



University of Crete Research Center

**UCRC**

for the Humanities, the Social & Education Sciences

# Social Movements Workshop

in honor of  
**Donatella della  
Porta**



**24<sup>th</sup>** of September 2021

09.30 - 16.40 Crete time

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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.





[Programme and Abstracts / Πρόγραμμα και Περιλήψεις Ομιλιών](#)

## Greetings and Tributes to Donatella della Porta

**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

**Nikos Papadakis**, Professor at the Department of Political Science of the University of Crete, Deputy Director of the UCRC

**Vassilis Arapoglou**, Associate professor in social inequalities and social exclusion at the department of sociology of the University of Crete, Regular Member of UCRC's board, Representative of the School of Social Sciences

**Sidney Tarrow**, Maxwell Upson Emeritus Professor, Cornell University

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

**Chares 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

**Maria Kousis**

**Director of UCRC, Professor at the Department of Sociology, University of Crete**

Welcome everyone to our Social Movements Workshop in honor of Donatella della Porta. We are very happy to see everyone who has joined us here and on line and we will start with greetings.

**Georgios Kossioris**

**Professor at the Department of Mathematics and Applied Mathematics, Vice-Rector of Academic Affairs, Lifelong Learning, International Relations & Outlook.**

Good Morning to everyone. We are very happy to have Professor Donatella della Porta, a great sociologist and political scientist, a teacher and an activist, who devoted her life to the service of humanity and democratic values. We are living in a period of great uncertainty and changes, when social movements will play a crucial role facing the many problems of today such as climate crisis, pandemics, immigration, economic nationalism, digital supremacy, and so many others. We are very lucky and privileged to host such a Workshop in Crete, today, in honor of Professor Donatella della Porta.

On behalf of the University of Crete, I would like to welcome you all to this important meeting.

Have a nice and productive workshop.

Thank you very much.

**Nikos Papadakis**

**Professor at the Department of Political Science of the University of Crete. Deputy Director of the UCRC**

Dear Distinguished Prof. Donatella della Porta,

Dear Vice- Rector of the University of Crete

Dear Director of the UCRC

Dear guests, speakers, colleagues and participants

Buongiorno a tutti.

Cara Professoressa della Porta benvenuta al' Universita di Creta.

Indeed, it's a true honor and a pleasure to have among us the Distinguished Professor Donatella della Porta. We are all familiar with her innovative and internationally influential research. In fact, the vast majority of active researchers and scholars in the fields of political science, political sociology, sociology, social anthropology and broadly social sciences have been affected, at a different extent, by Prof. della Porta's work, including her emblematic books such as the *Late Neoliberalism and its Discontents*, *Social Movements in Times of Austerity*, *Can Democracy be Saved?* and many others. Allow me, at this point, to congratulate the Director of the UCRC, Professor Maria Kousis for her great initiative to organize this, extremely interesting, Workshop, in honor of Prof. Donatella della Porta.

Within an era of back-to-back crises, which gradually result in the expansion and broadening of socio-economic inequalities, precarity and social vulnerability (ending in the ongoing formation of the "hardened self" -in Jennifer Silva's terms- or even of the Homo Precarious) as well as in severe transformations in society, economy and politics (including the rising of radical right, anti-immigration, anti-European political movements and parties, all across Europe), the

interdisciplinary focus in *social movements*, as well as on intense political conflicts and subsequently *contentious politics* is of vital importance.

As Professor della Porta points out in her article entitled “Protests as Critical Junctures”, “*recent times have been defined as momentous: great transformation, great recession as well as great regression have been frequently used short-cut terms to characterize the period following the financial breakdown of 2008*”. Living in momentous and precarious times, such a Workshop truly reflects a political and scientific necessity, while it’s fully in line with Professor della Porta’s major contribution in the field of social movements study and analysis.

Dear Professor della Porta, welcome at the UCRC. We are, all, truly grateful.

Grazie mille per tutto.

**Vassilis Arapoglou**

**Associate professor in social inequalities and social exclusion at the Department of Sociology of the University of Crete, Regular Member of UCRC’s board, Representative of the School of Social Sciences**

Good morning. It's a pity I can't join you in Crete today. As representative of the School of the Social Sciences at the board of the UCRC, I am delighted to welcome Professor della Porta in the Center. It is indeed a great honor that she is here with us today and that she accepted our invitation.

I'm confident that her presence will be a source of inspiration for the participants of this workshop and our research community, as her extended and significant work on social movements and democratization processes across the world: Europe, the Middle East Asia and Latin America, has been an inspiration for many scholars in the field and distinguished colleagues will speak about her contribution in detail.

So, I will not get into details about her significant work, for which she has received many honors and prizes. As our workshop is open to the wider community of the Humanities and the Social Sciences today, let me just highlight two aspects I find of particular significance.

The first is her methodological contribution, enhancing our capacity to communicate and to collaborate across the fields of the Social Sciences and to undertake cross-national and comparative research.

I think the organizers of the workshop have paid respect to this necessity for communicating research between countries and fields. The opening papers and other works as well, are very interesting in that direction today.

