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DOCTORAL THESIS

Social movements, post-politics and re-politicization in Romania, 2012-2018

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Table of contents

Introduction. Research goals and methodology	4
Research questions	5
Theoretical framework	7
Research hypothesis	9
Methodology	10
Structure and chapters	12
Chapter I. Post-communist Romania – consensus, conflict and de-politicization	15
1.1 The end of ideologies and post-communism	15
The end of history and the death of ideologies	15
Post-marxism or a new perspective on the death of ideologies	18
Politics, political and post-politics	20
From post-politics to post-democracy	23
1.2. Post-communist Romania and the trans-partinic consensus, 1990-2010	26
Ideological volatility and consensus	26
Beginning_ of the 90s, between liberalization, privatizations and indexations	28
CDR government – maximal shock therapy and minimal social protection	34
The 2000s – old poltics of the new governments	37
Băsescu’s period and the consensus suspension	41
1.3. Post-communist consensus results – neoliberalism, residual social state and de-politicization	43
The free market ideology versus the pragmatism of social policies	45
Ideological consensus and de-politicization	48
Chapter 2. Social movements – continuity and rupture with the post-communist consensus – 2012-2018	53
2.1. Social movements theories	54
From resources mobilization theory to new social movements theory	54
From global social movements to anti-austerity movements and the need for a trans-disciplinary approach	58
Double movement and social movements	62
2.2. Economic crisis and post-political consensus – continuity and rupture	66

De-politicization and desimbedded markets	66
Structural reforms and comodification during crisis – social dialog and labor legislation reform.....	70
New targets of structural reforms – social assistance and public health system	74
Continuity and rupture with the post-communist consensus	77
2.3. 2012-2013 protests and the “Uniți Salvăm” community – discourse and messages	82
2012 protests – anti-austerity and anti-system	82
2013 protests and the "Uniți Salvăm" community	88
2.4. “Uniți Salvăm”, resistance to commodification and re-politicization attempts	94
“Uniți Salvăm”, as a response to commodification	94
“Uniți Salvăm” as a re-politicization attempt	97
2.5. Anti-corruption social movements – 2017-2018, “Rezist”, “Corupția Ucide”	99
2016 and the rise of the anti-corruption discourse	99
From anti-system to anti-governmental rhetoric	102
Rezist and the perpetuation of the post-communist consensus	104
Chapter 3. Discursive stakes and significances of the social movements.....	109
3.1. Trends and directions of the social movements – a theoretical approach	110
3.2. System, anti-system and competing agendas in 2012	113
Discursive heterogeneity in 2012 protests	113
How the anti-system agenda became dominant – an explanation	118
3.3. 2013 and the „battle for the soul of the protests”	125
Romanian autumn – between anti-capitalism and anti-corruption	126
Continuity and discontinuity in 2013 protests – discursive stakes	129
Inclusion of the anti-corruption agenda in the “Uniți Salvăm” discourse	132
3.4. Anti-corruption agenda on the rise: 2014-2015.....	136
What anti-system means? Questions and answers during the protests	137
"Colectiv" protests and the technocratic solution	144
Chaper 4. Contestation and hegemony	150
4.1 Anti-corruption and neoliberalism	150
Corruption and the fight against it – the trajectory of an idea	153
Good governance, technocracy and neoliberal solutions	155
4.2. Corruption, anti-corruption and hegemony	159
Discourse theory – an overview	161

Corruption and anti-corruption in Romania – an interpretation through the lenses of the discourse theory.....	164
4.3. Conclusions	170
Bibliography	176

Key words: social movements, anti-system, anti-corruption, post-politics, de-politicization, consensus, anti-austerity, re-politicization, commodification, protests, counter-movement, hegemony

Introduction

The years following the global economic crisis of 2007-2008 represented worldwide an unprecedented period of social tensions and turmoil since the fall of communist regimes in Eastern Europe. From anti-government protests in North Africa and the Middle East, known under the generic label of Arab Spring, from anti-austerity and / or anti-system protests such as Occupy and Indignados to protests in Bosnia or Bulgaria, a wave of massive collective mobilizations brought back a new political actor on the world map – social movements, which seemed to have entered a shadow corner after the wave of protests from the late 60s-early 70s of the last century. Romania was not overpassed by this phenomenon. After more than two decades since the civic unrest in 1991, during which the main forms of collective mobilization were organized by trade unions, in 2012 thousands of citizens spontaneously took to the streets in a protest that continued for more than a month, prompting the change of several ministers and later on of the entire Government. The agenda and the claims of the January 2012 protests placed them in the ideatic and discursive proximity of anti-austerity protests, similar to Occupy or Indignados¹.

