



ORIGINAL PAPER

The Rise of Social Movements in Romania

Claudia Elena Ionaș¹⁾

Abstract

Social movements have increased during the last decade all over the world, but mostly in Europe. In relation to the history of this phenomenon in the region, nowadays it has become an ordinary behavior to participate in a protest in the majority of EU-states, Romania included. Several issues regarding the rise of social movements are subject of interest in the field of social science: what determines people to participate in a protest, what are their expectations and what is the result of the social movements?

Are the most recent protests in Romania a sign of political participation? Through social media, antigovernment messages expanded quickly and numerous Romanians gathered in Victoriei Square to demonstrate against an emergency ordinance considered by many of the protestors to undermine the fight against corruption. Since then, two rounds of elections took place (presidential and European elections) and a change of power. Following a noconfidence motion that brought down the Social Democratic Government, the National Liberal Party formed a center-right minority government, but shortly after, it was dismissed as a result of a vote of no confidence.

The study of social movements in Romania is important to have a comprehensive approach about this phenomenon: is there a link between social movements and social media use, what triggers the people to mobilize and for what reason some stimuli have a greater impact than others on the individuals so that people act together for a common purpose such as social change.

Keywords: *social movements; social media; political participation; civil society.*

¹⁾ Doctoral School in Sociology, National University of Political Studies and Public Administration, Email: claudiaionas@gmail.com

The political situation in Romania

In November 2015, the Prime Minister of Romania resigns after street protests over fatal nightclub fire in Bucharest. This was the turnover moment in the Romanian social movements. Even if rallies against politicians took place much earlier than 2015 in post-communist Romania, the difference between those specific times and this period was the resilience of the protesters and their determination to be heard. Numerous issues regarding the Romanian society were out, outspoken, in the streets: non-compliance with laws, the negligence of those in charge with controlling the activity of the companies, the precarity of the health system and many more.

One year later, the Social Democratic Party won the elections with a very high score: 45,5% (The Permanent Electoral Authority, 2016). After five years since the Collective case, the President of Romania, Klaus Iohannis, was re-elected. Meanwhile, Romania had five prime ministers. Social movements increased both in magnitude and frequency.

The Social Democratic Party obtained 45,5% of votes, a score that offered the party the possibility to lead the country and form the government. Social Democratic Party won the general elections in 2016 with a bold government program. In other terms, the social measures included: raising the minimum wage, an unprecedented increase of the salaries in the health system, augmentations of salaries in the education system, stimulation of the tourism industry in Romania by granting holiday vouchers in the public sector and fiscal facilities for the private sector. Among the measures taken by the leftist Government was a major fiscal reform of the social security and tax system made to boost budget revenue and to prevent tax evasion. Other measures taken by the Government were in the Horeca industry: cutting the value-added tax rate from 9% to 5% for accommodation services and restaurant and catering services. Train transportation for all students throughout the country become free of charge.

The maternity leave with full benefits was extended from one year to two years and the allowance for childcare was limited at 8,500 ron and the minimum allowance increased at 85% of the country's gross minimum wage.

From the politic point of view, six months after winning the elections, PSD withdrew the support for the social democrat Prime Minister Sorin Grindeanu. It was the first motion of no confidence of a party against his own Prime Minister. The Parliament passed a vote of no confidence and the PM has been toppled. Mihai Tudose replaced Sorin Grindeanu, but six months later he resigned as his party withdrew its backing. In January 2018 European Parliament lawmaker Viorica Dăncilă became the first female Prime Minister of Romania.

The political instability during this period was due to the try of ruling coalition PSD-ALDE to promote a decree that would have decriminalised some corruption offenses. The PSD ex-leader Liviu Dragnea was considered the beneficiary of the decree. The Government's decision to weaken penalties to corruption cause mass protests all over the country, the largest rallies in recent history. After the fall of the communist regime, it was the first time when people mobilize and gathered in front of the government building, in Victoriei Square, for days to support the fight against corruption. Prime Minister Sorin Grindeanu repealed the decree, but the protests did not stop and reached their peak in February 2017, when 350,000 (Știrileprotv.ro, 2017) people - some say 600,000 (Ziare.com, Ghinea,2017) - rallied in Bucharest and all the big cities in Romania.

The Rise of Social Movements in Romania

After two years and three Prime Ministers, the alliance PSD-ALDE lost the majority and after a no-confidence vote, the National Liberal Party formed a center-right minority government lead by Ludovic Orban. The new government was ousted by Parliament three months after taking the lead. The President of Romania appointed the Finance minister Florin Cîțu to try to form a majority in the Parliament, after a ruling of the Constitutional Court of Romania. Florin Cîțu stepped down minutes before the investiture vote in Parliament and the president of PNL Ludovic Orban was redesignated by the President Klaus Iohannis and voted by the Parliament.

