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Newsletter No 4 2017

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Social Movements, Collective Action and  
Social Change around the World

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# GRASSROOTS

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The Newsletter of the Research Committee on  
Social Movements, Collective Action and  
Social Change (RC 48)



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# Note from the RC48 President



## Dear colleagues members of RC48

At the end of May 2017 Members of RC 48 met for a two-day mid-Terms conference in Catania, under the auspices of the dept. of Education, University of Catania with support from the ISA and RC 48. The title of the conference reflects the idea that Social Movements are at the centre of struggles to redefine horizons, visions and socio- political life and culture.

They take their power from 'the street', and provoke public debate and social changes. Their causes range from social justice and anti-austerity to environmental transformations, participatory democracy, migrants' rights and gender issues, to mention only the most prevalent issues of the post 2010 mobilizations around the world.

The conference brought together 70 participants from 20 countries representing all continents. The majority of participants were from Europe and indeed, as Prof. Bert Klandermans commented, we were witnessing a rare occasion on which we managed to bring together in one session, three of the most prominent social movements scholars in Europe in one session: Donatella della Porta, Bert Klandermans and Mario Diani. We also had the great pleasure of having with us Geoffrey Pleyers- the president of RC 47, James Goodman who travelled all the way from Australia, Benjamin Tejerina from the Basque country- the former president of RC 48 and the current ISA vice president for Finance, Lauren Langman from the USA and almost the entire board of RC 48 in addition to colleagues from the University of Catania. We had lively discussions on current issues and a great social program. We got to meet new colleagues and enrich our knowledge and experience of the various facets of social movements activities at the macro-meso and micro levels.

The opening session was particularly illuminating. Donatella claimed that in the past social movements scholars focused on what movements did and did not look at the products in terms of alternatives. In the presentation, Donatella focused on one productive aspect – the production of knowledge, an offer of alternatives, movements as producers of ideas. After an interesting presentation Donatella concluded that movements of the past were more programmatic. The movements of today are more ideational. We need the knowledge producing movements in times of crisis. Bert Klandermans talk was focused on "the protestor". He claimed that SM studies write about the protestors as if all protestors were the same. In his presentation, Bert brought data collecting most recently, comparing participants in three demonstrations, analysed along ten variables. Bert showed how looking at the protestors with this tool produced a number of protestors types. Mario Diani's topic was building alternative realities within collective action fields, whereby participants can experience new, alternative ways of action and interaction. Finally, Geoffrey Pleyers stressed on a critical balance of social movements studies analysing critical issues around the role of social movements in social change. Questioning about new waves of movements coming from globalization, he put forward the idea of an excess of optimism (Millennial Euphoria) by social scientists and activists.

One of the main themes of a number of presentations was the critical re-examination of the questions that we social movements scholars either ignored, or failed to address in the past. Like the rise of the movements of the right, the role of material objects in protest, the economic factors and neo-liberalism etc. Another issue was, when do we realize that existing theories do not fit any more and we need to develop new frames in order to study current social movements in different societies and different fields of activism such as climate change, civil society activism, etc.

To sum up, we had intellectually interesting conversations and we are only sorry that not all of you could attend. However, we hope to see you soon in our pre-congress conference in Toronto and of course in Toronto.

Yours sincerely,  
Tova Benski  
President RC 48.

## About RC48 and ISA

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The 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 world-wide 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. As a consequence, colleagues can make longer presentations, and we can go hold deeper and more enriching debates.

# Board Members 2014-2018

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International Sociological Association

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**RC48 MID-TERM CONFERENCE  
'FROM 'THE STREET' TO PUBLIC  
DEBATE. SOCIAL MOVEMENTS AND  
THE MAKING OF ALTERNATIVES'  
CATANIA, ITALY MAY 30TH AND  
31TH 2017**

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



# RC48 Mid-term Conference



Opening session RC48 Mid-term Conference



Opening session RC48 Mid-term Conference

This ISA RC48 mid-term conference enables social movement scholars from around the world to present their own work, and exchange ideas about the relationship between social movement mobilisations and alternative futures. It also offers a chance for networking that will extend into future academic collaborations. During this two days conference we will address the following main issues: (1) Conceptual and theoretical reflections concerning outcomes and/or production of alternatives by social movements and collective action (2) Methodological reflections about the social movements' mobilization expected and unexpected consequences (3) Empirical analysis in different settings, and comparative investigations in Western and non-Western contexts.

## Why this conference?

Social movements are at the centre of struggles to re-define horizons of social imagination. They take their power from ‘the street’, to provoke public debate and deliberation, and force new political agendas into view. Giving voice to previously unheard actors, social movements create identities and narratives, setting plans for a new world and demanding for change in the socio-political realm. Through the mix of more or less radical collective and communicative actions social movements produce alternatives, potentially transforming social relations and the political order. In this, they enable societies around the globe to shape their futures. Whether for the better, or otherwise remains the issue to discuss. Worldwide street protests are visible as a key vehicle for political change: civil society is revealed as intense field of conflict, for and against contending futures. Social movements are vehicles for transformation, whether in social justice and anti-austerity, environmental transformation, the gender order and migrant rights. They also offer the means of reaction, in carrying agendas for ethno-religious communalism, for nationalism and border politics, for racism and Islamophobia, including the assertion of new right-wing movements. But what drives them? Where do they gain traction, and how do they lose it? In patterning and expressing civil and public conflicts, social movements are major actors in shaping societal agendas. The ‘street’, as defined and occupied by the movement, is a critical site in the production of alternatives and transformations in the symbolical meaning of objects, behavioural norms and prevailing opinions. Here, movements are directly involved in the implementation of new forms of citizenship coming from the public square, and redefining social and political realms.



## **Our Host: The University of Catania**

There are about 45,000 students enrolled at the University of Catania, the oldest of Sicily, its foundation dates back to 1434. The organization of the teaching is handled today by 17 departments, by the Faculty of Medicine, and by two special didactic units established in the decentralized offices of Ragusa (Modern Languages) and Syracuse (Architecture). A special didactic unit is also the school of excellence “Scuola Superiore di Catania”, a higher education centre of the University of Catania conceived in 1998 to select the best young minds and offer them a course of studies including analysis, research and experimentation. It is the oldest university in Sicily, the 13th oldest in Italy, and the 29th oldest university in the world. It is the main university in Sicily.

The foundation of the University of Catania, the oldest in Sicily, dates back to 1434, when the king of Spain, Alfonso of Aragon (who was also King Alfonso I of Sicily) authorised the establishment of a Studium generale with the privilege of issuing legally valid academic titles – baccellierati, licenses and degrees – in the four core disciplines of theology, canon and civil law, physical (medical) and joint philosophy, liberal arts (literature), the papal recognition arriving ten years later from Pope Eugene IV. Prior to this, the main centres of education were in Palermo, Messina and Trapani. However, none of them held the *jus doctorandi* or the right to grant degrees which could only be given by the Pope. In 1444, the first four faculties of Medicine, Philosophy, Canonic and Civil Law and Theology and Arts were established.

Students began to attend classes in 1445, however it was not until two centuries later that the university gained its own establishment in Piazza Università. It still stands in the Piazza today, in the former grounds of the hospital of St. Mark's. The former building was completely destroyed by an earthquake in 1693 and students were left without a place to continue their study.

In the interim period before it was rebuilt, the resourceful students, unperturbed by such events and endowed with infinite determination, transferred classes to wooden huts near the harbour. The new building, designed by Giovan Battista Vaccarini, is a magnificent monument of Baroque architecture. The University of Catania was not only structurally powerful. It also held the exclusive right by Royal Decree to grant degrees within the Reign of Sicily.

Although the hierarchical power of the university was in the hands of the Church, the Rector, an elected student in his last year of studies, had the power to put students on trial.<sup>25</sup> Chimes of the Cathedral bell marked the beginning of the academic year. Throughout the year, a porter marked daily any professor absence. The figures were then taken to a notary who subtracted a day's wages from their pay. At the end of his studies, a student was awarded his degree in the Cathedral as well as a gold ring and a blessing from the Archbishop. Although this ceremony and many other traditions have fallen into disuse, the academic structure of the university is still as strong today as it was in the first half of the 15th century when it started out with just ten students.

Today the university buildings are spread throughout the city, with a contrast between the modern, hi-tech "University City", and numerous historical buildings in the old city centre. It offers an attractive portfolio of academic titles and is committed in the creation of a "laboratory" where the ancient Mediterranean culture meets the new technologies, in order to offer advanced training experience. Students wishing to take an undergraduate degree will find our university to be a high quality educational institution. Excellent departments and support services are offered throughout all of our university sites in Catania, Syracuse and Ragusa. Here, students may also discover a culturally dynamic environment suitable for growing as students and individuals as well.

International Sociological Association

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**KEYNOTE SPEAKERS**

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

# Keynote Speakers (Catania 2017)

Keynote Speakers Mid-term Conference  
*'From 'the Street' to Public Debate. Social Movements and the Making of Alternatives' (Catania, 2017)*

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## **Donatella della Porta**

Donatella Della Porta is professor of political science, dean of the Institute for Humanities and the Social Sciences and Director of the PD program in Political Science and Sociology at the Scuola Normale Superiore in Florence, where she also leads the Center on Social Movement Studies (Cosmos). Born in Catania (1956), she graduated in Political Science at the University of the same city in 1978. In 1980, she received the Diplome d'Etudes Approfondies at the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales in Paris and in 1987 her PhD in Social and Political Sciences at the European University Institute. Between 1988 and 1993, she worked at the Wissenschaftszentrum fuer Sozialforschung in Berlin. Based at the University of Florence since 1994 as associate professor, she became full professor in 1998. Between 2003 and 2015 she has been Professor of Sociology at the Department of Political and Social Sciences at the European University Institute.



Among the main topics of her research: social movements, political violence, terrorism, corruption, the police and protest policing. She has directed a major ERC project Mobilizing for Democracy, on civil society participation in democratization processes in Europe, the Middle East, Asia and Latin America. Between 2008 and 2013 she has co-edited the European Political Science Review (ECPR-Cambridge University Press). Since 2015 she co-edits the European Journal of Sociology (Cambridge University Press) as well as the Contentious Politics series at Cambridge University Press. In 2011, she was the recipient of the Mattei Dogan Prize for distinguished achievements in the field of political sociology. She is Honorary Doctor of the universities of Lausanne, Bucharest and Goteborg.

She is the author of 85 books, 132 journal articles and 132 contributions in edited volumes. Among her very recent publications are: Late Neoliberalism and its Discontents (Palgrave, 2017); Movement Parties in Times of Austerity (Polity 2017), Where did the Revolution go? (Cambridge University Press, 2016); Social Movements in Times of Austerity (Polity 2015), Methodological practices in social movement research (Oxford University Press, 2014); Spreading Protest (ECPR Press 2014, with Alice Mattoni), Participatory Democracy in Southern Europe (Rowman and Littlefield, 2014, with Joan Font and Yves Sintomer); Mobilizing for Democracy (Oxford University Press, 2014); Can Democracy be Saved?, Polity Press, 2013; Clandestine Political Violence, Cambridge University Press, 2013 (with D. Snow, B. Klandermans and D. McAdam (eds.)). Blackwell Encyclopedia on Social and Political Movements, Blackwell. 2013; Mobilizing on the Extreme Right (with M. Caiani and C. Wagemann), Oxford University Press, 2012; Meeting Democracy (ed. With D. Rucht), Cambridge University Press, 2012; The Hidden Order of Corruption (with A. Vannucci), Ashgate 2012. She has supervised 80 PhD students and mentored about 30 post-doctoral fellows.



## **Mario Diani**

Mario Diani is professor of sociology at the University of Trento. He has worked extensively on the development of a network perspective to the study of social movements and collective action. Books include among others *The Cement of Civil Society. Studying Networks in Localities* (Cambridge University Press, 2015), *The Oxford Handbook of Social Movements* (co-edited with Donatella della Porta, Oxford University Press, 2015), *Social movements* (with Donatella della Porta, Blackwell, 2006), and *Social movements and networks* (co-edited with Doug McAdam, Oxford University Press, 2003). Articles have appeared in *American Sociological Review*, *American Journal of Sociology*, *Environmental Politics*, *Theory and Society*, *Social Networks*, *Sociological Review*, and *Mobilization* among others.





## **Bert Klandermans**

Bert Klandermans is professor in Applied Social Psychology. The emphasis in his work is on the social psychological consequences of social, economic and political change. He has published extensively on the social psychology of participation in political protest, social movements and labour unions. He edited *Social Movements, Protest, and Contention*, the prestigious book series of the University of Minnesota Press. His now classical *Social Psychology of Protest* appeared with Blackwell in 1997. He is the editor and co-author (with Suzanne Staggenborg) of *Methods of Social Movement Research* (University of Minnesota Press, 2002) and (with Nonna Mayer) of *Extreme Right Activists in Europe* (Routledge, 2006). With Conny Roggeband he edited the *Handbook of Social movements across disciplines* (Springer, 2007). He is the editor of *Sociopedia* and co-editor of Blackwell/Wiley's *Encyclopedia of Social Movements*. He was president of the Collective Behaviour and Social Movement Section of the American Sociological Association; vice-president of the International Sociological Association; he was vice-president (2008-2010) and president of the International Society of Political Psychology (2013 -14). In 2009 he received a royal decoration for the efforts to link science and society. In 2013 he received the Harold Lasswell Award for his distinguished contribution to the field of Political Psychology; in 2014 he received the John D. McCarthy award for lifetime achievement in the scholarship of Social Movements and Collective Behaviour. In 2014 he received a prestigious ERC Advanced Investigator Grant.



