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**The Nuit Debout Discourse: An Outcry for Liberty, Equality and
Fraternity in a Post- Democratic Order**

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Abstract

The Nuit Debout movement which sparked off in Paris on 31 March 2016 turned out to be the largest social movement that France has seen since the French Spring in 1968. In many ways, Nuit Debout (up all night) reminds of the wave of movements which occurred in the aftermath of the financial crisis in 2011 such as the Indignados in Spain or Occupy Wall Street in many cities around the globe but which was only a week in France, equally impacted by these circumstances. What is interesting is to look at the specific French context, a country which is undergoing a legitimacy crisis being famous for its revolutionary past and recent victims of terror attacks. Drawing on this Post-'11 movement from a discursive perspective, I will investigate how Nuit Debout expresses itself in social media analyzing a high quantity of social media statements. The aim of inquiry of this thesis is to unmask the Nuit Debout discourse under the primary research question: *How does the Nuit Debout discourse describe itself on social media?* This analysis in debt to the perceived legitimacy crisis, the national emotional reservoir as well as the collective identities within the Nuit Debout discourse. I will come to the conclusion that the Nuit Debout discourse is the expression of a fundamental distrust against the representative democracy in which the national values: liberty, equality and fraternity are no longer addressed.

Keywords: post- '11 movements, Nuit Debout, legitimacy crisis, collective identity,

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1. Introduction

The French social democracy is in a crisis. The (youth-) unemployment is unaltered high (Chauvel, 2016), political elites seem to govern far away from its citizen needs and the war against terrorism is on the top of the political agenda (Gandini, 2016). At the same time, the French far- right wing party Front National is at the forerun for the presidential election (Halimi, 2016a). The answer to this political climate is Nuit Debout (Standing Night). Everything started on March 31, 2016 with a night sit- in at the Place de la République following a demonstration against proposed changes to the labor law. In the following nights, a crowd of more than 1,000 people met for a discursive general assembly meeting and the movement rapidly spread out to other French cities. While the original aim of Nuit Debout was to “overthrow the labor bill and the world it represents” (Tweet 209), claims of its participants were diverse from a universal income, migrant and women rights, or environmental claims joined in the “convergence of struggles” (Peillon, Peyret, Ballet & Cailhol, 2016).

Following the Paris terror attacks on November 13, 2015, the state of emergency has been declared by the Hollande government. Under security motives ecologist protesters during the COP21, refugee activist and other alternative campaigners have been affected by preventive actions of repressive characters. Different human rights organization, activists, intellectuals and personalities of the civil society spoke out publicly against these measures which have been judged as “racist” and “anti-democratic” (Gandini, 2016). In this context, the government introduced the El Khomri law, primarily initiated by the Minister of Economics Emmanuel Macron which rapidly has awoken outrage not only amongst left-wing activists (Lordon, 2016b). Both measures have been felt most by the young, intellectual generation and the same demographic group gathered a couple of months ago to Place de la République in the memory of the victims of the terror attacks (Farbiaz, 2016, p. 15). In the middle of the square stands the immense Marianne statue which is a national symbol of the French Republic and its victory over totalitarianism and personification of the fundamental rights of the French Revolution liberty, equality and fraternity (Becker & Cohen, 2006, pp. 97-99).

The Nuit Debout discourse is closely connected to the messages of two documentaries: “Merci Patron!” (Thanks Boss!) by left- wing activist Francois Ruffin and “Demain” (Tomorrow) by Cyril Dion and Mélanie Laurent. The former is a social critically parody on the outsourcing of the French workers to foreign labor. The documentary features Ruffin himself helping a marginalized working- class couple to make France’s richest man, the CEO of the luxury brand LVMH Bernard Arnault, pay a convention because he has “ruined their lives”. The later identifies optimistically initiatives by local around the globe which have the potential to tackle the world’s most pressing social and environmental issues.

Nuit Debout awakes memories of the movement of squares such as 15M in Spain or Occupy Wall Street in many cities around the globe. These “new global cycle of protests” (Estanque, Costa, & Soeiro, 2013) has been called “new new social movements” (Lagman 2013) or “post- ‘11 movements” (Hallberg & Ossewaarde, 2016) and has marked a “paradigm” (Fominaya & Cox) away from the new

social movement (such as the Global Justice Movements). The “new new movements” have often been explained by the consequences of a “twin crisis” of representative democracy and global capital (Fominaya 2017) in “times of austerity” (Della Porta 2015). However, it has been argued that these events need to be reflected and analyzed through emotions which create a moral shock and pave the way for collective identities and shared visions (Castells 2013; Langman 2013; Jasper 2014; Fominaya 2017). Even though the new wave of protests is global and surely inspired by each other, the nation-states remains an important constant (Fominaya, 2017; Lagman 2013; Estanque, et al., 2013) and each of the movements has its “own, locally or nationally embedded, emotional reservoir” (Hallberg & Ossewaarde, 2016, p. 88)

As will be shown, the Nuit Debout discourse, an under-researched case, exhibits all of the characteristics which have been associated with the “post-’11 movements”. The Nuit Debout remains however an interesting case from which further insights can be added to the current scientific state of art for the following reasons: First, France with its revolutionary tradition but also the context of the terror attacks makes Nuit Debout a unique case and suitable for an in-depth analysis of the ‘national cultural reservoir’. Second, spreading out five years later than the initial post ‘11- movements and after the direct consequences of the financial crisis, the case shows if developed concepts of a legitimacy crisis are still applicable. Third, the focus on the creation of collective identity and emotions gives further insights in this (underdeveloped) part of the post-’11 movement research and cultural analysis (Jasper, 2014, pp.24-25).

