

### **Insurrectionary Collective Action: dimensions of an eventful dynamic**

by Loukia Kotronaki and Seraphim Seferiades

This paper focuses on a conspicuously understudied form of radical-disruptive collective action: Insurrectionary Collective Action (ICA). Mustering evidence from the convulsive events that shook Greece in the aftermath of the unprovoked shooting of teenager Alexandros Grigoropoulos by riotous police in the centre of Athens in December 2008, we seek to conceptualize, interpret and explicate the ensuing social eruption employing (and seeking to further refine) analytical tools drawn from the rich literature of Contentious Politics. Explosions such as the Greek ‘December days’ are usually portrayed (and subsequently discarded) as senseless violence, mere rioting. ‘Riots’, however, are nowhere defined, which precludes serious analysis and explanation. Starting off our analysis from this conceptual core (What constitutes and What causes rioting?) we claim that the Greek events were something profoundly more intense and politically consequential. Involving far more than mere violence, the novel form we conceptualize, i.e. ICA, was characterized by broad diffusion processes, whereby riotous activity originally undertaken in the centre of Athens snowballed to engulf the whole of the country and beyond (with syncretic action breaking out in over 50 cities in some 40 countries). In it, participated a large number of underprivileged strata – school students, second-generation migrants, precariously employed etc – whilst its political message was framed in utterly uncompromising ways, making a shambles of official leftist rhetoric. Calling attention to key structural (macro-) factors helping explain this diffusion (varieties of the democratic deficit, economic crisis, crisis of political representation etc) we lay special emphasis on three neglected dimensions of contentious politics bearing on both the meso- and the micor-level of analysis, the emotional, the spatial and the temporal. We also enquire on outcomes: Can/has December 2008 transform/-ed the nature of Greek contentious politics as a whole?

**KEYWORDS:** riots, insurrections, coercion, contentious politics, collective action, emotions, transformative events, time, space.

## **“The community which refuses to accept God’s Law”: Dynamics of radicalization in the relationship between militant Islamist groups and their constituencies**

by Stefan Malthaner

In the study of radicalization and processes of political violence, the relationship between militant groups and their social and political environment is considered mainly with respect to interactions between the militants and their adversaries (police, governments). Drawing on an analysis of the Egyptian militant Islamist group al-Jamaa al-Islamiyya between 1986 and 1997, this paper argues that beyond this dyadic relationship, interactions between the militants and their constituencies [social environment] may contribute to processes of radicalization. In the case of al-Jamaa al-Islamiyya, two basic mechanisms could be identified that reinforced this process: Firstly, the militants’ agenda of transforming the Muslim community’s social and cultural order (fighting moral corruption in society) caused resentment and triggered a cycle of rejection and radicalization, culminating in attempts to impose norms of moral conduct by force, which, in turn, contributed to a further loss of support. Secondly, the weakening of support during the violent conflict with the police triggered a dynamic of social isolation and radicalization, either in a pattern of withdrawal and disengagement, with militants turning away from local arenas and engage in national (or international) terrorist campaigns; or in a violent struggle over controlling the community, in which the militants reacted to what they perceived as betrayal by trying to coerce and terrorize the population into compliance and into not collaborating with their enemy, thereby destroying all remnants of supportive relations with local communities.

KEYWORDS: radicalization, Islamist movements, Egypt, political violence, interaction

## **State strategy and the incorporation of social movements: the case of Provisional Irish Republicanism 1970-1998**

by Kevin Bean

This article considers the development of the Provisional republican movement in Ireland as a social movement from the early 1980s. It suggests that its organizational trajectory has been one of institutionalization and incorporation whilst ideologically Provisionalism has adapted pragmatically to the status –quo in Northern Ireland. In attempting to explain the main processes that have shaped this development the discussion will consider the nature of civil society in the nationalist community from which the Provisionals emerged, and the developing relationship between that community and the British state. In particular it will stress the importance of social and economic policy as a political instrument deployed by succes-

sive British governments in Northern Ireland since the late 1960s. The article assesses the impact of this state strategy on the development of the Provisional Republican movement. By drawing on some of the themes of social movement literature it also attempts to deepen our understanding of the nature of the contemporary state and its ability to shape the forms and structures of civil society. It looks at the patterns of these partnerships and relationships in Northern Ireland and considers how far they represent state strength or weakness in the face of an insurgent challenge. In making these assessments, the paper will suggest that British state strategy in its various manifestations of both 'hard' and 'soft' power has created a contradictory and yet essentially stabilizing structures of power that will continue to define Northern Ireland for the foreseeable future.

**KEYWORDS:** social movements, political violence, social movement theory, Northern Irish politics and Irish Republicanism.

### **Do You Remember Revolution? The Politics of Memory and Militancy between Cyprus and Italy**

by Charlotte Heath-Kelly

This article discusses interview material obtained on fieldwork visits to the Republic of Cyprus and Italy between 2009 and 2010. Ex-militants from four clandestine groups (EOKA, Brigade Rosse, Prima Linea and Proletari Armati per il Comunismo) were asked to speak about their entry to and participation in those organisations. The article reflects on how the memories of EOKA and anni di piombo ex-militants reflect their post-conflict situations. Victorious militant testimony from Cyprus functioned to close down the meanings that could be attributed to the conflict, while defeated militants in Italy opened up the meanings of the past through political challenge. The paper examines the splits in memory and self that emerged from the situation of ex-militant memory within defeat, and the contrasting homogenisation of memory into chronology in the situation of victory.

**KEYWORDS:** political violence, memory, EOKA, Brigade Rosse, Cyprus