## Geoffrey Pleyers

Geoffrey Pleyers is a Professor of sociology at Université Catholique de Louvain, Belgium. He holds a PhD (Sociology) from the Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris (2006). In July 2014, he was elected as president of the Research Committee 47 'Social classes and social movements' of the International Sociological Association, for a four-year term. His research interests include social movements, youth, food movements, and social movements in Mexico. The underlying argument of his main book *Alter-Globalization. Becoming Actors in the Global Age* (Cambridge, Polity, 2010) is that current social movements develop two parallel cultures of activism in their quest for social change. One focuses on a bottom-up approach, implementing changes at the local scale and giving a prominent place to experience, subjectivity, experimentation and the local scale. The second one, the 'way of reason' is based on a citizen expertise and institutional regulation.

Since 2015, Geoffrey Pleyers and Breno Bringel are the editor of the web journal "Open Movements: for a global and public sociology of social movements". This joint project by the Research Committee 47 from the ISA and the website Open Democracy aims at providing critical and empirically-based outlooks on social movements and new expressions of social and cultural transformations: the ones which make the media headlines and those which discreetly transform daily life and politics alike, at the local and global scales. Geoffrey Pleyers regularly teaches in Latin American universities and is a member of scientific committees of numbers of journals including the *Revista Mexicana de Sociología*, *Sociológica*, *Revista Colombiana de Sociología*, *Estudios Sociales*, *Revista de Ciencias Sociales* (Costa Rica), *Recherches Sociologiques et Anthropologiques*.

International Sociological Association

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# **CONFERENCE PROGRAMME**

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

# Conference Programme

## Day 1, May 30th (Catania 2017)

RC48 Mid-term Conference

*'From 'the Street' to Public Debate. Social Movements and the Making of Alternatives' (Catania, 2017)*

### OPENING SESSION

**Place: Aula 1 'Palazzo Ingrassia' - Via Biblioteca 4**

**10.00 - 13.00 Welcome address**

**Giancarlo Magnano San Lio, Pro-Rector, University of Catania**

**Santo Di Nuovo, Head of the Department of Education, University of Catania**

**Introduction: Liana M. Daher, University of Catania**

**Chair: Tova Benski, Yzrael Valley College, ISA RC48 President**

### Keynote Speakers:

**-Donatella della Porta. Scuola Normale Superiore, Firenze (Italy)**  
**Knowledge in movement: counter-hegemony in times of crisis**

**-Bert Klandermans & Jacqueliën van Stekelenburg. Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam (The Netherlands)**  
**Who is that protester? Social psychological portraits**

**- Geoffrey Pleyers, Catholic University of Louvain (Belgium)**  
**From the Arab spring to Trump. Have we failed? A critical balance of social movement studies**

**- Mario Diani, University of Trento (Italy)**  
**Building alternative realities within collective action fields**  
**Conclusions**

**LUNCH 13.00 - 14.30**

# Conference Programme

## Day 1, May 30th (Catania 2017)

### **PARALLEL SESSIONS 14.30 –16.30**

#### **Session A: Mobilisation of Today and Emotions**

**Place:** Aula 1 'Palazzo Ingrassia' - Via Biblioteca 4

**Chair:** James Goodman

- Tova Benski (Yzrael Valley College, Israel) From a sense of Injustice to protesting lost dignity: Emotions and Social Movements

- Lauren Langman (University of Chicago, USA) Dignity, Ressentiment and the Mobilisations of Today

- Concetta De Pasquale, Anita Angelica (University of Catania, Italy) How emotions affect social movements' participation and discourses? The 'Empathy' seen from a psychopathological perspective

#### **Session B: Urban Conflicts**

**Place:** Aula 2 'Palazzo Ingrassia' - Via Biblioteca 4

**Chair:** Camilo Tamayo Gómez

- Mario Diani (University of Trento, Italy) Henrik Ernstson (KTH, Stockholm, Sweden and ACC-UCT, Cape Town, South Africa) Lorien Jasny (University of Exeter, UK) Symbols and frames in the constitution of civic organizational fields: "Right to the City" in Cape Town

- Anna Domaradzka (University of Warsaw, Poland) Co-creating urban alternatives: on different facets of the "right to the city"

- Marco Platania (University of Catania, Italy) Urban conflicts around tourism: toward an analysis of social movements

- Gianni Piazza (University of Catania, Italy), Miguel Martinez (Uppsala University, Sweden) The squatting movements for housing and social centres: cycles of autonomous urban politics in the European cities?

# Conference Programme

## Day 1, May 30th (Catania 2017)

### **PARALLEL SESSIONS 14.30 –16.30**

#### **Session C: Mobilising against!**

**Place:** Aula riunioni 'Palazzo Ingrassia' - Via Biblioteca 4

**Chair:** Miri Gal-Ezer

- Giulia Gortarutti (Institut für Soziale Bewegungen, Ruhr Universität Bochum) The anti-TTIP mobilisation in Germany and the UK: A Hyper-link Analysis

- Aide Esu (University of Cagliari, Italy), Simone Maddanu (CADIS Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, Paris, France) "No military bases neither here nor elsewhere". Anti-Militarism and territorial sovereignty

- Augusto Gamuzza (University of Catania, Italy) Homeschooling as transnational alternative social movement between disobedience and virtual mobilisation

- Cristiano Corsini (University of Catania, Italy) From Protest to Pedagogy

**Presentation of the book: Italia civile. Associazionismo, partecipazione e politica. Le reti associative e la «democrazia attiva» da Tangentopoli a oggi by Roberto Biorcio and Tommaso Vitale**

**Introduction:** Rossana Sampugnaro

- Discussant: Liana M. Daher

**Conclusion by Roberto Biorcio**

**16.30 – 17.30 RC48 Business**

**Meeting Place:** Aula riunioni 'Palazzo Ingrassia' - Via Biblioteca 4

**18.00 – 19.00 END OF THE FIRST DAY**

# Conference Programme

## Day 2, May 31th (Catania 2017)

### **PARALLEL SESSIONS 9.00 – 11.00**

**Session D: How political representation change: 5 Star Movement from the street to local and national institutions (I)**

**Place: Aula 1 'Le Verginelle' – Via Teatro Greco 84**

**Chair: Roberto Biorcio**

**- Rossana Sampugnaro, Simona Gozzo (University of Catania, Italy) The Five 5 Star Movement and the denied personalization. Leaderisation process in MPs parliamentarians group**

**- Francesca Montemagno (University of Catania, Italy) The fine line between rules and the rules. The M5S inside the institutions**

**- Lorenzo Mosca (Scuola Normale Superiore, Firenze, Italy) e Cristian Vaccari (Royal Holloway, University of London, UK & University of Bologna, Italy) From Digital to Hybrid? The institutionalization of M5S' communicative strategies**

**- Massimiliano Andretta (University of Pisa, Italy), Alessandro Albertini (Scuola Superiore Sant'Anna, Pisa, Italy) En attendant "Rousseau". Models of democracy and web-democracy in the Five Stars Movement**

**Session E: Global crisis and collective action**

**Place: Aula 2 'Le Verginelle' - Via Teatro Greco 84**

**Chair: Benjamìn Teherina**

**- Barbara Fersch, Klaus Levinsen (University of Southern Denmark) Occupy Copenhagen - fluidarity and the public experience of the self in action?**

**- Giuliana Sorci (University of Catania, Italy) The Nuit Debout: a direct democracy experiment at the time of global crisis**



# Conference Programme

## Day 2, May 31th (Catania 2017)

- Ion Andoni Del Amo, Arkaitz Letamendia, Jasón Diau (University of the Basque Country - UPV/EHU, Spain) The ambivalence of the “people” in post-crisis and anti-austerity mobilizations

- Barry Gills (University of Helsinki, Finland), James Goodman (University of Technology Sydney, Australia), Hamed Hosseini (University of Newcastle, UK) Post-neoliberal democracy? Social movements, socialised livelihood and political community

### **Session F: The Study of Social Movements Outcomes (I)**

**Place: Aula 3 ‘Le Verginelle’ - Via Teatro Greco 84**

**Chair: Liana M. Daher**

- Kaan Agartan (Framingham State University, USA) Building Democracy in the Park: The Rise and Decline of Neighborhood Assemblies in the Aftermath of Gezi Park Protests in Turkey

- Eliza Dana Coroama (University of Bucharest, Romania & Université Paris VII Denis Diderot, France) Consequences and outcomes of the Romanian Save Rosia Montana protests

- Ermanno Taviani (University of Catania, Italy) Italian social movements in “Lungo Sessantotto”: citizenship, welfare and radicalism

### **Session G: Theoretical and methodological issues in the study of social movements (I)**

**Place: Aula 4 ‘Le Verginelle’ - Via Teatro Greco 84**

**Chair: Tova Benski**

- James Goodman (University of Technology Sydney, Australia) Climate Movements: Challenges for Theory?

- Federico Schuster (Universidad de Buenos Aires, Argentina) Mobilisation and politics: The dynamics of social change

- Bartosz Slosarski (Adam Mickiewicz University, Poland) Material cultures of protest. Methodological issues



# Conference Programme

## Day 2, May 31th (Catania 2017)

**COFFEE BREAK 11:00 – 11:30**

**PARALLEL SESSIONS 11.30 – 13.00**

**Session H: Social Justice and Solidarity**

**Place: Aula 1 'Le Verginelle' - Via Teatro Greco 84**

**Chair: Lauren Langman**

- Benjamín Tejerina (University of the Basque Country, Spain) **Sharing Society: The impacts of collaborative collective action**

- Camilo Tamayo Gómez (EAFIT University, Colombia) **Justice, recognition, and solidarity in fragile societies: the case of civil society groups of victims of extrajudicial executions in Colombia and Mexico**

- Anna Maria Leonora (University of Catania, Italy) **The Heart City. Solidarity as transformative dialogic process between collective actors: the case of the religious movement in Catania**

- Miri Gal-Ezer (Kinneret College on the Sea of Galilee, Israel) **Israeli "Social Justice" Protests 2011 - 2012 after Five Year: Transformations and Alternatives**

**Session I: Consumerism and around (I)**

**Place: Aula 2 'Le Verginelle' - Via Teatro Greco 84**

**Chair: Anna Domaradzka**

- Lara Monticelli (Scuola Normale Superiore, Firenze, Italy), Torsten Geelan (Cambridge University, UK), Francesca Forno (University of Bergamo, Italy) Paolo R. Graziano (University of Padova, Italy) **Re-embedding Social: Cooperatives, Political Consumerism and Alternative Lifestyles**

- Francesco Vittori (University of Bergamo, Italy) **Reconnecting social around food. Discussing Alternative Food Networks from a social movement perspective**

- Donatella Privitera, Simona Monteleone (University of Catania, Italy) **Urban gardens and local food communities. A case study**

# Conference Programme

## Day 2, May 31th (Catania 2017)

### **Session J: The Study of Social Movements Outcomes (II)**

**Place:** Aula 3 'Le Verginelle' - Via Teatro Greco 84

**Chair:** Liana M. Daher

- Zira Hichy, Graziella Di Marco (University of Catania, Italy) Effects of state secularism, catholic identity, and political orientation in some modern issues

- Anna Krausova (University of Oxford, UK) The nature of demands and the mechanisms of success: Indigenous movements and outcomes of struggle in Bolivia

- Joost de Moor, Philip Catney, Brian Doherty (Keele University, UK) Scaling-up everyday politics. Dilemmas in advancing prefiguration and policy change

### **Session K: Theoretical and methodological issues in the study of social movements**

**Place:** Aula 4 'Le Verginelle' - Via Teatro Greco 84

**Chair:** Tova Benski

- Daniel Platek (Polish Academy of Science, Poland) Towards a 'Movement Society'? Collective Actions in Poland, 2004-2014

- Antonio Alejo Jaime (Flacso-Espana, Mexico) NGOs Diplomacies: An approach to rethink global social movements The case of Mexico

- Ngoc Anh Vu (University of Bath, UK) Grassroots citizen-led activism in Vietnam's authoritarian one-party context

**LUNCH 13:00 – 14:30**

# Conference Programme

## Day 2, May 31th (Catania 2017)

### **PARALLEL SESSIONS 14:30 – 16:30**

**Session L: How political representation change: 5 Star Movement from the street to local and national institutions (II)**

**Place: Aula 1 'Le Verginelle' - Via Teatro Greco 84**

**Chair: Rossana Sampugnaro**

**- Dario Quattromani, Francesco Capria (University of Roma 3, Italy) Administrating with Five Stars**

**- Roberto De Rosa (University of Tuscia, Italy) e Dario Quattromani (University of Roma Tre, Italy) Ruling the Italian Capital City with Five Stars**

**- Cecilia Biancalana (University of Turin, Italy) The Five Star Movement in Turin: From the First Meet-Ups to the Election of the Mayor**

**- Marilena Macaluso, (University of Palermo, Italy) The 5 Star Movement local government in Bagheria**

**Session M: Consumerism and around (II)**

**Place: Aula 2 'Le Verginelle' - Via Teatro Greco 84**

**Chair: Anna Domaradzka**

**- Niccolò Bertuzzi (University Milano-Bicocca, Italy) The Street, the Market, the Net: dangers or opportunities for contemporary social movements?**