Second, as also the previous colleagues have highlighted, it's the importance that she is ascribing to knowledge production within social movements and how important that is for practices that are locally immersed and circulate to provide the movements and their supporters the basis for consolidating change. And how, also, this is important to spread knowledge to sustain this change. Especially today, when, as her recent work highlights, oppression escalates. And we can see that, in two recent books and edited volumes, the *Contentious Migrant Solidarity: Shrinking Spaces and Civil Society Contestation* and also in the book about *Student Movements in Late Neoliberalism*, an issue of great concern for all in our academic community, interested in how we can fight back and, in certain cases, reshape neo-liberal reforms.

So, I do hope that the presentations and discussions today will inspire colleagues, younger and older ones, and will bring new ideas to the study of social movements and critical inquiry, more broadly.

I wish to thank, also, Maria Kousis and all the participants involved in the organization of this event in our Center.

I'm confident you'll have a fruitful discussion and thank you for sharing your work today with us.

**Sidney Tarrow**

**Maxwell Upson Emeritus Professor, Cornell University**

It's a great pleasure to be here, even at such a great distance, to honor my dear friend Donatella della Porta. I have only a few personal things to say that I hope will mean something to her and hopefully mean something to the friends and colleagues assembled in Crete.

I have known Donatella probably longer than anyone on this island! It is a pleasure to join – even if only virtually – in honouring her achievements and her contributions in transforming social movement studies in Europe and elsewhere, but also to recognize her humanity and her skill as a teacher and a colleague.

We first met when Donatella had recently returned from a brief flirtation with Parisian social movement theory; she recovered from that. I then knew her as a collaborator of the ferocious Bolognese, Gianfranco Pasquino, an experience from which she also recovered. I then encountered her as a graduate student at the EUI in the early 1980s, where she worked under the wing of Philippe Schmitter, and I served on her PhD committee. We continued our collaboration when she became a faculty member at the University of Florence, and again when she moved back to the EUI as a faculty member, where she grew close to the late Alessandro Pizzorno, before moving from San Domenico to the Scuola Normale Superiore where she played second fiddle to no man.

Among the most remarkable of Donatella's achievements was forging close relationships with such a diverse spectrum of senior male scholars – none of them easy and some of them difficult. You would not have guessed from her current stature that an Italian colleague, who will remain nameless, once qualified her in my hearing as *una ragazzina* – “a little girl!” She is still physically small, but her intellectual and human stature have never ceased to grow.

Donatella's formation has been both broad and focused. A graduate of the University of Catania, she received a Diplôme d'Études Approfondies at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales and a Ph.D in Political and Social Sciences at the EUI. In 1990 she received a Career Development Award from the Guggenheim Foundation; in 1997 a Stipendium from the Alexander von Humboldt Stiftung in Berlin. She has been the recipient of six (count them!) honorary degrees and awards and has been the convener of 28 international conferences and panels.

Donatella is not only a consummate scholar, as the next few days will show; she is also an inexhaustible organizer of research and teaching. For four years, she directed the DEMOS project (Democracy in Europe and the Mobilisation of Society), financed by the European Commission and was national coordinator for three E.C. sponsored research programs. She directed a project of comparative research on the control of public mass demonstrations in Europe, one on the police in Italy, and another on democracy and social movements. She also served as co-editor founding

the *European Political Science Review* and has served as a member of the boards of several scientific journals, publishing houses and institutions in Italy, Europe in general and the United States. In the three decades since she received her PhD, Donatella has worked on social movements, political violence, terrorism, corruption, policing, and policies of public order, methodology and research design, and democratization.

She is frighteningly productive. By my count, she is the author or co-author of 90 books, 152 peer-reviewed articles and 150 book chapters. Her scientific influence is extraordinary. As one measure, when I “googled” her name, I found that she had a score of 3,500,000 “hits.”

Most important for our field and its future, Donatella has established herself early as a major mentor of graduate students. At last count she had supervised 78 completed PhD dissertations -- not counting the 27 that she currently supervises. Having served on two of her students’ PhD committees with her, I can testify to the care with which she mentors her students and their deep gratitude for the impact she has had on their careers.

Finally, I should add a personal note that may not be easy here in South Europe. I do not know how many women scholars from the region have risen to Donatella’s current level of distinction, but I cannot think of many. Coming from an island institution, and having risen through an academic system that is not known for its sensitivity to gender equality, she stands almost alone, as I witnessed in her determination when she was awarded the ECPR’s distinguished Mattei Dogan prize, in competition with more senior scholars.

I therefore would not have the courage to stand in her way, but it has been my privilege to stand beside her, beginning from when she was a junior scholar to today, when she is at the pinnacle of her field. She is a superior intellect, a superior scholar, a superior teacher and mentor, and a wonderful human being.

Congratulations Donatella, I am sorry that I can’t be with you,

Con un abbraccio forte!

**Mario Diani**

**Professor, Director, Department of Sociology and Social Research, University of Trento**

Καλημέρα! Είμαι πολύ χαρούμενος γιατί μπορώ να μιλήσω στους φίλους μου στο Πανεπιστήμιο Κρήτης για το έργο της αγαπημένης μου φίλης Donatella della Porta.

