



Haris Malamidis

Social Movements and Solidarity Structures in Crisis-Ridden Greece

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and Solidarity Structures
in Crisis-Ridden Greece

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Introduction

Abstract

This chapter introduces the overall topic of the book. It starts by relating the recent developments of the social movement community in Greece, to the discussions on movements' structural and cultural boundaries. It provides the aims of the manuscript and situates it within current academic and public debates. The chapter proceeds by presenting the research design and provides information about the methods of data generation. In particular, document analysis, qualitative semi-structured interviews and participant observation employed in more than 50 social movement organizations in Greece's two major cities, Athens and Thessaloniki. Finally, it illustrates the politics and research ethics that accompanied the course of this study and offers the book's outline, in order to orientate the reader.

Keywords: Anti-austerity movements; Alternative repertoire of actions; Boundary enlargement; Qualitative methods

Following the collapse of Lehman Brothers and the breakdown of the financial system in the USA, the economic crisis quickly spread to the other side of the Pacific, predominantly affecting the national economies of the South. Found at the epicentre, Greece has experienced an explosion of movements against austerity which challenged the legitimacy of neoliberal representative democracy. Nevertheless, rampant austerity measures provoked the rise of service-oriented repertoires, with numerous social solidarity structures providing welfare services to the suffering population (Kousis et al., 2018; Papadaki and Kalogeraki, 2017), which came to the forefront once the dynamic of the protests started to decline.

This period of transition provides the setting for the focal point of this book. By positioning the recent economic crisis and the subsequent austerity measures within the realm of contentious politics, this manuscript suggests that between 2008 and 2016 the social movement community in Greece, consisting of formal and informal social movement organizations (SMOs),

grassroots networks and individual activists (Staggenborg, 2013), has gone through a transformative process which enabled the shift of social movement organizations' interests towards the exercise of service-oriented repertoires of action. These service-oriented repertoires should not be confused with what critical scholars frame as the neoliberal institutionalization and professionalization of voluntarism (Rozakou, 2008, p. 114). Rather, it acquires the meaning of what anthropologists describe as gift-giving, with the provision of medical services, clothing, food, agricultural products and jobs to the victims of austerity (Papataxiarchis, 2016, p. 207).¹

During the period of austerity, the cognitive and structural boundaries of SMOs seem to change form and become more flexible, leading to the inclusion of new and the transformation of old repertoires. Boundaries that used to distinguish SMOs with clear aims in mobilizing people from other organizations advocating and lobbying for collective purposes, as well as from those organizations with supportive roles that framed the movements' overall culture, get blurred. Crisis-ridden Greece witnessed this change of boundaries by incorporating service-oriented repertoires. However, this does not assume a path-dependent course. In line with post-modern accounts pointing to the fluidity of well-defined structures, organizational boundaries may change by engaging with activities other than service-oriented practices. In order to describe this process, we introduce the term *boundary enlargement*. By boundary enlargement, we refer to *a process where previously defined boundaries are extended, enabling social movement organizations to move beyond their delimited cognitive and structural perimeter and adopt practices and repertoires that up to that point have been issued by distant and often antagonistic actors*.

The connection between different organizations of the Greek social movement community and the employment of protest repertoires under similar claims between 2010 and 2012, forced some scholars to speak in favor of an anti-austerity campaign (Diani and Kousis, 2014). Nevertheless, protests took place well beyond 2012, and the anti-austerity collective actions also included forms that are not compatible with the usual street politics. The emergence of these new forms of action also affected the focus of the academic community, giving birth to a number of definitions regarding the service-oriented repertoires. Bosi and Zamponi (2015) speak for the repetition

1 We often refer to the recipients of these services as beneficiaries, in order to differentiate them from activists. Although we are aware that this term is problematic, since it grants the individual a passive role and establishes a power relation between the providers and recipients of these services, here the term is used only with descriptive purposes, without bearing analytical insight.

of old “direct social actions”, which opt for social change without turning their claims towards the state. From a different perspective, the combination of economic and social characteristics forced Kousis and Paschou to present the framework of “alternative forms of resilience”, the actions of which aim to create a strong social resilience in times of crises (Kousis and Paschou, 2014, 2017). In the same vein, Forno and Graziano (2014) refer to “sustainable community movements” by focusing on actions which mobilize citizens through their economic power; while the incorporation of the third sector, including church and municipal organizations exhorted Loukakis (2018) to frame them as “alternative action organizations”.

The provision of informal welfare services by social movement actors is not something new. Neither are the various expressions of solidarity. The self-help fund organized by the workers of the self-managed factory of Vio.Me in Thessaloniki presents great similarities with practices of the traditional labour movement. Additionally, the emergence of numerous collective kitchens organized by individuals and grassroots collectives has many points in common with the tradition of the Italian autonomous movement. Moreover, the first social clinic in Greece was established in Chania, Crete in 1990, long before the eruption of the crisis. Taking into consideration other forms of social provision, the literature on welfare state policies emphasizes a trend of outsourcing basic social services towards non-state actors already from the beginning of the 1990s (Stasinopoulou, 2002). Nevertheless, as we analyse below, a number of factors complicate the picture.

In particular, the actions in the context of crisis-ridden Greece present a wide variety in terms of the provided services, the actors who employ them, as well as those who use them, since they do not refer only to activists but to larger parts of the population. Traditional SMOs turned their attention to the provision of services, and new organizations were established specifically for this purpose. These organizations seem to employ traditional repertoires of social movements, but at the same time deny having clear political identities. Moreover, they engage participants from a wide range of the political spectrum, while increased intensity alongside the deepening of austerity raises doubts as to whether they can be considered self-help groups. Along these lines, the importance of these repertoires stems from the significance they have acquired in the agenda of SMOs.

This research refers to *alternative² repertoires of action* in order to define the group of solidarity structures and the repertoires preoccupied with the

2 Although the term “alternative” implies something different to the mainstream capitalist system, it is often criticized for reducing any radical features. In this respect, it feels that

unofficial provision of services, which used to be provided by the welfare state and the market. More precisely, we refer to the cases of social clinics, collective and social kitchens, markets without middlemen, time banks, bazaars and barter clubs, educational courses of language and art, self-managed workers' collectives and other similar forms. The range of these actions is so wide that it tends to cover a great part of the social, economic and cultural life, as well as the basic livelihood needs of a human being. These actions are implemented either by new organizations founded specifically for this reason, or by traditional SMOs which have incorporated these service-oriented actions in their repertoires. According to Hadjimichalis 'these solidarity actions vary considerably depending on the social group and the community they target, the needs they aim to cover, the relationships among volunteers and the relationship with institutions' (2017, p. 161).

Coming across the rich empirical reality that gave birth to several different theoretical understandings, this study explores the transformative character of the recent economic crisis and the subsequent austerity measures concerning social movements and their relationship to the state. In particular, our attention is drawn to the scenes of food, health and labour and the respective efforts accomplished by social movement actors, through the application of qualitative research on approximately 50 organizations. These three scenes have been widely studied by social movement scholars, each one contributing valuable insight that helped the construction of the social movement stream of research in social sciences, as well as its extension to other fields. Research on health-related movements usually touches upon institutional theories and practices, and also deals with cognitive issues by challenging certain identities and belief systems (see for instance Banaszak-Holl et al., 2010). Inquiries on the food scene have been mostly connected with genetically modified organisms (GMOs) as well as urban studies and political geography, while the labour scene dominated the social movement interest for more than a century. Nevertheless, the attention of this research on these three scenes is not due to their rich tradition in social movement studies; rather, our decision is grounded in three reasons. First, food, health and labour scenes were severely damaged by the recent economic crisis and the subsequent austerity measures, thus dramatically changing the everyday reality of the Greek population. Second, these three scenes host active and

"alternative" practices are being coopted by the dominant system, used within and not aside or against of it, and, at the end, they serve its reproduction. However, the use of the term "alternative" here aims only to distinguish the new forms of action from the traditional protest-oriented repertoires of social movements, without implying other analytical connotations.

intense activity by a wide variety of social movement actors concerning the Greek context. Third, the two aforementioned conditions indicate that the scenes of food, health and labour are adequate cases to analyse the development of the boundary enlargement process. Therefore, instead of approaching each of these scenes separately and analysing the evolution of the respective movements as single-issue movements, we perceive food, health and labour as complementary social movement scenes, which have attracted the interest of wider parts of the social movement community in Greece. This way allows us to discover how the different social mechanisms in each scene lead to the similar process of boundary enlargement.

Although scholars tend to distinguish organizations focusing on protest actions from those organizations with service-oriented practices, our approach treats these repertoires as two sides of the same coin. Our suggestion is based on the fact that the crisis and austerity accelerated the outburst of a process through which previously fixed boundaries of SMOs are transformed, enlarged and acquire new shapes. Although similar turbulent conditions in other settings may lead to different changes in the respective boundaries of SMOs, the most representative case of this change of boundaries within the Greek context is the incorporation of service-oriented repertoires. Therefore, we refer to *anti-austerity mobilizations* in order to describe the street actions that took place from 2008 onwards, while through *alternative repertoires of action* we point to those practices employed by social movement actors that were hitherto provided by the welfare state and the market. Similar to Hadjimichalis (2013) approach, we argue that these alternative repertoires are cases of continuities of the traditional protest activities, in the sense that they have been developed *within* and not *aside* the broader struggle against austerity.

Aim and Contribution

Political, economic and social crises are often conceived as the end of a period and the beginning of another, bearing transformative effects that foster further social evolution. Crisis-ridden Greece, among the salient cases where austerity brought fear and loathing, experienced tremendous changes in its political, economic and social environment (Serdedakis and Tompazos, 2018). Additional changes took place with regards to the country's social movement community. The development (and more precisely the decline) of the anti-austerity mobilizations initiated the advent of the alternative repertoires, concentrated on the provision of welfare that had previously

been provided by the state and the market. This study argues that the eruption of the crisis and the imposition of a state of austerity facilitated important changes in the boundaries of the social movement community in Greece. SMOs incorporated a series of alternative repertoires of action with important effects on their relationship with the state and other institutional actors. The aim of this study is to unravel the mechanisms that constitute the process of boundary enlargement between 2008 and 2016.

First, the alternative repertoires of action have provoked changes within the boundaries of the social movement community. In particular, the incorporation and provision of service-oriented practices along with protest politics seems to inaugurate a new era for social movement actors, as they are confronted with new dilemmas and challenges. From conceptual debates regarding the definition and (potential) innovative approaches of these activities and their engagement in the charity-solidarity debate, to issues regarding self-management, costs and efficiency, these alternative repertoires pose questions to social movements whose elaboration with the provision of welfare services was previously attached only at a theoretical level.

Second, the association of social movements and their organizations with institutional actors add another important element to the inquiry's object of study. Either with official affiliations or with unofficial connections following similar means, the discrete line that used to distinguish movements from institutional actors becomes blurred. The degree of movements' engagement with the state, their organizational and operational interconnection, the substitution by or outsourcing of welfare provision to unofficial actors, as well as relatively similar aspects are some of the topics that need further clarification.

The aforementioned issues are closely related to the hardships provoked due to austerity. In this regard, this exercise adds important empirical insight into the literature related to the transformative role of crises and to bottom-up welfare practices. In particular, it manages to bridge the severe changes brought to the livelihood of Greek citizens with the macro-structural adjustments of the national and international environment. Hence, it demonstrates how these are reflected in the heart of social movements, namely the meso-level of SMOs.

In our attempt to explore the mechanisms that shape the crisis' transformative nature, we focus on social movement theories, and specifically to the framework of Contentious Politics³ as this was first introduced by

3 Contentious politics describe those political actions where actors form groups and networks, which mobilize without the support of and outside institutional boundaries. At the same time,

Doug McAdam, Sidney Tarrow and Charles Tilly (McAdam et al., 2001). The theoretical framework used in this study favors a dynamic model and aspires to further contribute to the social movement literature that bridges the gap between the structural and cultural approaches. What is crucial here is the aspect of resources. Despite the loss of its popularity in the current social movement analyses, this study brings it back by arguing that during times when there is a scarcity of wealth, resources become important components for the development of social movements. Most importantly, taking into consideration the fluid and liquid accusations of late modernity and post-modernity, this research introduces the process of boundary enlargement in its attempt to explain how structures and identities are interlinked and mixed. By approaching the shift towards the provision of services as one example of this process, this inquiry explains the similarities and differences among the trajectories of SMOs and engages in a dialogue with scholarship on the subject. Although social movement studies constitute the basic lens for explaining the process of boundary enlargement, our analysis also touches upon the frameworks of social and solidarity economy and the commons, and underlines features related to alternative economies often discussed in organization and marketing literature (Campana et al., 2017).

Overall, this book facilitates the better understanding on how collective action changes in times of crisis, as well as the dynamics of social movements in periods of latency and silence. It shows how during protest cycles not only do new actors rise, but also those who already exist are transformed internally. In this respect, although it deals with a relatively recent phenomenon, it still does not lose its historical perspective.

Research Design

Starting by observing the changes that occurred in the Greek social movement community within the period 2008-2016, our interest in explaining the process which took place led us to the framework of Contentious Politics. The framework of Contentious Politics aims to explain the emergence of collective action in different episodes of contention through the identification of common mechanisms and processes. In this respect, the updated version of *Contentious Politics* (Tilly and Tarrow, 2015) urges researchers to

it describes a specific theoretical framework for the analysis of social movements and collective action. Following Kotronaki (2015, p. 2), we use capital letters (Contentious Politics) when referring to this framework.

first understand what they want to explain, then to identify the relevant sites, conditions, streams and episodes of contention, and finally, to specify which are the mechanisms and processes that appear. At this stage, the initial empirical-driven study was combined with the application of theory. Nevertheless, the emphasis on the dynamic and relational character of contention lacked a definition regarding the changes and transformation of boundaries – the process of boundary enlargement. This has set in motion a continuous interaction between the field and the theory, combining the inductive approach with deductive elements.

Although the initial scope was not the application of theory to a case, the outcome of this exercise is the combination of inductive and deductive approaches with the potential to explain a relatively new reality of the crisis-ridden universe of collective action. At the same time, it aimed to contribute to the development of the Contentious Politics framework. The framework of Contentious Politics strongly favors comparative research as a means to enhance the broader knowledge and to theoretically stabilize the framework which argues that similar mechanisms exist in different contexts. Our study does not follow this tradition. Instead, our aim to reveal the new reality and the process of boundary enlargement forced us to adopt a case-study research design, although this was achieved by applying a within-case comparison. Among a considerable number of scenes employing these alternative repertoires, the large consequences of austerity policies on the living conditions of the population forced us to direct our attention to actions focused on addressing basic needs. As indicated by the systematic research of relevant inquiries⁴, the issues of food, health and labour reflect adequate fields of study and, therefore, serve as the units of analysis of this research. In particular, we focus on the cases of markets without middlemen, social and collective kitchens and collection and distribution of food parcels in the food scene, social clinics in the health scene, and workers' collectives dealing with labour issues.

We are aware that by selecting specific social movement scenes, we inevitably exclude others. Thus, the housing scene could also fit under the umbrella of basic needs, while this selection does not allow us to take into consideration cultural or educational scenes. Nevertheless, the nature of our field helps us to overcome this issue, since the variety of actions employed by the Greek SMOs and grassroots collectives enables us to extract information concerning other scenes. In respect to this, SMOs that were established before the advent of the crisis and have incorporated the alternative repertoires,

4 LIVEWHAT Work Package 6, Integrated Report on alternative forms of resilience in times of crises (2016), http://www.unige.ch/livewhat/wp-content/uploads/2014/02/LIVEWHAT_D6.4.pdf

as well as social centres, squats and neighbourhood assemblies that offer food, health or labour services, are taken into consideration.

During the process of case selection, we first turned our attention to the social movements and third sector literatures. Greece has been accused of being among the European countries with the lowest score on social capital (Huliaras, 2014). Nevertheless, research into the Greek civil society finds a rather great number of civil society organizations currently active, mostly in Athens and Thessaloniki (Afouxenidis and Gardiki, 2014, p. 13; Loukidou, 2014). Although helpful, these inquiries failed to include the full length of grassroots activities, since they referred mostly to formally registered organizations with clear non-profit action, leaving aside solidarity networks and neighbourhood assemblies (Afouxenidis and Gardiki, 2014, p. 4). As the researchers observe, there is a rising tendency to establish unofficial organizations, such as self-help groups and grassroots collectives, which do not have any intention of formally registering in state's archives. Subsequently, this places obstacles in the path of identifying them. This tendency seems to reflect a broader preference towards unofficial structures observed in Southern European movements, more so than in their North European counterparts (Kousis et al., 2008, p. 1628). Contemporary research on solidarity structures during the crisis-context found more than 3500 formal and informal organizations providing social welfare as a response to austerity (Loukakis, 2018). However, still it is not clear whether these organizations are clearly linked with the Greek social movement community. Taking into consideration the aforementioned studies and our experience from previous research in the field (Malamidis, 2018), we tried to tackle this issue based on snowball sampling.

Our research focuses on the meso-level of organizations. In particular, we took into consideration approximately 50 organizations in the two largest cities in Greece, Athens and Thessaloniki, as well as two organizations in Crete. Among the 50 organizations, more than fifteen of them operate in the social movement scene of food, ten in the social movement scene of health, around fifteen in the social movement scene of labour, and the rest of the organizations studied have a rather active role in employing traditional forms of protest repertoires. Our field research took place between May 2016 and January 2017, with an additional round of field research in September 2017.⁵ Field research came to an end when we were confronted with the saturation

5 Although later improvements in the organizations under study have caused internal conflicts and resulted either in their institutionalisation by their incorporation in the respective units of local administrations or their dissolution, we do not take them into consideration since they exceed the timespan of the field research.

effect, a *déjà vu* feeling of narrative repetition (Bryman, 2012, p. 452). This study does not apply a representative research design, since our research focuses on resourced, urban communities with longer social movement history than rural and less resourced ones. As Kriesi once commented, ‘data on the most important SMOs of a social movement give only a partial idea of the extent and the character of its organizational development’ since ‘these SMOs constitute only the tip of a movement’s organizational iceberg’ (Kriesi, 1996, p. 166). Nevertheless, we believe that this sampling approach allows for a more informed understanding, concerning the shift from protest to service-oriented activities.

Among other research methods, the case-study research design embraces qualitative fieldwork for data generation. Almost fifteen years ago, McAdam suggested that ‘movement researchers will need to supplement the traditional macro and micro staples of movement analysis – case studies or event research in the case of the former and survey research in connection with the latter – with a more serious investment in ethnography and other methods designed to shed empirical light on the *meso-level* dynamics that shape and sustain collective action over time’ (McAdam, 2003, p. 282). Together with naturalistic experiments and quantitative variable-based analysis, McAdam et al. (2009) included the known as ‘ethnographic fieldwork’ among the preferred methods for the study of mechanisms and processes.

In our research, data generation was mostly based on qualitative semi-structured interviews, document analysis and participant observation. In particular, we conducted 63 interviews with members of new and traditional SMOs and solidarity structures, as well as with key informants from hybrid, non-governmental and institutional organizations linked with the provision of social solidarity.⁶ The interviews were assisted by the use of an interview guide, while all of them had been conducted, recorded and transcribed by the researcher⁷ in Greek, with an average duration of 1.15 hours. In this respect, any potential confusion the reader might have or mistakes in the quotations used is attributed to the researcher’s misuse of information. Moreover, we employed document analysis on the organizations’ founding declarations, political positions, denouncements, affiliations with other

6 In the cases of the MKIE and Nea Philadelphia social clinics, the interviewees clarified that our conversation was informal as it did not follow the procedure of getting approval from the respective collectives. Additionally, the official position of Adye clinic to generally reject interviews, forced one of our interviewees to clarify that the interview states only her opinion, and does not provide any information or representation of the clinic.

7 With the exception of one interview which has been transcribed by a third person due to time limits.

organizations, books and collective volumes published by participants in certain movements; as well as audiovisual material (radio and tv shows, documentaries, etc.) produced by the organizations. Finally, we considered as primary sources the notes taken during our participation in a number of fairs, events, conferences, festivals, demonstrations and coordinating assemblies in Athens and Thessaloniki, where many of the studied organizations participated in.

Structure of the Book

Although it does not take an exhaustive approach to perceive the multitude of mechanisms that took place during this transformative period, this study concentrates on the crisis as the catalyst for the process of boundary enlargement. In order to explore the contentious dynamics of the crisis and austerity measures on social movements and their relationship with the state, the book is structured as follows:

Chapter 1 demonstrates the book's theoretical underpinnings. Our elaboration of the framework of contentious politics demonstrates its advantages of analysing complex realities and its ambition for a dynamic approach. Nevertheless, the absence of an explanatory concept with regard to the changes over distinctive boundaries enables us to introduce the process of boundary enlargement and apply its utility to other potential theorizations. Additionally, we provide detailed reasons for our decision to examine the meso-organizational level and the conceptual use of social movement scenes. We also provide justifications for our attention to the factors of organizational structure, resources and identity. Finally, we acknowledge some important limitations our framework bears.

Chapter 2 presents the background context of this inquiry. By understanding the social movements as cases of continuities in time, we attempt to provide the reader with a comprehensive understanding of the development of the social movement community in Greece, by briefly sketching out some important aspects of previous mobilizations since the 1980s. Our trip to the past continues with the December 2008 riots, a landmark for the mobilizations to come. Of course, the advent of the economic crisis and the subsequent measures of austerity inaugurate a new social reality. The same can be said for the advent of the square movement and the following process of the movement's decentralization. Most importantly, as our research is mostly focused on alternative repertoires, we then focus on the social movement scenes of food, health and labour, and we

meticulously point out the actors who constitute them as well as their respective practices. Although this chapter may not present anything of particular interest for someone familiar with the Greek reality, it is more than necessary for someone with minimum knowledge of the background context.

Chapter 3 analyses the social movement scene of food with regards to the three repertoires of markets without middlemen, social and collective kitchens and the collection and distribution of food parcels. Along with the repertoires, plurality also applies to the organizers. These range from grassroots initiatives and neighbourhood assemblies to traditional social centres. In this regard, this chapter seeks to explore the mechanisms that form the boundary enlargement process in the social movement scene of food. In order to do so, it analyses the rise of the markets without middlemen and their transition to becoming consumer cooperatives. Additionally, it addresses the development of collective and social kitchens and the collection and distribution of food parcels as well as their subsequent coordination that assisted the formation of solidarity networks at first for the domestic population, and then, for what became known as the refugee “crisis”. Without undermining the distinctiveness of the respective actors and repertoires, we analyse each of the three repertoires regarding the factors of organizational structure, resources and identity.

Chapter 4 delves into the analysis of the social movement scene of health, by focusing on the advent of social clinics and the provision of primary healthcare services. The exclusion of almost one third of the Greek population from the health system, due to austerity measures, triggered the expansion of social clinics across the country and granted them a contentious role. By paying attention to the clinics’ organizational structure and decision-making systems, resources and identity, we explore the basic mechanisms and sub-mechanisms that shaped the increasing number of the clinics, their coordination and the construction of an unofficial solidarity network of drugs distribution. At the same time, the analysis of the formation of the boundary enlargement process touches upon the clinics’ relations with the state and their association with municipal authorities.

Chapter 5 analyses the social movement scene of labour and pays attention to the rise of self-managed cooperatives and workers’ collectives. Except for the position of trade unions, KKE, *Kommounistiko Komma Elladas* (Communist Party of Greece) and specific extra-parliamentary left-wing organizations, labour issues were marginal in the agenda of movements in Greece, when compared to broader post-material claims

prior to the economic crisis. The cultivation of the principles of self-organization on labour issues within political collectives acted as a catalyst for the transition towards the establishment of autonomous self-managed cooperatives and, to a lesser extent, the incorporation of self-managed structures into libertarian social centres. However, in terms of its reach, the social movement scene of labour moved beyond the limits of its regular supporters' core, since numerous self-managed cooperatives were formed by people found either at the periphery or outside of the social movement community. In this respect, the vast increase in unemployment and the normalization of precarious conditions in the labour market, combined with the formulation of a facilitating legislative framework, were additional reasons for the tremendous increase in social cooperatives. By paying attention to the components of organizational structure, resources and identity, this chapter explores the formation of the boundary enlargement process in the social movement scene of labour.

Chapter 6 introduces a comparative dimension. Following a within-case comparative approach, this chapter initially marks the most significant similarities and differences between the three social movement scenes. In order to better grasp the development of mechanisms in the three scenes, the second comparison deals with the different trajectories observed with regard to the factors of organizational structure, resources and identity.

Chapter 7 introduces two cases in which similar alternative repertoires developed and where the process of boundary enlargement seems to find application. The first case deals with the 2011 struggles against austerity in Spain. This case moves within the limits of the anti-austerity mobilizations, but it also reveals issues, such as the feminization of politics, which have been barely touched in the Greek context. A bit more ambitious, the second case deals with the Latin American context by bringing into the spotlight the 2001 crisis-ridden Argentina. The case of Argentina shows how the process of boundary enlargement may be adjusted in different settings, rather than just the usual suspects of western countries. It also highlights the usage of the boundary enlargement process in facilitating the better explanation of historical trajectories.

Chapter 8 provides the conclusion. After summarizing what has been discussed in the book, this chapter expands the use of boundary enlargement in conceptual terms. It does so by engaging this research in broader academic debates, by discussing the relationship of boundary enlargement with the social solidarity economy, commons and the neoliberal political economy, and indicates suggestions for further research.

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Part I

**Boundary Enlargement
and Anti-Austerity Mobilizations**

1 Theorizing the Process of Boundary Enlargement

Abstract

This chapter demonstrates the theoretical underpinnings of the book. By discussing the framework of contentious politics, the chapter shows its advantages for analyzing complex realities and its ambition for a dynamic approach. The absence of an explanatory concept with regards to the changes over the movements' distinctive boundaries, nevertheless, allows us to introduce the process of boundary enlargement; a dynamic process which shows how the extension of boundaries allows social movement organizations to move beyond their delimited cognitive and structural perimeter, and adopt new practices and repertoires. Furthermore, the chapter underlines the importance of the meso-organizational level and the use of social movement scenes, and provides justifications for the book's focus on the factors of organizational structure, resources and identity.

Keywords: Contentious politics framework; Boundary enlargement process; Social movement organizations; Organizational structure; Resources; Collective identity

This research argues that the recent economic crisis has enabled the facilitation of a boundary enlargement process, which has affected social movement organizations (SMOs) both internally, in terms of their internal operation, but also externally, regarding their relationship with institutional actors. In order to demonstrate this, we base our explanatory framework on the literature of social movements, with particular focus on the Contentious Politics approach.

The study of processes and mechanisms in social movement studies dates back to 2001, when McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly introduced the *Dynamics of Contention*. Since the 1980s, frame scholars criticized the static model of resource mobilization by suggesting a dynamic understanding of mobilization,

arguing that the 'decision to participate over time [is] thus subject to frequent reassessment and negotiation' (Snow et al., 1986, p. 467). Despite subsequent efforts to transform the static models of resource mobilization theory and the political process approach into more dynamic accounts (Tarrow, 1998), *Dynamics of Contention* was the first work to introduce a comprehensive theoretical framework.

Dynamics of Contention aimed to combine structural, relational and cultural approaches to politics. In order to achieve this, the authors suggest two steps. First, to approach social movements as one aspect of contentious politics, equal to strike waves, riots, civil wars, revolutions as well as nationalist mobilizations and processes of democratization. These events differ in many respects and therefore, they are often studied separately. Contentious Politics came to denounce that all of them 'have common causal properties instead of each constituting an entirely separate causal domain' (McAdam et al., 2009, p. 289). Moving forward, the second step claims that despite their differences, these forms of contention undergo the same mechanisms and processes that enable collective action to take place (McAdam et al., 2001, p. 4). According to this perspective, scholars should 'treat the causal properties as consisting of recurrent mechanisms and processes which in different combinations and sequences produce contrasting forms of collective claim making, from nonviolent to violent, from routine to extraordinary, from conservative to transformative' (McAdam et al., 2009, p. 289).

Adopting a relational perspective, McAdam et al (2001) argued that contentious episodes and events are processes which emerge from the combination of different sub-processes. Within the variety of contentious actions, the authors defined these sub-processes as mechanisms, namely 'a delimited class of events that alter relations among specified sets of elements in identical or closely similar ways over a variety of situations' (McAdam et al., 2001, p. 24). Mechanisms compound into processes, meaning 'regular combinations and sequences of mechanisms that produce similar (generally more complex and contingent) transformations of those elements. Distinct processes involve different sequences and combinations of mechanisms that interactively produce some outcome' (*Ibid*). The framework of Contentious Politics identifies combinations and sequences of mechanisms, which have different starting points, produce different outcomes and are developed within different contentious events like revolutions, wars, democratization processes and crises.