**- Jurate Imbrasaite (Vytautas Magnus University, Lithuania) Do social media make protest possible? The impact of Facebook on mobilization of social movement "Let's not go shopping to supermarkets"**

**- Giorgia Mavica (University of Catania, Italy) 'Buy nothing day': something more than a protest, something less than a social movement**

# Conference Programme

## Day 2, May 31th (Catania 2017)

### **Session N: From the street to institutional debate**

**Place: Aula 3 'Le Verginelle' - Via Teatro Greco 84**

**Chair: Augusto Gamuzza**

**- Mireille Manga (IRIC, University of Yaounde II, Cameroon) The Public Construction of Anglophone Problem in Cameroon**

**- Elisa Lombardo (University of Catania, Italy) Citizenships from abroad. Territorialisation processes and citizenship practices in a Mediterranean city**

**- Grzegorz Piotrowski, Katarzyna Czarnota (European Solidarity Centre, Gdańsk, Poland) Resisting neoliberal discourse on social and spatial segregation: container ghettos in Poland - Tommaso Frangioni (Università di Torino, Italy) Slowly grows the grass – Bottom-up reconciliation in Euskal Herria**

**- Liana M. Daher (University of Catania, Italy) #italianisenzacittadinanza. Migrant descendants 'associations on the move' from internet streets to public debate**

### **Closing remarks**

**Place: Aula 1 'Le Verginelle' - via Teatro Greco 84**

**17.00 – 17.30 END OF THE CONFERENCE**

International Sociological Association

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# **CONFERENCE ABSTRACTS**

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

## **Knowledge in Movement: Counter-Hegemony in Times of Crisis**

Donatella della Porta - Scuola Normale Superiore, Florence (Italy)

Times of crisis are, as Gramsci noted long ago, interregnums in which the old is dying and the new cannot be born. In these times, the development of counterhegemonic power is all the most important as, understructured and in flux, times of crisis are open to transformation in different directions. Knowledge production is, I will argue, a central concern for progressive movements. If knowledge is important for movements and vice-versa, there is however a consistent gap in the analysis of their relations. The talk addresses this gap, referring to knowledge practices in social movements, with particular attention to their role in their identity work. Empirical illustrations comes from research on the debate that followed the Charlie Hebdo attacks as well as solidarity actions with refugees during the ‘long Summer of migration’.

## **Who is that Protester? Social Psychological Portraits**

Bert Klandermans & Jacqueliën van Stekelenburg - Vrije Universiteit, Amsterdam (The Netherlands)

I will present theory and data about participants in street demonstrations. I will introduce a theoretical distinction between two types of protest-issues (universalistic versus particularistic) and two types of organizational fields the organizers and participants are embedded in (low versus high organizational density). In combination the two dimensions define four types of mobilizing contexts at the supply side of protest: (1) universalistic issues x low density organizational fields; (2) universalistic issues x high density organizational fields; (3) particularistic issues x low density organizational fields; particularistic issues x high density organizational fields. Next to these supply-side factors, a social psychological model of protest participation containing motivation, identification and emotions is presented which account for the demand side of protest. The empirical core of the paper consists of a sample of 14.455 participants in 71 street demonstrations in eight European countries. The 71 demonstrations are classified and assigned to one of the four mobilizing contexts. I hypothesize how mobilization channels, motivation, identification and emotions differ depending on the mobilizing context. Logistics regression analysis is employed to compare participants in diverse types of demonstrations.

## **From the Arab Spring to Trump. Have we failed? A Critical Balance of Social Movement Studies**

Geoffrey Pleyers - Catholic University of Louvain (Belgium)

In 2001, thousands of activists from all continents met at the first World Social Forum to oppose neoliberal globalization and share their alternative proposals. When I walked in the streets of Porto Alegre and Genoa in 2001, as a citizen and as a young researcher, I was convinced that these rising actors would make the world a much better place: fairer, more democratic and more sustainable. Ten years later, these hopes were revived by the global wave of movements started in the Arab world. Fifteen years after the first WSF and five after the Indignados and the Occupy movements, has the world actually become a better place? 2016 will be remained as the year of the Brexit and the election of Trump. Do social movements matter? Are they fundamental actors of social change? This talk will draw on these fundamental questions for social movement scholars. It proposes a personal and provocative balance of a “Millennium Euphoria” that led to excess of optimism and to under-estimated some trends and actors in social movement studies.

## **Building Alternative Realities within Collective Action fields**

Mario Diani, University of Trento (Italy)

In my talk I will explore some conceptions of “alternative” as reflected in the practice of social movements and discuss some methodological approaches to the exploration of these realities. I will particularly emphasize the need to develop a relational, field-oriented perspective in order to capture the embeddedness of actors promoting and/or adopting alternative strategies in broader social settings.

## **From a sense of Injustice to protesting lost Dignity: Emotions and Social Movements**

Tova Benski – Department of Human Services, Yzrael Valley College

About five years have passed since the Tunisian uprising, the spark that ignited a series of “mobilizations of the indignant” that spread like wildfire around the globe. The massive displays of discontent with the political mismanagement of the economic crisis, the erosion of the Welfare State in Southern Europe, the US and many other societies



across the globe, and the corruption of the political elites and rulers/-dictators in the MENA have led to the proliferation of counter hegemonic, democratic mobilizations in which vast numbers of people have taken to the streets. The unique features of this, most recent global cycle of protests has invigorated the field of social movements' scholarship and has led to reexamination of theories in the field. Among others, it has increased the interest in the return of 'emotions' to the study of social movements. In this presentation I would like to shortly reiterate the history of 'emotions' in the study of social movements and to focus attention on 'Dignity' as one of the most prominent emotional states that we claim is central to many of the more recent mobilizations. This presentation is part of a larger project that Prof. Langman and I are involved with in the last 3 years.

### **Dignity, Ressentiment and the Mobilizations of Today**

Lauren Langman - University of Chicago (USA)

The social movement of our times can be seen as responses to the consequences and contradictions of neo liberal capitalism, its inequality, its economic stagnation if not declines for many, de regulation, privatization, and growing precarity, especially for younger workers and older retirees. At the same time, demographic and cultural change adversely challenge the identities and values of many, more conservative actors. These conditions engender a series of intertwined crises of legitimacy that migrate from the system to the life worlds of emotion and identity. Given social locations and typical character structures, for some actors these conditions foster hope for progressive social change though mobilizing for dignity as has been seen in Arab Spring, Syriza, Podemos, Gezi Park, Occupy, and more recently, the Bernie campaign, BLM and Standing Rock in the USA. But for many others, the reactions include anger, aggression, projection of blame and the desire for punitive revenge-as we have seen in New Dawn, the National Front, UKIP-Brexit and its "unique" American form, Trump as POTUS. But NB!, the legacy of Critical Theory, as an emancipatory theory, which has long seen emotions as fostering social mobilization, suggest a dialectic of dignity vs resentment, movements of hope and vision, vs those of anger, revenge, hatred and aggression. But in many places today we see a millennial generation that has become the spearhead of progressive mobilizations with vision of



democracy, inclusion, toleration of difference, and perhaps most important, overcoming capitalism to enable mobilizing for human dignity for all.

**How the Emotions affect Social Movements' Participation and Discourses? The 'Empathy' seen from a Psycho-Pathological Perspective**  
Concetta De Pasquale - Department of Education - University of Catania,  
Anita Angelica - University of Catania

Emotional aspects are vital to social mobilisations and seems to be crucial also in the creation of alternatives discourses in social and cultural spheres. Emotions give often shape to the social movements. Links among participants will be established through a communication process characterized by two requirements: the cognitive consonance between senders and recipients, and effective communication channel. According to this interpretative paradigm, Castells (2012) states that the origin of social movements can be found in the emotions of the individuals and their network activities based on cognitive empathy. Establishing a condition of positive emotional resonance among social movements participants' minds allows to sharing positive and negative feelings and encourages mobilization and collective action (Siegel, 1999). Among the hypotheses useful to explain the adhesion of individuals to a movement, emotion is a very important factor, necessary to support the collective action. In particular, according to the 'emotional intelligence theory', the most important emotions that promote social mobilization and collective action are the fear (negative) and excitement (positive). Strongly emotionally oriented participation can only affect creation of alternatives to the status quo. In this sense the claims/proposals offered by the movements may be deficient in rationality, because result of emotional and sometimes illogical thinking. Starting from the above considerations, foregone to the social movements studies, the paper aims to analyse the process of empathy and its consequences on social movements internal dynamics (participation and social mobilisation) and their influences on social reality (creation of alternative discourse and change) from a psycho-pathological point of view, and to observe the principal critical issues.

## **Symbols and Frames in the Constitution of Civic Organizational fields: “Right to the City” in Cape Town**

Mario Diani - University of Trento (Italy), Henrik Ernstson - KTH, Stockholm, Sweden and ACC-UCT, Cape Town (South Africa), Lorien Jasny - University of Exeter (UK)

This paper proposes a network analytic approach to the role of symbols in shaping the structure of civic organizational fields. More specifically, it looks at the expression “Right to the city” (RTC) both as a specific symbol and as a broader frame, and explores its influence over the patterns of collaborative ties among 129 civil society organizations active in Cape Town from 2012 to 2014. The article addresses two broad questions: What is the relation between RTC and other symbols that are also frequently invoked to describe urban struggles and issues? Do RTC symbols affect the structure of urban civic organizational fields in significant ways? The analysis suggests that while RTC plays a significant role in local civil society, it is not the only interpretative frame that Capetonian civic organizations draw upon to characterize their activity. “Urban conservation”, especially tied to nature conservation and environmental issues, shapes the structure of local organizational fields in a more salient, if possibly more divisive, manner.

## **Co-creating urban Alternatives: on different Facets of the “Right to the City”**

Anna Domaradzka - Institute for Social Studies - University of Warsaw

As many authors point out, the processes of the spatial and social segregation, gentrification, housing shortages, and privatization or commercialization of public spaces make the cities less livable and responsive to the needs of their residents (see Harvey 2012, Mayer 2016, Soja 2010, Swyngedouw, Moulaert, and Rodriguez 2002). All over the globe, this deprivation of needs (may it be the need for housing, access to public services, or the need to influence the local policies) leads to grassroots mobilization under the common frame of “right to the city” (Lefebvre 1968, Harvey 2012). In the last years urban activists claims gained global visibility, moving from “the streets” into the public debate, to the point of becoming a part of the UN New Urban Agenda. At this point it is worth discussing what role civil society actors hold in the urban policy field and to which point the “right to the city” frame (Benford and Snow 2000) allowed for building an

alternative narrative, giving voice to different groups of urban actors. To illustrate this tension, the paper analyses how multiple facets of the right to the city are reflected in different forms of urban mobilizations and how they translate into claims, narratives and strategies of civil society actors all over the globe. In particular, using qualitative data collected in Poland, we can explain what alternatives emerged as a result of the interaction between public actors and urban activists in the urban policy field, and how new ideas, norms and models may shape the future of urban areas.

### **Urban Conflicts around Tourism: toward an Analysis of Social Movements**

Marco Platania - University of Catania (Italy)

Tourism creates pressure and transforms the environment (urban and natural), especially when the transformation is fast. Several studies analyse in depth the negative impacts of tourism, that produce social conflict, crime, commercialization and degradation of indigenous culture, the decrease of values and sacrilege of religion, belief and symbols. The negative effects are different and also depend on where is manifested the pressure. In the cities we are witnessing especially to a loss of identity. Several scholars have talked about “touristification” and “musealization” (see for example Bhandari 2008; Burgold et al., 2013; Čamprag 2017; Kádár 2013). In front of this fact, in recent years it has increased the number of social movements that have resisted very strongly. They try to create identities and to set plans for change in the socio-political realm. This fact represents an important element in urban politics. Social movements was analysed in the early tourism studies in which are highlighted conflict of interest, values and goals between stakeholders. The aim of this paper is to develop a conceptual and theoretical reflections and give an empirical analysis through a comparative investigations of social movements against urban touristification. Particularly, we will take into account the role played by social movements in the conflict between locals and tourists and the role of government in these conflicts.

democracy, inclusion, toleration of difference, and perhaps most important, overcoming capitalism to enable mobilizing for human dignity for all.

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## **The Squatting Movements for housing and Social Centres: Cycles of autonomous urban politics in the European Cities?**

Gianni Piazza - University of Catania, Miguel Martinez - Uppsala University

If squatting is a long-lasting urban phenomenon, which refers to the illegal occupation of empty properties used without the consent of their owners, it is also a political practice, which has given rise to urban social movements for housing and social centres. The squatters and radical left-wing activists, who promote and support them, not only try to meet the need for housing and spaces of sociability through direct action, the rejection of the rules and logic of the market and legal regulations. They also attempt to elaborate and implement non-hierarchical and participatory organization models, thus offering an alternative mode of envisioning social relationships, political and countercultural practices. In this paper, we present some findings of a cross-country and interdisciplinary research on political squatting in nine European cities (Barcelona, Berlin, Brighton, Copenhagen, Madrid, Paris, Rome, Rotterdam and Seville) carried out by the SqEK (Squatting Europe Kollektive), a transnational network of researchers-activists. The focus is a comparative analysis of the data collected aimed to provide a systematic account for the different cycles of urban squatting over the last four decades. In particular, we try to identify: if there have been local, national and cross-national patterns in the development of squatting; if these waves have been influenced by their urban and political context; how the social, cultural, economic and political dynamics of each city have contributed to the specific locations of squats and to their duration; and what has been the impact of the squatters' movements in urban politics over time.