And now back to English, I think it is better. Many thanks for this invitation; as I tried to say in Greek, I am very happy for this opportunity to be with you, if not in presence, at least from a distance, to talk about Donatella della Porta.

Donatella della Porta needs no introduction from me, or from anybody else. She is simply one of the best-known and most prolific social scientists currently on the scene and she will be so for a very long time. For those who are familiar with the European University Institute, there was a joke about the library of the institute, that of the two shelves devoted to books with the laws of the different EU countries, one shelf was for Italian legislation, the other, for the laws from all remaining EU member states.

We could say the same for the books authored by the professors of the Institute: one shelf for Donatella, one for all the others. The quality of these books is a telling testament to her achievements and, as I said, I cannot really add anything to what you already know very well. Of course, I have known Donatella for a very long time. Our friendship goes back 35 years, to 1986, when we were both PhD students. I remember we met in Milan in the Spring, when she gave a talk at the Faculty of Political Science. And then of course we met again later that year at the famous conference at the Free University of Amsterdam, organized by Bert Klandermans, Hanspeter Kriesi and Sidney Tarrow, who is also commenting about Donatella in this meeting. In many ways our friendship has gone along with the development of the field, but I will not attempt at all to make a parallel between these two developments. One, we are not the field, although for sure, we have given some contribution. We also tried, repeatedly, to offer some assessments of the field as a whole, with our Social Movements book and also with the Oxford Handbook of Social Movements which came out in 2015. There have been several opportunities to discuss that, and hopefully there will be more.

But that's not what I think should be addressed in this particular meeting. What I'm going to say instead is first a personal tribute, a short one. And then, perhaps a slightly longer one, a few pieces of advice on how to use Donatella's scholarship in the most profitable way. In a nutshell, it's been a delight to meet Donatella, to become friends and to work with her. Apart from the more scientific aspects of the story, I would like to point at two elements: one of the many amazing things about Donatella is her incredible control of time. Any time I visited Florence, she has always found time out of what is supposed to be an incredibly busy schedule, time for friendship, for chatting, for dinners, for everything that comes along when a friend visits. And I don't think it was because of me in particular. As far as I understand, this happens all the time, with all the people who visit her. I find this a very endearing feature on her and visiting Florence is always an occasion that I cherish.

The other great thing about knowing Donatella and working with Donatella is the sheer fact, the sheer volume of the projects in which she is involved. That means basically that you can be late without really worrying. I've been dramatically late in our joint cooperation around the Social Movements book but she never complained – and I always felt comforted and relaxed because I knew that she had certainly something else to write. That, I suspect, put not only me, but also her other co-authors in a very comfortable situation.

Now to the most scientific part. The very basic advice in order to make the most of working with Donatella is: don't try to imitate her, don't try to compete with her, don't try to follow her in terms of productivity; you will inevitably end up extremely frustrated and nursing doubts about your own ability as scholars. Instead, take different paths. I am talking to people being PhD students, so they might have totally different perspectives but from the outside, my impression is, one of the things that I like about Donatella is her open-mindedness. Even the range of dissertations she has supervised - ranging from the massively quantitative to the heavily qualitative - speaks to that.

Of course, all of these works have been affected by her perspective, her own approach. Personally I am skeptical about placing scholars in specific boxes, but I would primarily locate her work at the meso and comparative level, even though she has frequently used individual level data and macro level data. But although I would certainly think of her as operating mostly at the meso level, I would not associate that to a "school". At least, I would not if by that term we mean adherence to certain canons, to a specific model.



What I also find distinctive about Donatella is her ability to play to her own strengths. There is a lot to learn from her in this regard. Donatella has never been seduced by attempts to pursue maverick theoretical innovation, but has kept producing innovation by bringing her own perspective to dialogue with a number of different empirical problems - which in turn were inspired by and shaped by other theoretical contributions. Also in this sense she has been extremely successful. She represents an example which I would certainly recommend to all my students and my colleagues. Donatella is a highly influential and productive scholar, but at the same time she is extremely humble. She doesn't show off, she works with extreme precision and brings her own ideas, her own style of investigation to an enormous range of empirical themes. Also for this she should be highly, really highly, praised.

Thanks again for listening to me and all the best for your meeting.

**Chares Demetriou**

**Associate Professor at the Department of Sociology, Lund University**

First of all, I would like to thank Maria and the organizers for inviting me to address you on this lovely occasion. I have to admit, however, that the invitation gave me pause, even though I was happy to get it. I didn't know from what angle I should talk about Donatella. The occasion is not a eulogy, for obvious reasons. But I couldn't make it a roast either - I didn't have the material. And then it dawned on me.

Whereas others, such as Sid Tarrow and Mario Diani, have known and worked with Donatella for a long time, and therefore have unique perspectives to bring to this gathering, my perspective is unexceptional. I am the statistical norm. And it is sociologically important to register the statistical norm.

So, my relationship with Donatella is not unique. I met her about 15 years ago, when I and several others were selected to participate in a postdoctoral fellowship at the European University Institute – my fellowship was on the topic of political violence.