A closer look at the evolution of social movements in Romania since 2012 until nowadays shows that they are far from being a static phenomenon, with a fixed agenda and a clearly defined discourse. The difference between the claims of the 2012 protests and those of the protesters during the 2017 protests is noticeable. The centrality or the marginality of the anti-corruption theme, the radical or moderate positioning with respect to the political parties, the relationship with the political class as a whole are just a few elements of strong differentiation. In other words, if the events that took place during the winter of 2012 can be characterized as having mainly an anti-austerity agenda and being directed against the political class as a whole, the 2017 protests can be observed as having as central theme the fight against corruption and choosing as target the government alone, not the entire political class.

This paper represents an analysis of the social movements that took place in Romania between 2012 and 2018. The analysis mainly focuses on understanding the agenda and the discourse of social movements, their evolution in time and their impact on Romanian political

¹ Diana Mărgarit, „The days we don't give in – the Romanian social movements between 2012 and 2015”, *Eastblog*, 2016

landscape. Unlike other social movements, such as Occupy, Indignados or Arab Spring, which have been extensively analyzed, the emerging social movements in Romania had triggered little attention within the scientific community. Given the increased political importance of social movements since 2010, the study of social movements involves more than understanding the dynamics or characteristics of social movements, opening the possibility for a broader analysis of the political sphere.

Therefore, the aim of this research goes beyond the strict analysis of Romanian social movements between 2012-2018, trying to understand them in the context of the wider international and national political and economic landscape, and in a temporal perspective that goes beyond the time horizon of the protests themselves or the events that triggered the unrest.

Research questions

Starting from this objective, the research questions of the thesis can be grouped into several categories, as follows:

1. What is the global and national context preceding the emergence of social movements that started in Romania in 2012 and how does this influence the configuration and articulation of the social movements' agenda?
2. What is the agenda of social movements from 2012 to 2018 and to what extent and in what way does it vary over time?
3. What are the contextual and structural factors responsible for how the popular discontent is articulated and the protest agenda formulated?
4. What is the political impact of the social movements from 2012-2018?

Theoretical framework

Answering the above questions requires the use of a theoretical cross-disciplinary framework, which transcends social movement studies or political sociology field, the main discipline responsible for the study of social movements. Understanding the structural tendencies and macro transformations lying behind the social movements, capturing their political impact beyond the immediate effects require the use of a number of disciplines related to political sociology or political science, such as political economy, political philosophy, political anthropology or discourse theory, without which the elucidation of the studied phenomenon might not be possible.

Thus, the first major theoretical direction used in the present analysis is rooted in the area of political philosophy and social theory known as post-Marxism, represented by theorists like Jacques Rancière², Ernesto Laclau, Chantal Mouffe³ or Slavoj Žižek⁴. The use of this theoretical framework arises as a result of the attempt to explain the global and national context in which social movements emerged after 2010 on international level and 2012 on national level. The paper attempts to place the understanding of Romanian context, especially of post-communism, within the wider framework of global tendencies, known as the “end of ideologies” or even the “end of history”, tendencies theorized by authors such as Ulrich Beck, Anthony Giddens⁵ or Francis Fukuyama⁶. The fall of socialist regimes in Eastern Europe seemed to validate those theories, fueling not only theoretical analyzes, but also political forces claiming to have overcome the traditional split between left and right, such as the Third Way. But the outbreak of the global economic crisis of 2007 and the wave of collective mobilization that followed have put into question the set of theories that we generically call the end of history, revealing a series of political cleavages, advancing new divides by reinvigorating the old dichotomy between left and right. In

² Jaques Rancière, *Disagreement. Politics and Philosophy*, Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999