Social movements in Romania, a component of political behavior

In the study of political behavior and social change, political participation is a key element in understanding the phenomenon.

Furthermore, in Romania in the last years, a form of political behavior is the participation at the protest, a civic activity perceived nowadays as desirable in Romanian society. An analysis of voting in the absence of this component would be insufficient.

Protests are a way of rethinking the relation between citizens and politicians and to have a *“more direct and unmediated relation”* (Flesher Fominaya, 2014: 1).

Even if the small protests (based on the number of participants) in Romania began over a decade ago, starting with the development of social networks, the increase of active users and the mobilization in the virtual space, protests reached large dimensions, a social fact that needs an exhaustive analysis.

The phenomenon of social movements is intensively studied and is more and more widespread. Whether we are talking about the Podemos movement (“We can”) which started in Spain and has spread to other societies, about the Occupy Wall Street movement or about the Arab Spring, there is a social phenomenon that has had high visibility due to social networks. Nevertheless, is necessary to make a distinction regarding the new wave of contemporary movements. The social movements rose in countries with different political regimes were the socio-cultural background was quite different and also were the motives. In North Africa and the Middle East, there have been some change of power and different outcomes of the protests. At the core of the movements in this part of the globe stood mixed factors: economical and political ones such as poverty and the gap between the political elites who possess the wealth and the influence and the rest of the people (Acemoglu and Robinson, 2012: 2-5). In Europe, the Spanish movement Podemos became a political party in 2014 (TheGuardian.com, Tremlet,2015) and managed the same year to enter the parliament. In the last decade, several protests in Romania have been successful since their objectives have been achieved.

Inglehart stresses that democratic values go beyond the right to vote and surpasses the redistribution of economic resources. The revised modernization theory underlines that economic development is strongly correlated with the increase of real democracy when the security of living is high (Inglehart, 2019: 183-184).

Globalization has a great impact on social movements and this influence is reciprocal (Flesher Fominaya, 2014: 25).

Defining social movement, Alain Touraine (1985:749) stresses that *“is an element of specific mode of constructing social reality”*.

American sociologists Jackie Smith and Dawn Wiest (2012: 180) assert that *“It is clear that many social movement actors are following their instincts to seek out new forms of social political engagement that remedy the failures of states and IGOs.”*

Sociologist Cristina Flesher Fominaya (2014: 8) states that social movements have in common many characteristics contained in the majority of definitions of this phenomenon such as:

*“collective or joint action
some extra-institutional or non-institutional collective action
change-oriented goals or claims
a target towards which these claims are directed (states, the public, corporations, specific political groups, a cultural practice, etc.)
some degree of organization
some degree of temporal continuity
some degree of shared solidarity and/or collective identity”.*

Social movements are viewed as collective action with a common purpose (Giddens, 2001: 549) that intend to change the political and social structure (Chazel, 1997). Other perspectives assess the conflict is at the aim of social movements (Della Porta, 2006; Touraine, 1985; Oberschall, 1978).

The increasing number of rallies in Romania is a consequence of disapproval regarding some measures or even the entire activity of the Government or of the President. Political protests had better outcomes in Romania than the ones on environmental protection (such as Roșia Montană).

The participation at the protest can be understood as part of political behavior of Romanians, a new form of free speech.

In the light of the last years in which protests on political issues have intensified, direct consequences could be observed, starting with the withdrawal in January 2012 of the draft health law by the incumbent president at that time Traian Băsescu after the supportive protests for the SMURD founder Raed Arafat with which the head of state had been in conflict over the issue of the respective draft law and until the resignation of the Prime Minister in office Emil Boc a few weeks later.

Even if the size of the protests was small, the rallies took place in 52 localities from Romania, and the number was estimated at 13.000 (Mediafax.ro, 2012), they were marked by many violences (Rfi.ro, 2012).

The main objective of a social movement is to obtain the changes that the protesters want.

Serge Moscovici (1979: 123) asserted that *“Social change is the central process of influence in individual and collective manifestations”*. The approach of Moscovici on social influence is based on the assumption that a minority can influence a majority. The majority can influence the minority through compliance, a process that involves the acceptance of norms publicly due to the group pressure, but their rejection in private. The social influence of a minority is possible when the minority views are consistent. Conversion suppose both public and private acceptance of the opinion or behavior.

