

Aldilà dell'intento solidaristico e socialista di ogni iniziativa *Limina mentis*, ciascuna serie di volumi collettivi dedicati alla ricostruzione storiografica della cultura moderna e contemporanea, sostenuta dalla collana *Esprit (Voci e Frammenti di filosofia contemporanea)*, sottende un'originale metodologia fondata sulla a] varietà delle «voci interpretative», sulla b] *contestualizzazione esistenzialistica* di ciascun soggetto / oggetto di studio (irripetibilità delle narrazioni culturali), sulla c] «*rappresentazione polifonica*» di due secoli anti-monodici come Ottocento e Novecento, sulla d] instaurazione di un *dialegesthai tra «voci»*, vive e morte, nella consapevolezza che ogni racconto storico, oltre a derivare da momenti culturali determinati e unici, concorra a creare nuovi e originali orizzonti di ricerca e su una e] nuova concezione dinamica della *nozione di «manuale»* inteso come infinito *work in progress* di una comunità solidale di ricercatori (I. Pozzoni).

Curatore: Ivan Pozzoni

Autori: Angeloni Edoardo - D'Alessandro Ruggero - Di Giovanni Antonino - Giove Paolo - Melillo Antonio - Pannunzio Giorgio - Pitarresi Gaspare - Pizzo Alessandro - Pozzoni Ivan - Raineri Ignazio - Ricci Nicola - Rinzivillo Guglielmo.

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a cura di Ivan Pozzoni



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a cura di
Ivan Pozzoni

Si evince che il pensiero decostruzionista si presenta come «*pensiero della differenza*» che rifiutando ogni tipo di “presenzialismo” inerente al concetto di verità, di conoscenza, di etica e quant’altro, nella differenza (la *différance*) ritrova l’originaria irriducibilità dei significati e degli enti a qualunque identità. La *différance* mantiene alto il valore storico-culturale di *Aufhebung* che indica il procedere del processo decostruttivo, il quale diviene la nuova trascrizione-traduzione di quella “differenza ontologica” tanto invocata da Heidegger. Ora, la valorizzazione pedagogica della “*différance*” è filosoficamente, a mio avviso, correlata con l’interpretazione vattimiana della stessa, ossia: «la differenza come destituzione della definitività della presenza»²¹. Ne risulta, che seguendo Vattimo, la differenza è sfondamento che si fa disambiguazione, demistificazione, smascheramento di quella «definitività della presenza» dell’essere (dicotomico ed antinomico) delle cose, dei fatti, dei dati, dei vissuti, dei pensieri, degli oggetti, di tutto. Sotto questi aspetti il senso non è né un “fatto” né un “dato”, ma entrambe le cose in quanto esso nella prospettiva decostruzionista è un «ricercare gli impliciti e risalire agli archetipi»²². In buona sostanza, allora, nella prospettiva decostruzionista la ricerca-scoperta del senso si pone come un lavoro ermeneutico critico-riflessivo che si orienta e sviluppa su tre livelli: il *con-text* (la situazione-realtà (“oggettiva”), il *pre-text* (ciò che antecede il testo) ed il *sub-text* (ciò che è al di sotto del testo). La teoresi pedagogica, nella prospettiva decostruzionista subisce un’ulteriore spinta dinamica dovuta all’esigenza di una pluralità di punti di vista, in relazione al fatto che tra senso, conoscenza e realtà si creano delle «condizioni di possibilità» (perché è tutta qui la questione del senso, se vogliamo). Ciò è importante perché la descrizione che l’uomo fa del mondo non coincide quasi mai con quell’ordine di significati incapaci di articolare la *differenza* attraverso cui la ragione umana si esprime.

²¹ G. VATTIMO, *Le avventure della differenza*, Garzanti, Milano 2001, p.8

²² A. MARIANI, *La decostruzione in pedagogia*, Armando, Roma 2008.

ENVIRONMENT AND NEW SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

GUGLIELMO RINZIVILLO

ABSTRACT

The relevance of the environmental problem in the contemporary society is mainly due to the existence of new subjects promoting the protection and conservation of the nature. These new entities are outside of the old ideological identification, especially when compared to the historical context like that of Europe or United States, India, and Africa. These new subjects of political and civil action are organized in complex, not classical formulas. They take part in the social conflict in the form of widespread, planetary claims and show, at the same time, a high fragility. The central conflict of the modern society appears that sustained by a party in the struggle against the dominance of the market and technologies and the authoritarian powers. This cultural conflict is now central, and so the economic conflict between industrial society and politics dominated the early centuries of our modernity. In this context, the concept of social movement shows its strong interest and highlights the existence of a specific kind of collective action. A form of social domination and / or social power referred against the general guidelines / society represents this. By reversing this latest formulation, we also recognize the existence of movements supported by the dominant classes and / or directed against the popular classes; these latter are seen as an obstacle to the social integration and economic progress. In both cases, the social movement is more than a simple group of interests or an instrument of political pressure, but it involves the rules governing the use of social resources and different cultural models.

