. Ultimately, I highlight important contingencies for activists to consider when seeking to participate in organized collective action targeting firms.

#### **Author**

Kevin Chuah London Business School

JS-53.3 - Brazilian Labour Action between "Movement" and "Organization" in the 1980's.

Friday, 26 February 2021 11:15 - 11:30

#### **Abstract**

This paper is the result of a Master's study in Sociology. The research aimed on the relations between the Brazilian Workers' Party (PT) and the Unique Workers' Centre (CUT). Two entities coming from the same historical moment - the Brazilian redemocratization - and created by the same union leaderships, PT and CUT do not have formal ties, but they present a great overlap of affiliations in the directions and in the militancy. Their relationship

institutionalized forms of collective actions that characterized the labour movement that gave birth to both organizations. The research was conducted by the analysis of the official documents produced by the organizations, documents produced by internal political tendencies, interviews collected secondarily and Social Network Analisys. It was concluded that the trajectories of PT and CUT, when taken together, mean a division of tasks between a predominantly political organization, the Party, and a predominantly economic one, the Centre. But in order to not follow the path of other party-union relationships, seen as over bureaucratized, their relationship never took a formal shape. On the contrary, this process of division of tasks was provided by a network of personal relationships that cross the two entities and connect them informally, building a strong social tie. At the center of this network stands out a sort of elite, political brokers that influence both the party and the union and keep them in the same strategic horizon. I suggest that this elite functions as a third partner of the relationship, effectively bridging the organizations. A social, informal elite contributes to rethink the long-standing assumption that informality and horizontality is some kind of antidote to Michels' (1911) Iron Law.

#### **Author**

Antonio Canha

Programa de Pós-Graduação em Sociologia e Antropologia (PPGSA/IFCS/UFRJ)

JS-57 - Organized Collective Action: Building Bridges from Social Movements and Formal Organizations. Part II

Friday, 26 February 2021 14:15 - 15:45

Are the social movements totally different from organizations? Are they focusing in totally different objects, in an incommensurable manner? This session argues that we can see the social movements and formal organizations as two sides of the same and broader object: the collective

earlier developments from the Mobilization Resources Theory, going through Political Mobilization, we can arrive at the version delivered by the French School of Organizational Sociology called Organized Collective Action. Here we can see the collective action concept being framed in different and specific perspectives according their level of structuration without dismissing the commitment with a project of more general theory. Texts will be welcomed driving by the topics:

- Organized Collective Action update assessment: their contributions and challenges;
- Social movements theories framed by collective action;
- Organizational theories framed by collective action;
- Theories in collective action and their empirical models of applying;
- Ontology and Epistemology in collective action their implications to social movements and organizational theories.

### **Session Organizer**

Thiago Pimentel

Federal University of Juiz de Fora / UFJF

#### Chair

Thiago Pimentel
Federal University of Juiz de Fora / UFJF

### **Discussant**

Marcos Ancelovici

Université du Québec à Montréal (UQAM)

# Presentations ORAL PRESENTATIONS

14:15

JS-57.1 Organizing Collective Action: A Practice-Based Perspective Robert JUNGMANN, TU Berlin, Germany

14:30

Esperanto Esperanto

Ana VELITCHKOVA, University of Mississippi, USA

14:45

JS-57.3 Between Strangers and Citizens: Mediating and Making Claims for Migrants in South Korea

Bubbles Beverly ASOR, University of the Philippines Diliman, Philippines

JS-57.1 - Organizing Collective Action: A Practice-Based Perspective

Friday, 26 February 2021 14:15 - 14:30

#### **Abstract**

Concepts of collective action in social theory have strongly focused on established collective actors, above all on organizations and nation states (see e.g. Coleman 1990, Meyer/Jepperson 2000). The proclamation of stable collectives causes social science and society to break off too early to ask about alternative forms of collectivity. This is especially true in rather fluid times today (Bauman 2003). A framework that introduces a gradual understanding of collective action with the collective actor as the end point of a gradual continuum has so far been lacking in the debate on collective action in social theory.

The presentation formulates such a gradual concept of collective action grounded in Giddens (1976, 1979, 1984) understanding of agency, recent debates between movement and organization studies as well as the classics. It allows us to distinguish collective action from any social and coordinated action without referring to stable collective actors only. Collective action is conceived as an assemblage of activities actively bond together in time and space to a high degree (Jungmann 2019). This assemblage is informed by a similar framing and is recognized as the cause of an effect. This concept relies on a practice-based understanding of constituting collective action. Analyzing collective action means to determine the social practices in which this assemblage is produced and

to the rules and resources of diverse contexts of action (see Giddens 1984: 25). This framework can be linked to Giddens understanding of social systems and to practice-based concepts of organizations as specific systems (Barley 1996, Ortmann et al 2000, McPhee/Zaug 2000). It opens up a practice-based perspective to understand subtle forms of organizing collective action beyond acting as a stable, organizational actor.

Author Robert Jungmann TU Berlin

JS-57.2 - The Logic of Transnational Community: Continuity and Growth of Esperanto

Friday, 26 February 2021 14:30 - 14:45

#### **Abstract**

Many contemporary thinkers are pessimistic about the possibility and continuity of community, especially of transnational communities. I trace the case of the century-and-a-half-old transnational community Esperanto to alleviate such concerns. The Esperanto community developed thanks to a transnational social movement that engaged in multi-level organizational building in order to promote the international language Esperanto and, through it, communication equality and global understanding. I outline three mechanisms that ensure the continuity and growth of the Esperanto community alongside with but largely independently of nation-states, professions, and religion. The first mechanism is rationalization, the development of a form of the community logic specific to Esperanto, consisting of institutionalized symbols, practices, and organization. The Esperanto community logic unifies Esperanto activities at the local, national, and transnational levels across space and time and creates the possibility of growing the number of instantiations of the community. The second

New instantiations of the community logic result from groups adopting alternative symbols, practices, or organization. The third mechanism is the hybridization of the Esperanto community logic and its mixing with other institutional logics (professional, state, corporate, religious, family, and other forms of the community logic). The variation and the hybridization of the community logic allow for internal differentiation, community continuity, and growth through the inclusion of diverse voices. With the development of a distinct type of rationality—community rationality—and its instantiation not only in patterned symbols and justifications but also in practices and organizations, the community logic is integral to modernity at the global level. Social movements play a central role in these processes of social change and institutional continuity.

#### **Author**

Ana Velitchkova University of Mississippi

JS-57.3 - Between Strangers and Citizens: Mediating and Making Claims for Migrants in South Korea

Friday, 26 February 2021 14:45 - 15:00

## **Abstract**

This paper examines the role of faith-based organisation in the claims-making process for migrant inclusion and citizenship in an emerging 'multicultural' society like South Korea. Following Peter Berger and John Neuhaus' (1977; 1996) notion of mediating structure, I contextualize faith-based organisation (in particular the Catholic Church) as a migrant-serving mediating structure which bridges migrants as 'strangers' and the wider publics in the receiving society. Within the context of migration, mediation as an organisational process and strategy is employed by faith-based organisation to make claims on behalf of migrants whose

transmission of demands and claims to the state, bureaucracy, receiving society and even the market. Based on a multi-sited ethnography of Catholic-based migrant organisations in South Korea, this paper introduces three strategies of mediation between migrants and the wider publics. I first focus on care mediation by which the Korean Catholic Church engage social service provision and delivery as a (de)politicized blueprint of welcoming and incorporating migrants especially vis-à-vis welfare and migration regimes. I then present symbolic and spatial mediation by which the Catholic Church provides the physical and symbolic infrastructures for migrant community formation especially among Filipino migrants. Through a mediated community-building, the presence and visibility of migrant communities becomes both an object of legitimacy and scrutiny in public sphere. Finally, I present empowerment mediation as a paradoxical strategy of providing spaces and resources which migrants employ in the production and maintenance of a "sense of self" and self-worth amidst social exclusion, discrimination, and marginalization. By focusing on these three strategies, the paper offers a portrayal of mediational state-civil society relations that is played out in the context of migration and religion and the need for intermediating institutions in the claims-making for citizenship among migrants.

# **Author**

Bubbles Beverly Asor University of the Philippines Diliman

JS-64 - Student Power

Friday, 26 February 2021 16:00 - 17:30

It is just over fifty years since "the Berkeley invention" saw the eruption the Free Speech Movement in 1964 and that student movements rocked the world. "Student Power" was a crucial aspect of the world's political agenda

are at the center of attention again, be in Latin America, North America and Europe, students have rallied for issues ranging from tuition-fee hikes and climate change to gun control.

Universities and scholars worldwide have celebrated and studied their history, a rich heritage of activism that ranges from the Black Universities and the Civil Rights sit-ins to anti-apartheid campaigns in South-Africa; the Tiananmen Square protests in China and the student revolution in Iran; anti-austerity protests such as Los Indignados in Spain and Greece or the Occupy movement in North America and the "Maple Spring" in Canada; and more recently the pro-democracy movements such as Hong Kong's Umbrella movement. In all these movements, students have been a key element, and sociology has been the discipline most involved with both participation and analysis of these movements.

However, universities have also long been targeted by the far-right movements. Today, these are on the rise through the world. Against student protest culture, a culture of cruelty has been making the most of the academic marketplace and of the ambivalent Internet as a new arena of power, transforming the meaning of student power and free speech that we seek to question anew.