The process of boundary enlargement, like other social processes, does not exist in a vacuum. As demonstrated throughout the research, the process of boundary enlargement differs between actors; every actor had a different

starting point and followed a unique path which will most probably result in different outcomes. Nonetheless, it was the need created by austerity that has enabled its full development and exposure. In order to provide a more comprehensive understanding of the process of boundary enlargement, we further specify its theoretical underpinnings.

1.1 Why Boundary Enlargement?

In 1996, Melucci argued that social movements are ‘actions that imply conflict, solidarity and a breaching of the system limits’ (Melucci, 1996, p. 30). The overcoming of systems’ limits refers to the systems that ‘ensures the production of a society’s resources’, the organizational system that ‘makes decisions about the distribution of these resources’, the political system that ‘governs the exchange and deployment of the latter’, and ‘the system of reproduction in everyday life’ (*Ibid*, p. 27). Within this approach, boundaries represent the limits of these systems and define the space in which movements negotiate with these four systems of power. In the volume of 2013 on *The Future of Social Movement Research* (Stekelenburg et al., 2013), leading scholars attempted to frame the current state-of-the-art in social movement studies. Among other issues, the contributors raised attention to the fluidity of identities as well as to actual and symbolic boundaries as central social factors shaping the development of collective action. Despite having almost 20 years separating them, both accounts underline the importance of limits and boundaries in collective action. Prompted by these, our research elevates the study of boundaries to the central issue at stake.

On the subject of the dynamic character of identities, Diani notes that boundaries rarely distinguish movements from their environments. On the contrary, ‘we have boundaries that are often permeable, more or less dense areas of mutual recognition, and possibly chains of reaction’ (Diani, 2013, p. 154). The definition of boundaries ‘mirror processes of identity building, establishing connections across time and space, for example, within different phases of personal biographies, between generations, or between events occurring simultaneously in different locations’ (Diani and Mische, 2015, p. 312). This approach adopts a relational perspective on boundaries, which enables their enlargement in practical and cognitive terms. Literature on social movements strongly suggests that the definition of boundaries be a crucial factor for the development of collective identity (Taylor, 2013). This deals mostly with groups and associations and their effort to create, sustain or reinforce their particular identities (Diani and

Mische, 2015, p. 312). The definition of boundaries has implications not only for groups' identities, but also for their internal organization and operation. Here, boundaries play an important role in addressing conflicts as well as loyalties (Diani, 2015, p. 15). Shifting the focus from single organizations, groups or associations, to networks, boundaries may prevent or enhance the diffusion and exchange of practices and knowledge (Diani and Mische, 2015, p. 312). These may include the 'circulation of symbols, the expression of emotions, or the sharing of militancy and friendship' (*Ibid*). The role that boundaries undertake in enhancing the interaction between individuals, groups and networks, may also apply to broader schemata, such as social movements or even social fields. According to Diani, the definition of boundaries is rather essential for the connection of activists and social movements. The lack of formal membership criteria makes it difficult for activists to identify with certain movements, especially when the formers' lifestyles, values, beliefs and actions are not strong enough as determinants (Diani, 2013, pp. 152-153). Rather, the author notes that 'individuals may be associated with a movement to the extent that they recognize each other, and are recognized by other actors, as a part of that particular movement' (Diani and Mische, 2015, p. 312). In this sense, the definition of boundaries deals with the 'criteria that assign social actors to different groups and categories' (*Ibid*). Although Diani supports that there is balance in the definition of boundaries between organizational and movement level, at the same time the definition of boundaries refers to social action in broad terms, and affects our understanding of political systems, processes and dynamics (Diani, 2015, p. 16).

Social movement literature pays particular attention to the boundary definition. Due to this, the Contentious Politics approach has often stressed issues related to boundaries. The boundary definition discussed earlier transforms into a mechanism under the label *boundary formation*. This indicates the establishment of a rough separation of two political actors (Alimi et al., 2015, p. 287). Framed as a mechanism that can 'expand the range or extend the life of contentious episodes' *boundary activation* is a term used by Tilly and Tarrow for the 'creation of a new boundary or the crystallization of an existing one between challenging groups and their targets' (Tilly and Tarrow, 2015, p. 36). Boundary activation is also explained as the 'increase in the salience of "us-them" distinction separating two political actors' (Alimi et al., 2015, p. 287). Respectively, *boundary control* is a term used in order to describe the process of protecting the established boundary from outsiders (*Ibid*). Recent research work on boundaries introduced the concept of *boundary-spanning* (Wang et al., 2018). Boundary-spanning

refers to the establishment of movement alliances as well as points out how movements conceive their goals and resources. The concept tries to bridge different insight to inter-movement and inter-organizational interactions, in order to study the transformative effects of boundary-spanning both in relation to social movements and with regard to social change at large. These terms are inter-related, as they all attempt to describe a process that affects specific boundaries. Tilly and Tarrow argue that boundaries are formed after complex processes which 'commonly take shape outside contentious politics' (2015, p. 106). Once boundaries have been formed, 'political actors regularly use them as part of contentious politics' (*Ibid*), setting in motion the mechanisms of boundary activation and de-activation. As the two authors suggest elsewhere, although boundaries are transformed and new boundaries emerge, contentious politics neither create nor activate new boundaries; rather, they activate or de-activate the existing ones (Tilly and Tarrow, 2006, p. 61).

Contentious Politics scholars approach movements and their organizations as dynamic entities which change over time. Boundary formation is a term used in Contentious Politics to describe the process of establishing a new boundary. Similarly, identity shift, which denotes the 'formation of new identities within challenging groups' (Tilly and Tarrow, 2015, p. 37), constitutes a recurrent mechanism in many contentious episodes and often helps the explanatory framework of boundary transformation. However, there seems to be a profound absence of a term able to define the stretching of the practical and conceptual boundaries for SMOs. For this reason, we introduce the term "boundary enlargement". As mentioned earlier, by boundary enlargement, we refer to a process where previously defined boundaries are extended, enabling social movement organizations to move beyond their delimited cognitive and structural perimeter and adopt practices and repertoires that, up to that point, had been applied by distant and often antagonistic actors.

Among other processes, social movement studies, preoccupied with both movement outcomes and movement transformation, have often treated the processes of institutionalization and radicalization as the two extremes in terms of SMOs' development. The notion of *institutionalization* refers to 'the process of inclusion in the terrain of formal politics of some of its ideas (i.e., movement concerns come to be recognized as legitimate within mainstream politics and/or among the general public), personnel (i.e., activists gain positions within political parties, committees, and/or the civil service), or whole movement strands (i.e., sections of the movement establish political parties)' (Bosi, 2016, pp. 338-339). Respectively, the process of *radicalization*

is defined as the ‘process through which a social movement organization (SMO) shifts from predominantly nonviolent tactics of contention to tactics that include violent means, as well as the subsequent process of contention maintaining and possibly intensifying the newly introduced violence’ (Alimi et al., 2015, p. 11). The reason why we provide these definitions lies in our effort to demonstrate that both indicate a paradigmatic shift that led SMOs either to the institutional side of practicing politics or to an outlawed one.¹ On the contrary, the process of boundary enlargement indicates that, although SMOs undergo a transformative trajectory that primarily affects their repertoires, but simultaneously influences their identities, organizational structure, resources as well as other aspects of their operation, they still remain active on the terrain of social movements.

The overlap between the rise of social movement research and the proliferation of organizational studies in topics that are not strictly business-oriented, has concentrated the interest of researchers in exchanging frameworks and views regarding the study of SMOs (Davis et al., 2005). Prompted by this effort, what seems particularly attractive is the transformative process of *servitization*. This term has been coined within the field of business studies, to describe the gradual tendency of businesses to transform their area of interest from “goods or services” to “goods, services, support, knowledge and self-service” during the 1980s (Vandermerwe and Rada, 1988). Although servitization is a process that partially reflects the incorporation of services that used to be, until now, provided by the welfare state and the market in SMOs’ activities, its usage would not reflect the overall process that took place during the period of austerity, and thus it would be misleading for three reasons. Firstly, servitization indicates that service-provision is the sole goal of these organizations. As such, this approach would lose sight of the element of social transformation, which is a key goal for the majority of the organizations studied. Secondly, the term implies that the provision of services is the only means by which businesses may respond to the transformation of the market. This would be a second misconception, since it would exclude other aspects of SMOs’ repertoires that are not orientated to the provision of services. Additionally, it would imply that this orientation was solely imposed indirectly by welfare

1 It is worth noting here, that according to some scholars the movements’ institutionalization does not necessarily diminish their antagonistic character (Dee, 2018). Although this might be true, it is rarely the case. Additionally, in those contexts, institutionalization refers to the partial adoption of formal characteristics and does not correspond to the movements’ engagement with mainstream politics and political parties, as is the case with Bosi’s (2016) definition.

retrenchment, thus leaving out firstly the agency of SMOs to decide upon their own practices; secondly, the critical stance of some SMOs towards service-provision; and thirdly, the approach of pre-figurative politics that led some of these organizations to turn to actions that would reflect the envisioned society. Lastly, servitization underlines a strategic behaviour of a specific set of actors, namely businesses, while boundary enlargement indicates that the SMOs' boundary expansion takes place in a field of conceptual and cognitive understanding that may touch upon the boundaries of other actors, such as movements' relationships with the state.

Before we proceed further, it is important to provide some clarifications regarding the definition of boundary enlargement. While reviewing the relevant literature on boundaries, we came across topics related to identities. Many authors (Diani, 2015; Staggenborg, 2013; Tilly and Tarrow, 2015) have stressed that boundary definition is quite essential for the definition of identities. Although this is true, boundaries are also important for resources and organizational aspects as discussed throughout this study. Nevertheless, the transformative procedure, where stable, solid and well-defined boundaries tend to change shape, features heavily in late and post-modern accounts.

Marshall Berman (1983) in the 1980s provided an account on how modernity could be pictured as the way forward for further developing an inclusive understanding of the modern world. Some 30 years later, Zygmunt Bauman (2007) described how structured modernity becomes fluid within neoliberalism. Although the former account embraced the goods of an era that "development" meant to be something good, the latter one describes emphatically how the current social structures and norms become liquid and should not be expected to return in their previous stable condition. On the same vein, Melucci (2002) underlines that former integrated subjectivities transform and mark a fluid sense of identity. Late and post-modern accounts argue about the complexity of the contemporary world and the dissolution of values, structures, norms and institutions that used to be taken for granted. Like every social process, the aforementioned changes are rather lengthy and are being developed through incremental steps over the time. Although our empirical analysis shows that the enlargement of boundaries started to take place prior to 2010, the recent economic crisis and the harsh austerity policies have affected great parts of the economic, political and social environment in Greece and accelerated this transformation.

Moving onwards, we argue that the tendency observed in the Greek social movement community towards the provision of informal welfare services does not reflect only the enlargement of boundaries in conceptual

terms, as boundaries are usually analysed in relation to social identities; it is also associated with the practical aspects of social movement repertoires, organizational structure and resources. This enlargement tends to open the relatively close structures and defined operations of SMOs, while also revealing new insight to the movements' understanding of social change and their association with institutional actors. One may ask at this point whether there is a sequence of changes, or if these changes occur simultaneously. Although we cannot assume a qualitative *primacy* of one factor over another, we can, nevertheless, claim that there is a chronological sequence. As we suggest in our empirical analysis, changes in repertoires triggered respective developments in SMOs' focus, with the latter's organizational structures and resources somehow adapting to the environment, in order to better serve the operation of the "new" alternative repertoires. Researchers suggest that shifts in a movement's tactical boundaries can signal respective changes in its cultural identities (Wang et al., 2018, p. 182). In this respect, the enlargement of boundaries with regards to identities is a much slower process and the outcomes of this change are not easy to grasp comprehensively. This shift towards the alternative repertoires of action was welcomed by many activists and criticized by others. This "conflict" highlights the pre-figurative dimension of the new, "in-the-making" identity but also emphasizes that its antagonistic and contentious character is not based solely on a claim-based orientation.

However, the application of this process is also limited, as it primarily reflects changes in social movement repertoires of action, and second, it is contextualized in the environment of rampant austerity. This does not mean that similar changes in other settings cannot be studied through the lens of boundary enlargement. Rather, we raise attention that this process, which so far mirrors the ultimate stage of consecutive shocks and changes in the Greek reality, in other contexts might represent an intermediary stage. Similar to the punctuated equilibrium theory in public policymaking, which explains that sharp changes complement the gradual institutional adjustments (True et al., 2007), Fligstein and McAdam (2012) argue that balance is always achieved after periods of change. From a post-modern approach, we neglect that the future post-crisis setting will find the social movement community identical to the pre-crisis one, but we cannot be sure whether a new process will be a successor to the boundary enlargement. In addition to this, the fluid nature of boundaries favours their transformations, which are now directed towards enlargement, but in other cases and under different circumstances, it might lead to boundary compression, reduction or contraction.

The incorporation of service-oriented repertoires by the social movement community in Greece has not always been appreciated. Critics point to the vulnerable nature of these repertoires that can easily lead to movements' cooptation, while others emphasize the shift of activists' attention away from their subversive mission. Although these views are thoroughly analyzed and debated in the following empirical chapters, they raise awareness regarding the term "enable", used to define the boundary enlargement process. Studies on collective action usually focus on mobilization, and thus concentrate their attention on protest events. As such, they quite often obtain a critical stance towards other forms of action, since these reduce resources from the movements' central goal. Though by no means do we underestimate the value of protest and public claim-making with regards to broader social transformation, at the same time, we do not reduce the movements' role to the street level. In particular, we perceive movements and their organizations as bearers of social change, which enhance politicization, create and transmit progressive symbols, values and beliefs *also* in the context of everyday life during periods of silence.

This issue reveals a broader problem on social movement studies, since definitions of social movements have been predominantly based on the explanatory context of each research. Diani (2015) understands movements as a form of coordination with intense resource and boundary exchanges; Della Porta and Diani (2006) underline the network structure of movements; Tarrow (1998) and Tilly (2004) focus on the movements' ability to sustain campaigns against specific claimants; while McCarthy and Zald (1977, pp. 1217-1218) accentuate the participants' shared beliefs and opinions. This research acknowledges that the aforementioned definitions are not opposed to, but rather complement one another. Thus, in order to define the characteristics that constitute a social movement, we follow an inclusionary approach as expressed by Snow. More precisely, social movements are

change-oriented in the sense that they seek or oppose change; [...] challengers to or defenders of existing institutional structures or systems of authority; [...] collective rather than individual enterprises; [...] act outside of existing institutional or organizational arrangements; [...] operate with some degree of organization; [...] and typically display some degree of temporal continuity (Snow, 2013, p. 1201).

1.1.1 Enlarging the boundaries at the meso-level

The process of boundary enlargement in this inquiry treats the shift of SMOs towards service-oriented repertoires of action as its central aspect. However,

the provision of social services as part of social movements' repertoires is in no way new. Similar efforts, such as the organization of mutual-aid funds, can be traced throughout the history of the labour movement. In his systematic categorization of organizations that constitute a social movement, Kriesi highlighted that together with SMOs, supportive organizations, parties and interest groups, the movement's formal associations are the fourth type of organization that complements the picture. Kriesi defined those as 'self-help organizations, voluntary associations, or clubs created by movements themselves in order to cater to some daily needs of its members', which 'contribute to the mobilization of a movement's constituency, but they do so in an exclusively constituency – or client-oriented way' (Kriesi, 1996, pp. 152-153). These organizations may create commitment or consensus to mobilization, but contrary to the SMOs, 'they do not directly contribute to the "action mobilization" or the "activation of commitment" for a "political goal"' (*Ibid.*). As the author elaborates, 'if the constituents and the beneficiaries of the organizations are identical, we may speak of self-help groups or clubs; if this is not the case, we deal with voluntary associations engaged in altruism' (*Ibid.*: 365-footnote in the original).

The incorporation of interest groups in the organizations that constitute a social movement is rather debatable since it stretches the definition of social movements. Non-governmental organizations (NGOs), political parties, interest groups and other official forms of political action might be sympathetic to a movement, while SMOs might also use official or institutional means to defend their agenda (Diani, 1992, pp. 13-15). Nonetheless, the incorporation of the former organizations in the definition of the latter runs the risk of creating a vague, catch-all term which provides little analytical explanation. What interests us in Kriesi's account, nevertheless, is that the author's categorization establishes distinctive lines between SMOs, whose main goal is to mobilize people and movement associations which do not share the same intention

Rucht's categorization of the organizations affiliated to social movements is connected to Kriesi's analysis. Rucht distinguishes six types of collectivities: *basic action groups* with local focus consisting of around 20 members, such as citizen initiatives; *movement organizations* and *umbrella organizations*, whose members and area of interest may vary from dozens to thousands and local to national respectively, but they are subject to formal rules, memberships, leadership; *campaign networks and enduring networks*, with the former pointing to ad hoc collaborations around a single issue with limited time and the latter referring to permanent collaborations which raise various issues and connect usually on an ideological basis; *material*

and immaterial service structures, such as educational centres, bookstores, training clubs, fora or indymedia; *social retails*, such as self-organized cafes; and *supportive social milieus*, like specific jargons, lifestyles and consumer choices (Rucht, 2013, pp. 171-173). According to Rucht, 'the first four are ultimately geared toward action mobilization, whereas the last two provide a ground for consensus mobilization' (2013, p. 173).

These accounts touch upon two very important issues. The first one concerns the definition of SMOs and the second deals with the issue of actual mobilization. Starting from the former, both Kriesi and Rucht seem to conceive SMOs as the respective equivalent of what organizational studies consider formal organizations in social movements, which imply rigid boundaries that can distinguish one organization from another. Formal organizations have specific decision-making models, membership, they follow a hierarchical structure, impose specific rules, and have the right to monitor as well as to implement positive or negative sanctions (Ahrne and Brunsson, 2011). On the same basis, Diani (2015, p. xvii) argues that 'many organizations are embedded in structural patterns that somehow reflect social movement mechanisms without matching at all the stereotypical traits of "social movement organizations"'. Nevertheless, by introducing the concept of 'hybrid organization', an organizational type which consists of only specific features out of the ones that characterize the formal organizations, organization studies note the dynamic character that organizations have (Ahrne and Brunsson, 2011). Taking into account the informal character that social movements have, Kriesi and Rucht's approaches tend towards structuralism and rarely correspond to the horizontal and self-organized collectivities found in the field. The process of boundary enlargement, however, serves to demonstrate how these fixed boundaries dissolve into, on the one hand, traditional SMOs providing social services, and, on the other hand, Kriesi's movement associations or Rucht's social retails contributing to action mobilization.

The second issue deals with the literature of mobilization and participation in collective action. Grievances, discontent, material benefits, solidarity, purposive and selective incentives as well as structural factors, like history of prior activism or biographical availability, constitute few of the fruits of social movement research, which managed to reveal the reasons behind someone's decision to engage with collective action (Staggenborg, 2011, pp. 32-33). Walgrave (2013) notes that literature on mobilization can be roughly divided in two streams: the structural and the cultural. The former focuses its attention on SMOs' efforts to reach out to their sympathizers and broader audiences by arguing that the individuals' structural position

is a strong proxy for participating in a movement; while the latter supports that the individuals' participation is dependent on their agreement with the movements' goals (Walgrave, 2013, p. 206). According to Walgrave, debates exist also within the culturalist stream, where some scholars argue that individuals participate in SMOs once the latter manage to reach consensus mobilization (Klandermans and Oegema, 1987, pp. 519-520) or align their frames with the needs of potential participants (Snow et al., 1986); while others claim the individuals' agency 'as active attributors of meaning constructing their own ideas and searching for opportunities to put these ideas into practice' (Walgrave, 2013, p. 206).

Drawing mostly from frame theories (Snow et al., 1986), Jasper and Poulsen (1995) also pay attention to specific instances and features that lead towards mobilization and the recruitment of activists. With regards to the animal rights and anti-nuclear movements, they argue that the recruitment of movements' sympathizers takes place 'through proximity, affective bonds' (Jasper and Poulsen, 1995, p. 508), but when it comes to the recruitment of strangers, cultural meanings and moral shocks seem more important. Moral shocks can be the outcome of SMOs' strategies. However, these can also be triggered during suddenly imposed grievances or in the individuals' everyday experiences and develop 'a sense of outrage in people that they become inclined toward political action' (*Ibid*, p. 498). Although it is still debatable whether networks are the pre-condition for or the outcome of the development of social movements and activists' recruitment (Diani, 2015), Jasper and Poulsen claim that 'cultural meanings and moral shocks may be especially important as a substitute when social networks are missing' (Jasper and Poulsen, 1995, p. 509).

Perceived as a suddenly (but continuously) imposed grievance, the economic crisis has managed to mobilize a number of people without previous experience in collective action. However, this was not limited at the street level; it also continued with the recruitment of many non-activists in the employment of the relatively silent alternative repertoires. Our research shows that the experience of a moral shock was quite decisive for many individuals to join social clinics or food-related initiatives, and it also encouraged others to establish cooperatives.

Although we proceed to provide additional information in the following parts of the book, it is important to make some clarifications regarding these two aspects and the three respective social movement scenes. The food social movement scene consists of grassroots organizations, whose origins depart from social movements, and employ an anti-austerity stance. Thus, according to Kriesi's categorization they could be framed as movement

associations (Kriesi, 1996, p. 153). Following a similar path, social clinics do not constitute political organizations in the strict sense of having one goal and mobilizing people towards it. Rather, they employ their services and offer indirect support to the struggle against austerity in the healthcare sector. Therefore, the clinics could also be framed as movement associations (*Ibid*). Finally, the vast majority of cooperatives are closely linked to the anti-austerity mobilizations and enhance commitment to self-management, but they do not directly contribute to the mobilization of their constituents. Thus, the actors operating in the social movement scene of labour fit the definition of supportive organizations (*Ibid*, p. 152).

Although at first glance this categorization appears to correspond with Social Movement Industries (SMIs) (McCarthy and Zald, 1977), it does so only partially.² On a number of occasions, the coercion against markets without middlemen by state authorities during the first years of their operation resulted in the mobilization of participants. Additionally, the plethora of organizations and traditional SMOs, which employ collective and social kitchens and initiatives for the collection and distribution of food parcels as additional aspects of their repertoires, are factors which prevent us from labelling these organizations as movement associations. Similarly, in the social movement scene of health, SMIs seem to occasionally participate in mobilization. Many clinics have launched initiatives which aim to inform their beneficiaries about their role, goals and operation, and distinguish themselves from institutional healthcare providers. As a matter of fact, the clinics have both participated in and organized protests against austerity and other political issues, successfully mobilizing their beneficiaries on a number of occasions. The establishment of clinics as an additional form in the repertoire of traditional SMOs, like the workers' club of Nea Smirni, are factors that contribute to this argument. Lastly, the examples of the occupied factory of Vio.Me which directly mobilizes its constituents, the K-136³ initiative against Thessaloniki's water privatization which led to the activists' collaboration with municipal authorities, as well as the incorporation of cooperative structures in the repertoires of traditional SMOs, blurs the picture in the social movement scene of labour.

2 Social movement industries (SMIs) refer to 'all SMOs that have as their goal the attainment of the broadest preferences of a social movement', while by social movement sector (SMS) we refer to "all SMIs in a society, no matter to which SM they are attached' (McCarthy and Zald, 1977, p. 1219). Although we do not adopt the definition of SMOs as it was introduced by McCarthy and Zald, we acknowledge the aforementioned typology in order to schematically represent the organizations which employ the service-oriented repertoires of action.

3 K-136 stands for Movement 136.

The aforementioned contradictions serve to demonstrate that the boundaries among the SMOs, supportive organizations and movement associations, as these had been defined by social movement scholars (Kriesi, 1996), do not apply anymore. Of course, we do not opt to disregard them completely. Rather, we want to underline that the current economic crisis has facilitated a process of boundary enlargement, through which these fixed boundaries became interconnected. We should note here that the degree and intensity of interconnectedness varies between different actors and social movement scenes. For example, it might be the case that the cooperative means employed by SMOs pre-figure the ideal of self-management, but a social cooperative still remains an enterprise. Additionally, the markets without middlemen, which have been organized by neighbourhood assemblies, might proclaim people's empowerment but often lack a specific ideological or political orientation. Therefore, we do not argue for the complete dissolution of the respective boundaries of each organization. Instead, we point out their enlargement. In other words, the enlargement of boundaries reveals a process where tasks previously attributed to specific organizations are being challenged, re-defined, mixed and applied by both new and traditional SMOs. Now that we have delimited the theoretical approach of this research, we turn our attention to the construction process of boundary enlargement.

1.2 Dismantling the process of boundary enlargement

So far, we argued that the process of enlargement crosses the boundaries of SMOs, supportive organizations and movement association. The question that directly arises is how the process of boundary enlargement takes place. Tilly and Tarrow claim that 'distinct processes involve different sequences and combinations of mechanisms that interactively produce some outcome' (2015, p. 29). On the contrary, Alimi et al. (2015) take a slightly divergent approach by perceiving processes as defined by the attainment of a specific outcome. In other words, although both accounts come from the Contentious Politics approach and engage in dialogue together, they have different starting points. More precisely, Tilly and Tarrow argue that the identification of specific mechanisms leads to specific processes, while Alimi et al. support that it is the process that directs the researcher in identifying specific mechanisms. If X stands for a mechanism and Y for the process, the former account supports that the combination of specific Xs lead to Y, while the latter argues that it is the Y that defines which Xs took place. In

addition to this differentiation, Alimi et al. argue that a process should not be treated as an exhaustive account of mechanisms which provide causal inferences, since other mechanisms might also take place. This updated account also introduces the idea of sub-mechanisms as constitutive elements of mechanisms, which are defined as such according to the specific context (*Ibid*, p. 30).

This research adopts the epistemological account proposed by Alimi et al. (2015). More precisely, it does so by conceiving the enlargement of SMOs' boundaries as a process that took place during the period of crisis, and, therefore, it goes backwards in order to identify the mechanisms and sub-mechanisms that enable it to take place. In order to do this, this research focuses on the social movement scenes of food, health and labour.

1.2.1 Social Movement Scenes

As mentioned earlier, we intend to better explain the development of boundary enlargement process, through the activities of SMOs with regards to the scenes of food, health and labour. In the introductory part we provided the criteria used for the selection of the specific cases under study, while the next chapter on the background context presents the empirical evidence grounding this decision. Nevertheless, the decision to look at social movement *scenes* also includes some theoretical associations that need further clarification.

Our decision to refer to the scenes of social movement activity, such as food, health, and labour was based on the interaction of our empirical material with related studies on social movements. Recent academic scholarship in the area of social movements introduced important concepts that might help the conceptual construction of this research. Jasper and Duyvendak's *Players and Arenas* (2015) invites us to study the interactions among different actors preoccupied with a specific thematic. Thus, in our case, food, health and labour may constitute different arenas, with Jasper and Duyvendak's dynamic framework giving us the potential to study how the different actors in each arena interplay with each other. In this respect, the arena of food may consist of the institutional actors, such as the municipal authorities organizing soup kitchens and food donations, the national government imposing amendments on laws related to the application of open markets, a number of institutional social services as well as a few left-wing parties involved in the provision of food-related services; the business sector with the local groceries shops donating groceries to individuals in need, large food retailers co-organizing with institutional actors food donations, and

brokers' associations raising pressure to the government in order to secure the former's role in the food retail industry; a set of NGOs involved in the provision of soup kitchens; and finally, the grassroots actors organizing bottom-up markets without middlemen, collective and social kitchens, and distribution of food parcels. A similar variety of actors can be observed in the health and labour arenas.

Although inspiring, the aforementioned analytical framework moves beyond the scope of this research. Our study takes into consideration the different actors that operate in the three respective arenas and explores their relationship with the grassroots collectives, but the focus of this research is the exploration of the enlargement of the movements' boundaries and not the development of the arenas per se. As we stated earlier, the sectors of food, health and labour play a rather instrumental role in this study; they are cases which serve to demonstrate how social movements in Greece, and SMOs in particular, experienced a transformative process which enabled them to engage with activities that were not in their direct area of concern. Therefore, we are less interested in analyzing the different actors that were at play, and much more in focusing in depth on social movements.