A SOCIAL VIEW OF THE ENVIRONMENT

The relevance of the environmental problem in the contemporary society is mainly due to the existence of new subjects promoting the

protection and conservation of the nature. These new entities are outside of the old ideological identification, especially when compared to the historical context like that of Europe or United States, India, and Africa. These new subjects of political and civil action are organized in complex, not classical formulas. They take part in the social conflict in the form of widespread, planetary claims and show, at the same time, a high fragility. The main topics that move the social movements include the air pollution, deforestation, loss of biodiversity, soil degradation, and water shortages by the stress of marine ecosystems. The process of alteration of the atmosphere related to human activities started about two centuries ago in concomitance with the industrial revolution and the large-scale use of fossil fuels. A well-documented sign of the impact of human activities on the environment is the deforestation. Deforestation has undergone a progressive acceleration with the industrial revolution; it is due to several contributing factors including the population growth, the extension of human settlements, infrastructure, cropland and pasture, intensified exploitation of mineral resources, soil degradation and air pollution. Therefore, we need of policies able to control the environmental, economic and social changes. The action of the movements focuses on this control on the political strategies and planning activities. In addition, as the loss of biodiversity increases, the importance of protected areas and gene banks, where the genetic material is stored, also increases. There is, however, the risk that a small group of transnational corporations able to modify the plant and animal species with the techniques of modern biotechnology privatize the genetic heritage, which belongs to the humanity. Many social movements evidence that we are experiencing an increasing degradation of the soils, i.e., the layers of debris of organic and inorganic material that covers the Earth's surface. This vital resource degrades by the action of several human activities, especially those related to the excessive overgrazing, deforestation and poor management of agricultural land. These actions particularly involve the desertification, or land degradation in arid, semi-arid and dry sub-humid areas resulting from various factors, including climatic variations. The desertification processes, in over 100 countries, affect a billion and more people, especially the poorest ones, whose existence depends on the agriculture and farming activities. In Africa, in the second

half of the twentieth century, a desertification area equivalent to more than twice that of Italy developed. In this regard, the social movements of the recent years and in different parts of the world propose that soil degradation, desertification and the various types of hydrogeological changes can be controlled by adopting appropriate procedures of prevention and recovery. The action of the movement also focuses on the global water crisis, where it favors protests at a global scale. In fact, the current trend of decreasing water availability and the concomitant deterioration of water quality indicate that, in the coming decades, a water crisis of unprecedented proportions will develop. This crisis will probably increase the number of disputes and conflicts over water, especially in areas where the same river basin or lake divides two or more countries. Therefore, the need to address the water problem at a global scale by making an efficient use of water and reducing wastes represent a priority. The marine waters, especially the coastal ones, are subjected to an increasing stress due to human activities.

Because of the deterioration of the marine environment, which increases in all regions of the world, a reduction of the sources of pollution on land, especially in coastal areas and at sea, and the preservation of coastal habitats, in particular wetlands, along with a regulation of the fishing activities, represent a political and social priority. The implementation of these measures, however, is locked by various economic factors.

For example, although many fish species are close to the extinction, we continue to catch fishes on an industrial scale so destroying the food chains and the ecosystems.

All these factors introduce the actions of collective movements that are organized in the various countries in different ways, independently from an ideological identification. The results of these actions can be found in the increase of the social conflicts accompanying the protest, also exceeding the limits of the environmental impact, and in promoting requests through the international organizations. In addition, it must be stressed that the environmental impact and its consequences stimulate the organizations against the globalization. The movements developed in the last decades of the twentieth century and even in the current century, relate their perspective of the Western capitalism and Asia to the economic dynamics of globalization, including the new international

division of the labor, the financial markets, the international trade and tourism. These last factors are also involved in the requests of the social movements, which indicate the emergence of social issues related to the environmental changes and to the process of economic globalization. The issues raised by the social movements are within a picture free of well-established ideologies, i.e. a certain type of critics of the capitalism worldwide related to the environmental issues (new socio-economic disparities, the poverty and the food problem, the emergence of a new health situation with the growth of the gap in the levels of education and the work of very young people). It is found that the profits produced in the world are the result of the use of human and material resources in the process of economic globalization, which creates an increasing interdependence between different countries and the distribution continues to be characterized by strong inequalities. As a result, rural areas and farmers transform into areas of absolute poverty, that is, huge reservoirs of misery like those of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Rural poverty are a part of the "cycle of poverty", an interaction of socio-economic and environmental factors, which, although with very different performances in various countries, develops in situations where the majority of farmers is excluded from the ownership of land. This latter concentrates in large companies or estates, and the agricultural production is oriented to the export rather than to the local food demand. The rural masses and farmers, in many cases without a subsistence minimum, poured into the city in search of a way to survive. Thus, there is a strong increase in social conflicts as well as a transfer of poverty from the country to cities, so increasing the deterioration of living conditions in the metropolitan areas. Poverty stems from hunger, which continues today to be responsible for millions of victims, although the world food production has grown faster in the last decades. This confirms that the cause of the hunger is not the lack of food on the market but the poverty, especially in rural and farming areas where large masses of people are deprived of their land, the possibility of producing the necessities of life is lacking, and, at the same time, people does not have the sufficient salary to buy food. In this sense, social movements tend to assert that, for three quarters of the poor, it is crucial to place the agriculture at the center of the development strategies. This because of the majority of governments of developing countries do not invest enough resources in programs aimed to

improve the conditions of life and work of farmers, who are the key to solving the food problem. The relation of these environmental issues and the risk factors, which are relevant of the health conditions, is a topic of major importance within the collective movements of protest, because the environmental conditions directly affect the sanitary conditions and the different social layers. Following the poverty, the vast majority of deaths among children under five occurs in less developed regions and in the poorest social classes of the planet. This is due to diseases associated with malnutrition, reduced health and local to global reduced quality of the environmental conditions.

