

Registration Code: **ESA1762372**

## **Outcast spirit attraction – dealing with fears<sup>1</sup>**

*“(...) take movements seriously rather than treat them only as instances of deviant collective behavior (...)”*

Callhoun, Craig (2001) “Putting Emotions in their Place” in Goodwin, Jeff, and others, *Passionate Politics – emotions and social movements*, The University Chicago Press, page 52.

*“Is it enough to develop a theory that treats social movement leaders as the strategic actors they describe them selves as?”*

Frank Dobbin (2001) “the Business of Social Movements” in Goodwin, Jeff, and others, *Passionate Politics – emotions and social movements*, The University Chicago Press, page 75.

### **1. The events**

December 2008 riots in Athens become a treat to European Union. There is the time of political recognition of the deep financial crises coming over a sever crises of institutional and political legitimacy. Fear of social hard consequences emerges. Politicians discuss their fears about the probability of social uprising in Europe, continuing the Paris riots 2005, that spread to other European towns, and the spirit of May 1968 that French President Sarkozy soundly disapproved during his political campaign to President. Anarchists and other marginalized activists groups all over Europe claim there is the time for ending the *status quo*. The crisis is some how welcomed hoping that something new and unknown arises. “Enjoy the new crisis time” is written in a wall. The six December, by the sun fall, at Exarchia neighborhood, a police shot down a 15 years old boy. The neighbors lighted candles on the floor where the boy fallen. This Saturday at the time youngsters communicate each other by mobile *sms* and by email to find how to spend the weekend, the big news brought many of them (all of them?) to down town to join together, during the time older people, as politicians and journalists, prepare their dinner. The protests endure all night long, till early in the morning. Some protesting fires were detected during the night. Still nothing uncommon for the Athenian protest culture. The police prefer prepare its public defense and to live the floor to violent protestors, knowing that the institutional support by the government would not come. Police is unpopular and normally the government would not back the policemen or the police.

---

<sup>1</sup> For the short field research in Athens I have to thank Gonçalo Sousa, Effi Lambropoulou, Dimitri A. Sotiropoulos, Panayis Panayotopoulos, Michalis Spourdalakis, Valia Dimopoulou, Costas Ele. The only responsibility for what wrong information or interpretation I wrote in this paper is mine.

Sunday the political discussion about what happened divided the people. The police said that the agents were provoked with violence by the youngsters before policemen run to avoid kids hiding in the neighborhood known to be the place where marginal politicians from leftwing do meet each other. Other version said that no major provoking action has been displayed. The cause of the shooting would be only the police knowledge that these boys were Anarchist activists and, as such, display hate against the police. For instance, they compare policemen to a donut: "police are good when they have a hole in the middle". Police feel frightened and outraged by this kind of sayings.

The news that the police, arriving after the shooting to search for evidence, has put out of scene, with their feet, the candles in the spot, decided many people about who should be backed in this matter. Other relevant element is that the police style version that comes first to the media, emphasizing the stigma elements of the neighborhood (marginal culture and politics though, youngsters meeting point with radicals), do not work as usual because the boy shoot down come from the high-middle class, known by many school boys of his age and their parents.

A leftwing parliamentary party call for a demonstration the Sunday and the streets of Athens become full of people of all kinds, marching to the central police station. The media echoes the feeling that "this is ours sons moving with their hearts". Two relevant elements: a) a high-middle class kid is our son; b) the youngsters have the right and the need to express themselves in public, which is a good thing in Greek political culture (not in Portuguese political culture at all, for instance). After the demobilization, still, many demonstrations against the police spread not only by Athens but by many Greek towns.

Till this moment, said a Greek academic political observer, nothing unusual happened as a popular reaction to the police killing, even one can feel an unusual high trend of violence. New has been the consequence of the Monday opening classes. The students of secondary school, in Athens and elsewhere, decided to leave school and attack police stations in different Greek towns. The destructive actions arise brought by anti-capitalist minded people that address bank, administration buildings, well know international brand cloths stores, and other capitalist symbols. Other kind of destruction did address any kind of store, such as supermarkets, mobile and electronic sell stores and other kind of stores youngsters have knowledge of their existence and functioning. Immigrants and lumpen people joined the mob taking advantage of the freezing situation of the police and the opportunity to bring home products they do not have the chance to buy in every day life.

