



REPORT MARCH 2016

Low intensity conflicts in a liquid world



TRANSVERSAL BRIDGE

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FRAMEWORK RESEARCH

Concepts

***“THE EMERGING THREAT OF TRANSVERSAL TERRORIST ALLIANCES
AND RADICALIZATION OF THE EU SOCIAL CLIMATE”***

1. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

It is not our aim to get a consensus between hundreds of definitions that are used. We only try to explain a basic conceptual framework in order to focus the project.

The existence of multiple definitions of each concept used in this study makes necessary to define those that are going to be fundamental in the development and comprehension of the enclosed analysis.

Political Violence

When individuals or groups resort to violence to attain change of a political nature, we speak of political violence. As Van den Haag established, *“violence only becomes political when used instrumentally to influence or control the distribution of power and the future actions of people”*. Individual violent acts are political when it has such social claims; group violence is at all times political to all intents and purposes (Van den Haag, 1972: 60-61).

The sociologist Buijs focused on defining

and elaborating upon three central aspects of political violence that can be used to obtain a typology: *“the instruments that are used, the aims that the perpetrators aspire to, and the effects that are brought about”* (Buijs, 2001: 9).

In the words of Gurr (1970: 3-4) political violence consists on “collective attacks within a political community against a political regime”.

Political violence is a broad concept that works from citizens to states, but from states to citizens too. Because of that, we can talk about (Schmid, 2011):

State political violence:

- Violent repression for the control of power.
- Political justice
- Mass arrests
- Banning
- Deportation
- Assassination
- Massacres
- State terrorism (torture, death squads, disappearances, concentration camps)
- State sponsored terrorism
- Counter-insurgency

Political action and relation with violence and no violence

	PERSUASIVE POLITICS	PRESSURE POLITICS	POLITICAL VIOLENCE				
	HACKTIVISM						
STATE ACTORS	Rule of law	Oppression Censorship Electoral manipulation Surveillance Harassment Discrimination Legislation abuses	Violent repression for control of power Political justice, mass arrests, banning, deportation Assassination State terrorism (torture, death squads, disappearances, concentration camps) State sponsored terrorism Massacres Counter-insurgency				
CITIZENS VIOLENCE DEGREE	CLAIM	CLAIM / UNREST	UNREST / CONFLICT	CONFLICT			
NON STATE ACTORS	Constitutional opposition politics	Extra parliamentary action Non-violent actions Social protest Demonstrations Strikes, boycotts, civil disobedience.	INSURGENCY Subversion Riots Terrorism Coup d'état Propaganda	TERRORISM	WARFARE	VIGILANTE	NARCO INSURGENCY

Non state actors:

- Insurgency
- Terrorism
- Warfare
- Vigilantes
- Drug dealers' insurgency

Insurgency

"A general overarching concept that refers to a conflict between a government and an out group or opponent in which the latter uses both political resources and violence to change, reformulate, or uphold the legitimacy of one or more of four key aspects of politics" (O'Neill, 2002).

These aspects of politics are:

"(1) The integrity of the borders and composition of the nation state, (2) the political system, (3), the authorities in power, and (4) the policies that determine who gets what in societies" (O'Neill, 2002, as cited in Taber, 2002: VIII).

Insurgent activity is a form of "movement - a political effort with a specific aim".

Later, O'Neill (2005) gives his revision of the term insurgency:

"Insurgency may be defined as a struggle between a non-ruling group and the ruling authorities in which the non-ruling group consciously uses political resources (e.g., organizational expertise, propaganda, and demonstrations) and violence to destroy, reformulate, or sustain the basis of legitimacy of one or more aspects of politics".

Department of Defence Joint Publication (JP) 1-02, used in counterinsurgency doctrine, is still based on the dominant American thinking that insurgencies are revolutionary

movements. Hence, JP 1-02 defines the term insurgency as:

"An organized movement aimed at the overthrow of a constituted government through the use of subversion and armed conflict" (Department of Defence, 2004).

In his paper, The Basics of Counterinsurgency, R. Scott Moore argues that this characterization has changed little over the past several decades, and fails to reflect the wider scope and complexity of insurgencies today, especially their protracted and transnational nature.

Moore states that the term insurgency is used interchangeably and imprecisely with "irregular warfare, unconventional warfare, revolutionary warfare, guerrilla warfare and even terrorism" (Moore, 2007).

Moore states that an insurgency is "a group that seeks radical change of the existing political or social order through the use of violence and political upheaval" (Moore, 2007). It employs terrorism as one of the means to achieve its objectives. Terrorism is not, however, the primary focus of insurgent movements. Insurgencies focus more on their country's political, economic and social elements, which, Moore explains, are at the "heart of the conflict, both its causes and its effects" (Moore, 2007). Based on his understanding of insurgencies, Moore offers the following expanded and refined definition of the term:

"An insurgency is a protracted violent conflict in which one or more groups seek to overthrow or fundamentally change the political or social order in a state or region through the use of sustained violence,

subversion, social disruption, and political action" (Moore, 2007).

Means of action:

- Subversion
- Riots
- Terrorism
- Coup d'états
- Propaganda
- Other ways of non-violent political action: demonstrations, social protests, civil disobedience, and boycotts...

Terrorism

Terrorism has been defined by the European Union's Framework Decision on Combating Terrorism of 2002 as *"an intentional act which may seriously damage a country or an international organisation, committed with the aim of seriously intimidating a population, unduly compelling a Government or an international organisation to perform or abstain from performing any act, seriously destabilizing or destroying fundamental political, constitutional, economic or social structures by means of attacks upon a person's life, attacks upon the physical integrity of a person, kidnapping, hostage-taking, seizure of aircraft or ships, or the manufacture, possession or transport of weapons or explosives"*.

While radicalism can pose a threat it is extremism, and particularly terrorism, that ought to be our main concern since it involves the active subversion of democratic values and the rule of law. In this sense violent radicalisation is to be understood as socialisation to extremism, which could manifest itself in terrorism (European Commission's Expert Group on Violent Radicalisation)

http://www.clingendael.nl/sites/default/files/20080500_cscp_report_vries.pdf

The revised academic consensus definition of terrorism (Schmid, 2011):

"Terrorism refers on the one hand to a doctrine about the presumed effectiveness of a special form or tactic of fear-generating, coercive political violence and, on the other hand, to a conspiratorial practice of calculated, demonstrative, direct violent action without legal or moral restraints, targeting mainly civilians and non-combatants, performed for its propagandistic and psychological effects on various audiences and conflict parties".

Differences between insurgency and terrorism:

- Insurgency is a movement. Terrorism and warfare are means. Terrorism can be one of the actions of an insurgency.
- Insurgency does not look for terror; it aims territorial control or change of the political or social order.
- The insurgency seeks support from sections of the population.
- Insurgency acts against the State and its representatives. Terrorism act against no combatant, civilians.

Insurgency is a civilian attacking their own government with the intent to overthrow it. Terrorism is a civilian attacking other civilians with the intent to frighten them into a specific action.

Although they have been criticised in their way to explain the terrorism concept, Weinberg, Pedahzur and Hirsch-Hoefler (2004: 786) suggest distinctiveness within terrorism phenomena *"terrorism is a politically-motivated tactic involving the*

threat or use of force or violence in which the pursuit of publicity plays a significant role”.

Radicalism and extremism

In recent years, especially in the aftermath of 9/11 and the attacks in Madrid and London in 2004 and 2005, several national strategies against extremism and radicalisation have appeared which assume that extremism and radicalisation are part of the path that leads to terrorism.

Schmid (2013, p.86), after analysing a variety of definitions, uses a negative approach (what terrorism is not) and distinguishes the contested elements and the necessity of consensus. He proposes a revised academy consensus definition:

Terrorism refers on the one hand to a doctrine about the presumed effectiveness of a special form or tactic of fear-generating, coercive political violence and, on the other hand, to a conspiratorial practice of calculated, demonstrative, direct violent action without legal or moral restraints, targeting mainly civilians and non-combatants, performed for its propagandistic and psychological effects on various audiences and conflict parties.

While several problems arise when defining “terrorism”, these are intensified when trying to define “extremism” or “radicalisation” despite trying to do it with a key adjective: violent.

The UK’s Prevention Strategy states that radicalisation is *“the process by which people come to support violent extremism and, in some cases, join terrorist groups”* (Home Office, 2009, p.10-11). So, in this case, radicalisation would be directly linked

to the support of violence or terrorism. The European Commission uses the concept of “violent radicalisation”, defined as *“the phenomenon of people embracing opinions, views and ideas which could lead to acts of terrorism”* (European Commission 2005, p.2). By using the term *“would”* in the definition, a problem occurs in order to apply it. It generates ambiguity, as it directly relates the radicalism with the preposition to commit terrorist acts. It does not consider that is the prequel of other types of behaviour, such as political activism, or other types of actions. These actions can be no contentious, neither related with terrorism.

In the academic field, several authors have tried to define radicalisation and solve the existing problems. Moskalenko and McCauley (2010) introduce a distinction between activism (legal and non-violent political action) and radicalism (illegal and violent action). Schmid (2013) distinguishes between radicals (that could be violent or not, democratic or not) and extremists (who are never democratic). Radicals could be open-minded and extremists closed-minded. Bartlett and Miller (2012, p.) compare two phenomena: radicalisation that leads to violence (violent radicalisation) and radicalisation that does not lead to violence (non-violent radicalisation), pointing out that violent radicals are enemies of our democracies, but non-violent radicals might help us to counter violent radicalisation.

Schmid (2013, p.18), trying to give an inclusive definition, proposes: *“an individual or collective process whereby, usually in a situation of political polarisation, normal practices of dialogue, compromise and tolerance between political actors and groups with diverging interests are*

abandoned by one or both sides in a conflict dyad in favour of a growing commitment to engage in confrontational tactics of conflict-waging.”

In the second part of the definition Schmid classifies the possible outcomes: *“These can include either (i) the use of non violent pressure or coercion, (ii) various forms of political violence other than terrorism or (iii) acts of violent extremism in the form of terrorism and war crime”* (Schmid, 2013, p.18). And finally, the author makes references to the process of radicalisation:

the process is, on the side of rebel factions, generally accompanied by an ideological socialisation away from mainstream or status quo-oriented positions towards more radical or extremist positions involving a dichotomous world view and the acceptance of an alternative focal point of political mobilization outside the dominant political order as the existing system is no longer recognised as appropriate or legitimate.

In order to know if a group is extremist, the model proposed by Schmid (EMI20) could be applied. While a few of these factors (a total of 20) from this list might be insufficient to identify extremist speech or correctly interpret extremist militancy, the presence of multiple factors lends weight to an assessment of an individual or group as being “extremist”. The more of these indicators that can be found in documents or action patterns of militants, the more likely they have to be considered “extremists” and as such need to be considered as serious threats to liberal-democratic societies.

1. Situate themselves outside the mainstream and reject the existing social, political or world order;

2. Seek to overthrow, with the help of a revolutionary vanguard, the political system in order to (re-)establish what they consider the natural order in society – whether this envisaged order be based on race, class, faith, ethnic superiority, or alleged tradition;
3. Are usually in possession of an ideological programme or action plan aimed at taking and holding communal or state power;
4. Reject or, when in power, subvert the liberal-democratic conception of the rule of law; use the political space provided by it to advance their cause in efforts to take state power;
5. Reject universal Human Rights and show a lack of empathy and disregard for rights of other than their own people;
6. Reject democratic principles based on popular sovereignty;
7. Reject equal rights for all, especially those of women and minorities;
8. Reject diversity and pluralism in favour of their preferred mono-culture society, e.g. a worldwide Islamic state;
9. Adhere to a (good-) ends-justify (-any)-means philosophy to achieve their goals;
10. Actively endorse and glorify the use of violence to fight what they consider “evil” and to reach their political objectives (e.g. in the form of jihad);
11. Show a propensity to engage in mass violence against actual and potential enemies when in power or when enjoying impunity;
12. Are single-minded, black-or-white thinkers who want to purify the world and demonise, debase and dehumanise their enemies in hate speech, characterising them as “inferior” and earmarking them, implicitly or explicitly,

- as expendable;
13. Subordinate individual freedoms to collective goals;
 14. Refuse to engage in genuine (as opposed to tactical and temporal) compromises with the other side and ultimately seek to subdue or eliminate the enemy;
 15. Exhibit intolerance to all views other than their own dogmatic one and express this in anger, aggressive behaviour and hate speech;
 16. Exhibit fanaticism, portray themselves as threatened and embrace conspiracy theories without necessarily being irrational in their strategic choices;
 17. Exhibit authoritarian, dictatorial or totalitarian traits;
 18. Are unwilling to accept criticism and intimidate and threaten dissenters, heretics and critics with death;
 19. Expect obedience to their demands and commands rather than allowing to subject their views and policies to discussion even within their own group; and
 20. Have fixed ideas and closed minds and believe there is only one truth – theirs. In its pursuit, they are often willing to face punishment or even death and sometimes actively seek martyrdom.

It could be interesting to identify what could be called “gateway organizations”, non-violent but acting as a previous phase in the radicalization process (i.e. Hizb-ut-Tahrir).

Low intensity conflict (LIC)

According to the US Joint Chiefs of Staff, Department of Defence (as promulgated in the US Army Field Manual 100-20), the same definition using by the NATO, LIC is a:

“Political-military confrontation between contending states or groups below conventional wars and above the routine, peaceful competition among states. It frequently involves protracted struggles of competing principles and ideologies. Low intensity conflict ranges from subversion to the use of armed force. It is waged by a combination of means employing political, economic, informational and military instruments. Low intensity conflicts are often localized, generally in the Third World, but contain regional and global security implications”.

The definition used by The Army War College, also known as The College of Combat, in India gives us a definition which can be really useful for the objective of the present report:

“It is a politico-military confrontation between the established authority (state) and organised group(s) of people with or without external assistance, beyond the scope of legitimate, route, peaceful contest/ agitation. Being on the low end of the conflict spectrum, it imposes an undefined restraint on the execution of military operation.”

Liquid society

According to the sociologist Zygmunt Bauman, it would be a society characterized by individualism and privatization, where the relations that are established are transitory and temporal. It is a changing, uncertain society, which is more and more unpredictable. Thus, the behavior conditions of the members that form it change before they can adapt, causing a great contradiction and setting up values of huge volatility and relativism.

Some of the characteristics that are

generated in this kind of society are of great importance for understanding attitudes, both individual and collective, which can be seen nowadays:

- Bonds established among members tend to be more and more fragile and provisional.
- Concern for economic well-being prevails.
- A great disaffection towards politics, the institutions in power and traditional ideologies is generated.
- By the same token, new generations, which are more and more prepared, assume or look for new values and identities as the ones considered as classic fall behind.
- These identities will be the ones to condition from affectionate relationships to new social movements or politics.
- Media reality shapes the social psyche, inducing politics to transform to its likeness.
- The search for singularity and individuality of each person collides then with the patterns set by society, which induce them to be genuine following the same rules, not only legal, but also behavioral rules, dressing rules, expression rules, etc.
- Consumption establishes then the rules, reducing the times in which we feel satisfied by the objects we possess.
- Tolerance towards this lifestyle reflects in a complete indifference towards those individuals who are out of the system, voluntarily or by force.
- The only certainty that the future provides is uncertainty.

Democracy

The term democracy, of Greek origin, means

“rule by the (simple) people”. In wider terms, democracy can be understood as a substantive when naming a governmental system, as an adjective when referring to the characteristics attributable to it or as a belief, as the Cambridge Dictionary¹ points out: “the belief in freedom and equality between people”.

In order for a governmental system to be seen as democratic, it must have four elements:

- Preservation of human rights.
- The existence of a rule of law that guarantee equality before the law among all citizens.
- The existence of mechanisms that allow government election or substitution through free and fair elections.
- The active participation of citizens in civic life and politics, having a voice in all those issues that affect their lives, directly or through representatives.

Activism

Although there are several definitions, we could define activism, integrating key characteristics of the concept, as “the use of direct and militant actions, from short to long-term, to achieve a result, usually a political or social change”.

The core elements of the concept are:

- Actors. Alex P. Schmid² defines “activist” as “a member of a political movement who goes beyond subscribing to the

¹ <http://dictionary.cambridge.org/es/diccionario/ingles/democracy>

² Schmid, A. P. (2013). The Routledge Handbook of Terrorism Research. Routledge.

goals of a programme, taking active steps to implement it". Although individuals can lead "activism", it is often done collectively through social movements.

- Actions: direct, militant, often confrontational and using vigorous campaigning, and as mentioned below usually collectively through social movements. "Activism" can occur in a myriad of ways and in a variety of forms³:
- Demanding solutions to contemporary problems through the taking of oppositional stances to mainstream policies. This is the type of campaigning activism that includes protests, strikes, demonstrations, marches, rallies, boycotts, propaganda, etc.
- Undertaking activism which manifests itself through the creation of alternatives to the dominant system through the construction of new ways of social behaviour. Examples of this would be housing and food cooperatives, social centres, worker cooperatives, new age travellers, squats etc. Collectives of people often carry out this sort of activism over long periods of time.
- Revolutionary activism that is concerned with fundamental change of society

and its major institutions. This type of activism seeks to fundamentally change the dominant system to a new way of living and is not particularly concerned with reforms and piecemeal changes in the long term.

- Time. Usually developed collectively through campaigns, from short to long term, depending on the type of action.
- Results. The efforts and actions have clear objectives: to promote, impede, or direct social, political economic, legal or environmental change.

Hacktivism

Hacktivism, understood as technologic activism or practiced using the net, has widened the field of social action. The variety of actions that it includes is very wide, going from politic propaganda to counter-informative or subversive actions.

As Barandiaran said, hacktivism tries to bring techno-politic interaction tools and those that could be used for the same end closer to the population. Its ultimate goal is to question and even transform the social

	LEGAL ACTIONS	BETWEEN LEGAL AND ILEGAL ACTIONS	ILEGAL ACTIONS
Targets	Political parties, governments, corporations		
Initiatives			
Campaigns			
Open-publishing (counter-information websites)		Hacklabs (laboratories where experiences and knowledge are shared)	Tresspass and blockade tactics
Copyleft (creation of new tools)		Hackmeetings	Netstrikes (flooding service attacks)
		Boycotts	Cyber-sabotage

³ <http://www.permanentculturenow.com/what-is-activism/>

order, directing collective action towards a non-conventional political participation.

Its actions are justified by a socialization of knowledge, transparency and technological cooperation framework in order to create more democratic and open societies. Even though they have contributed to the birth of new idiosyncratic movements of the net, which boosts self-management in communications, like the free or open-source software movements, its aim is to articulate the already existing protest movements, rather than generating new ones.

This articulation aims to provide them with the necessary knowledge and tools that allow them to have a virtual infrastructure. Even though the widening of communications and the message spreading that it causes cannot be limited to classic borders of physical spaces, one of its main goals is still local actions/effects.

Users of this kind of practices themselves have also coined the term electronic civil disobedience⁴ in order to identify and encourage social protests that take place in the streets, in this case, in a virtual setting.

Its usage represents an emerging social action, as the global population with access to new technologies and internet increases with each passing day.

Social Movements

Starting from the elements highlighted by Mario Diani (2004) and Della Porta (2011), social movements refer to those social processes in which its agents, the citizens,

engage to commit collective actions:

- They carry out conflictive actions, as they oppose or encourage changes regarding the established structures.
- Their opponents and/or objectives are clearly identified and they are shared.
- They have contact through informal networks regularly. Isolated events of collective actions would not be defining of the existence of a social movement itself.
- They share a collective identity that differentiates them from other movements or groups.

It is an identity that tends to fade when we talk about social movements that include several activisms under the same structure, though it can coexist. However, in order to talk about social movement, the sense, commitment and cause, must be shared by the group, despite the diversity of them that could exist. That is, the criteria of membership can get to be very unstable, but they ultimately have to be mutually accepted by every member.

It is relevant to point out that their objectives, despite the traditional existing relationship, are not only politic, as they could also focus on economic, cultural or any other kind of interest.

The existence of the collective identity makes it necessary to identify specific objectives and actions. Those citizens that simply support, share or legitimize the movement's action are not a part of it.

"The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements" (Snow, Soule and Kries 2004), a reference work in the study of social movements, defined them as authorities

⁴ Concept coined by the activists "Critical Art Ensemble".

acting with some degree of organization and continuity, regardless of the institutional channels for the purpose of challenging the authority or pressure it.

Social conflict is a natural part of human society, has accompanied the evolution throughout history, and often has been recognized as necessary for progress, social justice and equality rights and freedoms. When Rosa Parks refused in 1955 to give up her seat to a white man and move to the back of a bus, she lit the wick of social protest and American society was shaken. He ended up in jail. But later the Supreme Court of the United States ruled that racial segregation on buses was contrary to the Constitution. Today, fortunately, very few people would think she should be punished. Therefore we must not be afraid to talk about conflict as a natural phenomenon in modern societies. It is only one of the cases mentioned, to avoid commenting best known cases, as Gandhi or Mandela.

According to Mario Diani (1992, 2003, 2004, 2004 Diani and Bison) social movements are consistent social processes in different mechanisms through which the actors involved in political action:

- Engage in troubled relationships with clearly identified opponents.
- They relate to dense informal networks.

- They share a distinct collective identity. All modern studies, point to a profound change in recent years, adopting the concept of "new social movements", developed from the 1960s, with a significant middle class social base and not based solely on the workers' struggle or nationalist. Global current movements, claiming for global justice, materialize their demands in concrete ways, sometimes local, sometimes international and global in others.

Grievances

A grievance⁵ is *"the feeling of a real or imagined cause for complaint over something believed to be wrong or unfair"*.

The core elements of the definition are:

- A feeling. An emotional state or reaction.
- A real or imagined cause. The cause can be an injury, an offense, an outrage, an atrocity, damage, a mistake, a wrong decision or an injustice.
- A complaint. The complaint could be manifest through a protest, indignation, a charge, a criticism, a resistance, an objection or through other direct actions.