The new social movements emphasize the above discussed problems by the analysis on the social condition, which is caused by climate change and demographic problems, especially when related to the international migration, but also when the migration tends to support the economic growth of some countries, enriching the cultures and the various civilization. These facts pose significant challenges, e.g. the violated rights of thousands of people: the integration in destination countries can be difficult and the transfer of people can deprive the resources. The phenomenon of climate change induces a part of the world population of migrants to move in geographical areas where land use permits forms of settlement, often focusing in large urbanized areas of the planet. Among the causes of migration, we can include the recurrent poverty (famine, drought, and disease), the demographic change, the wars and persecutions, the changing economic conditions and the lure of new land to reach. The action of the new social movements is linked to the observation and monitoring of all these phenomena, especially when the migration results from disasters, environmental catastrophes, and wars. As an example, the North Africa emergency and the policies of the global market involving a clash with the environment-related issues.

ACTION AND SOCIAL CONFLICT

Most modern political ideologies affirm that only a political action may give a general application to claims that are, by their nature, of particular interest, while the gradual affirmation of the idea of 'social

movement' evidence the existence, in the heart of the society, of a central conflict, such as the one that pits nation and prince, workers and employers, etc.. In light of the modern sociological theories, we can certainly say that the post-industrial society and/or, in some ways, a type of programmed society, is characterized by the existence of a central conflict, and, more specifically, it identifies a central actor of primary importance (Alain Touraine, 1988 I). The central conflict of the modern society appears that sustained by a party in the struggle against the dominance of the market and technologies and the authoritarian powers. This cultural conflict is now central, and so the economic conflict between industrial society and politics dominated the early centuries of our modernity. In this context, the concept of social movement shows its strong interest and highlights the existence of a specific kind of collective action. A form of social domination and / or social power referred against the general guidelines / society represents this.

By reversing this latest formulation, we also recognize the existence of movements supported by the dominant classes and / or directed against the popular classes; these latter are seen as an obstacle to the social integration and economic progress. In both cases, the social movement is more than a simple group of interests or an instrument of political pressure, but it involves the rules governing the use of social resources and different cultural models. There is an inverse relation between the degrees of social underdeveloped and endogenous forces of modernization. The weakness of these forces enlarge the power of the elites with dictatorial tendency. These elites defend special interests like those of a political party, class, ethnic group and/or a supreme leader. In this way, the social movement will always be subject to an action and to a consciousness coming from the outside. In fact, even the labor movement was subject to the direction of a political party. The social movements must overcome the contradictions between servants and masters by creating a collective, religious, community, political entity or class. We can also say that the social movements want to abolish the domination relationships to make a triumphant principle of equal treatment, and so creating a new society by breaking the old formulas and the now obsolete forms of social production (Alain Touraine, 1988, pp.102-105).

In the developing countries, the distance between rebellions and the exercise of power continues to increase; for this reason, the movements reduce to the role of promoters of new elites. In the most industrialized countries, they have established partial conflicts without revolutionary objectives and cannot be considered as social movements in a picture of 'liberated' subjects. A purely confrontational society turns into an ultra-liberal conception, which tends to reduce the institution to a market and the social actors to competitors. A comparison with the theme of the class struggle, which derives from the ideological side and places emphasis on social conflict rather than on shared objectives, may be useful. In fact, the student movements of the sixties-eight in the West, were full of utopia, and this has allowed some ideological groups to interpret them as a new 'face' of the struggle of the working class; so these are precipitated in the violence that was supposed to awaken the masses alienated. With reference to Europe and to a contemporary society context where the post-industrial society has a large space, the Frenchman Alain Touraine, is concerned to define the expression 'social movement', reserving "the collective behaviors that put involved, through a social conflict, the use by a company of the main resources and available cultural models, that is, at the same time, his knowledge models, its main forms of investment and production, its ethical standards, his moral principles" (Alain Touraine, 1993, pp. 136-137). By this definition, which speaks of the social movements in the terms of the collective behavior of the highest level, it is revived the idea that a conflict can be considered as the first engine of a given society. The class struggle is a surrogated organization of labor movements tending to claim the improvement of the salary level. Thus, the post-industrial society eliminates the centrality of the organized labor movement because the problems of the work, although of great importance, have lost the true political centrality, also represented by the conflict of the subjects with the State, with the power and / or in conflict worker / owner of the factory. It would not make sense to speak only of the workers, even if the student community, with problems of integration in a society that becomes complex and extends to the extreme uncertainty, occupies an increasingly autonomy. The collective movements have calibrated their ability to rupture, and they worked as the channels of widespread participation and

reformer pulse. For example, the German sociologist Claus Offe considers the contemporary social movements differently from classical workers' movement, as these latter do not limit their action to a post mobilization of the material bases of / in the claim, but are animated by a radical protest politics in the name of a radical conception of democracy. There is evidence, in the critique of modernization, as well as in the promotion of democratic forms from the bottom, to give importance to the problems that develop in everyday life among the masses in the struggle for the present (Claus Offe, 1987, pp. 157 -200; 1990, pp. 232-250).

In any kind of fight there are regular features, such as the actor, defined by the principle of identity, and the opponent, defined by the principle of opposition, i.e. the stakes and the scope defined by the principle of totality. The actor is no longer defined by its place or its functions in a community; it defines, however, the tensions, conflicts, cultural changes and social relationships that operate, but also the riots that mobilizing against an ever-expanding domain and able to present itself as a form of rational and natural power. Social identity is constructed through the opposition: the conflict has an important function for the construction of new subjects. The actors / social movements in modern social classes would be fighting for the domination of the action system.