The violence rolls and the buildings on fire do not received the fire men attention, since they fear the lack of police protection, with whom they feel solidarity as corporation. In same neighborhoods, where the police stations are attacked, neighbors asked police to abandon the neighborhood, closing the station.

Thursday precarious workers unions show their support to the uprising movements and three of them occupied the head quarters of the Union's federation. The riots continued as well as the spontaneous demonstration. Some political parties do support the demonstrators and others condemn them. The political discussion between the political parties does not affect directly the action on the streets.

Wednesday was the funeral of the youngster who die and the night of a football European Cup match. The violence continued, not only by the mob. For instance, it has been filmed some policemen pointing guns to the people in the funeral and shooting them to the air, in a menace to the lives of the people around. It circulates suspicions about the participation of undercover policemen on the riots, even in destructive kind of action, during the freezing time of police

control of the streets. From this day on the youngsters come back to school and the social movement continues without them. Everyday demonstration happened in Athens till middle of February. Growing cultural activities were record, many of them referring directly to the events. New solidarities were found, for instance when a long time free space of an old building was reconverted on a garden produced by the neighbors or an anew occupation of an empty building for cultural proposes. Any new violent event in Athens calls international attention, manly in Europe, as a test to the social reaction to the installed crisis.

## **2. Emotions as catalyst of social and personal transformation**

This version of the events is the result of a field research, using data from professional social scientists that offer what they learned about the events. No much people in Greece do gather and memorize such specific information about the events. Anyway, all people in Greece, and in Europe, did notice and did feel something uncommon, watching or participating on the events or hearing the news. Some find it a remake of May 1968 in France or a second wave of riots of marginal people on European town peripheries. Some find it a start for a new way of people participation in politics. One can find different versions of both understanding of what happen, depending on the ideology of the people involved and on the way they feel the events (if they participate or they only observe at a distance).

The contribution of this paper does oppose to those who support to be sacral the silence about what happen. These are those who went to the meetings that gather people willing to discuss what was happening, in order to act rationally, supporting there is no need to know where people want to develop as social action to achieve known and shared goals. In this kind of understanding, people should just act, instead of talking. Other people who prefer not to talk about it are those who fear that talking will grow the chances of spreading the social action out of Greece.

The virtual world produced by talking, for small or large audiences, is, since few thousands of years, the way human kind – for better and for worse – differentiate it self from other animals. The power of the virtual world is undeniable. One way or another, one has to deal with it. That is why sociology is welcomed to discuss what happened and, doing so, what should happen next, using public democratic sphere, which is the way of supporting democracy, and doing so supporting the inclusion of the excluded.

Some specialists, for instance, support the idea that social movements do not happen any more in Europe, recovered by many participatory State institutions plus NGO's depending on the public opinion and on public support to exist and develop. Contrasting with what happens in South America, at the moment, where many social movements work against institutions, without any finance or other organic relations with the State. Applying to the Greek riots the main used sociological concepts of social movement, one should conclude that it was not a social movement what happened in Athens and in Greece, since there is no explicit or implicit common will to change socio-political structure.<sup>2</sup>

Both who fear that the events are a sign of future popular riots against institutions and those who support the understanding they are an announced opportunity to drive social uprising to develop institutional changes to develop democracy or against capitalism, all recognize that there no

---

<sup>2</sup> Political pools refer the same kind of vote, even one do record a change on the leading party in favor of the main opposition party, what is common in any European democratic regime, cf. [http://www.predict09.eu/default/en-us/state\\_analyses.aspx#greece](http://www.predict09.eu/default/en-us/state_analyses.aspx#greece).

explicit mission for the mob. By lack of main technical conditions, sociology does not support the claim the events would perform a social movement. What should it be, then?

The expression of accumulate social emotions is one of the more common answers: a) youngsters are not used to support frustration; b) youngsters are raised too softly and they think they can do whatever they think of; c) Anarchists and other outcast of politics take advantage of the emotional break down of the youngsters; d) people are tired of being abused by police strikes; e) general anxiety for the future, the break down of progress narratives and the culture of the virtual world wide web world come together expressing it self as a spontaneous emotional boom. All kind of causes can support the psychoanalytical approach. And the questions still remain: is it a social movement in the born? Lacking yet the ability to express it self by words? Would it be a kind of pre-social-movement to be?