The aim of inquiry of this thesis is to unmask the Nuit Debout discourse to further develop the current state of art in social movement research. Therefore, the primary research question of this thesis is: *How does the Nuit Debout discourse describe itself on social media?* The “new new social movements” have been described as the expression of a perceived “twin crisis” of representative democracy and global capitalism and thereupon the first sub-question is built: *To what extent expresses the Nuit Debout discourse a perceived legitimacy crisis?* Each of the post-’11 movements has its own story rooted in its own national context. On this assumption the second sub-question is developed: *Which role does the national cultural reservoir play in the Nuit Debout discourse?* As will be argued, the legitimacy crisis and the national emotional reservoir are only the structural condition in which social movements arise and events need to be emotionally reflected to create collective identities which transform fear into outrage and hope into action. To make valid conclusions thereon, the research question hence requires another sub-investigation of: *How does the Nuit Debout discourse emotionally reflect the legitimacy crisis and which collective identities and visions have been created?*

To encompass the Nuit Debout discursive practices, the variables of the research question will first be corroborated with the most important theoretical insights from the post-’11 movements literature. In consideration of the wide literature, the most important concepts regarding legitimacy crisis, national emotional reservoir, collective identity, emotions and morality will be narrowed down

respectively to the most important discursive features of the post-'11 movements. With the methodological tool of the Sociology of Knowledge Approach to Discourse (Keller, 2005), the outstanding discursive features of the Nuit Debout movement in Paris will be analyzed according to the theoretical concepts. The dataset encompasses 350 randomly selected Tweets and 10 debriefs of the General Assembly hold at Place de la République. Accordingly, interpretative frames representing the leitmotifs of the Nuit Debout discourse will be developed which will finally enable me to give answers my to sub-questions and see in which ways the Nuit Debout discourse is marked by structural and emotional concepts. Based on these assumptions my primary research question can be answered in dept. Concludingly, the limits of this research will be shown and starting points for further research objectives for both the Nuit Debout movement as well as the post-'11 movements in general will be given. On a final note, the research findings will be placed in the current political context in France.

2. The Discourse of Post- '11 Movements

I would like to argue that self-description of the Nuit Debout discourse can best reproduced through “new new social movement” theory as developed by Langman (2013) who combines new social movement theory with aspects of political economy. However, the national state remains an important frame and the concept of ‘national emotional reservoir’ which has been highlighted by Hallberg and Ossewaarde (2016) will be added. In this chapter, the research questions will be linked with theoretical concepts from the post- '11 movement literature within four sections. At first, an introduction to the post-'11 movement literature will be made outlining features which typically differentiate these “new new movements” from prior social protests. Secondly, the legitimacy crisis as a ‘twin’ crisis of global capital and representative democracy as point of departure for the new wave of protests will be investigated. In third second section, it will be argued that the nation state remains an important frame for the analysis of the post-'11 movement. Finally, it will be argued that these circumstances need to be reflected through emotional and behaviorally patterns to awake collective action.

The New New Social Movements

In social movement research, the year 2011 has marked an extraordinary year where in regions all over the world social movements spread out. In some respects, these new wave of protests seems to confirm existing theories as developed under the new social movement approach (Alain, 1981). The transformational potential of collective action remains central in the analysis of these occupy-style movements and Alain’s claims that people “make their own history: social life is produced by cultural achievements and social conflicts, and at the heart of society burns the fire of social movements” is still omnipresent (1981, p.1). The New Social Movement approach marks the shift into a post-materialistic society away from classical worker struggles. Thereby the approach reflects on culture, meaning, collective identity and cultural changes to explain why social movements arise (Della Porta & Diani, 2009, p. 36-37).

However, there is something which previously not has been seen in the “new new social movements”. Foremost, this expression means that even though these post- '11 movements have appeared under different political circumstances and stand for different social demands; they all seem to have common characteristics which differentiates them from former movements: (1) a broad social base which includes rather ordinary citizens than activists, (2) a large organization via social media, (3) the reclamation of public spaces, (4) the claim for real democracy with a decentralized and horizontal structure, (5) a profound distrust of representative democracy, (6) the opposing of oligarchical power rather than the actual seek to appropriate state power and (7) the common bond of “grand narrative of oppression and resistance (Hallberg & Ossewaarde, 2015, p. 86- 87).

Fundamental “new” to these movements is the “facebookization of protest” enabled by the digital revolutions (Saad Filho, 2013, p. 659). Remarkable is that the first time in history social movements are not dependent anymore on the mass media system to spread out their ideas to a wider public (Paolo Gerbaudo, 2012). Many research has confirmed the mainstream media’s interest in remaining the status quo dominated by political and economic elites (Herman & Chomsky, 2010) and many post- ’11 movements directly oppose the media system (Castells, 2012, p. 4-5). Historically movements have based on rumors, manifests and “one person to one person”- communication, now, due to the relatively low cost of podcasts, YouTube, Facebook or Twitter enabled social movement can express themselves independently to the broad public and around the globe. “The power of the Internet, and indeed the flourishing of social media accessible via smartphones, has enhanced the power of the weak and enabled the masses to confront the power of the few.” (Langman, 2013, p. 517) New social media also facilitate the organization of social movements and collective action as it allows people to join a cause or to become active by just a “click” (Kavada, 2015, p.873).

Legitimacy Crisis

Langman (2013) argues that the new wave of protest needs to be regarded in the social context of today. After several decades of neoliberalism and the “There Is No Alternative”- doctrine it would become necessary to “rethink the new social movement paradigm and pay more attention to the various crisis of legitimacy” (p. 521). The perceived legitimacy crisis is reflected in the post-’11 movements discourse by the claim for real democracy, or to say in the words of the Spanish indignados: “Democracia Real Ya!”. With the term post- democracy, a political version of neoliberalism (Della Porta, 2015, p. 112), Crouch (2004) describes a democratic system governed by a small elite which reduces citizens to electoral processes organized around the consensus of neoliberalism leaving power to economic interests. “Economic/financial crises provoke legitimation crises when elites are perceived as having caused and benefitted from them, and having failed to protect citizens against their worst effects” and can be seen as a “twin” crisis of global capital and representative democracy (Flesher Fominaya, 2017, p. 3). This status has been demonstrated by the political answer to the global financial crisis in 2009 which introduced on the one hand enormous bailout programs for the financial sector and on the other hand, profound austerity policies which made (financial) elites the “winner” and normal citizens the “losers”. This brought long- term distrust in the political and economic system (Flesher Fominaya 2017, Langman 2013). To say it in the words of Manuel Castells’ (2015): “It was primarily the humiliation provoked by cynicism and arrogance of those in power, be it financial political or cultural, that brought together those who turned fear into outrage, and outrage into hope for a better humanity” (p. x). Hence, the perceived crisis of legitimacy is the structural context in which the new wave of protests takes place. This shows that in the post-’11 movements discourse labor and material issues have gained a new

centrality in difference to the New Social Movements as the Global Justice Movements which have been marked by post- materialistic values (Estanque; Augusto & Soreiro, p. 31).