Entering the world of Donatella gave me many advantages: The immediate cluster of networks surrounding her provided me with intellectual stimulation (as well as admittedly a lot of fun, not the least because Donatella is a very warm and social person), while Donatella was also a bridge to extended networks, which benefitted me not the least by opening career opportunities. For years to come, Donatella offered me support by way of reference letters and the like. And of course, I benefited intellectually from her. It did not take long to discover that Donatella was an unparalleled source of aggregated knowledge. She has an amazing capacity to recognize and learn cutting edge intellectual developments in the fields of political sociology and comparative politics, and an effective and clear-headed way of synthesizing the knowledge.

Thus, I learned, one learns from her, not only what are the latest concepts in the study of social movements, but also about democracy, political parties, policing, and so on.

What is more, Donatella has had a great ability to find politically relevant connections to all this intellectual work. Reading what she writes and listening to what she says, one learns about the important ways top-down and bottom-up politics mean in our times: learn how protest relates to globalization, how protest relates to austerity, and so on. In other words, hers is highly relevant work – politically, socially and otherwise.

Many of her intellectual merits were presented already, so I wouldn't repeat what was said, but I may add that her intellectual breadth is not confined to political sociology and comparative politics only. For one, I have benefitted from her epistemological writings and I have used them repeatedly for my own courses.

So, in conclusion, the story is this: Donatella gave and I benefited. I am sure that this one-way relationship is typical in the Donatella world; I am sure the beneficiaries are many.

Salutations, Donatella, e grazie!

**Guya Accorneno**

**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)**

Good morning everybody and thank you so much Maria for inviting me here to participate in this event today.

I have to say I'm really thrilled to be here and to be part of this panel in particular and to this event in general. To meet scholars who inspired so much my work, and many close friends.

And of course I am particularly thrilled and honored to be here and to have this opportunity, maybe not so deserved, because for sure there are scholars that have had the opportunity to collaborate with Donatella much more than I have had, but, in any case, I am so thrilled and honored to be here and to have this opportunity to homage Donatella for many many reasons. Firstly because of her scientific work, which has been an essential reference for me, as for many other scholars of my generation, from the beginning of my research. But I have to say that Donatella has also been very inspiring for me also for her personality, for her personal characteristics and for her way to be in the Academia, and particularly a woman in the Academia (as Sidney Tarrow mentioned before) and a woman in Italian Academia, known for its gender constraints, as other Southern European countries. Women in the academia – particularly but not exclusively - in these countries, as Donatella della Porta and Maria Kousis, I feel have been very important for us. Thank you for being a model on this aspect too.

I also have always appreciated her way to be with people, generally speaking, to be so friendly, so direct and incredibly available.

I met Donatella in person for the very first time, I think, in Italy, in one of the Conferences of the Italian Society for Political Science, the SISP, I think it was in Venice in 2010. When I look at that date, it was in 2010, I think "It's been already so many years, but it seems like yesterday". At that

time, the Social Movement Standing Group of the SISP was starting consolidating and now is a very, important reality, and thanks to this standing group, to which Donatella contributed so much, also the journal *Partecipazione & Conflitto* was created.

So, this was a particularly interesting moment for Social Movements Studies, a turning point in social movement studies I think not only in Italy, where they had a strong tradition, but a very important moment I think for a new generation of scholars as a whole, who collaborated with Donatella and have been particularly active around the standing group and the journal.

But, I had met her intellectually much earlier, at the time when I was writing my PhD project and I was working at a shop in Milan and reading her books while waiting for customers. Maybe it seems a too romanticized image, but this is actually what happened.

And it was thanks to her, and also thanks to one of the scholars here, Mario Diani, that I walked through the door of Social Movements Studies, a field that, as you know, provokes deep addiction. So, thanks to your work, I developed this addiction to Social Movements Studies.

There are infinite angles, as the colleagues before me mentioned, there are infinite angles from which I could say the work of Donatella has inspired me during these years, and inspired me both in my writing and in my teaching, as also inspires my PhD and other students. The reflection on participatory and deliberative democracy inside social movements; the role of social movements in transitions or in renewing democracies; the re-introduction of economic issues in the study of social movements, and particularly in times of crisis and austerity; the more recent reflection on the role of the relations between social movements and social movement parties. I don't have time to develop all these axes, as much as I would like. I thus will only focus on a particular aspect and axis of Donatella's work, which has been absolutely fundamental for me since the very early stage of my career. This contribution is protest policing and it was so important for different reasons both scientific, and personal.

As for many other social movements scholars of my age – that is around 40-45 years old - for many scholars of my generation, Italian and not, the anti-G8 protest in Genova in 2001 was a kind of defining moment. At the time I was not a researcher at all. In any case, surely Genova raised in me very deep intellectual, personal, social and political concerns. And when I bumped into the book by Donatella della Porta, written with Herbert Reiter, *Polizia e protesta, L'ordine pubblico in Italia dalla Liberazione ai "no global"* I read it with an incredible enthusiasm. This book marked me a lot, and particularly, it was crucial to transform my concerns, many of them very personal and connected to my experience in Genova, in scientific curiosity and in intellectual questions. And I am still dealing with many of the questions which raised at that time, that were transformed in scientific interest thanks to this book and to all the work that later I had the opportunity to read on policing protest and political violence, and on the relation between movement and state.