## **The anti-TTIP Mobilisation in Germany and the UK: A Hyperlink Analysis**

Giulia Gortarutti - Institut für Soziale Bewegungen - Ruhr Universität Bochum

Social movements not only create alternative ideas and narratives to change their social and political environment. They also create those frames in order to forge new alliances and make cooperation across a broad range of individuals, groups, and organizations possible.



The internet is an important vehicle for spreading and sharing those frames. This paper looks at the online networks created during the anti-TTIP mobilisation using hyperlink analysis. Hyperlink analysis is used as an explorative tool to analyse the networks of social movement organisations, civil society organisations, trade unions, and political parties that cooperated against TTIP in Germany and the UK. As such, the major networks and cooperation events in both countries will be analysed, and the participants isolated. Subsequently, their online behaviour in the form of links from one participant organisation to another will be explored. The resulting graphs will then be structured and analysed using social network analysis methods. The reasoning behind this lies in the idea that the World Wide Web is increasingly important in organising and mobilising protest and, therefore, the way organisations structure themselves online may offer insights on how they do so offline. Mobilisation against TTIP began in 2013, with the start of negotiations. The vast number of policy fields potentially affected by the treaty has created unique point of convergence for different social actors. In the European Union alone, a fragmented network of approximately 525 organisations was formed. Aside from the general rejection of the treaty, the network voices issues of reform in the realm of trade policy, international relations, global justice, and austerity politics, particularly in terms of democratisation and transparency. The network's main achievement has been a European Citizens' Initiative (ECI), which has received more than 3 million signatures, and a number of street protests, the most successful of which took place in Berlin on 10 October 2015. The number of actors involved, and the cross-organisational character of this mobilisation makes it an ideal starting point for discussing ongoing methods of cooperation employed by organisations striving to be vehicles for transformation. Although the mobilisation against TTIP in the European Union is transnational in scope, it is still declined differently in each EU Member State. As such, this empirical study looks at how the cross-movement mobilisation is shaped in two countries, Germany and the UK. Social network analysis and hyperlink analysis will be used to a) map the organisations that participated in key cooperation events, and how they link to each other; b) understand how the different aims and types of cooperation influence the networks as they are reflected in the web through hyperlinks.

## **"No military Bases neither here nor elsewhere". Antimilitarism and Territorial Sovereignty**

Aide Esu - CADIS Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales Paris,  
Simone Maddanu - University of Cagliari Dept. Social Sciences and Institutions

A significant portion of Sardinia Island territory is occupied by military activity. Since the '70 antimilitary collective action arose claiming for regional sovereignty over the territory. During the 80s and 90s different social actors joined the protest against military bases. More recently a public awareness about risk on military activities was associated with the incidence of Hodgkin's lymphoma, leukaemia, thyroid cancer and autoimmune diseases among military personnel and civilians, revitalizing the collective actions. Taking the floor in the local public space, collective movements like associations of victims' families, antimilitarist groups, political groups and public figures constitute the core of those actions, demanding the closure of all military activities in the island. This paper analyses the transformation of the antimilitarism from general pacifism in the early seventies to a mix of antimilitarist-eco, neoregionalistic movement calling for a new regional sovereignty, acting as citizens that want their rights to be recognized (Fraser, 2000). The general antimilitarism evolves to a more oriented action as the military installations come to be seen as a source of danger for the people and the environment. They reject the military storyline of modernity that no longer appears to be acceptable even in terms of national security. The struggle against military bases at the disposal of NATO reinforces a narrative that underlines a double sense of colonialism of the island (Akibayashi and Takazato, 2009), from the Nato, foreign countries, the military and the Italian state – a "colony of colony" (McCaffrey, 2002).

## **Home-schooling as transnational Alternative Social Movement: Methodological Challenges for a Mixed-Method Perspective**

Augusto Gamuzza - University of Catania (Italy)

Home education in Italy is a growing social phenomenon. Even if the Italian Constitution guarantees this right, home-schooling is unregulated extensively, generally under-researched (Kunzman & Gaither, 2013) and potentially an elusive community for social researchers to access (Hopwood, O'Neill, Castro, & Hodgson, 2007).

Analysing the Italian home schooling movement implies the necessity of a critical confrontation with the social context of reference but unveiling new and unexpected trajectories for social change. Starting (and discussing) the last official data at disposal (MIUR 2015) Italian home-schooling involved 945 children - 307 in primary school and 638 in first grade secondary school with a specific concentration into the southern regions of Italy and Sicily in particular; at the same time this data sheds a light upon a wide and underground range of “non-formal” learning paths and experiences/practices. The main research question of this paper is to estimate the extent to which Italian home-schooling parents perceive themselves as transnational social movement participants and to identify the factors contributing to such beliefs through a mixed-method approach. Thus, the paper presents the main insights coming from two research work-packages covering a period of activity from 2013 to 2017: 1) participant observation sessions to national and regional home-schooling meetings 2); quantitative survey administered to home-schooling families with a special focus on the Sicilian case.

### **From Protest to Pedagogy**

Cristiano Corsini- Department of Education - University of Catania (Italy)

In Italy since 2008 the INVALSI has administered tests in primary, secondary and upper secondary schools. INVALSI tests have two main goals: accountability (they are used in order to assess value-added of schools) and formative assessment. Recently, a protest has grown against INVALSI tests. Many schools and teachers take part in boycott of tests, and in 2015, in 75% of the schools in Sicily tests weren't administered. Why so many teachers and schools boycott the INVALSI tests? Test validity is disputed, and teachers are worried about the effects of measures on their careers and their schools reputation. Recent findings (C. Corsini, La validità di contenuto delle prove INVALSI di comprensione della lettura, *Giornale Italiano della Ricerca Educativa*, 6, 2013, 10, pp. 46-61) show how the dual purpose of testing (control and improvement) threatens validity of the INVALSI tests, and how the goal of accountability prevents from informing schools and teachers about students' achievement levels. Furthermore, attitudes of students towards INVALSI tests are influenced by beliefs of teachers and directors about the quality of the national assessments in schools (G. Pastori, V. Pagani, What Do You Think about INVALSI



Tests? School Directors, Teachers and Students from Lombardy Describe Their Experience, *Journal of Educational, Cultural and Psychological Studies*, 13, 2016, pp. 97-117). The aim of the work is to analyse the points of view of teacher associations against Invalsi tests and verify if they base their protest on new pedagogical, instructional and evaluative proposals.

### **The Five Star Movement and the denied Personalization. Leaderization Process in MPs parliamentarians Group**

Rossana Sampugnaro, Simona Gozzo - University of Catania (Italy)

In every stage of evolution, the young history of the M5S highlights the rejection of political personalization, even when M5S admits the role of the Movement founders: Grillo and Casaleggio. During the deployment phase of the parliamentary group, the denial of the "iron law of oligarchy" proceeds for long rituals, for the rotation of the spokesmen, for the restriction of delegation. Despite everything, the analysis of the longitudinal plane shows how the "mantra" one weights one has lost - over time - its primitive force. Some parliamentarians are known for their competence, for their communication skills or distinctive personality, assuming traits of empirically observable leadership, through an analysis of amplitude, frequency and reciprocity of relational ties. Over time, the group has lost its horizontal nature to conceive the presence of a "Direttorio" composed by few people. The study hypothesizes a progressive structuring of the group, with the emergence of "situational" leaders (Edelman, 1976) and with an internal segmentation. The goal is to reconstruct the network of intra-group relations from the analysis of the mutual accreditation process within the M5S. Employing traditional tools of Social Network Analysis, the work focuses on the identification of relational dynamics empirically observable through indexes and analysis procedures from graph theory. We will detect, specifically, structural and relational measures, related to the reticular dynamics and to each ego (ego-networks). The structural values will relate to different centrality measures (in particular, degree, betweenness and closeness), highlighting the degree of leaderization and the internal breakdown of the Group. The reconstruction of the accreditation process will be through the analysis of the tweets of parliamentarians and their retweets. We will compare, in particular, the data collected in 2013 (one month) - during the settlement of the parliamentary group - and those of 2017 (one month). The analysis is

based on the use of software for the study of social networks (Nodexl, UCINET).

### **The Fine Line between Rules and the Rules. The M5S inside the Institutions**

Francesca Montemagno - University of Catania (Italy)

When the M5S organization process started, a problem appeared: which is its positioning inside of the conceptual categories of the political science? M5S can be considered a political party? What kind of a political party it can be? In order to answer to these questions, the survey analyses the Movimento 5 Stelle organization process and, in detail, the contrasts within the Parliamentary Groups once the Parliaments seats were occupied (European, Italian and Sicilian particularly). The activists, first, and the delegates, later, bumped into conflict cases which are referred to the incongruence born from the necessity to fit their inner rules to the electoral legislation, to the assembly regulations, to the administrative rules and to the Parliament procedures where Movimento 5 stelle delegates have been elected. This study aims to analyse each one of these aspects and the resulting process of adjustment and organization for the Movimento 5 stelle from its birth until today. The rotation of the group leaders, the arrangement of the “non Statuto”, the inner rules of the Movimento to select the candidates of the Parliamentary Group and the protests in Aula, are some of the main contrasts between the written and the non-written rules of the parliamentary Assemblies. The instrument of this survey will be the simultaneous study of the parliamentary law, of the electoral legislation, of the administrative Rules (indicated in capital letter in the title), of the rules of the Parliamentary Groups, of the statuto and non-statuto and of the conduct codes of the Movimento 5 stelle. For the survey, some deputies have been interviewed. In particular the euro-deputies Ignazio Corrao, Giulia Di Vita, MPs of the Italian Parliament, and the deputies Giorgio Ciaccio and Giancarlo Cancelleri, MPs in Sicilian Regional Assembly.

## **From Digital to Hybrid? The Institutionalization of M5S' Communicative Strategies**

Lorenzo Mosca - Scuola Normale Superiore - Florence,

Cristian Vaccari - Royal Holloway, University of London & University of Bologna

In this article we analyse and discuss the changes in the communicative strategies of the Movimento 5 Stelle (M5S) since its entrance in the national parliament. Our hypothesis is that the progressive institutionalization of the party has been paired by a hybridization of communicative repertoires both concerning its elites and voters. Regarding the former, while traditional media were seen as enemies forming part of the 'corrupt establishment' since the creation of the party in 2009, a growing use of traditional channels of communication has been promoted by the leaders after the 2013 general elections. Concerning the latter, the peculiar profile of its voters in terms of news diets (Mosca and Vaccari 2013; Mosca, Vaccari & Valeriani 2015) has gradually normalized and information sources (role of the internet vis-a-vis the TV) have changed accordingly. Our argument will be illustrated through a diachronic analysis based on different data sources: a) data on the presence of M5S representatives in TV news between 2012 and 2016 (Osservatorio di Pavia); b) data on the use of the Rousseau platform since 2013 (our own dataset); c) survey data on internet, social media and political use of the web by M5S' voters (Ipsos surveys).

## **Attendant "Rousseau". Models of Democracy and web-Democracy in the Five Stars Movement**

Massimiliano Andretta - University of Pisa (Italy)

Alessandro Albertini - Scuola Superiore Sant'Anna, Pisa (Italy)

In the last year, the Italian Five Star Movement has improved the forms of internal direct democracy strongly wanted by its leader, the comedian Beppe Grillo. In fact, Five Stars is the only political actor in Italy that has promised a revolution in terms of political participation through the implementation of practices of online direct democracy. The paper discusses the models of democracy in ideological and practical terms, as well as the role of Internet in the constitution, the identity and the organization of the Five Star Movement. The research question deals with a better conceptualization of democratic rhetoric and praxis adopted by the Five Stars Movement; secondly, the paper tries

to discern how activists perceive these two components. This means to explore to what extent Internet is considered central for the Movement collective identity and to what extent activists perceive the contradictions between the Movement rhetoric and praxis. The paper has three parts: the first one discusses -from a theoretical perspective- the current models of Democracy present in literature, by relating them with the raise of Five Stars Movement and the rhetoric of the leadership. Secondly, the paper presents a simple quantitative analysis of “Lex” -the web-portal of Five Stars dedicated to legislative discussion-, which is based on a detection conducted on February 2016. Finally, the paper presents the results of an investigation of activists’ perception, based on interviews collected last year at several Meetup in Tuscany.

### **Occupy Copenhagen - Fluidarity and the Public Experience of the self in Action?**

Barbara Fersch, Klaus Levinsen - Department of Sociology, Environmental and Business Economics- University of Southern Denmark

In this paper we aim to shed light on Occupy Copenhagen that quickly grew in the wake of the international Occupy movement in 2011, and also more or less vanished shortly thereafter. Based on an ethnographic field study and qualitative interviews with Occupiers in Copenhagen, Denmark we use the theoretical concept of “fluidarity” (Castells, 1996; McDonald, 2002): Many of the outlined characteristics, such as the creation of one’s own space, the rejection of delegation or a shared struggle for personal experiences could indeed be found in the empirical material. In particular, we pay attention to the question of how ideological diversity and the lack of a shared identity affects street protests like Occupy Copenhagen. In the context of the short lifespan of the activism we also want raise a critical discussion of the potential consequences of fluidarity: As much as these new characteristics might have been important for the initial attraction to and the rise of the movement, they might also have played a role in its quick dissolution and fall?