³ Ernesto Laclau, Chantal. Mouffe, *Hegemony and socialist strategy: toward a radical democratic politics*, London: Verso, 1985

⁴ Slavoj Žižek, *The Ticklish Subject. The Absent Centre of Political Ontology*, London: Verso, 2000

⁵ Ulrich Beck, Anthony Giddens, Scott Lash, *Reflexive Modernization. Politics, Tradition and Aesthetics in the Modern Social Order*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1994

⁶ Francis Fukuyama, *The End of History and the Last Man*, New York: Free Press, 1992

this context, the appeal to post-Marxist theorists becomes necessary. Without actually denouncing what had been labeled the end of ideologies theory, post-Marxists propose an alternative interpretation of the phenomenon, offering a new perspective on the "end of ideologies" as the end of politics. From the perspective of post-Marxist theory, the decline of ideologies equals to the evacuation of conflict from the political sphere, which is not equivalent to eliminating conflicts per se, bringing us in front of the phenomenon called post-politics. Concepts such as de-politicization, post-politics and post-democracy, developed by authors like Slavoj Žižek, Jacques Rancière, Colin Crouch⁷ or Colin Hay⁸ become key analytical tools in understanding the broader context of the emergence of the contemporary social movements.

A second theoretical pillar upon which relies the present analysis is classical studies of social movements - from Charles Tilly⁹, Michel Wieviorka¹⁰ and Alain Touraine¹¹ to Donatella della Porta¹², Alberto Melucci¹³ or Michael Burawoy¹⁴. In addition, in order to be able to understand how the protests' agenda and narratives are articulated, the analysis resorts to various elements of framing theory, whose main exponents are Snow and Benford¹⁵. Although the paper reviews the main paradigms of the social movement studies, from the resource mobilization theory to the new social movements approach, the present analysis does not fit in any of the respective paradigms. Following the argumentation line of several authors investigating recent social movements, among which Donatella della Porta¹⁶ or Don Kalb¹⁷, the present thesis proposes an inter-sectional analysis, which transcends the above mentioned divisions of social movement

⁷ Colin Crouch, *Post-democracy*, Cambridge: John Wiley&Sons, 2004

⁸ Colin Hay, *Why we hate politics*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 2007

⁹ Charles Tilly, Lilly Tilly, Richard Tilly, *The Rebellious Century: 1830-1930*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, M.A, 1975

¹⁰ Michel Wieviorka, *Un autre monde; contestations, dérives et surprises dans l'anti-mondialisation*, Paris: Balland, 2003

¹¹ Alain Touraine, *Post-Industrial Society*, London: Wildwood House, 1974

¹² Donatella della Porta, *Can democracy be saved: participation, deliberation and social movements*, Polity Press, Cambridge, 2013; Donatella della Porta, *Social Movements in Times of Austerity*, Cambridge: Polity Press, 2015

¹³ Alberto Melucci, John Kean, Paul Mier (ed), *Nomads of the Present: Social Movements and Individual Needs in Contemporary Society*, London: Hutchinson Radius, 1989

¹⁴ Michael Burawoy, „Times of Turmoil Emerging Visions from Three Years of Global Dialogue”, *Journal of the Brazilian Sociological Society Revista da Sociedade Brasileira de Sociologia, SID*, Porto Alegre, v. 1, n. 1/2015, p. 49-63; Michael Burawoy, „Third-Wave Sociology and the End of Pure Science”, *The American Sociologist*, Fall/Winter, 2005

¹⁵ David A. Snow, R. Burke Rochford, Jr., Steven K. Worden, Robert D. Benford „Frame Alignment Processes, Micromobilization, and Movement Participation”, *American Sociological Review*, vol. 51, 1986, p. 464-481.

¹⁶ Della Porta, 2015, *op. cit*, p. 40-51

¹⁷ Don Kalb, Massimiliano Mollona, *Worldwide mobilizations. Class Struggles and Urban Commoning*, New York: Berghahn Book, 2018

studies and attempts to situate the social movements analysis in the wider context of the political economy. As shown in the paper, the social movement wave that emerged in 2010 in the aftermath of the economic crisis imposes such an approach and requires reintroduction of concepts like *class* or *capitalism* in the analysis of social movements, without which the understanding of the phenomenon would be incomplete. Following this analytical path, the social movements that emerged in Romania are studied from the perspective of the theoretical frameworks provided by authors such as Karl Polanyi¹⁸ or Wolfgang Streeck¹⁹, at the center of the analysis being the concepts of double movement and counter-movement developed by Polanyi.