⁵ Interesting link of Obama, about the need to address grievances <http://www.theblaze.com/stories/2015/02/18/obama-we-have-to-address-grievances-terrorists-exploit/>

METHODOLOGICAL APPROACHES

2. METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH

Information about groups acting in Europe, and related to the objectives of the project

How:

- Open Sources.
- Interviews

Collect and register in a templates specially designed for this purpose with different levels to organise macro, meso and micro information of each case study, for social movements and for violent groups.

It could be useful to consider characteristics of the research on social movements (Diani, Della Porta). The study of social movements, as a part of a social science, can aid in the study of insurgencies and terrorism. Some of the points that could be considered and used in the research of insurgent groups are:

a) The degree of organization. Some movements are structured, organized, with a centralized leadership. But on the other hand, others have features of decentralization, network formed as well by a multitude of actors who take autonomous decisions, formal minimum degree, without a centralized communication. In this case the forms of coordination are very informal, through meetings in public places, cultural centres or alternative. As there are many intermediate forms of organization, such as neighbourhood groups, cultural associations or even professional groups. Scott (1981) distinguishes between rational (aimed at a clear finish, with a defined structure), natural (same interest, but low level of structure) and open systems (multiple interests rather sums of interest groups). Apart of this, the

network model of organization is quite characteristic of social movements: independent members who can act coordinated within a framework of autonomy and flexibility.

- b) Their national or transnational character. Multitude of local, regional groups, including ad - hoc created for a campaign, which bind beyond its borders with a common goal. A clear case was the manifestation Global Change on October 15, 2011, held in many cities and countries, based on the links between movements "indignados" from Iceland, Madrid or Occupy Wall Street in the United States.
- c) Its habitat in the digital world and the physical realm. Technology has influenced all facets of social movements. Internet is an element for communication, for the creation of identity, for information, for mobilization, for the action itself (cyber attacks), or even for fundraising and financing. Network organization systems find a magnificent ecosystem online.
- d) The degree of troubled relationships. It would take into account the capacity of mobilization or protest, as forms of manifestation of social conflict. Social movements are diverse in objectives and in courses of action. They can stay in mere protest or go beyond it. And that protest, defined as "spaces where bodies are used reply, symbols, identities, practices and discourses to pursue or prevent changes in institutionalized power relations" (Taylor and van Dyke, 2004), use "methods of persuasion and coercion that is, most of the time, original, non-orthodox, dramatic and of questionable legitimacy " (Wilson, 1973). This grade is given, in part, by how discontent manifests. The protest is

- nothing more than a politician resource used by those who lack power (Lipsky, 1965).
- e) Actions developed, that could be oriented only to protest or even a service provider. Multitude of social movements accompanies protest activities with the development of multiple health services (as we see in extremist groups as Amanecer Dorado, Hezbollah, or Muslim Brotherhood).
 - f) The ways in which such action is manifested. In classical forms such as the presence or peaceful resistance, or new ways (such as feminist collective FEMEN protests, but also rooted in the feminist movements of the previous century, it is also a classic revival phenomenon). Other ways would be signing petitions, boycotts, civil disobedience, peaceful resistance, sit-ins, traffic interruptions, occupations, closures, etc.
 - g) Orientation toward more or less violence. It is always a possibility, the radicalization of a movement that seeks to justify the use of violence.
 - h) Demand or cause for conflict. From this point of view we can distinguish movements "franchise" style, grouping diverse demands on the political (democracy, participation) and economic (mortgages, rescue, investment and debt), as well as cultural, environmental or social. They represent what is being called new social movements or a "global justice ". On the other hand there are movements that focus only on some of these aspects.
 - i) Their maturity. Some movements are in progress and delivery. Or been able to reach a level of maturity that ensures its maintenance and continuity, at least while the current crisis and the claims

are maintained. Or make the leap to the system, seeking political representation and thus be leaving social movements. Or are radicalized.

In order to know if a group is extremist the model proposed by Schmid (EMI20) could be applied. While a few of these factors (a total of 20) from this list might be insufficient to identify extremist speech or correctly interpret extremist militancy, the presence of multiple factors lends weight to an assessment of an individual or group as being "extremist". The more of these indicators that can be found in documents or action patterns of militants, the more likely they have to be considered "extremists" and as such need to be considered as serious threats to liberal-democratic societies.

- Situate themselves outside the mainstream and reject the existing social, political or world order;
- Seek to overthrow, with the help of a revolutionary vanguard, the political system in order to (re-) establish what they consider the natural order in society – whether this envisaged order be based on race, class, faith, ethnic superiority, or alleged tradition;
- Are usually in possession of an ideological programme or action plan aimed at taking and holding communal or state power;
- Reject or, when in power, subvert the liberal-democratic conception of the rule of law; use the political space provided by it to advance their cause in efforts to take state power;
- Reject universal human rights and show a lack of empathy and disregard for rights of other than their own people;
- Reject democratic principles based on popular sovereignty;
- Reject equal rights for all, especially

those of women and minorities;

- Reject diversity and pluralism in favour of their preferred mono-culture society, e.g. a worldwide Islamic state;
- Adhere to a (good-) ends-justify (-any)-means philosophy to achieve their goals;
- Actively endorse and glorify the use of violence to fight what they consider "evil" and to reach their political objectives (e.g. in the form of jihad);
- Show a propensity to engage in mass violence against actual and potential enemies when in power or when enjoying impunity;
- Are single-minded, black-or-white thinkers who want to purify the world and demonise, debase and dehumanise their enemies in hate speech, characterising them as "inferior" and earmarking them, implicitly or explicitly, as expendable;
- Subordinate individual freedoms to collective goals;
- Refuse to engage in genuine (as opposed to tactical and temporal) compromises with the other side and ultimately seek to subdue or eliminate the enemy;
- Exhibit intolerance to all views other than their own dogmatic one and express this in anger, aggressive behaviour and hate speech;
- Exhibit fanaticism, portray themselves as threatened and embrace conspiracy theories without necessarily being irrational in their strategic choices;
- Exhibit authoritarian, dictatorial or totalitarian traits;
- Are unwilling to accept criticism and intimidate and threaten dissenters, heretics and critics with death;
- Expect obedience to their demands and commands rather than allowing to subject their views and policies to discussion even within their own group; and

- Have fixed ideas and closed minds and believe there is only one truth – theirs. In its pursuit, they are often willing to face punishment or even death and sometimes actively seek martyrdom.

It could be interested to identify what could be called "gateway organizations", non-violent but acting as a previous phase in the radicalization process (i.e. Hizb-ut-Tahrir).

Information about individuals

How:

- Open Sources.
- Interviews

Collect and register:

- Templates desinged.

Selecting case studies

It could be possible to research at tow levels. The first one focused on groups and individuals. The second one, selecting a concrete set of case studies of violent actions (for example violent attacks in Italy – anarchism- or Spain – Resistencia Galega-).

How:

- Open sources.
- Policy databases

Collect and register:

- Fill template of groups and a new template for the concrete cases of the action to study. Information to collect (based on Global Terrorism Database –GTD-, and RAND Corporation):
 - Perpetrator (group, individual)
 - Date
 - Country, city.
 - Attack type
 - Target type

- Weapon
- Fatalities
- Injured
- Domestic or international action
- Domestic or transnational perpetrators.
- Attack claimed

Information about root causes of insurgency or violent extremism

How:

- Literature review.
- Interviews.
- Case study

Collect and register:

- Fill templates on macro environmental factors, in order to be analysed with the other templates.

General causes alleged in terrorism/insurgency (from literature review):

- Micro: Individual
 - Sense of power, revenge, significance, etc.
 - Existential sense of loss, deprivation, alienation from the countries in which they live
- Meso: Social/Groups/Networks
 - Radicalization process, charismatic leaders, internet,
 - Family, school, associations, etc.
- Macro:
 - Cultural
 - Alienation and humiliation
 - Narratives and historical memories (“just cause”)
 - Cultural conflicts in countries
 - Local and ethnic conflicts
 - Political
 - Political discontent
 - Nationalism, revolution, religion.
 - Failed or fragile states

- The action of government at home and abroad
- Disillusionment over the possibility of change through non-violence
- Rise of intolerance
- Corruption
- Armed conflicts
- State violence and repressive regimes
 - Economic
 - Inequality
 - Employment
 - Economic crisis
 - Religious
 - Divided societies because of religion
 - Rise of religious intolerance

Information about triggers, push and pull factors

How:

- Open sources
- Literature review.
- Interviews

Previous list of possible pull factors (from Literature Review):

- Globalization
- Global diffusion of certain political cultures and ideas.
- An international system dominated by hegemonic powers
- Low measures of freedom and democracy.
- Semi-authoritarian or semi-democratic countries
- Participation in wars
- Historical contingencies or radicalized political conspiracies
- Highly contentious polities.
- Political deprivation of groups.
- Transitional or new democracies.
- Societies with rapid modernization
- Rapid economic development,

measured in growth of real GDP.

- High levels of social distance or social polarization
- High level of cultural and relational distance
- Ethnic diversity
- The size of the young male population
- Modern mass media
- Low educational status (according to Lia, connections between poverty, education and terrorism are indirect and probably weak).
- Diasporas
- Charismatic ideological leaders
- Prisons
- Contagion processes between different countries. Successful operations in one country are imitated by groups elsewhere

Push factors:

- Social politics
- Democratic participation
- Education level
- Strategies against radicalization and extremism
- Community policing
- Engagement with minorities and communities.

Links between groups

In order to evaluate the existing transnational links between different groups, two research approaches are proposed:

- The three Rs
- Hard and soft links.

Desouza and Hengsen touches upon the theory of the three Rs for transnational terrorist cooperation by stating that ‘Terrorist groups seldom operate in isolation as the economics of the situation [in which the groups find themselves] will not allow for

strictly independent actions’ (2007; 594). The three Rs include Resources, Reciprocity and Reach and are a terrorist group’s limitation. Resources stand for means, reciprocity is exchanging ideas in an open and mutual way, and reach embodies effective, reliable, and like-minded contacts (Ibid.). Concerning the reach, the underlying thoughts on what these terrorists are trying to achieve are relevant. Means to accomplish terrorist attacks, like funds, technology, and knowledge, are scarce and therefore terrorists seek allies in order to be effective.

A second distinction is to be made between hard and soft links (Desouza and Hengsen). Hard links are the most concrete features of collaboration between terrorist groups. Soft links between terrorists include shared ideologies and beliefs, opportunities and chances, and even media strategy.

Soft links can more or less be defined as intangible while hard links are tangible. These hard and soft links are addressed throughout the case study in order to discuss the levels of connections between the groups.

a) Soft links

- Solidarity – This includes all actions that express solidarity with the cause or actions of another terrorist organization.
- Ideology – This category contains the connection between different organizations with an ideological resemblance or an ideological influence.
- Strategy – This category covers the overall strategy of a terrorist organization based on or influenced by another organization’s strategy. It also contains strategy developed in conjunction with other organizations.
- Media strategy – This category includes in

particular the media strategy that terrorist organizations undertake together with another organization, under influence of, or as a tribute to that other organization.

b) Hard links

- Alliance - This category contains all alliances through declarations (communiqués, statements etc.) of forming an alliance and in addition all declarations of the existence of an alliance, between two or more terrorist organizations.
- Methods and tactics – This category describes the methods and tactics that organizations use based on or influenced by the methods and tactics of others. It can be closely linked to the category AOBO (see below). For example: hijacking airplanes.
- Organizational assistance – This category includes providing the necessary logistics and supplies (other than weapons and finance) for another terrorist organization.
- Joint attacks – This covers all the attacks and operations in which more than one terrorist organization participated.
- Action on behalf of (AOBO) – This category covers all the actions that are conducted on behalf of another organization.
- Training – All the trainings that are given or received by another organization fall into this category.

- Protection – This category includes, for example, providing safe houses for other organizations.
- Weapons – This category covers all the weapons that were distributed to or shared by other terrorist organizations. This includes for example the explosives stolen by CCC and used by CCC, RAF and AD.
- Finance – This category includes the flow of money to other terrorist organizations.

Gateway organizations

Within this report, the term Gateway Organizations those groups, movements, associations or other groups of people, even developing for social or legal activism activities, they make use these structures to committing crimes. These organizations work as a gateway to other groups for all or part of its members.

The greater complexity becomes evident when the legal activist or social activity become to illicit, It is organized and intentionally. Here it is when it can say that there are structures that are born to facilitating and concealing such behavior. The difficulty increases when ties are established between different countries, to make the much difficult the identification and research.

EUROPEAN LEGAL FRAMEWORK

3. EUROPEAN LEGAL FRAMEWORK

Actions of counter-terrorism focused on the threat that foreign fighter represent

At a European level, this is a concern that has been actively addressed since 2013. Both from the Council of the EU and the European Council the lines of action undertaken are basically structured in two approaches: an internal approach and an external approach. Most recent outlines:

Measures against terrorists focused on the fight against extremist propaganda

In March 2015, the Council of the European Union on Justice and Home Affairs developed the command by which it requested the Europol the creation of a unit specialized in detecting and reducing the impact the terrorist and extremist propaganda is having on the Internet.

In July this year, Europol implemented the

	INTERNAL LEVEL ACTIONS	EXTERNAL LEVEL ACTIONS	
June 2013	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The coordinator in the fight against terrorism points out 4 spheres in which the EU should focus to help its member states: Prevention Information exchange (mainly about identification and displacements) Penal response Cooperation with third countries 		
August 2014	The European Council request speeding up the application of the four measures mentioned above.	Ministers of Foreign Affairs adopt the strategy of fight against terrorism in Syria and Iraq ⁶ , with a specific approach to foreign fighters. The following are emphasize as priority:	October 2014
December 2014	Ministries of Justice and Interior agree on ⁷ : <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Creating the Directive of register of passengers' names. Strengthen controls in their exterior borders. Improve the judicial answer Foster the exchange of information 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Strengthening of the political dimension Boost the prevention with third countries Regional protection with movement of weapons control Compromise with the main partners Create responsiveness to terrorist attacks. 	
February 2015	Statement of the leaders of the EU after their joint declaration ⁸ , in January, 2015 <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Decide the framework in order to create the Register Directive Foster the application of Schengen to strengthen the external controls Use Europol and Eurojust for a better exchange of information Fight terrorism financing and firearms smuggling Creation of speeches to prevent radicalization. 	Conclusions of the Foreign Affairs Council conclusions ⁹ , resuming actions of: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> Actions against existing conflicts Information exchange with partner countries Cooperation with Arab and Mediterranean countries. 	February 2015
May 2015	The Council and the Parliament promote new norm to prevent money laundering and terrorism financing ¹⁰ .	Endorsement of the Regional Strategy of the EU for Syria and Iraq, in relation to the threat ISIS/Daesh ¹¹ represents for the Foreign Affairs Council.	March 2015

European Union Internet Referral Unit¹ (EU IRU) in order to fight against the terrorist propaganda and violent contents on the Internet. This Unit is in charge of developing coordinated actions between the different members, providing support in operational and strategic analysis and establishing trustworthy relations with the private sector, identifying the specific internet services providers for measure undertaking.

Context of social policy in the European Union

In European scene there is no common framework to regulate in any way the social activity. However, it is possible to consult some social policy reports that allow a view of how social movements are seen from the regional level. A focus of interest since it is not proper studies on social movements, but analysis of the social, political and economic structures and some of its effects in this type of mobilization.

Retrieved latest report² on social policy of the European Union issued by the European Trade Union Institute (ETUI) and the European Social Observatory (OSE) in 2015, one chapter of it is based on austerity and its opposition.

The great unions institutionalization that has occurred from their birth until now has resulted in that these are no longer

considered as the only useful way to deal with the system. This trend can also be observed in the militancy regarding NGO whose scheduled activity is not attractive to new activism. This type of activism, made outside the limits of these organizations has been greatly nourished by the participation of the youngest members of society who, in the context of precariousness, have been most affected.

As an example of this rise was born 15M in Spain where not only enshrined activists gathered also a big number of young, mostly with highly education saying that they could not find a job opportunity. The strength in opposition to the system, including the union was evident, even the slogans: "politicians rob us, sell us the unions, employers and the media enslave us lies to us." This does not imply that these demonstrations not seen since bad unions supported the call for general strikes in protest of the situation (only in 2012, after the birth of 15M, two general strikes were held in Spain within 8 months). Developments in Italy was different, at least initially, as the Confederations unions instituted for the younger group, the most affected by unemployment.

This report highlights some features that describe the state of the current situation of European social movements.

- The interconnection between different groups has allowed sharing more fruitful and dynamic learning experiences and different activism. At least not directly produced this exchange, use of new technologies and communication networks has sought to today, a large source of inspiration.

- In parallel, the differences from one country to another, in terms of trust in institutions, citizen participation in politics and transparency, among others, have been key elements when forming the new protests. Thus, in those countries where trust has shown less respect to the power structures, new movements have tended to grow away from union and non-governmental organizations, opting for the use of a parallel social structure created to defend their own interests. These new channels from the use of new-fangled technology have also become alternative channels of citizen complaints. In this sense, any new user who has channeled his complaints in this way is automatically turned activist. However, the ease with which this complaint can be answered and supported by third citizens is one of the variables flexibility and ease with which new forms of communication contribute to the generation of activism. A partnership in which they share from concerns to instructions for action.

- Public spaces are again used as a field of discussion, and not just for acting. This form of mobilization has come to represent a higher degree of resistance or civil disobedience in all international territory without, however, end in violence. Privatizations, the defense of the common areas, the demand for greater participation of society in democracy, have been one of the main causes that have generated this type of action. Actions that attempt to deal with the institutional decisions.
- In countries like Spain and Greece have also increased collaborative activities or self-management. More linked in this case with left-wing organizations they are also being developed by right-wing movements.

¹ Europol Internet Referral Unit To Combat Terrorist and Violent Extremist Propaganda <https://www.europol.europa.eu/content/europol%E2%80%99s-internet-referral-unit-combat-terrorist-and-violent-extremist-propaganda>

² "Social Policy in the European Union State of Play 2015" <https://www.etui.org/Publications2/Books/Social-policy-in-the-European-Union-state-of-play-2015>

TREND ANALYSIS

4. TREND ANALYSIS

Violent extremism and radicalisation are clear contexts of rapid change, greater complexity and genuine uncertainties. A review of the events that have been going on in Europe shows a great evolution of the threat and the continuous emergence of new scenarios.

The complexity of the situation is due to the variety of quantitative and qualitative factors involved. Uncertainty is a key characteristic of our societies, generating fears that must be managed by governments and security institutions. We live in VUCA times:

- Volatility. The challenge is unexpected or unstable, with no predictable duration.
- Uncertainty. There are several trends, but a lot of “game changers” that make very difficult to know the future evolution (new technologies, new ways of communication, globalisation, new demands from the citizens, new social values, new threats and risks).
- Complexity. Too many factors are involved; some of them are causes and effects at the same time. Everything is connected. A multivariable analysis is needed in order to understand what is happening.
- Ambiguity. Casual relations are not clear. It's difficult to determine the combination of factors or drivers that will drive the future in a bad/good direction.

For this research we have applied the analytical framework used by RAND Europe in its research “Europe's Societal Challenges. An analysis of global societal trends to 2030 and their impact on the EU” that is consistent with the Development, Concepts and Doctrine Centre (DCDC) report of the

UK Ministry of Defence (2010), titled “Global Strategic Trends out to 2040”.

First of all, we selected the trends observed through a literature review process. We identified documents about the future of our societies and the future of violent extremism and radicalisation. Using the same documents and helped by experts meetings during the project (Sofia, Prague, Athens, Madrid and Granada) and in the headquarters of the Centre of Analysis and Foresight (CAP) of Guardia Civil (Spanish Law Enforcement Agency) we identified a set of drivers (factors that influence or causes change), indicators and those outcomes that could be related to the studied phenomenon, that could act as causes or factors, and produce threats and risks.

A trend is a set of processes that cannot be changed easily, a discernible pattern of change. They were born, have been pushed or depend on the present and will continue in the future. A driver is an agent or factor, which drives a change forward, and the indicators are the different variables that explain it.

In our process, we follow partially the model of Lia (2005). Although he uses a PESTEL model for the study of the future of terrorism, his framework is useful as a general approach for other phenomena. And we follow the research from Cohen and Blanco (2014), “The future of Counter-Terrorism in Europe. The need to be lost but in the correct direction”.

We have selected political, economic, social, technological and environmental trends, based on the following sources:

- “Europe's Societal Challenges”. RAND

Europe

- “Global Strategic Trends out to 2040”. DCDC
- “Global Risks 2013”, “Global Risks 2014”, “Global Risks 2015”. World Economic Forum.
- “Global Trends 2030”. National Intelligence Council.
- “Global Trends 2030”. ESPAS
- Internal documents of the CAP, Guardia Civil, based on a general literature review about the future, and the selection of the main trends about the future with a PESTEL/SWOT model.

Globalization appears as a key question. Globalization has been a classical grievance in the speech of international social movements. Global Justice has been the key of the international activist efforts in the last two decades. Globalisation has several faces:

- Political globalisation. Liberalism as political system, democratic trends, global governance, lobbies, the role of international organisations.
- Economic globalisation: financial markets, international treaties, power of international companies, consumption habits.
- Social globalisation: information, travels, values.

Following a PESTEL model we identify these key trends:

For each trend we assign a degree of evidence (high: ***; medium: **; low: *), and a degree of uncertainty about the outcomes (H: high; M: medium; L: low), specifying if the trend is being perceived in a short, medium or large time.