Is it a before-social-movement arising, a kind of emotional magma with no voice? Is it one reemergence of a bigger youth social movement started in 1968 and freeze for a while, emerging now and then? Is it an event showing the post-social-movement European social condition, where gathering singular equivalent emotions are not able to develop in effective social movements?

Taking Ferdinand Tönnies classical theory, one can say that social movements are a way of community spirit (*gemeinschaft*) turn into society spirit (*gesellschaft*), a way of spontaneous will transform it self in contractual will by social coordination efforts into rational organization and common unified speech or ideology. Institutionalization would be, then, the end of the road, a substitutive social world virtually believed to end the emotional action driving.

This theory explains how rationality differentiates from emotions and how emotions support rational thinking and behavior. It explains, too, why social movements have more probability to be found where community kind of relations does happen, as in South America. As well as in Greece, where large family are still a strong social reference and guide to identification, economic and political social processes, with strong illegal markets and irrational uses of institutional mechanisms.

To study social emotions is to study the birth of social movements into rational activities further and further rationalized till they become institutionalized and learn how to absorb social emotions and to channel them for proper institutional goals. People suffer a inner change, because their freedom to act as they feel like, responding directly to emergent moment emotions, transform itself into a different kind of freedom. The freedom to look for better social structural conditions in order to better satisfy each one reflected needs and desires. To look for legal rights definitions and ask for social solidarity (an organic solidarity, as Durkheim pointed out) to give to every one the same opportunities to live the choices this rights can frame.

### **3. Memories of the heterodox social movement**

December 2008 Athens events are a good site to study social emotions, since there is a situation when social emotions arises in brut forms out of rational control and manipulation. Still there is a problem. There is no protagonist speech to submit to analysis. No one knows what youngsters claimed to feel, because they said nothing. One just can guess what their motives are, since nothing changed so fast as the riots movements that can explain it in a correlation manner. And nothing really happened that justify the end of the riots.<sup>3</sup> Still the social commotion continues for

---

<sup>3</sup> Riots continued for many weeks and break in frequency and intensity by middle of February, and still violence displays, such as firing trains and breaking windows in the street during the day, and demonstrations, about labor

a long time, expressed not by the youngsters but by older people that stayed in the streets for weeks, hoping that the social energy produced by the uprising could maintain itself till Greek society arise a new.

In a restaurant, the waiter asked in April for the December events could not remember it at once. After a short while, the memory that comes to him was the multitude of immigrants one day occupying noisily the square facing the restaurant and forcing its closure for 6 hours. "All commodities they sell have been stolen then!" he said, referring the permanent popular street market in the back side of tourist areas near Acropolis. "There was no immigrant market before December?" I ask. "What they sell now is better quality then before!" he answers. "Be careful: they become thieves, too" he warns. "They tried to assault me inside my car one of these days". For my experience, Athens is a completely safe town.

For some people nothing changed during the events, except the rising of the events them selves. No incorporation of new ways of feeling or acting or thinking, since no participation has been aloud or desired. Other people do feel deeply the uprising, as the young upper middle class mother of two youngsters by the same age of the victim of the shooting.

She become enthusiastic about the all situation, she describes as "seeing society working for the first time in her life". For society she meant solidarity with the death youngster. No indifference as usual, this time, for exchange.

Since December till middle February she join the people on the move. Her war identity, so to speak, was as volunteer photograph trainer at a community no commercial exchange work at Exarchia. That was her marginal presentation self for the companions of struggle, as well for the sociological inquiry. She did not hide the startle coming from her mother condition confronting her sympathy with her equivalent on the family of the death boy. But she did not talk about her book editorial work, her way of living, or her husband stand about the entire situation. She mentions largely her activist self and concerns: her happiness to join "society" and her frustration and depression when it comes to an end.

Asked about the feminist movement in Greece she answer that there is no such a movement and in Athens there is no difference between men and women.

She told that her adherence to the movements in the street was not reflected. She felt that any mother, every mother, will join their sons and daughters on the street, in a moment like this. She felt strange, not for her but for the other mothers, when she had been asked why she joins the Anarchists. She has never been such and do not feel bad or guilty to participate in social actions developed by Anarchists and leftwing groups for years, even she have no fixed ideas about politics. In fact she learned from the events the need to have clear political ideas in order to organize useful social action whenever the times are good for society, i.e. for solidarity. She tried, with other people in meetings organized inside the universities, to draw an operational line of social conduct. They failed. Meaningless or counter violence covers this failure. That is why it is all over.