# **Session Organizers**

Ioanna Kasapi Cité des Mémoires Etudiantes

Simon Ridley Université Paris Nanterre

Paolo Stuppia CESSP - CNRS/Paris I/EHESS

Chair Ioanna Kasapi Cité des Mémoires Etudiantes

**Presentations** 

OTTAL I REDENTIATION

16:00

JS-64.1 As Tuition Rises: Opposition to the Neoliberalization of Higher Education

Didem TURKOGLU, NYU AbuDhabi, United Arab Emirates

16:20

JS-64.2 Assessing Student Power over Time. History, Transformations and Future Perspectives of Three Italian Student Organisations: A Case Study Lidia LO SCHIAVO, University of Messina, Italy

16:40

JS-64.3 1968: The Bibliographical and Memorialist Return in Its 50 Years Maria Ribeiro do VALLE and Pablo ALMADA, Universidade Estadual Paulista Julio de Mesquita Filho, Brazil

# JS-64.1 - As Tuition Rises: Opposition to the Neoliberalization of Higher Education

Friday, 26 February 2021 16:00 - 16:20

#### **Abstract**

Over the past two decades, every country in the OECD has tried to raise tuitions at public universities, as part of neoliberalism's broad retrenchment of the welfare state. Not all of these proposals were implemented. Opposition arose in almost all of these countries and blocked half of the tuition hikes. Using a new dataset, this study compares the process and outcome of opposition to tuition increases across all 34 OECD countries as of 2010, along with detailed case studies of three countries, in order to understand the potential for resistance against austerity policies in a neoliberal era. It compares partisan politics explanations developed in comparative study of welfare states with the political mediation model developed in social movement studies, and offers a new model to analyze

that neoliberal policies may be vulnerable to opposition alliances between protesters outside of electoral institutions and opposition parties within the system, brokered by intermediary organizations – in the case of tuition increases, coalitions of student movements and opposition political parties, brokered by organized labor. These coalitions, combining contentious politics and institutional politics, require analyses that bridge the fields of political economy and social movement studies.

**Author**Didem Turkoglu
NYU AbuDhabi

JS-64.2 - Assessing Student Power over Time. History, Transformations and Future Perspectives of Three Italian Student Organisations: A Case Study

Friday, 26 February 2021 16:20 - 16:40

#### **Abstract**

A global wave of student protests opposing the neoliberalisation of education, of labour and of youths' life conditions, has been emerging worldwide over the last decade. In this context, student power and student activism have been re-activated, manifesting the prominent role of student movements among young people in contemporary societies. In particular, three Italian student organisations, namely the Students' Union (founded in 1994), Link and the Knowledge Network (emerged during the Anomalous Wave protests' cycle in 2010-2011), have been embodying the student power in a changing social landscape. They have been constantly asserting knowledge to be a common good, opposing the neoliberal marketisation of education. Asserting school and university to be the primary site of democratic participation, they have expressed a critical voice within society and manifested their collective subjectivity both as students and as different generational units. By creating new forms of protest and political activism,

movement-like forms of engagement, also mediated by social networks, and mobilising on multiple issues (immigrants' rights, feminism, anti-racism, environmentalism), they have been contesting the neoliberal capitalistic worldview, deemed a competitive, exclusionary if not violent power system, asserting the leading role of students in society. Continuing to mobilise over time, they embodied protest in the past at the onset of the neoliberalisation process of education in Italy, keeping mobilisation for students rights alive right up to the present, currently reframing their protest in the future perspective: the "future is unwritten', "education for future", "let's take our future back", they are claiming. Based on these considerations, a critical and historical analysis of this case-study on these student organisations (consisting of 70 interviews, direct observation, analysis of their documents) will be addressed, aimed at assessing both the potential and weakness of student activism in contemporary politics and society.

#### Author

Lidia Lo Schiavo University of Messina

JS-64.3 - 1968: The Bibliographical and Memorialist Return in Its 50 Years

Friday, 26 February 2021 16:40 - 17:00

#### **Abstract**

The purpose of this paper is, in light of the events of 1968, to analyze the different reports and analytical perspectives that emerged in the 50th-anniversary celebrations of that event in Brazil. As is well known, about 1968 there is a huge body of scholarly references, reports of its former protagonists, and articles linked by the mainstream press, which favor the most diverse interpretations possible, as well as varied practical and political meanings and effects. Thus, in the "commemorations" of its 50 years, there are new interpretations that can be explored: the academic

Contagem) and their relations with the student movement; and the composition of certain political inheritances in the face of current political conservatism. Therefore, the research that underlies the article aimed at the memorial composition, based on oral history, with reports of scholars and former protagonists, who identify several points of convergence, especially regarding the identification of 1968 with a (still) current project of criticism of disciplinarity and technocracy aimed at building a more egalitarian society.

#### **Authors**

Maria Ribeiro do Valle Universidade Estadual Paulista Julio de Mesquita Filho

Pablo Almada Universidade Estadual Paulista Julio de Mesquita Filho

# Saturday, 27 February 2021

JS-66 - Social Movements, Contentious Politics, and the Imagination of Alternative Futures. Part II

Saturday, 27 February 2021 09:00 - 10:30

Raewyn Connell's 'Southern Sociologies' argues that emerging non-western sociologies can help modify central concepts of sociology thereby making it more universal.

In 2001 Jim O'Neill predicted that four countries - Brazil, Russia, India and China - the BRICs - would become by 2035 more important economically than the G7. However, their populations and their sociologists knew very little about each other, this led their Sociological Associations to work together to produce an initial degree of mutual understanding. A handbook

Five years later, in 2018, now with South Africa to make BRICS, a new handbook examined sociology of youth. While important differences were revealed, the handbooks detail how, for example, their development processes don't respond to modernization theory. Interestingly, convergent findings were made around themes like: development, inequalities, political participation, technology, agency and the social impacts of fast disruptive change. These collective works provoked discussion around major sociological questions that affect these countries - over 40% of the world's population - as they build their futures. Also themes undiscussed in the handbooks emerge in debates: sociological practice, the middle-income trap, intergenerational exploitation and artificial intelligence, which combine to cast a shadow over the possibilities of building equitable futures. Given the cumulative knowledge that is being built up, we invite sociologists who investigate the BRICS to reflect on their discipline, its dominant paradigms, and how their research can shine a light on the future.

#### Chair

Alexandra Kassir American University of Beirut

# Presentations ORAL PRESENTATIONS

9:00

JS-66.1 Engaged Ecological Citizenship
Josephine DIONISIO, University of the Philippines Diliman, Philippines

Ø9:15

JS-66.2 Between Agency and Structure: How Human Rights Theory Helps Understand Social Movements in Brazil Angela PAIVA, PUC-Rio, Brazil

09:30

JS-66.3 Politics As Imagining Future: The Political Imaginaries of Istanbul's

Gamze EVCIMEN, Kalamazoo College, Kalamazoo, Michigan, USA

09:45

JS-66.4 Constituting Democracy, Democratizing Constitutions: Lessons from a Global Comparative Analysis of Democracy Movements, Social Movement Strategy, Constitutional Change, and Democratization (1974-2001)

Ben MANSKI, University of California Santa Barbara, USA

# JS-66.1 - Engaged Ecological Citizenship

Saturday, 27 February 2021 09:00 - 09:15

#### **Abstract**

The concept of 'citizenship' has become more complex and contested due to the worsening environmental crisis that blur traditional boundaries of the nation-state. The changed context of mainstream institutional politics has forced a redefinition of 'social citizenship' to include ecological claims and a rethinking of the role of environmental movements in forging a new social imaginary for engaged citizenship.

This presentation examines the discursive opportunities created by two environmental coalitions in the Philippines, the Green Thumb Coalition (GTC) and the Philippine Movement for Climate Justice (PMCJ), which have become spaces for the performance of active ecological citizenship. The GTC positioned itself as a green electorate during the highly contested national elections in 2016 and 2019 while the PMCJ built a constituency for climate justice through nationwide protests against coal. These two cases reveal how local indignations become frames for contentious politics on broader environmental issues at the national and transnational levels. It discusses how collaborative action across several movement entrepreneurs of different ideologies eventually generated mechanisms for claim-taking during elections and against corporate interests. It is argued that political action becomes a performance of ecological citizenship that goes beyond the narrow confines of liberal democratic practices, and creates a space for

and responsibilities.

#### **Author**

Josephine Dionisio University of the Philippines Diliman

# JS-66.2 - Between Agency and Structure: How Human Rights Theory Helps Understand Social Movements in Brazil

Saturday, 27 February 2021 09:15 - 09:30

#### **Abstract**

This paper discusses contemporary social movements in Brazil along two dimensions. The first is structure: I will argue for the importance of new opportunities brought by re-democratization in understanding the emergence of these movements in Brazil. This analysis is analogous to the theory of political opportunities, developed by Tarrow, Tilly and McAdam, to explain the American civil rights movements. The second is the new meaning of agency that has emerged in the past thirty years, with new collective identities understood as the result of a subjectivity process (Pleyers; McDonald). To connect both dimensions, I argue that Alain Touraine's defense of the importance of individual rights, thenegative liberty in human rights theory for the emergence of "creative freedom", which is present in contemporary social/cultural movements, helps understand the new forms of collective action that came to the fore in the Brazilian public sphere, such as the black, gay and homeless movements.

## **Author**

Angela Paiva PUC-Rio

# JS-66.3 - Politics As Imagining Future: The Political Imaginaries of Istanbul's Professionals in the Gezi Protests and Beyond

Saturday, 27 February 2021 09:30 - 09:45

#### **Abstract**

Although Erdoğan's authoritarian leadership seems to have remained intact, Turkey's 2013 Gezi protests posed challenges to the AKP regime and offered a glimpse of alternative futures. This paper addresses Gezi's alternative visions of the future by focusing on the participation and politics of Istanbul's professionals in the Gezi protests. Using semi-structured interviews with a group of highly-educated, private-sector professionals, who participated in the Gezi Park protests, I offer an analysis of how these professionals imagined alternative futures to the AKP rule. For the theoretical framework of this analysis, I connect Gramsci's notions of hegemony and conception of the world with the insights of recent works on social and political imaginaries. My analysis illustrates that this upper sector of professionals expressed political imaginaries of secular ethics, social democracy and political pluralism as alternative conceptions of the world to AKP's religious conservatism, neo-populism, and majoritarian politics, which constitute the main tenets of AKP hegemony. Moreover, these professionals supported not only individual rights and freedoms but also the institutionalization of welfare state as well as the collective rights of religious and ethnic groups in Gezi's aftermath. However, my respondents could not organize collectively to achieve these visions due to both internal dynamics and external conditions. While these professionals remained fragmented in terms of mainstream political orientations, AKP's increasing oppression caused an interruption in their political conversations and led to their disengagement from collective action.