In 2012 it was the first time during President Traian Băsescu mandate when Romania was confronted with important protests. The protests were aiming President Traian Băsescu and the Prime Minister Emil Boc. This movement became a violent one when the football hooligans came in the Square to fight the law enforcement. The results of the protests were exactly what the people militated for: the resignation of the Prime Minister Emil Boc and the cancelation of the project that had the purpose to reform the health system in Romania. What was different than before? The social and political context was an extension of the economic and a direct consequence of the major financial crisis started in 2008. The economic effects influenced the discontent of the

The Rise of Social Movements in Romania

Romanians. The President Traian Băsescu won the elections in 2009 even if he announced drastic measures in the public sector. In hard times people need a leader to overcome the difficulties. After four years of deprivation, the dissatisfaction regarding the standard of living was high and the drastic reform of the health system was only the drop that filled the glass and an occasion to express dissatisfaction.

It is obviously that a minority managed to influence a social change: the withdrawal of the health reform proposal, a change of government and even a change of the political majority. After the no-confidence vote against the Prime Minister Mihai Răzvan Ungureanu, the Social Democratic Party came to power and Victor Ponta became the head of the government.

Another major moment in the history of social movements in Romania is the Collective case, when 64 people were killed in a nightclub fire. Prime Minister Victor Ponta announced his resignation during the protests after the fatal fire from Collective Club: *“I am handing in my mandate as Prime Minister and implicitly my government too”*, adding that *“During the years I was in politics, I have handheld all the fights with my opponents, but I never fought the people”* (The Government of Romania, 2015).

A question regarding the social movements is who are the people who participate in the protests? To which socio-professional category do they belong to?

In November 2015, during the protests against the Ponta Government following the fire at the Colectiv Club, the Sociology Department at SNSPA conducted an opinion poll among the participants in the protest on November 6th (Știripesurse.ro, Dumitrescu, 2015).

According to the authors of the survey the sample was made on gender and age quotas, by sampling on the map (University Square map), with 14 sampling areas defined and they interviewed 300 people, almost 10% of the people at the protests in that evening.

The poll runned by SNSPA showed us that 78% of the people from University Square were young, between 20 and 40 years old and they were almost equally split from the gender perspective (52% males and 48% females).

Obviously, looking at the age category of the people protesting, a conclusion is that the majority of the protesters were from the active people of Bucharest. So, according to the poll, 75% of the people from University Square were employees and 17% were students.

Also, the education of the protesters was higher than the education of the Romanian population. 71% of the people from the square had university or postgraduate studies and other 26% had the highschool. Furthermore, 61% of the protesters have participated in other street protests

Looking at the 2015 riots, the Romanian protester is a young working male or female with higher education.

The 2015 protests had a great impact on the Romanian people. It was the beginning of the unauthorized protests. This social movement can be defined by the willingness to participate in politics and for a brief period, it seemed to increase the political interest and engagement. But in 2016 parliamentary elections the voter turnout was 39,49% (The Central Electoral Bureau, 2016) lower than in 2012 when 41,72% of the Romanians voted (The Central Electoral Bureau, 2012). Furthermore, the Social Democratic Party winning in late 2016 – one year after the leftist Prime Minister Victor Ponta resignation – correlated with the tour out revealed that the protests after the

Colectiv fire were against the entire political class. During this year the country was ruled by a technocratic government led by Dacian Cioloș.

After the Colectiv fire, a Facebook page (Corupția ucide, 2015) managed to reunite the people protesting under the slogan “Corruption kills”. 128.000 of people liked the page and 137.000 are following its activity (Corupția ucide, 2020).

In the new technology and social media era, the communication completely changed, Yascha Mounk (2018: 237) stresses that those realities redefined “*the structural conditions of communication*”: “*Traditional gatekeepers have lost much of their power. Ordinary people with a knack for catchy content can now reach millions on a regular basis.*”.

Comparing with the 2012 protests, the ones in 2015 were visible on social media, on Facebook and citizens succeeded to better organize and to reach the different public. Even if the gatherings were larger, the protesters were peaceful.

On social media, communication is happening through our “likes” (Bărgăoanu, 2018: 143).

The Facebook page “Corupția ucide” reached its pick of favorability during the protests after Colectiv fire but nowadays does not have an influence on the political and social life in Romania.

In 2015, the issue regarding the none appliance of the law had as background the corruption of public officials and an old habit of Romanian institutions not to modernize and to attract political management without any relevant skills.

Looking back to other protests all over the world (like Occupy in USA, or The outrage movement - Indignados - Spain) we can observe that usually, in protests, the majority of the participants are young, with higher education. Usually, they protest against the way that the Government is running the country and how the resources are redistributed by the Government.