Methodology

The research represents a combination of 1) theoretical analysis that aims to clarify the key concepts of the thesis (social movements, capitalism, democracy, politics, de-politicization, post-politics), and 2) empirical research, which we will be used to test the formulated hypotheses.

The empirical analysis consists of analysis of main public policies and governance programs for the period 1990-2012, secondary data analysis and content analysis (slogans, public positions and texts produced by the protesters, as well as editorials and comments regarding the protests published in the media).

Chapter I. Post-communist Romania – consensus, conflict and de-politicization

The chapter aims to situate the Romanian post-1989 political dynamics within the wider global and European context of the phenomenon defined as post-politics. Against this background, the first section of the chapter makes a theoretical foray into the literature around these concepts, from Daniel Bell, Ulrich Beck, Anthony Giddens and Francis Fukuyama to post-Marxist theorists such as Jacques Rancière, Slavoj Žižek, Chantal Mouffe and Ernesto Laclau. Following the clarification of the operational concepts, the chapter continues with an analysis of the political

¹⁸ Karl Polanyi, *The Great Transformation: The Political and Economic Origins of Our Time*, Boston: Beacon Press, 2001 (1944)

¹⁹ Wolfgang Streeck, *Buying Time: the delayed crisis of democratic capitalism*, Brooklyn and London: Verso, 2014

situation in Romania between 1990 and 2012 using the analytical grid of concepts such as consensus, de-politicization, and antagonism.

The central idea of this chapter states that the post-communist Romanian political landscape was characterized by a cross-party consensus that resulted in a neoliberal economic model and a residual welfare state. In terms of public policies, this consensus was materialized, on one hand, in a mix of pro-market and pro-liberalization policies that led to the creation of a neoliberal economic model and on the other hand, in a set of minimal social measures, with the main purpose of preserving the social peace. In spite of a number of variations explainable by the economic context or external constraints, this mixed set of policies has been implemented by all Romanian governments after 1990, regardless of their political and ideological self-labeling. This mixed set of policies was refuted only in 2010, with the implementation of the austerity measures and structural reforms by Emil Boc's Government.

The chapter also states that the post-communist political consensus cannot be reduced to the set of common economic and social policies described above. These policies and the consensus around them are the expression of an ideological consensus that argues that market economy and capitalism is the only possible system. Despite several debates about the speed and the nature of the economic reforms, all the solutions indicated by the political actors were circumscribed to the "natural order" of the free market and parliamentary democracy²⁰. Romanian post-communist consensus is coagulated around the anti-communist narrative, narrative which operates a displacement of the conflicts faced by the society and their causes from the immediate present into the communist past. As an effect of this displacement, the existing social and economic differences are no longer perceived at the political level, these differences being instead translated into the terminology of culture and cultural identities.

Starting with the first part of the 2000s and the rise of Traian Băsescu, the anti-communist discourse is incorporated in the anti-corruption discourse. Thus, the social antagonisms are once again evicted from the political sphere, being replaced by a series of conflicts that end up dominating the public and political agenda and which are profoundly de-politicizing, by their nature.

²⁰ Emanuel Copilaș, *De la ideologie la hegemonie. Explorari critice in postcomunismul românesc*, București, Tritonic, 2018

The hegemony of this trans-partisan consensus is leading to the de-politicization of Romanian political landscape. This trend is in line with the wider context of the phenomena called post-politics and post-democracy, which refers to the tendency to govern around a cross-party consensus that proclaims the inevitability of capitalism and parliamentary democracy²¹. By accepting the market economy and the liberal democracy as main political goals, Romania and other post-socialist states recognize the quasi-natural origin of the former, implying there is only one possible direction and that the 1989 revolutions had the role of reuniting the society with its original nature, alienated during communism²². Through the lenses of the West, the 1989 revolutions represent a final victory of post-political tolerance, post-historical normality and post-utopian pacification²³.