## **The Nuit Debout: a direct Democracy experiment at the Time of global Crisis**

Giuliana Sorci - University of Catania (Italy)

The outbreak of the 2008 financial crisis on a global level raised a new storm of protests and mobilizations organized by social movements at transnational level. From the Arab Spring of 2011 to Occupy Wall Street, from the movement of Indignados, 15M, up to the recent French Nuit Debout, these movements have been characterized by the opposition to the austerity policies promoted by the governments, both at the national or supranational level on the one hand, and by the criticism of the representative democracy, on the other, as the expression of the élites in governments that less and less seem to represent the general will of their citizens. Moreover, it has also been highlighted the need for these social movements to experiment with new forms of active participation and direct democracy, which should be more inclusive and could better respond to the needs of political participation and active citizenship. These new forms use the Internet, web 2.0 and social networks as new tools of participation. In this paper I will present the first results of an ongoing research focused on the analysis of the decision – making process, and in particular the voting process, developed by the Nuit Debout movement in Paris in the spring of 2016, within the wider movement against the Loi Travail of the Hollande –Valls government. From a methodological point of view, I will make use of the analysis of documents produced by the movement, a series of qualitative semi-structured interviews, the social network analysis, the participant observation of management techniques of meetings and committees organized by the Nuit Debout.

## **The Ambivalence of the “People” in Post -Crisis and Anti-Austerity Mobilizations**

Ion Andoni Del Amo- University of the Basque Country (UPV/EHU)

Arkaitz Letamendia-University of the Basque Country (UPV/EHU)

Jasón Diaux - University of the Basque Country (UPV/EHU)

The "people" as the revolutionary subject constitutes the mobilizing imaginary of the bourgeois revolutions, then exalted by the romanticism as people-nation. Marxism is going to reject the idea of people as ambiguous: the proletariat is, by its subordinate structural position,



the subject of change, since nothing has to be lost, except for the chains. This formulation is rewritten and extended during the 1960s to all those oppressed subjects: blacks, women, homosexuals, ethnic minorities, or even young people and students. The political imaginary is rewritten as a concatenation of oppressed subjects, each from its politicized identity and its own social movement. However, this function is complicated when the postmodern cultural logic starts to function based on the acceptance of identity pluralities: they are framed in the multiculturalist logic and managed by the post-politics. At the same time, the fragmentation of the realm of work during post-Fordism makes it difficult not only the workers' identity, but the stable articulation itself. From the cycle of protests of 2011 a new scenario is configured. In this article we inquire into the construction of the idea of "people" in the post-crisis and anti-austerity mobilizations. It articulates new imaginaries: the idea of the common, without specific politicized identities, and the construction of an antagonism to power. This implies a rupture with the previous imaginaries of the social movements, but also with the postmodern multicultural logic. However, the ambiguities of the concept of people reappear: antagonism can be directed against the European or state elites, but also down, against the foreigner.

### **Post-neoliberal Democracy? Social Movements, socialised livelihood and political Community**

Barry Gills -University of Helsinki (Finland)

James Goodman - University of Technology Sydney (Australia)

Hamed Hosseini -University of Newcastle (UK)

The global demise of neo-liberalism as a mobilising force, sparked by the global financial crisis, and unravelling ever since, has created a profound inter-regnum in social movement politics. Democratic post-neoliberalism is now ranged against variants of autocracy and ethno-populism in the contest for a successor ideology. The paper reflects on the prospects for democratic post-neoliberalism, drawing on comparable social movement texts and accounts of their context, mapping network influence and the correlation of related movement agendas. It focuses on various democratic alternatives to neoliberalism that have asserted their existence and legitimacy beyond the dominance of capital, in antagonism with the untrammelled accumulation of economic surplus.



The paper draws on the experience of four broad kinds of movement – anti-austerity, left nationalist, solidarity economy and the eco-social commons – to address emergent modes of ‘livelihood’ and ‘political community’. Rather than expecting that solutions to today’s crises will emerge fully-formed from these movements, we explore emergent contestations, not blueprints. Contest over ‘livelihood’ is a primary component: it is critical that alternatives establish means of provisioning beyond the ‘market’ dependence offered by neoliberalism. The paper investigates forms of redistribution and provision, forms of cooperative living and solidarity economy, and ecologically regenerative practices, all broadly defined against possessive individualism. Second, ‘political community’ refers to the process of establishing democratic political traction, through the construction of political agency and identification, whether new or transformed. Discussion here centres on the ‘mode’ of response, organisationally and tactically, where social agency is constituted. Here there may be pressures for ‘social protection’ but equally for mutual engagement in cosmo-political and transversal fields of action and mutual transformation.

**Building Democracy in the Park: The Rise and Decline of Neighborhood Assemblies in the Aftermath of Gezi Park Protests in Turkey**  
Kaan Agartan - Framingham State University (USA)

This paper addresses the relationship between urban activism and alternative imaginations of political community in the Global South. More specifically, by way of focusing on the two-year career of one of the biggest and most long-lived neighborhood forums that emerged following the Gezi Park protests, the paper traces the labor pains of street politics evolving into a peculiar experience of direct democracy in the Turkish context, which, borrowing from Leyla Benhabib, should be seen as “a part of a general trend toward a new kind of citizen politics that mobilizes outside traditional representative institutions.” It was through various political practices in these park assemblies, the paper demonstrates, that activists (initially from all walks of life yet progressively losing their diverse composition) developed a new sense of political awareness and subjectivity, and as such unleashed a strong potential to lay the foundations of a novel political community in Turkey. To avoid succumbing to unfounded romanticism about these assemblies, the paper also points out various structural limits (such as

those imposed by over-localization and too much reliance on social media) to the process of activists' political subjectification and the emerging political community, and problematizes the mobilizational capacity and the political horizon of this distinct democratic experiment.

### **Consequences and outcomes of the Romanian Save Rosia Montana Protests**

Eliza Dana Coroama - University of Bucharest (Romania) & Université Paris VII Denis Diderot (France)

The Save Roșia Montană movement in the autumn of 2013 generated the largest street protests in Romania since the crisis of 1990. These protests have received a considerable media exposure (although widely criticized by the movement) and have affected political decisions, as the mining project has been dropped by the Parliament in the aftermath of the events, thus fulfilling the movement's main demand. Since these protests have occupied such an important place in the civil society, the question of their consequences and outcomes can only be a very complex one. This presentation attempts to put forward a prolegomenon to this analysis. Keeping in mind the scientific literature on the issue of the consequences and outcomes of social movements, the paper will try to offer a toolkit that will consider: i) the effects of this state-oriented challenger on policy; ii) the way protests have (re)shaped the movement's groups and networks; iii) the emergence of new activist subjectivities; iv) the impact on the Romanian activist milieu; v) personal and biographical consequences; vi) social and cultural outcomes on the Romanian society, considered in its post-communist Eastern European specificities. Taking this last point into consideration, this presentation will raise the question whether the mostly Western theories of social movements can fully account for protests and activism in Eastern Europe.

### **Italian Social Movements in “Lungo Sessantotto”: Citizenship, welfare and Radicalism**

Ermanno Taviani - University of Catania (Italy)

This paper deals with the history of the social movements in Italy in the so-called “Lungo Sessantotto”, from the outbreak of the 1968 student movement to the beginning of the 80's. The long-term and the radical

nature of this collective protest season is an important cornerstone of the "Italian case". This season of political mobilization spread by the society to the public offices, never touched before by such phenomena. These movements created new identities, challenged the government and, in some case cases, they used a repertoire of slogans and forms of violent struggle. In some, rare, contexts these movements had a relationship with "Red Terrorism". Overall, they advanced demands were compatible with a process of enlargement of democracy (a new kind of citizenship) and with the Welfare policies. The movement's radicalisation was caused also by the global economic crisis began in 1973 in the Western world. In other words, the radicalism of their narrative, the relationship with violent organizations, provoked a misunderstanding of their issues and containment's politics issued by the Italian Government. In this paper I will deepen, particularly, three aspects: the issue of violence; the issue of the Italian Welfare at the beginning of the Western Welfare's decline, that started in the 70's; the protest's narratives in the "Lungo Sessantotto".

### **Climate Movements: Challenges for Theory?**

James Goodman - University of Technology Sydney (Australia)

Mobilisations on climate change have been routinized into global policy negotiations for decades. More recently their politicising logic is cascading through multiplying fields of social life, across environmental protection, fossil fuel politics, energy policy, development assistance, health policy and investment regulation, to name a few. Once the preoccupation of Global North 'early industrialisers', contestation over climate policy is now becoming institutionalised across North and South. Yet climate movements, and the politics they produce, are relatively under-researched, often treated as a sub-variant of environmental movements and not worthy of separate treatment. Despite recent signs of change, there is still relatively little reflection on the logic of this emergent field of social movement politics. This paper seeks to address the implications of climate movement for social movement theory. To what extent do climate movements challenge the received models of investigating and interpreting social movements? How far does climate-changed society produce new types of social movement, with new horizons and scope, and with new transformative power? Or are we seeing 'more of the same'?

## **Mobilisation and Politics: The dynamics of Social Change**

Federico Schuster - Universidad de Buenos Aires (Argentina)

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 aims to analyse these questions from a theoretical perspective, but illustrated by an empirical consideration of a case, namely the Argentinian events from 1989 to the present. Taking advantage of its complexity and the diversity of sceneries we can see during that period, we are to state the mutual imbrication between political and social, agency and structure in the theoretical study of social change. What happened in Argentina during those years is quite a laboratory for social and political studies, as the consequence of neoliberal policies on the increase of unemployment, poverty and indigence rates. Within social mobilization, our empirical research shows how labour mobilization descends from 1993, being replaced, since 1996, by the unemployed. During 2001 and 2002 a huge economic crisis derived in social, political and cultural effects, including the mobilization of unemployed and urban middle classes. People questioned political institutions and society experienced a process of weakening of its structural patterns. Nonetheless, most citizens renewed their expectations on political system and during 2003 almost 80% of the authorized population voted in the elections. Since then, political order was rebuilt and social and economic indicators went better. Nevertheless, social mobilization did not decrease. We'll try to explain why this happened, establishing the connections between social mobilization and political action, underlying the way in which social structural conditions and agency potential are mutually implied, including class, social mobilization and politics.

## **Material Cultures of Protest. Methodological Issues**

Bartosz Slosarski - Adam Mickiewicz University (Poland)

The aim of my speech is the presentation of theoretical and methodological premises of the research project „Objects of Protest. Material Cultures of Contemporary Social Movements”. The main research question is: „what is the role of material objects in protest movements?” Using the categories of Actor-Network Theory (Callon, Latour 1981; Latour 1993, 2005; Serres 2014) I intend to explain the meaning of materiality in processes of contentious politics and repertoires of



contentious politics and repertoires of contention, using examples of street protests after 2008 (Tarrow 2011; Tarrow, Tilly 2015; Tilly 2006, 2008). Therefore, the project requires an accurate research method (the sociology of things). The basic principle of the chosen methodology is the process of following specific types of material objects in different social movements after 2008 (which is a reformulation of Lash and Lury's method of the following of objects; Lash Lury 2007). The study focuses on the life pathway of a material object and its transformations in various stages, contexts and places of its „social biography” (Appadurai 1986; Kopytoff 1986). In the first stage, visual materials which exist in the photo-archives of European and Polish press agencies (Doerr, Milman 2014; Philipps 2012) will be examined. The aim of this stage is to construct the types of things grounded in the existing materials (Charmaz 2006, Mattoni 2014). The second stage comprises an ethnographic study of protest events in Poland and Europe – which will be based on the specific types of the protests' material objects (Pink 2001). Then, in-depth interviews will be conducted with the „significant others” (or experts on the connection between materiality and street politics) of the chosen social protests – activists who are taking care of material resources, media-activists, bystanders, participants, opponents, photo-journalists, policemen, and socially engaged performers (Della Porta 2014; Doerr, Mattoni, Teune 2013). In this presentation I am going to confront theoretical perspectives with methodological assumptions and discuss the project in an open forum.

### **Sharing Society: The Impacts of Collaborative Collective Action**

Benjamín Tejerina - University of the Basque Country (Spain)

In recent decades we have witnessed a progressive weakening of the moderating role that the welfare state was performing on inequalities and social imbalances in the context of technologically advanced societies, which is assuming the gradual abandonment of mutuality, of social bonds that used to guarantee mutual support and interaction structures capable of making precarious life bearable. How important is to seek collective responses, and what effects and meanings share practices and collaborative actions have for participants and society? The aim of the paper will be to present one theoretical reflection on collective action and 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. This proposal moves away from the concept of collaborative economy and seeks experiences that are developed in the field of mutual aid, solidarity, the defence of citizenship rights, not only to do-it-yourself but rather to do-it-with others, actions that reject competitiveness and are grounded in the concept of collective intelligence (the collective is able to solve a problem that the individual cannot solve separately) and win-win attitudes.