The American sociologist Cristina Flesher Fominaya (2014) argues that differentiation between a global social movement and a global wave of protest is needed in the light of the new wave of mass protest all over the world starting with Iceland in 2008.

A new type of social movement and the development of the culture of protesting in Romania was seen in 2017. The movement #Resist was the larger demonstration ever held before. Romanians rallied against the weakening of the fight against corruption and gathered in Victoriei Square in a tentative to stop decriminalizing the abuse of power offenses. The protests spread all over the country.

The 2017 #Resist protest started on January 2017 when the first information appeared in the press regarding the Grindeanu Government's intention to issue an emergency ordinance on justice laws. As a result, hundreds of protesters gathered in Victoriei Square for a long period. Everything took a considerable amplitude on January 31 when the Justice Minister Florin Iordache announced in a press statement that he sent the Ordinance for publication in the Official Monitor. Therefore, Romanians started to gather in Victoriei Square, in front of the Government, and minutes after the official briefing it was full of people. This situation lasted three months after the first rally.

Sunday, February 5, even if the Prime Minister Sorin Grindeanu informed that the Ordinance was repealed, over 600.000 protesters - according to some mass media estimations (Ziare.com, Ghinea, 2017) - came in the Victoriei Square to protest against the Government. It was the day with the biggest number of protesters all over the country.

The Rise of Social Movements in Romania

The success of the protests was huge and it was possible mainly because some officials from the Justice Minister have included in the text of the Ordinance a period of ten days to entry into force. If the Ordinance became law at the moment it was published in the Official Monitor it would have produced effects impacting the justice system.

Regarding the demands of the protesters such as the resignation of the Prime Minister, organizing new general elections, PSD to make a step-down and leave the government, the conclusion is that none of these goals have been achieved. Even though the protests continued for almost two years, with a lower frequency, the ruling party did not give in and did not meet the protesters' expectations.

The outcomes of the protests of the previous two years have been observed in May 2019 when PSD obtained in the European elections the lowest score of the party, losing about 1.4 million votes compared to the 2016 elections.

The protests against the social democrat Government had some global characteristics: a symbolic place where people gathered: Victoriei Square, in front of the Government of Romania, a hashtag well known -#Resist -, multiple and different demands from the protesters, the use of signs with catchy messages and even a mise-en-scène: using the light from the mobile phones, singing the anthem, bringing banners and using the UE flag. The banners messages were diverse: Other question (related to the Minister of Justice error communication using this affirmation to avoid publicly responding to mass media questions), “We see you”, “All for justice”, “DNA (National Anticorruption Directorate) - come and take them” (AdrianGeorgescu.ro, 2017).

A cleavage between generations arose and this could be seen analyzing the protester profile and the messages that emerged during the uprisings.

The messages were against the political options of the elderly generation. The gap was seen on the banners caption such as “Yes, mother you are drunk” - in connection with a supposed vote for PSD (Instagram, 2017), “Old hooligan without kids. I am here for your kids” (the hooligan was a name used for the Revolutionaries in 1989)(AdrianGeorgescu.ro, 2017).

Several volunteers under the #Resist umbrella organized protests by using social media tools as planning an event, which made the process of coordination the meetings in Victoriei Square smoother. The riots were the larger one in the post-communism history of Romania and the social media had its own role in the development of the #Resist social movement.

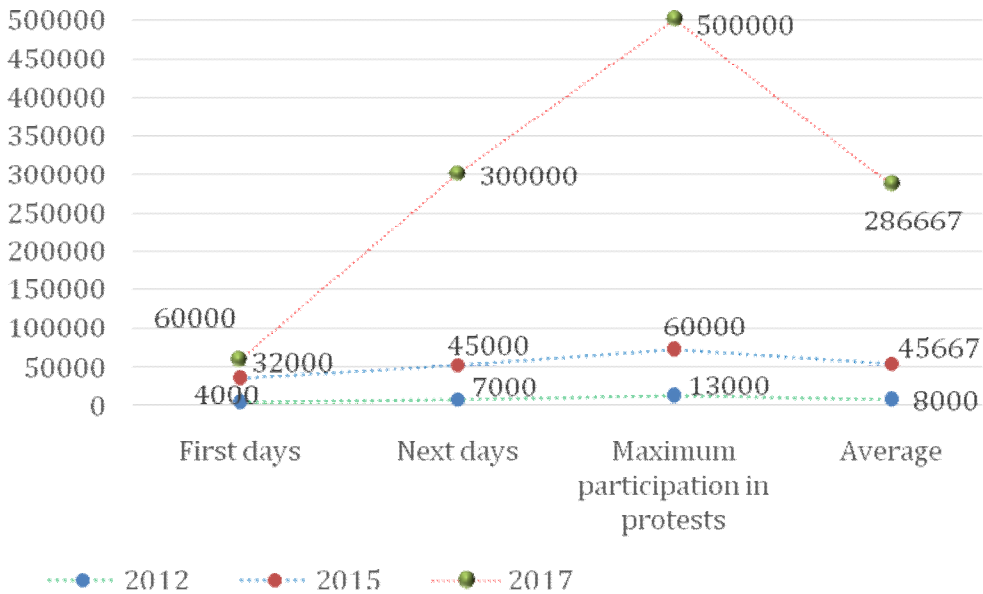
Regarding the protests of 2017 it is important to underline that the protesters, besides the fight with the Romanian Government, had a very defined enemy, namely the President of the Social Democratic Party, Liviu Dragnea. In the collective mind had been inoculated the idea that all the changes made to the laws of justice by the Government are made so that Liviu Dragnea could benefit and escape a possible conviction being known that he was criminally prosecuted and this modification might have allowed him to become Prime Minister of Romania.