But I really wanted to mention this specific moment and this specific book. This reading in that moment surely impacted me a lot in a personal and academic way. And I think it was nice to mention it here, also because this year is the 20th anniversary of Genova.

I conclude here: thank you for your work, Donatella. I am really happy to be here to give my small contribution to this homage.

Thank you.

**Kostis Kornetis**

**Professor Ayudante Doctor, Department of Contemporary History, Universidad Autónoma de Madrid**

Thank you so much Maria for this opportunity to honor my old Professor and friend, even from a distance.

Let me also start on a personal note. I will never forget the first time that I went to Donatella's Graduate Course on Social Movements at the Università di Firenze in the Academic Year 2000-2001.

I was a young student with poor Italian at the time, I was at awe, and Donatella came to talk to me during the break, and I mumbled something about how honored I was to be in her class and she interrupted me asking me first of all to talk to her with a "tu" instead of the polite "Lei". And in general, she made me feel straightaway welcome and safe in that group.

I think it was a course that in a way changed my academic life, as apart from Donatella, I also met some people there who later on became not only important researchers in social movements, but also good friends of mine, like Lorenzo Mosca and Massimiliano Andretta.

This was the nucleus around which much of the students of social movements unfolded at the time synchronically, as Guya said, to that very traumatic moment which was Genova in 2001. I ended up not going to Genova myself, but most of my friends at the time did.

And I think the Carlo Giuliani moment was indeed a real critical moment for my generation politically. So, Donatella and her circle of researchers, were already doing cutting edge research, pointing out the most pertinent issues regarding protest policing, a term with which I in fact became familiar with her work. This was an exciting time for people like me, living in Florence, as Italy seemed to be the epicenter of the progressive political action, Europe-wide, taking up the lead of the Global Justice Movement and linking it up to the battle against corruption and police violence of the Berlusconi government. So, having Donatella, THE expert, analyze this, at the same time, was simply invaluable. Now, as a Historian, I also remember learning new and exciting things about protest policing and repertoires of contention but also terms such as polycephalous movements, framing, things which really started to make me think differently about the history of social movements and opened up an entire world of knowledge that combines structural analysis with agency, the so called Meso level in a very creative way.

Then Donatella came over to the EUI, where she acted as a mentor to me, always ready to discuss queries and concerns and to offer her guidance as a co-supervisor on the topic of student movement in Greece in the long sixties, in a comparative fashion.

At the same time Donatella was putting together a school of thought that she then continued through the work of Cosmos and up to today at the Scuola Normale, it has been pointed out by all speakers so far. There is no single topic in political sociology or comparative political science that she has not touched on, from social movements to political violence and terrorism which was her first, and again a very influential book for me, corruption, protest policing, the role of Civil Society, the quality of Democracy and democratic practice, movements in time of neoliberalism, all these

in a comparative fashion, always with major theoretical contributions and methodological rigor, which is her trade mark. I believe her Introduction to Social Movements with Mario Diani is in fact the best possible introductory reading for students of contentious politics. More importantly, Donatella has been able to pinpoint the changing nature of politics and social movements, including non progressive movements, in her research, trying to avoid the danger of self-referentiality, by constantly renewing her own repertoire and constantly updating her conceptual lexicon.

I would like to end with a note regarding her impact on social movement research in Greece which is after all very much connected to the University of Crete, honoring her today with this Workshop.

As we have argued with my good friend and colleague Hara Kouki, from 2008 onwards Greece became a laboratory of sorts for social movements turning into major battle ground for new repertoires of action. The social movement reality and the intensification of contention triggered by the eruption of the economic crisis in 2009-10, accentuated the need for a deeper conceptualization of collective action.

As theory began to merge with activism, turning the country from a peripheral case to a Central actor in contentious politics, Donatella's work became of crucial importance.

It is not a coincidence, I think, that an entire cohort of young Greek scholars trained by her in social movements analysis, both at the EUI and the Scuola, many of whom are present in this Workshop, were indeed equipped with the necessary tools to grasp complex phenomena, as these were unfolding. While social movement scholars in Greece proper were already doing excellent work by that point, my view is that the strong comparative dimension provided by this critical mass of researchers, the "Donatellos", complimented the former in a remarkable way.

So, congratulations to Maria Kousis and the UCRC for organizing this event and congratulations to you, Donatella, for all your amazing work and thank you again for everything.

Ti abbraccio e ti auguro un futuro pieno di movimenti sociali progressisti, ancora inimmaginabili.

Gracie!

**11.30**

#### **Introduction to the Workshop:**

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

**Maria Kousis**  
**Professor of Sociology, Director of UCRC**

We are extremely happy and honored to have you here Donatella. On behalf of the UCRC board I am very happy to welcome everyone who is joining us today, physically and virtually, to our Social

Movements Workshop in honor of Donatella della Porta, a world-renowned, rare, and inspiring social scientist who has been a role model to many of us.

Our event aims to highlight her contributions and our deep appreciation for her highly distinguished scholarship. We chose to do this by inviting young researchers coming from, or working on Greece whom Donatella either supervised as PhD students, or post-doctoral fellows to present their current work, or to greet the occasion. A considerable number of these have been affiliated with the University of Crete. In addition, we invited young researchers affiliated with the University of Crete Research Center for the Humanities, the Social and Education Sciences.