### **Author**

Gamze Evcimen Kalamazoo College

# JS-66.4 - Constituting Democracy, Democratizing Constitutions: Lessons from a Global Comparative Analysis of Democracy Movements, Social Movement Strategy, Constitutional Change, and Democratization (1974-2001)

Saturday, 27 February 2021 09:45 - 10:00

#### **Abstract**

In times such as these that try the souls of democrats, is it more dangerous to pursue constitutional change, or is there a greater danger in avoiding it? Toward the end of the 20th century, many countries entered formal constitution-making processes. This wave of constitutionalization came about as part of a tumultuous reordering of the world system. Popular movements for democratization vied with authoritarian countermovements over the formation of new national, regional, and global institutions. Much of today's world is similarly defined by constitutional crises and demands for structural reform. There is great uncertainty and worry in this new period, and many are searching for new forms of order. What can we learn from the last period that might prove useful today? In facing the major constitutional crises of our day, what can and should democrats do? This study relies on a comparative analysis of the 11 major countries that engaged in formal constitutionalization between 1974 and 2001. These include Australia, Brazil, Canada, China, Iran, Poland, Russia, Saudi Arabia, South Africa, Spain, and Turkey, each at the time a top-30 GDP country of population greater than 15 million. The main finding of this study is that agenda-setting matters: Democracy movements that prioritized demands for constitutional change came away with much more democratic outcomes than movements that were less prepared for constitutional tumult. Taking lessons from both social movement studies and constitutional studies, I argue that when a democracy movement involves large numbers of people in the construction and articulation of a clear constitutional agenda, it deploys a constitutional master frame that redefines the political situation, the constitutional process, and the society's historical trajectory, as well as the movement's

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#### **Author**

Ben Manski University of California Santa Barbara

# 604 - Gender, (anti) Feminism and Emotions As Battlefields in Social Movements and Collective Action

Saturday, 27 February 2021 10:45 - 12:15

'New' Social movements and ways of protest and political collective action have situated gender and emotions at the centre of public discussion.

Since the 90s we know that emotions play a huge role in social movements, in all kinds of political action (Van Ness and Summers-Effler, 2019) and in mobilization (Jasper and Owens, 2014).

Gender as a category for social classification and for social analysis is a cluster and complex configuration. Gender is relational and an intersectional category: gender justice cannot be left out in democratic states. In defending their 'manliness' but also their nationalism, Bolsonaro, Trump, Salvini, Orbán and other world leaders have situated gender relations and antifeminism as a key factor in the current political discourse of the nationalist right. However, gender relations and feminism are also present as a key claim of the left and particularly of the extreme left. Being at the core of human relations, gender relations are entangled, embedded and embodied with the political and the emotional.

We welcome contributions related (but not limited) to:

The role of emotions in situating gender at the core of current political discourse

The connection between gender and emotions in the current polarization of politics and collective action

How social movements and other forms of collective action incorporate gender to their programmes and outcomes

The pro of differentialist strategies enacted, their objectives and effects

The historical and sociological links between current configurations of political and gendered public action and the past

**Session Organizers** 

Begonya Enguix Grau

Fundacio per a la Universitat Oberta de Catalunya

Benjamin Tejerina

University of the Basque Country

#### Chair

Benjamin Tejerina

University of the Basque Country

# Presentations ORAL PRESENTATIONS

10:45

604.1 New and Old Feminist Activisms in Poland

Grzegorz PIOTROWSKI, European Solidarity Centre, Poland; University of Gdańsk, Poland and Magdalena MUSZEL, Fundacja Zatoka, Poland

11:00

604.2 Independence, Socialism, Feminism: Gendered Bodies and Affects in Catalan Pro-Independence Left

Begonya ENGUIX GRAU, Universitat Oberta de Catalunya, Spain

11:15

604.3 Whatever Happened to the Maternal Element in Women's Peace Activism in Israel?

Tova BENSKI, Social Sciences, College of Management Studies, Tel Aviv, Israel

11:30

604.4 Body and Emotion in Contemporary Brazilian Feminism and Conservative Movements

Carla Castro GOMES, Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

11:45

Maria Jose VENTURA ALFARO, University of Bath, United Kingdom

# 604.1 - New and Old Feminist Activisms in Poland

Saturday, 27 February 2021 10:45 - 11:00

#### **Abstract**

2016 protests against restricting abortion law in Poland has not only succeed in stopping the proposal, but also resulted in emergence of a new wave of feminist activism. Groups and networks that emerged from this cycle of contention are significantly different to the ones prior them, generational-and geographically-wise, as numerous protests in small and provincial Polish towns were said to be the biggest strength of the campaign.

This new wave of activism in Poland is about re-defining the political. In this process, the boundaries between the private and public (political) spheres become blurred. To some extent, this resembles the 1970s feminist claim that "the personal is political", and evidence supporting this can be found in many places as "lifestyle activism" seems to be more dominant than social activism, with numerous aspects of one's life are politicized.

Political and Discursive Opportunity Structures are closed for the feminist movement, but there is a gap between the support for feminist groups and the support for their claims. POS are closed regarding political allies and are also closed for cooperation between groups within the movement.

In this regard, new wave of Polish feminism is not political but rather anti-political, especially in regard to institutionalized politics. Using the term suggested by John Holloway (2005), feminist activists are using anti-power instead of trying to take over power.

The core of the paper is the analysis of the relations between the two groups of feminist activists from small and big cities (1st line of division) and old and new activists (2nd line of division). The analysis is based on around 30 in-depth interviews with activists from small and big towns, with various experience of activism in the movement, with particular attention given to internal movement dynamics that point out to contagious aspects of cooperation.

Matriors

Grzegorz Piotrowski European Solidarity Centre University of Gdańsk

Magdalena Muszel Fundacja Zatoka

604.2 - Independence, Socialism, Feminism: Gendered Bodies and Affects in Catalan Pro-Independence Left

Saturday, 27 February 2021 11:00 - 11:15

#### **Abstract**

This paper explores how gender issues (feminism), are incorporated as political statements in the Catalan pro-independence left.

In doing so, their political action is connected to the social mobilizations of the 60s in United States and Europe (for civil rights, feminism, black Pride, Gay pride -now LGTB) and their scope in transforming social structures. This totalizing perspective in social action, remained stable during the Spanish Transition. In those years, public demonstrations for freedom mobilized communists, feminists, trade unions, socialists, and gay militants.

However, political gender claims and activism soon became fragmented in particular fights (feminism, LGTB...)

The case of the Catalan pro-independence far left (Esquerra Independentista El)can be related to some Basque radical (abertzale) stances. However, the protagonism of feminism in Catalan political discourse is unique;

They make this gender discourse visible through some strategies (communication campaigns, spokeswomen instead of spokesmen, use of the feminine genre in discourse...) that will be explored in this paper.

As in the 60s and 70s, gender, body and affects become battlefields: bodies and the way they relate to the other, knitting complicities, strategies and objectives are clearly exposed as a political tool for these groups.

Begonya Enguix Grau

Universitat Oberta de Catalunya

# 604.3 - Whatever Happened to the Maternal Element in Women's Peace Activism in Israel?

Saturday, 27 February 2021 11:15 - 11:30

#### **Abstract**

The Mothers of Plaza Mayor in Buenos Aires is probably the best-known mothers mobilization in the world. There are other examples over the world. Israeli society is a society engaged in prolonged conflict that from time to time erupts into wars and armed conflicts with casualties on both sides. Since the first Lebanon war (1982), we are witnessing the beginning of an era of the feminization of peace activism in Israel. Since then, three periods of increased women's peace mobilizations can be identified, each with its dominant organizations, modes of action and collective identities. At the first ISA Forum in Barcelona 2008 I presented an analysis of the identities that have evolved amongst women's peace activist in the first two phases. Six years later, in 2014, Women Wage Peace has emerged. In this presentation I am revisiting the women's peace camp in Israel focusing on elements of continuity and change among these periods of increased activism. Most particularly I will focus on the maternal elements in these mobilizations. From being a central element in the activism through opposition to its inclusion, to returning to the center stage with Women Wage Peace. Explanations will focus on changes in Israeli society; among the participant women; in Feminism and in the movements. I will further compare some of the findings to other women's movements in the West. I am basing my analysis on research projects that I have been conducting, on and off, for the past 25 years that consisted of participant observations, interviews of various types, and data collection from almost every available source. The most recent project started in 2016 and I am still collecting data and participating in the activities of the Women Wage Peace.

**Author** 

College of Management Studies

# 604.4 - Body and Emotion in Contemporary Brazilian Feminism and Conservative Movements

Saturday, 27 February 2021 11:30 - 11:45

## **Abstract**

This paper explores how body and emotion have been transformed into political resources by Brazilian feminists. By researching the "Marcha das Vadias" [SlutWalk], a global anti-rape protest that gained high visibility in Brazil from 2011 on, I argue that body and emotion are fundamental in the constitution of two central processes of social movements: the construction of new repertoires of protest and the production of political subjects. In the first case, body and emotion are converted into repertoires: nudity and humor are the main elements in constructing a frame that emphasizes gender transgression rather than the experience of victimization, as it used to happen in anti-rape protest so far. In the second case, body and emotion are fertile ground for the elaboration of identity politics: they are mobilized in the relations of differentiation and identification between "sluts" and their "others".