Therefore, most of the messages during the protests were addressed directly to Liviu Dragnea, referring to the fact that he will not avoid prison anyway.

Usually, during a protest one of the greatest problems is to not have a leader or some leaders to represent the people in the streets. If the Prime Minister or the ministers, during the #Resist protests had had the idea to discuss with their representatives to understand exactly what are their demands, this thing would haven't been possible. And this is the main problem of any protest. If the people from the streets can't manage to make a precise list of requests and they can't succeed to authorize a team to represent

them in a possible negotiation is almost impossible to achieve something that will eventually lead to social change

Graphic 1 – Protests participation Rate in Romania (2012 – 2015 – 2017)



Source: For 2012 data were collected from Digi24.ro (Nicolae, 2018), Știrileprotv.ro (2012), Ziare.com (Ghinea and Robu, 2012), Puterea.ro (Burtescu, 2012), for 2015 Știrileprotv.ro (2015a, 2015b), Mediafax.ro (2015), Realitatea.net (2015), Digi24.ro (2015) and for 2017 Digi24.ro (2018), Antena3.ro (S., 2017), Hotnews.ro (2017a, 2017b), Romani-buni.info (2017), Ziare.com (Ghinea, 2017).

The participation rate at the protests is estimated based on the information made public by the national mass-media. Since the differences between televisions were very high, the numbers on *Graphic 1* are an average of the rate participation conforming to the sources mentioned above.

Conclusions

The protests from 2017 have the same root cause as the riots after the Colectiv fire. Only the trigger was different. In 2015 the reason was the fatal fire from the club, in 2017 the ordinance. Nevertheless, the problems of the Romanian society are the same and embedded in issues stemming from the society itself: the political class and the corruption phenomenon. These two problems can generate anytime an outbreak of the protests. The Romanians only need a spark. Both times the spark was in connection with the political class and with corrupted officials.

Both the 2015 and 2017 protests were against the Government, ruled by the Social Democratic Party, but only the recent ones were against the measures taken by

The Rise of Social Movements in Romania

the Executive. All riots were linked to the fight against corruption, but in 2015 the main issues were related to the state incapacity to apply the laws.

Moreover, for large participation in a protest is important to have an opponent. The mass protests linked to the fire in Colectiv club pointed out the incumbent Prime Minister Victor Ponta as the adversary of the people, the responsible for the chaos in the Romanian society: in hospitals, public institutions, schools and even restaurants and pubs. For the #Resist protests the adversaries were Liviu Dragnea, the PSD leader, and also PSD as an entity. The politicians were considered directly responsible for the failure to apply the legislation. The institutions in Romania had failed to modernize for the main reason that politics have a great influence on their management. Acemoglu and Robinson (2012: 323) underlines that: *“Inclusive economic and political institutions do not emerge by themselves. They are often the outcome of significant conflict between elites resisting economic growth and political change and those wishing to limit the economic and political power of existing elites”*.

In Communism, the major capital was the political one and in post-communism the cultural capital has the highest value (Eyal, Szelényi and Twinsley, 2001: 31 - 45). In Romania, as in the former Central European communist states, after 1990 the elites emerged from those who had political and economic capital before the Revolution. The pre-existing structure of the institutions and the cultural factors influenced the evolution of the democracy in Romania.