She realized she was becoming tired and she needed to resume attention to her son and daughter. She becomes depressed about the end of it. She learned how important it is to have clear political ideas. She will use her training photo sessions to discuss what happened, what should happened if they got a political strategy in mind.

Violence, she said, is not bad or good in it self. It depends on the all context of using violence. It does not exist out of these contexts and it does mean anything out of them. Public opinion and

---

problems or about international political problems, can be understood as abusing or supporting the December uprising social action.

media are very important as well as the understanding of the different ways of producing social (solidarity) meaningful social actions, facing the police and the government.

For instance, they have to learn (and they have learned) to deal with the police provocation at Exarchia neighborhood. But what to do when, as it happens by the middle of January, someone did shoot a policewoman in the street. She felt immediately this was something done against the movement. One month later she confronts her self with the reality of the end of it. Her hope, now, comes from Europe, since she hope European Union rational political intervention can help Greece to be rid of the corrupt government and politics. And stop the every day provocative action of the police.

#### **4. Smaller and bigger social movements**

It seems like a social movement. It feels like a social movement. Still science cannot officially proclaim it to be a social movement. The actual sociological definition does not allow it.

What should one give priority: the established theory or the observed reality? From the sociology of emotion point of view, from those who feel sociology will profit from stop avoiding addressing emotional facts as sociological facts, one would say that this is an opportunity to question the social movement theory and to try to include a new research agenda within in.

Is it masturbation a sexual act? For doctrinal religion way of controlling people's sexuality as well as in order to define by law what is sexual or not in a legal dispute, strange things can be said to deny common sense. As Durkheim said, denying common sense is a way to emerge scientific knowledge. Anyway should we become prisoners of our own stage of cognitive development? Or should we continuing comparing theories and empirical facts by reasoning? If a certain fact of life does not conform to all parts of a established scientific definition, should not one accept to examine the detail?

As masturbation, the Greek social movement in reference does not have an explicit social change goal. Anyway, does not it change social lives, not only in Athens or Greece but in Europe? The answer should be yes. Considering the demonstrations over the Greek embassies supporting the social and political message of the events "against the police brutality" in different countries, in Europe as well in Argentina and South Korea, for instance. Considering, as well, the fear explicitly expressed by different political leaders about the possibility of spread the movement as an epidemic emotional phenomenon.

Social scientists in Greece are struggling to show the social and political relevance of what happened, and now is already a memory in danger of extinction. It would be important, for that propose, to give this memory a name that able sociologists to address the events as a legal and rewarding scientific subject. Sociology should not campaign for erasing social memories about the Greek events, opposing them an exclusive definition of social action.

This is a job for sociology of emotions to address a new approach to social movement's theory. Francesco Alberoni (1989) proposed a psycho-sociological approach to social movements, focusing in the living experience of people extraordinary enthusiasm and animus to face and provoke change from a virtual imagination world looking for the ways of producing it in real life. People's mood, he wrote, change from depressive and negative to energetic and positive. This change openness psycho-social condition he calls it "reborn state".<sup>4</sup> In this special condition people are able to provoke changes in their lives and they produce, doing it, changes of very different magnitude in social life as well. One can change family or job or vocation. One can turn one self leader of a social organized group or institution.

---

<sup>4</sup> In the consulted Portuguese translation from the Italian the words are "estado nascente", borning state.

People in this condition of “reborn state” recognize each other in presence. People feel the ostracism of normal people contrasting with the open minded approach of the presence of someone experiencing the same state of mind. Alberoni opens the perspective of analyzing rationally non rational social action, such as falling in love – what he call the smallest social movements one can find. It opens the opportunity to consider the Greek events as a coexistence of several small social movements that could not come together as one.

As social movement, the Greek uprising can be (as it is) given sense, still the protagonists do not express any rational word about how to manage society if the social movement takes more power. Activists and social scientists can assume that there is openness to different contents about it, since many social movements did join together even they did not agree on what should be done as one. Each interpreter becomes free to propose explicit spoken goals of legitimate social movements, supported by the knowledge of a single small social movement one may know about. They would not be the goals of a unified social movement. They can be a small social movement contribution to a bigger social movement to be about how and what to change in main social rules.