National Emotional Reservoir

In her conceptualization of the “new new social movements” Langman (2013) does not consider the importance of the nation-state as frame for the post-’11 movements. I would like to argue that, even though the new wave of protest is international and surely inspired by each other, the nation-state remains an important constant and is necessary to consider in the analysis of social movement discourse the Baumgarten (2014) highlights five reasons for the persisting national differences among protest movements:

(1) National politicians as target of social movement activism, (2) country-specific media systems and a national focus of media attention, (3) legacies of prior policies and their impact on civil society infrastructure, (4) prevalence of cultural model; and (5) the state’s impact on collective identity. (pp. 91-92)

Melucci (1996) describes the nation state as reference system for collective action (pp. 155-156) which encloses a shared history and recent events, educational background, perceived media coverage and the same affiliation with cultural behavior codes. In this context, national culture and history of a movement which is reflected in their symbols should not be disregarded.

“All these movements have their own, locally, or nationally embedded, emotional reservoir that can be used for mobilizing collective action” (Hallberg & Ossewaarde, 2016, p. 87). Striking features of this “national cultural reservoir” which can be concluded from the experience of the post-’11 movements are that they have typically be inspired by political scandals in the national context (Hallberg & Ossewaarde, 2016, p. 87). Further, ethical statements which are often related to national famous writers or old protest songs can be found in their discourses (Baumgarten, 2014, p.103) and national narrative of protest remain important referent points (Baumgarten, 2013, p.258). In addition, the new wave of protests is marked by national “riot icons” such as the “Lady in Red” during the Gezi park protests (Gerbaudo & Treré, 2015, p. 856).

The Emotions of Protest

Yet the legitimacy crisis is insufficient to address the post- ‘11 movements and the ‘national cultural resevoir’ does not explain the variation in mobilization in countries equally impacted by austerity policies and the financial breakdown yet. The failures of political and financial elites must be “interpreted, alternative identities, understandings, and visions must be negotiated, mobilizing networks must emerge – and strategies must be chosen” (Langman, 2013, p. 513), only if this happens structural

condition can bring the people on the streets. In the following, four interconnected concepts will be introduced which are key to understand the reflection and performed action of protesters: collective identity, emotions, moral shock and visions.

The concept of *collective identity* has been used by social movement scholar to explain how social movements are able to generate mobilization and commitment of diverse actors over time. Identity is the expression of a reflexive image of how one- self and other reflect a social actor delaminating from others over time and space (Langmann, 2013, p. 512). Melucci (1996) defines collective identity as “an interactive and shared definition produced by several individuals (or groups at a more complex level) concerning the orientations of their action and the field of opportunities and constraints in which such action is to take place” (p. 70). It allows protest movements to distinct itself from its environment and to create shared behavior codes, visions, opponents and goals. As the post- ‘11 movement try to build up alternative communities to the establishment, collective identities are predominant in their discourses (Kavada, 2015, p. 875). The introduction of social media facilitated the creation of collective identities within movements in the forms of launched hashtags, the use of profile and mimic pictures, icons or collective names and slogans (Gerbaudo & Treré, 2015). Kavada (2015, pp. 875- 876) applies CCO (Communication is Constitutive of Organizing) theory to Melucci’s understanding of collective identity which in forms of conversation patterns translates the movements identity into ‘texts’ and ‘codes’. These ‘codes’ can encapsulate ideology, ritual practices or shared emotions. This is well demonstrated Occupy Wall Street movements’ hashtag “#WeAreThe99Percent” which stand for the all-inclusive character movement, manifested its opponents (the 1%) and its claim (more power to the people) at the same time. The process of collective identity also includes shared emotions and visions.

Social movements are difficult to understand without recognizing the *emotions* involved which are present in every aspect of protest (Jasper, 2011, p. 286). Emotions influence the way people percept and judge certain things and thus the way people act. The analysis of emotions in protest research stands in contrast to the rational choice approach which assumes that individuals tend to act rationally and yet for getting involved in a protest movement there are only few clear benefits and it opposes the free-riding principle. Jasper (2011) describes reflex emotions as particularly important to social movement which are “fairly quick, automatic responses to events and information, often taken as the paradigm for all emotions: anger fear, joy and surprise” (Jasper, 2014, p. 29). Arguably the most important feelings in for the mobilization of social movements are fear and enthusiasm which motivate certain behaviors and discourage others (Castell, 2012, p. 15). Fears of often shared by protestors and “their togetherness help[s] them to overcome [...] this paralyzing emotion on which the powers that be rely in order prosper and reproduce, by intimidation or discouragement” (Castell, 2012, p.2). Expressions like “La generación perdida” (the lost generation) show frustration and anger, hopelessness of protesters which, finally, brought them into the streets.

Central in the discourse of the post-'11 movements are *moral judgements* and the roots of social movements can be found in the fundamental injustice of societies. For Jasper (2011, p.289) a moral shock is “the vertiginous feeling that results when an event or information shows that the world is not what one had expected, which can sometimes lead to articulation or rethinking of moral principles.” This shock evokes to act morally on the protestors side under the principles of empathy, compassion and caring for each other. Jasper writes “moral emotions involve feelings of approval and disapproval based on moral institutions and principles, as well as the satisfactions we feel when we do the right (or the wrong) thing, but also when we feel the right (or wrong) thing, such as compassion for the unfortunate or indignation over injustice.” As moral is a principle which people have perceived since its early childhood and as it is embedded in many societal codes, moral emotions are relatively stable long-term emotions. The perceived legitimacy crisis, austerity programs and domination of neoliberal interests evokes outrage and “indignation” about an unfair system.

This is connected to another positive emotion *hope* which is the foundation of vision. Out of the moral shock, social movements make claims about how a society should not be and create visions of the ideal cohabitation. Already Marxist social movement had the vision of an equal society, the hippies of the 1960's dreamed of love and peace- the vision of a better (romanticized) future is deeply embedded in social movements. Following Touraine's new social movement theory, “movements seek to change the very nature of society in the long term by challenging meaning and values and changing identity in the future” (Langman, 2013, p. 516). Social movements interpret utopian thought can be interpreted in the very existence of the movement. Their claim for a fair society and “real democracy”, the discussion without an end and concept of democratic order which still needs be developed.

Concluding Remarks

In this chapter, the common features of the post-'11 movement in difference to prior movements have been shown. Further, the “new new social movement” approach (Lagman, 2013) has been introduced which combined aspects from NSM theory with the concept of the legitimacy crisis. Yet, it has been argued, the national cultural reservoir needs be considered to understand the discourse of the post-'11 movements. Based on these theoretical assumptions, I would like to argue that the legitimacy crisis (1.1) and the national cultural reservoir (1.2) build up the structural dimension of the Nuit Debout discourse. Yet these events and symbols need to be regarded through the emotions of protest and therefore my social variable to analyze the Nuit Debout discourse are: collective identity (2.1), emotions (2.2), morality (2.3) and visions (2.4).