I will briefly introduce Donatella before her keynote speech.

**Donatella Della Porta** is Professor of Political Science, Dean of the Faculty of Political and Social Sciences, Director of the PhD program in Political Science and Sociology at the Scuola Normale Superiore in Florence and Head of the Center on Social Movement Studies (Cosmos).

She has carried out extensive and influential research with global impact (44,000 citations by Google scholar) on: *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 has 5 Honorary Doctorates and a sixth one on the way: from the Universities of Lausanne, Bucharest, Goteborg, Jyvaskyla, the University of Peloponnese, and soon from the University of Cyprus.

She is a prolific academic author or editor, with 90 books, 150 journal articles and 150 contributions in edited volumes.

Among her recent publications are:

- *Social Movements: An introduction*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition (Blackwell, 2020) with Mario Diani;
- *Can Social Movements Save Democracy?* (Polity, 2020),
- *Die schoene neue Demokratie. Ueber das potentiale soziale Bewegungen* (Campus Verlag, 2020), with Lorenzo Cini and Cesar Guzman,
- *Contesting Higher Education* (Bristol University Press, 2020), with Pietro Castelli Gattinara, Andrea Felicetti, Konstantinos Eleftheriadis,
- *Discursive Turns and Critical Junctures*, Oxford University Press, 2020),
- *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.

Finally I take this opportunity to express my gratitude for our collaboration with Donatella.

I had the honor and pleasure to meet and collaborate with Donatella since the early nineties. Those collaborations that stand out and have been particularly inspiring throughout the years are:

- a seminar on Social Movements headed by Bert Klandermans at the University of Amsterdam, in 1992, where I first met Donatella,
- a conference organized in Crete by Nikiforos Diamandouros and his collaborators on Southern Europe, which led to
- an unpublished book, *Sisters of the South*, on the women's movement in Italy, Spain, Portugal and Greece, by Donatella, Celia Valiente, and myself.
- the EC project *Transformations in Environmental Activism*, coordinated by Chris Rootes,
- collaboration as external examiner in phd committees, with theses which Donatella supervised

It has always been a special joy to work with Donatella, for her very kind spirit as a person, for a wonderful collaboration and for being a continuous source of new knowledge and inspiration.

Thank you Donatella for everything that you have given us and will be giving us! Now the floor is yours!

### **Donatella's Thoughts on the Workshop**

First of all, I wanted to tell you how happy I am today, how grateful I am for all who participated in this event, a bit embarrassed, but very moved, especially. So I was thinking while you were talking about my work, about its development, indeed, about my luck, because I think to develop a career in social movement studies as in other fields, you need commitment, you need passion, like you have said, but you also need to be lucky enough to encounter good people in good institutions. And so I was thinking if I had to do a process tracing, in my life there have been several institutions

that have been important for me, not because of the prestige of the universities but because of the type of opportunities they gave to people to develop autonomous and critical thinking. And in my life, besides the student times that were recalled by Sid, the Ecole des Hautes Etudes, the European University Institute where I was a PhD student, the WZB later on, and the University of Florence where I can say I started my academic career, in fact the European University Institute and the Scuola Normale Superiore, have provided me windows of opportunities for developing a community of people of committed scholars that have been able to build exchange in the modern sense.

Sometimes I say that I feel like being in a big Irish family, a bit similar to a big Greek family, where large family means also that the children have to help each other. And so I was happy to interact with all of them, but also I was extremely happy that I can rely upon their ability also to collaborate with each other, their love for each other and their friendship. I think it is true what Sid, Mario and also other colleagues said. While, as was mentioned, people talked about the Donatella's people or the DDPs, it was not, I don't feel we are really a school, not a school in the French or German spirit. But once, one of my PhD students, Mayo Fuster - always asked sincere basic questions not thought about - told me: well what do you think are our characteristics as the DDPs? I started to think - it dovetails with some of the observations - I think sociological imaginations the fact that we always have to go behind very quickly changing phenomena which means that we have to grasp for insights in different areas.

What I think I tried to stimulate and I did myself is not so much to try to build a closed school, but rather to be open and bridging this attempt, different disciplines, different approaches, different concepts and also I think one of the things I am most happy about is the fact that in all these places I could have interactions with scholars, with students, postdocs of very different countries. Once I counted 36 countries from which PhD students and postdocs came from. May be now they are more. It's not just a matter of being international, but it is rather the fact that Sidney Tarrow once mentioned, about the type of activist deep rooted cosmopolitans. Also all the PhD students and colleagues that I interacted with from the different countries enriched the interactions because they were deep rooted cosmopolitans, because they had not lost their roots. Empirically I think, also we have not been aiming for particularly sophisticated constructions of data and so on, but always paid attention to reality, so that attempts to develop empirical knowledge have been important, and a type of commitment to the truth. So I think that I have been lucky, I have to say I am also optimistic, so I think that to a certain extent, some of the achievements that social movement studies could reach are also related with the capacity to build utopias to try to construct something new. And I think that the community of social movement scholars that I've been involved in is rich in debates, is rich in critique, but is also very much oriented in a constructive way to try to understand and help progressive thinking. So I think I have been very lucky for having so many good colleagues, and have been in particularly lucky in having so many Greek PhD students, postdocs, and colleagues in all the institutions. So, I am grateful to Leonidas, Markos, Chara who are here, but also Konstantinos, Chares, Stella, Georgia, Parthena, Kostis and Haris. It has been important for the development of social movement studies in Greece that they have been able to develop their own different ways, their own knowledge and contributions on the country.