In the sociological vision of Alain Touraine on the existence of social movements, the conflict is seen as a class conflict at the level of the cultural model in industrial society and in the post-industrialized West. It develops only when there is identity a class. But in the opinion of the French sociologist, you can define the social movements only when the collective behavior that arises within a system of cultural orientations, exerts a social control. The role that the modernity plays in the social movements focuses on the personification of the opposition in the forms of social power internalizing the dominant values. This double feature includes the acceptance of a common cultural game of opponents and the affirmation of a direct conflict defining - at the end - the collective actions defined with the name of social movements. In the social order, according to Touraine, the result is temporary, fragile and represents a weakly integrated set of social relationships among actors in the struggle for the domination and control of

what he calls 'historicity', a term used to define in one word all cultural patterns through which a company produces its objective affair. The idea of social movement is associated with this great reversal of / in sociological thought, ceasing to put the company into history and became interested in the way societies produce their history, that is, again, the way these come to occur (Alain Touraine, 1982, pp. 785-812). In the post-industrial society, there is a plurality of land to fight and you can not distinguish what can be combined in a social movement that plays the central role in a future already covered by the labor movement in the industrial society. For Touraine, this relationship between the labor movement and industrialization was central at first, but later becomes secondary. This decline, which is the same decline of the industrial society, does not imply that the sociology of social action only include the disintegration of the social life of industrialism, but also produces a change of clubs which marked his slow passing. This means that for the sociology of action, not the prevailing pessimistic view of industrial decline, but the optimistic image of a new society in the structuring phase, i.e. post-industrial, in which the actor is capable of collective leadership process information and creating new models of organization in the various fields of social life. But the structure of this new society, would not find origins only in the virtue of the formation of new executive actors, but also new popular actors. The post-industrial society, like a left over of the industrial one, can not be formed by a system of actions, whose higher level is the one of the social report between the executive actor and the popular one, fighting each other for controlling cultural orientations of social life. It should also be mentioned that the modern society, above all, has been characterized, according to authors such as Max Weber, for its ability to rationalize the images of the world, for their disenchantment, etc., which thus leads to progressively moving away from the magical explanations of the world elements and knowing to distinguish itself from traditional societies. As known, the rationalization was also denounced by Max Weber for the "iron cage" of his instrumental rationality itself, which imprisons the human emotionalism and subjectivity where this last one, the subjectivity one, should find full implementation with the increase of self-consciousness composed with reason and sense. Such calculations, if point out how the rationalization

onset through the development of the economy of the money allows to modern human freedom in movement compared to the unheard-of power, on the other hand show how the individually can not only be understood in terms of affirmation of the intellect, but must also consist in the affirmation of emotive that is present in modern society.

Following this point of view, the theoretical question would not be any more to oppose rationalization and subject, even if you tend to report excess of rationalization of modernity and pre-eminence in the same modern society's recognition of the ethical dimension, both the aesthetic of the individual and collective life. For the sociology of action, the subject ends up escaping from the modern rationalization, even if it itself is not intended as an experienced element of the pre-modern past. The subject is, on the other hand, as rationalization, one of the basic components of modernity before the powers: this drives based on the point of view of region, the onset itself of modern social life. In this sense, the centrality of the subject arises by virtue of human behaviors dictated by the conscience and not by conformity against the order of the world.

These conduits are connected to the affirmation of the individually, that is separated from the merge of the community and is reaching out to overcome old barriers and to prevent new ones so that he can pursue his freedom. In fact, modernity tends to be completed with the techniques and science, through the knowledge of the world, but also through the subjectivity deployed in front of the domain and in front of the revival of power in entirely new forms. Therefore, on one hand, the individually and the subject can be seen as a part of nature, and on the other hand defining the subject itself as pursuit of freedom as well as a research of independence and creativity. The modern world is crossed from reference to the subject, which is freedom, and puts as a principle, the good and the control that the individually searches his actions, conceiving himself as an actor even before the forms of domination that are increasingly oriented towards the dark clouds. This previous one does not therefore imply its dissolution, and does not prevent new forms of rationalization.

We refer this ability to mediate despite the social conflict to those phenomena of opposition and/or non-violent opposition that go through some of the historical-concrete contests of/in modernization.

These critical approaches on non-violent opposition of those involved despite the power, are theoretically manifested in authors such as Henry David Thoreau, Arendt (1998), Salvador Giner. The phenomenon of non-violent opposition of involved subjects and / or that of civil disobedience bases on participating requirement and on the need to claim autonomy despite of a form of domination and/or power. In fact, it could legitimately be defined as a *last ratio* for an individually and/or a citizen who continually sees rejected the opportunity to make their opinions count through the usual forms of participation and expression of opinions, and therefore believes that it can not further endure the inattention of the power towards his rights. Although you could find examples in the ancient world, it must be mentioned that the phenomenon of civil disobedience is relatively recent and therefore is still waiting for a wide conceptualization and theorization. However, it may be associated with representative democracy, bringing the necessary remedial to make the broadest possible participation of the subject in its own political organization; even through some form of dissent, that giving meaning to the consensus, prevents falling into totalitarianism.