Political trends						
TRENDS	DRIVERS	INDICATORS	E	TIME	OUTCOMES	U
Crisis of power	Obama doctrine: “Leading from behind”; crisis of the power of nations; new international balance of power; multi-polar world and diffused power; post modern times (Bauman); lack of EU international leadership; world processes of democratisation; anti EU and international organizations movements	Global Peace Index (GPI); Fragile States Index (FSI); inequality gaps between countries; power indicators (GDP, military power, etc.)	**	S/M/L	Global governance failure; anarchy; failed and weak states; corruption; organized crime; terrorism; long and permanent low level conflicts out of control	H

Growing power of non state actors	Terrorism and organized crime groups, individual power, multinationals, “markets”, cities, NGOs, social movements.	Number and spread of organizations. Number of International conflicts between states and non state organizations. Global Peace Index	***	S/M/L	Conflicts, organized crime, insurgencies, corruption, terrorism. Social unrest (states can’t respond to the demands of its citizens)	H
Growing local and regional conflicts	EU surrounded by unstable regions (Middle East, North of Africa); military participation of EU countries; peacekeeping operations; War on Terrorism.	GPI; FSI; presence of European countries troops in conflicts	**	S/M/L	Fragile states; corruption; organized crime; terrorism; intrastate conflicts; insurgencies; displacements; foreign fighters phenomenon	H
State fragility	Several states are in a fragile situation, can be taken by criminal actors, insurgencies or terrorists. Not only important the conflict, but the post-conflict management	Fragile States Index	***	S/M	Corruption, insurgencies, terrorism, social unrest, interstate and intrastate conflicts, organized crime, illicit trafficking	H
Crisis of democracy	Institutional credibility in crisis; failed democratisation process; demands of transparency; new desires about political participation; activism and hacktivism	Surveys (institutional credibility); Transparency Index, Open Data Index; legitimization of the state index	**	S/M	Social unrest, lack of stability, reduction of legitimization of the state	M
Corruption	Crisis of democracy, conflicts, state fragility, crisis of state power, proliferation of non state actors, lack of controls, impunity	Corruption Perception Index	***	S/M	Social unrest, demonstrations, lack of stability, reduction of the legitimization of the state.	H
Growing surveillance	Security concerns about privacy and cyberspace; legal systems of control	E-government and open data indexes; sentiment analysis output; proliferation of leaks	**	S/M	Multi surveillance from the states and from citizens; leaks; social unrest; people trying to hide	M

Growing popularity of grassroots and populist movements, nationalism, extremism	Decline trust in institutions; Diverging global attitudes; anti globalization movements; nationalisms; Euro-scepticism ascendant; historical factors	EU elections results; national election results; number of terrorist attacks or incidents; confidence in institutions surveys.	***	S/M	Social unrest; Political violence; Terrorism; OC for financing activities	H
Transversal Bridges between ideologies, groups and individuals	Links between different ideological groups; far right groups acting as left wing; motorcycle clubs members travelling to fight in conflicts; anarchists and lefties fighting against Daesh; Jewish marching with Pegida against Muslims...	Qualitative indicators: common grievances, evolution of groups, identity generation, multi-activism	**	M/L	New processes of radicalisation; new modus operandi; new common grievances; social unrest	M
Activism, hacktivism and multi-activism	The empowerment of citizens connected in networks, acting in physical and cyber places.	Hacktivist attacks, demonstrations, social media campaigns.	**	S/M	Social polarization, unrest, leaks	M

Table 1: Political trends and security outcomes (Cohen and Blanco, 2016)

Economic trends						
TRENDS	DRIVERS	INDICATORS	E	TIME	OUTCOMES	U
Growing unemployment	Shortfall or slow employment creation; labour exploitation	Unemployment rate; youth unemployment rate	**	S/M	Social unrest; inequality; populism and extremism; radicalization; ghettos and minorities integration; resurgence of leftist anti globalisation ideologies	L
Inequality inside states and between rich and poor countries	Disparities inside EU; Unemployment; development; education; health	Income indexes; Gini index; income per capita; Human development index	**	S/M		L
Economic and financial crisis	Lack of opportunities; reducing social benefits; unemployment; inequality	Gross Domestic Product (GDP); social budget evolution	***	S/M		H
Increasing spread and power of financial markets, mobility of capitals, humans and investments	Globalization. Transactions on line. Tax havens. Lack of controls	Volume of transactions	***	S/M/L	Money laundering, corruption, fraud, tax evasion	H

Proliferation of virtual currencies	Spread of virtual currencies, like "bitcoin". New financial markets. Controls and restrictions	Prices, transactions, number and volume of new currencies	**	M/L	Money laundering; lack of control over financial operations; fraud; robbery; tax evasion; hidden activities for financing insurgencies, unrest...	M
New commercial routes, with new transports	New desires, new products. New international treaties: EU-USA, USA-Asia	Volume of transactions between countries; evolution of levels of violence, drugs use, homicides.	***	S/M/L	Organized crime, illicit trafficking, social unrest	M
New treaties: TTP. TTIP	TTIP as a key grievance for EU social movements	Evolution of negotiations	**	M/L	Social unrest, protests, demonstrations	M

Table 3: Economic trends and security outcomes (Cohen and Blanco, 2016)

Social trends						
TRENDS	DRIVERS	INDICATORS	E	TIME	OUTCOMES	U
Global population growth	Growing life expectancy; growing fertility in developing countries	Fertility rates; life expectancy	****	M/L	Stain on natural resources and food; migration floods	L
Population ageing in high and middle income countries and family changes	Growing life expectancy; high fertility rates; less infectious diseases; elderly citizens; increasing in one single person ways of life; new forms of cohabitation; youth bulges on parts of the world	Fertility rates; life expectancy; % of single parent households; divorce rates; average households size; poverty by household; old age dependency ratio, health care costs; proportion of young population	***	S/M/L	Risks of poverty and social exclusion; migration to EU; social unrest; pressure for democratic reforms; lack of opportunities; radicalization.	M
Decline working population in EU	Fertility decreases; longevity increases	Fertility rates; population growth; dependency ratios; % older people	***	S/M/L	Migration to EU; pressure for democratic reforms; decreasing political EU influence; social unrest	L

Migrations	Diversity in migration flows; attractiveness for migrants; economic and employment opportunities; social and family networks; rights and liberties; attitudes to migrants; residential distribution of migrants; conflicts; second and third generations integration; “diaspora” communities	Global Peace Index; Human Development Index; Racism surveys; migration rates; integration indicators; education level and success rate; migrant unemployment rates; diasporas communities evolution	***	S/M/L	Cultural polarization; problems of integrations; ethnic and religious conflicts; stress to social welfare; racism; skill gaps for job access; ghettos; lack of opportunities; extremism and radicalization; hate crimes; inter communal violence; home-grown terrorism	H
Global urbanization	Economic opportunities; globalization of travel and transports and mobility	Urban population rate	***	S/M/L	Social exclusion; ghettos; radicalization; resource scarcity; urban warfare	M
Social conflicts	Marginalization, urban ghettos, polarization of the population, cultural fragmentation, extremism and radicalization, crisis of democracy, economic crisis, lack of credibility on institutions	Global Peace Index. Number of demonstrations, strikes. Spread of social movements	**	S/M	Social unrest, insurgencies, terrorism, hate violence, xenophobia, racism	L
Individual empowerment	Internet; social media, networks; education on line; information and knowledge society; new ways of organization avoiding intermediation (hotels, taxis, books, 3D printing)	Internet and social media use; evolution market of crowd services and 3D printing	***	S/M	New opportunities, but organized crime and terrorist opportunities too in communication and recruitment: loner terrorism, foreign fighters; a lot of business affected; unemployment; Intellectual property piracy	H
Mobility, international travels	Globalisation, connectivity, internet, multinational companies, internationalisation of national economies	Cost of travels, number of migrants and refugees, tourist statistics, labour displacements	***	S/M	“Lone wolf” effect, foreign fighters	H

Table 4: Social trends and security outcomes (Cohen and Blanco, 2016)

Technological trends						
TRENDS	DRIVERS	INDICATORS	E	TIME	OUTCOMES	U
Development of information and communication technologies	Internet and social media; internet of things; semantic web; cloud computing	Technological foresight; analysis of impact of new technologies in security	***	S/M/L	Growing cyber-threats: cyber-terrorism, cyber-attacks, cyber-crime; critical infrastructures risks; espionage; intellectual property attacks; privacy; technological inequality	H
Big Data and predictive systems	Internet and social media; internet of things; semantic web; cloud computing	Volume of information (internet, social media), variety, and velocity	***	S/M/L	New opportunities to understand and study matters like terrorism. Privacy: terrorism and effects on liberties	H
Technological development: means of transportation; nano-technology; 3D printers, cyborgs, Google glass, CCTV	Access to technologies; economic cost; drones	Technological foresight; analysis of impact of new technologies in security; study of cases and news	***	S/M/L	Push and pull factors for criminal and terrorist use and for a counter-terrorism use. Dual use civil and military and possibility of access by terrorist groups. Gap between legislation and technology. Privacy	H
Transportation and logistics	Mobilisation (people, resources). New means of transport, new routes.	Evolution of the sector	***	S/M/L	Organized crime, trafficking, corruption	H
Smart cities	Technologies; social and political change and trends; internet of things	Smart cities index	***	S/M/L	Cyber-threats; critical infrastructures targets	H
Nanotechnology and robotics		Evolution of the markets; collection of problems caused	**	M/L	Conflicts, privacy, ethical and legal questions, new crimes	M

Table 5: Technological trends and security outcomes (Cohen and Blanco, 2016)

Environmental trends						
TRENDS	DRIVERS	INDICATORS	E	TIME	OUTCOMES	U
Growing resources demand	Cultivation; new technologies; economic and population growth; urbanization degree; food, water and energy scarcity, e-waste	Prices of resources (oil, minerals, food); international conflicts	**	M/L	Conflicts; resources scarcity and competition; food crisis; humanitarian crisis; migrations	H
Attractive-ness sector for OC groups	New products, new markets	OC indicators. Seizures. Police operations. Arrested	**	S/M/L	Trafficking. Corruption. Insurgencies. Money Laundering	H
Table 6: Environmental trends and security outcomes (Cohen and Blanco, 2016)						

COUNTRIES

- Context
- Recent social movements evolution
- Case studies



MAIN FACTS

Fragility of the state: 55.4% which means stable -2015 (Fragile States Index)

Corruption rate: 43% ; number 69th of 175 countries -2014 (International Transparency)

Democracy index: 6, 73/10; number 55th of 167 countries -2014 (The Economist)

Press Freedom: 31, 42 (100th /180) (World Press Freedom 2015)



Human development index: 0, 782; 57th -2014 (Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores)

Criminal violence rate: 40,88/100 -2015

Terrorism record (yes/no): 2, 58/10, number 60th of 124 (Global Terrorism Index 2014)

GDP growth: 2% -2015

GDP per capita: 5.900€ -2015

Poverty index: 2, 033 PPS -2014

Unemployment rate: 10, 7% of active population (INE)

Youth unemployment rate: 29, 70%

Inequality (Gini, others): 28.2 (Gini)

Other rates:

The country's democratic transition, which started in the late 1980s, reflected through a liberalization of the economy that left a trail of negative effects in society. If in the 80s the country's poverty rate was approximately 2%, in 2013 it was 21% (World Bank's last available record).

During this period, there was also an increase of crime, not only as a consequence of actions coming from marginal citizens or volume crime, but also of capital accumulation that derives from the unprecedented creation and growth of private companies. An accumulation of wealth facilitated by dispossession, which as T. Piketty points out, is also a consequence of worldwide inequality.

The country's social system, based on an oligarchy, cause difficulties for the political

independence concerning the economic independence, aligning private and political interests (Pleyers and Sava, 2015).

The decrease in progressive public spending, the decrease in wage level and the increase of illegal practices like corruption have made it easier for the deterioration of Bulgarian citizen's living standards.

Wave of protests started in 2013

Bulgaria's recent history includes important social mobilizations. In January 2013 the protests were initiated, which, even though they were addressed against the high prices in electricity¹, remained even after the Prime

1 "Clashes between police, protesters in Sofia as thousands protest in Bulgarian cities against electricity companies". SofiaGlobe. 17 February, 2013 <http://sofiaglobe.com/2013/02/17/clashes-between-police-protesters-in->



Protest in Sofia. 17 February, 2013
Free Wikimedia

protests in many cities⁴.

Parallel to the amount of social claims exposed, more than 10,000 refugees had arrived in Bulgaria through 2013, the majority coming from Syria. This circumstance caused the extreme right to reemerge, generating an increase in xenophobic attacks. In this context, a new political party of nationalist ideology was created, formed mainly by football hooligans, skinheads and ultra-nationalists. Other independent fractions of the party began to create citizen auto-defense groups.

On February 20th, Borisov announced the resignation of his executive. The resignation was accelerated by the intense social unrest occurred the day before, when the 140 memorial of the execution of the national leader Vasil Levski had caused intense violent confrontations in Sofia.

The early elections held on May 12th did not succeed in stabilizing the country. When 2013 was not over yet, the citizens took the streets again, this time for denouncing corrupt practices and the growing nepotism of the new coalition government led by Plamen Oresharski. According to Transparency International, Bulgaria was ranked as the second country with the highest corruption levels out of the 28 EU Member States, surpassed only by Greece. A rate of youth unemployment of 28.7% and the lack of job opportunities were also some of the reasons that kept up the rejection coming from the

sofia-as-thousands-protest-in-bulgarian-cities-against-electricity-companies/

2 Сблъсъци между полиция и протестиращи в София. 18 February, 2013
http://archive.bnt.bg/bg/news/view/95279/sblysyaci_me-jdu_policija_i_protetirashiti_v_sofija

3. "Unrest in Bulgaria: New Casualty in Wave of Self-Immolations". Spiegel. 22 March, 2013. <http://www.spiegel.de/international/europe/man-dies-in-sixth-bulgarian-self-immolation-in-less-than-a-month-a-890444.html>

4 Огледало на протестите 2013-2014, by Петър Клисаров. 4 September, 2014 ISBN: 978-619-152-484-6



Protest in Sofia against the election of Peevski. 14 June, 2013 - Free Wikimedia

student sector⁵.

One of the facts that served again as a protest trigger was the appointment of Delyan Peevski⁶ as head of the National Security Agency. His family controls almost all of the media in the country (Pleyers and Sava, 2015). Some of the biggest mobilizations of the country's recent history were then recorded.

After three weeks of great tension, the Parliament even rejected Peevski's designation. The Prime Minister Oresharski publicly said to be accountable for that mistake⁷, though dismissing the idea of

resigning because of it: *"I made a political mistake, for which I apologise not only to you, but to the thousands of people who took to the streets to protest"*. The EU itself criticized political actions, both from Oresharski as from his predecessors. The protests remained even after Peevski's resignation.

October brought once again an upturn of the social mobilization when Peevski's possible position as a Parliament member was reconsidered. Various universities and governmental buildings were taken by students⁸.

Continuous protests, with episodes of greater or smaller intensity, went on during the following year. On June 23rd, 2014 the Prime Minister Oresharski resigned.

Focus on the Bulgarian Hooligans

Their presence in Bulgarian demonstrations has progressively increased. Even though the objective of their vindications was addressed against Muslims and other ethnic minorities, they also denounce the most burning social problems, which contributes to increasing the possibility of gaining supporters.

Local neo-nazi groups, as well as rival hooligans, attend the protests they organize. The widest meetings have achieved the gathering of a few hundreds of followers; however, they are considered to be very violent.

⁸ "Universities in Chaos as Students Occupy 15 Campuses in Anti-Government Protest". The Independent, November 7, 2013. <http://www.independent.co.uk/student/news/bulgarian-universities-in-chaos-as-students-occupy-15-campuses-in-antigovernment-protest-8927171.html>

⁵ "Students on the barricades". The Economist. 31 October, 2013. <http://www.economist.com/blogs/easternapproach-es/2013/10/bulgaria>

⁶ "Bulgarians protests over media magnate as security chief". Reuters. 14 July, 2013. <http://www.reuters.com/article/2013/06/14/us-bulgaria-government-idUSBRE95D0ML20130614>

⁷ "Peevski protest forcé Bulgaria PM Oresharski's U-turn". BBC. 19 June, 2013 <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-europe-22965278>

Their visual identification is simple. They generally are young males. They have even established groups that act like "citizen patrols" aiming to ask the residents of each area for their identity documents, or to assault mosques, as it occurred with the Dzhumaya mosque in Plovdiv, in February 2014⁹.

Areas of Bulgaria like the city of Garmen or the Orlandovtsi quarter in Sofia have witnessed safety features and arrests due to the increasing of hooligan's actions coinciding with the existence of a greater rate of Gypsy population. According to Amnesty International¹⁰, various hate crimes have been registered in the country, many of them attributed to aggressor's profiles like the ones indicated, which in most occasions have not been investigated.

Main points

The protests initiated in January 2013 quickly spread to the rest of the cities.

Electricity high prices triggered the protests. The social complaints gathered a group of causes that had been occurring in the last years.

For the first time, suicides directly linked to the situation of many citizens were registered. These suicides coincided with

⁹ "Bulgarian football hooligans attempt assault on Plovdiv Mosque". Novinite, February 14, 2014 <http://www.novinite.com/articles/158219/Bulgarian+Football+Hooligans+Attempt+Assault+on+Plovdiv+Mosque>

¹⁰ "Missing the Point. Lack of adequate investigation in hate crimes in Bulgaria". Amnesty International. February 2015. http://www.amnesty.eu/content/assets/Reports/Missing_the_point_-_FINAL_version_EN_for_print.pdf

one of the highest protest peaks.

2013 mobilizations focused on the vindication of better living standards. Regarding 2014, the main message was defined on politics, concerning denounced abuses of power and corrupt practices.

The turning point of the second wave of protests was represented by a new appointment as head of the National Security Agency, but the practices denounced had also been happening during the last decades.

The protests caused the resignation of two executives, one of them, right-wing, in 2013 and a coalition one led by socialists in 2014.

In both incidents, the use of the internet and social networks¹¹ was decisive in the communications and meetings held, as well as in their dissemination.

At the beginning of 2014, the protests were not that usual or intense, but the NGOs increased their action. The Network protest was created, which makes efforts to expose existing links among politics, communication media and private entities.

Case study

Hooligans interview (given on condition of anonymity)

NOTE: A series of comments are inferred from the cited interviews
Main data and conclusions obtained from

¹¹ "Social Media is Driving Massive Anti-government Protest in Bulgaria". Tech President. July 24, 2013. <http://techpresident.com/news/wegov/24199/newly-violent-protests-bulgaria-got-their-start-twitter>

the field research:

- The interviewed shows reticence when asked to identify himself. He does not give at any moment the name of the group he belongs to either.
- He presents himself as the leader of the movement in representation of which he has spoken for four years now.
- The organization to which he belongs is merely local, as the interviewed says that at a national level they are identified as Hooligans Unit.
- He admits not to have more than 20 members in its ranks and that some of his closest friends also have command positions in the structure.
- He clearly identifies the opportunity structures by which his organization is created, without using the specific expression for them. In this sense, even though he speaks about a complete disaffection towards the situation of his country, it must be understood in a wide sense. Politics and communication media are the ones to blame, he says, for the problems Bulgaria is currently suffering.
- Regarding the media, he denounces the widespread manipulation that tries to confuse citizens concerning each country's reality.
- Regarding the political field, he says not to have any political aspiration, arguing once again that he rejects all that the word "politics" implies. However, before ending the interview he confesses to support the extreme right and he states that he does not admit foreigners into his organization.
- In this regard, he identifies himself with the international situation, as he extrapolates this situation to the rest of the world.
- Given the possibility to be intercepted in their communications, any of the

members use new technologies, not even cell phones. They dismiss the use of social networks and other benefits that the net could provide them, and they only hold physical meetings.

- This characteristic differs from that one of many of the Hooligans' organizations that take action in Bulgaria, which do not only have their own webpages or profiles in social networks, but they also use them in order to make their communications more dynamic and to attract followers.
- Since he joined the organization, he has not travelled abroad. This circumstance makes it obvious that he has not had physical contact with third foreign social movements. Specifically in his case, he confirms the impossibility to do that, the prohibition; that is why we can deduce that he has some kind of record or judicially imposed impossibility.
- He admits that his organization does not have entrance tests, but they require tracking the person enough time in order to verify that they possess the necessary conditions. In words of the interviewed, a great commitment to the values that characterize the organization is required. Loyalty, sincerity and honesty are the most acclaimed and repeated values. Their final integration is defined by him. They do not look for new members or followers.
- The organization's financial resources come from every member's work; they all work. If any of them is arrested, they all pay for the bail.
- Other soccer team's followers are not welcome, but they respect them.
- When asked about the possibility to carry out violent actions, he declares that given the situation of "war", they are willing to participate. Fighting is an

inherent condition to the fact of being an extremist.

- In this regard, he confirms that organizations like his act like military or paramilitary units. As they did in Kosovo, he says to have been fighting in Kiev, Ukraine. Regarding the decision of joining or not joining a context of conflict in order to fight, he states that it is a personal decision of the person to go, and that there is no instigation involved coming from the organization.
- He assures that there sometimes are fraternities among the followers of different teams, but they do not participate in them. When these take place, they are made by oral agreements; they try not to leave any written evidence.
- They promote joint social activities, like cleaning green and other kinds of zones related to nature conservation.

- He is strict when it comes to rejecting drug consumption in his ranks.
- At an international level, they have links with the Polish Widzew Lodz.

CZECH REPUBLIC

Country's recent context

In 1990, the Czech Republic left behind the communist regime that ruled the country for the previous 40 years, becoming the first developed economy from the former East bloc and entering into the European Union in 2004.

Between 2011 and 2013, the country suffered the deepest economic recession ever. The government started to show weakness signals after an increasing social rejection that came after several scandals,

MAIN FACTS

Fragility of the state: 55.4% which means stable -2015 (Fragile States Index)

Corruption rate: 43% ; number 69^o of 175 countries -2014 (International Transparency)

Democracy index: 6, 73/10; number 55^o of 167 countries -2014 (The Economist)

Press Freedom: 31, 42 (100^o /180) (World Press Freedom 2015)



Human development index: 0, 782; 57^o - 2014 (Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores)

Criminal violence: 40,88/100 -2015

Terrorism record (yes/no): 2, 58/10, number 60^o of 124 (Global Terrorism Index 2014)

GDP growth: 2% -2015

GDP per capita: 5.900€ -2015

Poverty index: 2, 033 PPS -2014

Unemployment rate: 10, 7% of active population (INE)

Youth unemployment rate: 29, 70%

Inequality (Gini, others): 28.2 (Gini)

Other rates:

Graph 1.1: Real GDP growth and contributions



commercial imbalances, political weakness and increasing social discontent.

