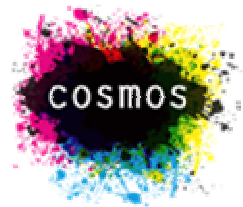

*Social Movements in the European Crisis.
Still Time for another Europe?*

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centre on
social movement
studies

European elections: cross nationally heterogeneous

- Decline of mainstream parties:
 - the EPP, survival by cynicism
 - The socialist family: the long shadow of the Third way
 - Trends for progressive forces
 - The maintenance of the Left
 - The growth of the Greens
 - The radical right as still strong but fragmented and (potentially) isolated
-

Beyond the European elections: a backlash to the backlash?

- Some victories on the progressive side: Turkey, Spain, Slovakia...
 - Some defeats on the regressive side: Salvini in Italy, Johnson in the UK
 - Not the end of the radical right, but positive lessons to learn (among others, on needs for coalition)
-

Progressive social movements

- Punctuated massive mobilizations: the new feminist wave, the Friday for Future, the precarious workers
 - Long wave of democratic and social innovations
 - With the reactivation of all political cleavages
-

City versus countryside?



Center-periphery cleavage?



U.S. News

Religion versus laïcité cleavage?

Non una di meno



The class cleavage?



What are the social movements cases of?

- ❑ Grievance theories (T. Gurr: relative deprivation)
 - ❑ Resource mobilization: weak movement of the crisis (Kerbo)
 - ❑ Countermovements: in Polanyi's pendulum free market—social protection
 - ❑ Anti-systemic movements (Silver: where capitalism goes, conflicts follows)
-

**Late
Neoliberalism**

**Crisis of
responsibility**

**Weakening
of
traditional
identity in
fluid
societies**

**Move
ment**

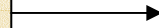
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	<i>Regressive (counter) Movements</i>	<i>Progressive movements</i>
<i>Social/class basis</i>	The rich plus....?	The Precariat?
<i>Norms/identity</i>	The ethnos?	The citizens?
<i>Organization</i>	Plebiscitarian?	direct?
<i>n</i>		

According to SMSs

- growing number of TSMOs
- Growing transnational protests
- Development of cosmopolitan frames
- Strong Criticisms of some IOs policy and politics
- Demands of more global politics



Transnational
contention

The social movement studies agenda	Applying it to EU Studies: step 1. lumping	Applying it to EU Studies: step 2. splitting
Political opportunities	EU-POS:formally closed, informally open	multilevel opportunities and challenges
Social movements organizations	EU-SMOs	Multiple Networks/forums
Framing	EU-framing adaptation (depoliticization, moderation)	European identities: social, inclusive and from below
Repertoires	EU-Lobbying (especially the Commission)	Multiform campaigns, including protest in the street

EU Counter-summits and ESFs as eventful protests: mechanisms

- **Relational:**
construction of trust and nets in long-lasting preparation,
- **Cognitive:** arenas for the exchange of knowledge and experiences
- **Affective:** intense interactions around contested spaces



The social movement studies agenda	Perspectives: Challenges	Perspective: opportunities
Attribution of opportunities	Increasingly neoliberal EU	Need for upwards scale shift
Mobilization of resources	Decertification of SMOs, fragmentation	Layering of SMOs, diversity as enrichment
Framing	Defensive Sovereignty	rooted cosmopolitanism/ beyond EUrope
Transformative action	Weak coordinatiom	in the street In the square In the institutions

A (right-wing) backlash?

- assumption of a cultural dimension of struggles
 - Assumption of emotional motivation
 - Assumption of a pendulum moving to the Right
-

A populist moment (C. Mouffe)

- We are currently witnessing in Western Europe a “populist moment” that signals the crisis of neoliberal hegemony.
 - This strategy acknowledges that democratic discourse plays a crucial role in the political imaginary of our societies.
 - through the construction of a collective will, mobilizing common affects in defence of equality and social justice, it will be possible to combat the xenophobic policies promoted by right-wing populism.
 - In redrawing political frontiers, this “populist moment” points to a “return of the political” after years of postpolitics.
-

A gramscian interregnum?

- “The crisis consists precisely in the fact that the old is dying and the new cannot be born; in this interregnum a great variety of morbid symptoms appear.” (Antonio Gramsci Prison Notebooks)



Intense time as

- Unexpected
 - Accelerated
 - Understructured
 - Contingent
 - Agentic
 - Intensified relations
-