The research brings interesting contributions to social movements studies, whose main approaches take bodies for granted, making invisible the fact that they are important political artifacts for activists. From critical dialogues with the concepts of embodied performativity, choreography of protest and emotional work, I propose the notion of "flag body" to designate the production of the body as an individual and collective locus of resistance, expression and political differentiation. The notion of flag body allows to "embody" key concepts of social movements studies, such as frame and repertoire, expanding their reach. It also helps to reflect on how bodies and emotions are mobilized in the construction of differences of race, class, sexuality and age, thus constituting raw materials for the production of political subjects. I conclude this paper by pointing out that this approach can be useful not only for the analysis of feminism and other social movements, but also for "conservative" movements that have been

Samming Worldwide Visibility.

#### **Author**

Carla Castro Gomes Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro

604.5 - Feminist Social Movements in the Decolonial Turn

Saturday, 27 February 2021 11:45 - 12:00

#### **Abstract**

I examine the new wave of women's movements calling for an end to violence against women that has enveloped the contemporary world, with focus on the ever-growing feminist movement ";Ni Una Más!" in Mexico City. In their struggle against the rise of feminicide and impunity in Mexico, Ni Una Más challenges contemporary oppressions that are reproduced by neoliberal economic policy within a matrix domination intersecting gender, race, sexuality and class. Informed by Latin American decolonial feminism (Lugones 2010, Segato 2016), I examine the historical, political and socioeconomic circumstances that allow the reproduction of feminicide in Mexico. I engage with theorisations (Lagarde, 2006; Fregoso, 2010; Monárrez Fragoso, 2008; Olivera, 2010; Segato, 2016) that enable us to re-evaluate contemporary gender, class, racial and sexual dynamics in Mexican society. My argument is that Ni Una Más is challenging the power dynamics that sustain violence against women in Mexico but is also prefiguring alternative social, cultural and economic relations and practices to the present ones. By so doing, the movement is engaging in creating "worlds otherwise" (Escobar, 2004). I explore the movement by deploying a community-based participatory action research approach (PAR) that combines semi-structured interviews, focus groups and storytelling data collection techniques. By recruiting social activists and policymakers as part of the study I will develop a specific form of the co-construction approach to policy: 'prefigurative policy' (Dinerstein 2014). I engage with Dinerstein's

relationship between Ni Una Más and the Mexican State, and study how the movement's prefigurative practices are translated into policy.

**Author** 

Maria Jose Ventura Alfaro University of Bath

JS-70 - Solidarity Economy Projects in Diverse Social Contexts

Saturday, 27 February 2021 10:45 - 12:15

In this "Invited Session" presenters examine solidarity economy projects in diverse social contexts and through different lenses. Our papers explore the impact of involvement in these initiatives for youth development; the perspectives of young Mozambican feminists about what types of structures of solidarity are most aligned with deep resistance and transformative practices; the shaping of collective and personal narratives and the articulation of the kind(s) of society(ies) that members envision in the long run.

Presenters originate in Mozambique, Angola, Mexico and the United States, residing in Canada and Portugal, Mozambique and the United States. We bring intergenerational (ages 23-63) feminist, scholar-activist, critical race and decolonial perspectives about contemporary initiatives and the possibilities they represent. We are interdisciplinary with academic roots in sociology, political science, critical youth studies, anthropology, business, and community economic development. All presenters are involved in scholarly as well as community projects.

Through discussion of multiple settings, we collectively consider the question of how we "be the change" in relationships and structures and pursue an understanding of what principles and practices most firmly embed solidarity and the common good in contemporary efforts aimed at radical social transformation. This session engages participants and attendees in thinking about Challenges of the 21st Century: Democracy,

and energies in action.

### **Session Organizers**

Melanie E Bush Adelphi University

Withney Sabino Associação Sócio Cultural Horizonte Azul

#### Chair

David Embrick
University of Connecticut

# Presentations ORAL PRESENTATIONS

10:45

JS-70.1 Solidarity Economy an International Movement and a Contrbution to Real Utopias Discussion

Jean-Louis LAVILLE, Collège d'Etudes Mondiales, France

10:59

JS-70.2 The Impact of the Solidarity Economy on Youth Development Erika LICÓN, Concordia University, Canada

11:13

JS-70.3 Solidarity Initiatives of Young Mozambican Feminists
Withney SABINO, Associação Sócio Cultural Horizonte Azul, Mozambique

11:27

JS-70.4 Epistemologies of the South and the Economies of Hers the 'capuchinhas' Cooperative of the Serra De Montemuro

cresa corrint, Ladardo Moridiane Oniversity, Mozambique

11:41

JS-70.5 Actors on the Stage of Change: The United States
Melanie E BUSH, Adelphi University, Garden City, New York, United States

11:55 Discussion

#### **DISTRIBUTED PAPERS**

JS-70.6 Associativism in Traditional Communities: Overcoming Inequalities through Solidarity Economy

Marilia VERONESE, Universidade do Vale do ilo dos Sinos (UNISINOS), Brazil

JS-70.1 - Solidarity Economy an International Movement and a Contrbution to Real Utopias Discussion

Saturday, 27 February 2021 10:45 - 10:59

#### **Abstract**

This contibution describes the appearence of a solidarity economy movement in different national and continental contexts, stressing the diversity of practices within civil society at local and international level. Emerging in the last decades, these initiatives, which are both political and economic in nature, have extended offering a concrete alternative at a time of capitalist crisis.

As such, the movement cannot be overlooked in the quest for a new economic model and public action. This solidarity economy movement is examined through the lense of real utopias approach according to E.O Wright

#### **Author**

Jean-Louis Laville Collège d'Etudes Mondiales

# JS-70.2 - The Impact of the Solidarity Economy on Youth Development

Saturday, 27 February 2021 10:59 - 11:13

#### **Abstract**

Young people are no longer waiting to be the future of societies; they are already taking control of the present and transforming it. Sadly, they are facing a big challenge: worldwide they are the group most affected by unemployment. Youth are responding to this difficulty by creating their jobs in organizations that answer to their socio-economic needs, and at the same time, to their demands for social and environmental justice: they are founding collective enterprises in the solidarity economy.

However, not much is known about collective entrepreneurial processes when carried out by young people and the impact that it could have on their human development. Youth studies have usually been framed within a single discipline. For example, entrepreneurship covers some elements in the current economic system ignoring youth human development phase. Meanwhile, youth development literature does not consider their monetary needs. Moreover, the social solidarity economy's research focuses on explaining how it is an alternative economic system capable of answering to problems such poverty and exclusion but does not provide details of how these alternative economies are built. Hence, there is a need to analyze such a complex phenomenon from a multidisciplinary approach that could provide new elements that are somehow neglected by separate disciplines. By taking a multidisciplinary and de-colonial approach, I present a study of the processes that unfold during the creation of four youth co-operatives in Mexico. In particular, I analyze the impact that the social solidarity economy has on youth human development.

### **Author**

Erika Licón Concordia University

# J\$-70.3 - Solidarity Initiatives of Young Mozambican Feminists

Saturday, 27 February 2021 11:13 - 11:27

#### **Abstract**

The organizational format that structures the feminist struggles and that has as key factor the funds, has implications for the movement itself that invests time and effort in the construction of requirements and organizational capacity to apply for, receive and justify funds in a cyclical way. This structure, produced by the North and large organizations, professionalizes feminist struggles and generates as capitalist consumer products their monitoring and evaluation frameworks, justification of funds, etc., which are very little adjusted for the inclusion and participation of young feminists.

Our proposal is to bring the perception of young Mozambican feminists to the institutional and hierarchic model of feminist struggle, and secondly, how they reinvent themselves and what alternative forms of solidarity they create in resistance and the sustenance of their struggles.

#### **Author**

Withney Sabino Associação Sócio Cultural Horizonte Azul

JS-70.4 - Epistemologies of the South and the Economies of Hers the 'capuchinhas' Cooperative of the Serra De Montemuro

Saturday, 27 February 2021 11:27 - 11:41

Abstract

Montemuro, one of the most isolated and impoverished regions of the interior center of Portugal. Since its beginning in the 1980s, this cooperative was thought of as a form of resistance, but also of creating a local alternative to unemployment and the women's emancipation. This co-operative pays special attention to the specific problems of its region and its population and seeks to tackle territorial imbalances and the increasing commodification of all spheres of life.

Our work has two main objectives. The first is the theoretical and analytical extension of the concept of solidarity economy and associated sociabilities. Secondly, through a dense ethnography we present the complexity of the creation and life of the cooperative giving centrality to the words and narratives of the protagonists who think about themselves and the world where they act.

#### **Author**

Teresa Cunha Eduardo Mondlane University

JS-70.5 - Actors on the Stage of Change: The United States

Saturday, 27 February 2021 11:41 - 11:55

### **Abstract**

The system as a whole – economic, political and social – is in a crisis of new proportions. In the United States, traditional rhetoric and ideology of the American Dream, Horatio Alger upward mobility and nation of no limits are being tested and strained.

A past project explored people's views about the contemporary moment and was published in 2015 in Tensions in the American Dream: Rhetoric, Reverie or Reality. We wanted to know how ordinary people in the U.S. reconcile the current economic and political crisis with the rhetoric of endless possibility. We discovered a deep concern that the stories being told about the exceptionalism of the United States and opportunities for

inflitiess accultulation, wealth and well-being inight not actually be true.

As scholars rooted in grassroots movements since the 1970s we were already aware of the energy afoot to actually be and build "the change", not only demand it from the current elite. Their questions led us to investigate what are people doing, both in the U.S. and globally and how they conceptualize their efforts.

The research discussed in this presentation brings an ethnographic lens to the experiences of individuals and communities involved in creating structures to address the challenges that they currently face. This paper shares some of what those involved have to say about their hopes, dreams and practices. The project methodology combines oral history (interviews) with ethnography (participant observation) and background research to explore the ways of thinking and experiences of people involved in "be the change" efforts over the last decade.