The European Commission¹² itself stated in their last Country Report about the country that the years before 2014 were characterized by the decline of the markets and the increase of unemployment. However, their previsions for the present and the forthcoming years are more optimist.

In 2014, after seven months of collapse of a far right government, a new government was appointed, headed by the social democrat Miloš Zeman.

At present, the Ministry of Interior of the Czech Republic identifies the following relevant risks:

- Increase in social fragmentation produced

¹² Country Report Czech Republic, 2015 http://ec.europa.eu/europe2020/pdf/csr2015/cr2015_czech_en.pdf

by reaction mobilizations against ethnical or religious factors, among others.

- This greater interethnic polarization as an ability to mobilize the public opinion at local levels.
- The inclusion of extremist elements in the political speech.
- The possible origin of an extremist political entity, with a charismatic leader that manages to have the ability of putting together the extremist scenario.
- The emergence of small groups, or individual actions, that end up making use of the violence in order to fulfill their objectives.

Recent evolution of the protests

The information presented hereafter about the protests has been taken from the annual reports of the Ministry of the Interior of the Czech Republic. In each one of the issued reports, it is said that the group of events indicated, even those related to racist and xenophobic demonstrations, do not match with the total number celebrated in the country. This is a sing of the existent inability of reaching the total scope of this kind of behaviors so far.

In this line, it is specified that, just as no all the xenophobic or racist behaviors have been included in the official reports, not all the registered acts can be considered as illegal, being the reflection of mere movements carried out in a legal and licit way. In the last report issued in 2015¹³, there is a reference to the need of including hate crimes in future registers, not documented in the country so far.

¹³ Report on the Extremism in the Territory of the Czech Republic in 2014



In year 2012, more continuous mobilizations than the previous ones were registered in the country. In this context, both the extreme right, linked mainly with the National Socialist Movement and the extreme left, especially its most anarchist branch increased their diverse acts. 252 events organized by the far right and 156 by groups considered from the extreme left.

The development of multiple events such as the ones we have just mentioned, the closeness of each of the ideologies to specific political parties and the use of the Internet and social media was decisive when getting greater adhesion of members to one rank or others.

The local security forces estimate that far right forces have around 5000 supporters, 150 out of which would be the most activist ones and, around 50 would be the leaders and directors. In regards to the far-left, despite of the struggles to get information, those same sources estimate that their presence is very similar.

The far-right has closed its links with third countries, such as Germany or Slovenia. The identification with other great mobility subcultures such as the hooligans or riders'

Transparent in led the parade during a demonstration PEX in Carlsbad

bands, has facilitated this expansion of links. The contacts of the extreme-left with activists from other countries has taken place especially in regard to the squatter movement.

The total number of extremist crimes in the official registers finally was 211.

During the year 2013, from May to October, far-right mobilizations with a political background against Romany citizens were registered. These anti-Roma gatherings were organized as a way of direct confrontation against these communities and were mainly used by the leaders of each of the organizations to attract greater attention. In this sense, the largest mobilization took place in August in Decin, where Lukas Kohout brought together 200 people. The 23rd August, it was the president of the Worker's Party of Social Justice (WPSJ), Tomas Vandas. This time, around 120 people attended the protest. The 29th March in Duchcov, the WPSJ organized another of the main events against Romany, with around 160 attendants. In all these protests, between half and two thirds of the attendants were local citizens.

The organization of this kind of protests was made taking advantage of small local incidents between Romany and local population, elements used by the far-right to mobilize. Both their call as well as their ability to gather attendants in their acts decreased gradually during the whole year.

In total, 26 actions were registered, being the ones in Duchov, Ceske, Budejovice and

Ostrava the largest ones. The generation of these protests showed not only the participation of the local population that had never before been related to far-right movements, but also the ease by which a population with no disorder records could become a spotlight of severe protests as they congregated neighbors rejecting these acts as well.

Members of German and Italian organizations such as Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschland (NPD), Junge Nationaldemokraten (JN) or Italian Blocco Studentesco were also incorporated to some of these events.

Although the WPSJ had seats in the municipal councils, their campaign for the elections to the European Parliament supposed an important failure, as they did not even pass the 1% of the votes cast, necessary threshold for obtaining funds that allow to cover the electoral expenses, their main objective in this campaign.

During this year, from the 272 events organized by extremist associations, 132 were carried out by right-wing organizations and 140 by left-wings. The number of followers of one and another branch had no substantial changes.

Inside the far-right, members of the WPSJ and their youth organization Workers' Youth (WY) gained strength. Regarding these last ones, it was the area in which a greater link with radical neo-Nazis organizations was registered. The most significant organization linked to the far-left of the Czech scenario in 2013 is the Czechoslovak Anarchist Federation (CSAF), also including other kind of groups and initiatives.

The WY has mainly presence in Moravia-Silesia, South Moravia and recently in Carlsbad. Some members of the WY joined the mobilizations as a way of supporting the Right Sector of Ukraine at the beginning of the year.

In both cases there is also a link with third associations that are also radical, but that try to emphasize patriotism and social activism. The far-right tends to support Pro-vlast, Generate Identity (GI) and other solidarity platforms with Siria and Kosovo.

- According to local authorities, Pro-vlast activists are associated with a theft of EU flags that would afterwards be burnt in an event that the police achieved to prevent. They also got involved in Islamophobic social actions against a mosque and an Islam foundation of Prague.
- GI, who promotes charity actions to help disadvantaged families and actions of animal welfare, also participates openly in the scene of the far-right. In one of the international meetings of this ideology that took place in Prague, they managed to gather activists from Germany, Austria, Italy, France and Poland.

While far-left also participates in non-extremist initiatives, of social nature,



such as those that promote the access to public living, many of these actions emerge directly in opposition to far-right actions and movements in the country.

In 2014, organized events from both sides lightly increased, with a total of 291 actions. However, the official sources themselves do remark progress inside the far-left wing, mainly due to a greater organization of acts mostly addressed to the property.

The key mobilization topic of the right-wing extremism was focused on a rejection of Islam as a way of justifying the defense of the national culture and of Europe. Their presence also increases in concerts and on the Internet, with groups such as the Czech Defense League or Islamic in the Czech Republic do not want.

In July 2014, WPSJ, as the main far-right organization in the country and, trying to refloat their ideological framework, developed a new project called Congress of National Forces together with the political party National Democracy (ND). At the international level, contacts with other countries were kept, especially with the Germans NPD and JN, with which also developed joint acts in one country and the other one.

The ND managed to organize its own events, even the protests against the USA interference in Czech affairs, the 26th November. They also participated with a big intensity supporting Russia in the development of the conflict in Ukraine. In this context, they got big attention from the media as they managed that one of their members, Ladislav Zemane, assumed the role of foreign observer during the elections

in the region of Donbass, in Ukraine, in October 2014.

However, the inability of the far-right in unifying their presence and in having a mobilizing message, generated a loss of effect with respect to the population in general and a greater fragmentation among their organizers, each of them more focused on its own leaders than in generating a structure of greater scope. Many of these local meetings ended up linked solely with alcohol consumption or the organization of trips to football matches, situation that comes from the linkage between the hooligans and these organizations.

The situation of the far-left was distinguished by an increase in the number of mobilizations and of direct actions, evaluated by the local security forces, such as those addressed expressly against property. In making this kind of acts, the Czech far-left is usually backed by the Network of Revolutionary Cells (NRC). It was them who claimed to be responsible of 5 out of the 6 attacks that took place between January and August 2014, through online statements. All the attacks' objectives have been material and were not addressed against physical persons.

The squatter movements, also in increase, carried out several occupations in this period, but with a temporal character as a way of complaining about the property speculation, the number of disused properties and the people that have no home. Some initiatives such as 'Occupy and love' or 'Klimika' were followed by evictions carried out by the security forces.

As already mentioned in this exposition, another of the mobilizer landmarks of the



Flag of Antifascist Action

responsible for several direct attacks against farms and enterprises dedicated to the breeding minks.

The Marxist-Leninist part of the far-left suffered a big fragmentation during 2014 caused by personal internal discussions. Multiple small groups with very little capacity for action and a very weak base members emerged. Despite of this, their activity when publishing on the Internet kept on very intense.

The youth communist representation is mainly represented by the Communist Youth Union of Young Communist Union (CYU) and the Union of Young Communists of Czechoslovakia (UYCC), with continuous internal disputes. Although it has been in a narrow extent, they have organized meetings supporting the separatists in East Ukraine. Some of them have also demonstrated

Extremism-related crimes. Period 2006-2015:

YEAR	NUMBER OF CRIMES	NUMBER OF SOLVED CRIMES
2006	248	196
2007	196	119
2008	217	126
2009	265	186
2010	252	168
2011	238	157
2012	173	116
2013	211	144
2014	201	132
2015 (01/01 – 30/06)	95	57

far-left have been the acts carried out by the far-right themselves, acts that they try to block. Many of these acts, in which the call mobilized 200-300 activists, generated riots in which the security forces had to intervene.

The groups, collectives and initiatives that came from the far-left were configured with a big coordination during the whole year 2014. New groups, such as the Most Solidarity Network or Solis Prague emerged in that period of time.

Ecologist and animal welfare entities were also very active, claiming they were

against Israel and their role in the Middle East.

In the two first quarters of 2015, the far-right have decreased their appearances, due to their greater fragmentation in comparison to previous years, circumstance that leads to a lower coordination among their supporters.

Focus on Islamophobia movements

In regard to the Islamophobic movements, we can mention the group 'We don't want Islam in ČR (IVČRN)' and a recent created bloc against Islam (BPI) that comes from former supporters of the IVČRN. From their emergence, they are present in virtual spheres and have supported protest acts. According to the local security forces, these new entities are in the end a direct rivalry for the traditional far-right groups, although their political demands, proposals and ways of mobilization are very similar.

On 16th January 2015, took place for the first time a demonstration in Prague against Islam, convened by the organization IVČRN that, till the date of 30th October 2015, has more than 100000 followers on Facebook.

One of the principal points to convene, already used in their beginnings, is the reference to the Paris attacks and the possibility that a similar circumstance takes place in the Czech Republic. Under this premise, they advocate the spread of the prohibition of Islam. IVČRN has links with groups with identical identity in third countries, particularly with Germany.

The security situation in the Middle East has also been used in the message of the la Czech Defence League (CDL), both on the



online as well as on the public sphere.

Members of the Workers Youth (WY) have also successfully celebrated Islamophobic events with the participation of the German and the Italian organizations that we have mentioned before: Nationaldemokratische Partei Deutschland (NPD), Junge Nationaldemokraten (JN) and Italian Blocco Studentesco. One of the most important landmarks of WY was their presence in the European Congress of Youth National Organizations, organized by the youth organization of JN in Kirchheim, Germany.



Martin Konvička, biologist in the University of South Bohemia, has founded the political party called Anti-Islamic Bloq with the aim of standing in the regional elections planned for 2016. Without a clear political line so far, the

party is focusing in spreading the fear about these phenomena to get the votes. It should be mentioned in this line that, the current Czech President Miloš Zeman, although he is from the left, has also sent messages against Islam in the Czech Republic.

Main points

In the year 2013 took place the biggest mobilizations in the history of the country. Never again mobilizations have had such a scale, partly due to the greater attention that the government paid to socially excluded communities, as identified by the Ministry of the Interior.

The fragmentation of the far-right of the country had a direct effect in a lower presence and pressure of it in the country. Inside this breakdown, the Islamophobic sphere has been the most benefited ones, taking advantage of the regional crisis. At present, their mobilizations are addressed against the refugees' entrance in the country.

The far-left has gradually increased, with a greater celebration of acts. From their ranks, it is said that both the internal evolution as well as what happens in other countries, allow them to generate bigger mobilizations.

Praga, as the capital of the country, has been the main spotlight for the protests, followed by South Moravian, Usti nad Labem, Olomouc and Moravian-Silesian regions. In the other regions, the incident developed in a very irregular way, although it did increase in the South Bohemian region.

In regards to the presence of each one in both scenes, the far-right has a greater support in the regions of Moravian-Silesian, Usti nad Labem and Carlsbad and in Olomuc and South Moravian regions in a lower extent. The far-left keeps its presence in Olomuc, Liberec, Usti nad Labem and Zlin regions.

The Internet still has a dominant role in the promotion and communication when it comes to the far-right sphere.

Regarding the far-left, there was also certain internal division, where the most remarkable one was the anarchist. In one side, they were the moderate activists and in the other, those who looked for a direct confrontation with the State. Prague, Usti nad Labem, South Moravia, Zlin and Olomouc are the regions where the radical left movement has more presence.

The squatter movement also intensified their actions, but they lacked a significant figure with the ability to bring their followers together so far.

The Internet became an essential element in their campaigns, but meetings or coordination assemblies still stand out as planning and preparation tools. In this aspect, cultural centers have a fundamental role.

The recent evaluation of the international contexts, such as the arrival of refugees and the war in Ukraine, have an influence not only in activist movements, but also in the Czech electorate, leading to the generation of diffused movements. Many activists from the left have claimed to be in favor of the right Russian regime, and many citizens (openly considered as left-winged), are against immigration.

Case study

Interviews:

- Adam Berčík, Generation of Identity
- Jan Májiček, Socialist Solidarity
- Tomáš Vandas, Workers' Party of Social Justice
- Erik Lamprecht, Workers' Youth

NOTE: A series of comments are inferred from the cited interviews

Adam Berčík, Generation of Identity

- The organization of the movement, which began in the country in 2013, is not hierarchical, not fully defined. The participation of each of the members is defined by participation opportunities it can bring. In this sense the interviewee is not defined as a group leader or representative. This does not preclude territorial divide by region, because they also work in coordination.
- No member profile which can be defined. It is possible to emphasize an average age between 20 to 30 year-old student at the university and, in many cases combines these studies with work.
- However, one of the guidelines that repeats itself is the development of previous activism in other organizations before Generation of Identity existed.
- Funding also works in this way. Each member contributing with the amount that is within its possibilities, and with public campaigns and donations.
- Decision making is done in a democratic way, though, likewise alluded to are very informal processes.
- The respondent decides to be part of Generation of Identity because, after learning his actions in France, he began to feel identify for their manifestos.
- The presence of motion in third countries makes it customary among its members, regular trips to these territories in order to accompany local mobilizations.
- The calls have little participation,

Akce politicky motivovaných extremistických subjektů v letech 2013 - 2014



according to Bercik.

1. Regarding the type of tools they use for greater mobilization, they consider Facebook as the most relevant.
2. Sometimes they have used the media to spread their messages, but how these work, in general, does not seem appropriate nor neutral.
3. They are not opposed to the existence of the European Union as an institution that unites the peoples that form it, but his way of working, and to impose controls are negative to the society, emphasizing the precariousness of the living young families or retirees.
4. Similarly, consider the socio-political system as we know it, as a flawed system where all values are relativized and even the persecution of people for their opinions is allowed. The State itself is not a problem, it is how it is configured. Betting direct democracy, standing on the participation of people who really care about her.
5. They reject be associated with right or left ideologies, and the use of the word extremism, because by its own definition is considered vague and subjective application.
6. Corruption is one of the major problems that neither the European Union nor the states have been able to remedy. Privatization policies are one of the grievances set out in the interview.
7. With regard to Islam, not as a problem for their own existence, say they used to live with Muslims, but intolerable believe that the most radical sectors want to impose their beliefs and customs of local people who do not share. They always respect who do not want to impose its foreign culture. In this line Bercik also highlights

the ethnic issue, but not considered a problem or need affirmative action policies exist in their aid to be helping people because of their ethnicity and not their abilities. Racism is not a problem in the Czech Republic, but is magnified when is talking about it.

8. Referring to the LGBT community, no opposition is mentioned, but at all times indicated disagreement that can be considered as the traditional family, or to be adopted. Children can not grow up thinking that such behavior are normal.

Jan Májiček, Socialist Solidarity

- The respondent is 31 years old and higher education. He is currently developing PhD studies. He works on projects of political education at the Academy of Prague.
- Jan is defined as an ordinary member of the organization. In his environment is considered a key figure, but he says it is not an official position.
- The organization works divided into different groups. Each group develops the task that is assigned to it: magazine, website editing, design of campaigns and a treasurer who is responsible for fees afilización that is how all the work is financed.
- Within its action, mainly local, exist also international activities, such as opposition to TTIP treaty to which it has moved several European countries and other US members also develop. In this sense, they also participated in protests against the World Bank and the IMF. Considers that the left parties are gaining importance in Europe, mainly due to the existence and importance of the vote

of Syriza in Greece and of Podemos in Spain and also against the installation of military bases.

- Currently Socialist Solidarity is neither resembles any political party, nor is it supported by any one group but is closer to them than others, but this does not prevent them organize events and social activities.
- They have a closer cooperation with other organizations, such as anarchists, with which they maintain good relationship.
- They try to reflect its anti-capitalism generating political and economic changes. Priorities of them are: the fight against racism and xenophobia, economic crisis, corruption, poor access to housing and discrimination based on gender.
- They oppose any type of terrorist attack. The organization is very active in denouncing such situations even if they are disapproving of the international context.
- Social networks, mainly Facebook and twitter are exploited to try to reach as many readers as possible.
- As direct opponents of their ideology and organization he mentions extreme right and neo-Nazis organizations.
- The European Union, in the words of Májiček maintains an undemocratic operation they oppose. Nationally, the link between private interests and political powers makes everything is controlled by private oligarchies.

Tomáš Vandas, Workers'Party of Social Justice

- He born in the year 69 and he have higher studies. He is presented as one of the Presidents of the Party that was founded in 2003 as a result of disagreements with previous political organization.
- Relations with parties in Europe are frequent, mainly with Germany, Slovakia and France. Members, but mostly in the beginning they were young around 20 years old, today the average is around 35 years old.
- For the party, the most important tool of mobilization is now the scenne online, including the use of Facebook and websites available to them.
- Criticism of traditional media is based on the lack of objectivity of its content. Vandas mentioned as key corruption complaints, saying that it is doing nothing to prevent it.
- He assures that his party is not opposed to any religion, but one thing is respect and allow another to put in place laws in Europe. Given this last possibility rotundamenta they oppose. For this reason they are not agree with the reception of refugees.
- He says that they have a similar position with the LGBT community, which are not opposed but disagree. In this way they reject any possible consideration of the union of these people as families.
- They consider that the Islamization of Europe is the most important and the largest risk to face in the coming years.

- The imposition of quotas by issues of positive discrimination, whether it is for ethnic, gender or other, it seems unnecessary and inappropriate.

Erik Lamprecht, Workers' Youth

- He born in the year 88 and he have completed secondary education. He has been president of Workers' Youth for 5 years. Currently they hold a leadership position within the organization and is the President of the South Moravian region.
- He says his personal dissatisfaction with the political context of the country has been the main factor mobilizador. They remain in favor of religious freedom without any restriction. Instead they do not like the LGBT community or agree with what they claim but not direct any attack on them. They do not believe that racism is a problem today.
- Germany, Slovakia and Poland are the countries who travel regularly within the organization, although there are more, and collaboration is cited as constant.
- The average member is Baron aged between 20 and 25 years.
- The functions of the organization are highly structured under a hierarchical system. Membership dues and donations represent the mainstay of the organization.
- They use social networks to reach a larger audience but rather have fewer members and make them more select. In this regard Erik says that using Facebook is the most useful to them.
- The flawed political system and capitalism is referred to as main complaints.
- One of these complaints when he speak of injustice or the media is that they are consider an extremist group, or neo-Nazi,

and they are not identified as such. As Erik organization says no value violence as a way to achieve his goals.

ITALY

Country's recent context

Both the political class as some of the most important sectors of the Italian scene have been rejected during the decade of the 90s One of the major opposition was the movement known as "Mani pulite". This movement was born in rejection mainly to corrupt practices that had spread from these areas. Investigations, even today, are even designed to prime ministers of the country.

Since June 2007 the famous Italian actor and comedian Giuseppe Piero Grillo took the initiative to celebrate V-Day. The main objective was to apply by popular initiative, the amendment of the electoral law so that no politician who had been charged previously could qualify for a seat in Parliament. The formation of this new movement reflected the growing public discontent towards the Italian power.

Unemployment, at around 12%, the economic crisis, the poverty more latent in south areas and and the intraregional inequality are added to this social situation factors.

Popolo Viola, movement against the abuse of power

In December, 2009 more than 250,000 Italian citizens took the streets of Rome protesting against the government led by Berlusconi, a media tycoon, which was the widest registered protest of the country, except from

MAIN FACTS

Fragility of the state: 43.2/120 (stable) (2015) (Fund for Peace)
Corruption rate: 43/100 (1 very high, 100 very low) (2014) (IPC)
Democracy index: 7.85 (2014) (Economist Intelligence Unit Democracy Index)
Press Freedom: 27.94/100 (2015) (Reporteros Sin Fronteras) (1 very high, 100 very low)

Human development index: 0.872 (2013) (PNUD) very high

Criminal violence rate: 4.0/5 (2014) (Vision of Humanity)

Terrorism record (yes/no): 2.55/10 (2014) (Vision of Humanity)

GDP growth: -0.4% (2014) (CIA World Factbook)

GDP per capita: \$ 35,500 (2014) (CIA World Factbook)

Poverty index: 29.9% (2012) (CIA World Factbook)

Unemployment rate: 12.8 % (2014) (CIA World Factbook)

Youth unemployment rate: 42.5 % (2015) (Eurostat)

Inequality (Gini, others): 31.9 % (2014) (CIA World Factbook)

Other rates:



those that took place in 2003 rejecting war¹⁴. The whole campaign was organized through Facebook. The first mobilizations against Berlusconi had already been registered in 1993, but they had not been of such magnitude. The judicial scandals, his alleged relation to organized crime networks, the creation of laws to protect and give impunity to high political positions and the intents to remain in power were the main arguments during these mobilizations.

The close link between political power and the media caused that, for the first time in

14 "One million march against war". Telegraph. February 16, 2003 <http://www.telegraph.co.uk/news/uknews/1422228/One-million-march-against-war.html>

Europe, the Freedom House¹⁵ lowered the calcification of "free" for the Italian media to "partially free".