I also wanted to say before starting the more academic part of the presentation that I am extremely grateful to Maria for having such good colleagues and for the interactions we had in all these years. I am very grateful to Maria, Leonidas, Vassilis, Georgios and the other colleagues of



the University of Crete for the commitment they took in organizing the beautiful day for me, in presence. I am glad that this is an occasion also to return in a real event, blended in this case. I know, because we have done so in Florence, it is extremely challenging, from the point of view of all the regulations that one has to follow and implement. But I hope that it will also be a day to remember, where we reach out and to talk to each other in presence. And I am extremely grateful to Sid, to Mario, to Chares, to Guya and to Kostis for their thought and I hope that we will be able to see each other in person. So thank you so much. Before crying, I move to the scientific side.

What I was thinking to present today is the future challenges for us, not only leaving the pandemic but also trying to understand what is going on in terms of social movements.

### Talk by

**Donatella della Porta**

["Social movements in an emergency critical juncture: contentious politics in pandemic times"](#)

**12.00-12.35**

### Morning Session

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

**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

### Leonidas Oikonomakis

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

Before anything else I would like to express how happy I am for this occasion, both for academic but also for more personal reasons. In my academic trajectory, it has often been the case that I have been invited to the Universities and Research Centers that Donatella has been leading over

the years. First, she selected me to do a PhD at the EUI under her supervision. Towards the end of my PhD, she invited me to do a postdoc at COSMOS SNS where she had just moved in 2017, and where she has been inviting me to give guest lectures ever since. This time, I am happy also because it is the first time that things are happening the other way round: Donatella is invited to the University where I work- and I hope it is the first of many such occasions to follow!

**Hara Kouki**

**Assistant Professor, Department of Sociology, University of Crete**

I would like to say something about Donatella as well. I think getting to work with Donatella in Florence means also directly getting involved with and becoming part of a group of people who are nice people, good friends, people who are committed to politics and to having endless political conversations drinking beer, having fun, caring for each other, caring for the rest of the world, and I think that this – to the extent that the personal is political- means that this ‘universe’ around Donatella which makes us feel comfortable and welcome is very important. For me it is also representative of the way you try to transform the social movements discipline so I want to thank you also for this group of people that comes with you.

**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**

Thank you very much for the invitation. I would like to say that I am inspired by the work of Donatella della Porta. I teach the work of della Porta at the Aristotle University of Thessaloniki both at postgraduate and undergraduate levels, I do the same thing at the Hellenic Open University at the postgraduate level. I want to say that I admire the richness of her research work and her ability to follow the developments in the field for such a long period. Della Porta shows a great sensitivity to recognize the transformations of the field- her presentation of today was another proof of that. We see that the focus of both her theoretical and her research work is re-positioned according to the developments of each period.

**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"*

**Martín 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

**Markos Vogiatzoglou**

**Ph.D, Postdoctoral Researcher (University of the Aegean)**

I would like to comment, without repeating the academic and personal merits of Donatella - she knows them very well - what I wanted to say to expand a little bit what Kostis Korentis said of the Ddp-istas or the Donatellos. Twelve years ago when I was at this University the Department of Sociology was very much different from what it is today. It was focused on social theory and very different research and teaching was taking place. A generation of scholars came out of here, thanks also to Nikos Serntedakis and Maria Kousis, and many of us continued our studies alongside Donatella and it is a great great pleasure to see that some among them have returned here, where we started, and are strengthening the Department here in the field of political sociology. This is a great thing because the field was not strong enough in Greece but now it has a potential to grow into something really interesting, so also for this, thank you very much Donatella.

**Daniela Chironi**

**Ph.D, Post-doctoral Researcher (Scuola Normale Superiore (SNS)), member of the 'Centre on Social Movement Studies' (COSMOS)**

Just a small comment of my personal experience with Donatella as well. I think that when we mention gender, we have to mention the ability of Donatella not only to become a female prominent scholar but also to recruit women. I think this is another important part of her recruitment, together with social class. When me and Markos arrived at the EUI we found ourselves surrounded by people who had the opportunity to study at the best Universities, who were coming from very rich, high level families, which was not our case, neither was it for many

other people who did their PhD with Donatella, This was a great opportunity for us, and I don't think that all professors do the same. So thank you!

**Haris Malamidis**

**Post-doctoral researcher, Department of Sociology, University of Crete. Research Fellow, Hellenic Foundation for European & Foreign Policy (ELIAMEP)**

It is a great pleasure for me to participate in this workshop in order to honor Donatella. Donatella has great share of responsibility for the tremendous development of social movement studies.