Chapter II. Social movements – continuity and discontinuity with the post-communist consensus: 2012-2018

The chapter begins with a review of the main paradigms on social movements, from resources mobilization theory and new social movements theory to the most recent theoretical attempts to explain the global and anti-austerity social movements. The purpose of this step is to fix the theoretical framework used in the further analysis of the emerging social movements in Romania starting with 2012. As shown in the chapter, the present analysis of the social movements goes beyond the framework of the above mentioned theoretical paradigms and, as suggested by many authors in the most recent literature on social movements, chooses a trans-disciplinary approach that brings into discussion elements of political anthropology, political philosophy or political economy.

By introducing new analytical concepts, such as Polanyi's double movement theory²⁴, we propose an interpretation of the social movements emerging in Romania starting with 2012 as a reaction to the commodification provoked by the austerity measures and the structural reforms implemented by the Government of Emil Boc between 2010 and 2011. Social movements are

²¹Wilson, Swyngedouw, *op.cit.*, 2014

²² Boris Buden, *Zone des Übergangs: Vom Ende des Postkommunismus*, (The Zone of Transition. On the End of Post-Communism), Frankfurt am Main: Suhrkamp Verlag, 2009

²³ *Idem*

²⁴ Polanyi, *op.cit.*

analyzed as having the potential to become an element of the polanyian counter-movement. At the same time, the chapter shows how the markets' social and political dis-embeddedness, described by Polanyi, goes hand in hand with the phenomenon of de-politicization and post-democracy. In line with several authors, the chapter argues that we are facing a political rationality in which previously autonomous social, political and moral spheres have merged into the economic sphere²⁵. This opens the way to what is called de-politicization through economization, a process through which cultural and political differences are replaced by the trans-historical formalism of a new economic interpretation grid²⁶.

The chapter describes in detail how the austerity measures and structural reforms adopted by the government in 2010-2011 marked a new advance in the process of commodification and de-politicization. It shows how the changes in the social dialogue and labor legislation led to a de-politicization of labor relations, beyond the quantifiable impact of labor relations flexibilization. As Bourdieu claimed, dissolving the collective structures that oppose the logic of the market is a main feature of neoliberalism²⁷, but it is also the quintessence of de-politicization. As Colin Hay sates, the metamorphosis of collective problems into individual problems and the problems' transfer from public to private sphere is a *modus operandi* of de-politicization²⁸. Following the same path, the reform of the social assistance system and the attempt to privatize the public health care system during 2011-2012 are an abdication from the polanyian principle of social solidarity, understood as the preservation of nature and human being in the face of the devastating action of the economic liberalism, whose ultimate purpose is a totally de-regulated market²⁹. By drastically reducing the social protection, the austerity policies and the structural reforms of 2010-2011 have suspended the cross-party post-communist consensus, which despite its sustained liberalization practices, was always characterized by a certain level of social welfare.

Against this background, the emerging social movements starting 2012 are interpreted as a form of resistance to the wave of commodification, as well as a re-politicization attempt. Describing the social movements as an attempt to re-politicize is not new. Several authors

²⁵Camil Alexandru Pârnu, „Contestatory Cosmopolitanism, Neoliberal Rationality and Global Protests”, in *Globalizations*, Vol. 14, Issue 5, 2017, pp. 776-79

²⁶Yahya M. Madra & Fikret Adaman, „Neoliberal reason and its forms: De-politicization through economization”, in *Antipode*, Vol. 46, issue 3, 2014, pp. 691–716

²⁷Pierre Bourdieu, *The essence of neoliberalism*, Le Monde Diplomatique, December, 1998

²⁸Colin Hay, *Why We Hate Politics*, New York: John Wiley & Sons, 2013

²⁹Polanyi, *op.cit.*

described how the social movements' organization, vocabulary, political imaginary and political rationality attempt to re-politicize the public sphere by rejecting both the procedural formalism of institutionalized politics and the specific "economization" of neoliberalism³⁰.