Another work that could be used as a point of reference for this study is Fligstein and McAdam's *Theory of Fields* (2012). The structure of our research has many points in common with what Fligstein and McAdam described as strategic action fields, and the reader will probably understand that our reference to the social movement scenes of food, health and labour might provide similar application with what field theory suggests. In Fligstein and McAdam's field theory, social movements would mirror one actor trying to challenge the social order of the field, as this is imposed by the incumbent actors, like the state and market promoting social welfare; and the internal governance units, like the organizations of the third sector trying to secure the status quo. In these terms, the process of boundary enlargement would be framed as an "invasion" (Fligstein and McAdam, 2012, pp. 99-100) due to the changes in the respective fields caused by austerity, showing an action of appropriating already populated social spaces.

Although tempting, we do not fully incorporate this approach for three important reasons. First, the focus of our research is not on the specific fields of food, health, and labour; rather, these are chosen in order to better explain the overall "invasion" of social movement actors in a wide variety of fields. Our reference to the social movement *scenes* aims to demonstrate the plurality of grassroots actors and approaches engaged in this "invasion", as well as their contradictions, that cannot be synthesized in one, single and solid actor. Second, our research is interested in exploring the changes

in the social movement community by observing the meso-organizational level. In this respect, the field approach acquires an instrumental usage, which is not the case in Fligstein and McAdam's *Theory of Fields*. Lastly, our third concern lies in the overall perspective of field theory as described in Fligstein and McAdam's study. In particular, the authors' great emphasis on the reproduction of fields, and thus the status quo, as the final result of incumbent and challengers' actions, as well as their rendition of actors' moves on strategic choices, bears a deterministic connotation coupled with a rational approach concerning the actors' deeds. Although we do not disagree that some actions which followed this "invasion" were the outcomes of the movements' strategic planning, our analysis suggests that the moral shock that the Greek society experienced, social movements included, due to the vast austerity policies affecting everyday life, was the basic component of the boundary enlargement process and its related actions. This becomes particularly clear with regard to the scenes of health and food, as movements start to interact with state actors, deal with internal contradictions, and are confronted with new dilemmas that deviate from ideological purity. In this respect, the deterministic approach of field equilibrium after the shock that Fligstein and McAdam (2012, pp. 83-86) advocate for, tends to ignore the changes within the various social movement scenes and the broader social movement community.

Although theories on arenas and fields do not seem to conceptually correspond with the needs of this inquiry, social movement scenes seem to be the most adequate approach, which also allow to proceed to some within-case comparisons. According to Haunss and Leach (2007, p. 73), a scene is 'a network of people who identify as part of a group and share a certain belief system or set of convictions, that is also necessarily centred around a certain location or set of locations where that group is known to congregate'. Earlier, we mentioned Diani's (2015) argument that individuals' membership in a movement depends on other participants' recognition as such. The same pretty much goes for the scenes, which are constructed based on mutual recognition. This leads to an essential element linked with the process of boundary enlargement, namely that 'scenes are self-constituted dynamic entities whose internal and external boundaries are constantly in flux' (Haunss and Leach, 2007, p. 73). By studying the German autonomous movement, Hauns and Leach note that scenes are less culture-driven than sub-cultures, incorporate wider social characteristics than countercultures, and are 'less determined by cultural and economic capital' than milieus (*Ibid*). Additionally, in a later paper, the two authors note that scenes incorporate all the characteristics of pre-figurative free

spaces, such as egalitarian relationships and an organizational model based on the participants' vision for the future society; while they rarely encompass features met in trans-movement and indigenous free spaces (Leach and Haunss, 2009, p. 256). In both papers, the two authors argue that scenes produce and sustain their own culture. In this respect, scenes do not always have a political orientation. When they do, it is not always driven by progressive political values (*Ibid*, p. 258-259). Nevertheless, when scenes mirror the central values of social movements and are tightly linked with them, we may speak of *social movement scenes*.

Pictured as free spaces with loose boundaries, the use of scenes in our research provide us with the flexibility to explore their conceptual boundaries with regards to food, health and labour. Moreover, it facilitates our understanding of the mechanisms at play and helps us to investigate the cultural characteristics linked both with the infiltration of SMOs in the unknown territories outside of street politics as well as to see how these scenes merge or contradict. At the same time, scenes are strongly bound to actual spaces (Haunss and Leach, 2007; Leach and Haunss, 2009), something which enables us to delve into more structural characteristics. Together with lifestyles and alternative cinema and music scenes, the empirical study of Haunss and Leach incorporates collectives, bookstores, and people's kitchens offering cheap meals, as important parts of the Autonomien social movement scene (Leach and Haunss, 2009). These examples do not only reflect the broader relevance with the selection of the cases under study, but also depict the particular features and characteristics the scenes demonstrate.

As bearers of movements' beliefs, values and history, social movement scenes play a significant role in maintaining the spark of social movement culture in times when mobilization is in decline. In this respect, Haunss and Leach argue that social movement scenes provide 'shelter for activists in times of low mobilization' (2007, p. 81), without this undermining their role in periods when mobilization is on the rise. Most importantly though, social movement scenes act as ways for people to engage with social movements. As we see also in the social movement scenes under study, and particularly in the social movement scene of health, participation in scenes requires less commitment and partial engagement. This, in turn, allows for the inclusion of non-activist audiences (Haunss and Leach, 2007). Although social movement scenes propose alternative organizational formats and prefigurative ideals, while bearing the cultural inheritance of social movements, the development of tension between social movements and scenes is not rare. As Haunss and Leach note, scenes tend to follow an experience-oriented path that contradicts the movements' attention on broader and long-term

approaches (*Ibid*, p. 85). The authors' empirical research shows that these different orientations lead to conflicts, with the issue at stake being whether the movement should change its focus to enlarging its constituency outside of the scene's boundaries (*Ibid*, p. 84). These tensions mirror the dynamic condition of boundaries, where 'the meanings that activists and SMOs seek to establish through persuasion always have the potential to be transformed by supporters and sympathizers' (Steinberg, 2002, p. 213), is also reflected in the social movement scenes of our inquiry.

The aforementioned characteristics emphasize that scenes express cultural artifacts combined with material and structural dimensions. Moreover, they touch an audience which is not necessarily part of the social movement community but, nevertheless, shares with it a number of common features. These characteristics place the scenes in 'an intermediate location between the movement and broader political contexts', which have the potential to bridge 'the gap between cultural and structural approaches to movement dynamics' (Leach and Haunss, 2009, p. 276). In order to better expose and further boost these capabilities, we turn our attention to the factors of organizational structure, resources and identity.

1.2.2 Organizational Structure, Resources and Identity

In his literature review, Seferiades summarizes that the organization in social movements is typically approached as 1) institutionalized hierarchical structures; 2) the organization of collective action at the point where they meet with their opponents; and 3) cohesive structures and social networks that connect the leadership with the base (Seferiades, 2006). Probably accustomed to the third category, Elisabeth Clemens (Clemens, 1993) argues that organizational structure is a movement's first political action, as it pictures a way to publicize both the claims they make and the means they are going to use in order to achieve them. Both in empirical studies and in theoretical contributions, organizations, and particularly the factor of organizational structure of social movements and SMOs, have received a great deal of attention.

The importance of organizational structure usually preoccupies studies which concentrate on the differences between the old labour movement and new social movements. This difference is characterized by the distinct features of official and unofficial organizations. Contrary to official organizations, unofficial ones have a loose approach in terms of decision-making procedures, division of labour, criteria for membership and internal regulations (Gamson in Staggenborg, 2011, pp. 34-35). Despite some differences

and adjustments (Della Porta, 2014, 2015; Della Porta and Mattoni, 2014), the SMOs which participated in the anti-austerity mobilizations employ these characteristics which were attributed earlier to unofficial organizations.

The difference between official and unofficial organizations became most obvious with the boom of organizational innovation in the 1960s social movements (Tarrow, 1998, pp. 131-132). Among others, Diani notes that during periods of increased mobilization, new organizations and organizational models come to the forefront, while there is also an outbreak of agendas and tactics (Diani, 2015, p. 159). Together with the formation of new organizations, the literature of Contentious Politics claims that one key aspect of contentious cycles is the appropriation of old organizations. These concern the appropriation of political parties, unions and traditional SMOs by relatively new actors, responsible for affecting or changing the formers' trajectories. McAdam et al. (2001, p. 44) initially argued that 'instead of pointing to pre-existing mobilizing structures' as was the case in the USA, and the boom of 'organizational opportunities for collective action', we should turn our attention not to the creation of new organizations, but to how the existing ones are appropriated and transformed 'into vehicles of mobilization', providing this way a dynamic character for the stable formats of organizations. Almost ten years later, the authors asserted that their suggestion to move towards dynamic models had not yet been realized (McAdam et al., 2009). Although we do not claim to fill this gap, since appropriation in our case is not particularly related to the complete takeover of SMOs, our analysis adds some dynamic elements to the way scholars conceive organizations, by analyzing how the process of boundary enlargement affected the SMOs' repertoires and practices.

As Soule notes, organizations, and SMOs' organizational structure in particular, are quite important as they enforce the diffusion of tactics through the organizational collaboration (2013, p. 116). In this respect, organizations are closely related to boundaries, since organizational structure consists of an additional factor that groups use in order to enact boundaries that separate them from, or relate them with other groups (Reger, 2002, p. 173). Apart from revealing these characteristics with the use of the Contentious Politics approach, the factor of organizational structure helps us to understand how the process of boundary enlargement is shaped.

Along with the organizational structure, literature on social movements has paid great attention to resources. Scholars usually approach resources as factors which enable the sustenance of movements in time, but also as a means to achieve their goals (McCarthy and Zald, 1977). Resource mobilization theory has strongly contributed to the development of social movement

studies by legitimizing collective action as a crucial way of doing politics (Edwards and McCarthy, 2004). Much attention to resources as a decisive factor for mobilization has, nevertheless, outweighed other important features, such as the external political environment or the activists' agency. Frame theorists were among the first to criticize the static role of resource mobilization theory, but they were not the only ones. As one would expect, the dynamic approach of Contentious Politics came into conflict with the resource mobilization theory, raising criticism against the structural and static approach of the latter (McAdam et al., 2001, pp. 44-50).

Although new theoretical frameworks have emerged and attention has moved away from resource mobilization theory, the same cannot be said for resources. Diani (2015) conceives resource allocation as one of the two deceiving factors (the other being boundary formation) responsible for distinguishing among the different modes of coordination. Taking these claims into consideration, boundary enlargement helps us to acquire a dynamic perspective on resources. Although we do not deny the role of resources as a crucial component needed by movements to attain their goals, we argue that in times of austerity, when wealth is scarce, resources acquire a substantial role and foster both activists' mobilization and the connection among SMOs. Local threats and constraints in movement resources favour the within-movement boundary-spanning and coalitions with taking place (Wang et al., 2018, pp. 172-173). This stands true also in our case, with the formation of coalitions within the three scenes, and particularly in the health scene, based on a great extent on the exchange of resources. In these terms, the factor of resources stands as a landmark in the process of boundary enlargement.

The factors of organizational structure and resources point towards the structural aspects of SMOs. However, in our attempt to explain the process of boundary enlargement, where previous fixed limits change shape and transform, it would be erroneous to omit the factor of identity. The cultural turn of social movement studies called for attention to the emotional and symbolic dimensions of movements. Conceiving movements as "discursive communities" is also linked with sharing common identities (Taylor, 2013, p. 43). These identities refer to 'the shared sense of "one-ness" or "we-ness" anchored in real or imagined shared attributes' (Snow, 2013, pp. 266-267). Concerning the social movements' meso-level, identities indicate the 'cognitions shared by a group' (Taylor, 2013, p. 39). Snow argues that 'a relative *pervasive* or *comprehensive* identity is the one that that is thought of as thick identity, meaning the "student" in the classroom' (Snow, 2013, p. 269). However, since identities are subject to broader social transformations,

they tend to be fluid and fragmented (Stekelenburg and Roggeband, 2013, pp. xvii-xviii).

Although Melucci's analyses acquire a dynamic perspective, the author finds it difficult to expose the processual approach to identity formation, since the term 'conveys too strongly the idea of the permanence of a subject' (Melucci, 1996, p. 85). Due to the lack of a more adequate term, the author underlines that the co-existence of different identities is because of the fact that none of them are self-sufficient; rather, each identity is mutually dependent on another (Melucci, 2002), something which emphasizes the complementing character of identities. This point, which also corresponds to the internal culture of scenes with the diverse identities of their participants, is central to the recognition of the symbiosis of the different identities; of which the connecting glue is solidarity (Melucci, 2002, p. 150; Snow, 2013, p. 267).

Polletta and Jasper define collective identity as 'an individual's cognitive, moral, and emotional connection with a broader community, category, practice, or institution' (2001, p. 85). As the authors suggest, this connection might be either real or imagined, and is separate from the personal identities (*Ibid*). Additional perspectives suggest that political culture should not be conceptualized as values and beliefs, but as frames which offer meanings to people with regards to specific situations. From this perspective, according to Diani 'culture shapes how traits and relations combine in specific settings' (2015, p. 195). This is also reflected in Tarrow's account, which underlines that 'building a movement around strong ties of collective identity [...] does much of the work that would normally fall to organization; but it cannot do the work of mobilization, which depends on framing identities so that will lead to action, alliances, interaction' (Tarrow, 1998, p. 119). Among the processes that form collective identity in a group, such as the consciousness of common interests, the negotiation of its identity and the politicization of everyday life (Taylor and Whittier, 1992), boundaries are important in order to underline the differences between the members and non-members, dominants and subordinates (Taylor, 2013, p. 39). In this sense, collective identity constitutes a process under which the members of a group create the latter's cultural capital (Robnett, 2002, p. 267).

Following a post-structural approach, scholars underline that collective identities are 'dynamic, interactive, and socially constructed' (Taylor, 2013, p. 38). Coming from the structuralist background of the political process approach, the framework of Contentious Politics does not reject structures in favour of more cultural understandings; rather, it resonates that identities are inherent to structures. Without denying that external conditions and

environmental constraints affect the formation of identities, we underline the role of individuals in shaping identities through their actions. Thus, identities should not be taken as given formations that obey traditions or as normative associations (Melucci, 1996, pp. 108-109). The creation of a collective identity is a long-term and difficult process. Collective identities are not static but change according to activists, environmental factors and the goals of the movements (Reger, 2002; Robnett, 2002, p. 268; Tarrow, 1998, p. 120). Among others, eventful protests (Della Porta, 2008; Della Porta et al., 2018, pp. 1-24) assist in the development of collective identities, which are also equipped with emotional booms, feelings of solidarity and moral shocks (Jasper and Poulsen, 1995).

Taking the aforementioned approach into consideration, Tilly and Tarrow (2006, p. 53) move a step beyond by arguing that political identities develop as a result of their interaction with political regimes. From this perspective, the exploration of political identities does not contradict the analysis of structures, but since the latter enforces or restricts the former, political identities are fundamental components of structures (*Ibid*, p. 69). The authors argue that collective identities are based on boundaries that distinguish “us from them”, the relations with and across the boundaries, and employ common ways to conceive relations and boundaries (Tilly and Tarrow, 2015, p. 107). Taking into consideration the political opportunities and the movements’ agency, the development of contentious identities stems from internal cognitive and external relational mechanisms (Tilly and Tarrow, 2006, p. 46). The next chapter points out some of the basic elements that characterize the social movement culture in Greece and how this has been constructed. Among a plethora of events, the recent economic crisis constitutes an additional factor that has affected this process, with the introduction of new heterogeneous actors and repertoires playing a crucial role.

Following a synthetic approach in which structural and cultural aspects complement each other, this exercise addresses two goals. First, by looking at factors of organizational structure and resources on the one hand, and at the factor of identity on the other, we further support the bridging of the often-conflicting theoretical approaches of resource mobilization theory and new social movement theories. The application of the Contentious Politics framework to the factors of organizational structure, resources and identity, enables us to conceptualize them as a continuum of SMOs’ operation. At the same time, however, the exploration of the mechanisms that take place within each factor separately allows us to recognize the importance of these factors per se, which is the second goal. More precisely, this design gives us

the opportunity to underline that organizational structure and resources, which have been underestimated by new social movement scholars, are still of great importance when it comes to the growth and development of SMOs. The same can be said for the factor of identity, which, contrary to structuralist conceptions, penetrates the fixed aspects of organization and resources and shapes the operations of SMOs. Overall, the application of the Contentious Politics approach to the organizational structure, resources and identity of the studied organizations allows them to be understood as a continuum, without losing their individual values.

1.2.3 Sub-mechanisms, Combinations and Interconnections

The mechanism-process approach of Contentious Politics is used to explain the *how* of collective action. Our attention to the three different social movement scenes lies in our effort to explain the different mechanisms that compose the process of boundary enlargement. Subsequently, by deconstructing each scene and analyzing it in terms of the factors of organizational structure, resources and identity, we are able to, on the one hand, demonstrate how the structural and cultural aspects blend together in the social movements' everyday context, and on the other hand, delve into the different trajectories that the mechanisms follow. However, researchers have been criticized for not revealing the "black boxes" of the studied mechanisms, meaning these elements that lie at the heart of each mechanism and make the latter's activation possible (Campbell, 2005). Alimi et al. (2015, p. 22) deal with this issue by arguing that the further deconstruction of mechanisms into sub-mechanisms can provide an answer, not only in terms of the activation of specific mechanisms, but also in order to explain dissimilarities among similar processes. Although we are a bit skeptical about whether this dismantling of mechanisms can be infinite, we adopt this suggestion and look deeper into how the mechanisms are being constructed.

The further exploration of the aforementioned mechanisms is not independent from the environment in which they operate. Research on social movements has recognized the three aspects of the organizational structure, resources, and identity probably as the most crucial points for the operation of SMOs. For analytical purposes, these aspects have been often distinguished by scholars in their effort to underline the weight of each one of them. Resource mobilization theory for example, emphasizes the role of organization and resources as the means that movements use to achieve their goals, while frame analysis raises questions regarding the construction of collective identity. However, these aspects are connected both practically

and theoretically (Clemens, 1996). This leads us to suggest two things. First, as these three factors are often studied separately even though they are interlinked, the same can be said for the mechanisms that operate in the respective factors for each of our cases. In other words, although mechanisms are analyzed here separately, each mechanism percolates to the others and it is their combination that sets in motion the process of boundary enlargement. Second, each sub-mechanism that constitutes a mechanism tends to reflect the particular features of the factors it operates with (these being organizational structure, resources or identity). Taking into consideration that a process can be composed of different (sequences and combinations of) mechanisms as proposed by Alimi et al. (2015, pp. 28-30) modification to the original research strategy of McAdam et al. (2001), what we suggest here is that the identification of mechanisms and sub-mechanisms is strictly conditioned by the context in which they operate. Thus, the same mechanism that might take place in the clinics' organizational structure as well as in the cooperatives' resources, can be composed of sub-mechanisms which would be defined by the two respective factors. This does not aim to restrict the analytical usage of mechanisms. Rather, we try to bring to the forefront the importance of the three factors, particularly that of resources, which seems to acquire an advanced role in enlarging SMOs' boundaries during the period of severe austerity.

The Contentious Politics approach, as introduced by McAdam et al. (2001) as well as by the authors' later work (Tilly and Tarrow, 2015), contribute with two important suggestions which are highly inter-related. As the name of the framework suggests, the first deals with contention, meaning periods of increased, intense and often conflicting political activity. Although the framework of Contentious Politics has the potential to apply to different contexts, such as civil wars, revolutions and periods of democratization, empirical research tends to favour the study of increased political activity, perceiving social movements as their basic actors. Using earlier work of social movement scholars (Tarrow, 1998), Tilly and Tarrow propose a specific path in implementing the framework of Contentious Politics. In particular, the authors urge us to specify the site of contention and the conditions that surround it, then to identify the streams of contention as well as their outcomes, and finally, to deconstruct the streams into episodes of contention, which will allow researchers to understand the activation of different mechanisms as well as the process that these are composed by (Tilly and Tarrow, 2015, p. 242).

What stems from this brief methodological overview of Contentious Politics is the attention to contention. Contentious episodes are the cornerstone

of the framework and the field which unravels the development of mechanisms. However, this does not fully reflect the adoption of a mechanisms-process approach with regards to our inquiry. In particular, episodes of contention play quite an important role in our narrative. As the following chapter on the background context claims, the social movement community in Greece has experienced a number of crucial moments between 2008 and 2016, unique in their intensity and diverse in terms of their context. At the same time, however, the development of these alternative, service-oriented repertoires also takes place in periods of silence. As we describe further on, mobilization reached its peak in 2012 and then started to decline, while the SYRIZA, *Synaspismos Rizospastikis Aristeras* (Coalition of Radical Left)-led governmental coalition between 2015 and 2019 has negatively affected the outbreak of collective action. In other words, the interest of our research is not restricted to periods of increased protest activity; it also engages with the framework of Contentious Politics in periods of silence.

In line with its focus on episodes of contention, the second suggestion of the Contentious Politics framework deals with the sequence of the mechanisms. Specifically, each process under examination is compound to mechanisms that have been activated. Together with the development of contentious episodes, mechanisms are developed. This implies a linear logic, bounded in a chronological order, in which each mechanism sets in motion the activation of the next one. As the research of Alimi et al. (2015) shows, the same rationale also applies to the sub-mechanisms. However, our research does not completely adopt this perspective.

Each of the three scenes present different narratives that lead to distinct trajectories. Similar to the model of the Contentious Politics framework, the exploration of each trajectory allows us to emphasize the sequential development of mechanisms and sub-mechanisms. Nevertheless, this is not always the case. The variety of the actors involved in the social movement activities under study, as well as the unstable environment of austerity, set up obstacles to the development of linear accounts. This is to be expected, as the fragmentation of identities, and the post-modern view we described earlier, disturb the evolution of linear accounts. Depending on the scenes, some mechanisms are interrelated and develop interdependently, while others are always present but their tension grows due to specific contextual conditions. Additionally, some mechanisms take place simultaneously in irregular timeframes, while others are activated not because of the combination of some mechanisms, but by the mixture of specific features found in groups of mechanisms. In order to tackle these issues, when it is difficult to identify the chronological sequence for the evolution of mechanisms and

sub-mechanisms, we try to develop a hierarchy based on the importance each mechanism carries, in terms of the overall process of boundary enlargement. In simpler terms, specific mechanisms and sub-mechanisms are found to hold different levels of importance within the set of mechanisms in the three social movement scenes. In this regard, the sets of mechanisms depend both on the chronological sequence and the particular effect of individual mechanisms and sub-mechanisms, and therefore have greater effects in the process of boundary enlargement.

By providing further information on the adjustment of the Contentious Politics framework regarding our inquiry, we recognize some important advantages that this brings to the exploration of the changes that took place in the social movement community in Greece. Nevertheless, the study of the movement community in the context of the Greek economic crisis does not only have benefits; it also comes with strict limitations. With this in mind, we move forward to present the basic theoretical and empirical limitations that this inquiry faces.

1.3 Limitations

Since this research focuses on contemporary events, this study does not have the advantage of taking a distant perspective. More precisely, mechanisms and processes are social phenomena which undergo changes through a given status quo. Therefore, the identification of these changes and their subsequent confirmation by the academic community, become more feasible when time has passed between the period which constitutes the object of the research and the period when the research is actually conducted. However, these considerations do not find a universal application, as the framework of Contentious Politics has been used by researchers who study current events. Papanikolopoulos (2016) inquiry regarding the December 2008 riots, as well as Tilly and Tarrow (2015, p. Ch. 10) attention to the anti-austerity mobilizations and the movement for marriage equality constitute some of the more pertinent examples.

The challenge of doing research on current phenomena does not seem to prevent us from using the framework of Contentious Politics. Nonetheless, we should still be quite cautious when it comes to the exploration of certain mechanisms and processes that are central to the creation, change or disappearance of social identities. As Melucci (2002) underlines, social identities in post-modern society have been formed through processes of transformation, where the previously essentialist approach changes into a dynamic one. Thus, moving ahead from a condition of assigned identities, individuals' identity

is affected at multiple levels, both due to their own ability to do so, but also because of the great levels of uncertainty they experience. This change is based on a process of internal negotiation, in which the main priority is not the way that individuals differentiate themselves from the rest; rather, it is how individuals manage to achieve an internal unity on the subject amongst themselves. In Melucci's view, this is a long-lasting dynamic and relational procedure (*Ibid*: 21-28). Thus, it seems easier to speak in favour of the activation of a boundary by identifying specific elements that signal the creation of distinctive lines between two actors, or the certification of specific claims by an external authority, but it is more difficult to address the mechanism of social appropriation and the politicization of previously nonpolitical actors. This takes us on to our second limitation, which concerns the levels of analysis.

Following the framework of Contentious Politics as demonstrated in the *Dynamics of Contention*, our attention is drawn to the meso-level of collective action, which in the case of the anti-austerity mobilizations corresponds to the three respective SMIs and the organizations that operate within their boundaries. Subsequently, the identification of specific mechanisms and processes should also reflect the meso-level of analysis. This is actually the case, concerning how we proceed with the first two aspects of analysis, namely the organizational structure and the resources of the respective SMIs. Nonetheless, the aspect of identity becomes slightly more complicated, since we inevitably stress issues that also apply to the micro-level.

In particular, the mechanism of social appropriation signals a shift in the individuals' status quo and their role with regards to political activity. The same can be said of broader processes, for example mobilization, which lies at the core of contentious politics. However, the role of Contentious Politics should not be confused with earlier behavioural studies and theories of collective action which looked at individual motives that led to participation. Although looking at individuals' motives would add more insight to our empirical analysis, our research design is different in terms that it tries to demonstrate how the meso-level interacts with the micro.⁴ As many scholars have underlined (Kotronaki, 2015; Staggenborg, 2002), the meso-level reflects the life of a movement since it connects the macro socio-political processes with the micro-level of individual motives and interaction. Therefore, in the

4 The approach of Contentious Politics interacts as well with the macro-level. This becomes quite obvious when one looks at the framework's attention on political opportunities. Since we consider the interaction of the meso-level with the macro one quite obvious in all the studies that adopt this framework, we chose not to elaborate further.

example of social clinics and the mechanism of social appropriation, we do not opt to demonstrate a comprehensive account of how individuals became politicized; rather, we try to explain how the respective SMIs enabled their politicization in relation to the macroeconomic, socioeconomic and political changes. For this reason, we approach the identity-related mechanisms and sub-mechanisms mostly from the side of the organizations and the way these have changed the individuals, and to a lesser extent, from the way that the individuals' identities have been shaped by their interaction with the organizations.

Our last limitation rests on the methodological approach of Contentious Politics, and specifically the identification of contentious episodes and events. Episodes and events of contention are used as points, either in order to trace the evolution of mechanisms and processes from one to another or as a particular event which needs further exploration. This approach has been stressed by many contentious politics scholars, with the initial introduction of the framework by McAdam et al. (2001) in *Dynamics of Contention* and its last advancement by Tilly and Tarrow's *Contentious Politics* (Tilly and Tarrow, 2015) being among the most popular ones. In the following chapter, where we describe the context of our study, we briefly mention some mechanisms and processes that took place in the evolution of the Greek social movement community. The diffusion of practices and procedures during the Global Justice Movement (GJM), the self-reflection process that followed the December 2008 riots and the decentralization process in the aftermath of the square movement are in line with the suggested methodology, since they trace specific processes during specific contentious events. However, this is not the case with the process of boundary enlargement and the shift of SMOs' attention towards service-oriented repertoires we try to demonstrate in this work.

Usually, the academic community situates the period of anti-austerity mobilizations between 2010 and 2012. The decline of protest repertoires and the rise of alternative repertoires is identified from 2012 onwards.⁵ However, we point out that the December 2008 riots played a crucial role in shaping the process of boundary enlargement. Therefore, within a broader time span, this process refers to the period between 2008 and 2016, without suggesting that these are either starting or end points respectively. During this period, a number of contentious events took place, something that we have taken into consideration. Nevertheless, the strict attachment of our design to these contentious events, as the Contentious Politics approach would have implied,

5 The increase here refers to the popularity of the alternative repertoire and not to the birth of its practices, since the latter finds mostly its starting point before the period of austerity.

carries the risk of losing sight of the development of important mechanisms that do not comply with the appearance of these events.