3. Methodological Considerations

The aim of this thesis is to analyze the Nuit Debout self-description as reflected in the social media discourse. Therefore, the heart of this thesis is to capture the Nuit Debout discursive practices which will make use of qualitative research design. This methodological chapter is organized in three sections. At first, the Sociology of Knowledge Approach to Discourse as developed by Keller (2005) will be introduced and its further methodological implications will be explained. The second section will justify and give an overview of the selected dataset and explain how it has been attained. Based on that, a procedure to analyze the dataset according to the theoretical concepts and methodological implication will be developed.

Sociology of Knowledge Approach to Discourse

From the vast array of discourse methodologies, I found that the Sociology of Knowledge Approach to Discourse (SKAD) as developed by Keller (2005) is the most suitable methodological approach for my research. SKAD uses insights of the social construction of knowledge tradition as developed by Berger and Luckmann (1966) as well as Foucault's understanding of discourse identified as regulated, structured practices of sign usage (Keller, 2005, p.1). At stake in these discourses is the fixing of collective symbolic orders through a more or less accurate repetition and stabilization of the same statements in singular utterances. SKAD “addresses discourses as complexes of power/knowledge which are to be the object not of normative judgement but of empirical inquiry” (Keller, 2011, p. 52). The purpose of SKAD is to “analyze ongoing and heterogeneous processes of the social construction-production, circulation transformation- of knowledge” (Keller, 2005, paragraph 11) using qualitative tools of social science. This is a hermeneutical approach which “argues for a socially accountable data analysis instead of reasoning on THE truth contained in textual data” (Keller, 2005, paragraph 24).

Keller (2005) proposes to distinguish two main dimensions to analyze discourses: the material (structural) dimension and the social (institutional) dimension. The former analysis the different actor positions, coalitions, strategies and elements of dispositive within a discourse but also the historical and institutional context which reminds of a classical case study (Keller, 2005, paragraph 25). The second dimension “is engaged in linking the social (institutional) dimensions of knowledge production and circulation with the symbolic order that is thereby achieved” (Keller, 2005, paragraph 26). Among other concepts from social science, Keller introduces analytic frames (Deutungsmuster) to analyses the social dimension of discourse. This concept “refers to typified clusters of disparate elements of meaning constructions, the core configuration of signs, symbols, sentences and utterances which create a coherent ensemble of meaning” (Keller, 2005, paragraph 27). Within a discourse different analytic frames can be connected through a narrative structure (Keller, 2005, paragraph 30).

SKAD offers benefits over the more frequently used Critical Discourse Analysis (Fairclough 1995) in the analyzation of social movement discourse. Mainly because CDA over-emphasizes the ideological function of discourse which often leads verification of this ideology within a discourse and lets “no place for any surprises [...] because the researcher knows how ideology works in advance” (Keller, 2005, paragraph 4). Also, CDA offers methodological advices from linguistics which are difficult to use for the analysis of the knowledge/power definition of discourse as developed by Foucault (Keller, 2005, paragraph 5) which the analytic tools of the sociology of knowledge attends to grasp. In addition, with its ability to unmask symbols, values, norms and other knowledge production, SKAD offers powerful tools to analyze the constructed reality of social movements.

Collection of Texts

The focus of my study lies on the Nuit Debout participants which are expected to be multiple and heterogeneous. Since Nuit Debout de facto has not come to an end, as the movement continues on a lower scale and under less public attention, I will focus my attention on the discursive practices from the first nightly assembly at the Place de la République, on March 31st until the end of May 2016, which can be seen as the peak time of the movement. Due to limited time and resources, I decided to focus on the Nuit Debout movement uniquely in Paris. The French capital, cultural and financial center of the country, has long been an indicator in social trends. It is, however, likely that citizens of Paris frame issues different than people in more rural parts or in the poorer South of France, therefore a conclusion can only limitedly be generalized for France as whole.

As mentioned in the theoretical section, through the introduction of new social media the post-'11 movements can express themselves independently from the media system and high-cost communication devices. Therefore, a discourse analysis based on social media offers a broad insight into the unaltered discourse of a social movement. From the vast range of social media platforms, I found that Twitter is the most suitable platform for my inquiry. First, it is one of the most used platforms and has been taken a prominent place in the political discourse. Second, meanwhile Facebook remains a tool to stay in contact with “friends”, Tweets could theoretically read and retweeted by anyone. There is also the possibility to send Tweets to unknown persons such as celebrities or politicians, for instance under @fhollande people are directly able to “communicate” with, back then French president, Francois Hollande. Third, Tweets can be categorized by hashtags, which means that any message can be connected to a “#” which is linked to a larger discussion about a certain person, trend or event which facilitates the researcher to filter for Tweets referring to a specific discourse. However, Tweets are restricted to a number of a 140 character and therefore discursive arguments are limited. In order to prevent this, an additional data corpus will be included. As mentioned in the theoretical section, another striking feature of the “new new social movements” have been the general assemblies with the attend to practice real democracy under a decentralized and horizontal structure. Therefore, the integration of the

debriefs which have been created at general assemblies during Nuit Debout in Paris seem to be relevant to enrich the dataset.

According to this, a sample 350 Tweets has been created by using Twitter's Advanced Search Option (Attachment 1). Through this tool it has been possible to find Tweets from the Nuit Debout peak time and to search for Tweets under the hashtag #NuitDebout. Hereby, Tweets which apparently have been posted by someone who is not part of the Nuit Debout movements, as newspaper post or post criticizing the legitimation of the movement have been excluded from the sample. In the analysis "Retweets" and "Replies" will be considered as well as included pictures, hashtags and emoticons within a Tweet. What will not be considered in the analysis are profile pictures, profile names and videos. In addition to the Twitter dataset, 10 debriefs of the Nuit Debout's general assembly at Place de République are added to the dataset. These debriefs have been found on the "Wiki Nuit Debout" website which is a Wikipedia-like website created by the movement and dedicated to its internal organization where most of the debriefs have been published. Hereby, the Tweet dataset is expected to reflect a wide scope of heterogeneous discursive practices meanwhile in the debriefs of the general assemblies are expected to reflect a relatively homogenous discourse based on a voted consensus.