Departing from this perspective, the chapter shows how the social movements gradually evolved from a radical form of contestation, with a re-politicizing potential, to an anti-corruption agenda - a form of perpetuating the post-communist consensus built, as shown before, around the binary opposition between communism and anti-communism. The anti-system rhetoric of 2012-2013 protests was replaced after 2015-2016 by an anti-government narrative, anchored in the neoliberal discourse of good governance.

Although the 2012-2018 protests cycle was opened by progressive social forces, over time, it provided the opportunity and the repertoire of actions for movements that can be described as neoliberal³¹.

Chapter III. Discursive stakes and significances of the social movements

This chapter represents an attempt to explain the causes and factors that led to a gradual slide from the anti-system agenda, with its re-politicization potential, to an anti-corruption agenda, which ultimately strengthened the post-communist cross-party consensus. As part of polanyian counter-movement phenomenon³², social movements can have an emancipative, progressive agenda, but they can turn into oppressive, authoritarian movements³³. The social movements' emancipatory character is not compulsory, as counter-movement is never homogenous.

The chapter shows how different competing agendas – mainly the anti-corruption and anti-system ones – have colluded during the analyzed protests cycle. It analyses how the anti-corruption narrative succeeded to gradually prevailed as the main frame of the protests. In this sense, the chapter performs an empirical analysis of the discourses and narratives present within the protests from 2012 to 2018 and the way in which the popular discontent was articulated.

³⁰ Pârnu, *op.cit.*, 2017

³¹ Raluca Abăseacă, Geoffrey Pleyers, „The reconfiguration of social movements in post-2011 Romania”, *Social Movement Studies*, Vol. 18, issue 2, p.168

³² Polanyi, *op.cit.*

³³ Michael Brie, *Karl Polanyi In Dialogue*, Montréal: Black Rose Books, 2017

The chapter shows that the social movement that emerged in 2012 was not characterized by unity of actors nor homogeneity of discourses from its beginning³⁴. Already in 2012, one can observe how the anti-corruption narrative manifests itself among the protesters, next to the anti-system narrative. However, the anti-system narrative prevailed as the main frame of the 2012-2013 protests due to a number of factors, such as domestic configuration of political forces and international context characterized by a wave of anti-austerity protests. The transformation of the domestic political configuration after 2014-2015, as well as the unbalanced access of the representatives of the two competing agendas to informational and other type of resources led to a gradual replacement of the anti-system agenda by the anti-corruption agenda as the main frame of the social movement. The anti-system rhetoric was not entirely expelled from the protesters' discourse – instead, it was re-signified in a way in which the opposition to the system did not imply a radical rejection of the entire political class, but only of some of its representatives. In contrast to 2012-2013, the new collective identity that emerged after 2014-2015 – the *Us* that opposes *Them* – included several political parties or political figures. The technocratic solution was accepted as the anti-system alternative to the existing political class, thus closing the possibility for a more radical interpretation of the notions of system and anti-system. Moreover, it put an end to the re-politicization attempt of 2012-2013, since the collective identities, the vocabulary of the protests, the antagonism around which the protests emerged started reproducing once again the neoliberal, depoliticizing rhetoric of the post-communist consensus.

The chapter concludes that the process of framing of 2012-2018 social movements was the outcome of the protests' internal dynamics, as well as of the power relations between different protests' factions and other relevant stakeholders, such as media or political parties, a collective effort equally involving the protesters themselves and their allies, as well as their opponents and critics.

³⁴ Diana Mărgărit, „Ideology and Social Movements. A Comparative Analysis of the 2013 Protests in Bulgaria, Hungary and Romania” in Geoffrey Pleyers, Ionel N. Sava, *Social Movements in Central and Eastern Europe. A renewal of protests and democracy*, București: Editura Universității din București, 2015; Cătălin Augustin Stoica Vintilă Mihăilescu, *Iarna vrajbei noastre*, București, Paideea, 2012

Chapter IV. Contestation and hegemony

The chapter seeks an explanation going beyond the empirical and contextual analysis of the confrontation between different discursive systems, described in the previous chapter. The starting question is why social movements in Romania have not succeeded, as Donatella della Porta predicts, to articulate an anti-corruption vision that opposes the neoliberal anti-corruption paradigm that traditionally involves budgetary cuts, privatizations, de-regulation and liberalization³⁵. Many of the social movements that emerged worldwide after 2011 contradict the neoliberal approach to corruption, proposing an alternative perspective, emphasizing how the neoliberalism corrupts democracy and denouncing the overlap between business and political interests. According to della Porta, recent social movements advocate for a different anti-corruption approach - a bottom-up action, based on horizontality, on participation and thus radically opposed to the neoliberal paradigm that treats corruption as a purely technical matter, reducible to what is called good governance and implemented top down (by public institutions, judiciary, police).