The form of non-violent opposition could even represent a safety valve for those contemporary democratic regimes that manifest with all their contradictions, operating difficulties where seems impossible the respect between the normal dialectic majority-opposition and government - public opinion in all forms and participating institutions that add to the democratic form of government. Civil disobedience may well represent this safety valve, especially in those democracies of our times, in which it also failed that social homogeneity which in a liberal model allowed - based on the values and principles of a particular class - a real form of representation, for which it seems appropriate and necessary hearing all of the existing parties, from which comparison should lead to the political decision-making power. It is no doubt that contemporary democracies deal with many difficulties, both in its itself function and, upstream, in the itself capacity or willingness to make choices consistent with society. The last ones are characterized by a polycentrism that does not allow the harmonic realization of the relationship between the individual, community and environment, to become an expression of great economic concentrations and ideas that

have no contact with the subject and/or the ordinary citizen, to which, however, are imposed not only rules of behavior, but also directions to be taken by his life.

In the words of John Rawls, the non-violent opposition, becomes "one of the mechanisms of stabilization of an institutional system", although it is, by definition, illegal. Along with free and popular elections, and an independent judiciary system, it has the power to interpret the constitution (not necessarily written). Civil disobedience, used within the limits and with good judgment, helps to maintain and strengthen the right institutions. Opposing injustice within the limits of fidelity, serves the law to restrain the removal of justice and to correct it when it happened "(John Rawls, 1998). With these words we perceive the need for a new conceptual definition of social conflict itself, which is placed in front of the subject, and, taking into account the references to values and principles, it also realizes the discussion in different forms and various criteria for justification of acts of opposition. In addition, it would be desirable to look in a sociological point of view the contours of civil disobedience in front of the power, in order to propose it as a possible answer to the malfunctioning of institutions and as a possible solution to the transformation of the concept of political obligation, which has taken over the last fifty years. An answer that does not configure the denial of political obligation, but rather reaffirms its priority on the rights when the law does no longer fulfill its absence. This response requires a claim of the authenticity of the politic, if the politician has lost the respect for human rights and the fundamental values of a society, or is unable to compete with the coexistence of plural values. However, this implies a clear definition of the relationship between politics and law, and special attention to the report- difference between private and public.

In front of the social conflict, by clarifying some of these points, you can see why a violation of the law, that from the juridical point of view is without a doubt a disturbance of law, considered as a political action; can become a safety valve in times when the institutions themselves wreck. Civil disobedience, if it is properly understood and correctly implemented, still remains desirable in the end of the survival in contemporary democracies, and in the end of the recognition of the subject's role and/or as part of a national political organization, and

thus to the recovery of political subjectivity in humans. Currently, the globalization is intertwined with a reality-State even more in crisis and even more forced to rethink the meaning of sovereignty and power and, on the other hand, the advent of medial communication between / among the involved subjects, allowing combinations of cross-cutting nature, thus facilitating the meetings and the exchange of opinions as well as changes in a substantial way the economic world, the law and politics. Changing the contours of the representation of power and politics is, as a result, the opposition of the subject in front of the civil disobedience, which continues to stand as a fundamental moment of the fight for the rights, but releasing the last one from its mental positive connotations and connoting more and more with reference to higher principles of justice, that are relative on one side compared to the rights of humanity, and on the other side, compared to a project of a subject-person who rejects the absolutism of an economic vision tied to traditional forms of power. A new type of social conflict is denoted within this framework.

MOVEMENT, IDENTITY, INDIVIDUAL NEEDS

As for the radical forms of engagement with a widespread occurrence in modern social life, social movements provide important information about the possible future transformations. For those who have associated modernity, above capitalism and industrialism, the union-movement is an excellent social movement. The union-movements are, in fact, protester associations whose origins and scope are related to the spread of capitalist enterprise. During the early stages of development of modern institutions, labor movements showed a tendency to represent appeals in favor of freedom of expression and democratic rights. The movements for democracy and freedom of speech, born as the result of surveillance in the modern state, can be separated from the perspective of historical analysis from the labor movements. They cover some types of nationalist movements and others who deal with the rights of political participation. Other types of social movements have emerged gradually in recent years and, for example, the arena in which they beat the peace movement is that of

control of the means of violence and, ultimately, the military and police (Anthony Giddens, 2002, pp. 157-159).

The peace, here it is understood as a central concept, at least in the dialogues in which we put these movements, in the areas of action that are shared with organizations such as the military or the state. Some peaceful movements, usually inspired by religious values, date back to the earliest origins of industrialized war. Today we have assumed a particular significance only because the risks are increased with high levels of consequences, associated with the outbreak of war, especially nuclear weapons. The arena in which they beat the ecological movements, is the created environment, and some forms of current 'green' movements are found in the nineteenth century. The earliest forms were strongly influenced by romanticism, and basically tried to counter the impact of modern industry in the methods of traditional production and on the landscape. The peace movements, however, can play an important role in raising awareness, and achieving tactical objectives to reduce military kind of type risks. Other factors, including the power of public opinion, policies of large companies and national governments as well as the activities of international organizations, are essential to the implementations of the basic reforms. Now, in a situation of increasing globalization, seek to maximize opportunities and reduce risks to a minimum with a high level of consequences, requires no doubt, a continuous practice of power. This applies both to the political emancipation, and for policies of life. Any form of political emancipation becomes solidier with the difficult conditions of the underprivileged, but the accomplishment of the objectives is often depended on the intervention of / in the power structures of the privileged. The formation of collective action has multiple origins and among them is the one of initiatives not of an identity but conflict character, whose origin is found in the connections that establish individual subjects to converge in an action to be carried out jointly. This occurs both to oppose the domination of the executive's actors in one or more areas of social life and to change the social life itself to their advantage. These subjects begin through such a convergence, a path that leads to move from the resistance, opposite to this domain, in an attempt to make changes in the areas of social life in which they are involved. The convergence between subjects is verified in different

ways and may be complementary and independent, as there are, for example, the common understanding of interests and solidarity. In particular, there is the understanding, which competes for the convergence between subjects, based on economic interests to defend or affirm against any form of domination and / or power.