Of course, the social consequences of each social movement are very different. Few of them change irreversibly all social life. Other, the majority, affects only few people or even fails to resist to social repression and constraints.

Anyway, there is no reason to stop sociological analysis of social movement when it comes to one single person. There are single persons able to force their single will to everyone else. And – this is the final argument – any person’s will cannot stay constrained to a inner psychological level of reality, without any relation with social world. There is no such a frontier. Even scientific specialties work as if the arbitrary scientific division of labor refers to strict definitions obeyed by real world.

Not only genius, as Mozart, can be sociologically analyzed meaningfully. Not only Norbert Elias (1993) is aloud to do such an analysis. Every sociologist should be trained to know how to look at each single person and see what social level of lives is being lived at individual dimension.

If this reasoning can be supported, since one find one woman in Athens that feel to live and join a social movement (the enthusiasm, the high personal energy, the changing of routines, the abandon or weakening of old emotional links, the grouping with other people feeling the same, the social censure of normal people, the adoption of new social identities as marginal, the adoption of new ways of thinking, and so on)<sup>5</sup> even one cannot find any one more to interview about what happened, it should be enough to say scientifically: there has been experienced a social movement. Maybe small, maybe inconsequent, anyway it has been felt a social movement. Then one has to decide what a social movement is. Is it a political emergence? Is it a cultural emergence? Is it an emotional emergence? Is it a human emergence? Before becoming a social evident fact, from where social movements come from?

Before becoming *noun* social movements, they start moving as *adverbs*, as instable emotions.<sup>6</sup> Big social movements compares with institutions as big emotions compares with social movements.

## 5. Social instability

---

<sup>5</sup> To find na adequate proposal for a social movement theoretical definition read Randal Collins (2003:28).

<sup>6</sup> cf. Colin Baker “Fear, Laughter and Collective Power” and Jeff Goodwin, James M. Jasper and Francesca Polleta “Introduction: Why Emotions Matter” in Jeff Goodwin, James M. Jasper and Francesca Polleta (2001).

The study of the genealogical epoch of a social movement, the study of the genealogy of social change opportunities, it is the study of the social emotions as *adverbs* arising from individuals to broader social arenas, becoming *nouns*, sometimes successfully, other times without being able to pass through the social contingences that split the cognitive gap between what is acknowledged by society and what becomes taboo or social secret. As Alberoni remarked, the sheared goal of every social movement is its institutionalization, its social recognition as a noun, in fact its sacrifice (as a pure emotion) in order the spread its social influence and its success as a social entity (as social bargained and impure human realization). Social movements aspire to become institutionalized and emotions, through *habitus*, risk becoming fashionable. The referential *noun* (institutions and fashions) emphasize the anew nature of the original *adverbs* (social movements and emotions) frozen in memories and into stabilizing social mechanisms, like social closure (cf. Parkin 1979).

Before that can happen, young social movement is just a will, an intention, a positive emotion that impose itself to a person or a group of persons as a feeling impulse supported by emotions. People trained to communicate what they feel in a rational manner would translate this emotions on rational like presentations. People, like youngsters or people living in the margins of society, who do not know how to do it, or do not want to do it, can be accused to act irrationally, meaning without any sense, as passionate people often are accused to act. Because they lake the ability to present themselves in the anew condition as part of the society. Because they lake support by allies inside recognized society to help them to integrate it.

In Athens during December events, youngsters act passionately and, for knowing this, the Greek people (and the press) supported their action, even they were violent. They support “their children”, mostly because this was the case. Every one felt the power of this sheared emotion not like a danger (as if it comes from outcast side of society)<sup>7</sup> but like a social need to address institutional violence, not only from the police but also from the main institutions – school, market place, government, administration, politics, European political class.

In Europe, where the political legitimacy crises is felt strongly, people become afraid of the ignition effect isolated events can cause (to use a police kind of talk) because everybody knows, as well than Greek people, that, given the financial global crises, there are raisons to be afraid of social commotions and irrational popular actions.

Educated outcast people, such as Anarchists and other politically oriented groups excluded from political institutions, look at the events as a objective representation of their complains and their reasons. Anyway there is no yet the time for the kind of uprising dominant classes fear for.

## **6. Uses of outcast channels to startle**

Fear is an omnipresent emotion. The police fear the youngsters, and vice-versa. The population fears the police, and vice-versa. The institutions fear media judgment, and vice-versa. Activists fear the government, and vice-versa.