A different approach used to trace important events would lead us to points where there were pronounced shifts in terms of service-related policies. Although the 4368/2016 law introduced by the SYRIZA-led government in August 2016 that gave the unemployed access to the public health system might signal a turning point for the operation of the social clinics, equally important developments, such as the rise of unemployment, could not be attributed to specific points in time, and therefore, prevent us from drawing a precise time period for the study of the clinics. The case becomes much more complicated when it comes to the social movement scenes of food and labour, where the implementation of specific policies seems to have little (if any) correlation to the rise in respective services.

These methodological difficulties complicate the explanation of the boundary enlargement process; however, they are not indestructible. As we have indicated earlier and we demonstrate in detail in our empirical chapters, the process of boundary enlargement is a gradual process, of which the vast development can be found within the period of 2008-2016. Therefore, although we underline the importance of some events and episodes of contention when possible, the overall explanation of this process does not necessitate their existence. Rather, the process of boundary enlargement is conceived as an on-going task which takes place within the studied period.

1.4 Conclusion

This chapter introduces the theoretical framework of the book which stands as our guide for the overall analysis of the effects of austerity on SMOs. Our argument is that the period of austerity acted as a catalyst that brought the process of boundary enlargement to the forefront. This process indicates that between 2008 and 2016, the fixed structural and cognitive boundaries of SMOs became more adaptable and ductile. This resulted in the incorporation of new and the modification of old elements within their operation. We do not support that this process was born during the period of crisis. Our approach understands social movement activity as a story of continuous struggles, interactions and conflicts which shapes its future practices. What we do argue, nevertheless, is that the needs created by austerity policies and politics have accelerated the enlargement of SMOs' boundaries.

One of the most interesting cases reflecting the process of boundary enlargement is the shift of SMOs' activity from a protest repertoire of action

to one that is service-oriented. Among the large variety of services employed by SMOs, we focus on the social movement scenes of food, health and labour and the respective SMIs. In our effort to unravel the dynamic character of the boundary enlargement process and to deconstruct the mechanisms and sub-mechanisms that supported its activation, the framework of Contentious Politics is an adequate tool (McAdam et al., 2001). Although this framework proposes the identification of specific mechanisms and the subsequent composition of said mechanisms into a process, we follow the design of Alimi et al. (2015) and thus reverse the procedure by trying to understand what the combinations of mechanisms and sub-mechanisms that compose the proposed process are. Although we do not opt to provide an exhaustive account of the mechanisms and sub-mechanisms that form the process of boundary enlargement, we illustrate the most important ones in each of the studied social movement scenes. In these regards, the deconstruction of the respective SMIs regarding the organizational structure, resources and identity, enable the more precise description of the mechanisms and sub-mechanisms. Apart from its direct utility, this deconstruction also achieves an indirect goal. That is to show that the blending of the two contradictory worlds, namely the structural world of the organizational structure and resources and the post-structural world of the identity factor, reflects the contradictions between the materialistic views and needs that emerged as a result of the austerity, and the post-materialistic approaches and values that the SMOs advocate for. It also stands as an indirect critique of the attribution of post-material views to the social movements positioned in the affluent societies of the developed North, contrary to the inferior materialistic ones of the less developed South. The process of mixing these two worlds is the theoretical value that the boundary enlargement process tries to bring to the forefront. Before we proceed with the analysis of our data, the next chapter aims to provide information regarding the background context of this study.

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2 The Greek Wave of Anti-Austerity Mobilizations in Context

Abstract

This chapter presents the background context of the book; a necessary companion for readers with minimum knowledge of the social movement community in Greece. By understanding social movements as cases of continuities within time, the chapter provides information regarding the contentious politics in Greece since the 1980s and discusses its organizational and cultural underpinnings. Moreover, it elaborates the December 2008 riots, a landmark for the mobilizations to come. The core part introduces the new social reality of crisis-ridden Greece and the plurality of the anti-austerity contentious cycle: first, it demonstrates the plethora of anti-austerity mobilizations, and subsequently, it delves into the solidarity structures and the alternative repertoires in the social movement scenes of food, health and labour.

Keywords: Greece; December 2008; Economic crisis; Square movement; Alternative repertoires of action; Solidarity structures

Social movement studies lie at the intersection of sociology and political science. This particular field of academic research not only represents and analyzes the formation of informal politics, but it also reflects the societal approach towards collective action. In this respect, we can understand the changes in the Greek society's views on various social movements, by examining Greek research in this field. Unfortunately, there is a lack of detailed accounts on social movements. The prevalence of political parties as the only means of representation for collective interests resulted in a lack of attention by the national and international academic community towards collective action (Kornetis and Kouki, 2016). Until the mid-1990s, mainstream scholarship treated social movements in Greece as a marginal culture, with the few accounts on the subject being products of historians

and political scientists in their effort to complement wider narratives regarding the transformation of party politics. It was not until 1996 that a wind of modernization blew through the Greek academia, with the appearance of systematic research on social movements (*Greek Review of Political Science*, issue 8, 1996).¹ Although this partially reflects the constrained role of social movements within mainstream politics, it is by no means reflective of their actual significance. A fully comprehensive historical account of the activities of social movements in Greece, while important, is beyond the scope of this study. Nevertheless, it is necessary to point out the specific events that were instrumental in the construction of a culture of collective action; especially after the student uprisings in November 1973 and the fall of the dictatorship in July 1974, which initiated the country's transition to democracy (Della Porta et al., 2018, pp. 37-43).

2.1 Three decades of mobilizations

The wildcat strikes of factory workers and the contentious environment that characterized the first years after the fall of the military dictatorship decreased significantly after 1980 (Katsoridas and Lampousaki, 2012). Following the electoral victory of PASOK, *Panellinio Sosialistiko Kinima* (Panhellenic Socialist Movement), in 1981, the number of the implemented social provision policies rose dramatically. The subsequent period was characterized by an increased sense of citizens' democratic engagement. Although this is usually attributed to the party's agenda to enhance participatory forms of politics, critical accounts support that this sentiment was generated through citizens' association with PASOK and not with their participation in decision-making instruments (Kioupiolis, 2006). The party's socialist profile advocated for the protection of women and workers' rights. At the same time, its affiliation with and patronizing stance towards unions, cooperatives and other official forms of collective action, was combined with its relationships with business elites. Moreover, party officials were projected both as "distant" political personalities but also as popular public figures, who were "close to the grassroots". All these were contributing factors to what Crouch (2004) calls the post-democratic approach. The result was the development of a clientele conception of the citizen-state relationship and the recognition of the party as the central means of expression for the citizenry (Della Porta et al., 2018, p. 67).

1 <https://ejournals.epublishing.ekt.gr/index.php/hpsa/issue/view/867>

Aside from the development of this complex relationship between the party and civil society actors, the period of the 1980s was also quite important for the rise of direct-democratic and horizontal practices. These complemented the Marxist-Leninist tradition of left-wing social movement organizations (SMOs) and set the symbolic and structural basis for the contemporary social movement culture in Greece (*Ibid*, pp. 96-100). That is not to say that social movements in Greece appeared only in the 1980s. The first socialist and anarchist organizations have their roots in the late 19th century (Pelekoudas, 2017), while the 20th century was characterized by vivid struggles of the labour movement (see for instance Kordatos, 1972; Liakos, 2016; Livieratos, 1976, 1985, 1987; Papanikolopoulos, 2015). However, the rise of PASOK in power weakened the extra-parliamentary left and brought the anarchists to the forefront (Della Porta et al., 2018, pp. 97-99).

The rise of an underground and subversive lifestyle, mostly derived from punk music, has created space for the development of squats in the metropolitan centres of Athens and Thessaloniki (Souzas, 2015). Initially situating themselves around the anti-culture or the culture of disobedient youth which rejected the petty bourgeoisie representation of PASOK (della Porta et al, 2018: 96-100), squats moved beyond hosting concerts and began adopting political stances against the affluence of capitalism and the welfare state. Anti-culture as an element of the libertarian movement has provoked internal debates within the libertarian community. On the one hand, anti-culture has been criticized for occupying a reactive stance towards the organization of social movements, for employing anti-intellectual accounts and promoting individualistic views on politics (see for example Bookchin in Taibo, 2017, pp. 119-122). On the other hand, counter-criticism emphasized the anti-capitalist contribution of anti-culture to the broader libertarian space (Taibo, 2017, p. 122). Indicative here is the debate within the broader anarchist community in the 1990s about the bar services and whether they should operate within squats: on the one hand, selling drinks during hangouts was pictured as a means to secure the squats' economic survival, and on the other hand, this practice was rejected since it endorsed the capitalist logic of monetary transactions within anarchist spaces. Similar debates contributed further to the segmentation of the anarchist community and the broader movement of social antagonism, without however halting the development of a vibrant antagonistic space.

Anti-culture and its accompanying characteristics have never entirely left the anarchist space, nor have the individualistic nihilist elements that characterize many guerilla groups currently. However, over the years, incremental shifts took place, leading to a "cultural enlargement". Punk, rock

and hip-hop music used to dominate the anarchist and extra-parliamentary left-wing culture in late 1980s and 1990s, young activists were identified by their distinct dress codes and lifestyles, while an anti-intellectual and technophobic sentiment was rather present (Kalamaras, 2017; Nikolaidis, 2017). However, the social movement culture of the 21st century seems quite different. Punk, rock and hip-hop still enjoy popularity among activists, but so does traditional and folklore music, with well-known artists being considered “cultural property” of the movement community. The dress code has changed too and turned more casual. The anti-intellectual and technophobic attitude turned upside down with each SMO and movement festival holding its own book bazaar, organizing semi-academic talks and spreading information about their actions through social media. Indicative of this “cultural enlargement” that moved beyond the strictly defined movement culture of the 1980s, is that currently many SMOs and political organizations in Greece are defined as anti-authoritarians, libertarians, social anarchists or autonomists in order to distinguish themselves from the anarchist orthodoxy. In order to explore further the current developments, we still need to outline how some key events shaped the basis of the boundary enlargement process.

Between 1985 and 1987, as well as in 1990, there was an increase in strikes with the claims focusing on wage and pension requirements (Katsoridas and Lampousaki, 2012). However, the 1990s are characterized by a decreasing trend in strikes. The single-issue mobilizations of farmers, public employees and others did not appeal to the broader working class, something which was encouraged by the “social consent” policies of the country’s largest labour confederations (*Ibid.*). Apart from the commemoration days of the end of the Colonels’ dictatorship, which were marked by violent protests (Della Porta et al., 2018, pp. 37-43), other major events that took place during this period were the student mobilizations in 1990-1991 and 1998-1999 (Giovanopoulos and Dalakoglou, 2011), as well as the actions of international solidarity with the Balkans and the Zapatistas which led to large protests during Clinton’s visit (Kotronaki, 2015, p. 58).

The 1990s in Greece represent the middleclass dream of short-term social prosperity. Public political discussions concerning mainstream issues, such as migration or the EU, were rather superficial, while similar was the quality of political discourse in parliamentary debates. In this respect, the participation of MPs in lifestyle and trash tv-shows was not rare at all. In the domestic sphere, securing a stable post in the job market often represented the beginning of a successful life and it was often conceived as feasible through family and party networks. Taking into consideration

that this was combined with a parvenu lifestyle, the 1990s were accurately characterized by a hip-hop group as “the era of mediocrity”. The transition from the 1990s to the 2000s witnessed the birth of a Global Justice Movement (GJM) against neoliberal globalization, which, in turn, had important effects on domestic movements in Greece.

Following the protests in Prague, Genoa and the European Union (EU) summit in Thessaloniki in 2003, there was an increase in social movement activity, and social movement organizations began broadening the scope of their activities. As Kotronaki (2015) explains, the debate around the summits had radicalized some of the participants, enabling left-wing organizations to challenge the social-democratic orientation of the mainstream Left and push for a more radical approach towards social inclusion; the establishment of SYRIZA, *Synaspismos Rizospastikis Aristeras* (Coalition of Radical Left) in the effort to re-generate the relationship between the old institutional politics of the Left and the grassroots complements this picture. At the same time, radicalization within anarchist organizations gave rise to the escalation of mobilization with the use of violent means. The GJM led to further adoption of anti-hierarchical and horizontal values from left-wing organizations and revived the debates regarding the symbolic use of violence (Kalamaras, 2017, pp. 12-14). Moreover, it signaled the creation of Athens Indymedia, an anti-commercial grassroots alternative media network, as well as that of the AK, *Antiexousiastiki Kinisi* (Anti-authoritarian Movement), probably the most well-organized libertarian organization in Greece.² The subsequent mobilizations brought diversity to anarchist discourse and imparted a general skepticism towards orthodox views on ideologies, facilitated further by the use of the term libertarian instead of anarchist. Based on these mobilization structures, protests and acts of civil disobedience took place, as opposition to the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, mainly in Athens and Thessaloniki, as well as against the hosting of the Olympic Games in 2004 (Portaliou, 2008).

The European Social Forum in Athens in May 2006, when around 70,000 protestors are estimated to have marched (Giovanopoulos and Dalakoglou,

2 Currently with many organizational branches across the country, the AK was established as an initiative that aimed to move beyond the ideological boundaries that divided the broader anarchist space, and to create open social spaces with a common denominator being the participants' anti-authoritarian approach (The AK for the various incidents, 2017). At the same time, critical accounts accuse AK for anarchists' co-optation, reformism, and unofficial support towards SYRIZA in the 2015 national elections. These internal conflicts bear the potential to enhance deliberation and plurality within the libertarian space, but in many occasions have turned violent and fragmented even more libertarian activists and SMOs.

2011), was followed by almost 1.5 years of student mobilizations, including demonstrations and school and university occupations against the privatization of public universities in 2006-2007. This student movement helped to link political issues with the widespread social discontent felt in Greece at the time. According to Giovanopoulos and Dalakoglou (2011, p. 109), 'it is not a coincidence that this occurred in the realm of the education sector in which a long tradition of mobilizations had established patterns of cooperation between different parts of the movement'. As the authors continue, 'It was this wide inclusion and unity of focus that made this movement successful in the end and even enabled it to revitalize hope for the potential of the intervention of the radical left in the central political scene' (*Ibid*).

The above passages aim to highlight a number of features of the social movement culture in Greece. First, they show that unions and other formal channels of collective action have been identified as representatives of state interests and have often been associated with corruption and patronage. As we see further on, this created important difficulties for the re-appropriation of trade unions and cooperatives by the social movement community during the period of austerity, since activists were very skeptical towards these forms of action. Second, the beginning of the new millennium saw left-wing organizations experimenting with horizontal organizational structures, while anarchists challenged "the tyranny of structurelessness" (Freeman, 1972). Finally, we see that a vital movement community with its own culture and identity and a willingness to mobilize had been cultivated. Unfortunately, this was first realized with the murder of a fifteen-year-old schoolboy by the police in 2008.

2.2 From December 2008, onwards

Activists in Greece still remember what they were doing the time they learned about the murder of Alexandros Grigoropoulos by two police officers in Exarcheia, Athens on the 6th of December 2008. The news of the murder was followed by severe and intense riots. Protests against police brutality began in the city centre of Athens, in the immediate aftermath of the murder and were soon followed by violent riots in many major cities across the country. The mechanism of upward scale shift and the diffusion of contention from local to national level (Tilly and Tarrow, 2015, pp. 120-126), took place during the protests of the first two weeks, and it was followed by excessive police repression and the decline of mobilizations by the New Year. Attempts to revive the protests in the first days of January 2009 were unsuccessful.

An exhaustive account of the December 2008 riots is not essential to this research; the following is a short introduction to the events and the impact they had. The reader can consult other, more precise sources regarding the development of these events (Papanikolopoulos, 2016; Seferiades and Johnston, 2012; Vradis and Dalakoglou, 2011). References to the Greek December are often accompanied by pictures of violent events and the legitimization of mass political violence, which finds its roots in the armed resistance against the Colonels' dictatorship in the 1970s (della Porta et al 2018: 96-100). Pautz and Kominou (2013) count more than 50 looting actions of supermarkets exercised by militant groups, followed by the distribution of goods to passers-by. What came as a surprise therefore, was Papanikolopoulos (2016) protest event analysis which, contrary to a widespread impression, found that only 18% of actions taken (meaning 79 out of 440 contentious events) in December can be characterized as violent. As the author notes, if he had added the almost 100 university and 900 school occupations, the violent repertoire would not exceed 5.5% of the total. Although Papanikolopoulos' inquiry shows that December 2008 was not as violent as it is often remembered, we cannot overlook the fact that almost 1000 occupations took place in less than a month.

The first protests were initiated by high school and university students, whose contentious spirit was already active due to the student mobilizations of 2006-2007. However, the development of riots found the anarchists occupying the leading role, though the rest of the left-wing participants and the party of SYRIZA showed tolerance towards disruptive actions. Once the potential of a Big Night could not be realized and the government was restoring the disrupted order, the broader antagonistic movement began to reflect on its methods and practices. As a famous slogan stated during these days: "December was not the answer; rather, it was the question".

In her doctoral dissertation, Kotronaki (2015) explains how the Greek participation in the Prague summit brought together extra-parliamentary leftists and anarchists, resulting in an exchange of practices and procedures. The same can be said about the riots in December, when the disruptive events that took place in the city centre of Athens were met with widespread acceptance. The riots in December are often linked to the birth of a new wave of city-guerrilla groups and militant organizations, where a combination of an upward scale shift and the activation of boundaries between the challenging groups of authorities and activists led to a broader process of radicalization (Tilly and Tarrow, 2015, p. 36). However, it would be a partial reading if we do not take into account that these riots engaged more people with the ideas of direct-democracy, horizontal procedures and

self-management. The transformation of public buildings into centres of struggle brought together previously unconnected (and even competing) groups and individuals. In many cases, these centres have constituted the basis for the establishment of new social centres.

It is important to note here that together with the squatting movement developed in the 1980s and 1990s, the social movement community experienced the emergence of social centres in late 1990s. However, these increased mostly after the turn of the new millennia (Kalamaras, 2017, p. 17). The first reference to social centres appears in Italy, with the marriage of housing occupations with various forms of subculture (Souzas, 2015, p. 160). Italian social centres were anchored in local neighbourhoods, provided clothes, food and other daily care services, and they were sympathetic to anarchist and extra-parliamentary left-wing audiences (Hadjimichalis, 2017, pp. 144-145). The development of the Italian autonomous movement finds its origins in the activists' efforts to differentiate themselves from the social centres, which in many cases have developed relations not only with the local communities but also with the respective municipal authorities (Souzas, 2015, p. 160). However, the case of social centres in Greece is slightly different, since relations with state authorities are largely excluded. Although many social centres in Greece are on rent, something which differentiates the level of their disobedience to that of squats, both squats and social centres adopt similar organizational, political and cultural structures and actions. Squats and social centres use the terms "self-organized social space", "self-managed social centre" and "free social centre" interchangeably, without implying a qualitative difference that would enable their distinction. In this respect, the Mikropolis³ social centre in Thessaloniki, which resulted from the squatted faculty of fine arts during the 2008 protests, as well as the first guerilla-gardening initiative of the squatted Navarinou Park in Exarcheia (Dalakoglou and Vradis, 2011) are illustrative examples. In addition to these cases, the December 2008 events triggered the formation of many neighbourhood assemblies and cooperative structures, which continued their operation long after the decrease of riots.

The diffusion of organizational practices, the emergence of new tactics and strategies, the establishment of coalitions between previously unconnected groups, as well as the sharing of turbulent experiences are factors that created a common purpose among the Greek activists. In this regard, the December 2008 riots demonstrate the role of protests, not only in affecting the mainstream political setting, but as memorable and emotive

3 Mikropolis stands for Micropolis.

events capable of carrying a certain legacy (Della Porta et al., 2018, p. 99). These events can have a powerful impact, by influencing ideas, relations and emotions surrounding an issue, redefining debates, creating new networks and spreading feelings of solidarity (Della Porta, 2008; Sewell, 1996). The initiation of the new protest cycle against austerity in less than two years enabled the spread and multiplication of this shared knowledge and influenced different areas of the Greek society with the introduction of alternative repertoires.

2.3 The Period of Austerity

2.3.1 Crisis and Austerity

The recent economic crisis gave rise to a period of severe austerity for Southern European countries. At the epicentre of the economic recession, Greece experienced sharp changes in its political, economic and social institutions. However, we must emphasize that these hardships were not due to the crisis, in the sense of an unforeseen external phenomenon. Rather, austerity politics and policies implemented in the wake of the crisis led to disastrous consequences for the Greek society. Therefore, it is important to point out some of these consequences in order to improve the reader's understanding of the sociopolitical and economic changes that took place from 2008 onwards.

The signing of the first memorandum in May 2010 and the implementation of the first austerity agenda by PASOK paved the way for the fragmentation of the party system (Dinas and Rori, 2013). Papandreou's government resigned, and was replaced by a technocratic government in November 2011, which lasted until the new electoral rounds in May and June 2012. Resignations, continuous shifts of MPs to rival parties, as well as the establishment of new parties increased the frustration of the voters. This is illustrated by the sharp increase in the number of elected parties, the almost 30% decrease in PASOK's vote and the reduction of the electoral participation by up to 30%. The movement community's "covered enthusiasm" in response to SYRIZA's electoral victory in January 2015 was quickly replaced with widespread discontent following the party's "backflip" after the referendum on the austerity measures in the summer of the same year. The subsequent elections in September 2015 resulted in the continuation both of the SYRIZA-led governmental coalition and the third package of austerity reforms.

At that time, political instability was inextricably linked with changes in the economic and social spheres. The economic crisis in 2008 revealed the country's inability to fund its public debt. The estimated public deficit of 2009 was between 6% and 8%. However, this estimation was revised to a frightening 12.7% (Economist, 2010, February 4). The national debt moved from less than 110% of the GDP in 2008 up to more than 175% for 2013, 2014, 2015 and 2016 (Eurostat, 2018), while between 2008 and 2016 the country lost around 30% of its GDP (OECD, 2019). Confronted with these numbers, first the government of PASOK in 2010, and then every government in office, implemented a series of austerity measures in order to tackle the rise of public debt and secure the country's membership in the Eurozone.⁴

These measures aimed to compress the public sector through wage cuts and the collective dismissal of public employees. The implementation of the shock doctrine involved cuts in public spending, instant taxation and rampant privatization of public enterprises. Nonetheless, austerity spread quite quickly in the private sector. Under the same logic of "There Is No Alternative", the minimum wage was reduced, and collective labour agreements were abolished (Kretsos, 2011). Unable to meet their initial goals, austerity policies continued to plunge the Greek economy into deeper recession. According to the Hellenic Confederation of Professionals, Craftsmen and Merchants (GSEVEE) more than 100,000 enterprises shut down between 2010 and 2012 (GSEVEE, 2012, 12 October), while the unemployment rate increased from 8.4% in 2008 to 26.2% in 2014, with the youth unemployment moving from 21.9% to 52.4% respectively (Eurostat, 2015a, 2015b). Economic hardship has been blamed as the main cause for the increase of suicide rates (Chalari, 2014, pp. 89-91), while also exposing 35% of the Greek population⁵ to the risk of poverty and social exclusion (ELSTAT, 2016, June 23). Among the most striking cases, is the public suicide of the 77-year-old pensioner Dimitris Christoulas in Syntagma square on the 4th April 2012. As he stated in his last note, 'since my advanced age does not allow me a way of dynamically

4 At this point it is important to clarify that although the government of PASOK stands as a landmark for the beginning of the austerity measures implemented few months after its electoral victory in 2009 and strengthened with the first Memorandum in 2010, great cuts in public spending had already started from early 2009 when the conservative party of ND, *Nea Dimokratia* (New Democracy) was in office. After all, the electoral success of PASOK was due to the pre-electoral proclamations that "money do exist", implying that there was no need for such tight economic policies.

5 At this point, it worth noting that Greeks were not the only victims of austerity. Migrants, and particularly non-regularised migrants, are often situated among the most deprived parts of the population residing in Greece. As such, their livelihoods have been severely affected by the economic crisis.

reacting (although if a fellow Greek were to grab a Kalashnikov, I would be right behind him), I see no other solution than this dignified end to my life, so I don't find myself fishing through garbage cans for my sustenance. I believe that young people with no future, will one day take arms and hang the traitors of this country at Syntagma square, just like the Italians did to Mussolini in 1945' (Athens News, 2012).

2.3.2 Anti-austerity mobilizations

Austerity measures have been met with mass mobilizations and the inauguration of a new protest cycle. Many scholars identify the starting point between the beginning of winter and the end of spring 2010 (Psimitis, 2011, p. 197), and its end around the Fall of 2012 (Kousis, 2014). This timeframe is quite strict since protests against austerity had already taken place during the government of Karamanlis prior to 2009 (Kousis and Kanellopoulos, 2014, pp. 6-9). Austerity packages were again introduced after the Fall of 2012, generating new protests and demonstrations. The shutdown of the Hellenic Broadcasting Corporation (hereafter ERT) in June 2013 led to the dismissal of more than 2500 employees and the subsequent birth of a wide movement in solidarity. The occupation of eighteen radio and two television stations⁶ of ERT headquarters across the country was combined with the illegal broadcasting of television and radio shows for almost two years, subsequent efforts for its self-management, as well as the withdrawal of DIM.AR, *Dimokratiki Aristera* (Democratic Left) from the governmental coalition. Powerful mobilizations, such as the movement against the gold mining in the region of Chalkidiki or the polymorphous anti-fascist movement which rose after the killing of the anti-fascist rapper Pavlos Fyssas by members of Golden Dawn, although they were not strictly related with the economic crisis, were closely associated with neoliberal enclosures, governmental efforts to attract private investments and the political crisis of the period. Additionally, the mobilizations that took place during the 2015 referendum can be also considered as the last public expressions of the anti-austerity contentious cycle. Nonetheless, the introduction of the troika as the supervisor of the structural adjustment programmes in May 2010 and the development of a common anti-austerity frame by social movement actors, as well as the decline in the intensity and number of protests after 2012, enable us to apply the same periodization.

Research on anti-austerity mobilizations indicates three phases of protests within this protest cycle. In particular, the first period is situated from the

6 The main headquarter in Athens was evacuated by police in November 2013.

beginning of 2010 until the beginning of 2011; the second from the beginning of 2011 until the beginning of 2012; and the third one from the beginning of 2012 until the end of the same year. Diani and Kousis (2014, p. 393) argue that the first phase was characterized by the increase of strikes. The signing of the first memorandum and the subsequent imposition of stability measures found the unions and student associations to be the major organizers of protests and demonstrations. The second phase was characterized by the second memorandum and the participation of citizens' initiatives, left-wing parties as well as anarchist and anti-authoritarian organizations. Finally, during the third phase, Greece experienced two consecutive national elections with great abstention rates and increasing contentious events until the end of the year.

By applying a slightly different time frame, Sergi and Vogiatzoglou (2013) argue that traditional social movement repertoires based on protests and strikes prevailed during the first phase. This changed during the second wave of protests with the eruption of the square movement. The third wave of protests, which took place between September 2011 and May 2012, is portrayed by labour mobilization, refusal to pay taxes and other acts of civil disobedience. Despite the disagreements among scholars in terms of the life and duration of each phase, the common denominator of these inquiries splits this period on an annual basis.

Now that we have described the phases of mobilization, we aim to find out who the protesters were. By paying closer attention to the structure of mobilizations, Kanellopoulos and Kostopoulos (2014) argue that the anti-austerity campaign has been composed of five networks. These networks include: the concrete and institutionalized networks of trade unions and the KKE, *Kommunistiko Komma Elladas* (Communist Party of Greece); the loose but institutionalized networks affiliated with SYRIZA; the less institutionalized extra-parliamentary left; and the anarchists with a loose, non-institutionalized structure (*Ibid.* p. 13). This inquiry is of great importance since it demonstrates how the anti-austerity mobilizations brought to the streets nearly every actor that can be considered part of the broader social movement community.

Aside from the widespread participation, the anti-austerity mobilizations are also unique in their intensity. More precisely, in a set of 20,210 protest events recorded by the police between May 2010 and March 2014, Diani and Kousis (2014, p. 387) argue that around 20,000 of them took place in the first two years. This impressive number in terms of mobilization has forced scholars to argue in favour of a "thickened period" (*Ibid.* p. 389). This is better illustrated in the research of Kousis and Kanellopoulos (2014), which shows that 20 of these events included a range of 25,000 to 500,000

protesters, while five of them counted from 5,000 to 24,000 participants. Demonstrations often turned violent, with the death of Paraskevi Zoulia, Epaminondas Tsakalis and the pregnant Angeliki Papathanasopoulou, employees of Marfin bank which was set on fire during the anti-austerity protest on the 5th of May 2010, being a major tragic event of the period.