Population in a given area exposed to some form of industrial pollution, which is responsible for the decline in value of the land, can be found, for example, to come together in a collective initiative protest against the production policies of the company, and pursue alternatives for sustainable economic development for the environment (such as the mobilization for public parks, etc.). It can happen convergences as the mobilization for public parks, etc.). It can happen convergences dictated by the pursuit of shared beliefs of the subjects; beliefs whose origin is found in processes that these same individuals develop on the basis of scientific information they benefit. The convergence takes place by virtue of bonds that are formed between subjects, who feel emotionally involved to the enunciation of issues of collective action. The issues of environmental protection, in fact involve subjects who have no economic interests towards that territory; to obtain a safeguard, these people connect to each other according to an individual feeling in common where they express their one's solidarity not only among them, but also to future generations.

The collective movements are not defined simply because they are different from the labor movement, of which they do not have the same class characteristics and the same politic objectives. They are defined by the fact that they introduce in the social life cultural issues that may be critical to individual and collective life. What is the nature of these movements, if it is not the same as that of the past? What is the origin? What impacts produce the collective actor's action in social life? The definition of the movement requires theoretical explanations: this path takes place in the works of the classics of sociological thought, which have addressed the issue from the analyses of Karl Marx, Max Weber and Emile Durkheim.

The first question would be to see if movements have an exceptional nature, explains how they tend to define themselves in social relations, and sets them apart from other acts.

According to Max Weber, the problem is to explain the nature of charisma from which originates the outstanding movements one that

comes out of the ordinary / social life. Weber also explores the relationship between collective action and new beliefs: social movements would constitute an extraordinary collective experience, with center the charismatic personality of a leader who announces a new system of values which comes on the scene as 'alternative' power; the other two forms, in fact, are the rational-legal and traditional or of the "eternal yesterday". This act is a part of the daily conduct of social and modern life, and it is reaching out to pursuit of a goal (instrumental rationality). The second issue is the one for which you can see if these movements are defined as pursuing a political purpose: according to Durkheim, for example, you have to find an explanation for the exceptional nature of collective behaviors, like the ones on generis that are defined during large demonstrations such as those of the nineteenth century.

The descriptions of Emile Durkheim show that the individual drags and runs over by the collective. In its actions, current individual feelings exceed those of collective, of social morality, whose energy draws the individual even when he is faced with various forms of power. Therefore, dragged by the community, the individual and /or the subject lose interest in him and move the center of his conduct over his own person. The last question is to understand the type of relationship among the social movement, social emancipation and the historical evolution of the subject: according to Karl Marx, the problem is to explain the movement as the action of the working class whose task is to complete the emancipation of men and in the liberation of their quality. In that case, the collective movement may also have varying degrees of maturity due to the connection between the situation of antagonism of class and the ability to express it in the conduct of initiative politic protests to the pursuit of the transformation of / in social life. This is for the social movement gradually leading to the political struggle, and that favors the transformation of society and historical development.

These are the terms in which the concern of the classics of sociological thinking of the nineteenth century is based, to identify the relationship that exists between collective movements and structural changes in society, in fact, is especially for Karl Marx that society must be changed. The classical authors have tried to identify the connection raising the

question of the order with a sense of rational reaction and social conflict.

The exceptional nature of the collective movement also arises in the psychology of the crowd where the collective unconscious and rather than the action that makes sense, operates in conjunction with the convergence of thoughts and feelings of the community. Sigmund Freud defines also collective phenomena with the term 'masses' by explaining how the unconscious can be defined in relation to the formation and development of actions carried out against the acceptance of power and/or of domain name and/or even more of "primal horde". "The masses are held together by the 'libido', and if into the mass one individual waives its peculiar way of being and it is influenced by others, it is because there is a need to stay in harmony with others and practically to act "for the sake of their love".

We must also remember the multiple initiatives that distinguish the collective action, especially in the industrialized countries of the West, but also in the developing ones. We refer to the design of empirical entities that have as main and common features the group as well as the promotion related to the various aspects of social life. They are also entities that tend to differentiate other aspects of their composition, which lead to distinguish one from the other carried initiatives out in the industrialized countries, as those in the developing countries. In the industrial countries, there are collective actions that intervene in the control of the rationalization of development, the increase of democracy, and in the respect for individual rights; among these initiatives are those dedicated to the environment in which these prevail over the activities stretched to the defense of local communities and those of their members. In the developing countries, we also found emancipated actions of women who aim to make the society go in a different direction from the one outlined by the cultural dominance of men. These are opposed to the above dominance and attempt through collective initiatives, to succeed and be recognized as 'actors' capable to combine the emotions with the rationalization. Women's initiatives in front of the power are, for example, those of Tunisia in the twenty-first century, which point to the development of democracy and overcoming of some sections of the cultural tradition through which affirm

the inferiority of women, and, on the other hand, are fighting to be recognized as the protagonists of their freedom.

However, in both industrialized and developing countries, the collective initiatives may not necessarily go in the direction of those above mentioned. These are initiatives that can prevail components that develop actions which go more in the direction of the defense of identity of/in the community, rather than that where the combination of defense of economic interests and cultural peculiarities, is linked to prospects for universal recognition of all identities and differences. The actors and/or subjects of these initiatives tend to combine the defense of their own subjectivity with the rationalization, to affirm the universal value of recognition of all the differences that are fought for the extension of political democracy as well as the processes of political unification, such as Europe. Sociologists such as Ulrich Beck warn that in Europe we are witnessing a real collective identity crisis, where the process of political unification succumbs to the sovereign debt crisis; and that happens, in front of the power of the neo-liberal ideology and influences the perception of the various governments from European citizens (Ulrich Beck, 2013).