Both protests had the same *“tactic of occupation”* such as University Square or Victoriei Square and from this point of view Flesher Fominaya (2014: 184) stresses that *“occupation is much more than just a tactic, but also involves creating a new agora which extends beyond the actual physical site”*. Other characteristics identified as relevant for a global wave of protest are the use of *“master frames”*- common messages with certain symbolic, prefigurative action, autonomy, a shared collective identity global communication and a global circulation of information (Flesher Fominaya, 2014: 184).

In the last years the collective action had a significant influence on the political agenda. In 2017 numerous people gathered to fight against corruption and managed to stay united to send a clear message to politicians. Romania had a socio-cultural transformation in a relative short period.

What was new in the political outcomes of the protests? A new party, Save Romania Union (USR) had a remarkable result at the European elections in May 2019.

The Alliance 2020 (Save Romania Union and the Freedom, Unity and Solidarity Party – USR + PLUS) managed to obtain 8 seats, almost the same number of seats in the European Parliament as the main two parties in Romania: PNL (10 seats) and PSD - 8 seats+1 seat after Brexit (European Parliament, 2019). During the #Resist protests in Romania the leaders of the USR Party were among the protesters and the real opposition to the leftist Government.

Romania until recently didn't have a culture of protesting so the contemporary social movements follow the global trends (and we can see the resemblance with the US Resist movement) and can be considered to follow the principles of New Social Movements. In fact, a comparison between uprisings in Romania and other EU countries is difficult due to the lack of one pattern in Romania. Globalization had a great impact on the rise of social movements in Romania.

During the last decade, Romania experienced an increase in the number of riots but in my opinion, had one single social movement: the #Resist protests.

The role of social networks (mostly Facebook) was essential in mobilizing masses and the participation at the protests attained new meanings and significance: it became a form of political participation. The engagement of protesters upheld the goal of the riots and continued for a long period even if the problem was settled: the repeal of the graft decree. And in the end, each of the participants at the riots in Victoriei Square had his motives to be there and to stand up for them.

Time will tell if the recent history of protests in Romania will shape a new form of political participation and if social change is possible in this country through social movements.

References:

- Acemoglu, D., Robinson, J. A. (2012). *Why nations fail. The origins of power, prosperity, and poverty*, New York: Currency
- AdrianGeorgescu.ro, Cele mai bune mesaje de protest (26.11.2017), Retrieved from: <https://adriangeorgescu.ro/2017/11/26/cele-mai-bune-mesaje-de-protest-26-11-2017/> Accessed April 5, 2020.
- Almond, G. A., Verba, S. (1996). *Cultura civică*, București: Editura DU Style
- Antena3.ro, S., G., A șasea zi de proteste. Aproximativ 120.000 de manifestanți, la Guvern în momentul de vârf al protestului, Retrieved from: <https://www.antena3.ro/actualitate/a-sasea-zi-de-proteste-aproximativ-120-000-de-manifestanti-s-au-aflat-in-piata-victoriei-in-398544.html> Accessed February 9, 2020.
- Autoritatea Electorală Permanentă, Istoric electoral România, Retrieved from: <http://www.roaep.ro/istoric/> Accessed March 5, 2020.
- Bărgăoanu, A. (2018). #Fakenews. Noua cursă a înarmării, București: Evrika Publishing
- Biroul Electoral Central, Alegeri parlamentare 2012, Retrieved from: <http://becparlamentare2012.roaep.ro/A-DOCUMENTE/Prezenta%20la%20vot/prezenta%20ora%2021.pdf>
- Biroul Electoral Central, Alegeri parlamentare 2016, Retrieved from: <https://prezenta.bec.ro/parlamentare2016/index.html> Accessed March 25, 2020.
- Bizzonu, <https://www.instagram.com/bizzonu/>, (February 4, 2017), Retrieved from: https://www.instagram.com/p/BQGmwpggvHK/?utm_source=ig_embed&ig_mid=99B2F831-AB29-4FDD-95BF-CEA9929BE47C Accessed April 4, 2020.
- Chazel, F. (1997). Mișcărilor sociale. In Boudon, R. (editor), *Tratat de sociologie*, București: Humanitas.
- Corupția ucide, <https://www.facebook.com/coruptia.ucide/>, Retrieved from: https://www.facebook.com/pg/coruptia.ucide/community/?ref=page_internal Accessed April 4, 2020.
- Corupția ucide, <https://www.facebook.com/coruptia.ucide/>, Retrieved from: https://www.facebook.com/pg/coruptia.ucide/about/?ref=page_internal Accessed April 4, 2020.
- Della Porta, D., Diani, M. (2006). *Social Movements*, Second Blackwell Publishing.
- Digi24.ro, Foto Video. 70.000 de români au ieșit în stradă. Oamenii au strigat: „Nu mă cumperi cu două demisii!”, Retrieved from: <https://www.digi24.ro/stiri/actualitate/evenimente/foto-video-70-000-de-romani-au-iesit-in-strada-oamenii-au-strigat-nu-ma-cumperi-cu-doua-demisii-454443> Accessed February 9, 2020.