#### **Author**

Melanie E Bush Adelphi University

### Discussion

Saturday, 27 February 2021 11:55 - 12:15

JS-70.6 - Associativism in Traditional Communities: Overcoming Inequalities through Solidarity Economy

Saturday, 27 February 2021 11:55 - 11:55

#### **Abstract**

The presentation focuses on a qualitative study, theoretically supported in

absences and emergencies and the prospect of epistemologies of the South. The epistemologies of the South are understood as a metaphor of human suffering caused by colonial predatory relationships through exclusion, exploitation and hiding. It refers to existential cultures, which produce habitus, behaviors and values. In a world of appalling social inequalities people are becoming more aware of the multiple dimensions of injustice, whether social, political, cultural, sexual, ethnic, religious, historical, or ecological. Cognitive injustice is another vital dimension and the object of the research were the knowledge and socioeconomic practices produced by communities of traditional origin, such as quilombolas and Indigenous, small fishing and riverine. Such groups, quite diverse in the production of collective identities, refer to peculiar social situations with a strong territorial link. The concept of buen vivir or sumak kawsay expresses in Latin America a worldview that can be identified with the epistemologies of the South. During the fieldwork, we were staying with community-based groups in the south of Brazil that practice associativism, in the context of different experiences of solidarity economy. They produce various strategies of work, mobility and militancy. The main findings point to the plurality of organizational forms; the importance of association as a central community figure; and how ethnic, gender and generation diversity impact on the construction of their identities and trajectories, marked by the adversity of poverty and sociopolitical suffering. In the proposal to combat inequalities, we think of an ethic being with those who are put in the place of "inferiority"; in an aesthetic that aims the inventive character in valorization of the life; and of a politics that conceives the subject in its historical contexts in search of citizenship.

Marilia Veronese Universidade do Vale do ilo dos Sinos (UNISINOS)

# JS-78 - Social Movements, Contentious Politics, and the Imagination of Alternative Futures. Part I

Saturday, 27 February 2021 14:15 - 15:45

The ISA Research Committees RCo7, RC47, RC48 are planning one or more Joint Sessions on social movements, contentious politics, and the imagination of alternative futures.

The recent rise of retrotopian politics and authoritarian leadership across world regions (Bolsonaro, Duterte, Erdoğan, Orban, Trump, among others) has uncovered a widespread disenchantment with narrowly conceived liberal democracy. This lends heightened urgency to better understand the radical imagination and creative efforts of social movements to overcome the confines of the social and institutional status quo.

The aim of this session is to bring theoretical approaches, empirical case-studies, and historical comparisons of different settings and regions, South and North, into a fruitful dialogue. Abstractly formulated, the questions may include (but are not limited to):

- How do social movements invent, articulate, and engage with alternative visions of the future?
- Why do the horizons of imaginable futures expand or shrink at certain times and places?
- How do visions relate to social interests, identities, ideologies, solidarities, repertoires, values, and innovative agency?
- What led to the current political polarization, and how does it impact political alternatives and the prospects for a better world?
- How do social movements appropriate or invent media for disseminating and deliberating about their visions?
- How do assumptions about the achievability of desirable futures shape contentious politics and influence the outcomes of social movement struggles?
- What are the appropriate methods to engage with these visions and

agenda?

### **Session Organizers**

Markus S. Schulz

Max Weber Center for Advanced Cultural and Social Studies

Breno Bringel IESP-UERJ

Liana Maria Daher University of Catania

#### Co-Chair

Markus S. Schulz

Max Weber Center for Advanced Cultural and Social Studies

# Presentations ORAL PRESENTATIONS

14:15

JS-78.1 From Social Movements to Social Change: A Better World Better be Likley

Lauren LANGMAN, Loyola University of Chicago, USA

14:30

JS-78.2 After Populism

Jan P. NEDERVEEN PIETERSE, University of California at Santa Barbara, USA; University of California, Santa Barbara, USA

14:45

JS-78.3 Forging a Diagonal Instrument for the Global Left: The Vessel Christopher CHASE-DUNN, Sociology, University of California-Riverside, riverside, CA, USA and Rebecca ALVAREZ, New Mexico Highlands University, USA

15:00

JS-78.4 Re-Thinking Democracy from below and to the Left Ines DURAN MATUTE, University of California Los Angeles, USA 15:15

JS-78.5 From the Indignados to Hong-Kong Pro-Democratic Movement: What Slogans of One Decade of Youth Protests Tell Us about Generational Aspirations

Cécile VAN DE VELDE, Université de Montréal, Canada

JS-78.1 - From Social Movements to Social Change: A Better World Better be Likley

Saturday, 27 February 2021 14:15 - 14:30

#### **Abstract**

From the "Golden Age" of the Zapatistas, Seattle 1999 and the WSF, till Arab Spring, it seemed as if a world historical progressive transformation was in process, til the dark forces of reaction emerged as authoritarian populisms in Europe, Asia, South America and above all the USA. How and why did this happen. We must start with the fact that most of these reactionary movements have a long, yet dormant history, typically going back the 19th C. Why have they returned and indeed been so successful. Today we must start with the crises and dysfunctions of global neo liberalism as an economy that fosters inequality and precarity, as governance my global elites and a rapidly changing culture that has challenge, indeed the identities of more typically older, rural, religious, lower middle classes (w/o a college education). These legitimation crises of the system (Habermas) have migrated to the realms of life world -namely identity and emotion-eliciting constellations of anxiety, anger, indignation shame, and regressive forms of authoritarian hope disposing various populisms, ethno-religious nationalisms that would "restore" the time before the true people, a self-defined "moral community were threatened by if not displaced by the

cosmopolitanism-namely multi- culturalism, toleration and inclusion of differences, gender fluidity and sexual variety. While these reactional mobilizations have gained power, it might be noted that most of these governments do not, nor cannot reverse history and address the factors that brought them to power. Moreover, the progressive movements earlier noted, while often initially submerged (Melucci), as reactions the reactionaries, have been growing in power-especially among the young, and social movements typically depend on generational mediation (Mannheim). This analysis suggests that an growing, internet savvy generation or two will become the bedrock of a democratic, humanistic, global socialism.

### **Author**

Lauren Langman Loyola University of Chicago

JS-78.2 - After Populism

Saturday, 27 February 2021 14:30 - 14:45

#### **Abstract**

Most discussions of populism and authoritarianism focus on their outward manifestations. But let us take a step back and consider underlying enabling factors. A key factor in authoritarianism is the weakness of institutions; a key factor in right wing populism is the weakening of institutions. This is the point of convergence of right wing populism and authoritarianism. A key factor of neoliberalism or permissive capitalism is the weakening of institutions via deregulation. Weak institutions enable the concentration of wealth and power. Forty years of neoliberalism have paved the way for right wing populism. Political authoritarianism prepares the way for market authoritarianism; alternatively, market authoritarianism prepares the way for political authoritarianism. The Sustainable Development Goals are inclusive and sustainable development; weak institutions enable the opposite -- exclusive growth and transactional and unsustainable policies.

Matrioi

Jan P. Nederveen Pieterse University of California at Santa Barbara University of California, Santa Barbara

JS-78.3 - Forging a Diagonal Instrument for the Global Left: The Vessel

Saturday, 27 February 2021 14:45 - 15:00

#### **Abstract**

This paper proposes a project to build a diagonal political organization for the Global Left that will link local and national networks and prefigurational communities to contend for power in the world-system during the next few decades of the 21st century. The World Social Forum (WSF) process needs to be reinvented for the current period of rising neo-fascist and populist reactionary nationalism and to foster the emergence of a capable instrument that can confront and contend with the global power structure of world capitalism. This will involve overcoming the fragmentation of progressive movements that have been one outcome of the rise of possessive individualism, the Internet and social media. We propose a holistic approach to organizing a vessel for the global left based on struggles for human rights, anti-racism, queer rights, climate justice, feminism, sharing networks, peace alliances, taking back the city, progressive nationalism, and confronting and defeating neo-fascism.

# **Authors**

Christopher Chase-Dunn University of California-Riverside

Rebecca Alvarez New Mexico Highlands University

JS-78.4 - Re-Thinking Democracy from below and to the Left

Saturday, 27 February 2021

0.00 10.10

#### **Abstract**

What is 'democracy'? The rise of authoritarian capitalism and reactionary populism is revealing that democracy is merely a rhetoric set by neoliberal governance. 'Democracy' acts as an epistemological frame reinforcing social, economic, political and cultural structures transnationally while shaping lives and territories locally. Racism, in this way, is being perpetuated and renewed from the global to the local, deceptively enmeshing peoples' lives deeply into structures of power, meanings and representations. However, people more than ever are challenging such a maneuver thatsustains a racist, classist, and patriarchal capitalist system. In Mexico, once again, indigenous peoples are showing us why liberal democracy is a hoax and how can we build other forms of governance. In the context of the Mexican presidential elections of 2018, the Congreso Nacional Indígena (CNI) and Ejército Zapatista de Liberación Nacional (EZLN) established the Concejo Indígena de Gobierno (CIG) to build new social relations that will renew democratic paths and promote self-government. Since then, they have been asking people, organizations and social movements to join them and organize; they are establishing networks of resistance and rebellion with the Mexican civil society, but also they are weaving transnational networks to dialogue and start paths of collaboration that could dismantle capitalism and spread another democratization worldwide. From scholar-activist position, in this paper I reflect on the kind of 'democracy' the CNI/CIG/EZLN is promoting; are they talking about a 'democracy from below', or a subaltern, radical or confederated democracy? How does it differ from the rhetoric of democracy set by neoliberal governance? What are the potential and limits of their global proposal? The aim is to ponder the prior knowledge of the field and underline the theoretical contributions that indigenous peoples and their networks are doing to construct a real democracy without hierarchies.