In the same way as happened in the other countries analyzed so far, other parallel demands emerged that were a sign of discontent with the whole political class (not only against Berlusconi), as they separated their own interests from the needs and interests of the society. This kind of facts tried to get citizens and independent organizations into the movement, with no place for syndicates or political parties. The job precariousness of the Italian youngsters boosted a mobilization rejecting

15 <https://freedomhouse.org/country/italy>

the “Precariato”, whose bases were a wide support for Popolo Viola.

The expansion of the corruption led to the deterioration of the situation in the period 2009-2010. The privileged ones from the political class, with the greatest number of parliamentary members among neighbor countries, and one of the highest wages, contributed to the general outrage. The presence of Mafia and their influence in the Italian politics led to an additional structure of opportunity. In this sense, Popolo Viola kept a growing feedback with anti-Mafia movements.

Apart from the presented claims and demands, anticapitalistic arguments were been used already against Berlusconi’s government since 2000. In addition to the already-mentioned mobilizations against the war in 2003, a great mobilization took place in the year 2001. The mobilization lasted several days and in it participated people from third countries that were against the celebration of the G8 summit in Genoa¹⁶.

The protest actions were reproduced in London, where more than 2500 participants¹⁷ gathered together. In March 2010, the British Prime Minister, Gordon Brown, received a letter asking for support in order to make the European Community understand that Berlusconi was a threat to the European democracy as a whole. The activists from London kept their own organization and

actions in basis of specific goals that they designed in the country.

In regard to the evolution of the activists located in Italy, the emergence of the non-profit organization Il Popolo Viola generated a great rejection among those unwilling to regularize them as an institution. The internal disintegration led to the creation of a new movement called Rete Viola, whose organization was more focused on celebrating assemblies.

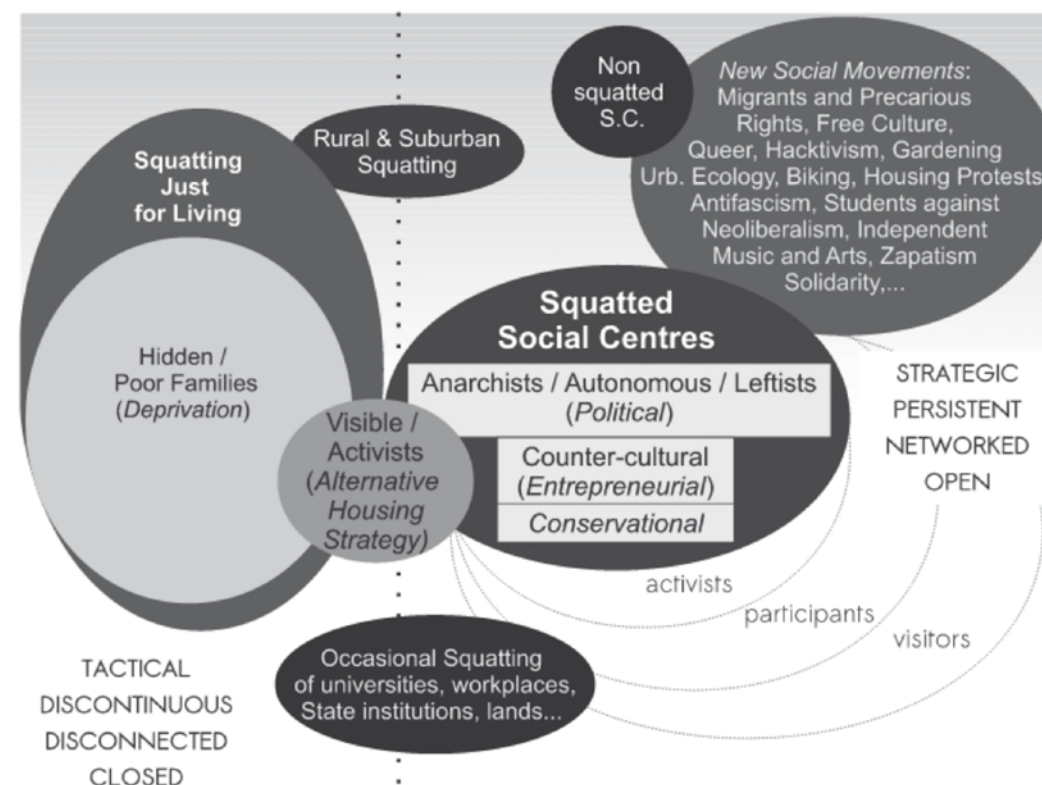
The association that was made of Popolo Viola with left sectors and the difference in the actions, particularly regarding the management of Facebook, and the unsuccessful attempts of internal leaderships, affected the continuity and intensity of the movement. Their convening power decreased and they were divided in two parts: the activists that managed Facebook on the one side and the organization Il Popolo Viola on the other one.

In the year 2011, Berlusconi gave up his charge, compelled also by the European Central Bank, leaving the government in hands of Mario Monti and a group of technocrats.

Squatter actions increasing in times of crisis and austerity

The world economic crisis, as in the rest of the countries analyzed so far, as well as the mistrust towards the authorities, has had an effect in the development of the social protests in Italy.

The effects are reflected not only in a greater mobilization than the ones in previous years, but also in a bigger organization of



direct social actions such as boycotts, labor conflicts or squatter actions, these last ones increased drastically¹⁸. Those squatter actions were aimed at organizing future self-management actions started by anti-capitalistic groups, organized by workers whose manufacturing plants were closed with the recession. They were also aimed, in a greater way, to the squatter of housings as an alternative to lacking a place to live,

housings in which end up living also the most marginalized sectors such as destitute persons or irregular immigrants. We cannot separate from this phenomena the tradition of the Autonomia Operaia of Italy, a left-wing movement linked to Marxism that has been part of the history of the Italian squatter actions since 1970.

The squatter actions in Italy are widely generalized since the 70s, but it is in this period when it expands through the whole territory and is registered in all the big urban centers. Roma and Milan have the greater number of facilities with squatting, followed by the areas in the center-north part of the country.

16 “Protester shot dead in Genova riot”. The Guardian. July 20, 2001. <http://www.theguardian.com/world/2001/jul/20/globalisation.usa>

17 “Arriva a Londra il Popolo Viola contro B”. Il fatto Quotidiano. February 10, 2010. <http://www.ilfattoquotidiano.it/2010/10/02/da-londra-il-popolo-viola-contro-b/67230/>

18 “Direct social actions and economic crises. The relationship between forms of action and socio-economic context in Italy”. The Open Journal of Sociopolitical Studies. July 2015 <http://www.livewhat.unige.ch/wp-content/uploads/2013/12/Direct-Social-Actions-and-Economic-Crises-The-Relationship-between-Forms-of-Action-and-Socio-Economic-Context-in-Italy.pdf>

Types of squatting and autonomous-radical orientation of the squatters' movement¹⁹ The profile of the citizens that have joined these movements with an economic background was started by those directly affected by the consequences of the crisis. However, during its development, third social sectors joined the mobilizations in rejection of the economic situation and the measures adopted by the government to fight it.

Focus on Rojava and the Kurdish Movement

The Kurds are the largest stateless minority in the world whose political movement emerged during the youth revolt of 1968 in Turkey. In the 1970s, a group of Kurdish and Turkish friends around Abdullah Öcalan, Kemal Pir, Haki Karer, and others met in Ankara to discuss the Kurdish question from a revolutionary perspective. They agreed that Kurdistan was an internal colony, and needed to be freed from colonial oppression to establish a socialist utopia and so the PKK was founded in 1978²⁰. Since 1999, the movement has abandoned its terrorist-like practices to adopt US anarchist Murray Bookchin's theories and pursue a non-violent strategy aimed at greater autonomy. On

April 25, the PKK announced an immediate withdrawal of its forces from Turkey and their deployment to northern Iraq, ending its 30-year-old conflict with Turkey²¹.

Since 2012, in Rojava, (Syrian Kurdistan), the coalition *Movement for a Democratic Society* has led a democratic social revolution while the People's Protection Units (YPG) and Women's Protection Units (YPJ) have defended the territory from the jihadist group ISIS²². This includes a region of 18,300 sq. km made of western Kurdish Rojava cantons, that has become the site of a social experiment grounded in eco-anarchist Bookchin's ideas of revolutionary "social ecology" and "libertarian municipalism," which Kurdish leader Abdullah Öcalan has renamed "democratic confederalism." The Rojavan revolutionaries aim for the development of "democratic, ecological, gender liberated society" through co-operation between an electoral political party and a parallel system of neighbourhood councils which would be making the decisions, all this as part of an overall body called the Democratic Society Congress bringing together political parties, councils and civil society²³.

Social contract or constitution

This confederation of Kurds, Arabs, Syriacs, Arameans, Turkmen, Armenians and Chechens has established a charter proclaiming a new social contract, based upon mutual and peaceful coexistence

21 <http://roarmag.org/2014/08/pkk-kurdish-struggle-autonomy/>

22 https://anarchyinaction.org/index.php?title=Kurdistan_democratic_confederalists

23 <http://blog.uvm.edu/aivakhiv/2015/02/16/the-ecology-of-syriankurdish-freedom/>

and protection of fundamental human rights and liberties and the peoples' right to self-determination. Under this charter, they have proclaimed values of pluralism and democratic participation so that all may express themselves freely in public life. Their purpose is to build a society free from authoritarianism, militarism, centralism and the intervention of religious authority in public affairs, also recognising Syria's territorial integrity²⁴.

The Constitution is called the Charter of social contract to the democratic self-management (Article 1)²⁵. People are the source of authorities while the source of legitimacy of councils and bodies is based on the democratic principle (Article 2). Syria is a free, democratic independent country, with a pluralistic and federal parliamentary compromise system. The relationship between the nationalities and religions is based on the principles of fraternity, partnership and coexistence (Article 3). All members are equal in front of the law and any area in Syria has the right to join the democratic-management county, after they have accepted the contract (Articles 6 and 7). These departments bind not to interfere in the internal affairs of other States, and take into account the principles of good neighbors (Article 10). This self-management is a model of the administration of the democratic autonomy in Syria, and is part of the future of Syria (political decentralisation and federalism) (Article 12).

The national institution responsible for defending the territorial integrity and

24 <http://civiroglu.net/the-constitution-of-the-rojava-cantons/>

25 <http://www.kurdishinstitute.be/charter-of-the-social-contract/>

sovereignty of the provinces is People Protection Units. The internal body in the areas of the democratic self-management is represented by the public administration of Al-Asaish (Article 15). Articles 21 to 43 state the rights and freedoms of the citizens. Freedom is considered as the most precious thing that individuals own (Article 21), followed by other rights such as: the right to life, freedom of opinion, freedom of expression, the right to a human treatment, a decent life for prisoners, the abolition of the death penalty, the protection of women's and children's rights, the right to security, the right to work and adequate housing, social security and health; free religion and belief, the right to form parties and associations, the protection of social and cultural diversity, freedom of media, press and publishing; free access to information, the right to vote, the right to move and emigrate, the right to seek asylum, the principle of equal opportunities, the right to own property, and the existence of an economic system that works on equitable and a sustainable global development.

The structure of the democratic self-management is: the Legislative Council, the Executive Council, the Judicial Council, the Higher Commission of Elections, the Supreme Constitutional Court and the Local Councils. Both the Executive Council and the District Governor exercise the executive authority. The Executive Council is the highest administrative and executive body and is responsible for the Legislative Council and coordinates work among the organizations of the self-management (Article 54(10E)). This contract is implemented in the transition phase of self-management (Article 81). These rules also include a constitutional oath: «I swear by Almighty God...» (Article 86). In case of conflict between the laws of central

19 "The Squatters's Movement in Europe: A durable Struggle for Social Autonomy in Urban Politics" Universidad Complutense de Madrid. M. Martínez, 2012 <http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.468.4170&rep=rep1&type=pdf>

"Note: the circle of "new social movements" is just an indication of some of the social and political connections that squatters may keep, although this does not imply that all the members of those movements participate in the squatters' movement or support squatting; the same may be applied to some non-squatted social centres which may also be supportive of squatters and may advocate squatting."

20 <http://de.indymedia.org/node/6443>

management and of self-management the Supreme Constitutional Court applies the law of the fittest for self-management (Article 89). Policies of exclusion, chauvinistic and racist concepts are removed in order to enrich human and tolerance values by promoting cultural and social diversity (Article 91). This contract includes the concept of separation between State and religion (Article 92). The last article states that the constitution should be published in the media (Article 96).

Links to Europe and Turkey

The region, which covers an important area of Northeast Syria with a 3 million population, cannot be easily accessed since Turkey has closed its borders, preventing all movement from the north and supplies to Kurdish-controlled areas²⁶. To face this problem, many supporters in the West are demanding that Turkey opens borders again, both for refugees fleeing Kobani and PKK militants entering for military defence²⁷. The Kurdish movement counts with the implicit support of the Anarchist Federation, especially in the UK, where a statement on Rojava was made last December²⁸. Two members of a German network of anarchists recently visited Bakur, Northern Kurdistan, and manifested clear support to the struggle taking place there²⁹. Also, DAF (Revolutionary Anarchist Action, based in Istanbul) are involved in

solidarity with the Kurdish struggle, the Rojava revolution and against ISIS's attack on Kobani, and have taken action against Turkish state repression and corporate abuse through self-organisation, mutual aid and co-operatives³⁰. American Janet Biehl, Bookchin's widow, continues to give support to the movement inspired in her husband's theories of eco-anarchism. An international meeting in Saint Imier, Switzerland was organised by the PKK in 2012 to gain further approval in the international community³¹.

Main points

The concentration of economic, political and media power in Berlusconi represented one of the main structures of opportunity that gave birth to Papolo Viola, but it was not the only one or the most important one.

The representative democracy crisis, created by this excess of relation among the different powers, favored the utilization of means of political participation different to the traditional ones.

The precarious social situation, unemployment, economic crisis and implementation of austerity policies aimed only at the society, keeping intact the benefits for the elites, meant a wake-up call for the protests.

Despite of the weakening of Popolo Viola, the structures that the movement created and the knowledge in the use of social media that boosted it continued favoring the social mobilization and the convening of new acts. It also meant a learning framework for similar

movements created afterwards.

Case study

Cacciari interview – Global Project movement

NOTE: A series of comments are inferred from the cited interviews

Main data and conclusions drawn from the fieldwork in Cacciari's interview, member of Global Project:

- It is considered a global movement, despite of positioning itself against the globalization (in terms of goods or money). The problem is the need of considering the people's rights as global and not the material goods.
- Some squatter activists are fighting in Kobane, Siria, together with YPG, and Global Project will maintain its presence both in Turkish and in Kurdish territory. They moved to this area in November 2014, and many of the activists from the first trips stayed there in order to share with the Kurdish people their experiences and knowledge so that they could help the group in fighting against ISIS.
- They maintain close links in a wide variety of EU countries, as they have realized that is the place where the power to act lies, in the citizens as a whole. In this sense, they understand the EU as something even wider, outside from its own physical borders. For them, it is a euro-Mediterranean space in which associations from Tunisia or Egypt have the same ability or right to participate than European movements.
- In this sense, the mobilization carried out on 18th March in Frankfurt against the new European Central Bank building represents a successful model to be copied in the following mobilizations.

- He makes reference to the well-functioning and health that enjoys the squatter movement in Italy, which he mentions is formed by more than 60000 people already. However, he distances himself from the anarchist ideology. Global Project does not want an unregulated society in which the individuals only look out for themselves, it wants a society under new rules. A new way of building the society.
- As an activist and ideological guide, he mentions the Turkish community Rojava as an example to follow as they have been able to create a new society under new rules. Their constitution represents for them a real social structure that is not made only in benefit of the elites. They promote environmental protection, gender equality, the autonomous government of the different territories, the State secularization or the defense of the common goods, among other things. These are the values that Global Project is looking for and they fight for it every day in any country.
- There is no room either for the Marxist movement, which is seen as something residual nowadays and contradictory, as they do not see the need of being concerned about the environment as the place where our life will be developed.
- According to Cacciari, violence is allowed as soon as it is addressed against the injustice. In this case it would not be called violence but resistance. Resistance should act when dignity violations take place. When resistance is imposed by a State or an army, then it is violence and it is not acceptable. For him, the problem lies in that the current dichotomy "violence/no violence" is built upon the concept of "legality/illegality"

26 <http://www.carneross.com/blog/2015/10/26/power-people-rojava-anarchism-and-murray-bookchin-financial-times-24-oct-2015>

27 <http://anarchistnews.org/content/syria%E2%80%99s-kurdish-revolution-anarchist-element-challenge-solidarity>

28 <https://afed.org.uk/anarchist-federation-statement-on-rojava/>

29 <http://de.indymedia.org/node/6443>

30 <http://winteroak.org.uk/2015/09/01/the-acorn-14-2/>

31 <http://roarmag.org/2014/08/pkk-kurdish-struggle-autonomy/>

and, in this sense, there are laws against the protection of people.

Recent evolution of the protests

The wave of protests that swept the European Union in 2011 also affected Spain. Since 75, without the demonstrations of the early 2000s, less than the current, general strikes that have occurred in each of the legislatures and rejecting acts of terrorism, protests were the largest in the recent history of the country.

The news also came from the hand of technology, to become main facilitator in the rapid spread of the movement. The 94% of the activists during the days before the first meetings were organized and spread their claims through networks social. These year was when the 15M movement was born. The slogan that remained after the mobilization was "Democracia Real Ya", later extended to third countries, even other continents like Occupy Wall Street or the later Occupy Everywhere.

Its duration in time differs from the physical world to the virtual. Regarding the former, even acts continue to be made by members of this movement, although most have mutated into third mobilizations under other names. These was the case of the Mareas.

The activity of the Mareas on the streets has remained until the present. This movement came to stop resolutions initially agreed by the government, such as the closure of hospitals or suspension of specific cuts related to public education. However, in general, they did not prevent the adoption of multiple austerity measures by the government of the Partido Popular. One of the biggest changes came starring the birth of political party "Partido X", currently outside the realm of politics, and the party

SPAIN

Country's recent context

The economic crisis has also had an impact in Spain in many areas that affect its society. Between 2008 and 2012 years executions of eviction grew up 413% compared with the period 2003 to 2007.

The bubble of the construction sector, one of the mainstays of the country's workforce before the crisis and the fall in economic activity in general was based, generated a rate of unemployment which reached 27.2% of the population.

Security measures taken by the government with the aim of reducing the level of public debt, at the request of the European institutions, led to a growing social mobilization. Since the 15M Movement, which emanated plataformas multiple social, civic initiatives, political parties that resulted. Here we highlight that today is among the four main political forces. While the arrival of the year 2013 the economy began a slight re-stabilization, unemployment has remained until today around 24 to 25% and social movements remain regular.

Regarding the field of security itself, the greatest challenge recent country's history has been marked by the activity of the separatist terrorist group ETA. After more than four decades and more than 850 deaths, in the year 2012 the security forces managed to neutralize their activity.

MAIN FACTS

Fragility of the state: 40.9 out of 120 (Fund for Peace, 2015)

Corruption rate: 60 out of 100 (IPC 2014)

Democracy index: 8.05 out of 10 (Economist Intelligence Unit democracy index 2014)

Press Freedom: 19.95 out of 100 (2015) (Reporteros Sin Fronteras)



Human development index: 0.869 (2013) (UNDP)

Criminal violence rate: 3 out of 5 (Vision of Humanity 2014)

Terrorism record (yes/no): 1.84 out of 10 (Vision of Humanity 2014)

GDP growth: 1,404 billion dollars (2014)

GDP per capita: 33,700 dollars (2014)

Poverty index: 21.1% (2012)

Unemployment rate: 22.2% August 2015

Youth unemployment rate: 48.8% August 2015

Inequality (Gini, others): 48.8% August 2015

Other rates:

"Podemos". Currently this party is among the four main parties in the country.

However, in the virtual world 15M it was able to give a new form of action to multiple activism in the country. Since then, these structures became more vertical. This evolution does not necessarily implied a greater interconnection between that derived in increased pressure on the streets, but in the ability to engage, under developed communication structures and new groups emerging spontaneously. Greater flexibility is thus generated, in terms of durability and ease of access, and facilitated the confluence of multi-activisms using the same virtual structures.

Squatter movements from the far-right

In August 2014, in Tetuan (a quarter from

Madrid with 155,000 inhabitants and a 17% of migrant population), took place confrontations and protests among the neighbors due to the presence of a far-right group in a squatter house ("Hogar Social Madrid").



In that same area there is a squatter social center, "La Enredadera", with a left-wing



If we want them out the quarter it is not because they are occupying an abandoned area (which we will continue supporting), but because they are racists and protect well-known neo-Nazis, famous for their hunts and attacks. We will keep our rejection to them and we will show then that they are not welcome here, although they buy or rent a place".

In September, the members of "Hogar Social Madrid" were evacuated for a court order. The report presented to the judge explained in detail ten incidents between both extremist groups. One of the bigger incidents was throwing Molotov-cocktails and the aggressions after the confiscation of edge weapons and other dangerous objects by the Police.

"I sadden when I see someone looking for food in the trash, but the feeling of impotence, fury and sadness are for your community. Dominicans are like rabbits when it comes to having children and they get all the grants", stated a young man in an important national media.

The house was decorated with a Spanish flag and posters of CasaPound, a social-fascist Italian movement. There was also a placard with the inscription "free Palestine".

According to the founders and as it is written in the Crowdfunding platform FundRazr³² "Hogar Social Madrid born in 2014 with the aim of helping those Spanish people abandoned by the State". This movement has close links with the Republican Social

³² Hogar Social Madrid is in a continuous campaign of funding, by the moment they have received 120 Euros in the last 90 days. Link: <http://fnd.us/c/bz5S1>

Movement³³ (MSR), a legal party founded in 1999 and whose leader, Juan Antonio Llopart, was arrested several times for justifying the Jewish genocide, says he is the ideological successor of Gregor Strasser, the Nazi that took off the Presidency of the German National Socialist Party from Hitler while he was in prison (1923-1925). In the last election to the European Parliament he got 8,875 votes.

Moreover, the squatter building has the name of Ramiro Ledesma, pro-Nazi, anti-Semitic and founder of the Unions of the National-Syndicalist Offensive (JONS).

