The repression of climate activism as a brake on ecological transition: the Italian case

> Matteo Spini matteo.spini1@gmail.com

#### Introduction

- Ecological movements have a key role in protecting the Planet, by putting pressure on enterprises, governments, media, other social actors and public opinion.
- The repression against ecologism and climate activism is a strategy that aims to slow down/block the ecological transition.

# Protest policing

- "The police handling of protest events" (della Porta & Reiter, 1998).
- It can reduce or increase the willingness to protest and it can radicalize it; it shapes the tactical repertoire and the organizational forms of social movements.
- Escalated-force model vs negotiated control model (della Porta & Diani, 2020).

## Repression

 "Attempts by individuals, groups or corporations, or state actors to control, constrain, or prevent protest", in direct and indirect forms (Earl, 2022).

 Various forms of physical, verbal, economic, psychological, and symbolic violence, often in invisible and hidden forms.

# **Climate repression**

- Climate strikes in 2018-2019: welcomed by the political establishment of the EU, they led to a growth in the consensus for green parties and the Green Deal.
- Post-COVID: growth of anti-ecological positions within the European right and rising intolerance toward climate protests (specifically civil disobedience).
- Positive radical flank effect (greater support to moderate organisations) (Simpson et al., 2022; Ostarek et al., 2024) but also negative effect in the form of repression (Ellefsen, 2016; Ellefsen & Busher, 2020).

### The Italian case

- Val di Susa and other "territories in struggles in lotta" as laboratories of criminalization from which repressive techniques are generalised (Imperatore, 2023)
- Meloni's government: repression against all forms of activism: student movements, housing movements, ecological movements, movements against large-scale infrastructures, unions...

## The Italian case

- Climate repression as part of a border project of authoritarian, securitarian, neo-liberal and penal populist involution.
- The unconditional support (discursive and normative) by the government to the security apparatus legitimates institutional violence.
- The communicative goal of repression: demonstrate to have defended the "fossil machine" (Grasso & Delatin Rodrigues, 2024) and re-established public order.

### **Repressive techniques**

- Legal: ad hoc created to prevent and punish the actions of climate activists, civil disobedience specifically.
- Judicial: widespread charges and trials to logorate movement, subtracting resources, time and energy.
- Police: surveillance, unproportionate force use, restriction to protest and freedom of movement ("DASPO urbano" "fogli di via") to prevent and hinder protest actions.

## **Repressive techniques**

- Economic: fines and against specific crimes to logorate movements and with consequences in the private lives of activists.
- Discursive: infantilization, criminalization, pathologization and silencing of the voices of movements; they legitimate other techniques.

## Conclusions

 A clear affirmation of an escalated-force model of protest policing: violation of the right to protest, civil disobedience not tolerated, unproportionate use of force.

 Repression has consequences in the private lives of activists, compelled to lose job, change city, break social ties, and live with fear.

#### Conclusions

- Movements can adapt and re-elaborate their tactical-strategic perspectives.
- Repression can weaken movements but it can also be counterproductive->indignation and coalition-building (e.g. Rete nazionale A Pieno Regime) (Flesher Fominaya & Wood, 2011).

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