Method of Analysis

Based on the methodological implications of SKAD and the outlined theoretical concepts a method of analysis has been created. The heart of inquiry in this thesis is to unmask the Nuit Debout discourse under the primary research question: *How does the Nuit Debout discourse describe itself on social media?* As has been argued in the theoretical section the discursive self-description can be best understood by considering the structural variable legitimacy crisis (1.1) and national emotional reservoir (1.2) and that the legitimacy crisis and the specific French context through collective identity (2.1), emotions (2.2), vision (2.3) and morality (2.4). In a second step, these concepts have been translated into items (see Appendix 1).

Yet, these variables are still highly theoretical concepts which need to be translated into items and keywords in order to reflect on the Nuit Debout discursive practices. Through the lens of urban sociology employing Descriptive Coding (Wolcott, 1994) these concepts have been translated into keywords. Descriptive Coding is an ethnographic approach which is suitable for qualitative discourse analysis in urban setting and follows the question "What is going on here?" (Saldaña, 2015. p. 70). In addition, several elements of the In Vivo Coding (Strauss, 1978) have been adapted. In Vivo Coding ("What is alive") refers to terms actual used within a discourse and terms used by participants themselves (Strauss, 1978, p. 74). Terms used on Twitter, often organized in Hashtags, are often associated with a particular strand of discourse and often serve as identification and in Vivo Coding enables to extract these discourse specific terms. Vivo Coding also enables the researcher to indicate ironic phrases or metaphors (see Appendix 1).

In line with SKAD, the repetition of these keywords reflects the fixing of the collective symbolic order of discourse fragments. The keywords will be grouped and identified into analytic frames which will be connected through a storyline. In this way the reconstruction of the structural and social dimension of the Nuit Debout discourse will be made. Finally, these analytic frames will enable me to at first answer my sub-question and thereupon my main research question.

Concluding Remarks

In order to recreate a discourse of speech acts in the form of Tweets and summaries of the general assembly, SKAD has been chosen as research design for this study and its particular description of analytic frames have been considered. A dataset of 300 randomly selected Tweets and 10 debriefs of the Nuit Debout's general assembly have been chosen which stand in line with striking characteristics of the post-'11 movements. Based on SKAD and my theoretical consideration a proper method of analysis has been developed which enabled me to reconstruct the Nuit Debout. Finally, a coding scheme based on Descriptive Coding and In Vivo Coding has been made. This methodological approach will finally enable me to give answers to my research questions.

4. Analyzing Collective Identities in a Post-Democratic Order

This chapter outlines the findings of the discourse analysis on how the Nuit Debout discourse describes itself on Twitter and in General Assemblies' reports. As I pointed out in my method section, discourses are understood as institutionalized systems of meaning which internal structure can be captured by the reconstruction of interpretative frames interconnected by a story plot. A comparison of the discursive practices of Nuit Debout with the shared features of post-'11 movements offers a good starting point to reproduce the structural dimension of the discourse. Thereupon, the social dimension of discourse will be described by linking interpretative frames and its symbolic order through a story plot. Hereby, it will be shown how the theoretical concepts are reflected in the discourse. The identified leitmotifs are "Merci Patron!", the hashtag #MêmePasPeur (not even afraid), the convergence of struggles and the ionization of the Marianne.

The most striking similarity of Nuit Debout discourse to the post-'11 movements is the reclamation of public space under the exclamation of real democracy. Place de la République is occupied in the name of bringing back democracy into public space (CR. 5, p.2). Over the two months there have been several public places which have been occupied such as Odeon Theatre, the national art school Beaux Artes and the FEMIS. Participants see this as provocation against the dominating class (Tweet 205) and see Place de la République as their "new political house" which they need to protect (CR.3, p.3). There has been rapidly installed an infrastructure at the square with an open kitchen (CR.2, p.1; CR.3, p.2), hospital and a reception. The reclamation of public spaces, in the heart of the cities stands for the ambitions of the protestors to make Nuit Debout "ordinary" (CR.5 p.3). In a way that each night, citizens can come to a place to discuss and exchange with each other. Frédéric Lordon has been cited during a General Assembly:

"We don't occupy to occupy, we occupy to achieve our political objectives, to write the constitutions of a social republic" (CR.5, p.2).

In the "post-political" sphere alternative vision of society tends to be hidden (Flesher Fominaya, 2017, p. 10) and the Nuit Debout movement tries to catch attention of the public and wants to show that alternative model to the current system are indeed possible. Similar as to other post-'11 movements the claim for real democracy und the principles of autonomy, self- management and self- government (CR.2, p. 3) is central in the Nuit Debout discourse. During the general assembly meetings, the protestors discuss alternative vision of democracy (CR.5, p.7) there is a proper commission for the writing of a new constitution (CR.6, p.2; CR.10, p.8) and working groups to create an alternative social and economic model. There is commission aims for the acknowledgement of blank votes in election which demonstrates the feeling of a "democracy without a choice" (CR4, p.5). The Nuit Debout discourse experiences with participative and deliberative models of democracy during the general assemblies (CR.9, p.3). A proper language through signs is used. This includes hand gesture which express

improvement, disapproval, opposition/ suggestions, already said/ too long, speak louder please, request for silence, technical point, request for translation and discriminative statement (Tweet 113) which are supposed to facilitate the discussion. This deliberative form of democracy stands in contrast to the principles of representative democracy and the established party system, where the most powerful dominate the discourse. The Nuit Debout discourse does not want to conquer state power but rather wants to gain a cultural and ideological struggle against established parties and the neoliberal system (CR. 8, p. 10) with the desire to find alternatives.

Nuit Debout is marked by the participation of ordinary citizens rather than activists. In the fragments of discourse Nuit Debout describes itself as a movement “without leader nor spokesman” (CR.1, p. 2). Nuit Debout is attractive for a broad social basis as its announced goal is to fight “against the labor law and its world” (Tweet 209) joined in a “convergence of struggle” is attractive to a broad social base. The movement has an all-inclusive character and calls workers, peasants, students and unemployed to join the movement (Tweet 341; CR.5, p.4). In the general assembly people narrate about their personal and fulfilling experience of Nuit Debout (CR.5, p.2), here everybody is welcome to reflect on “another possible world” (Tweet 341). The many groups which have been formed such as Hospital Debout, Education Debout or Lawyers Debout is shown that the movement offers a place for people of diverse backgrounds and that everyone can contribute to the movement in its own way. However, Nuit Debout also brings activists together from pre-existence networks such as the DAL or Jolie Môme together.