### Author

Ines Duran Matute
University of California Los Angeles

# JS-78.5 - From the Indignados to Hong-Kong Pro-Democratic Movement : What Slogans of One Decade of Youth Protests Tell Us about Generational Aspirations

Saturday, 27 February 2021 15:15 - 15:30

#### Abstract

Indignados, student protests, pro-democratic movements, and more recently, climate demonstrations... do these various mobilizations mark the rise of a global generational outlook of future in the 2010 decade? To answer this question, the presentation proposes to compare the generational speeches born within 8 social movements that took place from 2011 to 2019: the "Indignados" in Madrid (2011-2012), the student movement in Santiago de Chile (2011-2012), the "Maple Spring" in Montreal (2012), the "Umbrellas movement" in Hong-Kong (2014), "Nuit Debout" movement in Paris (2016), the "Gilets Jaunes" in Paris (2018), the Montreal climate demonstration (2019), and Hong Kong's pro-democracy movement (2019). The comparative device is based on the direct and large-scale collection of slogans and placards within each of the mobilizations. Their textual and comparative analysis will, in this communication, bring out the different "generational grammars" about alternative futures, identify their main points of convergence, and how these generational discourses evolved over the decade.

### **Author**

Cécile Van de Velde Université de Montréal

### 605 - Social Movements for Environmental Justice and Local Governance

Saturday, 27 February 2021 16:00 - 17:30

How does transformation towards social, economic, and environmental justice happen? What lessons can be learnt from people's movements against extractivism and the capitalist 'growth' economy, gender injustice and other forms of inequity and exploitation, deprivation from basic needs, and authoritarian political regimes? This session will examine. on the basis of an understanding of cases of movements in several parts of the world, the following: how and why struggles against injustice arise, what are the major driving forces, what kinds of transformations along multiple dimensions (social, economic, political, cultural, ecological, ethical) take place, whether these transformations are complementary or contradictory with each other, and what key lessons can be learnt that may be globally relevant. Two frameworks for understanding such change, the Conflict Transformation Framework (Grupo Confluencias and University of East Anglia) and and the Alternatives Transformation Format (Kalpavriksh), developed researchers and activists and tested in the field in some of the struggles, can be used as a basis for discussion. Also to be featured is the 'Theory of Transformation' being developed as part of a global project on Academic-Activist Co-generation of Knowledge on Environmental Justice (www.acknowlej.org).

## **Session Organizer**

Ashish Kothari Kalpavriksh

### Chair

Ashish Kothari Kalpavriksh

# Presentations ORAL PRESENTATIONS

16:00

605.1 Development Alternatives of Indigenous Peoples in Resistance in Extractivist Contexts. Bolivia Case

Mirna INTURIAS CANEDO, Nur University, Bolivia and Iokiñe RODRIGUEZ FERNANDEZ, University East Anglia, United Kingdom

16:12

605.2 Another Politics Is Possible: Radical Democracy and Socioenvironmental Struggles in Chile

Katia VALENZUELA FUENTES, Universidad de Concepción, Chile

16:24

605.3 A New Wave of Environmental Movements? Fridays for Future and Their Struggle for Climate Justice

Antje DANIEL, University of Vienna, Austria and Anna DEUTSCHMANN, Universitat Wien, Austria

16:36

605.4 On the Communicability of the Future: The Class and Cultural Politics of Energy Democracy and Climate Action in Canada Sourayan MOOKERJEA, University of Alberta, Canada

16:48

605.5 "Water Is Life, Sanitation Is Dignity": Social Movement Resistance and the Struggle Against the Commodification of Water Caitlin SCHROERING, University of Pittsburgh, USA

# 605.1 - Development Alternatives of Indigenous Peoples in Resistance in Extractivist Contexts. Bolivia Case

Saturday, 27 February 2021 16:00 - 16:12

#### Abstract

La Amazonia y otros ecosistemas únicos como el bosque seco chiquitano están en llamas rebelando el rostro salvaje del modelo económico que impera en nuestros países cuya base es la extracción de recursos naturales hasta el agotamiento. Bolivia entre agosto y septiembre del 2019 ha perdido por los incendios más de 5'000.000 millones de hectáreas de bosque y el fuego continua, han sido afectados áreas protegidas y Territorios Indígenas en más del 70%. La pérdida de flora y fauna es incalculable los actores más impactados son los pueblos indígenas que albergan cerca del 70 % de los recursos forestales en sus territorios. Pero, el modelo económico expresado en la Agenda patriótica 2025 promete continuar sin límites, busca: la ampliación de la frontera agrícola, la producción de soya, etanol además de producir carne para exportación, sin duda lo sucedido en la chiquitania es el comienzo. Por otra parte, dentro de este plan económico se encuentra la construcción de carreteras, represas y otra serie de megaproyectos. Ante esta situación se han ido gestando movimientos de resistencia por parte de pueblos indígenas, se ha creado la Coordinadora Nacional de Pueblos Indígenas para la Defensa de los Territorios y Áreas Protegidas para hacer frente a la vulneración y avasallamiento de sus tierras. Desde la resistencia los distintos pueblos indígenas afectados se están articulando y cada vez se suman más movimientos. ¿Cuáles son estas alternativas de desarrollo que plantean? ¿Qué estrategias de resistencia están desarrollando? ¿Cómo estos quardianes de los bosques crean nuevas narrativas y alternativas al modelo económico imperante?

### Authors

Mirna Inturias Canedo

Iokiñe Rodriguez Fernandez University East Anglia

# 605.2 - Another Politics Is Possible: Radical Democracy and Socioenvironmental Struggles in Chile

Saturday, 27 February 2021 16:12 - 16:24

#### Abstract

In the last decade, a growing number of socioenvironmental conflicts have spread across Chile, opening up the debate about the deep inequalities observed both in the access and control of natural commons and in the distribution of the damages triggered by ecological degradation. While extractive industries and corporate projects in the sectors of energy, infrastructure and real estate justify their activity under the name of progress and economic growth, increasing grassroots movements have begun to question this rationale, rejecting a development model based on the exploitation and commodification of nature and their territories. Alternatively, they advocate for an alternative and interdependent relationship between human beings and the environment, where the usufruct of natural commons is not commanded by the logic of capitalist accumulation but by the reproduction of life.

Alongside the critique of the extractive model of development, these grassroots movements refuse state-centred and top-down approaches to social change and seek to prefigure in the present the social world in which they want to live in. Through innovative forms of self-organization, self-determination and self-management, they embrace the ideas of 'autonomy', 'horizontality' and 'territorial sovereignty' as a new path towards emancipation.

What are the main repertoires of action developed by these organisations in their struggle against extractivism? How do they interact with the state? What are the alternatives to capitalist and extractive development envisioned by these grassroots movements? Drawing on an ethnographic approach to inquiry combined with participatory-action research methods, this paper seeks to address these questions, exploring how grassroots

environmental injustice in their territories, and what are the alternatives to capitalist development that they are envisioning.

#### **Author**

Katia Valenzuela Fuentes Universidad de Concepción

05.3 - A New Wave of Environmental Movements? Fridays for Future and Their Struggle for Climate Justice

Saturday, 27 February 2021 16:24 - 16:36

#### **Abstract**

The "Fridays for Future" climate movement started with the protest of Greta Thunberg in front of the Swedish parliament and grew to a global movement, which was able to mobilise more than 1.6 million people around the globe in March 2019. Under the banner "Fridays for Future" millions of schoolchildren and students worldwide are mobilising for climate justice. Never before so many young people were on the streets by using school strike as a form of civil disobedience. Public and political attention has been substantial in European countries and Greta Thunberg became the movement's icon. A new generation has became political, representing a historical turn in climate activism. This wave of climate protest mobilisation is unique in its tactics, appeals to pupils and students and refers to a generational conflict. Based on a mixed-method approach, including qualitative and quantitative data from the climate strikes, we would like to discuss our research on the participants, the mobilisation processes and the organisation of "Fridays for Future". With focus on the Austrian context, we would like to explain the relevance, impact and features of this new wave of global environmental activism.

### **Authors**

Antje Daniel University of Vienna

# 605.4 - On the Communicability of the Future: The Class and Cultural Politics of Energy Democracy and Climate Action in Canada

Saturday, 27 February 2021 16:36 - 16:48

#### Abstract

The class and cultural politics of low-carbon energy transition now imposes itself on an ever widening range of social movement mobilization, both explicitly and implicitly, as the role of environmental crises in the making and unfolding of social injustices comes to be more widely understood (global warming especially). In the oil producing Canadian province of Alberta, social justice movement articulations of alternative visions of the future, in order to be possible must not only be communicable, but must also negotiate with (in order to criticize or displace them) scientistic, technocratic and "business as usual" models, projections and transition pathways constructed by a nexus of governmental agencies, energy industries and ngos like the World Energy Council as well as with racist and neo-fascist conspiracy theories and apocalyptic fantasies. This paper, drawing on my ongoing research, Feminist Energy Futures: Powershift and Environmental Social Justice, examines the ideological, media, and cultural-political strategies of climate action, energy democracy and just transition activism, protest and movement-building across a range of social movement organizations and popular cultural formations in Canada including Indigenous Climate Action, Blue Green Canada, The Leap, Climate Justice Edmonton, Extinction Rebellion, Our Time (for a Green New Deal), the Alberta Federation of Labour and their publics and constituencies. In doing so, I take an intermedia ecological approach which draws upon the insights and methodological theoretical strategies of communication theory, cultural studies, political ecology, the critique of political economy, post-Western Marxism, critical race theory, social reproduction and subsistence perspective feminism in order to interrogate the conjunctural conditions of communicability of regenerative futures and

contradictions of proprietorial class power and of anti-systemic social movement futurism for the theory and praxis of degrowth, commoning and eco-socialism.