The Republican Social Movement supports the national unity of Spain, the republican model and the social justice (fight against inequality, labor rights and promotion of SMEs).

In April 2014, its youth branch, Liga Joven (Youth League) assaulted a support event for victim of Franco's dictatorship in memory that took place in Universidad Complutense de Madrid. They caused material damage and hurt one of attendants beating him with a chair. They have also tried to boycott university events with left ideologies representatives. In June 2014, some of their members were arrested after the Students Union brought a claim in regard to the increasing attacks to students and students organizations from the left.

However, not all the components from the "Hogar Social Ramiro Ledesma" come from the Social Republican Movement; they also come from other far-right groups such as the radical faction of Frente Atletico Suburbios

Firm, the Youh League, Acción Nacional Revolucionario, Combat Spain and Ultras Sur.^{34 35}

Among their social activities they proposed giving food to those who needed it the most, but their distribution policy was very peculiar: **that help is only for Spanish people**. Their spokesperson states that *"we only help Spanish people because we think that nowadays there is a strong discrimination towards Spaniards by the State. A big amount of the grants are exclusively for migrant organizations and we think that poverty has changed, poverty is in the streets and we Spaniards are poor"*.

However, showing your ID when receiving the aid is not enough, according to the declarations of another member of Hogar Social Madrid, "we do not consider that nationality is given by an ID. Someone is not Spanish because he or she was born in Spain. Being Spanish is a way of living, a lineage, a history... an ID cannot give that". Hogar Social Madrid gives support to 120 families and each family they give a shopping trolley to 70/80 of these families.

In the last months, they have been famous for occupying empty buildings in order to be able to carry out their activities. In three years, they have occupied three buildings

³⁴ A regional media linked some members of Hogar Social Madrid with "Suburbios Firm", a radical faction of Frente Atlético. Online: http://www.elconfidencialautonomico.com/madrid/faccion-Frente-Atletico-neonazis-Madrid_0_2461553835.html

³⁵ A regional media linked some members of Hogar Social Madrid with the Republican Social Movement, the Youth League and Ultras Sur. Online: http://www.elconfidencialautonomico.com/madrid/neonazis-Tetuan-entraron-izquierda-antifascistas_0_2343965588.html

³³ <http://msr.org.es/>



and the Police have evacuated them twice from Tetuán and Chamberí districts in Madrid. They have had confrontations with neighbors and left-wing groups³⁶ almost everywhere. Currently they have occupied the former venue of Forum Filatelico³⁷ in Chamberí.

There are active in the main social media nowadays: Facebook, Youtube and Twitter. They share pictures, videos and announcements, events, occupations, seminars, their ideology and the complaints that shape their group.

36 The Police supervises the neo-Nazi squatter house to avoid confrontations with far-left radicals http://www.elconfidencialautonomico.com/madrid/Policia-Madrid-altercados-radicales-izquierda_0_2343365651.html

37 Video from Hogar Social Madrid occupying the head quarters from Forum Filatélico. <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GYPicnTtWkg>

Main points

- Squatter movements, traditionally linked to left-wing groups, are growing also between far-right groups.
- Social concerns such as housing and food are included in their agendas; the only difference is the collective towards which this is aimed, only for nationals.
- With left-wing groups they both share concerns, although with a national vision and not a global one like leftist support, and organizational forms such as the republic.
- In their political speech they include inequality as left-wing groups do.

Focus on anarchism, squatter social centers and nationalism in Catalonia

In 1997, Can Vies building was occupied by youngsters from the quarter, as there were no areas for leisure and political activities,

and became a self-managed social center. In that center they carry out several activities such as assemblies, realization of La Burxa newspaper, cinema and theater, debates, parties, books presentations and popular gastronomy activities. It operates in a horizontal way, through an assembly and consensus, without leadership or representatives.

In 2014, the following events take place:

quarter in November 1989.

Since that moment, the Kasa de la Montanya is considered one of the oldest social centers in Europe. It has been managed since 1989 by this group of young anti-establishment and it is considered one of the symbols of the “Okupa” movement in Europe, in which self-management, antimilitarism, antifascism and anticapitalism has been the centerpiece of all the activities³⁸ that take place in the building.

1st April	Date when the building was supposed to be evicted due to the sentence of the Spanish Supreme Court. The sentence addressed that the building would be demolished if there was no consensus between Barcelona's City Council and Can Vies' before the 1st of April.
26th May	The eviction starts, which leads to riots and violent incidents. Finally, there were many protesters under arrest.
27th May	In the morning, many squatters gathered outside the building as the demolition took place. In the afternoon, the riots continued with 700 protesters, who ended up burning down containers, stoning banks and also burnt down the excavator that started the day before the demolition of the building. Mossos d'Esquadra (Catalan police) entered the riots and tried to stop the incidents, however the riots extended to other neighbourhoods.
28th May	50 riots were called in Barcelona, in many cities in Catalonia and even in Majorca and Valencia. It was the most violent night and included many violent incidents and the participation of a large number of neighbours that supported the riots.
29th May	Both Xavier Trias, Barcelona's mayor, and the Centro Social de Sant accepted a meeting which took place in the afternoon. It ended up with no final agreement but with a proposal: end up with the demolition of Can Vies.
30th May	The City Council stops the demolition of the building and asks for dialog and cease of violence. Over 500 volunteers started the reconstruction of the building. In this action, technicians, labourers and neighbours participated.

The “Kasa de la Montanya” (The House of the Mountain) is an old building placed in Gràcia and Park Güell District, in Barcelona, built at the request of the Güell family in 1909. The purpose of the building was establishing a Guardia Civil quarter in order to stop the social protests against the bourgeoisie lived on that district. A group of young anti-establishments decided to occupy the old

The example is part of the libertarian Catalan movement and the anarchism, which had during the first third of the 20th Century a lot of importance and visibility. The movement

38 The activities that have been carried out in Kasa de la Montanya are, among others: concerts, workshops, speeches, meetings of Occupy movement, and even asylum for the families of the victims of eviction in the last year.



was so remarkable, that was even named after the “*Rosa de Foc*” (Fire Rose), which defines a period of social and political unrest, where the anarchist violence gained prominence, especially during the years of the Second Republic.

Afterwards, four decades of the Franco dictatorship would wipe out the movement. Xavier Díez argues that the “*Catalan anarchism begins to sharpen institutions and methods that will be assimilated by most of the European anarchist movements, and will turn into a more individualist movement, focused in more specific causes, such as the environmentalism, the antimilitarism or the okupa movement*”.

Díaz acknowledges the fragility of today’s anarchist institutions during those years. Oural will reinforce this concept, and says that the libertarian movement for 30 years “*has been retracted in a resistance culture, closed upon itself*”. He believes that “*know is the time to take a step further and move towards a more social intervention policy*”. He also points out as formal characteristics

from the anarchism the self-management, the self-organization, the autonomy, the refusal of any external authority and the exercise of the direct democracy, which count on with the support of most of the social movements of the country and several organizations, such as the Plataforma de Afectados por la Hipoteca (Platform for the Mortgage Affected) or the supporter of the independent movement *Assamblea Nacional Catalana* (Catalan National Assembly), whose main aim is the Catalan independence.

Regarding the action taken against this movement, in the year 1997 the first report in order to dislodge the house was received. In the year 2001 during the first attempt to evict the house, a pitched battle between the young occupying forces and the riot police took place. The building was occupied until the 16th December 2014 the Mossos d’Esquadra centered one part of the Operation against anarchist terrorism, the so called “Pandora Operation”.

In the early morning of the 16th December 2014 a police operation was deployed in

Kasa de la Montanya, with the participation of more than 300 policeman³⁹ (NUMERO) and even an helicopter that lighten the operation space. The operation was carried out by the Mossos d’Esquadra with the collaboration of Guardia Civil, and it was called *Caso Pandora*⁴⁰. Several detentions and registers took place in different anarchist social centers in Catalonia and Madrid⁴¹, as well as private homes.

Their ideology is clear, and it is represented in numerous graffiti of their walls and roof, where you can read the motto “Resiste y Okupa” (Occupy and Resist) with white big letters and a big A inside a circle, the anarchist symbol.

Case study

Interviews:

- Benet Salellas, lawyer who has represented members from the indicated groups.
- Elba Mansilla, Can Vies representative.
- Rubén Saez, “Partido X” movement’s representative.

39 <http://www.alasbarricadas.org/noticias/node/33314>

40 The Pandora case was carried out by the Mossos d’Esquadra following the instructions of the National High Court of Spain in the framework of an operation against the libertarian movement. Source: http://wiki.15m.cc/wiki/Operaci%C3%B3n_Pandora (24/02/2015)

41 The Mossos stated that some registrations have been carried out in Barcelona, Sabadell, Manresa and Madrid “in the framework of the Pandora case, related to their links with a criminal organization with terrorist ends of violent anarchist nature”. <http://www.eltriangle.eu/es/notices/2014/12/11-detenedos-y-14-registros-en-la-operacion-contra-el-movimiento-libertario-3058.php>

NOTE: A series of comments are inferred from the cited interviews

- Clear link between the independence movement and social movements, squatters and anarchists. Benet Salellas notes how the existence of political options and expectations creates a change effect of all types of movements that find a superior objective than their individual objectives.
- Wish of recovering citizen power, which was delegated in political parties, and which are failing to the objectives that they are expected to: inequity, economic power and lack of attention to people. In short, as it happens to the rest of studied movements, there is a belief about the incapacity or disinterest of governments regarding the attention of citizens’ necessities. The resulting demonstrations and social movements are not only organized to protest, but also to cover the necessities of a city or a locality that are unattended.
- Power of self-organization and self-management. Nevertheless, not all the people interviewed are conscious about organizational limitations in decentralized systems. Therefore, in the interviews, the difficulties to coordinate groups and movements are evident, at a national and European level, and even more in the basis of non-hierarchical systems. Likewise they insist on protests and demonstrations as concrete actions, but which reach a climax and afterwards get abandoned, requiring the development of actions that allow permanence and constant action, as conventions or political participation.

- The CUP party won the elections of the Autonomous Community of Catalonia celebrated on September 2015. The results of them, formulated as plebiscitary by the Catalan independent parties, have shown that not even the half of the Catalanian citizens support independence, they have proven an electoral success for that party, and a clear transference of votes from left-handed positions (Podemos, 15M movements and socialists). The CUP is a political assembly organization with a national scope, which extends to all Catalan Counties and that, in the municipal field, work for a Catalan Countries which are independent, socialists, ecologically sustainable, territorially equilibrated and not patriarchal.

In the elections to the Catalan Parliament in 2012, it obtained 126.219 votes, which represented 3,48% of the valid votes total, winning 3 seats. In the ones celebrated in September 2015 it has obtained 8,21% of the votes and 10 seats.

Through “popular unity” the CUP stands for:

- *Defense of political rights of the Catalan people: the exercise of the auto determination right and access to independence, participative democracy, unity defense and territoriality of the Catalan Countries as a whole.*
- *Defense of popular classes and equality: towards a redistribution of wealth society, fight against unemployment and scarcity, defense of public services, establishment of mechanisms of economy popular control and deployment of effective policies which guarantee gender equality.*
- *Territory defense: against ecological and*

urban aggressions, against the territory dismemberment and its destruction in favor of a few people, and really sustainable development.

- *Defense of the language and national identity: for the language unity, official status of Catalan in the whole national territory, own and auto-centered cultural industries and reinforcement of the cultural network f popular root defined as Catalan Countries.*

- Political vias, which limit actions on the streets. In the last years we have event talked about a “kale borroka” phenomenon (urban guerrilla actions in the Basque country, by young people that support independence and that are linked to the terrorist group ETA), and about the increase of anarchist actions in Catalonia (explosives in Italian companies and links to Italy, Greece and Chile). There are studies that show how the political options limit violence on the streets.

- Critics to the State repression against thinking diversity and critics, with the new Organic Law on Civil Security as its higher expression (popularly known as Gag Rule, because of its presumed purpose of criminalizing social protests). This Law has come to deserve a critical leading in the New York Times.

- Persecution of the anarchist world, and imposition of disproportionate measures, as the isolation in prisons (FIES regime). Solidarity movements and new protests are generated towards the anarchist prisoners.

- Violence justification. All the interviewees

GLOBAL PROTESTS, GLOBAL TARGETS

A compilation

TRANSNATIONAL UNREST

The demonstrations directed against supranational organizations have increased in number and intensity in the European framework. In this sense, the International Monetary Fund is the organization against which protests have been mainly directed, ahead of the European Central Bank. Another variable that has gained momentum in terms of rejection is generated Transatlantic Trade

and Investment (TTIP) Treaty and the least known in the West Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP).

Third party institutions such as the European Union agencies such as the Troika (in line with the protests directed against the IMF) or the G7 summits, G8 or G20 also remain targets of international mobilizations greater role in Europe.

TARGET	CITY	YEAR	Nº DEMON-STRATORS	Nº ARRESTED	Nº CASUALTIES	Nº WOUNDED	USE OF VIOLENCE
Protests against	Bavaria and Munich (Germany)	2015	3,500-4,000 (according to policemen). 7,500 (according to demonstrators).	Several arrested	-	At least 30, including 3 policemen.	Use of pepper spray and tear gas. Demonstrators threw bottles, stones and Molotov cocktails at the Police. Street property was burned.

TARGET	CITY	YEAR	Nº DEMONSTRATORS	Nº ARRESTED	Nº CASUALTIES	Nº WOUNDED	USE OF VIOLENCE
Protests against	Genoa (Italy)	2001	200,000	+100	1 (Police shots)	+60 demonstrators	Use of batons and water cannons to dissolve the demonstration. Use of Molotov cocktails, knives and hammers. More than 70 officers were tried for abuse of power in this demonstration.
	Edinburgh (Scotland)	2005	200,000	30	-	Various people were wounded, including 2 policemen.	
	Hamburg (Germany)	2007	30,000 (according to the Police). 100,000 (according to the demonstrators)	12	-	At least 4 people, 3 of which were policemen.	Several vehicles were burned, barricades were set up. Demonstrators threw stones at the police. Use of pepper spray and water cannons to break up protests.
	Rome (Italy)	2009	Thousands	35	-	-	Los manifestantes llevaban bates de beisbol y porras. Además lanzaron piedras contra los policías antidisturbios. Quemaron contenedores y neumáticos en la vía pública. Protesters carried baseball bats and batons. They also threw stones at the riot squad. Containers and tires were burned in the streets.
	Belfast (Ireland)	2013	Approximately 1,500	None were arrested	-	-	Peaceful demonstration
	London (England)	2013	200-300	57 (several of them for allegedly possessing weapons)	-	2	Illegal occupation of headquarters in London. Formation of barricades in protest area.

TARGET	CITY	YEAR	Nº DEMONSTRATORS	Nº ARRESTED	Nº CASUALTIES	Nº WOUNDED	USE OF VIOLENCE
Protests against G-20	London (England)	2009	4,000	36 (2 for robbing a bank and another for attempt of burning a bank branch, 12 of them for wearing a police uniform and another for drug possession).	1	At least 10 demonstrators and some policemen.	Bottles, sticks, bricks, paint, and various types of food were thrown, such as eggs and fruits. Police dismantled camping site in Bishopsgate. RBS branch looting, breaking windows, computers and telephones. Some demonstrators in fights, took the helmets of policemen and threw them to the air. The demonstrators threw smoke bombs and fences to the riot squad, and burned several objects on public roads. Police responded to the demonstrators, using batons, pepper spray and police dogs, so some protesters thought that police action was quite harsh.
	Nice (France)	2011	5,500 (according to the Police). 12,000 (according to demonstrators). Demonstrators in France, Spain and Greece.	At least 3 Spaniards from the Indignados movement were arrested ¹ .			The general atmosphere of the protests was peaceful. The Police used tear gas to break up the demonstration should it turn violent. The police lifted some fences to prevent violent acts. Sprays were used to do graffiti on the streets. Demonstrators dressed up as clowns or Robin Hood.
	Saint Petersburg (Russia)	2013	Approximately 24	-	-	-	Stones were thrown at the Police. G-20 Summit was used to protest against the anti-gay law.

1 See website: [<http://www.theguardian.com/world/2011/nov/01/anti-g20-protests-confined-nice>]

TARGET	CITY	YEAR	Nº DEMONSTRATORS	Nº ARRESTED	Nº CASUALTIES	Nº WOUNDED	USE OF VIOLENCE
Protests against Troika (European Commission, ECB and IMF)	Lisbon (Portugal)	2013	500,000 – 800,000 (according to demonstrators)	-	-	-	-
	Frankfurt (Germany)	2013	7.000 (according to Police). 20.000 (according to demonstrators)	-	-	-	The protesters threw paint bombs and flares at the Police. The Police used tear gas to deter protest.
		2015	Approximately 10,000	350	-	Some were wounded, including one policemen.	The Police used tear gas and water cannons to break up the protest. The protesters burned tires, vehicles and containers.
	Madrid (Spain)	2013	Thousands				
	Bilbao (Spain)	2014	Hundreds	4	-	-	Paint was thrown to several bank branches. Shop and bank windows were broken, and several cars toppled over. Several containers were burned.
	Dublin (Ireland)	2014	Between 100,000 and 150,000	-	-	-	-

Protests against Troika (European Commission, ECB and IMF)	Athens (Greece)	2012	Around 35,000 (according to the Police) 50,000 (according to demonstrators).	30	3	Dozens of demonstrators and approximately 40 policemen	It is estimated that about 80,000 stones and Molotov cocktails were thrown at the police. Over 45 buildings were burned and looted. Police used stun grenades and tear gas. Much of the public transport network and schools were closed down. It also affected several hospitals and flights, following the strike.
		2013	Hundreds	-	-	At least 2 people	Protesters used anti-government slogans and chemical gases. Police used tear gas.
		2015	Approximately 7,000	-	-	-	Use of Molotov cocktails

TARGET	CITY	YEAR	Nº DEMONSTRATORS	Nº ARRESTED	Nº CASUALTIES	Nº WOUNDED	USE OF VIOLENCE
TTIP ⁵⁶	Madrid (Spain)	April 2015	Thousands	-	-	-	-
	Vienna (Austria)		6,000 (according to Police) 20,000 (according to demonstrators)	-	-	-	
	Berlin (Germany)	October 2015	150,000 (according to Police) 250,000 (according to demonstrators)	-	-	-	

TARGET	CITY	YEAR	Nº DEMONSTRATORS	Nº ARRESTED	Nº CASUALTIES	Nº WOUNDED	USE OF VIOLENCE
TTIP ²	Madrid (Spain)	April 2015	Thousands	-	-	-	-
	Vienna (Austria)		6,000 (according to Police) 20,000 (according to demonstrators)	-	-	-	
	Berlin (Germany)	October 2015	150,000 (according to Police) 250,000 (according to demonstrators)	-	-	-	

2 Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership



TARGET	CITY	YEAR	Nº DEMONSTRATORS	Nº ARRESTED	Nº CASUALTIES	Nº WOUNDED	USE OF VIOLENCE
Protests against the ECB	Frankfurt (Germany)	2012	20,000 - 25,000 demonstrators	-	-	-	Streets, train stations and motorway closures More police control.
		2013	Around 1,000 - 2,500 (according to the Police). 3,000 (according to the Police).	-	-	-	Blockage of the highways leading to the financial downtown district Use of water cannons Use of pepper sprays by the police to remove the protestors.
		2014	1,000-1,500 (according to the Police). 3,000 (according to demonstrators).	No detentions	-	-	Barricades next to the work on the new ECB's building Damages to the building in construction of the European Central Bank Use of pepper sprays by the police.
		2015	Thousands According to the organizers of the demonstration BLOCKUP 10,000 demonstrators in front of the ECB's headquarters	350- 500	-	220 wounded people, where at least 94 policemen.	Street blockage by barricades made by trash and burning tires. Use of water cannons and tear gas. At least 7 burnt police cars. Stone throwing and paint pumps against the Police. Use of pepper sprays against the Police.
	Ireland	2004	Hundreds	28	-	At least one wounded	Use of water cannons to remove the protestors.
	Barcelona (Spain)	2012	7,500 (according to the Police). 20,000 (according to demonstrators)	One arrested	-	-	Some demonstrators threw several firecrackers against the Police.
	Nicosia (Cyprus)	2013	Approximately 100	-	No casualties	No wounded people	Use of flares. Attempt to enter the Parliament.
	Naples (Italy)	2014	4.000 (according to demonstrators).	-	-	-	Use of tear gas, water cannons and rubber bullets shots. Demonstrators used flares and smoke bombs against the Police.
	Athens (Greece)	2015	Approximately 450	-	-	-	Protestors threw fire bombs and stones against the Police. Several burnt cars. Many shop windows were broken.



TARGET	CITY	YEAR	Nº DEMONSTRATORS	Nº ARRESTED	Nº CASUALTIES	Nº WOUNDED	USE OF VIOLENCE
IMF and WORLD BANK	Prague (Czech Republic)	2000	Approximately 5,000	Over 500 demonstrators	-	Over 50 wounded policemen, 12 of them were hospitalized as well as 18 demonstrators	Use of water cannons and armored cars to break up the protest. Demonstrators threw stones and Molotov cocktails against the Police.
	Istanbul (Turkey)	2009	At least 8 demonstrators	100	1	-	Molotov cocktails, tear gas and Fireworks were thrown to the Police. Vehicles, bus stops and showcases were damaged. The Police used tear gas and water cannons.

TARGET	CITY	YEAR	Nº DEMONSTRATORS	Nº ARRESTED	Nº CASUALTIES	Nº WOUNDED	USE OF VIOLENCE
Indi- gnados Move- ment	Rome (Italy)		Over 200,000	Around 12 arrested people	No casualties	Around 70 people	Several trash cans and police cars were burnt. Shop Windows Se asaltó y rompió varios escaparates de tiendas y comercios, y sucursales bancarias. Demonstrators threw stones and firecrackers against the police.
	Athens (Greece)		3,000 – 4,000				Policemen used pepper sprays and tear gas. Demonstrators used Molotov cocktails.
	London (England)		Over 2,000	-	-	-	Demonstrators stayed in tents in the street.