The broad range of actors involved, and the intensity of mobilizations underline the significance of the anti-austerity mobilizations. Characterized as 'direct democratic, demonstrative, confrontational and violent' (*Ibid*, p. 8), mobilizations were distinguished by a number of unique elements. Comparing the anti-austerity mobilizations with the GJM, Della Porta and Mattoni (2014) underline some important aspects: the crucial role of social media as a means of coordination of activists; the prevalence of the national element compared with the transnational character of the GJM; the fact that the anti-austerity protests did not raise claims only against the neoliberal elites but the political system as a whole; and also the fact that many of the participants had not been previously involved in collective action. Although all of the aforementioned differences contribute to the distinct character of the anti-austerity mobilizations, the engagement of people without prior experience in collective action is especially striking and central to our further analysis of the alternative repertoires of action.

It is quite often the case that the first days of a protest cycle attract larger numbers of participants (Staggenborg, 2002). Based on a general population survey conducted in December 2010, Rudig and Karyotis (2013) found that around one third of the Greek adult population had participated in at least one protest event against austerity. Most importantly, around 20% of the participants had not taken part in either a strike or a demonstration in the last ten years (*Ibid*). By drawing a comparison between the first-time strikers and demonstrators with the veteran ones, the authors claim that the new strikers are distinguished 'by their non-membership in voluntary organizations, lack of full-time employment, gender (female) and higher education levels' (*Ibid*, p. 320). Additionally, the 'new demonstrators are far less likely to be left-wing' (*Ibid*). Although these findings are in contrast with social movement theory which argues that prior participation in organizations is an important factor for someone to be recruited as an activist (Staggenborg, 2011, pp. 31-34), what is also important is that according to the data 'new strikers and protesters do not have a higher perception of the cost-benefit balance of protest in comparison with veteran protesters', something which also rejects the rational-choice theory (Rüdig and Karyotis, 2013, p. 322).

Moving a step ahead and comparing the new strikers and demonstrators with non-protesters, Rudig and Karyotis support the fact that ideology is

not an important factor for new demonstrators. Economic deprivation does not constitute a key factor either; both categories find that their participation in strikes and protests can be effective, but this is understood only during their participation and not before (*Ibid*, p. 326). Simply put, the anti-austerity mobilizations have enabled the large participation of citizens (mostly women) without prior experience in collective action, who only understood the importance of their participation once they were already mobilized. Although the reasons leading these people to involve themselves in protests and strikes are not analyzed further by the authors, these findings suggest that the contentious events between 2010 and 2012 have created a new pool of activists, with different characteristics from the usual participants. The diverse background of the new activists, combined with the participation of different (and often competitive) networks of social and political organizations, have been described by Diani and Kousis (2014, pp. 389-390) as the creation of a wide, cross-class coalition, anti-austerity campaign. As the authors continue, despite the presence of agents facilitating the association of individuals with organizations, the activists' common frames and requests also have a connective role in the development of this coalition (*Ibid*).

The width and intensity of street mobilizations does not describe alone this "thickened period", since the anti-austerity spirit was expressed in various settings of everyday life. Pro-austerity MPs and journalists found difficulties in appearing in public, since their presence in theatres, restaurants and cafeterias usually attracted the complaints (and sometimes the violent reaction) of angry passers-by. Football fans in nearly every stadium in the country raised banners and chanted songs against austerity, troika and the government, while clashes with the police outside football stadiums were a Sunday routine. Open-air and closed music halls hosting various concerts also transformed into unofficial protest camps, with activists raising banners and interrupting the musical programmes to announce the dates of the forthcoming protests. Similar actions took place in live national TV broadcasts and radio shows. This contentious environment, with the amalgam of diverse actors and actions under the anti-austerity master frame, peaked with the emergence of the square movement.

2.3.3 The square movement and its decentralization

The square movement gained widespread popularity in anti-austerity circles. Within a few months, it managed to refine and publicize the claims against austerity, elevating them into declarations against neoliberalism (Roussos,

2019) and transforming the contentious protest culture into joyful feasts for the celebration of direct democracy. At the same time, it introduced new organizational and cultural formats. Contrary to the GJM, the movements of the squares (Arab spring, Indignados and Occupy) had loose organizational structures, while participants in the *acampanadas* (camps) were connected to each other based on their individual relationships and not mainly through collectivities (Della Porta, 2014, 2015). In their attempt to trace the roots of the Greek square movement, Roos and Oikonomakis (2014) note that it was not the process of direct diffusion from the Spanish Indignados; rather, what played a crucial role was the pre-mobilization structures such as the December 2008 riots, the *Den Plirono* (I am not paying) self-reduction movement against tolls and urban transportation tickets, as well as the presence of anarchist and anti-authoritarian squats and social centres.

Despite its initial skepticism towards organized collectivities and unions, the square movement in Greece developed two types of connection with local level assemblies. First, although the call for action was organized by individuals, the local assemblies, which had mostly been born after the 2008 riots, enriched -and played an important role in sustaining- the square movement. Second, the main square assemblies in Syntagma, Athens and Leykos Pyrgos, Thessaloniki enabled the constitution of new assemblies in the respective neighbourhoods of the various participants. These local assemblies functioned as hubs which disseminated calls for participation in the main square assemblies. Soon enough, these local hubs started discussing local issues, taking decisions and transmitting them into the main square assemblies.

The dissolution of the square movement due to police repression found the local assemblies stronger than before. The process of decentralization described earlier was crucial, since it was combined with the diffusion of activists and ideas from the main assemblies to the local ones. At the same time, shortly before and after the *acampanadas*, the square movement socialized a culture of civil disobedience ranging from supermarkets and electronic chain stores' looting, to the refusal to pay tickets in public transportation and cinemas, tolls on the highways as well as the cost of utilities of the indebted households. Due to this, the decentralization of the square movement fostered local assemblies to incorporate civil disobedience actions in their agendas and created an activist horizon for newcomers. Once again, the discussion regarding the effects that protests have on the participants becomes quite central. Apart from the return of the veteran activists from the main squares to the local assemblies, the internal dynamics that took place during the square movement set in motion the mechanism of social

appropriation, thereby bringing new participants into the local neighbourhood organizations (Arampatzi, 2017). Without disregarding the efforts of these local organizations to mobilize people during the anti-austerity protests, we shift our attention towards the development of alternative repertoires of action.

2.4 Alternative Repertoires of Action

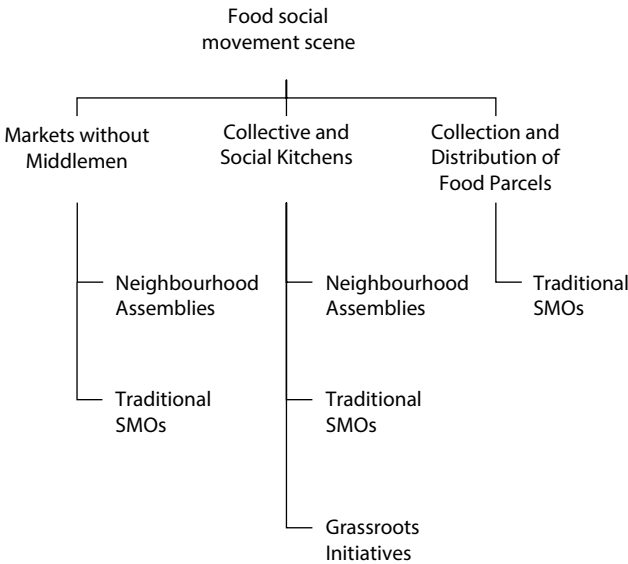
Many scholars have interpreted the decline of powerful mobilizations in the Fall of 2012 as the end of the protest cycle. However, this refers to the decrease in the massive protests that took place during the first years of the mobilizations. Decentralized civil disobedience, such as the illegal reconnection of water or electricity supplies in households by local grassroots initiatives started mainly after the dissolution of the square movement and continued long after 2012. Nevertheless, the decline of the large protests signaled a shift in the academic community's interest towards grassroots alternative repertoires, oriented in the provision of welfare services.

Within the framework of social solidarity, many grassroots organizations started to provide free courses to students, create barter clubs (Benmecheddal et al., 2017), as well as establish time banks where the participants exchange services by using time instead of money (Kalogeraki et al., 2014; Kantzara, 2014); practices that gained popularity during the square encampments. Others have incorporated cultural aspects, such as dancing schools and theatre groups. However, the deconstruction of the welfare state and the labour market, as well as the citizens' inability to cover basic needs draws our attention to the social movement activity developed around food, health and labour.

2.4.1 The social movement scene of Food

The services introduced regarding the provision of food apply to three broad categories: the organization of markets without middlemen, the organization of collective and social kitchens, and the collection and distribution of food parcels (Figure 2.1). Together with the great reduction of GDP, the 'disposable income fell by 27.5% between 2007 and 2015' (Benmecheddal et al., 2017, p. 4). Additionally, 'the purchase power of wage earners plummeted by 37.2%, the volume of production fell by 23.5%, and demand dropped to 1999 levels' (Vaiou and Kalandides, 2016). Regarding the food sector, Skordili (2013) argues that during the last 20 years, it has been dominated by few great corporate

Figure 2.1 Repertoires and actors in the social movement scene of Food



grocery retailers, which have forced independent food shops out of the market. Focusing on the period of crisis, the author argues that ‘this is the first registered decline in food consumption for the whole post-war period’, while ‘for the first time in decades, expenditure on food has increased its share of the total household consumption budget, approaching 17%’ (*Ibid*, pp. 129-130). As Hadjimichalis (2017, pp. 161-162) notes, ‘food prices went up while demand was decreasing, and food prices in the large corporate retailers dominating the market in Greece were considerably higher than in richer countries like Germany and France’. In this context, the service provision of the social movement scene of food becomes rather important.

Markets without middlemen derived from the so-called “potato movement” that came to being in 2012 (Hadjimichalis, 2017, p. 161). This concerned citizens’ initiatives, which facilitated the distribution of agricultural products without the intervention of brokers. Brokers’ overcoming was rather important for the reduction of product prices, sometimes dropping to even 50% less than the retail standard prices (Calvário et al., 2017, p. 6; Rakopoulos, 2015, p. 90). These actions took place either through neighbourhood assemblies or through the direct procurement of products from producers and their subsequent distribution (Rakopoulos, 2014). Occasionally, this repertoire was introduced by traditional SMOs organizing open markets in their premises or in nearby squares. According to the data of the organization Solidarity for

All (S4A), in 2014 there were around 45 markets without middlemen, with half of them taking place in the broader region of Athens and serving around 14,000 people (Kalodoukas, 2014), while Rakopoulos (2015, p. 86) refers to 80 groups distributing agrarian products without the intervention of brokers.

Rakopoulos (2014) argues that markets could not be incorporated in the fair-trade framework, since they did not choose to adopt a cooperative format. Rather, they are perceived as a means of 'political sensitization' (*Ibid*: 104), aiming for the maximization of producers' profit and the minimization of consumers' cost. Although our research shows that many of them followed a cooperative format, the lack of an orchestrated collective change enables us to agree with Rakopoulos, regarding the political sensitization perspective.

The markets have long attempted to implement an alternative model by applying bottom-up organizational characteristics and developing an anti-racist profile, while trying to uphold a minimum set of requirements regarding labour and product conditions. However, their illegal operation often led to confrontations with the police, municipal authorities and interest associations. These characteristics enable us to situate the markets within the range of forms of civil disobedience that flourished in the years of austerity. The argument of Rakopoulos regarding the markets' approach towards political sensitization is also convincing when it comes to their spatial perspective. In particular, the markets became important hubs of interaction since neighbourhood assemblies were required to collaborate with other political and social initiatives to facilitate their organization. Their open character enabled the participation of social cooperatives and workers' collectives, while local SMOs perceived them as an opportunity to mobilize people. However, political concerns were often sidelined during the markets' operation. Selling at relatively cheaper prices compared to the usual open-air markets, the markets without middlemen often gained popularity among consumers only for their low prices, while many producers perceived them as an ideal opportunity to make more money. At the same time, the provision of cheap food to an impoverished population prompted some of the organizers to seek alignments with institutional actors, something that became an issue of conflict with the more politicized, who tried to impose stricter criteria on producers.

The organization of collective and social kitchens is another action commonly taken for the provision of food. This includes the organization of large collective meals free of charge, usually involving the active engagement of the participants. A first estimation of S4A in 2014 refers to 20 collective kitchens operating across the country with a monthly average of 9000 served meals (Kalodoukas, 2014). The organization of kitchens corresponds

to the needs and values of the organizations that employ them. Among the plethora of facilitators who organize collective meals, we can distinguish traditional SMOs and neighbourhood assemblies, in which case collective kitchens are only one of their activities; and grassroots initiatives established for this purpose alone, defined as social kitchens. This categorization is not comprehensive, since an organization of the former type may show characteristics of the latter one, and vice versa. However, it serves in identifying common trajectories.

More precisely, traditional SMOs and neighbourhood assemblies organize collective meals as one out of a broader set of actions. These usually take place on the organizations' premises and follow a regular timetable. In contrast, the organization of social kitchens by grassroots initiatives may take place in public places, such as squares and parks, without corresponding to a proper schedule. In terms of beneficiaries' participation, it is quite interesting that most traditional SMOs and neighbourhood assemblies oversee finding and cooking the food, while it is more frequent for beneficiaries to participate in the meals' preparation in grassroots initiatives. Nevertheless, organizations in both categories follow a logic where the beneficiaries are responsible for serving the meals and cleaning.

The third category of services in the social movements' food scene deals with the collection and distribution of food. According to S4A, more than 37 solidarity structures were preoccupied with the distribution of more than 5000 food packages per month only in Athens (Kalodoukas, 2014). The collection and distribution of food is usually organized by traditional SMOs on a stable basis. However, it might be practiced by newly founded organizations, like social clinics, but following a more irregular schedule. Contrary to the previous two actions, this one requires a fixed list of beneficiaries which is updated regularly. However, its operation comes with different and often contradictory approaches. Although the food comes mostly in the form of donations, in some cases it is the organization which is responsible for receiving the donated food, packing it and then distributing it; while in others, the organization mobilizes the beneficiaries outside supermarkets with the latter being responsible to facilitate the process of distribution.

Markets without middlemen were innovative additions to alternative repertoires of action. However, the organization of collective meals has long been a service in the repertoire of social movements, such as the large "communist" kitchens during strikes of the labour movement prior to the WW1 (Baillargeon, 2009). Additionally, the collection and distribution of food to individuals and families in need is a traditional action organized by non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and church organizations.

Nonetheless, this research argues that the incorporation of traditional forms of food provision within the SMOs' repertoires is quite an innovative development, both in terms of the actors involved but also in the way that they have been established. Contrary to efforts omitted by previous movements and institutional actors, the implementation of this agenda by SMOs during the times of austerity was targeting neither adherents nor their constituents (McCarthy and Zald, 1977, p. 1221); rather, it aimed to address the general public. Apart from covering nutritional needs, the provision of these services proposed the active participation and engagement of beneficiaries. The provision of food is one of many services provided by social movement actors. Another example is the provision of healthcare services.

2.4.2 The social movement scene of Health

The health system in Greece is quite complex, since it combines characteristics both of a National Health Service and a social health insurance system. Different funds serve different parts of the population, while this has resulted in 'weak and fragmented primary care, a lack of referral mechanisms and information and planning systems, and accumulation of substantial debt' (WHO, 2016). Within the context of welfare retrenchment, the implementation of austerity policies had immense consequences for the health sector with great decrease in its total funding (Table 2.1). Data derived from the European Observatory on Health Systems mention that total current health expenditure decreased 5.4 billion (23.7%) between 2009 and 2012, with the public share on that for the same years falling 4 billion (25.2%) (Economou et al., 2014, p. 12). During the same years, total public hospital (inpatient services) sector expenditure decreased 0.6 billion (8%) (*Ibid*). Additionally, between 2009 and 2012 total pharmaceutical (outpatient) expenditure decreased 2.1 billion (32%) with the public share decreasing around 43.2% from 5.2 billion in 2009 (2.25% of GDP) to 2.95 billion in 2012 (1.53% of GDP) (*Ibid*: 14). Moreover, 'out-of-pocket payments increased as a percentage of total health expenditure from 27.6% in 2009 to 28.8% in 2012', while 'government spending on prevention and public health services also was cut by around 13%' (*Ibid*) at the time when Greek per capita spending was considerably lower to the respective EU means. According to World Health Organization (WHO) report, 'people were not able to compensate by increasing their private health expenditure. On the contrary, this fell by 20%. As a result, the unmet need for medical care almost doubled from 4.0% in 2009 to 7.8% in 2013. Although out-of-pocket expenditure decreased to 26% in 2013 (a reduction of 8% since 2000), it is still almost twice as high as the average for the EU15' (*Ibid*).

Table 2.1 System of Health Accounts of year 2014

Year	2009	2010	2011	2012	2013	2014
Total Funding on Health Expenditure as Percentage of GDP	9.76%	9.85%	9.47%	8.95%	8.75%	8.29%

(ELSTAT, 2016a:1)

The decrease in the budgets of public hospitals led to increased shortages in drugs and personnel of almost 3 billion cuts in public pharmaceutical expenditure between 2009 and 2014 (Economou et al., 2014, pp. 12-15). Consequently, the patients' share of direct payment for healthcare increased. Patients were charged for their admission into hospitals and the cost of beneficiaries' contribution to the purchase of medicines increased (Adam and Teloni, 2015). Moreover, the sharp reduction in individual and household income discouraged many from using the public healthcare services and have decreased the purchasing power in buying medicines, even for those with insurance (Petmesidou et al., 2014). In addition to the budgetary cuts, cuts in personnel and price regulations, austerity policies enforced a number of medical departments, primary health centres and public hospitals to cease operation (*Ibid*). Most importantly, reforms imposed by the Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) agreements resulted in the reduction in health coverage 'both in terms of the proportion of people covered by social insurance (as this is linked to employment, which fell significantly from 2009 to 2014) and in the health benefits to which coverage entitles them' (WHO, 2016, pp. 6-7). The 'large number of the self-employed unable to continue paying contributions' (Petmesidou et al., 2014, p. 345) and the massive increase in unemployment, led to the elimination of social insurance, and therefore healthcare coverage. All these reforms 'prohibited access to public hospitals to uninsured citizens' (Hadjimichalis, 2017, p. 163), leading to the exclusion of around 3 million people from the public health system.

The aforementioned conditions mobilized the civil society, church and municipal organizations towards the provision of health services, usually under the frame of social solidarity. Adam and Teloni (2015) conducted a mapping exercise of the healthcare providers which enables us to use a number of criteria in order to distinguish the movement-oriented clinics from the institutional ones.⁷ Based on the social movement origins of their founders, the anti-austerity approach, the absence of legal status, and the lack of institutional funding and paid personnel, Adam and Teloni indicate

7 See also Teloni and Adam, 2018.

that around 19 out of the 72 health providers can be framed as movement-oriented social clinics operating by 2014.

According to their definition, social solidarity clinics and pharmacies are 'autonomous, independent, self-organized and self-managed collectives of people who voluntarily provide free primary medical and pharmaceutical care to the people deprived from social/medical security coverage (uninsured), in need and/or unemployed, Greeks and immigrants, without discrimination, regardless of religion, nationality, sexual orientation, gender and age' (S4A, 2016). Based on our research and the documents provided by the social clinics, their overall number reached 40 by 2016 (*Ibid*). The clinics work on a voluntary basis, something that does not prevent them from enacting proper primary healthcare standards and incorporating services like record-keeping for their beneficiaries (Adam and Teloni, 2015).

Although Adam and Teloni refer to the clinics' members and beneficiaries, unfortunately, they do not distinguish between movement-like and institutional clinics. Nevertheless, the size of the two largest clinics, Metropolitan Community Clinic at Helliniko (MKIE) and Thessaloniki, indicate the popularity of these services. The MKIE clinic in Helliniko, Athens used to have 280 members as staff, with the 115 being doctors in the Fall of 2012, while beneficiaries increased from 4000 in 2012 to 15,000 in 2013, 16,000 in 2014 and almost 6000 until June 2015 (SSCP MKIE, 2013). Respectively, the clinic in Thessaloniki was staffed by 200 volunteers and used to serve around 15,000 per year (Thakomnis, 2012). Other clinics were much smaller. For example, the clinic in Athens had 150 members, 50 of whom were doctors (Int.10), the one in Peristeri had around 60 in total (Int.11), while the Workers' Medical Centre in the occupied factory of Vio.Me counted around fifteen members (Int.3), but with a very extensive external network of doctors who provided their services when needed. In terms of beneficiaries, the clinic in Korydalos (SCK) served around 4000 from mid-2012 to the fall of 2016 (Int.9), while the core group of 20 doctors in the Nea Philadelphia social clinic served almost 400 beneficiaries on a monthly basis (Int.14). According to Hadjimichalis' data, the social clinic in Athens served 26,743 between 2013 and 2016, while 'on average, 500 patients contact the clinic monthly' (Hadjimichalis, 2017, p. 166). Lastly, it is worth mentioning that according to the published data, the annual cost of the vaccines used in the clinic in Rethimno varies from 19,041 to 38,860 euro between 2009 and 2013 (SSCP Rethimno, 2014).

As we discuss further on, social clinics emerged as a response to the need created in the health sector, with most of them being established between 2011 and 2012 (Adam and Teloni, 2015, p. 25). However, they did not come out of a vacuum. The roots of social clinics can be traced back in the early

1990s in the city of Chania, Crete. Back then, a doctor who was a leading figure of the Left in Crete had been granted a place above the church's soup kitchen and set up the first social clinic. The clinic aimed to serve the needs of poor and homeless people that did not have access to the local hospital. Doctors and medical students provided their services free of charge before the clinic stopped its services two years later.

The daily encounters with undocumented migrants excluded from the public health system inspired a group of doctors working at the emergency sector in Rethimno's local hospital in 2008, to revive the concept of social clinics. Among the founders were people who had participated in the first clinic in Chania as medical students and aimed to remedy the migrants' exclusion from the health system, by providing primary healthcare services and vaccinations free of charge. The clinic was granted a workspace by the municipality's volunteer organization and opted to be absorbed into the municipality's social structures. However, this initial approach changed with the advent of the crisis and the establishment of the social clinic in Thessaloniki.

With the migrant issue as a common root, the clinic in Thessaloniki was set up in the aftermath of the largest migrants' hunger strike, which took place in January 2011. Back then, 300 migrants permanently settled in Crete travelled to Athens and Thessaloniki to initiate a hunger strike demanding their legalization (Mantanika and Kouki, 2011). The development of a large solidarity movement included doctors who treated the strikers' health until the 43rd day of their hunger strike. The discussions surrounding austerity in the health sector and the experience of some of the doctors from their participation in the clinic in Chania in the 1990s, forced some of them to reflect on their role and continue with the establishment of the clinic in October of the same year. Similar trajectories have been followed by other social clinics. The examples of the MKIE social clinic in Helliniko, which came to being after a core group had been formed during the square movement, or the clinic in Peristeri, which was established during doctors and citizens' mobilizations against the closure of the local hospital are quite indicative examples.

So far, we have seen that social clinics are formed as independent entities by a core group consisting of doctors and people in solidarity, who have typically participated in common protest events. These are framed as grassroots initiatives. However, in many cases social clinics have been formed due to decisions taken by an organized collective. Although formed within different political contexts, the clinics in Nea Smirni, Thermi, Adye⁸

8 Adye stands for Exarcheia's Autonomous Health Structure.

and Athens⁹ constitute such examples. In particular, among other services employed by the extra-parliamentary leftist Workers' Club in Nea Smirni, Athens, the Club's assembly decided to incorporate a social clinic into its services. In a similar vein was the decision of Thermi's neighbourhood assembly to establish a clinic, while Adye was founded by a political initiative that used to take place in Vox, an anarchist-libertarian squat in Exarcheia. The case of the social clinic of Athens seems to follow a more complicated path, since it was established as part of the social platform introduced by a SYRIZA-affiliated municipal party. Although leftist parties welcomed the emergence of clinics and thus urged their supporters to engage with them, the clinic of Athens had a more profound relationship with SYRIZA since its foundation was part of the social agenda introduced by its affiliated municipal party.¹⁰ Figure 2.2 presents the actors involved in the social movement scene of health.

Moving forward, one of the most important characteristics distinguishing social clinics from other institutional health providers, is the principle behind their creation. While institutional clinics attribute their foundational roots to the needs created by the crisis, social clinics place their inception within political action, mostly in terms of the anti-austerity mobilizations. The clinics have expressed their dissenting position against austerity policies and those who implement them, through demonstrations, protests, blockage of public hospitals and publication of both printed and audiovisual material.

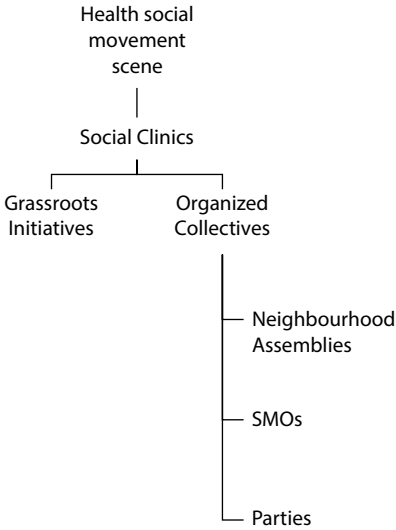
In terms of the provided services, the health sector does not have the variety we saw earlier with the social movement food scene. Social clinics are the major actors, which provide primary healthcare services (from general practitioners, psychologists and gynecologists up to microsurgeries) to the unemployed, migrants and other people excluded from the public health system. Nonetheless, the autonomy that each clinic enjoys leaves room for selecting different and often conflicting approaches, in terms of operation, but also regarding their relationship with institutional actors.

With a few exceptions, most of the clinics emerged in response to austerity measures and the effect they had on the health sector. In this context, the

9 Meaning within the geographical boundaries of the municipality of Athens.

10 The inclusion of the Athens social clinic in our sample creates difficulties, since our applied criteria argued that the clinics should have been established by movement-like founders. However, due to specific reasons such as 1) the clinic's acceptance and incorporation both in the Attica Coordination Committee and in the national network of social solidarity clinics and pharmacies and 2) the clinic's autonomy in terms of operation, resources, decision-making processes and organizational structure, we consider it as a hybrid case, whose study will enable us to better demonstrate the process of boundary enlargement.

Figure 2.2 Repertoires and actors in the social movement scene of Health



clinics have tried to combine the political opposition to austerity policies with the provision of health services. Although the first aspect requires a relatively common political orientation, the second attracts a politically heterogeneous population. This fact, which proves quite useful for our subsequent analysis, resulted in the unification of the clinics in times when the governments of PASOK and ND were in office, but caused polarization once SYRIZA took charge.

The accession of SYRIZA to the governing coalition along with the far-right party of AN.EL, *Anexartiti Ellines* (Independent Greeks), in January 2015, saw the appointment of a founding member of Rethimno’s social clinic as the head of the Ministry of Health. Another significant factor was the formation of a working group tasked with integrating the unemployed into the health system, consisting of both governmental officials and clinics’ representatives.¹¹ This process started in early 2015 but the law was introduced almost 1.5 year later, in August 2016, increasing the frustration between the party and the clinics. This law gave access to healthcare to every Greek citizen and Social Security Number holder, regardless of their occupational status. However, it had a minimal impact on undocumented migrants, the majority of whom were still excluded.

¹¹ The representatives of the clinics come from the Attica Coordination Committee, and thus represent only specific clinics that were situated in the broader Athens area.

SYRIZA's controversial "backflip" after the Greek referendum in the summer of 2015 increased tension within the clinics, resulting in heightened polarization amongst their pro- and anti-SYRIZA members. Although the new law was characterized by many clinics as incomplete, the re-acceptance of large percentages of Greeks into the public healthcare system was a great relief. At the same time, it sparked a long debate within the clinics regarding their future operation. More precisely, the admission of the unemployed in public hospitals, and the simultaneous arrival of refugee groups lacking health coverage, opened up new horizons for the clinics. Some of them continued to provide services which were not covered by the health system, such as dental care and psychological consultation; others shut down their services and shifted to the provision of preventive forms of medicine, for instance Pap-tests. Others, envisioning an independent healthcare community, continued to provide the same services. Nevertheless, the vast majority continued the operation of the pharmacy and engaged in providing their services to refugees and undocumented migrants, thereby consistently responding to a crucial area of social concern.

