



University of Crete Research Center

UCRC

for the Humanities, the Social & Education Sciences

Social Movements Workshop

in honor of
Donatella della
Porta



24th of September 2021

09.30 - 16.40 Crete time

Live streaming: <https://youtu.be/zkXyhLEgQmk>

A hybrid event with limited in person participation.

Auditorium D7, University Campus, Gallos, Rethymno

Donatella della Porta

is professor of political science, dean of the Faculty of Political and Social Sciences and Director of the PhD program in Political Science and Sociology at the Scuola Normale Superiore in Florence, where she also leads the Center on Social Movement Studies (Cosmos).

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. 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, Goteborg, Jyvaskyla and the University of Peloponnese.

She is the author or editor of 90 books, 150 journal articles and 150 contributions in edited volumes. Among her very recent publications are: *Legacies and Memories in Movements* (Oxford University Press, 2018); *Sessantotto. Passato e presente dell'anno ribelle* (Fertrinelli, 2018); *Contentious moves* (Palgrave 2017), *Global Diffusion of Protest* (Amsterdam University Press, 2017), *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.



09.30 - 11.30 **Opening Greetings**

Georgios Kossioris, Professor, Department of Mathematics and Applied Mathematics, Deputy Rector of Academic Affairs, Lifelong Learning, International Relations & Outlook

Sidney Tarrow, Maxwell Upson Emeritus Professor, Cornell University

Mario Diani, Professor, Director, Department of Sociology and Social Research, University of Trento

Charalambos Demetriou, Associate Professor, Department of Sociology, Lund University

Guya Accornero, Assistant Professor in Political Science at the Lisbon University Institute (ISCTE-IUL), Integrated Researcher at the Centre for Research and Studies in Sociology (CIES-IUL)

Kostis Kornetis, Profesor Ayudante Doctor, Department of Contemporary History, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid

Introduction to the Workshop:

Maria Kousis, Director of UCRC, Professor, Department of Sociology, University of Crete, *"Donatella della Porta: a view from Crete"*

Talk by

Donatella della Porta

"Social movements in an emergency critical juncture: contentious politics in pandemic times"

Coffee Break

Morning Session

Chair: **Maria Kousis**, Director of UCRC, Professor, Department of Sociology, University of Crete

12.00 - 12.35 **Leonidas Oikonomakis**, Adjunct Lecturer, Department of Sociology, University of Crete, affiliated with the Center on Social Movement Studies (COSMOS)

"Neither by all anthropologists, nor by anthropologists only: Ethnography in the study of social movements"

Hara Kouki, elected Assistant Professor, Department of Sociology, University of Crete

"Gender and anti-austerity mobilizations in Greece"

Discussant: **Karolos Kavoulakos**, tenured Assistant Professor, Department of Political Science, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, Coordinator of Social Movement & Social and Solidarity Economy Sections, Hellenic Open University

- 12.35 – 13.20 **Daniela Chironi**, Ph.D, Post-doctoral Researcher (Scuola Normale Superiore (SNS)), member of the 'Centre on Social Movement Studies' (COSMOS) and **Markos Vogiatzoglou**, Ph.D, Postdoctoral Researcher (University of the Aegean) *"Resisting the backlash in Italy and Greece: A framework for analysis"*
- Haris Malamidis**, Post-doctoral researcher, Department of Sociology, University of Crete. Research Fellow, Hellenic Foundation for European & Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP)
"Social movements and the commons: A framework for understanding collective action in crisis-ridden Southern Europe"
- Martin Portos**, MSc (Oxon.) MRes PhD (EUI), CONEX-Plus Marie Curie Fellow, Department of Social Sciences, Universidad Carlos III de Madrid
"Grievances and Public Protests. Political Mobilisation in Spain in the Age of Austerity"
- Discussant: **Nikos Serntedakis**, Member of the Social Analysis and Applied Social Research Laboratory, Associate Professor in Sociology of Collective Action and Social Movements, Department of Sociology, University of Crete

Open Discussion

Lunch Break

Evening Session

Chair: **Nikos Serntedakis**, Member of the Social Analysis and Applied Social Research Laboratory, Associate Professor in Sociology of Collective Action and Social Movements, Department of Sociology, University of Crete