**Author** 

Sourayan Mookerjea University of Alberta

605.5 - "Water Is Life, Sanitation Is Dignity": Social Movement Resistance and the Struggle Against the Commodification of Water

/Saturday, 27 February 2021 16:48 - 17:00

#### **Abstract**

The privatization of water—led by global financial institutions working in collusion with governments and corporations-is documented time and again not to lead to more people gaining access to safe water. In fact, the opposite is true, with privatization leading to higher rates and lower quality water. For the past century, the dominant focus of transnational organizing has been "from the West to the rest" and the frequent attention to movements in the United States has led to the neglect of transnational linkages between movements. In this paper, I examine how movements are mobilizing for the right to water. As feminist scholars have pointed out, the "standpoint" offered by marginalized actors offers important insights into the operation of systems of power and the strategies of survival and resistance that less powerful actors adopt in order to survive and thrive. This project challenges the idea of the "West to rest" pattern and hypothesizes that today 1) more transnational communications and organizing are occurring around water and other basic rights, and 2) Northern movements are engaging with and learning from the South and vice versa, with Southern activists playing a more prominent role than previous scholarship demonstrates. Drawing on fieldwork conducted on three right to water movements that span three continents (North America, South America, and Africa), this paper examines efforts to reclaim the commons of water. These struggles have been driven by grassroots movements demanding that

corporate profit. This research advances understanding of large-scale social change by investigating how water policies are shaped through contention among social movements, national and local governments, and corporations. It also provides insight on how water activists in local struggles see themselves in relation to the larger national and global network of water activists.

Author
Caitlin Schroering
University of Pittsburgh

Sunday, 28 February 2021

606 - Public Problems, Public Social Science. Part II

Sunday, 28 February 2021 09:00 - 10:30

Social movement research has relatively recently turned its attention to transnational movements. Following similar sessions in Yokohama, Vienna and Toronto presentations in this session are to address research designs for a study of transnational movements that go beyond single-site ethnographic reports, the analysis of discourse imports & exports, or on-the-spot surveys of participants of the international fora. Explicitly encouraged are designs that capture the cross-country regional or transcontinental character of a social movement as a process, an act of mobility / a flow / a transfer (of money, people, communication, technology, emotion, organizing skills). Especially welcome is multi-sited research attentive to both solidarity and conflicts - catching the dynamics of communication, networking and cooperation over time, but also of (unequal) exchange stemming from or resulting in the hierarchies of power. Also welcome are presentations entailing research designs meant to investigate how the intra-regional as well as the Global North and the Global South social movements affect each other, and how they seek to influence, are influenced by, or contest key decision-making bodies of the major

### **Session Organizer**

Paola Diaz

Centre for Social Conflict and Cohesion Studies

#### Chair

Maria Consuelo Biskupovic CIGIDEN

Virgina Vecchioli

Universidade Federal de Santa Maria

# Presentations ORAL PRESENTATIONS

09:00

606.1 The Construction of Disability Human Rights: The Example of the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities Benoit EYRAUD, Université de Lyon CNRS, France

09:15

606.2 Emotion and Social Mobilization in Favor of the Resettlement of Residents in a District Affected By the Mining Activity in the Brazilian State of Maranhão.

Ana Kely DE LIMA NOBRE and Sayonara de Amorim LEAL, Universidade de Brasília, Brazil

09:30

606.3 Entre Femmes Et Savoir Médical : La Pratique De La Césarienne Au Mexique

Alicia MÁRQUEZ MURRIETA, Instituto de Investigaciones Dr. José María Luis Mora, Mexico

# 606.1 - The Construction of Disability Human Rights: The Example of the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities

Sunday, 28 February 2021 09:00 - 09:15

#### Abstract

In this presentation, we propose to shed light on how lay person in law appropriate the issues of their elaboration and reception from this example of the UN Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities. This convention is emblematic by the place given to non-governmental actors in the process of drafting the text, as well as in its interpretation. How rights became mobilized by disabilities activists? What skills do activists, citizens, lay people mobilize to justify the elaboration of a convention or its interpretation? How are service-users influenced by rights? We will show how the "language of human rights" plays a central role so that non-rights specialists can claim and participate in the development of a legal text. As a first step, we will discuss the way in which Disabled People Organizations voicing the voice of persons with disabilities have taken their place, alongside the States Parties, in the elaboration of this convention, by appropriating the language of human rights. In a second step, we will discuss how this language structures a controversy in which the question of the social function of law is more central than the question of legal legality. We will focus particularly on Article 12, on legal personality and legal capacity, which has been the subject of considerable controversy. Thirdly, in the context of an experiment carried out as part of a collaborative research program on the exercise of the rights of people with disabilities, we will show the difficulties for non-specialists in the field of law. and non-human rights activists to appropriate the language of human rights. The analyzes are based on the preparatory work of the UN convention, interviews with some actors involved, as well as a collaborative action-research experiment driven by the author.

Benoit Eyraud Université de Lyon CNRS

606.2 - Emotion and Social Mobilization in Favor of the Resettlement of Residents in a District Affected By the Mining Activity in the Brazilian State of Maranhão.

Sunday, 28 February 2021 09:15 - 09:30

#### Abstract

This paper approaches the social mobilization mechanisms activated in the context of public experience of residents in a district of the countryside of the Brazilian state of Maranhão affected by the polution generated by the mining activity around. Those people fight for a resettlement in a location free from the contamination. In what concerns this, we elicit the concept of "environmentalization of the social conflicts" to reflect about the context of conception of a public problem which relies on the double moral register of an both environmental and social unfairness. The problematization comes from the impacts caused by the polution which affects differente social groups and creates collective actions which use the environmental issues as base to reinforce social claims. We emphasize the "work with emotions" developed by the residents as pathway to the rational management of the anger and to the proposition of effective actions. We question ourselves wheter or not the situations in which the abilities of expression of the social actors damaged by the contamination are favored or constrained during the negotiations among residentes, mining companies and public power. We are based on data collected from qualitative research involvind interviews with residentes of the district Piquiá de Baixo and with leaders of non-profit organizations involved in the organization of the social mobilization in favor of the resettlement of that population. We are also based on participatory observation of meetings during which social actors involved with the formulation of the public problem debate forwardings to its solution. We infer that the critical capacity and justifications of the active actors is demonstrated when they act based on a recognition gramar symbolizing the disrespect experienced and mobilizing public opinion leaders from the public action domain in what concerns the law to the juxtaposition between tiabitation and neath.

#### **Authors**

Ana Kely de Lima Nobre Universidade de Brasília

Sayonara de Amorim Leal University of Brasilia

606.3 - Entre Femmes Et Savoir Médical : La Pratique De La Césarienne Au Mexique

Sunday, 28 February 2021 09:30 - 09:45

#### **Abstract**

Depuis un certain temps au Mexique la pratique de césariennes a augmenté enormement. Selon l'Organisation Mondiale de la Santé entre le 10% et le 15% de césariennes serait le pourcentage « normal » ; Au Mexique, les pourcentages atteignent le 45% et depuis un certain temps ceci est débattu publiquement, se posant la question sur le caractère non nécessaire de beaucoup de ces intérventions médicales. Le questionnement public émerge à l'intérieur d'un plus ample débat : celui de la violence obstétricale, une forme spéciale d'autoritarisme et de « gouvernementalité". Dans la communication que je propose je prendrais cette problématique publique comme enjeu central pour analyser la manière dont les choix des femmes face à une césarienne sont débattus publiquement. Notamment, j'essaierai de voir le poids qui ont ces choix vis-à-vis du point de vue biomédical dans le débat public. Le matériel que j'utilise sont la presse, les journaux médicaux spécialisés et sites sur internet où la thématique est discutée entre femmes.

### Author

Alicia Márquez Murrieta Instituto de Investigaciones Dr. José María Luis Mora

### 607 - Social Movements, Civil Society and Grassroots Activism

Sunday, 28 February 2021 10:45 - 12:15

This session would examine the relationship between Youth Movements and new forms of activism and social collective action. Addressing different case studies, and privileging a cosmopolitan overlook, this session will inquire about the role of young people to catalyse new dimensions of citizenship, particularly in social contexts of change as a result of climate change, civil revolutions or the disruption of new technologies.

# Session Organizer Natalia Miranda SMAG / CriDIS / UCLouvain

#### Chair

Natalia Miranda CriDIS / Université catholique de Louvain

# Presentations ORAL PRESENTATIONS

14:15

607.1 The Future of Politics Is Grassroots? UN Legitimacy and Global Youth Movements during the Climate Emergency

Laura BULLON, New York University, USA

14:30

607.2 The Chibok Girls' Kidnapping and the Limits of Grassroots Activism Temitope ORIOLA, University of Alberta, Canada

14:45

607.3 La Organización Del Comité De Combate a La Megaminería En Rio

Rafael FLORES, Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil

# 607.1 - The Future of Politics Is Grassroots? UN Legitimacy and Global Youth Movements during the Climate Emergency

Sunday, 28 February 2021 14:15 - 14:30

### Abstract

This article explores the various roles of youth digital participation in the fight against climate change in the context of the United Nations (UN). The UN, under the leadership of Secretary General Guterres, has made climate change an organizational priority and planned a Climate Action Summit in New York City in September 2019. However, increasing nationalism and lack of compliance toward environmental agreements has led the UN Secretary General (SG) to make unprecedented comments such as calling on youth to "please be disruptive. Put pressure on your governments. Without you, the UN will fail." This article proposes a nuanced understanding of youth climate activism at the UN, as well as to distinguish the role of digital activism per se. Based on 25 semi-structured interviews with youth activists conducted in July 2019 during the UN High-level Political Forum in New York City, I show that digital networks are mobilized by youth activists both to express support for, and well as destabilize, the UN climate sphere. On the latter, the digital is used collectively to connect with other youth climate groups, such as Extinction Rebellion and Fridays for the Future, and build larger coalitions that can pressure the UN and its Member States. The paper thus proposes to understand how youth digital participation both exists alongside and impacts the legitimacy of international organizations who struggle to adapt to the needs of the twenty-first century, such as the United Nations.