2.4.3 The social movement scene of Labour

Labour conditions, employment status and other aspects related to labour struggles have always received great attention in the international social movement agenda. However, these issues become slightly more complicated with regards to Greece. One of the most traditional players in this social movement scene was KKE. Using the connections between communism and the working class, KKE and the organizations related to it have always paid great attention to labour issues and presented themselves as the only legitimate representative of workers' rights. Unions were additional important players involved in labour issues. However, the exclusionary approach of KKE and the clientele one of trade unions as analyzed earlier had detached both of them from the Greek social movement community. As a result of this, labour struggles usually took the form of single-issue movements, where, apart from some left-wing organizations trying to engage in the struggle for broader social changes, the affected workers, labour associations and interest groups were quite often the only ones who were interested.

This situation came to an end after the riots of December 2008. As described earlier, the December riots brought a broader shift in SMOs approach and enabled a self-reflective process, something that has also affected their attitude towards labour-related issues. Together with the rise of neighbourhood assemblies and new social centres, the aftermath of 2008 riots gave

birth to a number of grassroots worker-based unions and strengthened those already active. The initial skepticism expressed by SMOs towards the labour movement had turned into a welcoming environment where labour issues started to occupy important space in SMOs' activities, internal discussions and public talks. This change of context did not only affect the relationship of activists with unions, but it also perceived the issue of labour, within the realm of left-wing and anarchist political spaces, in more practical terms. Among other components, this signaled the appearance of the first efforts of self-organized cooperatives and worker collectives on the one hand, and the introduction of cooperative structures within SMOs on the other.

As in the case of social clinics, the introduction of cooperatives did not come out of a vacuum. Cooperatives have a long tradition in Greek history, with their roots often dating back to the late 18th century and the Ampelakia cooperative. However, due to patronage and clientele relationships that cooperatives have developed with political parties throughout the 20th century, the prevailing narrative framed cooperatives as hierarchical and corrupted entities, limiting their presence to the agriculture sector. The first signs of a relationship between social movements and cooperative forms of organization can be traced in the arrival of the new millennium. Due to the international solidarity with the Zapatistas communities, Greek activists started to develop a network in order to promote the former's products. Once the network became more stable, it set up its own premises and in 2004 it started to operate in the collective of Sporos¹² in Exarcheia, Athens. Sporos tried to promote fair trade and solidarity, operating on a voluntary basis. In early 2008, debates regarding the issue of voluntary labour sparked within the collective and two years later encouraged some activists to form the worker collective of Pagkaki, the first self-managed cooperative café in Greece.

A similar trajectory has been followed by the Spame¹³ collective in Thessaloniki. Inspired by the work of Sporos, Spame started its operation on a voluntary basis in 2009, by distributing agricultural products of Greek cooperatives. However, subsequent discussions among its members led to the formation of Eklektik, a self-managed grocery store-café in October 2015. Nevertheless, the first self-managed collective in Thessaloniki was established in 2010 and followed a different trajectory.

The onset of the crisis prompted the members of Libertatia¹⁴ squat in Thessaloniki to expand their discussions on workers' self-management.

12 Sporos stands for Seed.

13 Spame stands for Cooperative Bypass of Middlemen and its acronym means We Break.

14 The squat was burnt by fascists in 2018, followed by an activists' plan for its full restoration.

This theoretical frame became the basis on which some of these activists established the workers' collective of *Germinal*. The direct connection of this endeavour with a libertarian squat made both friends and enemies within the broader antagonistic movement. More precisely, the risk of realizing the idea of self-management was quite attractive for many activists, while for others *Germinal* was accused of being parochial and dangerous for commercializing anarchist beliefs. The dissolution of the collective due to internal conflicts two years later, led some of its members to work at the self-managed café *Belleville Sin Patron*.¹⁵

The advent of the economic crisis and the subsequent increase in unemployment rates favoured the growth of cooperative enterprises. Legal, economic and political factors were central to this. Initially, the introduction of a law concerning social cooperatives, by PASOK in 2011 (law 4019/2011), provided opportunities by loosening restrictions based on the members' insurance coverage, thereby decreasing the amount of capital necessary to form a cooperative. Secondly, due to the low requirements for initial capital and the stability in labour status, cooperatives gained great popularity among the precarious class.¹⁶ Thirdly, the self-managed nature of their organizational structures has framed the cooperatives as a viable alternative and fostered their connections with the social movement community, in times when the capitalist market was dissolving. Surrounded by the conception of commons and the solidarity economy, the rise of workers' collectives was linked to grassroots struggles as a direct answer to increasing unemployment and precarious labour conditions. Therefore, it is not entirely an exaggeration to say that the rise of social cooperatives has been considerably impacted by the combination of institutional and non-institutional factors.

Although it cannot compete with the vast growth of the Argentinean recuperated enterprises (Ranis, 2010), the occupied self-managed factory of *Vio.Me* is probably the most emblematic example in this regard. Founded in 1982, *Vio.Me* used to produce chemical products for the manufacturing

15 *Belleville Sin Patron* stands for *Belleville* (or beautiful city) *Without Bosses*.

16 Here we should note that due to the increasing growth of cooperatives during the years of austerity, the widespread popularity of the term "social and solidarity economy" and its recognition as a master frame by SYRIZA and other institutional actors have challenged its radical denotation. Therefore, many SMOs and more politicized cooperatives started to define themselves as worker collectives (for a detailed discussion on social economy, solidarity economy and third sector see Adam (2012, Chapter 2)). The fact, however, that this was not a widespread tendency in order to distinguish the political reasoning behind cooperatives, enables this research to use both terms.

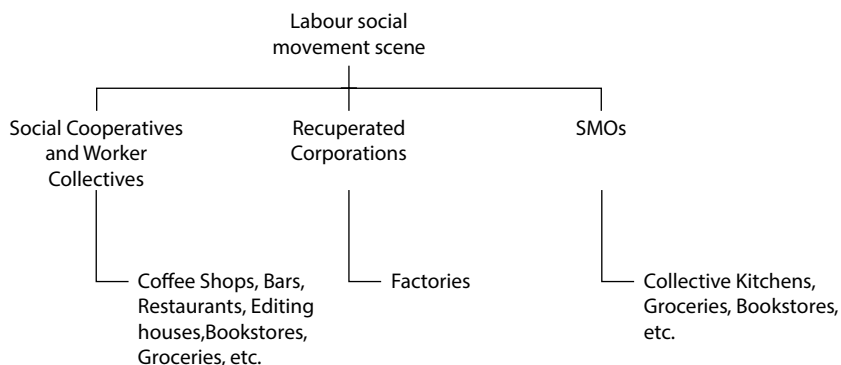
industry. However, the external environment of the general economic recession, together with the company's internal mismanagement, led the owners to abandon the plant in 2011. The factory was occupied by the workers and people in solidarity in order to prevent its closure and subsequent unemployment. Two years later, the workers of Vio.Me shifted to the production of environmental-friendly cleaning products and formed the factory's management under the jurisdiction of the workers' general assembly. The distribution of the factory's products exclusively through SMOs, cooperatives and markets without middlemen, the weekly assemblies of workers with people in solidarity, as well as Vio.Me's participation in and organization of protests, are only few of the factors that attributed to Vio.Me a nodal position within the Greek social movement sector, as I have stressed elsewhere (Malamidis, 2018).

So far, we have pointed out the connection of cooperatives and worker collectives with SMOs. However, the context in which ideas and networks spread becomes clearer when we examine the incorporation of cooperative characteristics by SMOs. This is actually the case for many traditional SMOs. The discursive pluralism around the topics of commons and solidarity economy within the boundaries of SMOs, the economic hazards for activists, as well as the restored appreciation for labour-related issues in conditions of rampant precarity and unemployment, have led many SMOs to reflect on their internal practices, with some introducing compensation for the provision of specific services. For example, activists working in the grocery of "Mikropolis social centre for freedom" or in the respective libertarian squat "Sholio¹⁷ of learning freedom" in Thessaloniki receive little payment for their services. This is also the case for the Mikropolis collective kitchen and was periodically introduced in the social centre of Nosotros¹⁸ in Athens. Either as a strategy to sustain its activists from the increasing brain drain, or as a prefigurative experiment, these practices were not easy at all, since the voluntary (in terms of absence of compensation) contribution of activists constitutes a critical element in leftist and anarchist culture and there was no prior experience with paid activism. Figure 2.3 presents the basic actors in the social movement scene of labour.

Despite the introduction of compensation, the incorporation of cooperative characteristics within the social movement community can be also observed in the movement against the privatization of Thessaloniki's water company. This movement has its roots in the square movement and the

17 Sholio stands for School.

18 Nosotros stands for We/Us.

Figure 2.3 Repertoires and actors in the social movement scene of Labour

assembly of Leykos Pyrgos. Back then, discussions among activists and members of the water company trade union on how to prevent the forthcoming privation, led to the creation of K-136.¹⁹ This initiative included SMOs, unions and municipal authorities and aimed to establish a number of cooperatives of which the members would all be residents of Thessaloniki. Each household would contribute 136 euros (which was the estimated value of the water company divided by the total number of households) in order to buy 51% of the company's shares and place its management under cooperative control. The privatization of Thessaloniki's water was eventually cancelled, but not before K-136 was excluded from the acquisition process and subsequently split into smaller groups due to internal conflicts. Nonetheless, both this and the previous examples illustrate a tendency of SMOs to incorporate cooperative characteristics.

2.4.4 Institutional and Hybrid Space

The relation between SMOs and other parts of the social movement community with the state and other institutional actors in Greece can be generally characterized as confrontational. The restricted political environment of the last 40 years led movements to adopt a negative stance towards the state and its authorities. The politics and policies during the period of austerity confirm this thesis. On a governmental level, the beginning of SYRIZA's term in office was met with a period of "relaxation" for social movements. On the one hand, continuous struggles gave birth to increased fatigue for activists, making political delegation an attractive choice. On the other hand, this

19 K-136 stands for Movement 136.

delegation did not seem harmful for the movement's claims, since it was combined with a mixed sentiment of hope for the new party to respect basic rights that have been destroyed during the previous years, despite the fact that it was a coalition government with a small xenophobic and nationalist far-right party. Many activists who were either affiliated with or sympathetic to SYRIZA were transferred from the streets to governmental offices in order to fill the new administration. The more radical among them did not express their support for the new party, and they readied themselves in anticipation of renewed activities. This relaxation period, which was characterized by a major decrease in protests, lasted almost eight months, wavered during the days of the 2015 referendum and fell apart after the government's "backflip" during the negotiation process with the creditors. Protests remained minimal, while the social movement community was characterized by sentiments of defeat, betrayal and frustration against the so-called "party of hope", the non-accomplishment of the movement's claims and the compromise with neoliberal politics. The rise of mixed migratory flows in the summer of 2015 introduced a new field for collective action. Activists and solidarity structures shifted their attention to the provision of services to asylum-seekers in island and mainland Greece and a number of refugee squats, providing safe shelter in the urban centres of Athens and Thessaloniki. However, the movements' relationship with the state is more complicated than it looks, and the governmental level is only the tip of the iceberg.

On an institutional level, the polemic approach of SMOs against institutional actors did not prevent them from developing connections within these institutions. The case of social clinics is quite indicative. Social clinics denounced the maladministration of hospitals, despite supplying them with medicine. On a similar vein, but in a less interactive form, such was also the relationship in terms of the labour and food social movement scenes. Official declarations proclaimed the increase of social benefits to the most deprived social groups, while the governmental announcements did not neglect to underline the great role of citizens' initiatives in tackling the "externally" imposed austerity policies. The vast increase of cooperatives and the spread of markets without middlemen coincided with SYRIZA's focus on promoting social economy and social entrepreneurship as another vital alternative that can boost the country's growth and decrease the high numbers of unemployment. Workshops, seminars, expos and working groups were organized by ministries and public institutions to advertise the bureaucratic steps towards the establishment of social cooperatives. Central here was the 4430/2016 bill on social economy (FEK, 2016, October 31) introduced by the Ministry of Labour, in order to facilitate the better operation of

social cooperatives and provide the institutional path that markets without middlemen should follow. Despite the public consultation of this process (field notes Athens, 2016 and 2017), many organizations reacted against their potential institutionalization on the one hand, and the law's inconsistencies in terms of labour rights' protection on the other.

What seems more interesting is the municipal level. The conditions of rampant austerity and the availability of European funds through National Strategic Reference Frameworks (NSFRs) urged many municipal authorities to develop their own networks against poverty and social exclusion, with the creation of municipal social clinics (Adam and Teloni, 2015, p. 20), soup kitchens, community gardens and even time banks²⁰; while there were many cases where municipal authorities either engaged with SMOs (K-136), or approached them both officially and unofficially, in order to absorb them into their structures (the clinics in Rethimno, Thermi, Thessaloniki and MKIE are particularly illustrative examples of efforts for institutionalization by the respective municipal authorities).

The governmental, institutional and municipal levels illustrate important changes in the relationship between social movements and institutional actors. However, significant changes also took place at the intersection of formal (institutional) and informal (social movement) spaces, which we call hybrid. S4A constitutes a peculiar case in this hybrid space.

Founded by people engaged with SYRIZA and financed by a percentage of SYRIZA MPs' monthly salary, S4A acted as a platform that tried to establish connections among organizations that promote social solidarity and foreign solidarity advocates, as well as to provide the "know-how" and expertise to new projects. As an NGO from a legal point of view, which partially employed paid personnel, S4A can be considered a hybrid (professional) organization which is connected with both social movement organizations and institutional actors. S4A has been involved in the organization and coordination of some networks of markets without middlemen, while it has also organized domestic campaigns against evictions and campaigns abroad in order to collect medicine for the clinics. Despite its distaste towards monetary donations, the aforementioned practices underline the significant role of S4A for the organizations with which this study is occupied, in terms of its organizational structure and resources. However, this role is stigmatized due to its relationship with a political party. Although it used to operate

20 The social structures of Pavlos Melas municipality in Thessaloniki is a great example (Arsis, 2014).

independently and thus, did not consider itself a SYRIZA organization, S4A has been accused of co-optation by the movements' radical flanks, a view that became quite popular once SYRIZA won the 2015 elections.

2.5 Conclusion

This chapter provides an overview of the social movement reality in Greece. By dividing it in three sections, we followed a chronological narration which enables us to better capture the development of Greek movements over time. In the beginning, we pointed out some notable events that took place in previous phases of mobilization and played a crucial role for the construction of the social movement culture in Greece. We paid greater attention to the protests of December 2008, since they signaled the end of an era and the advent of a new one. The second section was devoted to the period of crisis and the respective anti-austerity mobilizations. 2010 signaled the beginning of a new protest cycle, of which the characteristics were exemplified by the square movement. However, the dissolution of the squares' encampments and the decline of the protest repertoire coincided with a shift in interest towards alternative repertoires of action. Since the service-oriented approaches are central elements in the process of boundary enlargement of this inquiry, the third and last section of this chapter was preoccupied with providing a detailed background context.

More specifically, by turning our attention to the social movement scenes surrounding food, healthcare and labour, we presented empirical evidence regarding their respective social movement industries. The variety of the actors involved, the manner in which these services are provided, as well as some internal debates, not only underline the novelty of these repertoires but they also reveal the continuity with previous phases of mobilization. Overall, this chapter opted to contextualize the process of boundary enlargement, before we move to the subsequent chapters of empirical analyses.

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List of Interviewees

Interviewee 3 – Female, 46-50 years old, Dentist, Founding member Workers' Medical Centre at Vio.Me factory, Member of the social clinic in Thessaloniki (10.10.16) – Audio recorded – Transcribed in Greek

Interviewee 9 – Male, 61-65 years old, Doctor, Founding member of the social clinic in Piraeus, Member of Solidarity Clinic of Koridalos, Athens (11.11.16) – Hand written notes – Transcribed in Greek

Interviewee 10 – Female, 56-60 years old, Pensioner, Founding Member of the social clinic in Athens (21.11.16) – Audio recorded – Transcribed in Greek

Interviewee 11- Female, 46-50 years old, Private employee, Member of the social clinic in Peristeri, Athens (19.11.16) – Audio recorded – Transcribed in Greek

Interviewee 14 – Female, 51-55 years old, Psychotherapist, Member of the social clinic in Nea Philadelphia, Athens (17.11.16) – Informal – Audio recorded – Transcribed in Greek

Part II

Social Movements in Food, Health and Labour

3 The Social Movement Scene of Food

Abstract

This chapter analyses the social movement scene of food and the main alternative repertoires observed: the markets without middlemen, the social and collective kitchens, and the collection and distribution of food parcels. Along with the repertoires, plurality also refers to the organizers. These range from grassroots initiatives and neighbourhood assemblies, to traditional social centres. In this regard, this chapter explores the mechanisms that form the boundary enlargement process in the social movement scene of food. It does so, by analyzing the rise of the markets without middlemen and their transition to consumer cooperatives; it also addresses the development of the other two repertoires and the way their subsequent coordination assisted the formation of solidarity networks.

Keywords: Solidarity structures; Markets without middlemen; Consumer cooperatives; Social kitchens; Collective kitchens; Food distribution

Compared to the social movement scenes of health and labour, the social movement scene of food presents a greater degree of complexity, since it deals with three different repertoires: the organization of markets without middlemen, the facilitation of collective and social kitchens and the collection and distribution of food parcels. Along with the repertoires, plurality also refers to the organizers. These range from grassroots initiatives and neighbourhood assemblies to traditional social centres. In order to explore the mechanisms that form the boundary enlargement process, we analyse the rise of the markets without middlemen and their transition to consumer cooperatives; we address the development of collective and social kitchens and the collection and distribution of food parcels, as well as their subsequent coordination that assisted the formation of solidarity networks. We analyse each of the three repertoires in respect to the factors of organizational structure, resources and identity.

3.1 Organizational Structure

3.1.1 Markets without Middlemen

Chapter 2 informs the reader that markets without middlemen find their roots in the so-called “potato movement”, born in 2012 out of the cooperation between producers and consumers. Back then, the low market prices of Egyptian potatoes provided brokers with the leverage to charge Greek potato producers lower prices. Unlike producers’ traditional protest repertoires, such as street blockades with products being dumped in front of public institutions, potato producers from Northern Greece decided to meet in squares and sell their potatoes en-masse, at lower prices. The decision to overcome brokers, as these constitute central actors in the capitalistic market (Benmecheddal et al., 2017, p. 2), attracted more organized collectives, with the local Voluntary Action Group of Pieria Region in Northern Greece being the first to organize collective distributions.

The sharp falls in the population’s purchasing power and the lower prices in markets without middlemen compared to the retail standard prices (Calvário et al., 2017, p. 6; Rakopoulos, 2015, p. 90), were factors that increased the markets’ popularity. Various neighbourhood assemblies that were active in the mobilizations against the “haratsi”¹ ad-hoc taxation imposed on electricity bills in 2011, were the corner stone of the markets’ diffusion. Although some organizers communicated with collectives working on products’ distribution to get information regarding the relevant international social movement experience, most of organizers ‘re-vented the wheel’ (Int.29) in a traditional and old-fashioned way. Either by travelling directly to Pieria (Int.43) or by communicating with other neighbourhood assemblies already active in organizing respective markets without middlemen (Int.7), many organizers set in motion the sub-mechanism of brokerage in “know-how” transmission; meaning ‘the linking of two or more previously unconnected social sites by a unit that mediates their relations with one another and/or with yet other sites’ (McAdam et al., 2001, p. 26). Mobilizations against “haratsi” taxes were also important in fostering the markets’ successful operation, since many organizers used the contact information of participants and beneficiaries in order to diffuse information about the upcoming markets. As an interviewee notes, ‘due to haratsi mobilizations and following the markets’ organization, we develop a contact list with more

1 Haratsi has strong connotations on the Greeks’ economic suffering when under Ottoman rule, implying a similar narrative for troika.

than 3500 people' (Int.7). Although not all these contacts corresponded to activists, their interest in participating in local actions in the past have created pools of potential markets' users.

The markets' operation was accustomed in the local context, with markets in Athens usually using massive pre-order forms, while those in Thessaloniki mostly referring to the 'immediate distribution or "direct provision" of foodstuff' (Rakopoulos, 2015, p. 86). A further differentiation deals with the importance of the role the markets assumed in the organizers' repertoires. In particular, some assemblies have been preoccupied solely with the markets' organization, while others introduced them only as part of their broader activities. Although the immediate product distribution in Thessaloniki, where producers directly provided their goods to consumers, seems quite simple, the pre-order model of the Athenian markets presents a more complex trajectory.

Quite common was the establishment of working groups responsible for collecting consumers' pre-orders, in a way of achieving lower prices and convincing the producers to bring massive quantities of their products. Once the first attempts were deemed successful, diffusion was on with producers joining the markets without being previously contacted by the organizers (Int.7). Quite striking here is the procedure used for receiving these pre-orders. Apart from using the contact lists of sympathizers we referred to earlier, the organizers used public and private spaces, such as municipal buildings, central neighbourhood districts, cafeterias and institutional Centres for the Open Care of Elderly to distribute and collect pre-order sheets (Int.29). This transformation of public and private spaces reminds us of how black churches were actively appropriated as sites for mobilization by the U.S. civil rights movement in McAdam et al. (2001, p. 44) study. Although comparisons between the two movements are difficult to be drawn, the active transformation of public spaces into movement sites reveals the deployment of a spatial appropriation sub-mechanism. In this respect, the sub-mechanism of appropriation fueled the mechanism of diffusion, since 'it started with a specific audience, which was sympathetic to the movement, and [...] it was gradually extended to others' (Int.29).

Organizing the markets did not run smoothly during the early days, since they seemed as open bazaars with producers applying a first-come-first-served logic, leaving unsatisfied those who pre-ordered their goods (Int.29). Once markets were standardized and became a Sunday tradition, these problems gradually disappeared. Coordination mechanisms were very important here. With regards to the markets' internal coordination, the organizers set reception desks, accustomed their members to check

consumers' orders and provide assistance in the parking lots. Coordination took place also among the different organizing groups, since their desire to diffuse the "anti-middlemen" framework led to a series of national conferences, resulting in their better coordination and diffusion at national level (Voluntary Action Group of Pieria Region 2012a; 2012b; 2013a; 2014; 2016; 2017).² Difficulties had already risen from the first national conference held in Katerini in September 2012, when potato producers requested an increase in their product's price. This was not appreciated by the participants, who decided to turn their attention to other products (Kotoulas, 2012). Subsequently, coordination further boosted the markets' political element by prioritizing suppliers from cooperatives, small groups of producers and individual producers. The markets' approach to fair prices for producers and consumers was combined with the workers' decent labour conditions, local quality products as well as the rejection of fascist and racist elements in times when Golden Dawn was rising in popularity (Kotoulas, 2012). In sum, the mechanism of coordinated action set the basis for turning an action of civil disobedience into an organized movement.

Almost a year after the first distribution of goods, the organizational procedures were finalized. First, the organizers moved from hand-written to electronic orders. Sociality digital cooperative developed the online tool Agrotopia, which allowed producers, consumers and the organizing groups to register their stock, place their orders and announce where the next market will take place (Int.28). Second, the failed attempts to hold large open-air assemblies in an effort to imitate the square movement, led coordination to take place within the thematic assemblies of the organizing groups, often involving the common participation of activists, consumers and producers (Int.29). Nevertheless, markets developed a different method of politicization. In particular, their great popularity attracted a number of political organizations and social movement organizations (SMOs) to propagate their actions, organize various events during the markets' operation and collect medicine to donate to social clinics. The simultaneous organization of collective kitchens was not uncommon either. In this way, typical farmers' markets transformed into weekly feasts (Int.29), introducing a different, on-site politicization, which allowed the organizers to approach an audience that was otherwise unreachable.

SYRIZA (*Synaspismos Rizospastikis Aristeras*; Coalition of Radical Left)-funded Solidarity for All (S4A) tried to play the role of a network facilitator

2 The 1st conference in September 2012, the 2nd in March 2013, the 3rd in February 2014, the 4th in November 2014, the 5th in June 2016, the 6th in November 2017.

among the different markets. The organization helped many producers to acquire licenses for selling their products and provided equipment to many markets (Int.39), while it also funded the Agrotopia platform discussed earlier (Int.28). However, S4A also received great criticism for abolishing the markets' spontaneous characteristics, while many activists were hostile to its non-self-organized nature. Most importantly, S4A was accused by a number of solidarity structures for co-optation and paternalism, especially during the markets' national conferences (Kalodoukas, 2014; Int.43). As a result, those organizers sympathetic to SYRIZA continued their collaboration with S4A, while others joined forces with the rival camp, expressed mostly by the organizers in Pieria.

Brokerage and spatial appropriation sub-mechanisms were quite important for the markets' diffusion, while coordinated action was vital for collectively overcoming the policies of poverty. Nevertheless, in an intense political period, when every act of civil disobedience was more important compared to those that took place during periods of silence, certification mechanisms, meaning 'the validation of actors, their performances, and their claims by external authorities' (McAdam et al., 2001, p. 121), backed up the markets' diffusion. Initially, political institutions were unprepared to express either their sympathy to or disagreement with the markets' novelty, but after a while, all the political parties but the communist one³ (Newsbomb 2012a, 2012b, 2012c, 2012d) welcomed the "potato movement" as a grassroots action that can facilitate the citizens' well-being in hard times. In a similar vein, many municipal authorities remained sympathetic towards the markets and assisted their operation (Rakopoulos, 2015, p. 95). However, as soon as the potato movement acquired an anti-austerity character and combined its criticism for the high prices with its distaste against brokers, the governing parties under the pressure of brokers' associations shifted their approach by raising skepticism about the quality control of products and tax evasion. This sparked the mechanism of decertification, implying the 'withdrawal of such validation by certifying agents' (McAdam et al., 2001, p. 121). Similar to the procedures followed by solidarity purchasing groups in Italy (Grasseni, 2014b), the organizers' response included intense controls to producers for providing receipts, as

3 Quite interesting are some anecdotes heard during our field research that positioned members of the communist party to use the markets' services by sending their familiars to shop on behalf of them in order not to run the risk of being "caught" by their comrades (Int.29). Although amusing, these incidents underline the importance of markets in serving people's everyday needs.

well as sending product samples to the General Chemical State's Laboratory and paying unexpected visits to the respective farms. Those producers who did not fit the markets' requirements were excluded. This served as the markets' self-preservation mechanism, since it triggered a domino effect, with information about their bad reputation rapidly moving from the one market to another, to finally achieve the producer's complete removal from the network. Nevertheless, the years to come found the markets to be greatly suppressed, this time by introducing the 4264/2014 bill (FEK, 2016, October 31) that prevented farmers from selling their products in open-air markets.

3.1.1.1 The evolution of open-air markets to consumer cooperatives

The aforementioned developments led some markets to cease operation, like the one in Thermi (Int.7); others to continue their operation but with a limited audience, like the self-organized market in Exarcheia square, which currently takes place twice a month, the market in Katerini where the organizers focused on contractual agriculture (Voluntary Action Group of Pieria Region, 2013b), as well as the farmers' bazaar in Sholio squat that takes place every Wednesday and concludes with a common assembly of producers and squatters (Int.51); or others, to form small grocery stores, either within the premises of unofficial collectives or through the formation of cooperatives. We now turn our attention there.

Starting with the former case, the example of the neighbourhood assembly of Vironas, Kesariani, Pagkrati (VKP) in Athens is rather interesting. Born through anarchist and left-wing activists' efforts to coordinate local protests in December 2008, VKP's actions ranged from movie screenings to self-reduction activities in supermarkets. The issue of food became quite central after the assembly inaugurated its premises in 2011, triggering the operation of "kalathi"⁴, a practice which finds its roots in the Sporos collective and received great attention after the markets' diffusion. Specifically, by distributing the usual order sheets, VKP used to order massive amounts of agricultural products to then distribute to consumers from its premises. As one member comments, 'in the beginning it was a close procedure aiming to serve the members' needs, while later it became also open to outsiders' (Int.54). However, kalathi did not manage to engage many outsiders and turned once again into a members' service. Nevertheless, kalathi's shift from an internal to external service revealed some dilemmas that organizers started to deal with. As one interviewee states, 'you cannot transform a

4 Kalathi stands for Basket.

political space into a grocery store; it would be problematic. After all, there are plenty of greengrocers in the neighbourhood and in a way, they should make a living' (Int.54). Discussions regarding the competitive role of kalathi with the local private grocery stores was not only an issue of capability but also an aspect of political strategy. Taking into consideration that kalathi lacked legal status, the same interviewee warned that it was not clever 'to turn the greengrocer into your enemy' (Int.54).