- 15.30 – 16.05 **Georgia Mavrodi**, Ph.D, Researcher (Georg-August-Universität Göttingen) *"Differential Europeanisation: Greek migration policies & the impact of "Europe""*
- Konstantinos Eleftheriadis**, Professeur de science politique à Boston University-Paris et à University of London-Institute in Paris (ULIP)
"Bringing queer into social movement studies"
- Discussant: **Alexandra Zavos**, Assistant Professor in Sociology of Gender, Department of Sociology, University of Crete

- 16.05 – 16.40 **Kostas Kanellopoulos**, (Ph.D), Principal Investigator of the ELIDEK project *"EUROPOLITY, The politicization of European integration in the Greek public discourse, 1974-2019"*, Department of Sociology, UoC & UCRC and **Angelos Loukakis** (Ph.D.), research associate of the project EUROPOLITY, Department of Sociology, UoC & UCRC
"The role of social movements in the politicization of EU integration in Greece, 1974-2019"

Stella Christou, PhD candidate (Scuola Normale Superiore), member of the Center of Social Movement Studies (COSMOS)

"Health Social Movements in Europe"

Discussant: **Serafim Seferiadis**, Associate Professor, Department of Political Science and History, Panteion University, Director of Laboratory of Contentious Politics

Abstracts

Leonidas Oikonomakis

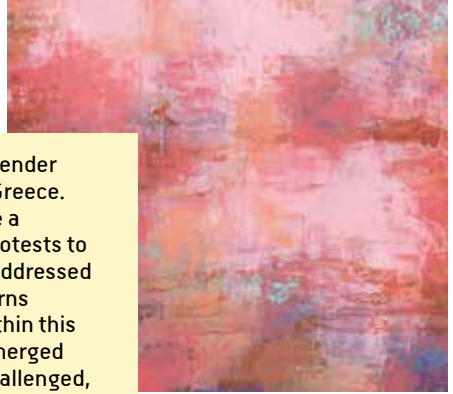
"Neither by all anthropologists, nor by anthropologists only: Ethnography in the study of social movements"

Even though ethnographic research methods are gradually re-gaining ground in social research and have always been prominent in social anthropology and cultural sociology, when it comes to political science (and political anthropology too) things are a bit more complicated. The reason, in very general terms, is that political issues are considered "a hot potato" for political ethnographers and anthropologists, because they place the researcher in a "minefield" of ethical, moral, political, and methodological dilemmas and challenges. When it comes to social movement research, and even more so when it comes to "revolutionary social movement" research, things are even more complicated and the "minefield" even more difficult to navigate: to the ethical and political dilemmas, one should add issues of clandestinity, factional conflicts, splits, ideological debates, and of course, the discipline's own obsession with "objectivity" and "balance." In such uncharted waters, and based on my own ethnographic research experience on social and revolutionary movements in Chiapas, Mexico, el Chapare, Bolivia, Greece, and the Ecuadorian Amazonia, I will try to explore the dilemmas and challenges faced by the researcher of social and revolutionary movements, and propose a way-forward: critically informed subjectivity.



Hara Kouki

"Gender and anti-austerity mobilizations in Greece"



This presentation explores the role of gender in the anti-austerity mobilizations in Greece. Building on extensive fieldwork, we trace a gradual shift from claim-based, street protests to decentralized solidarity initiatives that addressed social reproduction needs in what concerns food, health, education, and housing. Within this context, social reproductive practices emerged and traditional divisions of labor were challenged, along with the spatialities and temporalities of movement organizing; at the same time, this broad solidarity infrastructure was built on the basis of intersectional coalitions and care. Despite the lack of explicitly articulated feminist values and principles, this intervention argues that social movements during the last decade have developed situated and implicit modes of feminist solidarity that, in a world overwhelmed by multiple crises of care, deserve further attention.