### **Justice, Recognition, and Solidarity in fragile Societies: the Case of civil Society Groups of Victims of extrajudicial executions in Colombia and Mexico**

Camilo Tamayo Gómez - EAFIT University (Colombia)

In this paper, I would like to present the experience of two civil society groups of victims of extrajudicial executions of Colombia and Mexico from a communicative and socio-political perspective. Specifically, I will focus on the experience of The Mothers of Soacha (Soacha City, Colombia) and The Ayotzinapa Movement (Guerrero City, Mexico). I will explain how these two civil society groups of victims have been addressing expressive and communicative dimensions of collective action to claim for justice, recognition, and solidarity in the public sphere. A key objective is to understand what kinds of citizen and humanitarian spaces these socio-communicative and collective actions can access within the contexts of crime, a lack of security and impunity, and how these actions have been affecting a claim for human rights and justice in these two countries. The aim of this paper is to understand how socio-communicative and collective actions developed by victims' groups can affect dimensions of social recognition, trust in justice, and operationalization of solidarity in contexts of high levels of violence and crime. The conclusions presented in this paper are based on results of a narrative analysis of 28 interviews conducted with different members of these two civil society groups between September 2015 and January 2017.



## **The Heart City. Solidarity as transformative dialogic Process between Collective Actors: the Case of the Religious Movement in Catania**

Anna Maria Leonora - University of Catania (Italy)

From the very beginning of the first wave of the recent migratory emergency in Southern Europe catholic religious movements and church public lay associations – as the community of Sant’Egidio – intensified their cooperation involving homologous groups from other confessions and religions [Italian Ministry of Interior 2013; 2015]. This experience fosters many issues about the potential of the bottom-up integration process and cooperation between groups and association belonging to different religion realizing a multi-ethnic and inter-religious community still effective in managing the increasing migration crisis [Kymlicka 2015]. It seems useful to go in depth into these chains of solidarities in order to understand potentialities and limitations linked to this social change dynamics [Castells 2012]. This work is focused on solidarity dynamics analysis of religious movements activity in Catania between 2013 and 2017 taking as framework of reference the 2017 joint return of solidarity and brotherhood among Christians, Muslims and Hindu of the city. In order to analyse this consolidated practices of solidarity [Ferrante e Zan 1994: 215-250] the research design started from the reconstruction of the first-aid presence into the city territory (the Heart City); a campaign of semi-structured interviews to key informants of three main religious movements (Focolari Movement for catholic church, the leading group of Mosque of Mercy in Catania and the Valdese Church representatives in Catania). The presentation synthesizes results from two work packages, covering a period of activity from 2013 to 2017: 1) First interpretation of archival research providing analytical categories for the further narrative interviews phase; 2) Semi-structured interview campaign administered to the representative members of the religious movements and solidarity associations involved in the process. One aspect of this peculiar cooperation between religious movements seem to trigger a specific social space of dialogue related to solidarity practices managed by different religious movement in Catania, realizing a sort of “elective integration” about this interreligious and intercultural symposium among their members.

## Israeli "Social Justice" Protests 2011 - 2012 after Five Year: Transformations and Alternatives

Miri Gal-Ezer - Kinneret College on the Sea of Galilee (Israel)

Following numerous workers' union strikes and protests against the cost of living in the beginning of 2011, Israeli citizens desperate of welfare state deterioration, began comprehending the harsh neo-liberal economy mechanisms, and became very angry. Afterward, the young film editor, Daphni Leef, opened a Facebook call for her friends to join a tent protest in Tel-Aviv on "14th July" (Bastille Day) an initiative that spread throughout Israel with even families and elderly people joining peacefully demonstrations, marches and gatherings. Some 800,000 protestors -10% of the Israeli population (nearly 8 million then) - participated in civilian demonstrations and encamping through all over the country, and public support was 91% (July 2011). The "Social Justice" movement had five phases: First Phase –July 2011 Initiation of the Social Protest; Second Phase – Political Reaction: the Government "Trajtemberg Committee" and the Protesters "Spivak/Yona Alternative Committee"; Third Phase – The Security Agenda Back Again: PM Netanyahu Acceptance of the Hamas Deal, The Release of POW Gilad Shalit and the Iranian Threat; Forth Phase – May 2012 The Social Protest Raises its Head Again, October 2012 "Operation Pillar of Defense" against Gaza, January 2013 Elections; Fifth Phase – July August 2014 – "Operation Protective Edge" against Gaza, March 2015 Elections.- Through the first and second phases, the Israeli media coverage was supportive, while in the next phases, security agenda was forced by political and economic imposition, accordingly Israel is deteriorating into "Illiberal (ill + liberal) Democracy", even to populist authoritarian nationalist state; recently, from December 2016, PM Netanyahu is ongoing through criminal investigations recommended by the attorney general and the police in corruption suspicions. In recent days the Israeli police, is executing harsh cruel policy towards its Arab Israeli citizens (about 20% of Israeli population) within the green line. According to the above analysis of the Israeli "Social Justice" movement phases, transformations in the social, cultural, political, media and ideological fields would be presented, and alternatives would be explored.

## **Re-embedding Social: Cooperatives, Political Consumerism and Alternative Lifestyles**

Lara Monticelli - Scuola Normale Superiore, Firenze (Italy)

Torsten Geelan - Cambridge University (UK)

Francesca Forno - University of Bergamo (Italy)

Paolo R. Graziano University of Padova (Italy)

Politically inspired lifestyle choices are becoming an important component of contemporary social movements repertoire of action and discourse. In the current historical critical juncture characterizing contemporary capitalism, everyday economic practices of work, consumption and living are being questioned and challenged by a growing number of social groups, communities and individuals. Among the most relevant experiences, we find the establishment, reconfiguration and revitalization of cooperatives, political consumerism, communitarian experiments and alternative lifestyles. All these practices share a steadfast belief in the idea of environmental, social and economic ‘sustainability’ together with the desire to move towards a society which - in the words of Amartya Sen - promotes not just environmentalism but also values of equality, diversity, social cohesion, quality of life and democratic governance. While this silent wave may appear less disruptive than the adoption of digital technologies in recent years, everyday politics and economic practices may have the potential to gradually disrupt the economic moralities underlying the capitalist modes of production and consumption. The engine of this slow but long lasting transformation can be found in a tripartite movement: critique of the status quo, practices of resistance and resilience and, finally, exploration of potential alternatives through deliberative and collective decisional processes. The paper will discuss how these practices are attempting to ‘embody’ the critique to consumerist and capitalist societies and has the aim to develop an original theoretical framework that combines insights from social theory, social movements studies and research on political consumerism/alternative lifestyles.

## **Reconnecting Social around food. Discussing Alternative Food Networks from a Social Movement Perspective**

Francesco Vittori (University of Bergamo, Italy)

Food is becoming an increasingly contested issue and food movements have emerged both in the Global South and the Global North.

. The agro-industrial food system presents hefty environmental, social and economic costs that are often borne by local communities. What has been labelled by international literature as Alternative Food Networks (AFNs), are sustainable community movement networks that are resisting neoliberal food politics creating alliances among different actors. AFNs are usually based around smaller, more environmentally aware producers and retailers who place their products in local markets with the support of their consumers. Within these networks trust relationships between different actors are built around the issue of food quality and sometimes a “moral economy perspective” (Morgan et al. 2008). Within AFNs both producers and consumers discursively contract their cooperative efforts as alternative forms of resistance to the traditional marketplace. This paper places itself within a huge debate that has developed over the past few years around alternative food systems. By combining insights from social movement theories and AFNs literature, this paper will focus on the mechanisms through which individual get collectively organized in AFNs, organizations shape the meaning of their behaviour and relations both within and between organizations become politicized. To reach these goals, several source of information, such participant observation and in-depth interviews with key actors involved in AFNs, collected within two different contexts (a middle-sized town of Northern Italy and a middle-sized town of Southern Brazil) will be discussed and analysed.

### **Urban Gardens and local food Communities. A Case Study**

Donatella Privitera and Simona Monteleone - University of Catania (Italy)

There is a debate concerning the concept of sharing in the area of economy and practices of social life. In fact, initiatives of social sharing can concern groups of individuals who feel that they share something in common such as a place and a wish to share their resources. While these initiatives may be not-for-profit or for profit, they should aim to serve the community in advancing more sustainable futures of the cities. The space of community gardens has multiple expressions in images, memories, emotions, identity, and everyday practice. The most physically salient aspect of the symbolic meaning of the gardens is their constitution as carriers of cultures within the city such as culinary preferences, customs, foodscapes, and social and public interactions. The study is embedded in the framework of urban food system



research. They are also defined as localized food systems where producers and consumers seek alternatives from mainstream globalized food chain which dominate in developed countries. The study highlights the practice of urban agriculture, especially community gardens as places to practice active citizenship, conducted in 2015-2016 and utilized qualitative methods with a case study. Our research question is: to what extent is it possible to plan and organize the public debate connected to community gardening practices? An example as case study is the municipality of Catania (south of Italy), where a community garden is located in the suburbs of the city, Librino, which hosts the largest social housing scheme built in the late 1970s with 36.000 inhabitants. This community gardening effort primarily aims to respond to current social aspects. Today it's relevant to discuss the role of community-based initiatives in the creation of sustainable green cities. Also, based on some practical implications it will be presented related to the monitoring of policy effects related to community gardens, entrepreneurial activities and urban sustainability.

### **Effects of State Secularism, catholic Identity, and political Orientation in some modern Issues**

Zira Hichy, Graziella Di Marco (University of Catania, Italy)

When there are discussions concerning the regulation of some modern issues, such as the presence of religious symbols in public buildings, Catholic religious education in public schools, regulation of abortion, divorce, contraception, same-sex marriage, embryonic stem cell research, RU486, or euthanasia, the debate on the secularism of the state arises. In this study we examined the ways in which some of these issues, that is attitudes toward technologies involving embryos (pre-implantation genetic diagnosis and embryonic stem cells research) and attitudes toward gay civil rights (same-sex marriage and adoption by gays and lesbians), might be affected by attitude toward State secularism. We hypothesized that effects of variables often taken into account in studies about these issues, that is religion and political orientation, were mediated by attitudes towards secular State. Participants were Catholic Italians who completed a questionnaire measuring the constructs under investigation. Results suggest that secularism has a positive effect on investigated issues, whereas Catholic identity and right political orientation had a negative effect. Moreover, State secularism mediates the effects of Catholic identity

and political orientation on attitudes toward gay civil rights and theories involving embryos. These results can be used to promote awareness campaigns in order to make religious people understand that the laws of a state may not reflect religious beliefs, as they need to ensure equal rights to all of its citizens.

### **The nature of Demands and the Mechanisms of Success: Indigenous Movements and Outcomes of Struggle in Bolivia**

Anna Krausova - University of Oxford (UK)

How and when do social movements ‘succeed’? This paper approaches this perennial question of social movement studies by evaluating indigenous people(s)’ collective organising and protest in Bolivia. In evaluating the causal mechanisms linking concrete explanatory factors with specific outcomes, it seeks to contribute to the debate about the (intended) consequences of social movements both theoretically and empirically. Despite renewed attention regarding the outcomes of social movement activity, recent scholarship continues to define outcomes in different ways and has produced conflicting results about their determinants; in particular, the effect of factors under the control of social movement activists remains controversial. The narrative of Bolivian (and Latin American in general) popular and indigenous protest in the last two decades, retold so frequently in recent academic writing would seem to suggest that the level of disruption is the single most important factor deciding whether protest is successful or not. However, recent research suggests that we need to pay attention to the nature of movement demands, something which has been largely ignored in the literature on movement outcomes, with only a few notable exceptions. This mixed-method analysis of both protest events and social movement organisations in Bolivia shows that both the content and legitimation (framing) of demands plays a crucial role for the outcomes experienced, in terms of impacting executive and legislative decisions. This is not to deny the already well-described importance of disruption and political opportunities. The impact of these factors operates through the mechanisms of both economic and political cost, with the cost of meeting the demands weighed against the cost of not meeting them. This shows that we need to bring the focus on demands back into the analysis of social movements, and in doing so expand our understanding of demands and framing and their impact on social movement outcomes.



## **Scaling-up everyday Politics. Dilemmas in advancing prefiguration and Policy Change**

Joost de Moor, Philip Catney, Brian Doherty - Keele University (UK)

Whether called prefigurative politics, political consumerism or lifestyle politics, everyday practices as means to social change are increasingly recognized as important outcomes of social movements. However, their emergence has also triggered critical debates. Precisely because of their small-scale and particularistic nature, observers question the democratic potential of movement activism that caters mainly the (often privileged) actors that are directly involved, and many doubt whether such small-scale actions have the potential of fostering broader social change at all. Based on such critical reflections, there is growing interest in the conditions under which prefigurative strategies can ‘scale-up’ in order to advance broader social change, e.g. by triggering large, government or company supported projects, or by influencing public or corporate policy. To scale-up or not to scale-up is however not a straightforward strategic decision. Particular challenges arise because the narrative, identity and traditions of prefigurative movements are often at odds with government- and company-oriented strategies. For instance, prefigurative strategies are often operated by disillusioned groups who wish to foster social change while avoiding interacting with institutions. Thus, while many groups recognize the importance of scaling-up, doing so can present them with fundamental dilemmas that present contradictions between different types of strategies and movement goals. Drawing on a case study of environmental movement organizations in Greater Manchester, this paper explores the role of ‘scaling-up’ in prefigurative repertoires. In so doing, we aim to increase our understanding of the possible contradictions between advancing different types of movement outcomes, and we aim to identify conditions that allow social movements to overcome those dilemmas.