These fears are adverbs since they are transitive e depending on the occasion. When fears become chronic they turn out on nouns. They freeze.

---

<sup>7</sup> In November 2008 thousands of penitentiary inmates joined a national hunger strike to cal for better living conditions. They succeed calling the attention of the government and they bargain with it the conditions for stopping the struggle. This event has been extraordinary – by the volume of people involved and by the public and direct negotiations between inmate and the government (the ministry of justice), still no social memory of it has been found.



Frights and startles experiences, most of the time, develop learning processes of avoidance of some kind of situations or acting to minimize damages (forgetting processes or repressing acting against real or supposed causes, and so on). Dread does not need any provocative declutching motive or situation. The sight of a policeman, for instance, can provoke reactions of youngsters, activists or other people who develop a dread emotion. The frightening effect that repressive actions mean to produce can build its own social enemies. As neuro-biology knows, fear produce both a very strong energetic body and mind mobilization to run way or to attack, else it can produce paralysis (Damasio 1994). In order to neutralize bad social behaviors or thoughts repressive systems that most of the time seems to work well, as history show us all the time, at a given moment run against it self. Maybe this is an explanation why police withdraw from the streets of Greece during the events and why some people suspect of the help they organize to up level the destruction. Repressive systems needs the support of legitimating process and cannot work without it and against chronic antagonist emotions, such as dread of police.

It is difficult to know when dread will evolve in action or inaction. Even the people involved in the study situation do not know how they decide one thing or another. Maybe because this kind of decision depends on emotional situations that arise from singular historical events, more that planned events can prepare. People can decide very fast to engage into social mobilization by processes that are not yet described or known by science. Mostly because science conceives each individual as a one-way black box, when each human being mix many entries and many output opportunities at the same time, many of them exclusive between them. When one decide to take a way of acting, some of the old action and emotion opportunities stop being available.

The generalized dread about Greek police action becomes a startle for the youngsters, as well as for the interviewed young mother, and then a relieve joy of facing danger emerge (society, solidarity).<sup>8</sup> If one tries it, one feels the power of defying the forbidden and the moral and will wait for a sanction. If the sanction does not happen, what should one think?

Fear, or its sequent emotions, can freeze action or it can develop new type of taboo kind of actions, like defying the authority of the police. It can become an addiction to some people, and a kind of socialization ritual for candidates to political activism. As well as gratuity aggression can turn out to have equivalent meaning to some policemen and even to the head of the police, angry for loosing authority and using the strategy of escalation of violence in order to achieve the frightening effect lost by social reaction.

That is why a Portuguese activist can feel uncomfortable participating in a Greek common demonstration, since the ritualize violence staged by Greek demonstrators and known from the police forces – as breaking windows – as well as the police violence is expected by the demonstrators – pepper gas bombs at the end of the demonstration. Outsiders can become frightened within this ritual that can differentiate who is used to it and the rest of the population. Those last ones, when frightened, can freeze or run way or attack. It is not common people to attack alone a police force, of course. And what if many people encourage each other to do that, as it happens Monday when youngsters meet at school?

Exarchia in Greek means remake, retake, beginning anew. Since the seventies it become a asylum area to outcast political people, given its geographic proximity with the Polytechnic University, where many people died killed by the police, fighting the Coronel's dictatorship in 1973. The democratic regime congratulates the students and the University prohibiting the police to enter at the University sites.

---

<sup>8</sup> About emotional dynamics of ritual and the participation appeal they produce on humans read Collins (2001:31).

To be at Exarchia becomes an opportunity to provoke police, since it is easy to hide within the walls of the university after any kind of action, far from police ability to repress.

Complex local traditions stage public life as a ritualized violent and provocative one. No much people are involved in this kind of dread. Anyway the procedures are institutionalized. Revolutionary groups organize recruiting process based on this kind of fighting ritual antagonizing police. And police respond in a way the population does not like. It is not a secret.

When Greek youngsters feel startled and they have the time to action, they follow the path of the revolutionary groups against the police. The police, on the field, immediately understood the problem (no ritual leaders, no marginal people to stigmatize, no force to present as an enemy), frightened and freeze. As no opposition happened, the enthusiasm come in sequence to the field of the youngsters.<sup>9</sup> Till the funeral, as the social configuration did not change the aspect on the field, violence rise out of control, gush out the lines of ritualized way built in years by outcast of Greek politics.

Everyone understood that, even in a silent mode. The immigrants and other outcast knew they are welcomed within the social movement, as well as the outcast workers (the precarious). For a while they have reasons to no fear state forces, frozen by cross fears at high institutional level.

The government with low popularity did conciliate in November 2008 with a major prisoners protest. They knew how fragile they were facing the mole of enraged sons of their own class. The police knew that its job should have limitations of class. They should not attack upper class people. Nor then, when the youngster follow down death, or after, when the politically uncontrolled and uncontrollable uprising of the youngsters takes the public space of Athens and other major Greek cities.

From 6 December 2008 till February the police just freeze its provocative preventive kind of actions. By the end of March, follow the evaluation of the Greek mother interviewed, the police give signs to restarted the abuses, when it charge an elders and children demonstration in front of the City Wall complaining against the destruction of the garden they use to use. They seem not frightened anymore. They feel dread about losing theirs institutional authority, as they think of it, and they restarted the old methods, now against people without any condition to become a danger to them.

## **7. To integrate outcast social theory as well as outcast people<sup>10</sup>**

Is it the Greek uprising December 2008 a good subject study?

If one needs to isolate emotions in a social context, this is a good opportunity. Few speeches and a lot of action which main protagonist are silent and the secondary protagonists, for instance the political parties or the outcast groups, do not know what to say about what happened.

If one needs to show how a social movement works, well, there is a problem: what happened does not match with the main stream sociological theoretical definition of social movement. So, one has to choose: one can support the theory and forget the subject of study, or to retain the subject and rephrase the theory.

Greek social scientists are researching how to present, how to represent, what happened in front of their eyes. Some of them focus specially the lack of support police count from the political powers. It will explain both the lack of social authority of the policemen facing the outcast and their allies, as political radicals people, and the frozen public action that characterize the police

---

<sup>9</sup> As at Tiananmen Square, fear of repression, without repression, turn into enthusiastic joy, as described by Guobin (2000).

<sup>10</sup> About the need of using Sociology of emotions to transform main social theory read Craig Calhoun (2001:46-47).

behavior during all the uprising time. Others think that it is not rational to attack political parties, because they has been – for the better and for the worse – the main democratic and western institutions in the country, those which did produce very fast, from a historical perspective, the unity of the Greek Diaspora under a stabilized state authority in the Balkans. Some of the social researchers think above all the problem as a question of legitimacy of the power, challenged by few unknown forces in the field and anew forces to be accountable in the near future, for rational politics and social policies sake.

All of them know that, beside some lack of information about the events, the main problem is that sociology does not favor any straight forward frame theory to work on it. How and where should they look to find data? How to manage available data? Where to begin the discussion: social movements? Emotions? Networks? Politics? Police organization? Outcast way of living? Conflict? Greek specific culture?

In such a situation, given “the research agenda proposed [by Helena Flam] emphasizes the emotional-institutional context within which social movement do their emotional work (...) construct to accomplish the emotional re-framing of reality (...) leading to individual liberation” (cf. Helena Flam and Debra King 2005:4), should one consider, yes or no, the Greek uprising a good case study? If the main social theory “disregard of emotions limits its relevance to social movement theory” (op.cit.:9) is it Greek uprising a good example to look at in order to positioning emotions social theory?

This paper shows a lot of questions arise from the study of these events. The available space does not aloud to develop them. One can just list them: what is the name of social phenomena that grow before a social movement can be classified as such by social science? Sheared social emotions without rational clear representation are social phenomena, or not? Which come first: alignment of social emotions (Goodwin and others, 2001:6) or social movements? When and how the first becomes the second? Only certified social movements are able to develop structural recruitment? Or else, the social recruitment does not necessary link to a sociologically recognizable social movement? Is it a fair strategy to discuss these matters crossing two sociological specialties, when science has available computerized access to images of the brain, studied by biologists, neurologists, and other scientists to present as noun all set of states of mind one can imagine? Is it fair to avoid a fundamental critical analysis of mainstream and specialized social theories that push sociologists out of emotions analysis and push this kind of events, loser events let say, out of sociological consideration?