Indi- gnados Move- ment	Brussels (Belgium)		Approximately 6,000	48 arrested people	-	-	
	The Netherlands		Approximately 2,000	-	-	-	
	Berlin (Germany)		Approximately 10,000	-	-	-	
	Paris (France)		Hundreds	-	-	-	
	Lisbon (Portugal)		Approximately 12,000. 25,000 (according to demonstrators)	-	-	-	
	Helsinki (Finland)		Approximately 100	-	-	-	

ANALYSIS

Key points

Conclusions

ANALYSIS

Social movement's analysis is broadly complex due to the diversity of the variables, which should be considered if an in-depth study is going to be carried out.

Incomplete or inexistent official registers, the lack of homogeneity in the definition, the magnitude of the phenomenon, which reach the international context, its growing virtual demand and the impossibility of obtaining data in countries where those groups are widely repressed, are some of the main shortcomings which limit data collection. Consequently, the use of broader holistic approaches and with quantitative and qualitative proxies of the different analyzed territories is needed.

This analysis is mainly focused in the European territory, specifically in Bulgaria, Czech Republic, Italy and Spain. References to third regions in the international sphere are continuous, due to the extension and the sometimes difficult division between national and international territories, and vice versa, when it comes to social activism. Notably when it is supported with the use of new technologies and Internet.

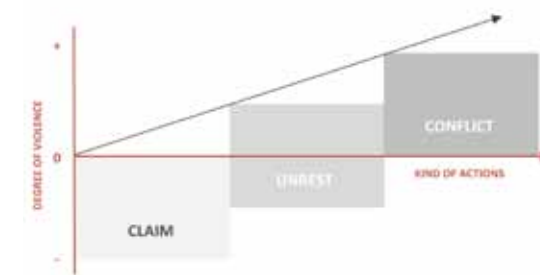
Violent and non-violent activism

From the political definition shown at the beginning of this report (see conceptual framework), we can deduce that the following elements shape it:

- Its use is instrumental.
- The attack is collective.
- It is aimed to control power distribution and people's future actions.
- The objective is selected with the aim of coercing, intimidating or transmitting the message.

In an attempt of measuring the actions derived from social protest in order to obtain a framework in which we can define if they are violent or not, we can speak of:

- Claim: The dissatisfaction or purpose is manifested or tries to obtain actions on the streets such as marches, mobilizations, assemblies and sits-in, through verbal expressions.
- Unrest: demonstrations, strikes, boycotts, riots, etc. It implies a social agitation regarding the members of the social mass that carries out the vindication.
- Conflict: represents the highest violence grade that a social dissatisfaction can reach. Armed attacks, property destruction, homicides, insurgencies, civil war, terrorism...



On the contexts of the studies in the different countries, marches and protests are still the most current actions of social mobilization. Both can be included in the claims, as for its fulfillment no violence is required.

But another thing is that in the same demonstration, some violent elements act in a marginal way with the intention of subverting the order, in this case, as they are isolated actions, they do not imply a change in the nature of the mobilization itself.

Simultaneously to the marches and mobilizations, the action which entail a higher grade of protest¹ have increased, such as occupations (of buildings, public places, governmental facilities, etc.) or disobedience regarding laws or established regulations. Both occupation and disobedience imply a challenge to the valid legality and to security forces actuation, but they do not imply directly the commission of violent acts but its materialization in a greater confrontation context is more plausible.

Throughout the period analyzed in each of the countries, which began around 2011, when the effects of the 2009 crisis weighed many economies, disruption activities were the main actions. It is non-violent actions, but their development can be given civic breaking rules, such as sit-ins, occupations of public and private spaces, roads blockades, strikes, boycotts, interrupt events or halt a project or construction.

These methods can involve varying degrees of civil disobedience, in this case, is the legislation of each country which establishes the boundary between lawful or unlawful actions and which are considered violent or not.

These kind of alterations have been able to transcend the public and political debate. Its scope, even international, has been very high, not only by the number of participants in many of these demonstrations, but by extension the same time, a fact that makes them more likely to become part of the daily news of the media. Some of the most striking examples were Occupy Wall Street,

in the US, 15M in Spain or Occupy Central in Japan. This tactic has also brought other benefits, like the ability to be replicated in third place and after Occupy Wall Street began to promote Occupy Everywhere action. In response Occupy London movement was born, which was installed directly in front of the financial heart of the city, The City, with extensive media coverage.

As parallel actions to all the abovementioned, we have to mention the ones that were fulfilled as hacktivism, which has obtained the leak of hundreds of thousands of governments and companies' cables, as well as reports from State departments, as it has happened in the U.S.

Separately, but with growing evolutions in some scenarios where it has been recorded, self-injuries have taken place as a way of protest, as it has happened in Bulgaria regarding the wave of immolations by burns. This type of action, but in a more marginal way, together with hunger strikes, which are more usual, or another type of self-injuries, are also some protest methods used.

However, none of the studies consulted for this analysis, nor the case studies analyzed of each country can confirm that European activism of recent years become more violent than the movements of previous times.

The path toward violence

Every social group, movement or "gateway organization", as an adaptive and with some degree of resilience institution, evolve over time. The case of the new social movements is paradigmatic and serves to exemplify this evolution, which may lead them to one of the following situations:

- Maintenance in the social sphere, with varying degrees of activity, with new forms of communication or action, or periods "on" and "off", through new campaigns because of the perception of old and new grievances.
- Disappearance. Several movements arise in reaction to specific events or a specific demand and disappear before their achievement or realization of the impossibility of its accomplishment, or in the absence of social and media support.
- Political participation. Many social movements jump into the political arena. In Spain highlights the case of Podemos, with roots in the indignant movement "15M" (although it does not represent "15M" globally), or the achievement of the town hall of the city of Barcelona by Ada Colau, leader of a social movement against evictions for failures to pay mortgages (PAH).

One of the possible evolutions of any group or movement may be carrying out violent actions. We could apply the graduation of actions of social movements, pointed in this report, to the actions that could be develop by other groups, possibly extremist or radical, that could defend the use and exercise of violence as a means of action.

In any case it is necessary to identify types of violent actions, being the basic classification the one that differentiates between acts against property and acts against people. Again it is the theory of social movements which, studying the repertoire of actions, highlights the "logic of injury". Della Porta states that violence is a resource, usually oriented, of small-scale, symbolic, and with instrumental purposes. Thus violence is justified as a symbolic

rejection of oppression or, as noted in several interviews on this project, as a reaction to a previous state violence (injustice, inequality, corruption, etc.). Violence is also used to get the attention of the media.

As shown along this research there is no sign of an increase of violence in social groups in recent years, despite the severe economic crisis and the lost of credibility of public institutions, except in very specific occasions. The most violent outbreaks occur in demonstrations legally established in legal systems (such as general strikes), or in protests against major international summits or at the end of demonstrations through the infiltration of radical elements.

It is customary to speak of the possibility of an escalation in the use of violence by groups and movements, which depends on the following factors:

- Criteria for opportunity. Social and political situation (proximity to elections or a new legal or political measure), strength or weakness of institutions, emulation effect to large demonstrations that arouse feelings of solidarity and create identity, etc.
- The perception of injustice. A high sense of injustice linked to the perception of disinterest for his solution to the appropriate authority (state, regional or municipal level).
- The overreaction of the state or the police. The escalation of violence comes as a phenomenon of action and reaction. The police action is part of the equation, as an intermediary in the relationship between groups and the state. The police

¹ Variable also stands out for the "World Protests 20106-2013 study."

- can use three basic strategies.
- Coactive. Use of force.
 - Persuasive. Attempt to control the protest through direct contact, proximity and communication.
 - Informative. Analysis of information and intelligence, previously and with a preventive approach.

Each of these strategies supports a wide degree of intensity levels, and operational forms. Analysing the global situation in recent years it is possible to detect two basic models: a coercive and scale of violence (especially in totalitarian regimes) and other negotiated models, with a degree of tolerance of protest action with some limits, and trying to avoid the escalation (on systems more democratic).

State overreaction can prepare another effect, the tendency toward clandestine groups and collectives, which may be an intermediate or collateral in a bid to step violence. This narrative is present in several of the people interviewed in this project.

- The infiltration of radical elements in both groups and movements, who could guide the other members of the group or exploit non-violent demonstrations, to polarize opinion and centralizing the media attention on violent action.
- The use of violence by any part. In a situation of polarized violence, people are forced to choose sides, movements or groups may split, even social movements and groups lose support. The state negotiating strategies (through the police) are useful in most cases, but difficult to apply to groups such as hooligans or squats (Della Porta), or

movements of urban violence (such as street violence in the Basque Country).

- The intention of symbolic occupation of areas or territories is understood as a challenge to the state (for example, Congress or Parliament, or near the area where an international summit is held).
- Communication. Every action is communication. And the actions of groups and movements seek media coverage. That coverage, so that it occurs, requires broad involvement of people (in the case of social protests, based on the "logic of the numbers"), use of radical tactics, or a significant degree of innovation as happened in the FEMEN movement (that generates an initial echo, but not too sustainable over time). The paradox is that on the one hand, media will criticize the use of violence or the radical way of protests, but at the same time they will focus on these kinds of events.

The above elements determine the capacity for mobilization into violence.

Faced with escalating violence, in democratic systems, it is the state that owns "the monopoly on the use of violence", through the rule of law. In this case violent movements are doomed to failure. This is why social movements do not usually resort to violence, also because of the loss of support from social base, calling for the use of non-violence actions, passive resistance, or at most a controlled civil disobedience degree.

Generally, groups and movements avoid making extreme actions if they desire to

have the support of broad sectors of society. This is evident in social movements, but not in extremist groups with possible trend towards the use of violence, where perhaps an internal consensus on their militant bases is more important than a social support (Barnes et al 1979). For example, indignant movements have had the sympathy of a very large percentage of the Spanish population, decreasing as the movement was infiltrated by other interests and specific acts of verbal or physical violence occurred ("25S"). Moreover, again in the social sphere, where it is understood that you can generate some kind of achievement in the objectives, violence is counterproductive with democratic governments (Cress and Snow 2000: 1097-1098). Overall social movements have extensive experience in how to avoid an escalation of violence. But, as previously commented, that is not the case in certain extremist and violent movements, in which the exercise of violence is part of their DNA. Moreover, the escalation of violence in the form of action and reaction can become a routine, which can lead to the occurrence of a more or less casual act (the death of a policeman or a protester), producing an escalation in form of violence (Neidhardt, 1981).

Francesca Polleta (2006) coined the term "awkward movements" to define those movements of an illegal and violent character, complex to study, because of its composition, objectives and ways of action. Especially she refers to neo-Nazi and racist groups or religious sects. Della Porta has advanced in the research of underground political violence. She identifies a double trend: the legitimization of political action movements and groups from outside the classical political arena, and the

stigmatization of violence.

Activism vs. multi-activism

Activism nowadays could be conceived differently from the one we are used to. However, regarding the social evolution that is taking place, many of these behaviors must harmonize several causes in its claims. These do not imply that as a whole, they are different to the old ones. It could be understood as an evolution of the movements itself.

Similarly, we need to understand the type of cause, which exist after any of the different movements. There have always been short-term and long-term triggers. Under this premise, taking into account the amount of information citizens has, even related with topics traditionally non-public, is greater than in the past. The rise of social actions opposed to a plurality of situations or actions takes shape.

Glut reactions arise as well in that sense. They are social mobilizations during a more or less long period of time, which find their crucial moment in the reaction of a specific event or fact, which plays the role of a detonator. Thus, the generalized mobilizations against the disappearance of the Ayotzinapa's students (Mexico 2014-2015), the ones against the rise of the public transport prices in Brasil in 2013 or the protest against the price of the electricity in Bulgaria in 2012 cannot be understood without taking into account the circumstances the population has been denouncing.

As a reaction, not as a glut situations but created after the exploitation of a specific situation multiple mobilizations are also

Multi-activism after the anti-islam movements in Germany

In October 2014, the movement Patriotic Europeans Against the Islamisation of the Occident, PEGIDA, was born in Dresden, Germany. Initially, Lutz Bachmann led the movement through its Facebook profile. However, he resigned on January 2015 after the major scandal created when a photo of him dressed as Hitler was published. The movement denounces an increasing Islamism and the use of the right of asylum damaging the German culture, denying its racist character or being opposed to the immigrants. Since the first of their mobilization, their meetings have been progressively increasing. Support groups profiles are diverse. Basically, big neo-Nazi groups, partisans of far-right political parties and hooligans support them. But there is also a big participation of Jewish citizen in their events, as they consider themselves as part of the Occidental values, which embody the modernity Islam could destroy. Even Bachman publicly assured after his dismissal that Jews must keep together with the German patriots against the new threats. The creation during the year 2014 of a new movement under the name of JEWGIDA is a proof thereof. With a smaller convening power, as they account for less than 200 members, their raison d'être is associated with the need of protecting their Jew life in Germany. They affirm that the increasing patriotic movements are giving space for new questions and social concerns, which the dominant political force cannot address.

Members of JEWGIDA have participated and join to the demonstrations organized by PEGIDA, from Berlin to Frankfurt, during the present year.



Pegida Demo Dresden, 25th January 2015
Free media repository from Wikimedia Commons

recorded. The case of PEGIDA, although it was created three months before, did not gain the great support until the terrorist attacks in France in 2015. They obtained the biggest sign of support ever registered. Since that peak, their support has been falling down in intensity. In that sense, while interethnic tensions in Germany are latent, nowadays enriched by more reactionary visions against the arrival of refugees, it is possible that these type of activism will remain.

This behavior, in which the reactionary features damage the continuity, also predetermines the activity of the current social movements. There are two characteristics, which repeat in multiple scenarios nowadays:

- Mobilization only against events, as a reaction, is a big sudden support, but they lose intensity very fast and they tend to transform into temporary mobilizations.
- This improvisation feature is also other of the signs showing the fragile structure of many of these organizations, as well as the low coordination and communication between them.

Multi-activism could be understood as a method to increase social pressure. Those activism that sympathize or, at least are not divergent in their claims, tend to join their demands, so the actions or protests have a greater convening power. Spain is a good example for this case of activism; several mobilizations under the name of "Mareas" (Spanish word for "tide") have been registered. A "Marea" is the junction of different movements (in favor of the education, healthcare, etc.) getting together in one when taking the streets.

If the governments give priority to the management of these types of claims when supported by big masses of the population, the tendency to create them will be the goal of the movements in order to get the attention of the institutions.

Mobilizations, mostly spontaneous, of demand of one or more social causes in which citizens, with different profiles and concerns, tend to get together, without the need of the existence of a previous structure or organization.

Multi-activism in conflict areas

One of the strongest evidences of the present research, and newest about the actions of social movements and ideological groups is the current presence in combat zones of some of its members, especially Syria and Ukraine.

Dutch bikers traveling to Syria to fight against the Islamic State, motorcycle groups supporting Putin interests in Ukraine, members of groups or leftist ideology or the extreme right who come to Syria or Ukraine, are only part of the manifestations of our post modern societies. In Ukraine, we can detect the paradox of members of same group acting on behalf of the Ukrainian government while others have done for Russia. The classic phenomenon of the Mujahedeen has evolved, with a global dimension, affecting diverse ideologies, not only jihadist. Globalization, ease of travel, the interconnection of issues around the world have these new scenarios in which, as seen through the interviews, we could find anarchists in Kobane who pursuit an international political model similar to the existing one in Rojava.

This situation could suppose an extension in the list of actions that many groups can develop in the countries of origin of the displaced militants, who sometimes get military training in the use of weapons and explosives. Again, it should be noted that this comment does not look for the criminalization of movements and groups, but only warns of the existence of individuals (few) with radical ideas who use violence in different parts of the world. Something that cannot be generalized to the presence of many members of different groups in many conflicts, with humanitarian work and support. Nor it should be linked to the choice of organizational models, such as Rojava, as ideal for other environments, since freedom of thought should never enter the police or criminal sphere.

Social movements and its configuration in the new era of social media

One of the idiosyncratic features of the current social movements is the access, understanding and use of the mass media as an essential part of its activism. From its creation, to its organization and call for action could be analyzed from the new prism of Internet, social media and mobile devises, essentially.

Thus, the greater differences do not release from a change in its messages, its content or its structure, internal or territorial, but from its organization, way of acting and communication that comes with the new technologies. Previous mobilizations, such as the ones known as the Arab Spring, the Spanish Occupy-Movement 15-M, Occupy New York, YoSoy132 in Mexico, or the recent Passe Libre in Brasil – offspring from the Nao Vai Ter Copa – are some of

the cases that cannot be studied without understanding the dynamics new social media played in the web.

As Padilla² indicated (2012), in order to understand new activisms, the main characteristics conferred by Internet have to be taken in to account:

- **Ambiguity:** because it is not a mean conceived for a specific purpose, but a tool in the service of citizens, for their multiple objectives.
- **Lack of control:** the great variety of communication areas, shared areas, private chats and multiple contexts that the net offers, they act as means, allowing the action capacity and permanent interconnection between users.
- **Opening:** The existence of opened areas increases the possibility of participating on the different movements. Therefore, militancy, participation and activism in general is facilitated.

These characteristics do not have to be understood as typical of the ecosystem but they are extended, increasingly, to social movements' nature. Therefore, it is not surprising that nowadays more flexible, discontinuous and multiple activisms are recorded, as it is possible to belong to different movements at the same time. This is a circumstance that also would facilitate the multi-activism generation aforementioned.

These attributes are also inherent to this type of technology users. A younger profile, very agile in the use of internet and its applications, with different values'

2 El Kit de la Lucha en Internet. Traficantes de sueños, Margarita Padilla, 2012. <http://www.traficantes.net/sites/default/files/pdfs/Ei%20kit%20de%20la%20lucha%20en%20Inter-net-TdS.pdf>

prioritization and that, despite they do not maintain a great activist activity physically; they become a constant facilitator and bearer of new recognitions.

The digital citizens' behaviour tend to generate a greater solidarity, collaboration, freedom of speech, visibility and casualness between the members, even facilitates obtaining funding for several projects. In this regard, it may be said that Internet environment allows developing a greater activism than the one that is generated in the physical world, in which there are more costs, space-time limitations and less interconnection capacity. This means a social barriers' breaking down regarding economic resources inequality that are necessary for mobilization.

The possibility for horizontal communications also generates more lineal structures in which leadership is not always sought and welcome. This way that the net works is also transferred to the organization of the movements, in which a clear leadership can not always be identified.

In the same spirit, Internet facilitates information dissemination. The disorganization is fictitious, in terms of lack of previous structure, because it is structured as it can communicate in different formats and therefore, many groups which are more or less organized. Instant messaging groups, monitoring/distribution lists, emails' groupings, hashtags or groups in Internet are one of the tools which allows to determinate communication channels and messages that have to be delivered.

This organization derives from the communication necessity itself and it is

The 15M occupy movement case and its organization without previous structure

The success of the 15 May 2011 call in Spain is linked to the existence of Real Democracy Now, an idea that was built in to platform because of the spontaneous interaction of citizens. The fact that anyone could suggest proposals, provide audiovisual material and present their interests lead to the meeting of a great variety of citizens that, apart from their own ideologies, activisms or social positions, got together for a concrete objective.

This collective and collaborative work was made with P2P (peer to peer) work structures. As a result, more than 200 different organizations and citizens from all social strata began one of the biggest mobilisation of the recent Spanish History, in more than 50 cities simultaneously. Among many milestones, as a consequence of this mobilization, posterior movements emerged, as the aforementioned Tides.



15 M demonstration in 2015, Madrid
Free media repository from Wikimedia Commons

capable of obtaining a greater coordination in physical actions, remain latent when an event that requires mobilization arises, be directed to other objectives or disappear, having only provided services as a mere transmission channel. This is a more inherent characteristic to Internet's flexibility and generator of activist flexibility.

The activation of collective awareness is also aimed. Another incentive for mobilization

is the possibility of watching what other people in other countries is doing, dealing with a similar situation to ours. In this regard, the communication channels provided by new technologies also act as learning and experiences' spreading channels, which mean that it is possible to analyse which social actions are effective in order to adopt them and which are not in order to be rejected or modified.

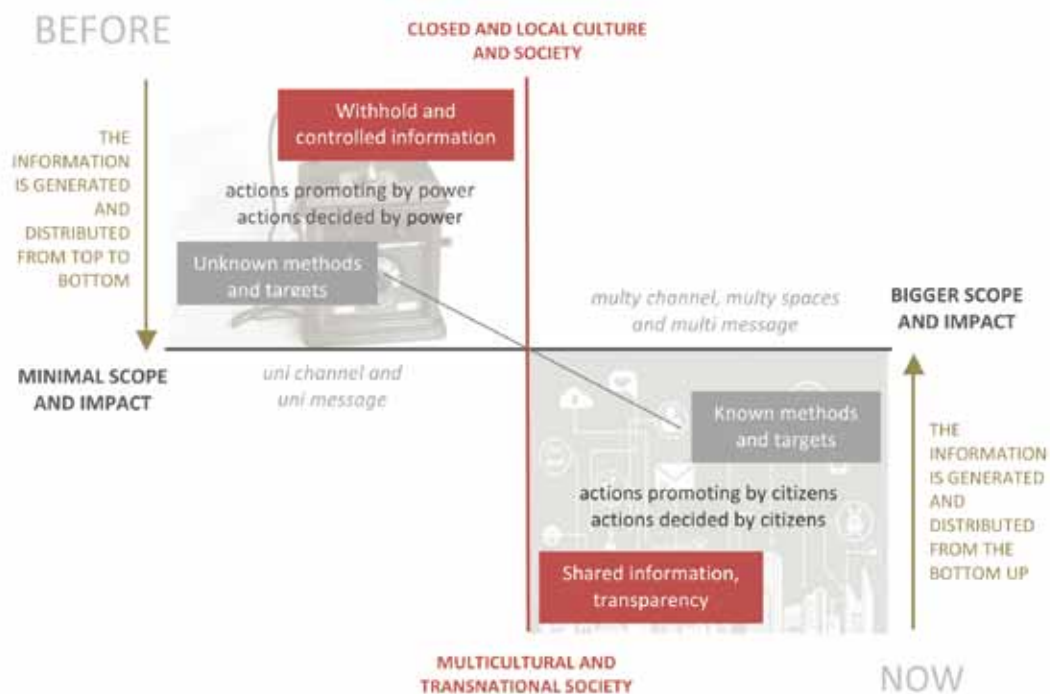
Profits are also greater when we use technology in a logistic way. Some provisions of this use are: checking access routes, route design, real time communicating of changes in the call, prevision of how security forces are going to respond or inform the attendees of eventualities, even with graphic provision.

