Non Una di Meno
and its traveling signifiers
in a feminism without borders

Tommaso Trillò

University of Lodz
GRACE Project

3rd AAHD Congress
Universidad Nacional de Rosario
7-9 November 2018
Social media/social movements: a roadmap

Mattoni (2017): “A situated understanding of digital technologies in social movements”
• “media ecologies” (Slater and Tacchi 2012) → social media exist along side other media
• Temporality of social mobilization and “punctuated events” (Della Porta 2013) → (wave of contestation, between waves, latency)
• Skepticism regarding the ‘revolutionary’ character of social media → movements have always used new tools to stage new forms of resistance

Bennett and Segeberg (2012): “Connective action vs Collective action”
• Networks can be institutionally-brokered, institutionally-enabled, or self-organizing

Gerbaudo (2012): “Choreography of assembly”
• Social movements are moving towards ‘liquid’ forms of leadership → Movement leaders sets ‘the stage’, loosely affiliated individuals ‘perform’ their protest, leaders re-direct the message of the movement
Social Media – Critical Discourse Studies

KhosraviNik (2017)

• ‘A socially committed, problem-oriented, textually based, critical analysis of discourse’

• **Vertical contextualization** (power of discourses outside of social media → ethnographic approach)

• **Horizontal contextualization** (power in discourses across social media → critical discourse analysis)
The data and the field

- #NonUnadiMeno and @NonUnadiMeno
  - 26 September 2016 – Today
  - Around 100k tweets

- Systematic observation
  - Twitter
  - NUDM website
  - Participation in rallies and assemblies
  - 2 formal interviews with activists
Late-spring and Summer 2016: behind the scenes concertation (Key role of UDI; Di.R.E; Rete Io decido)

October 2016: #Nonunadimeno
NUDM exists the latency phase, goes public, launches the rally in Rome

26-27 November 2016 #SiamoMarea
Rally and national assembly in Rome (200k people), NUDM formalizes its structure (e.g. 8 thematic ‘working tables’)

Spring 2017: #LottoMarzo
Assembly in Bologna, Valentine’s day campaign, launch of women’s strike

September 2017: #quellavoltache
National assembly in Rome, NUDM launches new rally and endorses #MeToo

25-26 November 2017: #abbiamounpiano
Rally and national assembly in Rome (100k people) NUDM publishes its anti-violence plan

Spring 2018: #LottoMarzo
Women’s strike campaign is repeated

Summer 2018: #moltopiuche194 / #194nonunpassoindietro
Io decido takes the leadership of the movement, abortion becomes NUDM’s main topic
NUDM: The journey so far

#nonunadimeno
#SiamoMarea
#LottoMarzo
#quellavoltache
#WeTogether
#abbiamounpiano
#Moltipiuche194
#LottoMarzo
#194nonunpassoindietro
NUDM: The journey so far
Choreographic leadership and traveling signifiers

NUDM is an institutionally-brokered network that has some clearly identifiable choreographic leaders (Bennet and Segeberg 2012; Gerbaudo 2012; Trillò 2018).

NUDM regularly deploys signifiers that are borrowed from other contexts...

• Name from Argentina, metaphor of the “tide” from Mexico, participation in global Women’s strike, endorsement of #MeToo, support for #abortolegaleya in Argentina...

...and re-cites them in the Italian context, partially altering their meaning...

• Translates the name and the metaphors in Italian, links the women strike to anti-fascist resistance, joins global #MeToo to foster local collective action, support for Argentinian/Irish comrades fuels local action on abortion rights

Their meaning is partially altered by the leaders while setting the stage and partially by the people who participate in the choreographed performance.
Leaders of present day social movements make use of social media alongside other media to ‘choreograph’ their collective action

- Leadership might have become more liquid, but didn’t disappear
- Temporality is crucial element that helps uncover the relationship of social media and social movements

In the case of feminist movements (but not only), this has taken the shape of heavy re-circulation of more or less ‘empty’ signifiers

- The hashtag affordance of Twitter as a social media platform facilitates this process
- These signifiers retain link to the original context, but most of their meaning is reshaped in the process of getting re-cited elsewhere
Avenues for future research

Frame circulation among feminist social movements
• To what extent do feminist social movements co-produce the signifiers that they eventually share across borders?
  • Do feminist activist know each other, talk, regularly coordinate?
  • Do they use social media to do so?
• What is the directionality of frame-circulation among feminist social movements?
  • North-to-South? South-to-North? Rhizomatic?

Screen-based research can point out trends, but some questions can only be answered ethnographically
Thank you!!!

Tommaso Trillò
Women Studies Centre
University of Lodz
GRACE Project

Email: tommaso.trillo@uni.lodz.pl
Twitter: @tommytrillo

Homepage: tommytrillo.worldpress.com