## **8. Equality and sociology of instability**

It is not the place or the space to present the sociology of instability, as a sociological research program open to and asking multidisciplinary. Anyway it would be unfair not to inform the readers that the previous questionings has been produced from a singular perspective on sociological studies. Form that point of view, emotions are (as Damasio thought us) the result of homeostatic regulation of life that always work in living bodies, even only they are felt when they abruptly or painfully manifest, caused by unusual occurrences. Emotions can be represented as feelings whenever a person are called by is existence (body, mind, soul, social context, environment, technological devices) to pay attention to a singular situation.<sup>11</sup> This attention has many forms; one of them is the rationalization form: to classify regular feelings and attribute them to singular specific emotions is one of the ways of rationalizing. Other form is to choose which feelings are real feelings, arguing therapeutic raisons, and forget the rest of them (can you

---

<sup>1111</sup> To discuss the sociological relevance of attention read Collins (2001)

remember sociologists do some thing like that when choosing successful events to look at and neglecting loser events, reinforcing the social stigma and exclusion they suffer yet?). The feelings not classified as symptoms of illness can be classified as emotions and treated by psychological professionals specialized in dealing with weak social forces.

Emotions happen and human persons work with them to acknowledge them, including censuring those which are inconvenient for some reason, for *habitus*, for cultural effects, for inconvenient consequences. Only few emotions can be felt spontaneously by humans, given the nervous limitations, given the social censorship, given the need of focusing in few major tasks to survive and to make sense of life. For instance, as Max Weber said, the State legitimate action is supported by the menace of use of violence, even most of the people prefer to forget about it in order to feel safer and because one choose to develop other kind of priorities for one own life. Normally, at least upper, middle and integrated working class people, one does not fear the State. Even this feeling arise more times and more intensely depending on the social condition of each one and his or her ideology. Outcast people probably do feel afraid of the State more times and more deeply – eventually in a chronic way – than high or middle class people.

Probably the same kind of neuro-biological mechanisms are active, whatever are the class origin of a person, when one feels fear. Probably the frightening feeling that frozen actions activate the some kind neuro-biological circuits within a person, regardless his or her social condition, as well as a startle can be observed by computerized images of the brain as being of the same kind in outcast people as well in dominant people.

That is why upper class kids can understand outcast people even they never mixed with them. That is why in special circumstances upper class kids can feel the need to act like outcasts and align with them, for instance using the political rituals Greek activists developed in public during the democratic regime. That is why they do not have how to say what happened to them without denying their social superiority and commodities. That is why one can easily anticipate that some years from now some of these boys and girls will be able to rationalize this traumatic experience in some special form. Can we hope that they will learn they found the profound organic equality of all persons, careless social condition?

## Bibliography

Alberoni, Francesco (1989) *Génesis*, Lisboa, Bertrand.

Callhoun, Craig (2001) “Putting Emotions in their Place” in Goodwin, Jeff, and others, *Passionate Politics – emotions and social movements*, The University Chicago Press, pages 45-57.

Collins, Randal (2001) “Social Movements and the Focus of Emotional Attention” in Goodwin, Jeff, and others, *Passionate Politics – emotions and social movements*, The University Chicago Press, pages 27-44.

Damáσιο, António (2003) *Ao Encontro de Espinosa – As Emoções Sociais e a Neurologia do Sentir*, Lisboa, Europa-América.

Damáσιο, António (1999) *O sentimento de si*, Lisboa, Europa-América.

Damáσιο, António R. (1994) *O erro de Descartes: emoção, razão e cérebro humano*, Lisboa, Publicações Europa-América.

Elias, Norbert (1993) *Mozart - Sociologia de um génio*, Lisboa, Asa.

Flam, Helena and Debra King (2005) *Emotions and Social Movements*, Routledge.

Goodwin, Jeff, James M. Jasper and Francesca Polleta (2001) *Passionate Politics – emotions and social movements*, The University Chicago Press.

Panagiotopoulos, Panayis (2009) « Souffrance et révolte des inclus - Quelques clés pour comprendre la révolte de décembre 2008 » in <http://www.fsu.org/index.php?id=30102&L=1>.

Parkin, Frank (1979) *Marxism and Class Theorie; a Bourgeois Critique*, London, Tavistock.

Yang, Guobin (2000) “Achieving emotions on collective action: emotional processes and movement – mobilization in the 1989 Chinese student movement” in *The Sociological Quarterly* Volume 41, number 4, pages 593-614