Equally interesting are the Doulapi⁵ and Sidrofia⁶ endeavours in Autonomo⁷ and Mikropolis social centres. Autonomo's participation in an activist network against biotechnology and genetically modified organisms (GMOs), inspired some of its members to establish Doulapi grocery store within its premises. Born in the late 1990s by a group of anti-capitalist left-wing and anarchist activists that aimed to create an open, horizontal and direct-democratic social space in Exarcheia, Autonomo has a long tradition in grassroots and urban struggles. Shortly after the 2008 riots, Autonomo incorporated groups and solidarity structures, such as Doulapi grocery. In contrast to VKP, these structures enjoyed full autonomy and held their own individual assemblies. In a similar vein, Sidrofia grocery store operates on a daily basis within Mikropolis social centre in Thessaloniki, with its products being supplied by local cooperatives and groups of small producers. Although the grocery store has its own assembly, Sidrofia is not considered an autonomous structure; rather it is subject to the decisions of the Mikropolis general assembly.

Although it became popular after December 2008 and even more during the crisis period, the idea of forming collectives for product distribution is not new in Greece; rather, its roots can be found in the self-organized collective of Sporos in Athens. Formed in the early 2000s as the first attempt in Greece to distribute Zapatistas coffee in support of their struggle, Sporos used to distribute fair trade and cooperative products mainly from abroad, while its members did not receive compensation. Respectively, an example of a self-organized cooperative without paid labour took place in Thessaloniki in 2009, under the name of Spame. Spame prototyped its structure on Sporos and distributed the products of domestic cooperatives (Int.26). What is interesting, though, both for Doulapi and Sidrofia is their shift from voluntary structures to unofficial cooperatives. This change is attributed to the social centres' interest in engaging with the approach of

5 Doulapi stands for Cupboard.

6 Sidrofia stands for Fellowship, Company.

7 Autonomo stands for Autonomous.

solidarity economy, with the members of Sidrofia and Doulapia receiving compensation for their services (Int.34; Int.33).

Moving now to the official cooperatives, these were strongly affected by the markets' character. In particular, following the markets' diffusion, most of the organizers came from the consumers' sites and rarely from producers (Int.34; Int.29). Due to this, it is no surprise that many internal discussions among the organizers dealt with the development of the open-air markets into consumer cooperatives (Rakopoulos, 2015, p. 99). Consumer cooperatives present many characteristics in common with the markets' operation. The 600 monthly users of Galatsi consumers' cooperative departed from the 4500 contact list the organizers had from their earlier days of activity. The cooperative continues to distribute pre-order sheets, its members participate voluntarily, while the cooperative shares information for the establishment of similar initiatives, as it had happened earlier in the case of markets. This point reveals the interplay of an emulation sub-mechanism, which refers to 'the deliberate repetition within a given setting of a performance observed in another setting' (Alimi et al., 2015, p. 87; Tilly and Tarrow, 2007, p. 215); and the bricolage sub-mechanism, which points to the synthesis of symbolic and technical elements (Campbell, 2005, pp. 53-54). In this respect, a number of consumer cooperatives either operate under the exact same procedure through which markets used to function, with the only major change being the adoption of a legal status; or they collect information from different initiatives and blend them into a unique organizational model. As one interviewee notes:

we have been contacted by Piraeus Solidarity, which is also active in products' (without middlemen) distribution, because they want to form a cooperative. We have been also contacted by a cooperative in Ioannina and we sent them our accounting system. It [the organizational model] cannot work the same for everyone. Every district and city have their own peculiar characteristics. We were in contact with the cooperative in the city of Ioannina, but they are employing a different model. (Int.43)

In this context lies also the effort of Bios coop supermarket, a consumer cooperative formed in Thessaloniki in 2013. Established by Proskalo⁸ collective, Bios aimed to establish a large, economically successful cooperative, that could bypass the intervention of brokers and have a measurable social

8 Proskalo stands for Cooperation Initiative for the Social and Solidarity Economy and its acronym means Invite.

impact. In these terms, Bios participated in a coordination committee among different grassroots initiatives that used to organize open-air markets, while Spame and Sidrofia helped by sharing lists of producers and organizational techniques (Int.27). Compared to other cooperatives, Bios follows a relatively strict structure. The general assembly elects a board of directors every two years, with the latter being controlled by a supervisory council with the same time of service. Small working groups and task forces are in charge of providing suggestions and feedback. Despite the fact that most of the consumers' cooperatives under study do not practically apply the organizational structure directed by their legal format, Bios does so. As an interviewee from Bios notes, 'we conceive (the different layers) as unpaid tasks and not as positions of authority' (Int.27). For this reason, the different assemblies are open to all their 400 members, a fact which, according to the same interviewee, is the essence of direct democracy.

Despite the growth of cooperative grocery stores, like Eklektik in Thessaloniki and Lacandona⁹ in Athens, the cooperatives' other main concerns did not prevent the diffusion of products' direct distribution. In this context, the cooperative of Allos Tropos¹⁰ in Thessaloniki is quite representative. Established in 2012, the cooperative's main activity is dealing with chess books and board games. However, being in close collaboration with Spame (Int.24), Allos Tropos has also included the distribution of agricultural and sanitary products directly from the producers as its social action.

3.1.2 Collective and Social Kitchens

Collective and social kitchens are the second form of food-related repertoires that became popular during the era of austerity. Non-governmental organizations (NGOs) and church organizations have a long tradition of providing meals to people in need, while municipalities and other institutional actors have engaged in similar actions since the onset of the economic crisis. However, in contrast to the rest of the institutional providers, collective kitchens follow a self-organized structure; as opposed to the logic of beneficiaries' queuing to receive meals, organizers and beneficiaries enjoy the same meal, while there are no restricting criteria for the users. In this sense, collective kitchens constitute a direct expression of political solidarity, which contradicts the apolitical and superior tone often met in philanthropic soup kitchens (Int.35).

9 Lacandona is also the rainforest area in Chiapas, Mexico.

10 Allos Tropos stands for Another Way.

Field research shows plurality in terms of the kitchens' organizers, with neighbourhood assemblies being among them. Following its housing in 2011, the organization of a collective kitchen was among VKP's first activities. The kitchen used to take place once a week, with the members spending at least six hours for its overall operation (Int.54). Quite similar is the case of the "Open Assembly for the Struggle of Toumba Citizens" in Thessaloniki, which also takes place on a weekly basis. Being one out of the three groups managing the occupied "Social Centre for the Struggle", the members' kitchen soon transformed into an open collective kitchen, aiming to serve the local population. Despite their desire, both kitchens failed to attract people outside the social movement community. The strong bonds of Toumba citizens' committee with the neighbourhood was mostly due to the former's active role in the re-connection of the households' electricity supply. This decreased following the repertoire's decline in 2014 (Int.52). Additionally, the members of VKP were not able to operate the kitchen in the afternoons of the weekdays, the hours that 'the worker, the employee or the student actually have to eat' (Int.54), something that restricted its popularity.

Along with the neighbourhood assemblies, grassroots initiatives constitute the second actor responsible for the operation of kitchens. Although collective kitchens take into consideration the political objectives of the organizers, these ones aim to fill the need for food by targeting social sensitization; for this, they are referred as *social* kitchens. Of course, the dividing lines between the social and political aspects of solidarity are quite blurred and intertwined, and this distinction does not affect the overall narrative. However, it helps to understand the presence of the same contentious mechanisms in kitchens with different starting points.

The social kitchen in Chania, Crete, started its operation during the local square movement, when some participants urged for direct action against poverty. The kitchen continued operating on the basis of self-organization and direct democracy even after the movement's dissolution. Nevertheless, fatigue of the everyday services was among the main factors that caused decrease in membership. In this respect, the passionate 30-members' assemblies belong to the past, moving the burden of cooking and coordination to a small number of committed activists (Int.36).

Born solely out of the hardships of austerity, social kitchens are rather distinct entities. In this respect, legitimation from the movement community and certification from external authorities acquire a pivotal role for their development, as well as for the diffusion of cooking as part of the alternative repertoires (Alimi et al., 2015, p. 288). Their origin from the square movement and the implementation of an anti-discriminatory approach were factors

that increased sympathy from local social movements (Int.36). However, the movements' legitimation has caused the opposite results in the institutional sphere, with the kitchen receiving tremendous criticism by the surrounding businesses because it attracted migrants, the homeless and other marginalized populations in the city centre. This provoked a chain reaction with the local teachers' association offering to host the kitchen on its premises, and many left-wing parties declaring their support. Local elections brought left-wing sympathizers in the city's administration, something that granted the kitchen's institutional approval. As an interviewee notes, 'we do not receive any direct help from the municipality, but there are some people from the municipal authorities that support our actions and sometimes they cook' (Int.36).

Although the social kitchen in Chania started as one repertoire of a mass movement and ended up being coordinated by a small group of devoted participants, other social kitchens present a reverse narrative. The social kitchen of Allos Anthropos¹¹ started when an unemployed middle-aged man organized an outdoor kitchen in Athens in 2011. The kitchen grew in popularity and quickly expanded to new locations. As an interviewee explains, the core idea for its establishment was to put an end to apathy, 'bring people in touch, learn their needs and smash racism against the strange "other"' (Int.59). Currently, Allos Anthropos employs 30 people who voluntarily offer their services on a daily basis, counts 20 similar endeavours all around the country, and has served a total of 5 million meals until 2016 (Int.59). What distinguishes Allos Anthropos from many other kitchens is not only its daily and outdoors operation; rather, it is its disapproval of any kind of discrimination, including class and political inclinations. The kitchen openly calls rich and poor, left-wing and right-wing, upper-middle class and homeless people to join its meals. Nevertheless, this anti-discriminatory policy sets fascists aside, and there is a clear criticism against the troika (Int.59). In 2014, Allos Anthropos launched the "Allos Anthropos home", an apartment, which serves the storage of the kitchen's equipment and provides breakfast, coffee, clothes' washing, bathing, leisure and Internet use to everyone in need, while it also offers high school and theatre courses.

In relation to the social kitchen in Chania, Allos Anthropos is probably the most representative example of the legitimation and certification mechanisms. Offering collective meals in working-class, downgraded and migrant areas, as well as participating in numerous activist events (Allos Anthropos, n.d.), the kitchen was acknowledged by the broader social

11 Allos Anthropos stands for Another Human.

movement community and in many cases by citizens and shop owners in the neighbourhoods in which the meals were taking place (Int.35). Appreciation has also been granted by a number of institutional actors, despite the fact that it rejected donations by political parties, big firms and large supermarket chains. It is worth mentioning here that, together with the Metropolitan Community Clinic at Helliniko (MKIE), it won the prize of the European Citizen by the European Parliament, but went on to reject it (TVXS, 2015, September 13). Legitimacy and certification encouraged Allos Anthropos' diffusion. But Allos Anthropos is a notable example in which diffusion is affected by the sub-mechanism of emulation. As an interviewee from Allos Anthropos branch in Thessaloniki explains, the very idea lies in its ability to be duplicated by everyone interested in doing so (Int.35). However, this identical operation does not prevent the reproduction of vulnerabilities, since the operation of the kitchens in Megara and Thessaloniki again by small groups of committed individuals caused much fatigue which led to their dissolution (Int.36).

Together with neighbourhood assemblies and grassroots initiatives, collective kitchens find large application in traditional SMOs. As our field research reveals, during the years of crisis, many SMOs decided to set up collective kitchens in their own premises, but also open the existing members' kitchens for external use. Here, we should clarify that collective kitchens do not refer to the provision of food during the organization of specific events, something which is a long-standing international tradition of social movements¹²; rather, they refer to the consistent provision of communal meals on specific days, usually based on a pre-defined schedule, which require the collectives' full attention.

Returning to the collective kitchens in SMOs, it is important to understand their relationship with the overall process of boundary enlargement. To this extent, collective kitchens present quite different starting points. Being among the first ones, the collective kitchen of Autonomo social centre was established in 2008. Autonomo's kitchen was the direct outcome of Creative Resistances festival as an action that 'has the potential to politicize everyday life and a practice which shows an alternative against the capitalistic model of social organization' (Int.33). Although it takes place on the collective's premises, the kitchen was not only for its members; from its early days it was open to everyone (Int.33). As an interviewee notes, the social explosion during the December 2008 riots fertilized this attempt and standardized its operation on a weekly basis, while the economic crisis further emphasized

12 Consider for instance the *cene popolari* (people's dinners) of Italian SMOs.

its role in covering the needs created due to austerity. Similar is the case of the collective kitchen in *Nosotros* social centre, Athens. Although it was strongly influenced by the austerity environment, the kitchen complements a series of services, such as a radio station, language courses, theatre and dance groups, which take place in the centre's premises. In this respect, the kitchen aims to respond to the centre's core values of moving against the purity and sectarianization of anarchist groups in Exarcheia (Int.57).

Although the enlargement of *Autonomo* and *Nosotros* social centres' activities lies in their efforts to create an alternative narrative to the typical libertarian repertoire, the trajectories of the collective kitchens of *Steki Metanaston*¹³ in Athens and Thessaloniki have different roots. Established as an attempt of the "Network for the Social Support of Migrants and Refugees" to create an open space for the encounters of local and foreign population in Athens in 1997 (*Steki Metanaston*, n.d.), the advent of the Global Justice Movement (GJM) helped the establishment of similar *Steki* in many major Greek cities (Int.61). Although a mechanism of emulation allowed the reproduction of the organizational structure of *Steki Metanaston* in Athens, this indirect centralized diffusion was not able to damage their autonomy (Int.32). Being the most prominent ones, *Steki* in Athens and Thessaloniki host different political groups and activities that form the centres' coordinating assemblies, with the organization of the annual anti-racist festivals, advocacy in support to migrants and refugees, as well as the provision of language courses to migrants taking place from their early establishment. The advent of the economic crisis fostered the two social centres to also hold weekly collective kitchens, but with notable differences.

The collective kitchen in Thessaloniki's *Steki Metanaston* started around 2011. The participation of its members in similar repertoires of the Argentinean movement between 2002 and 2008, as well as the assembly's desire to provide an alternative to the collective meals organized by *Golden Dawn*, were the two main reasons for the kitchen's establishment (Int.37). In contrast, the Athenian case presents a clear story of transformation. Established in 2008 in order to cover the members' needs for quality food, the members' kitchen started to attract outsiders after the December 2008 riots and the anti-austerity mobilizations. This change urged its members to squat a nearby building and transfer the kitchen's operations there (Int.60).

In the cases of *Toumba* and *VKP* neighbourhood assemblies, the kitchens' audiences were mainly composed of activists. What distinguishes the collective kitchen of Thessaloniki's *Steki* from the rest though, is that its audience

13 *Steki Metanaston* stands for Migrants' Centre.

was particularly targeting marginalized groups, such as drug addicts, the homeless, migrants, the unemployed and the elderly (Int.37). The kitchen tried to approach its audience by distributing brochures to municipality and churches' soup kitchens, parks, bridges and related hangouts, with the news widely diffused by word of mouth shortly after (Int.37). However, El Chef collective kitchen of Steki Metanaston in Athens expresses a different approach in terms of "opening", since the members were not in favour of targeting marginalized groups. As stated by an interviewee,

we did not follow the logic of feeding some people just for the sake of it. I don't think it is possible for the movement to be in charge of the destitute and homeless' nutrition. These are things that we should claim from the state [...]. What we did was try to highlight the crisis, the (increase of) the homeless, and the (needs of) refugees through food. We are not the good Samaritans that will distribute food; rather, through our action we try to emphasize the existing problem. (Int.60)

Apart from the audience, collective kitchens vary in their operation, since this is subject to the organizational model each assembly follows. For instance, the kitchen's organizers in *Autonomo* are not required to be members of the centre's political group (Int.33), while the respective ones in *Nosotros* and the two *Steki* are required to attend the main assemblies. With regards to the kitchens' assemblies of the two *Steki*, despite some mild variations in their decision-making models, both participate and are in line with the respective general assemblies. Similar is the case for *Nosotros* social centre. According to an interviewee from *Nosotros* (Int.57), the fact that every activity that takes place in *Nosotros* can be organized both by its members and by outsiders that want to use the space, is indicative of its open character, while the kitchen is not an exception here: it was initially organized by *Nosotros* members but at some point a group of outsiders took charge. Regardless of whether they have their own assemblies, every group is required to attend the centre's weekly general assembly; while, like the vast majority of the SMOs studied here, *Nosotros* requires the groups' minimum participation in the maintenance of the building. In cases where collective kitchens are recognized as direct parts of the assemblies' repertoire, the cycle of rotation is less rigid, with the weekly assemblies deciding the members in charge of the next kitchen (Int.54).

Earlier, we pointed out that the division of labour in the case of markets without middlemen was of utmost importance (Int.29). Although less clearly, the collective kitchens follow a similar approach to the division of labour,

with some members being responsible for cooking, others for cleaning or serving, and others for sourcing the products. With the exception of Chania social kitchen, where members cook the meals in their homes before distributing them from the kitchen's premises, all the collective and social kitchens under study prepare the meals directly on the spot, while in a few cases, take-away packages are also available (Int.33). This on-spot cooking reveals the deployment of a social appropriation mechanism that deserves our attention.

Tilly and Tarrow argue that social appropriation signifies a mechanism where 'non-political groups transform into political actors by using their organizational and institutional bases to launch movement campaigns' (2015, p. 36). We argue that the same mechanism took place regarding social and collective kitchens. On the basis of self-organization, many collective kitchens require the beneficiaries to serve themselves and clean afterwards. As many interviewees have stressed (Int.54; Int.52; Int.36; Int.33; Int.60), this regulation finds widespread application, preserves the kitchen's solidarity character (Int.32) and distinguishes itself from institutional soup kitchens, where beneficiaries are expected to assume a passive role. Additionally, it is not rare for beneficiaries to participate actively also in cooking, without it being a requirement though (Int.33; Int.52; Int.54; Int.59). In this respect, the organization of collective and social kitchens implies a different approach to service provision, in which the beneficiary is not a mere receiver, but actively participates in the provided services.

Social appropriation also reveals a different aspect of the organizational factor. By assigning the aspect of self-organization to these precise services, actors interact with each other and enlarge the dividing line between organizers and beneficiaries. Although the members of each kitchen have the ultimate responsibility for their operation, in many cases the users took an active role in the overall organization (Int.57; Int.60). Two years after the establishment of Steki's kitchen in Thessaloniki, the regular beneficiaries began to actively participate both in the co-organization of the kitchen and in its assembly. According to an interviewee:

usually we are a group of five members who cook and are in charge. During the supply procedure, we are much more. Together with the beneficiaries, we are around fifteen. The ones who systematically cook are people who used to come here to eat and then joined in. One of them is a chef who lost everything, became homeless and lived in the municipal shelter. Once this person found us, we developed a very good and trustworthy relationship, and now cooks for the rest. (Int.37)

Together with social appropriation, coordinated action is another mechanism that joins forces for the boundary enlargement process. Unlike markets where coordination reached the national level, in the case of kitchens this refers to the local level. First of all, coordinated action refers to the collective customization of the kitchens' timetable, which has been developed due to two contrasting trends. On the one hand, in cases where the kitchens' audience was mainly outsiders (non-activists), different organizers from nearby areas tried to set their operation on different days so as to establish an informal weekly nourishment system (Int.37). On the other hand, in cases where the kitchens' beneficiaries were mostly activists, these have been set on different days in order to avoid sharing the same audience (Int.54). One way or another, the same mechanism facilitates the kitchens' smooth operation. As we see further on, this mechanism was essential during the long summer of migration in 2015, when many self-organized social and collective kitchens provided their services in support of the refugee squats.

Finally, field research shows that SMOs have launched collective kitchens under a cooperative form. Similar to Sholio squat, each sub-group and structure of the Mikropolis social centre has its own assembly, but all are subject to the general coordination assembly. As discussed in detail later, the members of Mikropolis kitchen are obliged to also participate in the centre's general assemblies. Despite the fact that Sholio and Mikropolis' kitchens are not organized on a voluntary basis, still their members are required to participate in the premises' maintenance, whether this is cleaning or holding shifts in the centres' bars (Int.34).

3.1.3 Collection and Distribution of Food Parcels

The last form of action related to the social movement scene of food deals with the collection and distribution of food parcels. Initiatives preoccupied with the collection and distribution of food are either autonomous entities (Int.33) or part of social centres' repertoires (Int.56; Int.38). The rationale behind this action is to collect food parcels and distribute them to individuals and families in need. Although this is an international practice, carried out by humanitarian NGOs, church organizations and municipal authorities, it is purely a "child" of austerity in the context of the social movement community in Greece. SMOs present different narratives about beneficiaries' organization from below, which contradict both the top-down provision of help from institutional actors, (Int.40; Int.41) and the neoliberal context of civil society organizations (Rozakou, 2008; Serdedakis, 2008). Emphasizing the role of trust once again, beneficiaries are

not required to have any official documents to certify their poor economic conditions. In this respect, the approach of SMOs fosters the empowerment of underprivileged groups through solidarity. In order to better grasp how this procedure takes place, we explore the roots and operation of such initiatives.

Established in 2012 from the collaboration among ecological organizations, Oikopolis¹⁴ social centre is a representative case of repertoires' shift caused by the economic crisis. As an interviewee admits,

we set aside the ecological, animal and human rights issues we were preoccupied with and we focused on aspects of practical solidarity by starting the kitchen and the food distribution to the local population. With the advent of the refugee crisis [...] we were forced to devote all our attention there. (Int.38)

In this respect, Oikopolis introduced a number of service-oriented activities, varying from language courses to refugees to distribution of food, clothes and furniture. Trofosyllektes¹⁵ in Autonomo social centre is another group which collects and distributes food parcels. The idea started after Autonomo's participation in the electricity re-connection activities of Exarcheia's Network of Social Solidarity (Dikaex) brought its members in contact with impoverished Greek and migrant families in Exarcheia (Int.33). Imitating a respective action which took place in the popular district of Perama in Piraeus, Autonomo formed the group of Trofosyllektes in close cooperation with Dikaex (Dikaex, 2014).

Although the introduction of food distribution repertoire in Oikopolis and Autonomo was forced by the centres' interaction with people in need, the respective action in Nea Smirni Workers' Club had clear theoretical origins. Arguing that neoliberalism and austerity have radically changed workers' everyday life and fragmented their identity even more, a group of radical left-wing and anti-authoritarian activists with a long tradition in local struggles concluded that neighbourhood associations are called to play a role that so far was assigned to traditional trade unions (Int.56). The decay of the traditional social movement tools and the ready-made solutions prepare the ground for a more pre-figurative approach able to construct a solid, antagonistic subject. In this respect, the repertoires employed by Nea Smirni Workers' Club, such as protests, advocacy for labour issues,

¹⁴ Oikopolis stands for Ecological City.

¹⁵ Trofosyllektes stands for Food Collectors.

establishment of solidarity structures and the collection and distribution of food parcels included, are inherent to a holistic approach to connect everyday life with everyday resistance.

As it happened in the case of the markets, SMOs used the contact information from previous activities to communicate with potential beneficiaries about the forthcoming food distribution (Int.56; Int.33). Once individuals and families are subscribed as beneficiaries, the SMOs set a timetable and together with the beneficiaries visit the local supermarkets and collect food donations from customers. Donations are also collected in the SMOs' headquarters. Once donations are collected and food parcels are prepared, SMOs are in charge of their distribution. Together with markets and kitchens, this practice is also subject to internal variation. Distribution of cooked food in Oikopolis, which attracts mostly homeless people, takes place once or twice per week. The rest of the services, including also the distribution of food parcels, take place once per month and deal mostly with families and individuals in need. Respectively, the 30 families subscribed in Trofosyllektes, receive their goods once per week from the centre's headquarters (Int.33). However, Nea Smirni Workers' Club has implemented a different approach. Since many beneficiaries felt uncomfortable with publicly receiving food donation, the centre has accustomed some activists to individually contact the respective families and arrange the monthly distribution (Int.56).

The participation of beneficiaries in the service provision is another aspect that highlights the bottom-up characteristics of this alternative repertoire. Although participation is not always successful, this approach reveals that SMOs combine empowerment with self-organization. Apart from its theoretical value, this combination has practical implications for keeping the action alive: 'If someone finds a job and won't use the service for this month, (our model enables them) to come to the supermarket and collect donations for the others' (Int.56). The Workers Club's success in combining emancipatory strategies with self-organization led the extra-parliamentary party of Anticapitalistic Left Cooperation for the Overthrow (ANTARSYA) to publicly welcome this action and call its members to replicate it. Playing the role of sub-mechanism once again, emulation encouraged the diffusion of similar Workers' Clubs across the country, prototyping their operation on the Club of Nea Smirni (Int.56).

While beneficiaries' participation is optional in Nea Smirni, it was mandatory in Trofosyllektes. Trofosyllektes' beneficiaries participated both in the collection of food donations outside supermarkets and in their subsequent distribution in Autonomo's premises. Despite Autonomo's interest in engaging the beneficiaries to self-preserve the operation of

the structure, its internal problems resulted in Trofosyllektes' malfunction (Int.33). Although Oikopolis engaged its beneficiaries in cooking and distributing food parcels, as an interviewee admits, it is often refugees who distribute meals to impoverished Greeks since the former tend to participate much more than the latter (Int.38).

3.2 Resources

3.2.1 Markets without Middlemen

Resources are quite central in social movement activities and play a vital role in the expression of solidarity. In the case of markets without middlemen, resources are an essential aspect of the brokerage mechanism, not only for the transmission and distribution of "know-how" techniques, but also for bringing closer the markets' organizers with other social initiatives.

Following the operation of the first markets, the organizers set a "solidarity percentage" on producers' profits. After the weekly operation of the markets, the organizers calculated the quantity of products sold, and usually kept around 3% of it to fund social welfare endeavours, such as municipal social groceries, church soup kitchens, municipal kindergartens as well as individuals and families in need (Int.7; Int.29; Int.43). After the long summer of migration, receivers of the solidarity percentage changed from domestic social welfare initiatives to the refugee camps (Int.7). This percentage, which referred to producers' profit without affecting the consumers' final cost, was also appreciated by the producers. Together with the political character assigned to overcome brokers, the solidarity percentage underlined the markets' social role. Calvário et al. note that the solidarity percentage was 'an effort to "educate" farmers to move beyond narrow profit-making interests and engage in solidarity-making relationships with consumers and the population in general' (2017, p. 77). Additionally, the solidarity percentage managed to connect the markets with other fractions of the social movement community and gain their certification by the local institutional environment.

The operation of markets without middlemen was exclusively based on goods produced in Greece. However, a great variety of the everyday required products were not produced in the country, while those agricultural products produced in Greece were rather costly. As an interviewee informs us:

we faced problems with the producers because we were calling them to buy Greek sesame to produce tahini. Yes, but it does not exist! The Greek

sesame is of very high quality and is mainly sold abroad, while the Greek tahini producers use sesame supplies from Ethiopia! [...] There are some products, which the only domestic characteristic they have is that they are produced in the grinding machines of Greek farmers. [...] So, there were dilemmas whether we want such products or not. (Int.29)

As the same interviewee states, in these terms, markets failed to cover the lower economic strata and ended up serving the needs of the impoverished low-middle strata (Int.29).

When contacting producers, the organizers prioritized agricultural cooperatives and small groups of producers, while they paid attention to securing decent labour conditions for producers and employees, as was also the case with Italian food solidarity groups (Forno and Graziano, 2016; Grasseni, 2014a). According to our field notes, these criteria became stricter in the aftermath of the human trafficking scandal of Bangladesh workers in Manolada's strawberry fields in 2012 (ECHR, 2017, March 30). To this end, many markets urged consumers to participate in the production process. Although this strategy aimed to engage the unemployed, and thus to create trustworthy relationships between the markets and the rest of the social movement community, it was limited to occasional assistance during the markets' operation (Int.29).

Lack of time and fatigue were common problems for organizers when moving from open-air markets to consumer cooperatives, while the absence of a respective tradition made this transition harder (Skordili, 2013). This change of organizational formats had strongly affected SMOs internal procedures, since the organizers had to deal with new bureaucratic requirements, that were earlier attributed only to producers.