The chapter shows Romanian anti-corruption perspective fitting into the wider neoliberal analytical matrix³⁶ that goes hand in hand with policy recommendations of budget cuts, liberalizations and privatizations. The anti-corruption rhetoric is analyzed through the lenses of the discourse theory, which is key analytical tool used in this chapter. From the discourse theory perspective, the anti-corruption emerged as a central element of the hegemonic post-communist discourse. The corruption represents what Mouffe and Laclau³⁷ call a nodal point, namely the articulation through which other nodes are being interconnected; corruption is the element through which other concepts, such as good governance, state modernization, political class reform, and underdevelopment are structured and signified. Not only the political arena, but the society as a whole becomes the scene for a confrontation between the forces of good (the People, the politicians taking the side of the People) and the forces of evil (the corrupt politicians, the oligarchs, etc),

³⁵ Donatella della Porta, „Anti-corruption from bellow. Social movements against corruption in late neoliberalism”, in *The Open Journal of Sociopolitical Studies*, Issue 10(3) 2017

³⁶ Peter Bratsis, „Political Corruption in the Age of Transnational. Capitalism. From the Relative Autonomy of the State to the White Man’s Burden”, in *Historical Materialism*, Issue 22.1, 2014, pp. 105–128; Mushtaq Khan, 2002, „Corruption and Governance in Early Capitalism: World Bank Strategies and their Limitations”, in Jonathan R. Pincus, Jeffrey A. Winters, *Reinventing the World Bank*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2002.

³⁷ Laclau, Mouffe, *op.cit*, 1985

which are hold responsible for all the problems, from underdevelopment and migration³⁸ and poverty (“*Corruption is poverty*”³⁹) to the death of the innocents („*Corruption kills*”).

The chapter presents the 2012 events as an attempt to dislocate the hegemonic discourse, whose nodal point is corruption. The protests from 2012-2013 seek to re-articulate the discursive elements according to a new order, in which the corruption is not a „command center” anymore, becoming a floating signifier⁴⁰. The discourse that imposed itself as dominant in these protests tried to draw new political boundaries between *Us* and *Them*, by excluding any representatives of the political class. According to this analysis, the confrontation during the 2012-2018 protests can be classified as what Mouffe and Laclau call a hegemonic struggle, aiming to displace the actual hegemonic discourse with a new one.

Finally, the chapter shows how the hegemonic discourse succeeds to integrate the contestation, transforming the rebellion into a part of the hegemony, as presented in the discourse theory. This applies to Romanian social movements, where external events, political configuration and asymmetry of resources have facilitated the assimilation of the contestation by the hegemony. The thesis argues that what is presented or perceived as a change is, in fact, a replacement of some names and labels with others within the same discursive system and following the same articulation pattern.

The analysis concludes that the transformative potential of the protests has been diminished, if not entirely canceled, by seeking solutions within the same discursive framework which perpetuates the problems that are at the origin of the discontent. The social movements in Romania started in 2012 as a political act with a high potential to challenge the hegemony and, gradually, they became, until 2017, a simple variation of the hegemonic discourse.

³⁸Andrei Caramitru, *2000 de lei / lună / angajat – mecanismul prin care corupția naște sărăcie, emigrație și subdezvoltare*, G4Media, 20 octombrie 2018, available at <https://www.g4media.ro/2000-de-lei-luna-angajat-mecanismul-prin-care-coruptia-naste-saracie-emigratie-si-subdezvoltare.html>

³⁹*Coruptia e saracie! Informeaza-ti prietenii!*, video from Monica Macovei campaign from 2014, available at <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=i5fAP-IDFmU&feature=youtu.be>

⁴⁰Laclau, Mouffe, *op.cit*, 1985

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