In a press release (decided during the General Assembly), the Nuit Deboutist declare:

“This also your movement. There are no limits, no borders and it belongs to everyone who wants to become part of it. We are thousands, we could become millions. Together, standing, woken up. Let us rise up together.” (CR.1, p. 4)

Here, the discourse expresses the desire to become a global movement and that the goals of Nuit Debout are applicable in a global context. Also, the discourse believes that a “real change” is only possible when they get support of a broad social base including immigrants from the poor suburbs of Paris as well as worker milieus. This is best illustrated in the efforts to organize a general strike (CR.4, p.6).

The Nuit Deboutist express a deep distrust in the representative democracy and French party system. The Tweets reflect a very ironic and cynical language and often retweet politicians to expose their slack promises. The Nuit Deboutist aim for a renewal of the whole political class and that the distinction between left and right has become only rhetorical (Tweet 23). One protester denounces:

“The Right sells promises does not keep them; the Left sells hope and smashes them” (Tweet 316)

This underlines the deep distrust in the representative democracy and in particular of a Left which introduces neoliberal policies. The distrust of the Nuit Deboutist is particularly against leading

personalities of the ruling Socialist Party. President Francois Hollande, Prime Minister Manuel Valls, and Minister of Economy Emmanuel Macron are described as “obedient fetish” of the neoliberal system (Tweet 232). Dominant are the critics against Francois Hollande who had declared that the youth would be the priority of his mandate. The Nuit Debouts discourse declares that the introduction of the Khomri Law has broken with this promise (Tweet 53). Macron is portrayed as only being interested in economic growth at the expense of the working class and as a disciple of Margaret Thatcher (Tweet 345, Tweet 25). The mayor of Paris, Anne Hidalgo, is judged for not taking responsibility for the flood of refugees in the north of Paris (Tweet 189). They all stand for a left government introducing neoliberal policies or a “Right that doesn’t say its name” (Tweet 27). The discourse expresses that it does not longer want to accept policies dedicated by a financial and political elite (Tweet 206). Not only the El Khomri law itself but also the exertion of the “article 49.3” evokes outrage in the protests. The consequence for the Nuit Debout discourse seems to be, in the words of Frédérick Lordon:

“If there are no alternatives in the framework/ executive there is always the alternative to remake the framework/ executive” #NuitDebout” (Tweet 204)

Not Even Afraid

In context to the fundamental distrust in the representative democracy stands the revolts against the state of emergency which is identified as one of the central leitmotifs of the Nuit Debout discourse. In the Nuit Debout discourse the repressive policies within the scope of the state of emergency and police violence against protesters is ubiquitous. The experienced police violence run like a threat through the Nuit Debout discourse (a.o. Tweet 3, Tweet 29, Tweet 68, Tweet 82). Most of the post ‘11- movements have, “peaceful as their protests may be, typically encounter a violent government or police brutality” (Halleberg & Ossewaarde, 2016, p. 93). Participants of the movement argue, that the French government has supported the movements during the Arab Spring and that it denounced police violence (Tweet 282) and urge the government that under the state of emergency Place de la République tends to become a new Tahir Place (Tweet 274). The discourse clearly sees the shift of the government in national security concerns since the terror attacks and see in the state of emergency a threat against their right of liberty and free expression (Tweet 190, Tweet 291). In reference to the Charlie Hebdo shooting they remember that two years ago the government has underlined the freedom of expression as one of the fundamental rights of the French nationality and that under the state of emergency this would no longer be the case (Tweet 190, Tweet 291). The established policies under the Hollande/ Valls government in the aftermath of the terror attacks are the font front of a perceived legitimacy crisis of the protestors. Repression would not be a threat against terrorism but against the civil society and these policies are under the ideology of the extreme right (Tweet 278).

The hashtag #MêmePasPeur (“not even afraid”) is central in the Nuit Debout discourse and over the discourse this slogan changed into the hashtag #LeurLairePeur (make them afraid). Hence, Nuit Debout stands for the resistance against the state of emergency and the claim that the fear has to change the side. In the general assembly, the proposition to replace the movement’s slogan from “Nuit Debout a parcifist movement” to “Nuit Debout victim of violence” (CR.8, p. 1) is made. Further, in a text of the General Assembly, the Nuit Deboutist call to the moral and solidarity of the police:

“The State of Emergency could not care less about your dignity. Everyone in the assembly dos fight for better life, to what has been promised to him. The same bitterness raises in our mouths than in yours. Our voices get tired of the same anger. Our arms are made to carry the same hopes”

(CR.2, p.5)

The interpretative frame “Not Even Afraid” reflects my theoretical proposition of how to understand the Nuit Debout discourse. The establishment of the state of emergency form the structural condition of a perceived legitimacy crisis and the discourse highly criticized the government for these measures. The transition of the hashtags “not even afraid” to “make them afraid” demonstrates well how fear has changed into outrage and how this collective perceived outrage has transformed into a collective identity to oppose the state of emergency. The power to overcome fear and the is well summarized in this Tweet:

“Paris, wake up” behind a big banner of #Nuit Debout. We sing “we all live in a police state!”

“Paris,wake up” (Tweet 311)

This outrage is close connected to the French emotional reservoir and its core values of “liberté, égalité and fraternité”. The state of emergency is repressive and intervenes in liberty rights, that especially alternative activists or Muslims are affected is against equality, and command of the state power to make the “cops” fight against “protesters” disturbs the principle of brotherhood. In this context, the legitimacy crisis means that the Nuit Deboutist do not longer see their values and identity represented in the government which though represents a deep political crisis.

Merci Patron!

The other side of the legitimacy crisis perceived by the Nuit Debout discourse are best reflect on two main incidents which stand in direct connection with the opposing of oligarchical power: the El Khomri Law and the movie “Merci Patron!”. The El Khomri law as neoliberal policy introduced by a left government set fire on the outrage of progressive citizens and seems to be the initial impulse of the movement and therefore represents the “twin crisis” of global capital and representative democracy. Frédérick Lordon said at the first assembly of Nuit Debout: “We will never be able to sufficiently thank the El Khomri law for having woken us from our political slumber” (CR.1, p?). The Nuit Deboutist

have lost their confidence in the government and only see in the introduced law only benefits for a small financial elite. There are many hashtags which stand in direct opposition to the labor law reform: #OnVautMieuxQueCa (we deserve something better), “Loi de travail: Non merci” (Labor law: No thanks), and “Merci Patron!” which perfectly catches this mood:

“The 1% are shaking, #Ruffin made a fool of you #NuitDebout #MercPatron” (Tweet 16)

“Merci Patron!” pictures the cynical mood of the protesters who see that the 1% are trembling and that the movie would roast the unfair system (Tweet 16). There is outrage about the relationship between exploited workers and the financial elite (Tweet 2) but also more general statements as that this is not a crisis but that the system itself is the origin of all issues (Tweet 325). It is more than just a movie but a bugle and manifest against oligarchical power. The movie makes the deprived crowd come together in a fight of a common enemy, many protesters can identify their personal struggles and therefore Merci Patron symbolizes a collective identity of the movie.

Convergence of Struggle

Nuit Debout is the result of a multitude of struggles. The reform of the labor law gives the opportunity for the Nuit Debout discourse to express a multitude of general indignations. “Against the Labor and its whole world” and the “convergence of struggles” are keywords of the movement. This diversity of ideologies, struggles and visions characterizes the discourse of the movement. They are unified in the dream of another society under “liberty, equality, fraternity” (Tweet 290) and Place de la République has become the place for a multitude of small demonstrations (Tweet 181). The big variety of commissions but the declaration to be in a common fight reflects the feeling of unity and brotherhood.

“[Nuit Debout is] the illustration of the anger, the same hopes and the same conviction: The necessity of a new society, where democracy, dignity and liberty are not empty declarations.” (CR.1, p.4)

Solidarity with the weakest parts of society is also part of the convergence of struggle, especially with the refugee and homeless people living on the streets of Paris (Tweet 346). The refugee crisis has created big illegal refugee camps around France, the Nuit Debout discourse judges the government for not managing. Just a few Metro stops away from Place de la République, there is Paris' biggest illegal refugee camp, which conditions and regularly police forces involving evoked outrage in the protesters (Tweet 174) and also the EU-Turkey Refugee Deal is strongly opposed by the protesters (Tweet 33). There are many initiatives and calls for solidarity with migrants (Tweet 144. Tweet 168).

“Nuit Debout Paris we are all #migrants, #refugee or #asylum seekers of democracy. #Global Nuit Debout” (Tweet 302)

In all the claims, commissions and discussion rather dominated by emotions than rational arguments it is difficult to find a societal project for the long term, but the desire for participation in public affairs and social equality is obvious. The movie “Demain” is the (needed) response to the convergence of struggle. Protesters argue that to understand the heart of the movement you would need have watched the movie (Tweet 144). To the utopia of a better world the movie shows that there concrete propositions (Tweet 304). The spirit of the movie empowers citizens for local solutions which indeed remains central in the Nuit Debout discourse and gives answer to the question “what should we do?”. Answer to this are a collective garden (Tweet 13), “do-it-yourself”- workshops (Tweet 26), a free cafeteria with a “100 % organic soup” (Tweet 78, Tweet 97) or a library based on donation and Tweets show direct support for the film (Tweet 128, Tweet 144, Tweet 304).

The Iconisation of Marianne

France has a revolutionary tradition and narratives of oppression and resistance can be found through the whole Nuit Debout Discourse. The occupation of Place de République is a symbol to fight for the rights of the French Revolution. In the discourse, the symbol of Marianne is often used to contrast the current political situation in France. Protestors put banner on the statue saying “Democracy where are you” (Tweet 55, Tweet 122) or the statue with a drawn “x” on its mouth (Tweet 203) or under the slogan “we won’t sleep anymore (Tweet 289). Or also in the famous painting “The Liberty Leading the People” by Eugène Delacroix appreciating the July 1830 revolution is reinterpreted with a police man oppressing Marianne as an icon of the Goddess of Liberty (Tweet 105). In the context of the claims of Nuit Debout the symbol of the Marianne shows that the fundamental rights of the French identity are not fulfilled in current political and societal context. As in the eve of the 1830 revolution, the discourse seems to see in the government a repressive force which restricts these rights and the symbol of the Marianne gives them force to overcome this state. Also, the calendar is inspired by the French Revolution, instead of changing the date from the 31May to April, the Nuit Deboutist keep in may in sign of their “revolutionary struggle” (#32 Mars, #33Mars, #34 Mars, etc.) used by Nuit Debout. There is also vocabulary from the French revolution to oppose the ruling class are used such the “guillotine” or “revolutionary war” (Tweet 202). Francois Hollande is compared to Louis XVI:

“Are the #NuitDebout aware of Francois's escape? And his probable arrest at Varennes? ;-)” (Tweet 6)

This Tweet demonstrates well the status of the post-democracy and that the Nuit Deboutists feel that only a revolt can change the system. Further the legitimation of the government is questioned by the frequently used quotes by French national poets such as Victor Hugo (Tweet 344) and Rousseau (Tweet 160). In these philosophical quotes description of how democracy is supposed to be made as well as the French revolution is glorified which again shows that the Nuit Deboutists feel themselves emotionally superior to the government. In this context, the claim for the real practication of liberty, equality and fraternity is expressed which can be summarized in one single Tweet:

“We need to think of the society of tomorrow, with humanism, liberty, equality and fraternity. Yes to the #General Assembly because #We Deserve Something Better” (Tweet 300)

Concluding Remarks

The analyzes of the Nuit Debout discursive practices shows that two struggles led to the rise of the Nuit Debout movement, the repression of the state of emergency and the reformation of the labor law which stand for a *legitimacy crisis* of the French political system. The experienced *moral shock* gives opportunity to construct collective identities as “Merci Patron!” which takes away *the fear* of the protestors and transforms them into the action. In the convergence of struggles they are joint in the *hope* of better world of “tomorrow”. Based on these findings, the sub-questions of this thesis can be answered.

To what extend does the Nuit Debout discourse an expression of a perceived legitimacy crisis? The “twin crisis” of representative democracy and global capital are key to understand the Nuit Debout discourse. The state of emergency and the El Khomir law represent neoliberal policies introduced by a left government which the Nuit Deboutists has taken the hope for change within the established party system. The destiny of the main characters of “Merci Patron!” as contrasted with power and luxury lifestyle of Bernard Arnault manifests for the Nuit Debout discourse a fundamentally unfair system where the poor suffer for the benefits of the “rich and powerful” and though represents the crisis of global capital.