The main actors today control the guidelines of the production and dissemination of information, through which you have the definition of the various sectors of social life. But the identifying initiative is not defined in the name of an actor, does constitute conflicts with which to contest to the executive actor the control of one or more areas of social life; this is an initiative that reaches out itself, to deny the freedom of others and internalize the groups from which you are threatened. The fact that these initiatives involve individuals and seizing Social affected, for example, poverty, unemployment, difficulties in building social integration does not imply changes in their identity characteristics and totalitarian. This implies, however, the need to define paths that can allow the actors involved in these initiatives to build coherent representations of identity, where they tend not to appear, and find paths that can allow their actions to be carried out in the direction of building new additions to the social life today. There are, on the one hand, collective initiatives reached out to define the new field of social conflict, and on the other hand, those that go in the direction of some sort of closure identity. The collective action is not a

uniform entity: it co-exists in multiple dimensions. The relationships established between the components of a collective phenomenon, are in constant motion redefinition. You have mobilizations that consist of the ability of members to access, use, and invest material and symbolic resources in the face of forms of domination and / or power. This means that members of the group carried out, can be developed in order to organize demonstrations in this precise manner the collective initiatives that have come to form between different components. Among the latter, there would be the component to which members develop a common policy and organized, reaching out to question the merits of the control of the cultural orientations of one or more sectors of individual and combined to oppose finally, some form of domination. Because of the opposition and alternatives to be pursued with regard to this general rule, these actors and / or subject of pluralism, build initiatives conflicting, and prostheses is to deal with the constraints, both to take advantage of new opportunities arising from the social. The changes in social life and the same class actions lead the analysts to redefine the tools that can help to explain the formation and development of social movements today.

GLOBAL MOVEMENTS IN THE XXI-ST CENTURY

At the end of the millennium occurred in Seattle two events of great importance: the failure of the summit of the World Trade Organization (WTO) and the success of a collective protest unprecedented both for consistency and for nature. The incident has caused many to wonder about the possible consequences on the future organization and operation of the WTO. Few have tried to understand the nature of the protest, if not hastily proposing an unlikely parallel with 1968. That of 1968 is a type of comparison that comes back every time the people of Seattle reappear at the center of attention of international news. Both movements are not only expressions of the post-industrial society, but also manifestations of stages of capitalist development. But, while 1968 represents the conflict of modernization, caught in the transition from industrial to a post-industrial society, the people of Seattle are an expression of globalization of an unfolded post-industrial society.

Even so, with the shift towards post-modernity, the processes that produce the social post-modern conditions, present attributes that have reversed the direction of modernization, which was conceived years ago, where there is a progress / in the process of differentiation which appear de-constructed (Ulrick Beck, Anthony Giddens, Scott Lash, 1999, p. 29) and where the neo-liberal society shows the overcoming of the doctrines of the story that to price the mere freedom of the parties involved in front of the state. Many authors, however, deal today to establish the system of informal economy that governs the new processes of modernization, where there is a process of self-transformation of industrial society (v. Zygmunt Bauman, 1996, 1999) which influences on ethics of subjects who are increasingly turning to the various power groups.

The fact is that the movements of the late sixties and that of Seattle are profoundly different. If one was a movement limited to a few countries, the second is of a universal ethical-moral movement. This difference makes it possible to confirm that while the sixty-eight was a generational based movement- the people of Seattle have an international origin, although understandable to the majority of young people. These last one, can not be seen in fact, with 1968, where they were only young people to contest; while, with the G8, we would definitely find leaders more of a certain age alongside the young people involved in the protest. But both movements are opposed to the control systems offered by the power, which limit the self-realization and self-government. While the first one contests first of all the social control, the second one makes its primary purpose the complains of the economic-financial control. Both sensitive to social inequality, these movements interpret their meanings in two different ways: while in the 1968 is expressed an instance of fairness as equality, even as a reduction of differences, in the people of Seattle prevails an instance for fairness as recognition of the diversity.

On a structural level, all these differences refer to the different relationship between systems of action. In the accelerated modernization of an emerging post-industrial society, young people oppose to the traditional determinism that links the various systems: economic, social, cultural and biopsychic. The question that derives as a conflict, it is the question of autonomy that of the 'integrated' being the most feared condition. In the globalization of an unfolded post-industrial

society, to be countered is above all the growing dissociation that is created under economic dominance. The question that emerges is a question of control, and the most held condition is the one of 'excluding'