Regarding hacktivism (see conceptual framework), it has contributed to the communication framework transformation in which we currently are. The social change experienced in the last 30 years cannot be analyzed without understanding the effects that Internet and new technologies usage have on it. The political field has become public domain and is currently a part of the social media context.

The fact that citizens can access, in an increasing way, to these progresses forces the break of also the monopoly of the traditional mass media, let it become a complex of messages, denounces and social claims.

Staging, as an example, of the evolution of the communication scene:

A part of the social movements using digital technologies could generate a variety of social, ideological, properly communicational and cultural effects, which



transform the entire social sphere. Effects are generated in both spheres at the same time, after giving feedback to the utilities of the first ones with the needs of the second ones, and vice versa.

Classic organization forms evolve, therefore, with new communications, by absorbing the advantages they offer. These variables will also configure its local and international dimension.

Ties between the different movements

It is complex to identify the existence of ties between different movements, although the greatest difficulty lies in determining the strength and purpose thereof.

Based on the characteristics of multi-activism described and the use of new

technologies and their impact on current social movements, the existence of links between them is evident for many purposes. However, we may not be at an organic and / or functional interconnection as it may seem initially. International activism is in continuous communication informally, without having why international structures.

- Experience, knowledge, concerns and grievances are shared.
- Activism can be together, starting from the moment in this way cyber hacktivism, where you interact regardless of where each of the subjects that come to contacting occurs.

Main grievances

Protest could be the result of a specific event, or the answer to a complex of several situations. This could bring up the creation of multi-activism as described above.

The detonator event, although its multiple nature, could be framed in three different blocks (Carothers and Youngs, 2015)³

- **Political:** such as the attempts of a coup d'état in Burkina Faso in 2014, whose Government had to yield after the civil mobilizations, Burundi 2015, or recently, Ecuador in 2015, as well.
- **Socio-economics:** against the energy prices in Tunisia in 2014, the rise of public transport prices in Brasil 2013, the electricity prices in Bulgaria 2013 and the poor financial status in Siria in 2011.
- **Economical-Political,** in which we can point out the so mentioned corruption, but also salary questions, housing prices or austerity policies, among others.

Identifying these triggers could be an easy task when the mobilization starts, but they tend to blur, coordinate third triggers, with the evolution of the protest.

In this sense, economical or social factors, even political, initially framed could gain enough power to create instability in all the governmental system. Thus, a denounced corruption could create enough rejection to make the citizens question their policies, system or institutions, but also the way power is exercised. This pattern is reproduced all around the world.

³ "The Complexities of Global Protests". Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. October 2015 <http://carnegieendowment.org/2015/10/08/complexities-of-global-protests/iint>

As we explained before in relation with the explanation of the recent multiactivism, finding more that a demand in the different protests we have studied is not complex. Social movements also tend to put together different claims in their basic argumentations, without being excluding from the others. They could even register a trigger; at it has been seeing in the case of Bulgaria, which changes while the social movement evolves.

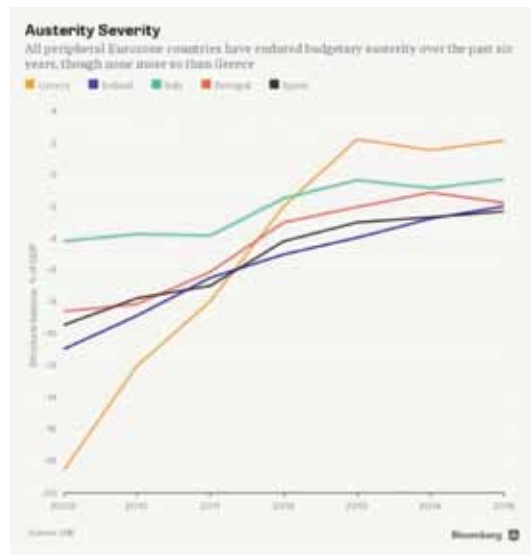
Basic demands are also presented together in three differenced blocks, taking into account the background of them. The fourth block, specified as "global" demands, could include claims of each type, covers the ones focused against organisms, institutions or situations, which transfers the state limits.

- **Economical:** employment, salaries, working conditions, inequality, poverty, pensions, taxes, prices of commodities, access to goods, land regulations, health care, education, housing and other reductions in public expense.
- **Political:** level of democracy, corruption, state or private institutions vigilantism, lack of transparency, privatization and deregulation.
- **Of rights and liberties:** racial, of gender, ethnic, indigenous, religious, LGBT, immigrants, refugees, homeless.
- **Global:** The International Monetary Found (IMF), World Bank (WB), the G20, the G7, multinationals, big corporates, the TTIP agreement, the TPP agreement, climate change and the environment, free trade, capitalism, imperialism, globalization and, again, the generalization of the vigilantism.

If these cluster is similar to the one made

by *The World Protests*, the shown evolution of the recent historical social movements in any of the analyzed countries proves an equality of causes. In this context, there are multiple investigations that share proving the existence of different triggers, which could be classified in the established order, form the one mentioned in the *Carnegie Endowment study*, till the one published by *The Guardian* on the causes of mass protests, which took place in 2011 in Great Britain.

From Egypt to Spain, from Tanzania to Kirghizstan, or from Australia to Chile, citizens have come out to the streets to prove their indignation on how austerity measures have been applied at the expense of public expense, while the banks and corporates were boosted.



Political claims were the second given cause in the international context, as *The World Protests* mentions. In this scenario, demands for a bigger democracy,

understood as a greater real participation of the citizens, more transparency, and the need of adoption decisions, which will create equality and liberty, has been the main focus in the protests along the five continents. However, it is not only because international trend, such claims are among the main complaints also directed against local governments, a situation that has been evident in the countries analyzed.

The democratic foundations are being subjected to continuous processes of change characterized by a rejection of power and loss of importance of elections as the only element of citizen participation in government systems. The rejection of policies, the discrediting of political parties or authorities, is a growing trend in all scenarios analyzed.

Protests not claim the power, so many times governments claim they have no future to not assume a policy or action plan strategies alternative. But it does reflect an empowerment of the citizen even beyond national borders. A role of a sufficient scale to set up a new public culture and establish the ability of social action in the popular practice. Multiple nodes of very different sizes that remain dormant until the time come to consider appropriate policy or oppose a particular action or reject the current government is so programs begin. This feature is to set temporary and flexible nature of the new activism already pointed out, again. As "The Politics of Protests" says the protests have become a normal instrument of contemporary democracy.

Any of these mentioned causes, from the political to the global, had been taken place indistinctly in the countries with higher incomes and by citizens of all social strata.

The circumstance breaks with the traditional association between bigger instability and greater poverty.

In this way, growing social movement whose bases are unincorporated mostly citizens, belonging to the most vulnerable social strata.

Effect of the economic crisis, the corruption, the poor leadership of the political class and other institutions, the deficit in communication skills and empathy with citizens, there is a great disillusionment with political systems. A crisis of representative democracies.

The elections of the European Union in 2014 were a serious warning. Also for the World Economic Forum, the crisis of representative democracy was the fifth most important issue on its agenda in 2015. The so-called "populism" is, among other things, an effect of bad governance and the disaffection of citizens to their rulers, finding the opportunity to offer simplistic solutions to complex phenomena. Churchill, who marked the 50th anniversary of his death in 2015, pointed out that "democracy is the worst form of government except for the others." The demands towards new democracies more participatory and less representative, more transparent, less corrupt, is an unstoppable trend in the coming years. The Economist (*The World in 2015*) highlighted the need to open two debates: one on the reform of the state; the second, on what to do with democracy, although it is the best form of government, the more flexible, and also adaptive to new needs, having the skills and tools to support tensions. But this should not prevent us from seeking to improve their imperfections.

Transnationality

International social movement, also known as global, are those whose actuation scope trespasses the own national delimitation. In this regard, *even its actuation and presence can be local, delimited by the Government, its effects are also international, trespassing therefore the defined institutional contexts.*

Characteristics that allow to confirm the existence of an international social movement (Della Porta and Tarrow, 2004; Borras, 2009; Arias, 2008; Montoya and Hernando, 2011)

- It has sympathizers and allies in other national territories.
- The movement manages to trespass its borders with some of their concessions, ideas or practices, which become shared by third movements that have been born in a different social context.
- Conversely, problems originated out of the state or society is assumed as own.
- A common identity is built, as adversaries and objectives are shared.
- Existing capacity of combining collective action ways towards the same interests.

In order to understand the existence of any of these variables, it is necessary to observe the physical space, but also the space on Internet. Considering that, new technologies can generate the existence of these patterns in the same intensity, it we can not dismiss that they acquire the same magnitude.

Despite many collective action forms are new, strengthened by the fastness and accessibility of communications, international social movements are not a new phenomena. The non governmental

organizations that were developed during the second half of XIX century were already being built by international movements. Movements against slavery or in favour of suffrage were some examples (Keck and Silk-kink, 1998).

This is one of the guidelines that allow understanding that the social movements already had a global dimension, even before globalization was conceived as we do at present. This circumstance does not contradict that currently, a great majority of these global movements are precisely opposed to globalization guidelines, emerging therefore an international opposition known as anti-capitalist, anti-globalist, of global social justice or alter-globalist.

At the same time, it has to be admitted that many new mobilizations emerge, precisely, as a consequence of the power centres' transfer. These are not entirely national anymore and share competences with third countries or supranational organisms

(Della Porta and Tarrow, 2004). Therefore, the social mobilization also moves their complaints from the national framework to the international framework. New global actors are therefore configured taking into account the international frameworks that are being created.

Another important factor is the existence of a same grievance as an identifying and mobilization factor; even it is generated within the limits of a nation or in the international scene. It is not about the existence of a unique cause, as in every protest on a large scale each participant will participate moved by his own ideals, but there are grievances that have a great rejection to which they can give complaints. In this sense, corruption⁴ has been one of the principal salutary lessons in the last six years in the 5 continents: Mexico, Pakistan, Singapore, Turkish, Hong Kong, Chile, Brazil, Guatemala, Great Britain, Slovenia, Bulgaria, Russia, Spain, Croatia, Bosnia and

Tunisia are jsut some examples.

In one way or another, contexts and local experiences are still deciding in the training and evolution of these movements (Sassen, 2007; Miller, 2004). Protests directed against local injuries remain, both in the present investigation, as in those consulted to obtain a greater context, such as the one mentioned as the main objective.

Protests as a result of national and international opportunities structures

When social movements are analyzed we have to take into account their capacity of generating **collective emotions**. As Kriesi highlighted, the political opportunity structure respects to the aspects of a politic system, neither as a whole, or as an accumulation of determined actions or characteristics mode, that have influence in the emergence of a movement. This means that an evaluation of the national scene is made in terms of success or failure when to carry out the mobilization (Van Stekelenburg and Klandermans; 2010)⁵.

In this sense, the opportunity structures relate to the specific features of the political and social system. Exogenous factors to activism constitute previous conditions, which ease the action.

Some of these structures are: In the national scene many examples show the emergence of great protests in the streets as a response to opportunities considered as: Concrete institutional weakness, because

of corruption, inefficiency or instability between the different politic actors.

Possibility of repression of the demonstration by the State.

Capacity of acting as an opposition or support of any parties in the power.

Existence of civic organizations and NGOs supporting the same causes.

Growth of medium classes with expectations that go beyond the ones offered by the states, with resources and action capacity.

Taking these characteristics to the present context of globalization, new opportunity structures could be identified. Social movements are taking advantage of them, such as:

The internationalization itself, vulnerable to actions unknown till nowadays.

The representative democracy crisis.

The small capacity of maneuvering and decision of the supranational organisms.

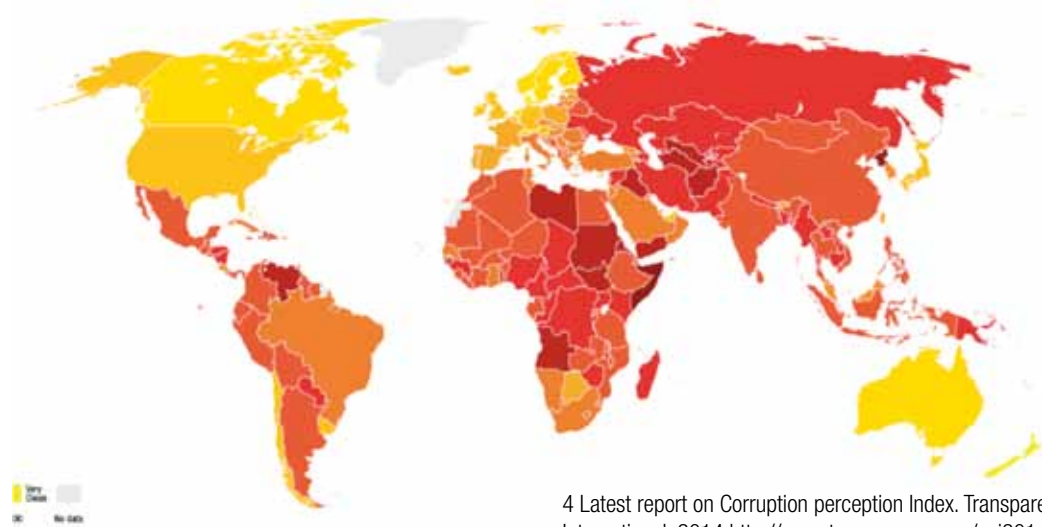
The increase of non conventional political participation methods.

The existence of great difficulties, such as terrorism.

Understanding the existence of these opportunities does not hinder putting them in interrelation with the rest of the indicated variables. This way, it is as important to be able to identify situation which potentially facilitate the emergence of a protest, as the impetus that can feed it as the advantages that the use of new technologies and communications can suppose.

More number, more intensity

Difficulties of setting out a homogeneous register hampers to a large extent the data comparative, already from a conceptual level, in the international context. It is a



4 Latest report on Corruption perception Index. Transparency International, 2014 <http://www.transparency.org/cpi2014>

5 "The social psychology of protest". Sociopedia. 2010. <http://www.surrey.ac.uk/politics/research/researcharea-sofstaff/isppsummeracademy/instructors/Social%20Psychology%20of%20Protest,%20Van%20Stekelenburg%20%26%20Klandermans.pdf>

handicap that affects both the diachronic analysis of the region and the comparative between different countries. However, the multiple analysis published in recent years prove in their results, based on open source information, an increase in the number of protests. As an example, we need to mention the World Protests 2006-2013, in which the analysis of its authors of more than 843 protests in 84 countries between 2006 and 2013 prove a gradual increase on those types of events year by year.

In the mentioned document, a tendency is identified in every of the analyzed state by the study: social protests have increased since 2010, year in which the global economical and financial crisis caused the adoption of austerity measures in a plurality of states. As a peculiarity, not only the organization of protests against these types of adopted measures by each of the nations was initiated, but also the local announcements tend to protest for the international situation increasingly. A complex of local actuations focus on rejecting the global context.

Achievements

The recent protests contexts of different countries studied, the data pointed to by the studies that have been cited and consultation of such events on open sources hint at a situation: while initial claims have not always succeeded only 37% of the time according to World Protests, those movements that have been maintained over time have contributed to changes in the institutions that opposed, albeit indirectly.

These accomplishments were achieved mainly in political, social and legal sphere; example is the successive changes

of government or termination charges in Bulgaria. Even more complex and problematic by the possibility of being imitated is the change in decision of government bodies after the occurrence of violent protest scenarios, as has happened in some of the cases mentioned in Spain. In this sense, lead to changes preceded by violence could be an example for organizations and / or individuals who do not intend to act within the legal margins.

Old or new?

The discussion between analysts about whether the protests we are now witnessing is wide, they propose it can be a new global phenomenon or a part of the characteristic evolution of the social contexts.

Without doubt, from each and every variable that have been indicated, there is not a single one that is a unique and intrinsic characteristic of the social movement, in fact, new particularities conform the context. This means, an already known phenomenal within a new scenario, sufficiently changing to cause modifications in both senses.

One of the most analyzed effects by the scholars of this field: modification of the politic itself as a consequence of new mobilizations. This is not a totally true formulation as there have always been mobilizations supported by oppositions or new political parties. There are even scenarios in which protests start as mere activism external to the political level, where the achievement of the required benefits makes the group think about the possibility of being established as a political force. This is an evolution that has been experienced in Spain when the Partido X emerged after

the 15M mobilizations, or after the Mubarak overthrow in Egypt in 2011-2012.

Nevertheless, growing hostility, defended in one way or another, toward the states' power is being reflected by a greater control of their actuation by the citizens. A situation in which, in Della Porta⁶ words, is generating a paradigm change in the way that we have understood democratization until now. Activisms which try to create a new way of understanding society as an active actor and not passive, before the State actions.

Within this debate about if we are really before a new mobilization phenomenon, even if evolution in civil disobedience tactics have been visible, the majority of calls are still being developed in the traditional formats of marches and speeches⁷.

The mobilizations created after the beginning of the economic crisis, depending on the country could be delimited between 2006 and 2013, were supported by great percentages of citizens without any previous activism experience. Together with the traditional activists, and implied sectors in each of the claims, the presence of anonymous citizens, mostly from middle classes, has changed the adhesion known till nowadays to these movements. Nonetheless, taking into account the increase given to middle class in the international level, the existence of an activist citizen from a higher social class, more than an endogenous factor from the new mobilizations, it is a new social variable, which affects the development of

the traditional social movements.

In regard to the type of actions developed nowadays, the fact that traditional organizations such as syndicates, NGOs, associations, organizations, neighbourhood assemblies, communitarian coalitions, cultural associations, political parties, business sectors, religious congregations, etc. are still the main driving force of social movements together with the abovementioned citizens, make the methods not so different from the ones used before (demonstrations, marches, strikes, assemblies, rallies, occupations, blockades, etc.). However, a movement of hacktivism has begun as a method of direct action, with the same purposes as the mobilizations, which take the streets.

In this sense, the label of "new" could merely be given to this increasing use and presence of social movements in virtual environments.

Protest as incentive for change

As the last work about social movements done by Carnegie Endowment, "The Complexities of Global Protest", the role that mobilizations plays in the future of states is yet vague, so effects do not have to be generalized from one territory to another.

Multiple protests have been the sole tool able to subvert established orders by questioning democracy level of the states. Even in many mentioned examples through this study we see situations of power shifts and regime overthrows, as a response to the challenge that mobilizations suggested. Nevertheless, they have not yet demonstrated to have enough capacity of creating a new order or structure capable of providing solutions to

6 "Mobilizing for Democracy. Comparing 1989 and 2011". Oxford University Press, 2014.

7 "World Protests 2006-2013". IPD/FES Working Paper. September 2013. http://cadtm.org/IMG/pdf/World_Protests_2006-2013-Final-2.pdf

problems suggested by them.

Non democratic governments that have faced vast protests scenarios as Venezuela, Yemen, Iran or Bahrain, have been capable of suppressing them using force and without great grants neither politic or others. Nevertheless, in more democratic countries, protests have obtained relevant revenues.

Nationalism and secessionism

Nationalism gains strength in the world. On the one hand through policies of states such as Russia, India, China or Japan, which narratives emphasizing his character and national identity, but also through the advancement of nationalist political movements in places like the United Kingdom (UK Independent Party, UKIP) or France (National Front).

The evolution of phenomena such as jihadist terrorism can have direct effects on this increase, as seen after the attacks in Paris (January and November). Sometimes nationalism is manifested in the desire to secede from specific parts of the states; a phenomenon also increasingly is affecting Europe and other parts of the world (Scotland, Catalonia, Sahara, Ukraine, Myanmar, Belgium, Lombardy, Kurds, or the self-styled Islamic State which has blurred the border between Syria and Iraq). The victory of the "no" in Scotland does not hide a social division, or bury the debate. But the fact is that if in 1945 there were 51 countries, and in 2014 we had 193. Some analysts propose Quebec as a model of success (The Economist, The World in 2015), although it is based on the asymmetry of giving more powers to some provinces than others, which may be contrary to the principles of equality that should govern a state.

Increased extremism

Jihadism, far right, left extremism, anarchist, are some of the existing manifestations of extremism. The BBC in one of his chronicles written by Afzal Ashraf (RUSI analyst Think Tank) concerned that while it is true that we are experiencing one of the most peaceful periods of history, the events during the 2014 and 2015 are already impacting the West, because it is awakening to their own horrors. Ease of access to conflict zones, as well indicates Jean-Pierre Filiu, for the foreign fighters, certain existential nihilism, and the effect of a society based on the power of the the image, which it configures the message more than the content. Some authors pointed out that these factors are manifestations of our postmodern, liquid societies, or transmodernity.

A remarkable question is the internationalization of the phenomena, as shown by the links between anarchists in Italy, Greece, Spain or Chile. Also phenomena such as PEGIDA in Germany, that threatens to spread to other European countries. Meanwhile, members of right-wing groups are fighting in Ukraine, Dutch bikers travel to Syria and Iraq to fight the Islamic State, Muslim youths patrol German city streets with police vests, or groups like Hooligans against Salafism concentrate against Muslims.

Xenophobia, racism, anti-Semitism, homophobia, intolerance

Attacks on mosques, against Jews, against homosexuals occur continuously without generating social echo. Existing statistics are scarce and manifestly not include all the facts. The economic crisis and Jihadist terrorism in 2015 is boosting speeches

against immigrants and Muslims. A lot of movements and political parties question the immigration policies of the European Union and the Schengen agreement is questioned.

Hate crimes have increased in France, United Kingdom, Germany or Spain in 2015, especially after the terrorist attacks in Paris in January and in November. This trend will continue in 2016.

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