Which role does the national cultural reservoir play in the Nuit Debout discourse? The national cultural reservoir runs like a red thread through the discourse and the movement constantly refers the grand narrative, symbols and poets of France’s revolutionary past. Also, “Merci Patron!” as expression of a collective identity is only imaginable in its specific French context offering the audience highest possible identification potential. Similarly to other post-’11 movements, Nuit Debout has been inspired by a political scandal in the national context, the El Khomri law. Also, the discourse frequently refers to national singer and poets. With the centrality of the Marianne the Nuit Debout discourse created its own riot icon. In Marianne two main expression close related to the French identity and its revolutionary

are symbolized: the strong believe that a social revolt has the power to fundamentally change the system and the ethical superiority of the movement to the government and the desire for the real practice of the core values of the French Revolution: “liberté, égalité et fraternité!”.

How does the Nuit Debout discourse emotionally reflect on the perceived legitimacy crisis and which collective identities have been created? At the very beginning of the Nuit Debout discourse does call to the emotion of the protesters. Without the outrage against the state of emergency and the El Khomri Law but also perceived oligarchical power the Nuit Debout discourse would not be thinkable. The perceived moral shock not only by the repressive policies but the neoliberal system as a whole made the Nuit Deboutist came together in a convergence of struggle in the vision of a better future which indeed by reflecting on the movie “Demain” is not utopian. From the frequently used hashtags collective identities which connect the participant of the Nuit Debout discourse have been created. The most important created identities are hereby “Merci Patron!” and #MêmePasPeur.

5. Conclusion

This thesis' objective was to analyze how the Nuit Debout discourse describes itself on Twitter and in summaries of the General Assembly. It aimed to identify in which ways the discourse is marked by the French cultural heritage and of recent events in France. An attempt was made to discover in which ways theories developed under the new wave which spread of in 2011 in the aftermath of the global financial crisis, are suitable for the Nuit Debout movement. This final chapter, summarizes the findings, their implication and gives answers to my research question.

How does the Nuit Debout discourse describes itself? The Nuit Debout discourse describes itself as a highly democratic and inclusive movement. The El Khomri law and the world its represents give the Nuit Debout discourse a common enemy which created a “ras-de-bol” (I’m sick of it)-feeling. The hashtag #NotEvenAfraid shows that in the aftermath of the Paris terror attacks the Nuit Deboutist got once more disappointed by the government which instead of praising “liberty” and “solidarity” established the state of emergency. Both, the El Khomri law and the state of emergency are key to understand which system the Nuit Deboutist oppose. Thereby they rather judge the ruling Socialist Party than the conservative Les Républicaines or the FN national. They are disillusioned by a government that claimed to be social but introduced the neoliberal policies as never seen before. “Merci Patron!” reflects the needed collective identity of the movement. A movie that showed them that if you come together you are able to find against the neoliberal elite. “Merci Patron!” transformed the outrage into action in the #MakeThemAfraid dynamic of the movement. The convergence of struggles is the other collective identity of the discourse. It is more far reaching than “Merci Patron!” and allows the movement to collect protestors with high diversity of desires and backgrounds. The convergence of struggles describes best the self-description of the movement. What all the Nuit Deboutist have in common and thus what the discourse express is the need and the desire for a better fairer world manifesting social and ecological norms. The movie “Demain” reflects the norms and ideas of the vision of the Nuit Debout discourse. They show that in a world of plenty it is possible to create a community where the stronger support the weaker and that a life in dignity is possible.

I would like to argue that in all this the fundamental desire to the practice of the core national values: Liberty, equality and fraternity is expressed which the Nuit Deboutist do not longer see satisfied in the post-democratic system.

Nuit Debout is indeed a movement of the square and the “new new social movement” theory as developed by Langman (2013) is applicable to the Nuit Debout discourse as well as the shared characteristics of the movements of the squares (Castells, 2015; Halleberg & Ossewaarde, 2016) are still applicable to the Nuit Debout movement spreading out five years later than the “original” post-’11 movements. It has been said before the nation based cultural and historical context plays a key role in the discourse of the “new new movements” even though there might be inspired from international events (Baumgarten 2013, Baumgarten 2014, Halleberg & Ossewaarde, 2016). According to the

analysis of the Nuit Debout discourse, it has been confirmed that this variable is key to understand the movement's discourse and that further research should focus on the concepts of the national cultural reservoir.

Within this thesis it has not been possible to address the different counter discourses within the Nuit Debout movement. An interesting discursive element which has not been part of the analysis is the rejection of the French philosopher Alain Finkielkraut from the Place de la République which has awoken diverse feelings in the Nuit Debout and media discourse. Further it would be interesting to analyze the Nuit Debout's impact on the political situation in France.

More than one year after the Nuit Deboutists have occupied the Place de la République, the movement has lost much of its visibility and the first anniversary of the movement has not nearly had the mobilization potential as we have seen in April and May 2016. Anyway, the Nuit Debout discourse is important to understand the current political dynamics in France. Nuit Debout has not been the only social movement which sparked out in France in 2016. The by the movement highly criticized Emmanuel Macron formed his own movement "La République en Marche" which, finally brought him after a run-off against Marine Le Pen into the Elysée Palace which indeed is a "little revolution" and shows that the established parties have lost much of their power. The only flaw of his victory has been the record-low voter turnout which shows that the French people are unsatisfied with the current political system and that over the Macron's mandate the political fights will not take place in the Palais Bourbon but on the squares.

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Appendix 1

Coding Scheme

Concepts	Items	Descriptive Coding Keywords	In Vivo Coding Keywords
Legitimacy Crisis (1.1)	Post-Democracy	State of Emergency	#MêmePasPeur #LeurFairePeur
	Political Crisis	Labour Law Reform Distrust in Political	#OnVautMieuxQueCa Loi de travail: Non Merci
	Crisis of Capitalism	Oligarchial Power	#MerciPatron
National Emotional Reservoir (1.2)	Grand Narratives	French Revolution May 1968	“Liberty, Equality, Fraternity”
	Recent socio- political events	Paris Terror Attacks El Khomri Law	#JeSuis, #OnVautMieuxQueCa
	National Symbols	Icons, Poets, National Hymn	Marianne Statue, V. Hugo, Rousseau
Collective Identity (2.1)	Identification	Movement Identities Occupied Public Space	Place de la République #MerciPatron
	Group Belonging	“Together we can”, 99%, “You are not alone”	Convergence of Struggles