## **Towards a ‘Movement Society’? Collective Actions in Poland, 2004-2014**

Daniel Platek - Polish Academy of Science (Poland)

Scholars argue that citizens in advanced democracies are turning to protests as a means of voicing political preferences. Advocates of this perspective claim that individuals now live in a “movement society”, where protest activity stands alongside more traditional forms of

political participation. Accordingly, there are four key characteristics of the movement society: (1) over time expansion of protest; (2) over time diffusion of protest; over time institutionalization of protest; and (4) over time institutionalization of state responses to protest. However, despite the theoretical advances associated with the movement society approach, comprehensive evaluations of the underlying claims are lacking in the case of societies which do not belong to the group of the Western countries. My paper remedies the empirical gaps by assessing arguments on Polish society. First, are more individuals participating in protest activities and there is more protest events in Poland in the last eleven years? Second, have Polish protest activities become “institutionalized,” as indicated by a shift to non-confrontational tactics in the social movement theory? Third, have state responses to protests become more moderate than 20 years ago? Analyses based on Protest Event Methodology and surveys data will let me to falsify the movement society thesis in Poland.

### **NGOs Diplomacies: An Approach to rethink global Social Movements the Case of Mexico**

Antonio Alejo Jaime - Flacso-Espana (Mexico)

This paper reflects on alternative approaches to re-think global social movements facing global politics (McGrew, 2014). My point of departure is the relevance for understanding how global politics (local-global interactions) has to understand the transformations of diplomacy in a globalized world beyond traditional diplomacy understanding frames. The main objective of this contribution is to offer one way to identify and analyze the transnational practices of NGOs within global studies with an interdisciplinary approach between sociology of collective action and diplomatic studies. Three questions orient this paper: Why is relevant to re-think the diplomacy beyond State-centric perspectives? What concepts are useful to identify and explain NGOs key transnational practices framed by contemporary global politics? What analytical approach on sociology of collective action could be developed and deepened to characterize NGO Diplomacies? Based on this questions, I present an analytical strategy framework that contributes to identify and analyse NGOs practices as part of the social appropriation of contemporary diplomacy. The integral analytical framework offered here aims to systematically analyse NGOs practices (narratives

and activities) as NGOs Diplomacies considering three dimensions: 1. Multiscale Governance Framework Perspective; 2. Global Awareness on Agendas and 3. Transnational Repertoire for Political Influence. Methodologically, this analytical framework looks to identify socio-political global phenomena beyond methodological nationalism but without ignoring that sociologically, and historically, XXI Century's global politics emerged from state-nation's understandings. Empirically, I use the case of Mexico to observe how NGOs are facing the implementation of SDG 2030 Agenda.

### **Grassroots Citizen-led Activism in Vietnam's authoritarian one-party Context**

Ngoc Anh Vu (University of Bath, UK)

There are certain limitations concerning dominant social movement theories in understanding grassroots social movements under authoritarianism. This paper is an attempt to make a conceptual and empirical contribution to the existing literature on civil society activism under authoritarian regimes. Much of the existing accounts on civil society activism in Vietnam lay more emphasis on formal organisations (NGOs) and their actions. There is a significant lacuna in research on grassroots citizen-led activism (i.e. public protests and social movements) in the country. Drawing on the theoretical discussions of civil society activism in authoritarian contexts, coupled with my empirical encounters, I developed three key concepts that I used to examine a citizen-led movement which happened in Hanoi, Vietnam in 2015. The paper focuses on the 'Trees Movement' (TM), a very recent broad-based citizen-led movement established to protest against a government decision to cut down thousands of large old trees lining the streets of Hanoi. It examines processes through which different informal civilian groups orchestrate collective actions to request the government to stop cutting down the trees, as well as to demand a deliberative and accountable government. It also explores what the movement tells us of the changing dynamics of state-society relations in Vietnam. Most importantly, however, I will use this case study to argue that citizen-led activism, an emerging form of civic engagement, is likely to play a critical role in effecting change and (re)structuring state-society relations in Vietnam. This is because it signals to the political elites how civilians can orchestrate rightful civic actions to oppose unpopular state decisions and policies. The TM also signals the rise of critical

green activism, in which the use of digital tools and social media play a key role. Drawing on the TM, I highlight how strategically-organised non-violent resistance opens up opportunities for civil society groups wishing to stand up to the state. The TM's challenging groups, considered as informal structures (i.e. informal civilian networks), mainly appropriated informal channels for their activism. However, they also used more formal channels. They strategically articulated the interplay of formality and informality, combining online activism (through social media sites) and offline activism (street protests), building legitimacy for its activism through appeals to the Constitution and nesting within the state agenda and discourse. Equally notable about this case is that it is not led by NGOs or any other organised form of civil society. The impetus for its collective actions came from a broad-based coalition of citizens across the societal spectrum.

### **Administrating with Five Stars**

Dario Quattromani and Francesco Capria - University of Roma 3 (Italy)

Words from Some Mayors of the M5S. In 2009 an Italian political movement was created from the digital world, with a top-down method (even though its roots must be found in the previous years): The Five Stars Movement (M5S). Nowadays, the M5S has become one of the main objects of study in the field of Italian politics, with particular attention paid to its uncommon structure and rules, not to mention its post-ideological position in the national political spectrum. Before 2009, this political formation existed with a different composition, based on a former comedian's blog ([beppegrillo.it](http://beppegrillo.it)), and organized through the online platform [meetup.com](http://meetup.com) since July 2005: its initial political activity evolved through validation of civic lists competing for local elections ("Friends of Beppe Grillo"), all of them composed by territorially active citizens. Since its foundation (October 4th, 2009), 41 mayors have been elected all around Italy, equally shared between northern and southern regions: some of them have been either expelled after their election, or have voluntarily left the M5S. Nonetheless, most of the existing studies on this movement have still not investigated the effective activity of the growing number of administrations ruled by the M5S, with an explorative approach. Therefore, this semi-structured interview-based study wants to answer a main



research question: how does the M5S govern? Only some of these Mayors will be part of the sample, those elected in the period 2012-2014: the questions they answer are related to the principles of local government they do refer to, the models of organization/the solutions they do experiment in their cities, the evolution of a city-level ruling class.

### **Ruling the Italian Capital City with Five Stars**

Roberto De Rosa - University of Tuscia (Italy)

Dario Quattromani University of Roma Tre (Italy)

The Five Stars Movement (M5S) has become one of the most prominent Italian parties in less than 8 years. At the time of the 2008 Rome local elections, the civic list "Friends of Beppe Grillo", its political antecedent, reached an unexpected and positive result thus allowing the election of 4 municipal representatives. That was the first experience of participation in the nation's capital elections, but in recent years the Roman M5S has intensively worked and developed. The 2013 and 2016 local election did represent a turning point in its brief story. Our aim is to point out how the M5S has entered in the local institutions and how it has structured its relationship with the administrative machine, what level of knowledge did its representatives reach in the local administration: what kind of issues are they aware of? What have they learned from the situations they were involved in, or what do they think they have learned from and, finally, what did they forget to learn? The theoretical approach must consider the theory of social interaction (symbolic interactionism) of George Herbert Mead (revisited); the theory of recognition (Hegelian) of Axel Honneth (re-adapted). The period of analysis goes from 2013 until spring 2017, and the methods are both quantitative and qualitative analyses. Data derive from the Comunate 2013 and 2016, the Local Elections of 2013 and 2016, the Party Manifesto and the administrative acts between 2013 and 2017, interviews with the 2 Mayor candidates (in both the 2013 and 2016 elections) and some elected representatives in the same period.

## **The Five Star Movement in Turin: From the First Meet-Ups to the Election of the Mayor**

Cecilia Biancalana - University of Turin (Italy)

Piedmont is one of the first regions where the Five Star Movement (FSM) contested elections and elected representatives (regional elections, 2010). Turin hosted the second V-Day (2008) and in the city the first groups linked to Beppe Grillo participated to elections in 2009, even before the official birth of the FSM. Since then, the FSM structured itself and continued to contest elections. In 2011, two FSM's councillors entered the Turin city council and one representative entered in each district council, creating a strong organisation and structuring activists' participation. Eventually, in June 2016 Chiara Appendino was elected as mayor, beating the incumbent mayor Piero Fassino and the centre-left coalition that ruled the city for the last 25 years. So, we can say that the case of the FSM in Turin is an interesting one to analyse for many reasons: early presence and institutionalisation, good and continuum electoral results, developed organisation. Basing on in-depth interviews with both activists and privileged witnesses and on the results of a fieldwork study conducted in Turin during 2016, in this paper I will sketch the history of the FSM in Turin – from the first meet-ups to the election of a FSM's mayor – analysing in particular the changes occurred in three realms: organisation, participation and communication.

## **The 5 Star Movement Local Government in Bagheria**

Marilena Macaluso, - University of Palermo (Italy)

Since 2014 Bagheria (Palermo) has been governed by the mayor Patrio Cinque of 5 Star Movement (M5s). The case study of Bagheria shows how this local government works, focusing on the movement institutionalization and on the main problems faced putting in practice within a representative institution the M5S idea of political reform. Analyzing first the local context, the paper reconstructs the Cosa Nostra infiltrations in past administrations (Bagheria's town council was being dissolved because it had been infiltrated by organised crime) and their current effects. Then starting from electoral campaign it illustrates communication strategy and the frames used by the two main candidates. Furthermore, the article deals with the beginning of the M5s administration of a municipality with serious financial difficulties and an unbalanced budget: a key-point is represented by the turn



in the solid urban waste management. Firstly, the mass media emphasize the young age and the bravery of the mayor, at a later time they progressively focus on “scandals” of Cinque’s administration with a growing attention of the mainstream media. The paper examines how is changed the activist becoming mayor and which are the main elements of discontinuity in Bagheria local government, the changes and the conflicts experienced.

### **The Street, the Market, the Net: dangers or Opportunities for contemporary Social Movements?**

Niccolò Bertuzzi - University Milano-Bicocca (Italy)

Social movements have always been considered as knowledge producers (Casas-Cortes et al., 2008), able to propose new ways of seeing the world (Cox & Flesher Fominaya, 2009) and open frontier lands (Melucci, 1992). Anyway, especially in recent years, post-political frames emerged (Peck, 2012), along with the centrality assumed by individual actors in collective mobilizations (Micheletti, 2003; Pleyers, 2011). These phenomena sometimes weakened the “real” radical instances of some social movements, relegating them within precise boundaries of “plausible criticism”. This is also one of the elements highlighted by Chiappello & Boltanski (1999) in their seminal essay on the “new spirit of capitalism”, whose real effectiveness also consists in the ability to neutralize proposals that could affect its own foundation, through the concession of partial victories to social movements and insisting on individual lifestyles and personal cultural rights (Touraine, 2004). To give empirical base to these aspects, we’ll consider our research experiences, discussing two different mobilizations. On the one hand, the No-Expo Network protest, with the related operations of greenwashing and pinkwashing adopted by Expo2015 organization and its main partners. On the other, the Italian animal rights movement: in this case the insistence on critical consumption activity (aka: veganism) is nowadays considered by numerous groups and individuals as the best tactic advocacy, thus moving frames and actions “from the streets to the shops” (Forno & Ceccarini, 2006) and, according to the recent connective turn in social movement studies (Bennett & Segerberg, 2012), “from the squares to the Web” (Gerbaudo, 2012).

## **Do social Media make Protest possible? The Impact of Facebook on Mobilization of Social Movement “Let’s not go Shopping to Supermarkets**

Jurate Imbrasaite - Vytautas Magnus University (Lithuania)

Social movements are often caused by opportunity structures such as economic and social contexts of a country conditioned by its access to social media. Social movements are created by a set of variables that create an interaction effect. Using interviews and a content analysis of Facebook comments from the four Facebook groups as well as content analysis articles in four newspapers, this paper aims to explain the formation process of social movements by addressing opportunity structures and mobilizing structures. The study draws conclusion that Facebook was the most important vehicle of participants’ mobilization. Users’ protest-related and motivational comments, in addition to their use of other interactive elements, helped to organize massive protests against rise of food prices in supermarkets, even if, the social movement did not achieve its goals because of the lack of mobilizing structures and communication strategies.

## **‘Buy Nothing Day’: something more than a Protest, something less than a Social Movement**

Giorgia Mavica - University of Catania (Italy)

Today consumerism becomes a social disease and culture in which the urge to consume dominates the psychology of citizens. People seems spend their entire lives in the pursuit of earning money and spending money. They are attracted to accumulating goods. Goods that often they don’t actually need. The addiction to possession is becoming more and more an insidious habit. Since November 1992 the protest against “wild consumerism” take the name of Buy Nothing Day. This is in opposition to the Black Friday, a day dedicated to the excessive shopping. “Buy Nothing Day” asks to examine the issue of over-consumption, and invites people to buy nothing and spend time in more useful and creative ways. The campaign started in Canada, and gradually spread in over 60 countries in the world. Participation includes Greenpeace that claims the detrimental effects on the environment of immoderate consumption. Greenpeace’s protests move against fast fashion, bringing out several issues such as making clothes typically requires using a lot of water and chemicals and emitting significant amounts of greenhouse gases, today’s trends are tomorrow’s trash,

etc. (see Fact-Sheet-Timeout-for-fast-fashion.pdf). The paper aims to have a look at the European dimension of the protest, particularly in Italy, and analysing the campaign strategies and their relationship with the critical consumption ethics through the activists' voices.