The Rise of Social Movements in Romania

- Digi24.ro, Nicolae, A., 2012 vs. 2018. „Acesta este sindromul unui sfârșit de regim”, Retrieved from: <https://www.digi24.ro/opinii/2012-vs-2018-acesta-este-sindromul-unui-sfarsit-de-regim-980733> Accessed February 2, 2020.
- Digi24.ro, Proteste ample în București și în țară. Participarea a fost peste așteptările organizatorilor, Retrieved from: <https://www.digi24.ro/stiri/actualitate/protest-amploare-bucuresti-manifestanti-tara-20-ianuarie-863583> Accessed February 9, 2020.
- European Parliament, 2019 European election results, Retrieved from: <https://europarl.europa.eu/election-results-2019/en/romania/> Accessed February 24, 2020.
- Eyal, G., Szelényi, I., Twinsley, E., (2001). *Capitalism fără capitaliști. Noua elită conducătoare din Europa de Est*, București: Editura Omega.
- Fominaya Flesher, C., (2014). *Social movements and globalization. How protests, occupations and uprisings are changing the world*, Palgrave Macmillan.
- Giddens, A. (2001). *Sociologie*, București: Editura Bic All.
- Gilles, F., Cauche, P., Duprez, J. M., Gadrey, N., Simon, M. (1998). *Dicționar de sociologie*, Iași: Polirom.
- Guvernul României, Declarații susținute de primul-ministru Victor Ponta la Palatul Victoria, Retrieved from <https://gov.ro/ro/media/video/declaratii-sustinute-de-primul-ministru-victor-ponta-la-palatul-victoria&page=10> Accessed February 24, 2020.
- Hotnews.ro, Jumătate de milion de oameni au ieșit în stradă la București și în țară. 500.000 de români au cerut demisia guvernului Grindeanu, dar premierul i-a sfidat în direct la Antena3. Momente înălțătoare în inima Capitalei, Retrieved from <https://www.hotnews.ro/stiri-esential-21586479-duminica-ziua-care-este-anuntat-cel-mai-mare-protest-impotriva-ordonantei-13.htm> Accessed February 9, 2020.
- Hotnews.ro, Video Proteste în țară: Mii de oameni au ieșit în stradă în Cluj, Sibiu, Timișoara, Brașov, Iași, Constanța, Ploiești, Craiova, Oradea, Retrieved from: <https://www.hotnews.ro/stiri-esential-21571146-video-protestele-amplifica-tara-timisoara-sibiu-cluj-brasov-iasi-iesit-strada.htm> Accessed February 9, 2020.
- Inghlehart, R. F. (2019). *Evoluția culturală*, Cluj-Napoca: Editura Școala Ardeleană.
- Mediafax.ro, Cronologie: Săptămâna fără Arafat la Ministerul Sănătății, Retrieved from: <https://www.mediafax.ro/social/cronologie-saptamana-fara-arafat-la-ministerul-sanatatii-9152531> Accessed March 4, 2020.
- Mediafax.ro, Marș de comemorare a victimelor din Colectiv: Aproximativ 8.000 de oameni au participat la manifestare. Alte 2.000 de persoane în fața clubului, Retrieved from <https://www.mediafax.ro/social/mars-de-comemorare-a-victimelor-din-colectiv-aproximativ-8-000-de-oameni-au-participat-la-manifestare-alte-2-000-de-persoane-in-fata-clubului-imagini-filmate-cu-drona-galerie-foto-video-14869732> Accessed February 8, 2020.
- Moscovici, S. (2011). *Influența socială și schimbare socială*, Iași: Editura Polirom
- Mounk, Y. (2018). *The people vs. Democracy. Why our Freedom Is in Danger and How to Save It*, Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press
- Oberschall, A. (1978). *Theories of Social Conflict. Annual Review of Sociology*, vol. 4, 291–315. Retrieved March 15, 2020, from: www.jstor.org/stable/2945973.
- Puterea.ro, Burtescu, A., SMURD, extremă urgență! Proteste de solidaritate cu Raed Arafat în toată țara – Foto și Video, Retrieved from: https://archive.is/20120910032106/http://www.puterea.ro/articol/smurd_extrema_ur_genta_proteste_de_solidaritate_cu_raed_arafat_in_toata_tara#selection-1233.0-1233.93 Accessed February 9, 2020.
- Realitatea.net, Protest în Capitală, după tragedia Colectiv. 32.000 de oameni au ieșit, marți, în stradă: „Demisia!”, Retrieved from <https://www.realitatea.net/stiri/actual/protest->