With the difference as soon detected, which make the Sixty-eight (1968) and of the people of Seattle, the two movements substantially different, we can consider that there are also similarities in their evolutionary dynamism. In this respect, the development of the global movement follows three phases up to the events of Genoa (in Italian). In the first phase, datable from 1992 to 1995, to connote the battles is the reference to the protection of human rights and to the protection of nature. Whether its pacifism and environmentalism, the claims appeal to principles and rules with a connotation and a global basis. In the second phase, which runs from 1995 to 1999, we move from the prevalence of humanitarian issues to the prevalence of social defined themes such as the economic exploitation denounced by appealing to the self-determination policy. The third phase, beginning in 2000, is characterized by the prevalence of the growing issues of inequality, especially related to the exploitation operated by the North of the world against the South. This evolution, beyond the differences, basically it is not different from the one that occurred in the precedent collective surge, which gave rise to Sixty-eight. In fact, over the period from the early 60s of the twentieth century to the end of the decade, we can identify three other phases. The first is that of civil rights, which is fully developed in the United States during the first half of the sixties. The second, placed in Europe between 1966 and 1968 is characterized by the conflict against authoritarianism, beginning with those encountered in the education system and against the manipulation of consumerism. Of varying duration in different countries, longer in Italy than anywhere else, the third phase sees in the heart of / in the claims, the issue of equality in a horizon of anti-capitalist struggle. The parallel with the 1968 allows us to make further clarifications. The two movements, in fact, although driven by different motivations and goals, follow at a distance of more than thirty years, the same kind of internal transformation: from struggles towards the recognition of human rights, to the controversy of the relationship between the economy and culture, until the complaint of / exploitation and / inequality.

Given the nature of globalization, the global motion is much more composite than that of the Sixty-eight, regarding to the instances and the claims. Originally, these are expressions of more movements which tend to merge into a larger movement that includes them. That that in the first stage is an aggregation of separated components is in the second, particulars in Seattle, starts to become an integration, to be more pronounced, especially in Genoa in Italy in the third stage. The integration of instances and their objectives involves a redefinition and an orientation, where you can also make a selection of groups and associations that have played a common militant in front of the dynamics of the opposition to the strong powers. In fact, the external observer is used to record events involving individuals and entities of different categories: workers, students, women, immigrants, gays, environmentalists; and, it should be said, that when more categories take part in the phenomenon, is to demonstrate a common opinion and / or to advance a same type of claim, as differentiated it is.

In Seattle, in late-November and the beginning of December 1999, in the streets went out groups and associations with instances and opinions so various as to be in some cases almost antithetical. The phenomenon represents well the surprise of any observer. And the surprise is increased when it is noted that an unusual variety is a major strength: the event then it is managed and protest contributed to the failure of the work of the WTO. A question arises: why so many different groups come together in Seattle? What holds them together and what gives unity to their action? To compose a demonstration of about 40-50 thousand protesters, has contributed an extremely high number of associations and non-governmental organizations (NGOs), from cities in the US and other eighty countries: South Africa, South Korea, France, Japan, Italy and Spain. The list of groups is very long, but one of the best known is the following: AFL-CIO, America First, Art and Revolution (associations against the production of genetically modified organisms and associations of aid to poor countries, minorities and those disabled). Community centers such as Attach, Butterfly Defenders, Care, Black Army Faction, anti-Nike groups such as Greenpeace, Global Exchange, religious groups, street theater groups such as Lesbian Avenger, Lilliput, People Global Action.

Seattle is one of the first Internet-movement, or rather, the first major protest online, then the first telematics manifestation of the history. It is enough in fact to browse for a few hours at the sites of protest to realize some powerful and innovative tools for coordination via the Internet. Also the students of Sixty-eight would have done appeal to us if they could, perhaps by connecting more and more quickly, as well as foreign universities, with basic workers' committees, etc., but it surely would not have changed the meaning of the struggle. As for the contents that are at the base of the Seattle movement, must be considered that the repertoire of the criticisms and claims present in Seattle are very diverse and extensive: from the critique to the cancellation of the debt of / in poor countries, the demand for a minimum wage on a global level, to the application of the Tobin tax on speculative gains to the moratorium on transgenic food and seed, from the block of deforestation in the Amazon to the application of the International labor Card to the poor countries and up to the moratorium on the preservation of local products. The issue seems to recur: what unites such heterogeneous instances?

Consider the slogans written in the documents online, on posters, on banners, on t-shirts and on even body, "fair trade, not free trade"; "Contra la mal buffed", "the world is not for sale", "the world is not a commodity" etc. The pictures shown were also: Tibetan monarchs, Zapata T-shirts, balloons depicting whales or animal skeletons, protesters dressed as turtles or transgenic corn cobs, girls with butterfly painted on their clothes, large photos of CEOs of corporations with accusing slogans etc. Collective interests and moral claims are found in the assertion of principles before power: sustainable development, fair trade, the precautionary principle, food security, etc. All the fear caused by globalization, seen as a process in which the owners of the earth and the economy impose to the discretion, the law of profit at the expense of poor countries, workers, consumers, the environment and cultures of the planet.

Globalization appears as a set of transformations the relationship between the economy and other systems: the environment, society and culture. We re-ask: why the most important mobilization on globalization takes aim at the work of the WTO? Probably because the trade with the mobility of the factors in the production and processing and

dissemination of consumption represent, together with technological progress, the main factors of globalization itself. The global movement is made up of many movements, each of which has its own evolution, it is possible to measure with their opponents and objectives, it has defined identity (manipulated consumers, the people polluted, the Third World exploited, women under patriarchy). An expanding movement includes the confluence of a large amount of associations, and groups and individuals many of which are provided with a history of militancy and experience of witness and mobilization, which allows to the global movement – in the end – to start from a more advanced base. The parties will come together to form the fate of the new opposition to the new rule of the financial classes and more social classes. Destiny is a common fate to social movements, which is to be criticized for lack of propositional ability and so to be purely contestation, as if they were of interest groups and not of movements, whereas in democracies, the function of the movement is now to set problems, express values and models of behavior, urging the renewal of the institutions in such a way that the fundamental conflicts that they make visible can find forms of democratic treatment. Subjects and movements on the face of power.

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