### **The Public Construction of Anglophone Problem in Cameroon**

Mireille Manga - IRIC, University of Yaounde II (Cameroon)

The resurgence of the "Anglophone problem" in the Cameroonian national and transnational public sphere since November 21, 2016 as shown by the lawyers' strikes teachers and students' demonstrations in the universities of the North-West and South-West regions in Cameroon, the social mobilisations (concrete and virtual), the investment of public and private media, mood movements, ostracism as well as police interventions, let us observe a dynamic production, reception and interpretations of descriptive and interpretative narratives with attempted official solutions that have given the "Anglophone problem" in Cameroon all its individuality and relevance as a "public problem". Moreover, if many works have previously paid attention to the problem by addressing its origins (Konings, 1996, 1997; Konings and Nyamnjoh, 2000, 2003; Eyoh, 1998; Jua, 2003) as well as the various movements around it and the challenges posed by the demands for National Construction and political leadership since 1990 (Konings, 1996), the management strategies (Olinga, 1996) and their opportunistic dimensions (Sindjoun, 1994), there has been no focus on the legitimization process by "the public debate" as well. Being the starting point of this paper, our aim is to address what "Anglophone problem" really is, considering the public investments made in favour of its definition and clarification by a diversity of actors. In fact, the questions are: how can the so-called "Anglophone Problem" be defined? How did it become a public concern? How is it presented, discussed and argued? Which are the steps taken by the Government?

### **Citizenships from abroad. Territorialisation Processes and Citizenship practices in a Mediterranean city**

Elisa Lombardo - University of Catania (Italy)

By means of the foreign immigrant category, the paper attempt to upset the static and apparently clear understanding of the relation between place and citizenship, framing it within a processual perspec

tive, as a product of contextually rooted social relations. The empirical investigation of this relationship requires the adoption of a localized and low-scale outlook, and the city is the appropriate context for this aim. Within the city, the request of inclusion and access to welfare services and the claims of rights are linked to everyday practices and forms of social aggregation and solidarity, which in turn produce new links between subjects and between them and the territory where they live. Territorial and relational perspective of citizenship is connected to the partial de-nationalization of the rights and to the greater importance assumed by local and municipal levels of government in determining the collective well-being; also, it aims to highlight the spatial dimension of social phenomena. Spatial movements, residential concentration of groups, modes of collective organization, socio-territorial capital link inextricably citizenship social practices and places. Adopting a mixed-method approach, integrating quantitative and qualitative methods, as well as socio-territorial maps, we had observed some process of ‘becoming citizens’ in a city context of southern Italy.

### **Resisting neoliberal Discourse on Social and spatial Segregation: Container Ghettos in Poland**

Grzegorz Piotrowski and Katarzyna Czarnota - European Solidarity Centre, Gdańsk (Poland)

Our paper deals with the establishment of the container settlements in Poland and the grassroots response to it: by the inhabitants and by political activists. In particular, we are interested in how local authorities strategically frame housing issues to create social acceptance of diminishing standards of social housing in Poland and the involvement of the mainstream media in the process. We are focusing on strategies as well as tactical efforts to overcome structural and discursive opportunities emerging in the process of the anti-container campaign. Exclusionary discourse about the ‘container ghettos’ becomes a justification for local authorities to use social containers as tool of social and spatial segregation as well as to discipline communal tenants. In response of this process activists had to develop new diagnostic mobilizing frames and put considerable effort into frame alignment processes and forged new alliances with other actors. We analyse the campaign from the perspective of social movement studies, in particular structural theories of collective action. One side effect of such policies is unspoken racism, which we – after E. Balibar – interpret mostly in



class terms aimed at the economically maladjusted. Empirically, our paper draws upon sociological intervention and 40 in-depth interviews with the inhabitants of the container settlements in Poland in 7 different cities conducted in 2008-2012; participant observations of the settlements and of the campaign against them due to personal involvement of one of the authors as well as over 50 photographs taken at the settlements. The analysis is guided by the logic of extended case method.

### **Slowly grows the grass – Bottom-up reconciliation in Euskal Herria** Tommaso Frangioni - Università di Torino (Italy)

This abstract is the first step in re-opening an old field of research, aimed at investigating the role of various grassroots organizations in leading to ETA (Euskadi Ta Askatasuna) permanent cease-fire in 2011, and in shaping the public discourse over violence and reconciliation in the Spanish Basque country. I propose to conceive such organizations as part of a broader “reconciliation social movement”: a coalition of subjects which, with all due differences in approaches and definitions of the social reality, have been collectively building a process of reframing of the Basque conflict, promoting the restauration of both political and civic relations and attempting at sustaining renewed dialogic processes of collective elaboration of a shared memory (Lederach 1997). I frame this conflict with a narrative approach, through a focus on the social meanings of silence. Silence is here understood as a strategy and a rhetorical tool in the hands of the various actors involved in the conflict, but also as a main-frame that allows to sketch various phases of the conflict: from the silencing of Basque identity during the Franco years, to the impossibility to speak against the activity of ETA; from the resignification of silence operated by Gesto por la Paz, whose repertoire was based on silent gatherings on the aftermath of a death, to the talkative attitude of Elkarri/Lokarri, another SMO centered on fostering dialogue between political actors and within the civil society as a whole.



## **#italianisenzacittadinanza. Migrant descendants ‘Associations on the move’ from Internet Streets to public Debate**

Liana M. Daher - University of Catania (Italy)

The #italianisenzacittadinanza (Italian without Citizenship) campaign was recently launched by migrant descendants associations because of the persistence of restrictive regulations of the Italian citizenship law. Protests begun several years ago (2005) when the G2 Network (Rete G2) started to act several styles claiming around the citizenship issue and therefore launched “L’Italia sono anch’io” (I am Italy, too) media campaign for the rights of citizenship, involving several kind of collective subjects on the ground (social movements, trade unions, ant-racism networks, etc.). The reason why they protest is basically linked to the lack of recognition of equal opportunities, and exclusion from social and political participation. They feel Italians like their peers, but they are formally foreigners like their parents; their being different involves the risk of becoming “second-class citizens”, making their situation twice as precarious, and marking them out as different from their Italian peers. The social position of these young people could be seen as a fundamental contradiction/consequence of migration. They are Italians but not Italian citizens, often after they come of age because of bureaucracy reasons. The paper aims to give a broad outline of second generation migrant associations in Italy and the different ways they make network for mobilisation; it also aims to understand their status in society and the sources of the choice of mobilisation as movements. The above protests will be finally analysed as a challenge to the issue of “national citizenship.” Where the citizenship does not represent only a juridical status, but it is deeply related to the construction of the modern welfare systems. In this sense, migrant descendants protests will be seen as the starting point of a ‘process of creation of rights’, where the concept of citizenship is actively built from below, and their collective action could be explain by the concept of associations on the move.

International Sociological Association

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# **PARTICIPANTS' IMPRESSIONS**

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

## **Ngoc Anh Vu (University of Bath)**

The RC48 Conference entitled “From the Street to Public Debate. Social Movements and the Making of Alternatives” organised on 30-31 May 2017 in Catania, gave me a great opportunity to share my research as well as to build up networks with internationally-recognised academics and scholars on social movement studies. In such a beautiful city of Catania coupled with the great hospitality of University of Catania, the conference came as a success and brought about fruitful results. I met several researchers from different corners of the world, whom I have still been in contact with and now some of us finally become friends.

## **Bartosz Śłosarski (Adam Mickiewicz University)**

I had a pleasure to participate the ISA RC48 Mid-Term conference „From the Street to the Public Debate. Social Movements and the Making of Alternatives” at the Department of Education, University of Catania. The conference was dedicated to the role of social movements in the processes of shaping social imaginations and production of alternatives within contemporary societies. During these two days in Sicily, the conference participants had been discussing theoretical, methodological and empirical aspects of social movement and collective action research. The conference started with a panel of top leading scholars in social movements studies, including Donatella Della Porta, Mario Diani, Bert Klandermans and Geoffrey Pleyers. The discussion was focused on recent research (knowledge production within social movements, social psychology of protester) and future directions of social movements sociology (its political implications and emerging theoretical approaches). Later this day, I took part in a session on urban conflicts and contentious activities of local communities across the world and the use of network analysis and strategic action field approach. During the second day of the conference, there was a strong emphasis on social movements outcomes – its political as well as cultural and consumer impact. I was an active participant in the methodological session. The RC48 Mid-Term conference had a relevant impact on my research project. I received feedback from other social movements scholars on further methodological and theoretical decisions. Participation in this two-day conference was an opportunity for networking among international environment of social movements

scholar, with the notable involvement of Italian researchers, and being part of planning future activities of ISA Research Committee 48.

**Eliza Coroama (University Paris VII Diderot / University of Bucharest)**

I'm a PhD student in sociology and visual studies at the University Paris VII Diderot and at the Excellence Centre in Image Study, University of Bucharest respectively. My doctoral research aims to conduct an interdisciplinary investigation into activism, protest and visual culture in Romania, at the intersection of social movement studies and visual analysis. I am very glad I could be part of the conference "From 'the Street' to Public Debate. Social Movements and the Making of Alternatives", organized by ISA RC48 in Catania, as it gave me the opportunity to get to know the work of scholars at different stages in their career studying social movements in East Central Europe as well as in Western contexts or Latin America. The conference covered a wide variety of social movements, from urban and anti-consumerist movements to social justice battles and more. Theoretical and methodological possibilities and issues in the study on social movements were also an important aspect that the conference covered with insightful points. The conference allowed me to present my work and receive useful feedback and good guidance for my research from other conference participants.

**Grzegorz Piotrowski (European Solidarity Centre)**

In general, what distinguished Catania's RC48 conference from others were three things. First was the dominance of young scientists who added a lot of new energy to the event. Second, a lot of research that was presented was socially involved, which resulted in interesting discussions on the relationship between researchers and activists. Third, there were many presentations from the so-called 'periphery', covering non-Western countries. It was good to simply learn something about countries that you usually do not read much about. And of course it was Catania in May – that's hard to beat!

## **Katarzyna Czarnota (Adam Mickiewicz University)**

I'm a PhD candidate at Adam Mickiewicz University in Poznan, and a social and political activist, associated with Poznan's Anarchist Federation and Squat Rozbrat, as well as one of the founders and coordinators of Greater Poland Tenants Association. During Catania's conference, together with Grzegorz Piotrowski, I was presenting the results of my research concerning the phenomenon of spatial segregation in the context of social container settlements in Poland. In hindsight, the most valuable thing for me was that one of the main ideas of the conference was to introduce the issue of current conflicts and social problems to the academic debate. In the academic world it is a value in itself.

### **Some thoughts from the local organisers**

The Department of Education (<http://www.disfor.unict.it/en>) of the University of Catania was very proud to host the ISA RC48 Mid-term Conference "From 'the Street' to Public Debate. Social Movements and the Making of Alternatives." The internal structure of the Department, composed by different scientific areas (Sociology, Pedagogy, Psychology, History and Philosophy) allows bringing different but complementary expertise to the Conference program, and contributing to stress peculiar meanings. It was a great opportunity of interdisciplinary scientific and cultural exchange that increase the active role of the Department in the International and European academic and social debate. The Collective Action Lab of the Department of Education strongly promoted the event because its aims of investigating social movements and collective behaviours, as well as every different forms of collective action (protests, associations, fashion, etc.). The Laboratory was the principal supporter of the event along with the sociological area of the Department, which the local organisers belong to.

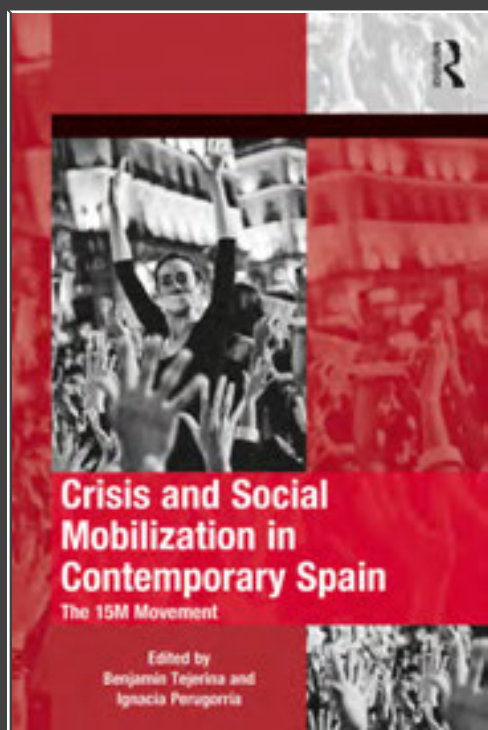
We enjoyed so much the Conference and the possibility to meet social movements scholars coming from different part of the world. The debate was fruitful and the sporadic multidisciplinary approach became added value to the event. We also enjoyed so much leisure time, giving to the participants the chance to start intellectual, academic and scholarly exchanges between researchers of social movements, social change and collective action. Hope our colleagues also



enjoyed Sicilian meals and beautiful surrounds. Catania is a South-Italy city on the east coast of Sicily facing the Ionian Sea, and has a rich culture and history, hosting many museums, restaurants, churches, parks and theatres. Hope our foreign colleagues have had time to take touristic advantage of their stay, and visit Catania and surrounds.

Our aim, as local organisers, was to support RC48 Members participating in the Conference and offer them pleasant moments both scientifically and culturally.

Liana, Augusto, Anna Maria & Giorgia



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Social Movements, Collective Action and  
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# GRASSROOTS

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