Daniela Chironi, Markos Vogiatzoglou

"Resisting the backlash in Italy and Greece: A framework for analysis"

In the last few years, the concept of "backlash politics" has emerged, in an effort to understand political actions of a variety of actors, ranging from grassroots movements to governments. Alter and Zörn have described backlash politics as a sub-category of contentious politics and have defined it as "a particular form of political contestation with a retrograde objective as well as extraordinary goals or tactics that has reached the threshold level of entering public discourse" (2020, 576). According to these authors, backlash politics includes therefore three necessary elements: a retrograde objective of returning to a prior social condition; extraordinary goals and tactics that challenge dominant scripts; the ability of entering and permeating the mainstream public discourse. Though not necessarily linked to a specific ideological view, such a conceptualisation of backlash politics can contribute to analyse moments in which right-wing collective actors (be they social movements, political parties, or even governments) become predominant. More specifically, the concept of backlash politics seems to apply to situations

in which radical right actors carrying backwards looking visions and pursuing extraordinary goals are able to overcome the threshold for accessing public debates (della Porta 2020).

In our paper, we focus on resistances to contemporary backlash government actions in Greece and Italy. With respect to Italy, we refer to the electoral rise of the Lega under the leadership of Matteo Salvini from 2013 onwards; up to the point of becoming the main partner in the short-lived coalition government lead by the Five Star Movement (from June 2018 to September 2019). After the government formed by the Five Star Movement and the Democratic Party collapsed in February 2021, the Lega is again a governing partner in the newly born Grand Coalition government headed by the ex-president of the European Central Bank Mario Draghi. In this period, the Lega conservative discourse—based on the defence of traditional values, a 'law and order' conception of the State, and a nativist ideology resulting in xenophobic positions—has strongly influenced the national culture and policies. When it comes to Greece, we examine the ways in which the current Greek government utilized the pandemic as an opportunity, in order to breach its bonds with the "metapolitefsi" institutional legacy (the case of Koufontinas hunger strike), pass conservative legislations aiming to crush the backbone of mobilization strongholds (e.g. universities, schools, trade unions), and hinder protest (anti-protest law).

These actions were met with significant resistance from grassroots movements. As Meyer and Tarrow (2019) underlined for the anti-Trump opposition movements in the United States, backlash politics tends to be contested in various ways by different collective actors. In Italy, the Non Una Di Meno (Not One less)

feminist movement, the environmentalist movements (Fridays for Future, but also local movements), and anti-racist and antifascist groups set the tone. Whilst in Greece, a wave of mobilizations is currently sweeping the country, which includes protests by University students and academics, prisoners' rights support groups, as well as spontaneous mass mobilizations against police violence.

The proposed article has both an explorative and a theoretical aim. Based on media accounts of contemporary protests, we will review the forms of resistance to backlash politics that have emerged in Italy and Greece, singling out similarity and differences between the two cases. Second, we will provide a frame for analysis that allows for a better understanding of contemporary mobilizations directly related to government-level backlash politics. Is there a common strand in the movements' efforts to counter their opponents' dominance in the public discourse sphere? And how do these efforts result in concrete, street-level mobilization activities?

References:

Alter K. J., Zórn M. Z. (2020), Conceptualising backlash politics: Introduction to a special issue on backlash politics in comparison, *The British Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 22(4): 563-584.

della Porta D. (2020), Conceptualising backlash movements: A (patch-worked) perspective from social movement studies, *The British Journal of International Relations*, Vol. 22(4): 585-597.

Meyer D., Tarrow S. (2019). *The Resistance: The Dawn of the Anti-Trump Opposition Movement*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.



Haris Malamidis

"From global justice movement to anti-austerity mobilizations: a personal take"

Both social movement research and the literature on the commons provide rich accounts of the anti-austerity mobilizations and uprisings in southern Europe. Movement studies offer important insights regarding the context of mobilization and collective claim making. The commons literature emphasizes bottom-up practices of shared ownership, self-management, and social co-production that move beyond institutional solutions. Although both literatures highlight similar phenomena, they remain relatively unconnected. Their distance precludes a full grasp of the implications regarding the dynamic and abundant to-and-fro movement between protest-based politics and everyday forms of collective action in this region, which is heavily affected by the crisis' austerity management. Drawing on the South European context, this presentation rethinks key concepts addressed in both literatures (social movements-commons, activists-commoners, mobilization-commoning) and highlights how a conceptual synthesis can sharpen and (re)politicize the theorization of contemporary collective action in the everyday.