Donatella was actually the reason I enrolled in the PhD program at Scuola Normale Superiore in Florence and, together with Lorenzo Bosi, she was my mentor in the Phd.

There aren't words to describe my gratitude for her overall guidance. She was there any time you needed her, she was open in discussing new ideas and she always made you feel comfortable despite her professional seniority. I just wish to say that only by being close to her was extremely inspiring and for this I want to thank her.

**Martín Portos**

**MSc (Oxon.) MRes PhD (EUI), CONEX-Plus Marie Curie Fellow, Department of Social Sciences, Universidad Carlos III de Madrid**

Thank you Maria Kousis and all the Crete team for the invitation and organizing this wonderful workshop. And congratulations to Donatella: I can hardly think of any active (very active, in the case of Donatella) European political sociologist who deserves this recognition more than her. My presentation will be the result of a journey that is closely tied to Donatella. A journey that started in March 2011 when I sat in front of a selection committee at the EUI to defend a thesis proposal on social movements-- with my whole background in the field being literally two books I've read some weeks earlier: 'Social Movements: An Introduction', by della Porta and Diani, and 'Power in Movement', by Tarrow. Over the years, I realized how lucky I was to get to work not only with a world-class scholar but, importantly, with a caring, supportive and empathetic person who allowed me to grow autonomously.

**15.30-  
16.05**

**Afternoon 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

**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: Seraphim Seferiades**, Professor, Department of Political Science and History, Panteion University, Director of Laboratory of Contentious Politics

**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**

I want to express my happiness towards Donatella della Porta for being here at the University of Crete, and the gratitude of the staff of Sociology Department for giving us the opportunity to honor Donatella della Porta's unique academic contribution in the social sciences and particularly her unique contribution in the field of collective action and social movements research.

**Georgia Mavrodi**

**Ph.D, Researcher (Georg-August-Universität Göttingen)**

I would just like to say a couple of words about Donatella because this paper, but also my whole PhD Dissertation, really benefited enormously from Donatella's way of supervising and from her way of engaging with her students and with her supervisees.

I'm very grateful that she actually accepted me among the Donatella crowd, although I was not part of the social movement research, which most of her students actually dealt with, back at that time, but she has been very pivotal and actually allowed me to proceed and also to complete my PhD and she's also been a person who still keeps guiding me now in my own way of dealing with my students.

So, I always keep in mind how she is and how warm and humane she is with her supervisees, how open she is in discussing in different settings and how much she incorporates in her academic realm but also in her everyday life, different people. She is able to discuss openly about a wide range of issues and I always had the impression that the only prerequisite for her to be engaged in any kind of discussion is that her colleagues around the table just accept very basic principles of respect in human dignity and respect in democratic principles. I think this is what her only prerequisite is and then she discusses and she's tireless in producing new research.

She has really been to me and I also think to many others, what the Germans called *Doktormutter*, like a doctoral mother. And, as so many mothers do, she does not forget her doctoral children after they leave her academic home, but she keeps caring about them.

I have benefited enormously from this way of hers and I hope she continues to offer this to many many other supervisees in the years to come.

Thank you Donatella for everything. I'm very very glad to participate today.

**Alexandra Zavos**

**Assistant Professor in Sociology of Gender, Department of Sociology, University of Crete**

First of all, I would like to thank the organisers for inviting me to participate as a discussant in this very rich and meaningful event in honour of Professor Donatella della Porta.

Thank you very much for your attention and once again my congratulations on the organisation of this very special event.

**Kostas Kanellopoulos**

**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**

Apparently we are not students of Donatella della Porta but we know each other for many years. I think it was a dinner fifteen years ago at Esperia Hotel, it was a dinner with many senior social movement scholars and it was a great honor for me to be there, I remember our discussions, it was great, and I am happy to see you here and see this atmosphere!

**Stella Christou**

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

I would like to take this opportunity to thank the organisers and the UCRC for their invitation; it's been a pleasure to participate in this workshop and have the chance to thank Donatella, an acknowledgement I was saving for a later stage. Now, I think that my status as Donatella's supervisee would deem it superfluous -if not awkward- to thank, let alone congratulate her, for her contribution to the field. For me, as much as for my peers, Donatella is foundational to the field, central to our collective readings, the development of our ideas and the conduct of our own research. I would like to thank her however, for the inspiration, guidance and opportunities she has given me in the past five years of our collaboration, as she does with all her students before and after me. Being a student at Scuola and a member of COSMOS, under her supervision, has been fulfilling, challenging and formative to my development as a young scholar. On a personal level then, although shared amongst us in the department, I would like to thank you Donatella.

**Seraphim Seferiades**

**Professor, Department of Political Science and History, Panteion University, Director of Laboratory of Contentious Politics**

Many thanks to the organizers, the UCRC and of course Donatella for her life-long contribution, everybody has spoken about, and everybody is well aware of.

I am not going to say how sorry I am for not being there in person (which of course I am), I am going to be more self-regarding and say that I am really envious of you who *are* there in person, able to physically meet up – and also add that our community is sorely missing the yearly intense seminar on Social Movements organized in Rethymno for so many years now by Niko and the colleagues in the Department of Sociology.



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