- in-capitala-dupa-tragedia-colectiv-32-000-de-oameni-au-iesit-in-strada-demisia-live_5dcc9214406af85273d2033a Accessed February 9, 2020.
- Rfi.ro, Proteste București 2012, Retrieved from <https://www.rfi.ro/tag/proteste-bucure-ti-2012?page=2> Accessed February 12, 2020.
- Români-buni.info, (Video) Record! 400.000 de protestatari în România! 200.000 la București, 35.000 la Cluj, Sibiu și Timișoara, Brașov 10.000, Retrieved from: <https://romani-buni.info/2017/02/video-record-400000-de-protestatari-in-romania-200000-la-bucuresti-35000-la-cluj-sibiu-si-timisoara-brasov-10000/> Accessed February 9, 2020.
- Smith, J., Wiest, D. (2012). *Social movements in the world-system: the politics of crisis and transformation*, New York: Russell Sage Foundation.
- Știrileprotv.ro, Corupția ucide: Peste 35.000 de oameni au ocupat străzile Capitalei. Proteste de amploare au avut loc în toată țara, Retrieved from: <https://stirileprotv.ro/stiri/actualitate/noi-proteste-sunt-anuntate-si-pentru-miercuri-seara-ce-vor-manifestantii-sa-se-intample-dupa-caderea-guvernului.html#2050> Accessed February 8, 2020.
- Știrileprotv.ro, Proteste masive în zeci de orașe. Peste 350.000 de oameni au ieșit pe străzi în țară și au cerut demisia Guvernului Grindeanu, Retrieved from: <https://stirileprotv.ro/stiri/actualitate/este-estimat-un-numar-record-de-500-000-de-manifestanti-la-nivelul-intregii-tari-protestele-au-inceput-in-tara-live-update.html> Accessed February 9, 2020.
- Știrileprotv.ro, România în a 7-a zi de proteste. Violențe în Piața Universității: 5 răniți și 40 de rețineri, Retrieved from: <https://stirileprotv.ro/stiri/actualitate/mitingul-usl-si-protestele-de-la-universitate-scot-in-strada-un-numar-mult-mai-mare-de-jandarmi.html> Accessed February 2, 2020.
- Știrileprotv.ro, Proteste în toată România și în străinătate. Zeci de mii de oameni au cerut și demisia parlamentarilor. „Trezirea, România!”. Retrieved from: <https://stirileprotv.ro/stiri/incendiu-in-colectiv/proteste-in-toata-romania-zeci-de-mii-de-oameni-cer-si-demisia-parlamentarilor-coruptia-pericol-de-moarte.html> Accessed February 8, 2020.
- Știripesurse.ro, Dumitrescu, A., Primul sondaj realizat în Piața Universității. Ce spun protestatarii, Retrieved from: https://www.stiripesurse.ro/primul-sondaj-realizat-in-piata-universitatii-ce-spun-protestatarii_972564.html Accessed February 24, 2020.
- The New York Times, ‘Resist’ Is a Battle Cry, but What Does It Mean? Retrieved from: <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/02/14/us/politics/resist-anti-trump-protest.html> Accessed February 24, 2020.
- TheGuardian.com, Tremlet, G., The Podemos revolution: how a small group of radical academics changed European politics, Retrieved from: <https://www.theguardian.com/world/2015/mar/31/podemos-revolution-radical-academics-changed-european-politics> Accessed February 10, 2020.
- Touraine, A. (1985). *An Introduction to the Study of Social Movements*, Social Research 52, no. 4: 749-87. Retrieved March 15, 2020, from www.jstor.org/stable/40970397.
- Ziare.com, Ghinea, A., Robu, D., Lupte de stradă în București: Jurnaliști incendiați, magazine jefuite și focuri de armă (Foto, Video) Retrieved from: <http://www.ziare.com/stiri/proteste/a-treia-zi-de-proteste-romania-cuprinsa-de-spiritul-revolutionar-live-1145094> Accessed February 2, 2020.
- Ziare.com, Ghinea, A., 600.000 de romani au ieșit în stradă la cel mai mare protest de până acum, Retrieved from: <http://www.ziare.com/stiri/proteste/live-ziua-celui-mai-mare-protest-studentii-din-cluj-au-ajuns-in-fata-guvernului-1452629> Accessed March 2, 2020.

Article Info

Received: April 14 2020

Accepted: May 08 2020