Martín Portos

"Grievances and Public Protests. Political Mobilisation in Spain in the Age of Austerity"

This presentation will shed light on the role that grievances play for mobilisation dynamics in a context of material deprivation. Why do people protest? To what extent do grievances account for the varying size of protest events over time? Covering different levels of analysis, the author argues that effects of socioeconomic aspects (both objective-material deprivation and subjective-attitudinal grievances) are mediated by political attitudes, especially political dissatisfaction. This framework accounts for the dynamics, trajectory and timing of the cycle of contention that unfolded in Spain in the shadow of the Great Recession, contributing not only to the field of social movement studies but to our broader understanding of European politics, political sociology, political economy and economic sociology.



Georgia Mavrodi

"Differential Europeanisation: Greek migration policies & the impact of "Europe""

Until well into the 2000s, Greece used to be considered a new country of immigration at the south-eastern flank of Europe and an immigration policy "importer" from the European Union. This was a frequent argument in Greek public immigration discourse but it also echoed in the international scholarly debates on immigration policies. Using alternative hypotheses within the framework of institutional theories of Europeanisation, I intended to examine the extent and the mechanisms of a possible impact of Greek membership in the EU on the country's immigration and asylum policies across its key domestic institutions. My analysis across time and Greek domestic institutions showed that, far from being solely an "importer" of immigration policy developments elsewhere in Europe, Greek immigration and asylum policies displayed considerable degrees of Europeanisation when it came to previously underdeveloped policy areas such as the rights of immigrants and asylum seekers. However, consecutive policy initiatives in the area of border controls and unauthorized immigration were the result of well-established domestic institutions, thus counting for a differential impact of EU-membership.

Dr Konstantinos Eleftheriadis

"Bringing queer into social movement studies"

Back in 2010, a project on transnational queer activism arrives on Donatella della Porta's office at the European University Institute. How easy was to give the chance to a queer scholar to elaborate his research agenda in a milieu where androcentric conceptions of politics were dominating the field? In this presentation, I will insist on the perceptions of minorities scholars within a sociological field that places more emphasis and legitimizes more traditional heteronormative and male-centered approaches on politics and contention.

**Dr Kostas Kanellopoulos,
Dr Angelos Loukakis**

"The role of social movements in the politicization of EU integration in Greece, 1974-2019"

Drawing on the literature on the 'integration-demarcation' cleavage that presents globalization and denationalization as a major force that transforms the basis for political competition in Europe we focus on the politicization of European integration in Greece and its implications in its political system. EU politicization points to crucial changes in patterns of support and/or opposition in European integration. Aiming to distinguish and compare the several styles of political debates on European unification processes in a national case study, we analyze these patterns of support and opposition in a long-term perspective. The political debate on European integration was highly conflictual during the country's accession to the EEC in the 1970s, then the style of the debate became more neutral and/or consensual once membership became routinized to become more conflictual again in more recent years. In this paper we examine in particular the role of social movements in Greece regarding EU integration as this role is manifested in political and social protests throughout the 1974-2019 period. The data stems from newspaper reporting and is part of a 3-year research project (<https://europolity.soc.uoc.gr/index.php/en/>) funded by the Hellenic Foundation for Research & Innovation (HFRI).

Stella Christou

"Health Social Movements in Europe"

The intersections of medical history and sociology, health policy and social movement studies have become the focus of scholarly attention in the recent years, culminating in insightful and novel contributions concerning health movements in the US. Health movements have recently been conceptualized as a distinct category of social movements, defined as 'collective campaigns to bring about change in medical and public health policy, beliefs, research, and practice (Taylor and Zald, 2013). In my presentation, I shall propose a framework for the study of European health movements, starting from the points of departure from the American experience and through the delineation of the central features of health policy and politics and the institutional characteristics of healthcare systems. This framework will be used to organize a brief historical overview of the emergence and evolution of collective struggles in the name of health in Europe to date.

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