### **Author**

Laura Bullon New York University

### 607.2 - The Chibok Girls' Kidnapping and the Limits of Grassroots Activism

Sunday, 28 February 2021 14:30 - 14:45

#### Abstract

The kidnapping of 276 girls at Government Secondary School Chibok, Borno state, Nigeria on 14 April, 2014 has brought into international prominence the organization Jama'atu Ahlis Suna Lidda'awati Wal Jihad or Boko Haram. The incident and Boko Haram's operations have generated tremendous scholarly attention. However, the broader implications of the kidnapping incident for understanding and engaging with the limits of social movements in the global south has been largely ignored. This paper problematizes the kidnapping of the Chibok girls. It explores the functionality and consequences of the grassroots advocacy for the rescue of the girls. The paper demonstrates how kidnapping serves as an MRI of the "soul" of a state and society. The kidnapping incident was constituted by and constitutive of Nigeria's political toxicity. The paper argues that the exploitation of the Chibok girls has become an international business. A constellation of state and non-state actors—government officials, human rights advocates, school administrators, politicians and seemingly unsuspecting humanitarians — has become active participants in the exploitation of the kidnapped girls and the over 100 of them who have been freed. These issues have implications for the sociology of societies where kidnappings occur and the intractability of similar social problems.

### **Author**

Temitope Oriola University of Alberta

# 607.3 - La Organización Del Comité De Combate a La Megaminería En Rio Grande Do Sul

Sunday, 28 February 2021 14:45 - 15:00

#### **Abstract**

La extracción de carbón mineral para la producción de energía es considerada una actividad altamente dañosa al ambiente y a la salud. Algunos países han incluso empezado movimientos para cerrar sus minas de carbón, en una búsqueda por matrices energéticas limpias y renovables. En la región metropolitana de Porto Alegre, sin embargo, desde fines de 2018 se discute un proyecto de la que podrá ser la más grande mina de carbón mineral a cielo abierto de Brasil, la Mina Guaíba. En fase de licencia ambiental, el emprendimiento se caracteriza por ser una grave amenaza, porque se localizaría: a pocos kilómetros del centro histórico de Porto Alegre; cerca del rio Jacuí, el más limpio de la región; en una área en donde hoy existe un asentamiento de reforma agraria responsable por una importante producción de arroz orgánico; al lado de territorio indígena de la tribu Mbyá-Guarani; y cerca del Delta do Jacuí, una formación importante y estratégica para el abastecimiento y la ecología de la región. En este escenario, distintas entidades han se organizado y conformado el Comité de Combate a la Megaminería en el RS (Comitê de Combate à Megamineração no RS), con el objetivo de impedir la concretización del proyecto. El Comité se organiza en tres frentes: técnica/jurídica, de comunicación y de movilización. Sus principales acciones son actividades de concientización en ferias y eventos, producción de pareceres técnicos para cuestionar el proceso de licencia ambiental, y participación y promoción de eventos como seminarios, talleres y audiencias públicas. En este sentido, el Comité se ha rápidamente convertido en el principal actor social en la movilización contraria a la Mina Guaíba. El presente artículo busca analizar la organización del Comité, considerando el proceso y el contexto de desregulación de la legislación ambiental no solo en nivel del estado como nacional.

#### **Author**

Rafael Flores Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul

# 608 - The Challenges of Democratic Political Agency in Social Movements Today

Sunday, 28 February 2021 14:15 - 15:45

The growing social inequality created by neoliberalism is still being challenged by social movements that are critical of the new forms of hyper aggressive global capitalism. In this context social justice movements, which in the past have tried to create open, democratic spaces, and more horizontal forms of leadership and autonomy apart from the state and the institutions of global capitalism, continue to prefiguratively respond to the narrowing of democracy under neoliberalism. With this context as a backdrop this panel session seeks to explore multi-dimensional issues of political agency - and its contradictions and challenges - in progressive social movements from the World Social Forum to Momentum in the UK, Aufstehen in Germany, En Comu in Barcleona and DiEM25 in the EU, and the grassroots, decentralized protests in Brazil. In doing so the panel tries to assess where movements are: 1) strategically as they engage in debates about whether to remain autonomous from states and parties, 2) as some launch insurgencies into, or create loose alliances with, existing parties (UK, US, Germany). How are movements dealing with neoliberal state power in the current historical conjuncture? The panel also seeks to explore the social-psychological dimensions and dynamics of movement organization and struggles, asking how participants are changed or transformed as they engage in struggles to keep open spaces open. How can 'new cultures of participation' be sustained in the current historical conjuncture? What are the challenges facing democratic movements today compared with the World Social Forum in the early 2000s?

**Session Organizer** Terry Maley York University

#### Chair

Anna Maria Leonora University of Catania

# Presentations ORAL PRESENTATIONS

14:15

608.1 The Challenges of Democratic Political Agency in the World Social Forum

Micha FIEDLSCHUSTER, York University, Canada

14:30

608.2 Peripheral Movements and Meanings for Peripheries in Brazil Paulo César RAMOS, Universidade de São Paulo - USP, Brazil and Danilo MORAIS, Fundação Hermínio Ometto - FHO, Brazil

14:45

608.3 Towards a New Paradigm for Political Work in Morocco: The Challenge of the Institutional Model

Rachid JARMOUNI, university moulay ismail meknes, Morocco

# 608.1 - The Challenges of Democratic Political Agency in the World Social Forum

Sunday, 28 February 2021 14:15 - 14:30

### **Abstract**

The World Social Forum (WSF), which takes place regularly since 2001, is an experiment in democratic social movement organizing in a global context of high social and political inequality and differing opportunities of collective organizing at the transnational level.

After almost two decades, scholars and activists alike are divided about the legacy and prospects of social forums. Many praise them as important

local to the transnational level. Others criticize them for being mere 'talk shops', lacking concrete results and for being places of co-optation by hegemonic forces (e.g. neoliberal market norms, global governance regimes or political parties).

Like many other social movement initiatives, the WSF operates within the tension of doing prefigurative politics (i.e. organizing according to the principles advocated in the external environment) and providing an open space on the one side, and the political, economic and organizational diversity among the participants, and the need for a good working relationship with existing institutions on the other.

Based ond the empirical work of the author, the presentation will outline the multidimensional issues of political agency in the WSF: How has the relationship between the WSF, institutions, and new modes of mobilization and organization changed over time? I will critically assess the reform attempts that have been made to make the WSF more inclusive, less prone to commercialization and commodification, and more attuned to newer mobilizations (Occupy-type and climate change movements etc.). I will argue that while the WSF has been and still is an important tool of the alter-globalization movements, its organizers so far missed to adapt it to the democratic expectations of many participants; new modes of mobilization; and persistent challenges of inequality and power differences among the (old and new) participants.

#### **Author**

Micha Fiedlschuster York University

> 608.2 - Peripheral Movements and Meanings for Peripheries in Brazil

Sunday, 28 February 2021 14:30 - 14:45

### Abstract

In Brazil, from the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries, a group of

referenced in hip hop culture and especially rap sang in the southeast of the country, has emerged and gained strength. The idea of periphery, for these movements, seeks to synthesize various conflicts present in their dwelling places (mainly in the urban environment, but also in the rural), interspersing and intersecting issues considered as specific and issues considered as structural. Our purpose with this paper is to present part of the early research findings that explored what discursive resources these movements use to link their local agendas with so-called "structural" problems, such as multiple and persistent inequalities, filling content or thickening the meaning of the notion of periphery. The partial results discussed in the article were produced from data collected in structured questionnaire interviews, answered by subjects from organizations or periphery movements from 24 states of Brazil, totaling approximately 600 interviews, answered between the second semester of 2018 and the 1st semester of 2019.

## **Authors**

Paulo César Ramos Universidade de São Paulo – USP

Danilo Morais Fundação Hermínio Ometto - FHO

608.3 - Towards a New Paradigm for Political Work in Morocco: The Challenge of the Institutional Model

Sunday, 28 February 2021 14:45 - 15:00

### **Abstract**

A large number of commentators and the masses in Morocco (2019), started to be convinced of a kind of political absurdity in this country; the electoral processes do not reflect the real choices of the population, the government is not strong and harmonious, achievements do not even touch the real

change inside the current institutions remains minimal because most, if not all, strategic decisions are not taken by the partisan actors, rather, the royal institutution / Makhzan. The interesting part in this description is that even after the transitional period with the new constitution in 2011 and the arrival of the party of justice and development (PJD) to leading the government, and the ups and downs in managing the political scene, today, we can notice a regression in the reform path as the dominant royal institution remains taking hold of the main sources of power (wealth, authority, knowledge, and values) which confirm a kind of reproduction of authoritarianism in another form that can be called neo- authoritarianism where the deep state works on reinforcing the status-quo as if the other political actors are imprisoned in a vicious circle or in an "impossible transition". This paper adopts a new concept of the political work labeled "the new paradigm of political work" that does not mean a revolution or a rebellion against the situation, rather, it is a peaceful, civilized, and patriotic work that adopts democratic methods in political work, in the sense of practicing the political work but according to new rules that go beyond what is institutional and close to the concept of social movements. This has pushed me to conduct my research where I base my conclusions on a focus groups with many political and civil society actors.

#### **Author**

Rachid Jarmouni University moulay ismail meknes Newsletter No 11 2020

Social Change around the World

# **GRASSROOTS**

The Newsletter of the ISA Research Committee 48



Social Movements, Collective
Action and Social Change

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