We don't like it, but it is true that once it turned into a cooperative it feels like an ordinary shop; you should take care of many things. We receive the products, we send orders, there are always updates, the place should always be clean... (Int.43)

claims an interviewee from Galatsi cooperative without middlemen. However, the rise of workload set in motion the mechanism of social appropriation, since in many cases it urged those beneficiaries receiving the solidarity percentage to assist with the cooperatives' operation. In this context, social appropriation depicts how beneficiaries have been transformed into active participants who take shifts in the cooperative (Int.43).

Quite important here is the issue of the members' compensation. The members of Galatsi cooperative provide their services on a voluntary basis. Although similar examples can be found in other cooperatives, we can observe a variety of approaches. Being among the ancestors of these new forms, Spame used the model of unpaid labour for its members. Evaluating Spame's trajectory after it ceased operation in 2014, one of its former members argues that 'in exchange for the shifts, we intended to grand some products for the members. But we failed to do it. [...] From the beginning, we didn't believe in voluntarism; rather we were arguing that it should be a compensation in kind' (Int.26). This failure was mostly due to the low profit share over the products' prices, since it did not allow the collective to be economically sustainable. Nevertheless, the supermarket of Bios consumer cooperative managed to accomplish what Spame failed to do. Bios adds 10%-15% onto the product value, with 7 of its members receiving monetary compensation for their undertaken tasks. Although its shares do not provide profit for its members, by distinguishing its profits (money coming from customers that are non-members) from its surpluses (money coming from customers that are members), the cooperative provides discounts to its members, and socializes its profits in support of movements and solidarity actions (Int.27).

With regards to grocery stores operating within neighbourhood assemblies and traditional SMOs, the case becomes a bit more complicated. On the one hand, some assemblies consider their grocery stores as an additional repertoire to their overall action, which promotes a grassroots way of providing good quality food. VKP neighbourhood assembly is an illustrative example, since it distributes goods on producers' price (Int.54). On the other hand, grocery stores like Sydrofia in Mikropolis social centre or Sholio squat, operate on the basis of solidarity economy, and therefore set an additional 10% over the producers' prices. The remaining amount serves to cover running costs and provide small compensation for their members (Int.51). Taking these examples as two extreme cases, one can find various trajectories in between. Doulapí is indicative here, since it moved from the free contributions model, where consumers contributed as much they want for products, to the establishment of a solidarity, mutual help fund in 2015 to support its members financially.

Apart from the members' compensation, official consumer cooperatives and unofficial cooperative efforts introduced in SMOs are also connected through the factor of resources. Together with the transmission of organizational "know-how", consumers' cooperatives often assist unofficial grocery stores to order vast amounts of agricultural products due to the latter's lack

of legal status (Int.34). This procedure is vital for the survival of the unofficial grocery stores and it also promotes a logic of collaboration, antagonistic to the competitive environment of the neoliberal market. In this respect, resources activate the mechanism of brokerage that boosts the connection between traditional SMOs and cooperatives.

3.2.2 Collective and Social Kitchens

Field research on collective and social kitchens underlines three areas of concern: the issue of fees for the provided services, the members' compensation and the way that products and equipment are acquired. Our analysis shows that all three issues are inter-connected, with great impact on each other.

Starting with the fee for using the kitchens' services, field research reveals three main approaches which are strongly related to the overall approach of the organizations which host them. Dealing with the first approach, the cases of Toumba citizens' assembly and Autonomo social centre are indicative here, with the kitchens' beneficiaries being free to choose the amount of money they want to contribute.

Our starting point was to hold a weekly kitchen for those people who have money and the ones who don't. I eat here and also take food for the day after with 4-5 euros, which is extremely convenient for me. There are others that do not pay anything, while some employees from the nearby shops come and take away their meal (Int.33),

argues an interviewee from Autonomo. Nevertheless, Olson's free rider effect, which supports that people choose not to participate in collective action due to the costs this bears despite the fact that they enjoy its potential achievements (Staggenborg, 2011, pp. 31-34), could not be avoided. As a member of Toumba's initiative informs us, the problem of free riders triggered internal debates, with its members expressing their discontent towards beneficiaries who had the economic ability to contribute but did not (Int.52).

The second option deals with the absence of any kind of fee. Although this recalls the strict anti-commercial tradition of the libertarian space in Greece, which has fueled debates in the 1990s and caused many internal disputes and divisions, the absence of a fee for using the collective kitchens' services is quite rare in the studied SMOs, while it finds broad application in social kitchens. The third approach points to the determination of specific prices adjusted to the meals. As the case of El Chef attests, this serves the

funding of the kitchen's activities and the acquisition of products for the next cooking process (Int.60), while fees in Sholio and Mikropolis kitchens are also linked to the members' compensation.

Although helpful, these three basic approaches to fees cannot really underline the dynamic character that lies behind the decisions to adopt them. To do so, we focus on the trajectories of Nosotros social centre in Athens and Steki Metanaston in Thessaloniki.

With the kitchen's exception, Nosotros' provided services are not dependent on fees. Nevertheless, the economic difficulties caused by austerity have largely affected the activists' livelihood and lack of time in volunteering. This condition forced the Nosotros assembly to develop a more tolerant position towards fees. More precisely, in cases like the provision of language courses, Nosotros has allowed the teachers to implement a free contribution policy, where students are able to choose whether to economically contribute or not (Int.57). This tolerance 'has changed Nosotros perspective from a purely communist into a more collectivist perception' (Int.57), something which was also encouraged by the centre's participation in the square movement. In order to clarify this, we turn to the kitchen's model of compensation. As an interviewee informs us, during the period of austerity, the voluntary operation of the kitchen changed, with its members receiving compensation for their services. Nevertheless, internal problems led to reject the model and temporary halt the kitchen's services (Int.57).

The topics of services' fees and members' compensation remain debatable within the Nosotros assembly, with some members arguing that 'we are an open endeavour and thus we have the ability to change perspective when the facts are changing, and others arguing that we are an anarchist-communist organization, and this does not feel right' (Int.57). Nosotros experienced changes from no fees to free contributions, with variation also taking place with regards to members' compensation. Nevertheless, dynamic trajectories also move in reverse. This was the case in Thessaloniki Steki's collective kitchen. Since more activists were present during the kitchen's first steps, the organizers implemented a free contribution policy. Gradually though, as it started to attract more marginalized groups and Steki's members decreased, the policy of free contributions changed, and the kitchens' services were provided free of charge (Int.37).

Together with fees and members' compensation, another important issue for collective and social kitchens concerns equipment and raw materials. In social kitchens these are acquired with monetary and in-kind donations. With regards to the social kitchen in Chania, donations are mostly provided by individuals and local enterprises in solidarity. In the words

of an interviewee, 'bakeries support us by donating their extra bread. [...] Butcher shops donate the extra meat that is not sold' (Int.36), while the same goes for vegetables. Although the kitchen funds its activities also by organizing fund-raising events, its non-advertisement policy has costed it donations. According to a member:

we have been contacted by some supermarkets, but they wanted to be advertised. We conceive this (the kitchen) as a matter of solidarity; we are not going to advertise anyone. Once a supermarket brought one tone of fish and asked us to issue a letter of acknowledgement in order to bring more. Since we didn't do it, it didn't contact us again. (Int.36)

Monetary and in-kind donations are also the main sources of donations for Allos Anthropos social kitchens (Int.35). Regarding the branch in Athens, donations also concern the maintenance of the Allos Anthropos home, as well as transportation costs and the personal expenses of the founder due to his constant preoccupation; information which is known to the donors (Int.59).

Collective kitchens reject any type of donation from non-governmental or church organizations. In some cases, they have turned down donations issued by municipal authorities (Int.37). Donations to collective kitchens come mostly from its members, other activists and people in solidarity (Int.52; Int.37; Int.60). On some occasions, in-kind donations in the form of olive oil and vegetables are provided by self-organized cooperatives (Int.52; Int.37; Int.60), while many kitchens receive donations from producers who participate in markets without middlemen (Int.51). In this respect, donations demonstrate the pre-figurative approach of alternative repertoires. As an interviewee argued, 'self-managing a kitchen, which serves 200 meals during its shift, without any type of institutional funding for five years, is a successful example that shows the efficiency of bottom-up solidarity' (Int.37).

While the more disobedient characteristics of mass expropriation actions are missing from the Greek context, some kitchens try to produce their own ingredients by cultivating vegetables in occupied gardens (Int.54). More importantly though, the increased flows of refugees in the summer of 2015 had direct impact on the kitchens' operation. Together with the reduction of pork from kitchens' menus (Int.60), the massive donations of products in support of the refugees created surpluses in some kitchens, facilitating a re-distributive procedure from one kitchen to another (Int.60). This gives us the opportunity to unravel the mechanism of brokerage.

As we see in all three social movement scenes, resources facilitate the connection of different fractions of the social movement community. In

this respect, it is not rare that kitchens' revenues are used to economically support specific grassroots endeavours. That was the case of *Autonomo* collective kitchen (Int.33) in support of *Vio.Me* factory, *Sholio's* establishment of a separate solidarity fund to support similar endeavours (Int.51), the connection of *Chania* social kitchen with the local *Steki Metanaston* and the *Rosa Nera* squat in Crete (Int.36), as well as the connection of *Allos Anthropos* with a number of SMOs in Athens. In the same vein, *Steki's* collective kitchen in Thessaloniki offers its services during the annual anti-racist festivals, it was in charge of cooking during the *NoBorder* international camp in Thessaloniki in 2016, and it constantly participates in events organized by social clinics and political collectives (Int.37). Cooking in support of labour struggles was important for the collective kitchen of Athens *Steki El Chef*, with its actions ranging from on-the-spot cooking during the nine-months strike of the steel workers in 2012, the media strikes in *Eleftherotipia* newspaper, *Alter* and the Hellenic Broadcasting Corporation (ERT) television channels, the strike of the ministry of finance cleaning staff and the hunger strike of the 300 migrant workers in 2011 (Int.60; *El Chef*, 2011a; 2011b; 2012). Similar examples can be found in a number of cases, such as the cooperative kitchen of *Sholio* squat providing food to the squatters of the occupied labour centre in Thessaloniki during important protest events (Int.27).

Although these are important signifiers of the brokerage mechanism, the so-called refugee "crisis" signaled its full deployment and the subsequent activation of coordinated action. Among others, the cooperative kitchen of *Sholio* squat proved to be a great supplier of food and equipment to the *Orfanotrofio* refugee squat, before the latter's eviction and demolition by the SYRIZA-led governing coalition in 2016. Respectively, the kitchen of *Nosotros* coordinated its actions with collective and social kitchens like *El Chef*, *Allos Anthropos* and others by taking charge of the daily nutrition of the refugee squats in *Exarcheia* for almost a year (Int.57; Int.60). Taking into consideration the different characteristics and political approaches of the three aforementioned kitchens, the combination of brokerage with coordinated action mechanisms seems extremely vital to the development of the boundary enlargement process.

3.2.3 Collection and Distribution of Food Parcels

Markets without middlemen, as well as collective and social kitchens present important internal variations concerning resources. This does not seem to be the case with regards to the collection and distribution of food parcels. Starting with the issue of fees, all the organizers provide food parcels free

of charge. This seems inevitable if we consider that these services target mostly impoverished groups with low purchase power. The same applies to compensation, with all the participants offering their services voluntarily. Nevertheless, this is a rather debatable topic, since many SMOs are in favour of voluntary participation as the proxy for their anti-commercial character, while others oppose mere voluntarism and (try to) employ a cooperative logic by introducing small compensation (Int.38).

Apart from the collection of food donations outside of supermarkets, donations are also provided within the organizers' premises as well as during fund-raising events (Int.38). Here, again, shop owners and farmers in solidarity offer donations, with Oikopolis social centre receiving vegetables free of charge from Thessaloniki's central vegetable market (Int.38). In-kind donations are preferred for transparency reasons (Int.38), but this does not prevent the organizers from collecting monetary donations. According to an interviewee, monetary donations are used in order to produce the informative material distributed during their sorties in supermarkets (Int.33), as well as to purchase more expensive goods and fresh food that cannot be stored (Int.56).

Having donations as the main source of funding demonstrates the bottom-up approaches of the food parcel repertoire and challenges the monopoly of institutional and NGO actors in caregiving. Nevertheless, this becomes more complicated when it comes to the donors' profile. Although many organizers reject any collaboration with the state, church and non-governmental organizations, these relations acquire a more dynamic character when it comes to the provision of the service at stake. This was for instance the case with Trofosyllektes group in Autonomo social centre, which has received donations from the SYRIZA-funded organization S4A. As a member explains, this decision was not easy and created strong internal debates. In particular, some beneficiaries were in favour of receiving donations from S4A. In their view, 'this was their money (as taxpayers) and they should take it' (Int.33), since S4A funding comes from SYRIZA's MPs compensation. On the other hand, the members of Autonomo 'insisted on standing on their own feet and keep an independent approach from the state and its organizations' (Int.33). The outcome of this contradiction resulted in Trofosyllektes receiving S4A's donations, with Autonomo's members 'putting aside our political will in favour of the beneficiaries' (Int.33).

The refugee "crisis" was also crucial for the collection and distribution of food parcels. Following the same practice of donations, the monumental arrival of refugees in Piraeus port in 2015 led the Workers' Club to provide migrants and refugees with food parcels. According to an interviewee

(Int.56), in many cases, the members invited groups of refugees to the Club's headquarters, where they exchanged experiences, practical information and held joint collective kitchens. Following this action, the refugees' removal from Piraeus port forced the Club to supply a number of refugee squats, such as the occupied hotel "City Plaza", with food parcels (Int.56). Similar narratives signify once again that resources become the connecting glue between the SMOs and other parts of the social movement community.

From the perspective of Jasper and Poulsen (1995), the 2015 long summer of migration was a moral shock that mobilized activists and people in solidarity and increased cooperation among SMOs. This was also the case for Oikopolis social centre and the development of brokerage mechanism. Although Oikopolis does not represent an ideologically homogenous group, but rather the amalgamation of different groups on a minimum political agreement, its active participation in Idomeni unofficial refugee camp in the northern borders of Greece expanded the centre's criteria for collaborating with other groups. As stated by an interviewee,

we don't have taboos regarding our collaboration. Idomeni was a place that allowed us to meet many people and groups in response to the refugee issue. There, it was quite pleasant that the different political and social approaches of each group as well as the different perspectives regarding the refugee issue were not in any case strong enough to divide us. We collaborated with many groups as there was nothing to differentiate us. (Int.38)

Similar to the eventful protests and the effects that these might have on the participants (Della Porta, 2008; Della Porta et al., 2018, pp. 1-24), the unofficial refugee camp of Idomeni acted as a unifying event that brought to collaboration diverse groups in response to a crisis situation (Zamponi, 2017, 2018). However, collaboration did not stop in Idomeni. Oikopolis kept receiving donations from foreign collectives and civil society organizations with whom they collaborated in Idomeni in order to fund the distribution of food parcels (Int.38). This narrative reveals another point which connects the two "crises". As Rozakou's ethnographic research informs us, 'donations were so many, that in autumn 2015 collectivities in Lesvos had to ask publicly for a halt until they sorted and distributed the items they had accumulated' (2016, p. 196). On this ground, one interviewee notes that when there was an over-accumulation of donated material in support of the refugees, this was subsequently distributed to beneficiaries who suffered from the economic crisis (Int.38).

Earlier, we mentioned the relation of S4A with Autonomo social centre. The same also goes for Oikopolis, which keeps receiving donations to support its actions for refugees, while it collaborated with the local municipal authorities in order to have a place to store the in-kind donations (Int.38). In this respect, the deployment of the brokerage mechanism in the factor of resources is not pictured only by the SMOs' connection with other organizations, but it is also acknowledged from their relationship with institutional actors.

3.3 Identity

3.3.1 Markets without Middlemen

The last section of this chapter deals with the factor of identity, a rather important ground in order to unpack the trajectories as they evolved from the dynamic interaction of the austerity environment (macro-level) with the organizations (meso-level) and the activists (micro-level). Starting with the markets without middlemen, discussion on identity unravels the instrumental relations that boost their development, in organizational and political terms. Earlier we saw how the mechanism of coordinated action transformed the markets into a political act. However, this would not be the case without a change in the markets' discourse during the first national conferences. Finding its roots in the potato movement, the first open-air distributions of products were unorganized and dealt only with the potatoes' low prices. However, the transformation of the potato movement into the politically oriented set of markets without middlemen was the outcome of activists' efforts to change the movement's symbolic frame. As one interviewee recalls:

we wanted to get rid of the "potato" stigma and be called the movement without middlemen. Otherwise, if the potato movement had prevailed, we would have stuck with potatoes, and it would not have led anywhere. That's why we wanted to call it without middlemen. There are still people who think that all these have been organized by the municipal authorities. But there was constantly this need, and we were discussing this during the first national conference in Katerini, to discard this label of the potato movement. (Int.29)

The aforementioned change of the markets' frame also impacted their anti-fascist approach. Although the anti-fascist element tends to be overshadowed by the anti-neoliberal narrative of the anti-austerity mobilizations, we

should always bear in mind its essential role during the period of Golden Dawn's growth. The focus of organizers on promoting domestic products in a way of supporting local farmers, ran the risk of markets' cooptation by a nationalistic narrative. Additional recent examples of cooptation can be found in the square movement, with Syntagma's division to upper and lower assemblies which were also characterized by the presence of national symbols (Hadjimichalis, 2017, p. 154; Kaika and Karaliotas, 2016). A similar example is the transformation of neighbourhood assemblies' framework into "disobedient citizens" by fascist groups in order to acquire spatial certification for their attacks on migrants in the Athenian city centre (Kandyliis, 2013). Due to this, the markets' national conferences were also important for collectively rejecting any connection with Golden Dawn and changing their frame from "Greek products", which might be also connected with the preference of Greek producers as opposed to foreigners (Int.29), to "products produced in Greece" (Kotoulas, 2012). These national meetings managed to lay the foundations for the markets' progressive character. Once these features were stabilized and the mechanism of diffusion started to take place, the markets faced a number of new dilemmas in respect to their identity.

The disapproval towards the high prices of the large supermarket chains had already been made clear. However, in many occasions participants and organizers started to debate whether markets were antagonistic to the traditional farmers' markets or the local grocery stores (Int.29). These dilemmas shaped the markets' identity formation and correspond to what Rakopoulos (2014, p. 104) describes as "political sensitization". Subsequently, this political sensitization was decisive for the markets' diffusion.

Many activists and SMOs conceived markets as an access point for approaching and bringing new constituents close to the social movement community. As field research shows, the markets attracted quite heterogeneous audiences in terms of age and social background, which moved far beyond the activist community, and volunteered for the first time (Int.29). Indicative is the personal story of an interviewee, whose everyday life 'does not have any similarity with what I was doing before the markets. First and foremost, our everyday life is currently based on voluntarism' (Int.43).¹⁶ As

16 Although the interviewee uses the term "voluntarism" to describe the change in their everyday life, we should note that this is contextualized in the participation in a social space with clear left-wing characteristics. This is rather important, since in many parts of this study, interviewees have underlined the left-wing or libertarian character of their participation as it contradicts with the neoliberal connotations of voluntarism that are usually assigned in a modernizing, top-down narrative developed in the 1990s and 2000s (Rozakou, 2008, pp. 105, 112).

the interviewee argues, her engagement with the markets was decisive for changing her personal time-schedule and becoming actively involved in political issues on a daily basis. Many participants have expressed similar stories during our field research and by respective studies in other countries (Zamponi and Bosi, 2018). In this respect, markets managed to break the border that usually divides activists from the general public, by creating a common space and assigning roles regardless of the participants' previous political activity. As an activist commented, solidarity structures 'managed to connect the central political struggle with the particular problem of each individual' (Int.39). To this extent, our attention to the markets without middlemen, as well as other solidarity structures, highlights the deployment of the social appropriation sub-mechanism, which fosters the mechanism of diffusion.

In our quest to unravel the sub-mechanism of social appropriation, field research informs us that alternative repertoires have managed to channel emancipation via sociality. According to Rakopoulos, sociality is understood 'as the social life revolving around people's propensity to associate with other people and form social groups' (2015, p. 87). Sociality contrasts the Durkheimian socialization, which approached society as something external to individuals; and instead, suggests a model of association which produces political meanings (Rozakou, 2008, pp. 98-101). Markets do not strongly oppose to the assigned roles of consumers and producers or the money-based transactions. Therefore, they cannot be explained by the divisions of interest-altruism or market-reciprocity. However, if we analyse them under the frame of sociality, we can grasp the attempts of organizers to displace the users' personal blame for their economic difficulties and the rapid decrease of their well-being (Hadjimichalis, 2017, pp. 79-107), as well as to capture the direct way of getting politicized through the exercise of the alternative repertoires (Cabot, 2016, p. 158; Rozakou, 2016, p. 188). In contrast to the old-fashioned type of political activism that required the individuals' sophisticated political theorization (Flesher-Fominaya, 2007), politicization in the markets, as well as in other alternative repertoires, call for immediate action projected in the local settings of daily life. Politicization did not come through profound political analysis; participation in the organization of markets was considered a political action in itself. Speaking of the participants in a local market without middlemen, one interviewee comments that, 'those who take care of the telephone orders are ladies that went out of their apartments, because they understood what they do. And what they do is really important' (Int.43) both for the organization of the markets but also for their individual emancipation. Rakopoulos' research

presents similar accounts, which pictures ‘the anti-middleman network as “the only thing that takes people out of their homes and into the streets in our area” or as “the only initiative that mobilizes people in the neighborhood today”’ (2015, p. 93); while additional inquiries show how the alternative repertoires assisted individuals’ politicization by shifting the quest for solutions to personal problems from the individual private sphere to the collective public one (Benmecheddal et al., 2017; Zamponi and Bosi, 2018).

Sociality should not be conceived only as a procedure that brings together different individuals. Rather, it contradicts the personal crisis and social isolation that were quite widespread in the first years of austerity. Sociality complements solidarity, as this ‘could be part of the process of politicization and alternative political emancipation’ (Hadjimichalis, 2017, p. 160). The popular slogan “no one alone in the crisis” targets precisely the logic of the individuals’ loneliness in experiencing their personal dramas, which were combined with sentiments of uselessness, depression and 33% increase in suicide rates (Vaiou and Kalandides, 2016, p. 461). The content of the first assemblies during the square movement reminds the reader that quite often these were paralleled with collective sessions of psychotherapy. Solidarity initiatives promote a collective solution to tackle these issues (Hadjimichalis, 2017, pp. 138-177; Vaiou and Kalandides, 2016, p. 459) and play the role of local communities, which allow individuals to communicate their individual economic difficulties, receive consultation from activists, advocates and experts and increase the sense of belonging. As highlighted by a member of Galatsi market, ‘it is the sense of community that I found here’ (Int.43). In this sense, sociality is an important feature of what Melucci (1996, p. 80) calls collective experience for the development of collective identity.

This psychological boost does not only refer to the micro-level of individuals but also to the meso-level of organizations. The markets’ weekly operation involved tasks to be completed within a specified time frame. In contrast to the broad political agendas opting for social transformation, the markets’ operation on Sunday afternoons signaled the accomplishment of the weekly goal. As an interviewee emphatically notes, the markets’ operation was translated into ‘the movements’ small victories’ (Int.29), of which the importance could be grasped only when it is contextualized in the environment of the streets’ defeat after the decrease of protests in 2012.

Returning to the diffusion mechanism, this was strongly supported by the sub-mechanism of social appropriation. At the same time, it played an important role in facilitating the legitimation of the local groups of organizers, since the markets’ diffusion signaled the parallel diffusion of their “trademark”. This diffusion was accompanied by a widespread appreciation

of the markets' operation as well as the people in charge of it. As many interviewees note, wearing a specific jacket that signifies participation in the markets was quite essential for the members, in order to be acknowledged by the local neighbourhoods and communities (Int.29). In this respect, participating in the markets attributed a specific identity to the volunteers, and simplified the indirect legitimation of the SMOs and local political initiatives that they were also members of. As an interviewee informs us, about the first coordinating meeting of the markets:

there was a discussion on how we can anchor in the local societies. And everyone was saying the same thing; that in due time, it was easier to speak as a representative of the local market without middlemen. You were wearing your vest and once you spoke in public by saying that you participate in the market, it directly changed the others' mood; it changed the identities, like SYRIZA supporter, anarchist, etc. that they had assigned to you earlier. [...] Everyone was reading the brochures you distributed. Even elder people were reading them. And they commented that we are good guys despite the fact that we also go to the squats! What was derived from the other areas is that markets legitimized the local assemblies that came out especially after December (2008 riots). (Int.29)

The mechanism of legitimation and the sub-mechanism of social appropriation reveal the markets' spatial dimension. In this respect, markets acted as hubs, where different groups met to disseminate their material, inform about their actions and reproduce every movement-oriented conjuncture, such as the collection of medicine for social clinics or food for refugees (Int.29). This type of interaction reminds us also of the square movement, when public squares transformed into open spaces for ongoing political debates. According to Flesher Fominaya, 'through their inclusive and elastic entry requirements (anyone can be in the square), camps enabled people without an overarching interpretive framework of the crisis, austerity or democracy to be integrated into a collective process of re-imagining and critique' (2017, p. 9). The occupied squares 'brought people who would not ordinarily engage with each other in urban settings, across age, class and ethnic divides' (*Ibid*, p. 10). By offering their services in central parks and squares on Sunday afternoons, markets were neither the usual farmers' bazaars nor strictly political meetings; rather, by obtaining a joyful atmosphere in times of decreased mobilization and general emotional downgrade, the markets shaped the outburst of affective emotions (Jasper, 1998), and embodied something more than the expression of a consumerist movement.

Nevertheless, we should be cautious of not conceiving markets as homogenized entities. Producers, consumers and organizers were often driven by their own motives (Int.29), something which underlines their blurred identity and the different forms markets received after their suppression. On the one hand, they ended up being mostly a consumers' movement rather than an agricultural producers' movement, resulting in the introduction of cooperatives. On the other hand, some groups conceived the organization of markets as the establishment of movement structures, which should have taken place independently from the crisis context. The latter can be found in the clear political approach of Exarcheia's open-air market (Initiative of residents and collectives in Exarcheia, n.d.). As the initiative claims, 'this is part of a broader collective struggle for the emancipation and autonomy from the mechanisms of power and the state' (Initiative of residents and collectives in Exarcheia, 2013).

Taking into consideration that 'until quite recently, anti-supermarket campaigns and alternative food initiatives were rather marginal if non-existent in Greece' (Skordili, 2013, p. 133), the markets' novelty bore a radical element: that access to quality food should be open to everyone. As an interviewee from Allos Tropos cooperative emphasizes:

Food is not luxury. The non-poisoned food should be accessible to middle and lower strata. Thus, it should have a price that can be reached by everyone. People who belong to the middle and upper class have access to quality food, while the middle and lower ones, ourselves included, do not have this possibility. We are not brokers and we don't consider our action as philanthropic. We profit from this as consumers. (Int.24)

Quality food is also connected to the development of trust relationships with producers (Int.24; Int.33), while the decrease in prices is also connected to the decrease in the ecological footprint (Int.27). Such approaches find application in respective solidarity formations worldwide (Forno and Graziano, 2016; Gibson-Graham et al., 2018; Gibson-Graham and Miller, 2015; Grasseni, 2014b; Miller, 2005). Nevertheless, despite the political features that cooperatives introduce with regards to the direct distribution of products, many of them avoid following a clear political line (Int.27).

Field research reveals two main trends of thought regarding markets and the rest of the alternative repertoires. The first approach perceives markets as additional instruments to the usual social movement tools, and therefore, their operation as an instrument that fits in the crisis context and assists the promotion of more traditional struggles. From this

perspective, activists advocate that the inclination towards more social forms of struggle serves an instrumental purpose for achieving the SMOs' goals, without implying any additional qualitative transformation in terms of movements' identity (Int.55). The second trend conceives them as an alternative, autonomous repertoire, with its own unique characteristics, which leads the Greek movement community towards new paths and acknowledges different ways for the expression of the political struggle. This approach distinguishes the 'close ideological and political projects, such as the members' kitchens from the respective forms of social solidarity economy' (Int. 39). The latter ones

do not include any ideological purity, are open and create the resources and the preconditions for equal participation, collaboration and co-operation in the decision-making procedures, while they have greater transformative power for the participants. This last one contradicts with the former's pre-requisite of a ready-made revolutionary. (Int.39)

As we argue throughout this study, the process of boundary enlargement bears instrumental characteristics and incorporates aspects of the social and solidarity economy. