

Researching Contemporary Environmental Progressive Social Movements



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ABSTRACT: In this paper, I examine the main characteristics of contemporary environmental movements, but also the way they operate and form coalitions with other progressive movements, combining various theoretical perspectives such as resource mobilization, political process, intersectional, social construction theory and post-structuralism. I will investigate what are the characteristics of the progressive-left ideology that provide the basis for building coalitions, as well as how much influence complementary ideologies actually have on achieving cooperation. For this purpose, I will discuss the expansion and redefinition of the term social movement, in order to be able to capture all forms of coalitional interaction, then I will examine the factors that lead to movements deciding to cooperate using the example of the Italian Water Movement.

KEYWORDS: environmental movements, progressive movements, social mobilization, political process

INTRODUCTION AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

In this paper, I will deal with the main characteristics of contemporary progressive environmental movements and their relationships with other progressive movements. Throughout this paper, I will argue that in order to research contemporary social movements researcher must use various (sometimes not so aligned) theoretical approaches such as theory of resource mobilization and post-structuralism in order to fully grasp such social movement.

It will be shown that there is an ideological connection that creates a tendency towards joint action, which largely determines the very ontology of ecological movements. The importance of this topic can be seen by looking at the history of changes in societies from the beginning of the modern state until now. Paul Almeida talks about the importance of such voluntary organizations when he says that they were "the engine of social transformation throughout human history" (Almeida, 2019:6). When explaining the very phenomenon of contemporary progressive ecological movements, I will partly rely on the book *Social movements - structure of collective mobilization* (Almeida, 2019).

The questions I ask and will try to answer are what are the basic characteristics of the existence and operation of modern progressive ecological movements, but also what is their connection with other progressive movements, which are not primarily or at all ecological. I will primarily investigate these issues from a post-structuralist point of view, but I will also combine this approach with, at first glance, the contradictory theory of resource mobilization, as well as the theory of the political process and intersectional theory in order to examine the phenomenon of progressive environmental movements in the most comprehensive way possible.

I will present some of the main conclusions of this paper at the beginning which will be confirmed at the theoretical level, but also at the level of the case study:

1. If we take their action and discourse as a criterion for differentiating ecological movements from those that are not, we will be able to observe their full dynamics and fluidity. This means that many left progressives who are not primarily ecological are also potential environmental movements that can become part of a coalition that will represent eco programs and goals in joint action with other primary eco movements and vice versa.
2. It follows that left progressive environmental movements can be divided into primary (environmental agenda is the original feature) and secondary environmental movements (environmental issue is important, but not primary - but some economic, identity, transition or democratization issues).
3. Solving environmental issues can be a goal of a progressive coalition precisely because environmental issues are closely related to many of the primary goals of various progressive movements.

Before we move on, we should first define the basic terms in order to narrow down the polysemy of the main words such as the adjective progressive and the phrase social movement. When I talk about progressive currents in this paper, I am primarily referring to left-wing progressivism, which is characterized by challenging the status quo in society, whether we are talking about institutions, dominant norms or established relations of exploitation of the marginalized. Since progressivism is an offshoot of the Enlightenment

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era, faith and the need for the development of society is something that is the main focus of this current (Mach, 2003). That development, among other things, includes the emancipation of the marginalized and integration into a just system devoid of exploitation and violence. However, progressives see the current system as the biggest obstacles to such development, i.e. the phenomenon of economic inequality embodied in the global neoliberal system and the domination through violence of the privileged over the underprivileged (Nugent, 2010). The situation can only be improved with affirmative actions and means, and this, as I will show later in the paper, represents one of the bonds of progressive ecological movements and other progressive currents. It is also important to say that relations of inequality and dominance certainly have their ecological side. Ulrich Beck also talked about how, although there is a boomerang effect, the rich and the poor do not feel the environmental consequences in the same way and in the same amount (1992). If we use the vocabulary of Zygmunt Bauman, the winners (the dominant class of the privileged) and the losers (the underprivileged) will not feel the environmental consequences to the same extent precisely because of the difference in mobility, where the winners will move without much difficulty, avoiding the ecological consequences (albeit, delaying inevitable), and the losers are left to experience the full force of the consequences that were created to the greatest extent by the winners (2000). And that is precisely why ecology and other issues of social justice are connected. By other issues that progressive movements deal with, I mean issues of emancipation of gender and sexual identities (LGBTQ and neo-feminist movements), more radical democratization and self-government of society (pro-democracy movements like the Indignados or the Italian water movement), economic justice (Indignados and degrowth movements) and emancipation of identity and ethnic and cultural minorities (the Chipko tribe). Precisely because of the connection of these issues, which often share the same solutions, I believe that attention should be paid to the creation of "progressive blocs", that is, coalitions of progressive movements (social justice movements).

The next step is to define and discuss the concept of social movement. As the most relevant definition of social movements, Paul Almeida singles out that of Sidney Tarrow, who defines movements as an excluded collectivity that seeks and demands social change through continuous and intensive interaction with economic and political elites (2011). Almeida considers this definition to be the most suitable because it highlights the positioning of the social movement as a voluntarist collectivity outside the political mainstream and the institutions of the society in which it operates. There is also an emphasis on a long-term conflict, which should result in the suppression of the exploitative and unfair relationship that exists as a result of the status quo. However, what Herbert Blumer says is also relevant when he says that "social movements are one of the main ways through which modern societies are reformed and innovated" (Pavlović, 2009:35). I have already mentioned how social movements (social justice movements) have the function of (radical) correction of society, but they also have the function of innovation through the promotion of alternative ways of life and views of the world and society. Let's take into account the degrowth movements, which radically advocate a new way of life and serve as an input of alternative innovative solutions in society by rejecting the desirability of economic growth and development. Degrowth movements like the Catalan Integral Cooperative (Cooperativa Integral Catalana) advocate the creation of autarkic production communities whose purpose is to resist the consumerist lifestyle and produce as much as each individual needs for a decent life, all within the effort to voluntarily stop production and economic growth (that is, reducing it) in order to preserve the Earth's resources, slow down the entropy process, stop it and distribute the existing goods in a fair way (Chiengkul, 2018).

Neil Smelser sees social movements as "collective efforts to change, that is, to modify social values and norms" (Pavlović, 2009:35). I think that definition is good for two reasons. First, it gives the phenomenon of a social movement a more fluid form by defining it as a collective effort rather than a collective or organization. Thus, we do not have to view the movement as a fixed entity with clear outlines that every organization has, but also as a network of networks, but also as not so clearly entity-defined progressive actors. If we take the World Justice Movement as an example, we would define it precisely as a network of networks of many connected actors who act at the local level under a certain autonomy, while maintaining more or less labile relations of connection and coordination with other diverse progressive actors (Montagna, 2008). Thus, we can find a network of connected local civic initiatives, progressive eco-movements, some civil society organizations that foster (trans)national cooperation, while maintaining a certain degree of autonomy locally. And such partnership, no matter how labile it may seem, represents one entity, connected enough to call it a movement.

As it is difficult to capture progressive environmental activism today (especially in post-socialist Europe), it is necessary to further enrich the concept of the environmental movement, and this can be achieved with observations that come to us from the sphere of sociology and anthropology (Fagan and Ejodus, 2020). As we will see in the part of the work that deals with progressive movements in Serbia, non-governmental organizations are the most developed and represented part of civil society, leaving little room for civil eco-initiatives and movements, and that is why many criticized the excessive focus when studying environmental movements in the region on precisely those non-governmental organizations, because the spontaneous environmental civic activism that was particularly noticeable in the fight against neoliberal policies and for the preservation of public goods is neglected (Jacobsson and Saxonberg, 2013; Goldstein, 2017, Fagan and Ejodus, 2020). Therefore, in order to fully encompass the process of civil activism that is outside of formalized civil society, we introduce the concept of activist citizenship (Isin, 2009). "The term is used to encompass forms of activism that are not necessarily part of some formal manifestation of civil society and that involve individuals developing everyday practices in order to become new political subjects and present demands for social justice" (Fagan and Ejodus, 2020:5).

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The definition that sees social movements as "networks of informal interaction between a multitude of individuals, groups and organizations involved in environmental conflicts, on the basis of shared ecological values and collective identity" (Diani, 1993:13; Petrović, 2020:38), is perfectly consistent on what has been said so far about the fluidity and looseness of the ties that can still mark the entity called the ecological movement.

That's why I think that we can label the following collective as something that can bear the name of a social movement. Let's imagine a group of progressive intellectuals who meet at relatively frequent time intervals to discuss the agenda and pressing issues, while producing some kind of informative material that can be aimed at the general public, the political elite or other ideologically compatible movements and networks (pamphlets, blogs, statuses on social networks). Such a fluid and not so structured collective nevertheless shows the characteristics of a social movement. That collective articulates progressive policies and offers them to the general public and somewhat more formal and structured movements, but also represents oases of resistance against policies that are not progressive or ecologically minded. Following Gabriel Abend's proposal on solving the problem of defining phenomena and terms in social sciences, we must not overload the terms with ontological and epistemological requirements (Abend, 2008). This means that when determining which phenomena are or are not social movements, we must not make too many ontological demands (nor must we completely reject the existence of some criterion), but we should strive for the polysemy of the term we are studying (to a reasonable extent), with the obligatory deliberation on all possible meanings of the term. This gives us more flexibility when studying, as well as a greater diversity of phenomena because we can have coalitions, networks of networks, as well as alliances of civil society organizations. This flexible definition of the term social movement coincides with the increased dynamics of changing and developing situations and processes. There is certainly a problem that the definition of concepts and meanings in society is necessarily accompanied by the tendency of dominant groups to set their meaning as self-evident and natural (Castells, 2010; Abend, 2008). However, if the concept goes through Abend's linguistic therapy, then we get sufficiently broad concepts as tools that can deal with the fluidity that is an important characteristic of modern social processes, but which are to a greater extent neutral and horizontal in terms of power and dominance. And as Gabriel Abend concludes, defining the term is a linguistic and sociological task, but it is also a political one, because deliberation requires the participation of the wider public in determining the meaning that will have strong political consequences for society itself (Abend, 2008) and that is why defining the term ecological, but and movements in general, a very important and challenging job.

Main characteristics of contemporary progressive environmental movements

In this part I will deal with the main characteristics of the movements I am writing about, but before that I would like to mention that in this part of the paper I will be writing about the characteristics of an ideal-type progressive environmental movement. This is important to note because the diversity of such movements is really great and the probability that each one of them contains all the mentioned characteristics is very small. The reason for this is a combination of different socio-structural specificities of the area in which the movement operates (socio-historical) and psychological settings at the individual and group level (mentality of those who lead the movement, nature of relations within the movement and with other movements...). That is why, when studying the varieties in the characteristics of ideologically similar movements in more detail, the researcher must apply seemingly opposing views in order to get a full picture, and, in this name, can combine, for example, (post)structuralist theories with the theory of resource mobilization or with the theory of rational choice. Also, before going deeper into the basic characteristics of such movements, we must keep in mind that such movements are to a certain extent fluid and not too easy to define (precisely because of the more intense interaction with other movements, as well as the amount of rapid information that can change the structure of the movements themselves). We can list the characteristics of these movements in relation to several criteria such as activities, position in relation to political institutions, objects of their activities or goals.

If we first look at the level at which eco movements operate, we can make the following categorization by looking at the type of movement actions:

1. Movements that are manifested through everyday forms of resistance
2. Local spontaneous movements
3. Social movements at the national level
4. Movements that manifest as waves of protests
5. Revolutionary movements
6. Transnational social movements (Almeida, 2019)

The first type of movement is those pockets that use petty and everyday activities of symbolic resistance and sabotage to show their discontent and status as (not open) rebels. Such movements (the means can be used only by individuals) use what James Scott calls *the means of the weak* (Scott, 1985). In his example of farmers in Malaysia who were in a very subordinate position in relation to the latifundia owners, we see how they used the only means available to them in that situation, such as deliberately slowing down production, causing work stoppages and damaging machinery. Thus, activists of the environmental movement could prevent the cutting of forests by some private sector actor either by setting "traps" for loggers by causing injuries, by damaging expropriation machinery, or by acting from the inside, increasing the costs of logging or some other activity that is harmful to the environment to

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the extent that costs caused by the activity exceeds the benefits that the business entity can get from it. With the advent of the Internet and further development of technology, some sociologists cite hacktivism as a weapon of the weak (Edyvane and Kulenovic, 2017). Thus, those who do not have enough resources, power or courage to openly oppose corporations that threaten the environment or animal rights, can do a lot of damage by infiltrating databases and publishing incriminating documents on the cloud. Hacktivism can also include more banal actions such as taking over targeted corporations' social media platforms by publishing posts exposing unethical practices.

The second type of movement in this categorization is the grass-roots movement. Almeida defines them as "movements that operate at the local or regional level, have specific and limited goals (local pollution, ed.) and generally have very limited internal resources" (Almeida, 2019:40). Therefore, they appear within the community, deal with issues that are in focus in that community and depend on it to the greatest extent. It is the community that can provide them with resources and volunteers to help put pressure on local officials to solve a problem. Thus, if we take into consideration a city that has a problem with air pollution due to some economic activity that is carried out in that area, that city becomes fertile ground for the creation of a civil eco movement that will try to impose its activities aimed at gaining the attention of both the public and officials the problem of pollution as a priority and force some solution that will make that problem disappear. Actions that such a movement can undertake are various types of performance in public spaces: sit-in protests, awareness raising campaigns or sabotage of further production. Such movements can find their allies in larger eco or ideologically complementary movements, civil society organizations, intellectuals and other public figures.

The third type of movement is social movements at the national level, which according to Tarrow represent a broad front that includes formal organizations or even federations of loose networks (Tarrow, 2011). Such organizations have more resources at their disposal than local spontaneous movements and usually have a range of related goals towards which they are directed. Such movements are usually movements of longer duration and solving one problem does not mean shutting down the movement, but turning to other complementary goals. It is also typical to run long campaigns across the country through protests to awareness campaigns. For that level, coalitions of ideologically complementary movements to achieve common goals are not unusual. So in a situation where we have increased pollution in poor parts of the city due to proximity to polluters, we can imagine an alliance of movements that deal with the protection of a minority (ethnic, racial or religious) group that is exposed to greater pollution and civil environmental movement. If this problem of pollution comes into the focus of the public, we can expect the support of other friendly organizations and movements that may not be interested in this initially. As movements of this type, in addition to the mentioned eco movement, there are movements for civil rights and racial equality, feminist movements, LGBTQ movements, labor movements or movements for the protection of immigrants (Almeida, 2019). In the following sections of the paper, I will pay more attention to coalitions of progressive actors.

The next type of movement is a coalition that is the creator of waves of protest and it occurs when several social movements participate together in persistent protests that last a certain period and have a certain geographical width (Tarrow, 2011; Almeida 2008; della Porta, 2013). This phase of connection and intensification of activities usually occurs due to some negative event that serves as a capsule for the mobilization of the movement, as well as the pooling of resources of interested actors in order to create a coalition (bloc) that could put pressure on the political and economic elites to mitigate the consequences of negative action. Let's imagine bad management of a city that lasts for a certain period of time, then imagine that due to such bad management, a landfill near the city starts burning waste, releasing toxic substances dangerous for citizens into the atmosphere. It could be the initial capsule for the accumulated dissatisfaction with the management at the city level, which would be expressed in several protests under the auspices of the coalition of movements operating in that city. Stakeholders, in addition to the environmental movement, for such an undertaking could be civil society organizations that deal with urban policies, as well as civic initiatives and movements that advocate greater democratization, transparency and citizen involvement in city management. Depending on some other factors (relationships between movements for example) other movements could also be involved, as well as public figures and citizens. What is characteristic of such coalitions and types of action is that they use confrontational tactics and usually involve citizens from different sectors and classes of society (from students to workers) (Almeida, 2019).

The fifth type of movement is the revolutionary movement, the most radical of the movements listed so far. These are movements that do not want to correct the shortcomings of the existing regime, but to replace it completely, mostly in a violent way (Goodwin, 2001; Goldstone, 2014). In the eyes of the activists of such a movement, the existing system has lost all forms of legitimacy and has ceased to be acceptable at all, and they are trying to overthrow it by violent means. In order to succeed in their intention, they need wider support, so they form cross-class alliances in order to create a critical mass (Foran, 1997). As such movements, we could mention the Zapatista revolutionary movement in Mexico, which launched a war against the state itself because it did not consider it a legitimate regime. If we were to return to the field of eco-movements, we could list as potentially revolutionary all those movements that are influenced by currents of eco-socialism, eco-anarchism or eco-dictatorship (Haywood, 2005). What all three currents have in common is that they believe that the status quo has lost any legitimacy in terms of solving urgent environmental problems, so that we are left to either overthrow the unjust and inefficient order (at all levels) or face the consequences of the devastation of global environment.

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Donatella della Porta (Donatella della Porta) in her book *Democracy in Social Movements* (2009) deals with global social movements of which many are environmental such as - the World Social Justice Movement, which is made up of various progressive movements dealing with the topics of ecology, gender and sexual rights, democratization, protection of ethnic and racial minorities, economic inequality, etc. More intensive communication and interaction of movements from different countries, as well as the rising of problem solving to a global level, caused the emergence of such movements and networks as the World Social Forum, which we cannot say is an eco-movement or an eco-network of movements in its pure form, but if let's go back to the division at the beginning of the work into movements of the first and second order, this would be an example of an eco-movement of the second order. This means that in addition to the primary anti-globalization and anti-neoliberal goals, there are also secondary environmental goals, which could be heard at last year's panel organized by this transnational movement on January 29, 2021.

As I already mentioned at the beginning when defining the movement, progressive eco movements are an excluded collective, in the sense that they do not have the dominant political and economic power to institutionally direct the course of the political system (Burawoy, 2017). This means that they are excluded from the dominant institutions of society, and that their mode of action is to exert pressure on officials and institutions from the outside, for this reason, in a large number of cases, these movements are also grass-roots. In that case, less conventional instruments and tactics (Almeida, 2019) such as public demonstrations, occupying public space, sit-in protests, or sabotage of works are left as a way of acting in the political arena. Precisely because of the lack of resources, we cannot speak of them as insiders of the political sphere who can push the political process in their favor by financing campaigns, giving donations or promising well-paid positions within their organization to political actors after their term ends, such as business interest groups can do that. Their greatest ally in this fight is public opinion.

Vukašin Pavlović makes a division into socio-cultural and socio-political movements depending on the targeted goals (Pavlović, 2009). Socio-political movements are those that strive for change in the political or economic sphere, while socio-cultural movements are those that strive for changes in dominant values and beliefs in society. And this division will serve well to show that modern progressive eco-movements (we included coalitions, civil society alliances and networks of networks in the definition of the movement at the beginning) are diverse and often fluid to the extent that they can include all theoretical units of some previously established classifications. Contemporary eco movements are inclusive in the sense that both elements of this definition represent important characteristics of these movements. Their goals are often aimed at political institutions, demanding systemic changes that could deal with increasingly urgent environmental threats, as well as at corporations and other important business entities, demanding the removal of damage or harmful and unethical business practices. And on that basis, they are pure socio-political movements. However, let us take as an example the ecofeminist movement, either a unitary ecofeminist movement or a coalition or network of environmental and feminist movements. One of their main goals would be to change the dominant values of society. In this case it would be a termination of discriminatory patriarchal values and binary categorization of the public and private sphere, that is, linking the dominance of privileged men over women or sexual minorities with the dominance over nature (Heywood, 2005:302). Thus, such a movement could stand for the redefinition of what it means and what a citizen is in order to create a new non-discriminatory form that would respect all the constituents of society, we could even imagine that this redefinition acquires a post-humanist touch and includes the biosphere and certain animals as in *Zoopolis* and thus direct the ethics of care to non-human actors (Donaldson and Kymlicka, 2013). In that case, the coalition could also include movements for the protection of animals and natural resources. Of course, this remains in the domain of assumptions and we must always remember that we must not equate social movements with ideologies, because it is very unlikely that a social movement is a pure reflection of the ideology it is close to precisely because of numerous other factors that also determine the values and behavior of the movement (the opportunistic mentality of the leader, the specificity of the situation in which the movement finds itself, relations with other complementary movements, etc.).

We have a similar situation if we look at the four-member division of the movement into transformative, reformatory, redemption and salvation movements, as well as alternative movements (Sztompka, 1993), as characteristics of the movements I am writing about, we would list all the offered elements, except that they are salvation and redemption movements, we leave that characteristic mainly to religious and fundamentalist movements. We said that progressive eco-movements (as well as progressive coalitions) have as their goal a radical change of social values and culture, especially if they are more extreme, which makes them transformative movements. However, as I have already stated, the absence of monism and uniformism in the progressive block or eco movements (even in the movements themselves, among the members) is the only constant, so we can also find smaller, more militant movements that do not strive for the entire radical change of the social structure, at least not primarily, and for this reason they can be described as reform movements. Finally, ecological movements strive to change the daily habits of individuals and make them environmentally responsible (eco friendly), through changing general values and consciousness, thus advocating alternative ways of life and post-materialistic values, which then makes them alternative social movements.

It is important to mention the division into instrumental and expressive social movements, where instrumental movements are movements aimed at gaining power and implementing reforms through political institutions and the legal system, while expressive movements are those movements that deal with issues of values, human rights, identity, ways life, etc. (Pavlović, 2009). It is easy to see that progressive eco-movements, as well as entire progressive blocs, represent examples of both classifications. Namely, the

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existence of progressive political green parties, as well as green initiatives that participate in local elections, speaks volumes about the orientation towards gaining power that the progressive greens have, on the other hand, I have already mentioned the connection between the eco movement and values such as lifestyle, where many eco movements and organizations are advocating alternative ways of life (diet, changing hygienic culture, means of transport, etc.).

Also, environmental movements can be divided based on whether and how high an environmental issue is on their priority list. If the movement deals with environmental issues from its first day and implements collective actions in order to solve environmental problems, and some other complementary issues of social justice as only secondary (if at all), then we are talking about an environmental movement of the first order (primary). If a movement that dealt with issues such as gender equality, transitional justice, reconciliation policy, human rights and other social issues starts to deal with environmental issues as a secondary activity, then we can call them environmental movements of the second order, i.e. secondary eco movements. Jelisaveta Petrović gives such examples when she mentions numerous civil society organizations that have expanded the range of issues they deal with from issues of democratization, reconciliation policy, transitional justice and human rights to environmental issues and policies (Petrović, 2020). As the main reason for that change, she cites funding that was directed towards the sphere of ecology by various funds and foundations, as well as the promotion of ecology. This was true in the case of the organizations she is talking about, however, the expansion of activities into the sphere of ecology by a movement or organization can also be encouraged by ideological reasons, unexpected bad events that throw the environmental problem into the public's focus, then changes or expanding the interests of members and leaders of organizations, as well as cooperation with other environmental movements.

As the movements differ in terms of duration, but also in the way of organization, we can distinguish institutionalized eco-movements of longer duration, as well as spontaneous civil eco-movements. The difference is that the first type of eco-movement has been active on the social scene for some time, has a larger number of members and perhaps more subsidiaries, then has built institutional bodies within its organization, a certain hierarchy, a clearly defined agenda and a program that often does not concern only one question, and at the end a clearly defined leadership of the movement. Also, as an important characteristic of institutionalized movements, there is also the creation of auxiliary organizations of social movements (social movements organizations-SMO), such as various centers for proposing progressive policies, think-tanks, institutes that serve for a clearer articulation of the agenda of the movement itself of which they are a part, for proposing public policies, but also for framing the message that is sent to a wider audience (Almeida, 2019). As for spontaneous eco-movements, they are movements that arise spontaneously as a reaction to some acute or chronic problem affecting the community, they are highly dependent on the support and mobilization of the community and have very limited resources, they are movements that focus on one problem which is important to the community (single issue movements) and often disappear after the issue is resolved or becomes irrelevant. Although they have different organization and goals, this does not necessarily mean that these two types of movements never cooperate.

Progressive eco-movements, like most other, not only progressive movements, have a large part of their existence in an online format, so they are also partly online movements. Jessica Beyer and Manuel Castells have shown how important the online community is today for the mobilization and very existence of social movements, to the extent that it is the sine qua non of successful activism. Progressive social movements largely exist on online platforms and forums, this is very important because today's movements can mobilize and emerge in forums that we would never say can generate political activism, although I will talk about this more in the section which talks about the mobilization of social movements, I will briefly look at how the online part of progressive social movements works. Beyer talks about online forums such as the multiplayer version of the game Warcraft (World of Warcraft) whose chat, i.e. the forum served for, at first, not so much political deliberation, but generated political mobilization (Beyer, 2014).

The configuration of chats and forums on online platforms largely determined the mode of communication and the speed of dissemination, as well as the strength of mobilization, so here we could apply Foucauldian analyzes of the impact of (online) space on communication and power. The forum on this, as well as similar games or sites, generated an autonomous zone of deliberation, which Manuel Castells points out is crucial in generating new movements, but also in mobilizing existing ones and starting a wave of protests (Castells, 2018). The presence on online platforms allows a more visual building of the brand of a particular social movement, but also shortens the chain of communication, making information more easily available, but also intensifying the movement's interaction with potential activists and other allied movements (as well as hostile ones).

Finally, I must mention one classification that concerns exclusively ecological movements, and that is the division established by Arne Naess (Arne Naess, 1973) which divides eco movements into deep and shallow ones. Deep are those movements that start from the position of holism and biocentrism and that advocate post-human ethics, seeking radical changes in society and its values. On the other hand, we have shallow eco-movements that advocate mild anthropocentrism, that is, they have an instrumentalist attitude towards environmental issues, worrying about the state of the environment in order to prolong the period of depletion of resources and slow down the increasingly difficult conditions of human life that climate change brings with it. Progressive eco movements cover both sides of this classification, and progressive eco movements on the left can be divided into biocentric and anthropocentric, where they can have periods of mutual cooperation, but also of mutual conflict. Anthropocentric progressive eco

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movements will tend to collaborate with labor and trade union movements, be more sympathetic to the issues and concerns of the old left, and be part of a more moderate progressive current, while biocentric progressive eco movements may naturally collaborate with animal protection movements and alternative movements such as veganism and tendency towards more progressive and radical agendas.

In the section I tried to show how difficult it is to accurately define all the features that adorn this heterogeneous group of movements and coalitions.

Values and ideology of progressive environmental movements

When we talk about the values inherited by ecologically progressive movements, we usually talk about those values that we call post-materialist (Inghelhart, 1977). These are values that arise in an environment that enjoys a certain economic abundance and peace, then comes the evaluation of those elements that make up the concept of quality of life. These are values that are not material, but psychological or directed towards society. If we are talking about psychological, then we are talking about Maslow's hierarchical needs of respect and self-actualization that come after security and existence are ensured (Haywood, 2005). First of all, there is the question of personal identity (including gender and sexual identity), for this reason, in developed countries in recent decades, identity politics within the framework of the new left has become the focus of society. When we talk about values directed towards society or community, we are talking about the values of democratization, quality of the environment, racial equality and social justice. Both of these types of post-material values serve as the basic setting of progressive social movements, which gives them a good basis for mutual cooperation to the extent that we also have unitary movements that cover all or most of the listed values in their actions. The connection of concern for a healthy environment with other issues of the progressive left is very noticeable. In addition to all being post-material values, research has shown the connection of concern for the environment with the affirmative policies advocated by the New Left (Davidovic, Harring and Jagers, 2020). People's attitude towards caring for the environment as a value is largely determined by their ideological orientation, and it is the research that establishes the connection between affirmative policies that need to be paid for (such as eco-tax or tax credits for eco-friendly products and companies), which today are mostly affirms the left, and concerns for the environment. What I have to mention is the quality variables of the state, that is, its services. Research has shown that even the left does not always and everywhere have to promote affirmative eco policies or affirmative policies in general, and the inefficient and corrupt state will be responsible for that. If citizens do not trust that the state will do a good job of protecting the environment and justify increasing the budget to implement those policies, then they will not support affirmative policies at all, and this also applies to the left. An analysis of research by Dunlap and McCright that focuses on examining the attitudes of members of left-wing progressive movements toward the environment has also shown a correlation between concern for the environment and the progressive left (2008). There are other studies that show the advantage of the left in dealing with environmental issues compared to the right (Neumayer, 2004). However, it should be noted here that this has not been confirmed everywhere, and that there is a strong variable of national specificity, which indicates that this connection between the progressive left and concern for the environment is not necessary in every country, but that it can vary, and that right-wing social movements and actors can in some cases also be prominent defenders of a healthy environment, sometimes even more prominent than the left (Dunlap and McCright, 2008).

The very concept and phenomenon of ecology and care for the environment is comprehensive and important enough that it is easy to make connections with other social issues, because solving the environmental issue is also part of solving many other problems. That is precisely why ecology can be an integral part of many ideological currents, that is, the agendas of social movements, whether they are on the left or right side of the ideological spectrum. Therefore, it is possible to place the narrative of defense of resources and care for the environment within the narrative of defense against neoliberal capitalism, in the case of left-oriented movements, and the narrative of preserved nature and a clean environment within the narrative of defense of national and historical identity from threats by migrants or others identity minorities, in the case of right-oriented movements.

When we talk about the basic structure that connects the family of progressive movements, we can talk about the following elements:

- The notion of victim and the language of rights play an important role in the ideology of the progressive left, to which progressive eco movements also belong. The progressive left focuses on the representation of the marginalized and those who suffer domination and violence, those whose rights are threatened. Marginalized sufferers can be embodied by sexual or cultural minorities, subordinate women, but also those who suffer unjustly from pollution, or let's go along the path of biocentrism, those who suffer from anthropogenic action (like the biosphere) (della Porta, 2009).
- A positive understanding of freedom is a characteristic feature of left-wing progressive movements, and here it means the struggle to create conditions that will enable the unhindered development and life of those who suffer. This includes affirmative measures that will improve the position of the constituents represented by these movements in the form of eco-taxes, better working conditions, gender and ethnic quotas, etc. Therefore, it is not enough to remove clearly visible discrimination embodied in prohibitions or to remove the immediate cause of pollution or extermination of part of the animal population, but the community must also take a step further and enable the smooth development of those who have suffered injustice, specifically the disruption of their immediate environment. Let's imagine the case of a poor community that, due

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to poor infrastructure, is exposed for a long period to all the adversities that climate change brings with it, or an industrial zone that is located in the immediate vicinity and that greatly reduces the price of their real estate. In that case, it is not enough to just improve the infrastructure or remove the causes of pollution, because great damage has already been done in the form of floods and destroyed property or low real estate prices and impaired health. It is a similar argument to the one presented by critical theory when it talks about racial inequalities, the fact that discriminatory laws have been abolished does not mean an equal position and the abolition of submission and suffering because we still have structural inequality and discrimination.

- Changing the status quo, which is presented as unsustainable and unjust, is something that each of these progressive movements inherits in their discourse. In the wake of the already mentioned structural injustice embedded in the institutions themselves, progressive movements (including such environmental movements) seek more radical systemic changes in order to completely eliminate the unjust treatment of the marginalized and those who suffer. Let's look at the example of the Indignados, according to our classification, they would be described as a second-order environmental movement, because although it was primarily a movement of economic justice and further democratization of the political system, at open civil assemblies the topics of deliberation were also some environmental topics such as agroecology issues (Castels, 2018).
- The connection of environmental issues with other issues dealt with by progressive movements such as racism or economic inequality is also evident. Theorists in recent decades have been increasingly interested in the relationship between racial injustice and environmental consequences. Research shows the connection between the location of poor and minority racial communities and the location of toxic industrial plants that greatly endanger the lives of citizens in the area and mercilessly drive down the price of their real estate, thereby causing harm both on a health and economic level (Kameri-Mbote and Cullet, 1996). Thus, there are increasing demands for the cooperation of environmental groups and local movements that fight for racial rights and the rights of those vulnerable communities, creating a new progressive bloc.
- The horizontalization of social power represents the very core of social movements because the expressed hierarchical power is seen as the source and cause of structural violence in society. In her book dealing with the relationship between democracy and social movements, Donatella Della Porta points out that there is a positive correlation between participatory and deliberative democratic procedures and progressive social movements gathered around transnational social justice movements, whose members are certainly also progressive eco-movements, such as the already mentioned World Social Forum-WSF (della Porta, 2009). If we return to the Indignados movement in Spain, we will see that one of the most important things that this movement (an umbrella of various progressive currents) did, in addition to publicly expressing bitter dissatisfaction with the system, was precisely that it introduced deliberative assemblies of citizens in occupied public spaces where everyone could freely discuss important social issues, replacing the institutions of liberal representative democracy, which in their eyes had lost their legitimacy.
- The issue of social justice is also something that connects the family of progressive movements. As Della Porta states: "Social justice is seen as a broker that connects everything (progressive movements, pim.aut)...there is great diversity, but also a trend of connecting in a general, multidimensional idea of social justice: social, environmental, gender, intercultural and participatory democratic and just management of public goods" (della Porta, 2009:23).
- In the end, as the last element that makes up the family of progressive movements, it is precisely this focus on the management of public goods, that is, towards more participatory, transparent and responsible management. A noticeable trend is the increase in the number of social actors (and not only progressive ones) who advocate management at the community level, but also in the number of those who study such movements. Elinor Ostrom points out the great potential that such movements have and evaluates this type of management as the most effective way to avoid inefficient interference from higher levels of the state, but also the dangers of privatization and excessive exploitation of resources (1990). In this way, we achieve the sustainability of resources, but also the empowerment of marginalized identities, regardless of whether we are talking about disenfranchised citizens in the general sense, marginalized identity, cultural, gender or sexual groups. The possibility of a participatory way of participating in the social process, such as the management of public goods, as well as making a social contribution, can, in addition to improving the level of social sustainability and living standards, also affect the increase in the level of self-evaluation and self-confidence of disadvantaged groups, that is why the bond that exists between progressive movements is important (including, therefore, environmental ones), precisely because of the focus on similar goals, such as participatory management at the lower levels of the citizens themselves.

As we can see, there are a lot of points of contact that can be determinants of the concept of progressive (environmental) movements, but also the basis for inter-progressive cooperation, which I will deal with later in the paper. However, it must be pointed out that not all progressive movements possess all the above-mentioned characteristics, and that it is very difficult to find an ideal model of the movement that will fully correspond to the described criteria.

What is important to point out, and what the discursive theory teaches us, is that every creation of the Self (progressive ecological movements) includes the definition and creation of the Other (Campbell, 1992) who is characterized by not having the main values

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of the Self or to a lesser extent. This is exactly why we can talk about the degree of Otherness (Hansen, 2006). In our case, I would label the movements that are not distinguished by the values mentioned so far as Other progressive environmental movements. In the degree of their departure from the relationship that progressive social movements have with nature, the status quo, the extension of rights or democracy, we can distinguish two broad groups of movements. The first group of movements consists of "non-progressive movements" that differ to a lesser extent from progressive movements and may contain some of the enumerated features and values that characterize progressive movements and therefore cannot always keep a clear distinction between progressive and non-progressive movements, movements may fluctuate between these two groups over time. Non-progressive movements may espouse environmental values, but that is why they will not question the status quo or advocate more radical affirmative policies that will contribute to the protection of nature. At the very other end of the spectrum of this division, we have regressive movements that, like progressive movements, do not support the status quo, but go in the direction of reducing rights. An example of regressive movements can be the environmental movements themselves when they combine their discourse of preserving the purity of nature with the purity of the nation from Others (implants, for example) who pollute it and blame the current political liberal system. As the focus of the work is not these kinds of movements, I would not dwell on them any longer, but I would devote myself to the issues of action and mobilization of progressive environmental movements.

Action and mobilization of movements

As I mentioned, when we have a situation where it is very difficult for citizens to influence political decision-makers on some issues, then we can expect the mobilization of the excluded and the creation of a voluntarist organization, whether it is a citizen initiative or a social movement in the classical sense (Almeida, 2019). If we have a group of citizens who are dissatisfied with the activities of local authorities in solving an urgent environmental problem, then it is not a surprise if they start the process of creating a social movement in order to put pressure on local officials. It can also happen that the local community has deep problems with economic inequality, pollution and racial discrimination, when there can be a tendency to establish entities, or movements, of general dissatisfaction, which leads to a more permanent political platform that will deal with a variety of social justice issues. However, how this kind of mobilization of social movements occurs, with an emphasis on progressive eco-movements and how they work, are questions that I will deal with in the further part of the work.

Several theoretical frameworks for the study of social movements will help me in this. One of them is resource mobilization theory, which focuses on the resources that those who organize can gather (McCarthy and Zald, 2002). By those resources, we mean not only material ones, but also those that embody the number of movements, the ability and entrepreneurship of those who lead, but also of other organizations that help them in the struggle. The importance of the last-mentioned resource for movements is particularly emphasized today. In the era of social atomization of relations, the possibility of effective organizing is less and for this reason, organizations and institutions that existed before the creation of a movement or attempted mobilization become an element that cannot be done without (Small, 2009). Such institutions are mostly non-political and everyday, which do not primarily serve the purpose of mobilization (McCarthy, 1996). This includes various sports teams and organizations, school sections, reading and debating clubs, any place where people can interact with each other and create mutual trust and empathy. So if we have friends from the choir section, attend university and are members of an amateur football team, and at the same time we are amazed by the level of pollution and the sectoral policies of the local government, we can enter into a break with our friends in all those sections (or at least one of them) whose we are members and together organize protests or initiatives from which the movement will grow. We have mentioned what we mean by resources in this theory, I would especially focus on leaders and their capital. In order to create a collective action or movement, there needs to be someone who, as an entrepreneur, will initiate it, or a group of social entrepreneurs. In order for it to be done in the right way, the leader must have some education, soft skills and must have strategic capacity - organizational skills and previous experience of organizing and participating (Ganz, 2009). Thus, someone who participated in protests for the recognition of the rights of sexual minorities, then was one of the organizers of the march for women's rights, tomorrow, with the accumulated experience, but also the built culture of activism, can organize a local environmental movement that opposes the construction of an intensive production factory without a report on the impact on the environment and planned filters to reduce pollution.

Another theoretical framework that we must consider when studying contemporary progressive environmental movements is the theory of social construction and collective action frameworks. In order to achieve a successful mobilization, the entrepreneurship of the leaders and the initial resources of the movement are important, but not sufficient elements. In addition to them, movements must have some attractive and convincing narrative that can motivate people to participate in movement activities (Almeida, 2019). By building a narrative, movements try to build a favorable image of themselves in the public, to raise the problem they are trying to solve on the list of priorities, to make the movement receptive to the general public and to convince citizens to join them. This process is called framing (Snow, 1986). And it consists of three main tasks:

- Diagnostic framing that includes defining the problem and addressing the culprit for the condition (Snow and Corrigan-Brown, 2005).
- Prognostic framing that means creating and presenting a plan that should solve the problem (Almeida, 2019).

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- Motivational framing that needs to make that plan and the movement itself attractive and acceptable (Almeida, 2019). The goal is to awaken the feeling among the public that this problem is a problem that concerns everyone and that something must be done about it. When we talk about progressive eco movements and acting in coalitions, the goal is certainly to make the problem and actions of the movement acceptable to partner and other progressive movements, in order to more easily establish a natural coalition of progressive actors and from a single issue campaign to a longer-lasting progressive platform.

We must not leave out the highly influential theory of the political process, which talks about the influence of the social and political climate, that is, the environment on the creation, action and success of the movement (Almeida, 2019). There we have three models: the good news model, the bad news model and the combined model (Meyer, 2002).

In the first model, the political climate is such that those leading the movement are given a positive signal to mobilize, and there we have 5, a type of good news (McAdam and Tarrow, 2018):

- Access to political institutions represents the level of possibility of access of excluded social movements to political institutions. If institutions are impossible to access, then we have radicalization of social movements and further distancing from possible dialogue, and intensification of conflict. But, let's imagine that a candidate of a progressive current wins the elections within a community, then we could rightly expect the winner to give good signals to progressive social movements, among them environmental and opening institutions for the input that progressive movements offer in order to achieve their agenda. Then we would have a pacification of the conflict and a movement closer to the institutions themselves.
- Conflict between elites opens space for social movements to act more openly because the conflict itself weakens the political system and opens cracks that can be used for greater pressure (Almeida and Stearns, 1998). This situation opens up a lot of room for manipulation, because here the progressive coalition with its resources can try to create an even bigger rift among the elites. The movement can also form an alliance with one party in the conflict and thus incorporate its agenda into the program of political institutions.
- Easing the state's repressive measures against civil society leads to a freer and more open action of the progressive bloc (Tarrow, 2011), and in such an authoritarian environment, the environmental issue may come closer to the center of public interests, especially if we have a progressive eco movement as a member of the progressive anti-authoritarian coalitions.
- The last kind of good news is the existence of more power centers in society that the movement can lean on when pushing its eco agenda (McAdam and Tarrow, 2018). Then the eco movement or the progressive coalition can focus its forces on several fronts in the hope of negotiating the inclusion of its issues on the daily agenda of political institutions. If there is a state of competition and rivalry among those power centers in society (usually over state resources and jurisdiction), the movement can use the blackmail mechanism of cooperation with a rival institution in order to make a better offer.

When we have some of the offered types of good news in society, then we can expect more intense mobilization and the creation of a wave of movement (Almeida, 2019).

I now turn to the bad news model characterized by accidents or misfortunes that endanger the population and threaten to worsen the situation, such a situation motivates mobilization and the creation of movements to address problematic issues (Tilly, 1978; Pinard, 2011). Climate change is an obvious example of this model. The process of climate change threatens the global population, especially some parts that are most exposed to weather disturbances, creating fear and motivation to create a response to this problem through the formation of a movement that will deal with these issues. And when we talk about the types of bad news, there are four of them (Almeida, 2018):

- Economic problems that lead to a decline in the quality of life, difficult distribution of resources, as well as phenomena such as mass unemployment, the economic crisis, the decline in the quality of government services and the threat of existence represent a great motivation for the mobilization of the movement (Reese, 2011). The repeatedly mentioned Indignados movement is a perfect example of that. The economic crisis is often the initial failure for progressive environmental movements precisely because of the combination of declining budget allocations for environmental programs, the dominance of economics and business over environmental issues, as well as unfair redistribution of resources (too big to fail companies problem).
- Environmental and public health threats, such as air pollution, uncontrolled waste dumps, construction or poor management of industrial complexes represent a great potential for mobilizing environmental movements (Cordero Ulate, 2009). I have already mentioned in several places in this paper how such threats can be fertile ground for the creation and development of spontaneous movements, because there is an immediate threat that endangers the community and which can be experienced firsthand, and mobilization at the local level within the community really becomes possible even though the movement has few resources. Especially at that local level, the potential for the birth of progressive blocs arises because such threats almost always threaten poor and marginalized groups (racial minority neighborhoods for example) more (Taylor 2014; Pellow, 2017). That is why civic initiatives and movements are born that are both environmental and social justice movements at the local level.

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- The erosion of rights becomes a catalyst for mobilization when people begin to consider and notice how their rights or the rights of others in society are eroding and begin to be abused (Almeida, 2019). In that case, as a reaction to the erosion of rights, emancipatory movements arise that not only want to protect existing (human or post-human) rights, but also look to extend them to more constituents, but also to deepen them. So when we have an executive power that, with its policy, cuts funding allocated for environmental issues, but also erodes issues such as the rights of sexual minorities, gender equality and identity minority (cultural, ethnic or religious) rights, then we can expect a strong reaction to such policies and it is often a combined reaction of the vulnerable.
- Finally, we have state repression as a type of bad news that contributes to further mobilization. When we have an authoritarian regime that is intolerant of pluralism in the political and civil society arena, then we can expect repressive measures against actors who challenge the regime and seek further democratization of society. It is almost certain that these repressive measures can give momentum to a more intense mobilization that will respond to the applied violence with even more actions (Francisco, 2005). If we have a progressive coalition that leads the fight for its primary goals (minority rights, social justice and environmental justice), precisely because of this response to the setting of its demands, they will become anti-authoritarian (if they were not already) and pro-democratic movements, asking the question democratization alongside its primary issues, and perhaps even above them.

And finally, we come to the last model, which is a hybrid that combines good and bad news and that happens most often in reality (Almeida, 2019). An example of such a situation could be heavy pollution that exists for a long period of time in a community, combined with the victory of a progressive candidate in the elections who stands at the head of that community and gives good signs. In that case, the eco movement has as a motivation for mobilization the fact that pollution threatens the health of the population, as a result of which fear appears as a catalyst, and on the other hand, we have a new political system that gives positive signs and awakens hope in the success of the movement's campaign, so as the final catalysts hope and fear appear here at the same time.

Another important theoretical framework that allows us to more precisely and clearly understand the mobilization of progressive eco-movements is the multi-institutional theory, which talks about how movements generally target not only state institutions but also some other non-state actors such as various professional associations, educational institutions, religious organizations and, perhaps most importantly, the corporation (Armstrong and Bernstein, 2008). With the increased size and power of transnational corporations, as well as disproportionate legal responsibility, such organizations have logically become targets of various movements, especially environmental ones. Taking the average clothing corporation, at least three types of movements emerge as possible targets: the environmental movement, the social justice movement, and the animal welfare movement. The reason for this is the export of production to third world countries with much lower work standards and cheaper labor force, as such production is unethical, then the product itself will be unethical. Thus, movements can target a certain brand because it exploits the labor force in inhumane conditions, uses animals in production, mistreats them, and such production requires certain procedures that damage the environment near the production unit itself. This causes the anger of those who are part of the movement of the progressive ideological family.

Finally, we come to the theoretical framework that is most important to the movements I am dealing with. The intersectional theory, created less than a decade ago, deals with the joint mobilization of citizens cutting across multiple classes and identities (Terriquez, 2015; Rojas, 2017). This type of mobilization is caused by the understanding that many groups of people (and other previously mentioned entities) suffer from similar or related problems, that their agendas are complementary, and pooling resources is a logical move that does not compromise basic identity assumptions and ideals. This kind of cross-sectoral framework tends to mass mobilization of different sectors and parts of society using a master narrative that is acceptable to everyone and it is mostly a narrative of human rights protection (Berry and Chenoweth, 2018). Such a broad framework of mobilization is the strongest weapon of the marginalized in societies characterized by high social inequality (Valdez, 2011). An intersectional approach helps us see how to most effectively organize the environmental movement in a way that involves multiple classes and identity groups. The most credible eco-movements are precisely those movements that have a large representation of various population groups, from gender to ethnic, cultural and class. Such representativeness gives credibility to the movement, but also to the environmental issue itself, making it clear that the environmental issue concerns everyone and affects all parts of society, the progressiveness of the represented groups makes it easier to connect with other progressive movements that also represent certain groups within the population. The intersectoral theory is a perfect introduction to the next part of the work, which concerns intersectoral cooperation and coalitions, which according to our definition from the beginning of the work, are also considered movements, albeit as a less unitary entity than it was in the classical sense.

At the end of this section, I would like to refer to the online mobilization that is gaining more and more importance. From 2011 until now, we have been able to see how effective the Internet is as a means of mobilization, within a few seconds, activists could release recorded videos that show some form of injustice, such as undetected pollution produced by an industrial complex, and have it seen by a large number of people, i.e. for that video to become viral on social networks and to serve as the initial catalyst for the birth of

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a local eco movement and a wave of protests. Thus, the movement enjoyed a new online space of autonomy (Castells, 2018), however, today this does not show the full picture, because even at that level we have a lot of projects of censoring or even deleting the autonomous online space itself (example of regulation of the Internet in China and Russia). And therefore, in those parts of the world we can perhaps expect a lower potential of online activism and online movements. What is interesting to investigate are the Internet forums of non-political sites because they did not attract much attention until recently, but they have proven to be a surprisingly effective source of mobilization (Beyer, 2014). As Beyer states, her research shows several important factors that enable effective mobilization in a non-political environment. The first factor is whether separate groups within the forum are allowed or not. If they are not allowed, then the chance for mass mobilization is increased. If freedom of speech on the forum is controlled, but separation into small groups is also allowed, then users will organize themselves into small groups based on similar shared beliefs and such a single group will cross all standard social groups and classes, because the primary reason is gatherings have the same ideological basis. Thus, on one large forum within an online and multiplayer game, we can create smaller forum and ideological clans, which can also lead to mobilization and the creation of a movement because we have the interaction of like-minded people who, while discussing the application of strategy in playing the game, will also discuss some social issues or attitudes. An important factor in the way of mobilization, as well as efficiency, is how well the forum is regulated, and whether or not anonymity is enabled during the discussion. Anonymity, but also the appearance and accessibility of the interface, affects the size of the online community, which is a potential fertile ground for mobilization, with greater anonymity we get a larger number of users, but also less cohesion within the community, both factors affect the appearance of mobilization. Nevertheless, as an important factor of mobilization, no matter how banal it sounds, I would single out the very appearance of the multiplayer platform (landscape). I believe that the environment in which the avatar in the game exists can be important for environmental movements as a mobilization factor that has escaped the attention of theorists. Let's imagine that we are playing an online game that is an adaptation of *The Lord of the Rings* and that we spend one part of the game in the wonderful green Shire, where we see the harmony that exists between unpolluted nature, peaceful life and man, and the other part of the game in Mordor, a place of deeply mutilated nature and mass industrial production. Such a parallel can cause emotions that can later be used to mobilize a social movement (even unconsciously). By making a parallel of the scenes of nature in online games with the chronology of the development of ecological social movements, we will notice how important romantic literature, filled with the harmony of nature and harsh criticism of industrialized cities, was for the rise of the eco movement in the USA. Today in the world of visualization, I believe that video games can and already have such a role. Games often present visual utopias that can be deeply imprinted on the user's memory and feelings, to the extent that there can be disappointment in the appearance of the real world. And there is a great opportunity for progressive eco-movements, because "the birth of social movements in the modern sense means the transition from written (acted, original author) to practical, active utopias" (Vejvoda, 1984:1859).

Environmental movements and progressive coalitions (blocs)

Today, hardly any movement acts completely independently, the reasons for this are numerous, from the collection of resources to the possibility of closer transnational cooperation. As a result, coalitions are created that represent a network of cooperation between two or more actors (movements, civil society organizations, but also prominent individuals) (Van Dyke and Amos, 2017). Coalitions can vary in terms of duration, intensity of cooperation or ideological positioning. When we talk about the length of cooperation, then we can divide coalitions into those that are formed only for one event (Van Dyke and Amos, 2017), as well as those that last longer, be it until the end of the joint campaign or indefinite period of time. As for the intensity of cooperation, we can talk about coalitions whose cooperation still means a clear separation of the entities of all members, as well as only occasional joint actions, while on the other hand we can have solid coalitions that may (or may not) even have a completely new joint entity which deals with the operation and coordination of the coalition, however, the main thing about such a more intense coalition is that most of the actions are coordinated and that the agenda of one member is adopted as the (un)official agenda of the other members and vice versa. Then we have, what I think the best name would be a progressive bloc, that is, a more intensive network of cooperation, where we have a higher level of coherence of actions, but also ideological agendas, while creating an official or unofficial entity that we can freely call a movement (although I would expand the name of the movement and other types of coalition). Van Dijk and Amos list the five most important factors in the formation of a coalition:

1. Social ties and history of mutual interaction. The formation of a coalition largely depends on whether we have someone who will handle the establishment of a coalition, that is, whether we have a coalition broker (Bystydzienski & Schacht, 2001). This is usually a person who is close to the potential members of the coalition and may even represent the organization. In Serbia, it is not unusual for coalitions to initiate and encourage foreign foundations with the aim of developing and strengthening civil society (Petrović, 2020). The role of these brokers was very well seen during the formation of the anti-war coalition in the US against the intervention in Iraq when the brokers employed a coalition consisting of environmental movements, peace movements and trade union movements (Rose, 2000). The way of interaction in the past also determines the probability of forming a coalition, and therefore if we have a network of progressive movements that had earlier positive experiences of mutual interaction and cooperation, then it would be reasonable to assume the emergence of a new progressive coalition when

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there is a need for it, such as organizing a wave of protests or joint campaign. The safer and longer cooperation we have, the stronger the coalition we have, which is becoming a matter of tradition for those movements. The level of spatial isolation and limited interaction is an important factor in the interaction and creation of personal connections between movement activists (Bandy and Smith, 2005). The lower the limitation of interaction and the greater the possibility of easy communication, the greater the possibility of creating a coalition. For ecological movements in the past, transnational networking did represent a serious challenge, often insurmountable, but today with the development of technology and the globalization of communication, the possibility of national and transnational cooperation of movements is unlimited. However, it is not all about communication, as an important element of cooperation is the existence of free space, that is, "spatial settings within a community or movement that are not under the control of a dominant group, where there is voluntary participation and that creates a cultural basis that encourages mobilization" (Polletta, 1999:1). In such a free space, our hypothetical progressive coalition or bloc could organize, for example, a cultural festival that would promote the common values of democracy, tolerance and inclusion, ecology and social justice, but it could also use the space to coordinate its activities or either what a public performance.

2. Organizational characteristics. Research has shown that the breadth of goals that the movement deals with, as well as the organizational structure, have an effect on the probability of entering into coalitions with other movements, so movements that include more areas that they deal with have a much greater potential for forming a coalition (Borland, 2008). Moreover, organizations that are active on multiple fronts (multi-issue organizations) can serve as coalition brokers in order to bring together several organizations that do not deal with the same fields (for example, the peace movement and the environmental movement, if as a broker we have an organization that deals with both spheres that are complementary). When we talk about the organizational structure, two factors appear as important factors in the creation of coalitions:
 - a. Division of work. If we have a clear division of labor where we know the responsibility of each member of the movement, then we can expect that the movement will easily be able to choose and send representatives to coalition meetings, which will facilitate its actions within it (Borland, 2008).
 - b. Professional leaders. The quality of a leader largely determines a movement's ability to approach or form a coalition with other movements. By qualities, we mean the acquaintances that the leader cultivates (networking), as well as social and human capital (Nepstad and Bob, 2006). Therefore, his ability to create acquaintances with potential collaborators in the coalition, as well as his organizational skills and education, have an extremely important influence on the possibility of creating a coalition.
3. Cultural, ideological and identity similarities. For this paper, these are the central factors, because through the entire text I am trying to show how the ideological similarity of progressive movements creates, as a natural process, the creation of progressive coalitions and blocs. And this is exactly what numerous authors prove, cultural similarities (Bandy and Smith, 2005), ideological similarities (Altemose and McCarthy, 2001), as well as collective identity (Barvosa-Carter, 2001) represent a sufficient reason for the emergence of progressive coalitions. Of course, this in itself does not necessarily guarantee the creation of coalitions, and this must be noted, because we have had cases where a coalition of environmental movements did not occur because they could not agree on the approach to activism, whether it would be individualistic or at the community level (Lichterman, 1995). What can also thwart the formation of ideologically complementary coalitions is the simplicity of cost-benefit analysis, where members of the movement estimate that joining a certain coalition entails more costs than benefits, and that it would not be rational.

In addition to inconsistent ways of acting and understanding things, there is also the question of the relationship between ideological similarity and cultural diversity. We can have together movements that share the same progressive agenda, but we should remember that the members of the movement may come from different cultural milieus, class, racial and ethnic groups, which can easily create misunderstandings and threaten the coalition itself (van Dyke and Amos, 2017). Thus, if we return to the coalition of progressive eco-movements, a misunderstanding may arise regarding the focus of a potential campaign, how to incorporate a national campaign while also satisfying movements that are focused on their local community, then how to harmonize the focus of a part of the coalition's membership on solving the racial issues as part of solving environmental issues, without overstressing the coalition, and reducing the amount of resources from the coalition's main campaign, these are all issues that can create confusion within the coalition, but also endanger its work. However, if we have movements with sufficiently similar cultural and ideological similarities, as well as sufficient space and opportunity for interaction, then the chances of a coalition are good (Van Dyke and Amos, 2017). Ideological complementarity makes it easier to determine the goals of the coalition, but also serves as the very reason for its creation. Complementary movements create coalitions in order not only to achieve their primary goals, but also to expand the number of issues they cover with their actions. The coalition made up of the environmental movement, the social justice movement and the movement dealing with minority rights is coherent in the sense that it represents the issues of its constituents, because environmental pollution usually affects and harms racial minorities in poor neighborhoods more, that is why the environmental issue is also a racial issue and an issue social justice. As I mentioned in the section when I wrote about the characteristics of progressive movements, they all share similar foundations that allow them to interweave cooperation and joint action through which they become a multi-front organization.

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4. Institutional environment. Whether there will be a coalition or not depends to a certain extent on whether the movement experiences positive impulses (political chances) or threats within the political and social arena. Research shows that if a movement receives positive signals, it will tend to join a complementary coalition (Diaz-Veizades and Chang, 2006). However, in some situations, threats can be equally effective because they produce a regrouping of the movements experiencing the threat and their consolidation of ranks (Chang, 2008). Moreover, the simultaneous action of both positive opportunities and threats can also have a positive effect on mobilization and coalition building (Juska and Edwards, 2005). If we have the victory of a progressive green candidate in the elections in a community due to the coming economic crisis, but also an environmental one, then we have a model of simultaneous news, that is, political chances (elected candidate) and threats (economic and environmental crisis) that can act as a catalyst for the creation of coalitions of progressive movement.

5. Resources. The last important factor in the creation of coalitions is the issue of resources. When considering joining a coalition, each movement does a cost-benefit analysis and weighs the benefits and costs of acting within the coalition (Almeida and Stearns, 1998). If the benefits exceed the costs, then it is logical for the movement to be part of the coalition. When movements have neither resources nor enough time at their disposal, coalitions are a less likely outcome (Zald and McCarthy, 1980). Also, the issue of resources remains important and when a movement enters a coalition, those movements that bring the most resources into the coalition will tend to control it (Bob, 2005). The lack of resources can sometimes be a positive sign for the creation of coalitions, because when movements see that none of them have enough resources to exert pressure or carry out a campaign to the end, then they can join together to compensate for the lack of resources (Almeida, 2008).

Maintaining established coalitions is not an easy task and it also depends on several factors. The existence of political threats or opportunities can be a factor that will keep the need for a coalition, but also the coalition itself alive, but the disappearance, for example, of a threat that gathered only the coalition can lead to the dismantling of the coalition (Heaney and Rojas, 2011). A coalition formed to oppose projects by a private company across the country that threatens the communities themselves and their environment, comes into a major crisis after the company abandons the projects due to excessive costs imposed by the coalition through its actions or the reaction of the state due to public pressure. Then we come to a situation where the problem that the coalition was focused on has been solved or has become overcome and unimportant. When I mentioned overcoming the problems that the coalition deals with, it is important to note that precisely such changes in the environment, i.e. changes in social circumstances, can cause conflicts in the coalition because they require the adaptation of the coalition itself to them, and a change of direction in terms of the problems and spheres to which it will the coalition should be directed, which can cause conflicts within the coalition itself, because it is not easy to agree again on the goals and program of action and to create a new consensus among the members (van Dyke and Amos, 2017). Another important item in maintaining the coalition itself is the building of trust that grows through interaction with which all members of the coalition are satisfied, and which strengthens the longer this interaction lasts (Altemose and McCarthy, 2001). Since coalitions often include different organizations both in terms of size and way of organizing, in order for such a coalition to survive, it is necessary to maintain a relationship of trust, empathy, but also accountability and responsibility. The procedure in which those who acted on behalf of the coalition (agents) have sessions, i.e. consultations with all members of the coalition, with a focus on independent organizations where they submit accounts and answer questions about their actions and work, is precisely the procedure that contributes to the establishment of such relations, thereby extending the duration of the coalition (Altemose and McCarthy, 2001).

Progressive coalition in practice: the case of Italian water movement

I will try to demonstrate how the creation of coalitions is an indispensable and important part of the operation and existence of progressive environmental movements using the example of the struggle of Italian progressive movements against water privatization. In the process of water ownership reform in Italy, which was initiated in the mid-90s, and which culminated in 2011 with the holding of a referendum on this issue, we had the opportunity to observe the birth and action of a progressive coalition of movements and people that fought against the neoliberal reform implemented by the Government of Italy. We had a conflict in which, on one side, there were the EU institutions and the national government of Italy, which advocated the privatization of water and the introduction of market mechanisms and competitiveness, and on the other, the local authorities in Italy and a constellation of movements that considered water a general public good and a human right (Carozza and Fantini, 2016). Forum Italiano dei Movimenti per l'Acqua was a group of movements and currents that worked together for the same goal, the preservation of water as a public good. The coalition brought together broader social currents and movements such as "alterglobalization networks, civil society organizations dealing with social development, environmental groups, labor unions, civil committees, local authorities, consumer associations, missionaries and parishes" (Carozza and Fantini, 2016:102). Here we had a very interesting coalition at work, which in addition to what we would call regular actors (movements, trade unions, civil initiatives and civil society organizations) also had some local authorities, but also (progressive) representatives of the Catholic Church, which made this coalition succeed in include wider support among the population, more effective mobilization, as well as the high credibility of the coalition, which bore fruit in the referendums of 2011. Carozza and Fantini single out this movement as one of the most original for several reasons. They define this movement (coalition) as one of the most inclusive and resistant mobilizations in contemporary

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Italy (Carozza and Fantini, 2013). The reason for this is that the problem of water privatization was presented here as a struggle for democracy, "if you write water, you read democracy" (Carozza and Fantini, 2016:100). In support of this is Nenad Dimitrijević's thesis about how in this conflict the Italian movements showed that a social movement can be the bearer of the constitutive power of the people (citizens) (Dimitrijević, 2014). The movement attacked the system that failed the citizens and was rapidly losing its legitimacy, that is why the movement represented the expression of various resigned social groups and connected the issue of resistance to water privatization with other issues that were also a blow of neoliberal policies such as the issue of "work, knowledge, internet, culture (the case of the Occupy Teatro Valle movement, ed.), education, oil and energy, but also public spaces and cultural institutions. The emergence and action of this coalition gave birth to new and shaped the existing ideas of "commons democracy" - common public goods (Bersani, 2011), the movement as the bearer of constitutive power (Dimitrijević, 2014) and "the commons as an alternative to capitalism" (Ricoverti, 2011).). As Carozza and Fantini noted, although this was a process of fighting for water as a commons, that is, a common good, that notion of the commons and the struggle itself were "saturated with broader political ideas, agendas and cultural representations" (Carozza and Fantini, 2016:100). And this is an excellent indicator of the connection between other progressive agendas and the environmental issue. In this explanation of the originality of the Italian coalition for water, we could notice how progressive, innovative, but also radical it was, because it challenged dominant notions of the default ownership structure, reminded of the true holder of constitutive power, but also showed how original progressive ideas that deviate from the status quo notions of the possible can become popular and achievable.

What is interesting, but also expected, is that such a broad coalition highlighted as many as three different interpretations of the issue of the importance of resisting the privatization of water, so we had a current that advocated the protection of water because it is a human right, another current that advocated the notion of water as the commons of the local territory and finally, the stream that advocated understanding water as a commons beyond the jurisdiction of the state and the market (Carozza and Fantini, 2016).

When we talk about the first current, we said that it views the issue of water protection as the protection of the human right to water, which is defined as universal access to a sufficient amount of clean water regardless of the ability to pay (Miroso and Harris, 2012). Therefore, here the protection of water is at the same time the protection of human rights and egalitarian social justice. This whole current, as well as the movement, was greatly influenced by Ricardo Petrella's Water Manifesto, where he called for the establishment of a world treaty on water (Petrella, 2001). This current within the movement-coalition was responsible for connecting in Porto Alegre in 2001 with South American indigenous movements fighting for the protection of water, land and forests (Carozza and Fantini, 2016). This activity, as well as numerous other similar activities, brought developed transnational cooperation with other similar movements and coalitions. In such activities, the "new culture of water" and international solidarity in the protection of all similar goods were promoted and this stream was mainly composed of transnational organizations, alter-globalization movements and progressive Catholics (Carozza and Fantini, 2016).

Another current within the Italian coalition for water was the one that justified the defense of water from privatization by understanding water as a public good of the local territory. This current in the coalition was made up of local authorities, local environmental movements, trade unions and citizens' committees and initiatives, they all believed that the right to manage water does not belong to non-local actors such as national and even regional authorities that carry out exploitation, but that the best new for responsible water management, for the benefit of the community, precisely local (Carozza and Fantini, 2016). The characteristic of this current is the traditional, historically present, narrative of localism, self-management, solidarity, sustainability and participatory democracy (Magnaghi, 2006). Local authorities that invoked the historical right of local self-government found a good ally in local actors from civil society and together they opposed the tendencies of higher authorities for neoliberal policies.

Finally, we have a third current in the interpretation of the right to water and its defense, namely, the interpretation of water as a public good beyond the jurisdiction of the state and the market. Supporters of this trend were left-wing organizations, as well as the famous Rodota Commission. They believed that water is a public good that should be managed through direct democracy and self-governance, not "from above" (Carozza and Fantini, 2016). Although similar to the previous one, it relied less on traditional strongholds and was more radical in that it not only sought the defense of water from neoliberal policies, but also the fundamental reform of the entire state based on political participation and self-management (Carozza and Fantini, 2016). This radical current was largely inspired by the works of Antonio Negri (Antonio Negri) and Michael Hardt (Michael Hardt) and their call to defend resources such as water, air and land from the onslaught of neoliberal global capitalism (Negri and Hardt, 2009). Also, an important person for articulating the agenda of this stream was Stefano Rodotta, who in 2007 was appointed the head of the commission by the then left-center government, which was supposed to find a solution to the issue of public property management in order to limit the privatization process (Bailey and Mattei, 2013). In its report, the commission concluded that public goods are goods that provide the basic means to satisfy the fundamental rights of individuals, and under goods they listed natural resources such as lakes and rivers, air, parks, etc. (Bailey and Mattei, 2013).

The success of this coalition was achieved thanks to good organization, intensive mobilization, transnational cooperation, but, above all, a broad coalition that included many progressive groups of society, creating a sufficiently broad and fertile ground for mass mobilization. What is also important, this coalition showed that in addition to the standard actors of civil society, we can also have local government actors as possible parts of progressive coalitions, but it also showed that elements such as tradition and religion

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are not exclusively reserved for conservative currents in society, but can serve and promoting a progressive agenda. This is precisely why we should insist on understanding traditional culture and religion as ambivalent elements of society that can be used for both conservative and progressive agendas.

CONCLUSION

In today's world, social movements have greater social visibility than ever before, they have more means available to mobilize and send their messages to the public airwaves, which makes them one of the most important social and political actors in the (local, national or supranational) political community. That reason, as well as the importance and urgency of today's environmental problems, led me to set as the main research question and goal of my work the clarification of the characteristics and actions of contemporary progressive environmental movements. In my work, I tried to shed light on the fluidity of the forms in which such movements are manifested. I did this by encompassing all the formal and informal forms such a social movement can take, from a group of progressive intellectuals who meet on weekends to debate and articulate progressive ideas to those institutionalized movements with a clear program, action, outline and hierarchy. Also, as progressive ecological social movements, I mean those whose environmental issues are not the primary issues they deal with, but which for some reason are present either in their program, communication or their actions. Thus, some neo-feminist movements could be part of a collective action or performance to highlight the problem of air in the city, thus qualifying them as secondary environmental movements. Through similar examples and theoretical discussions, I wanted to show how important it is to adopt the most comprehensive notion of social movements in order to capture the fluidity of forms in reality. Also, the examples served to show how much ideological complementarity, along with other factors mentioned in the paper, affects the creation of progressive coalitions or stronger blocks of various progressive actors in the fight for similar or the same goals. The reason for that was similar views on the world, but also the fact that the environmental problem was part of many other social problems and an indispensable part of solving them and vice versa. That is why it was important to point out how difficult it is to stick one label on a specific contemporary social movement due to the impossibility of including all elements of the activities of such social actors and entities. I devoted a large part of my attention to processing all factors that contribute to and influence the formation and further mobilization of movements, which are external and internal in nature, through various theoretical paradigms that exist today in the study of social movements. It was precisely this insistence on combining these various theoretical assumptions that was supposed to show all the complexity that determines the creation and action of such challenging social actors. Also, my insistence on examining coalitions and joint action platforms as one of the most important components of social movement activity was noticeable throughout the work. Namely, those coalitions themselves were proof of ideological complementarity, which was the basis for the creation of cooperation between progressive actors. Then, the coalitions served as a continuation of my argument about the fluidity of the form and action of contemporary progressive eco-movements, because in them there were situations when it was not easy to clearly demarcate all the actors and determine whether or not a new social entity was created as a result of the coalition. I am of the opinion that coalitions should be viewed as valid and legitimate social actors, no matter how unstable or short-lived they are, because they influence the outcome of social processes, but also the functioning and appearance of social movements. A bad "marriage" in the coalition could mean a permanent distance between progressive ecological and other progressive currents in one community, regardless of ideological closeness, because we must remember the importance of the part in the work that talks about how much previous interaction between social actors, that is, their history, may affect the possibility of establishing further cooperation and coalition.

Finally, I must remind again the importance of other factors that determine the possibility of creating a coalition, which do not concern the issue of ideological complementarity, such as cost-benefit analysis, because the creation of an ideological coalition is not always rational from the position of achieving the results and goals of the movement, especially if that movement itself there are enough resources. Although ideological complementarity as the basis for the formation of movement coalitions and their action in these new forms is something that is obvious, I wanted to examine all the important factors that contribute to the formation of such types of coalitions and to explain their action.

In order to have a slight chance of achieving set goals, I argued the necessity of using various theoretical frameworks, many of which seemed opposed and not complementary to each other. But that richness various standpoints gives us all the necessary tools for researching contemporary social movements.

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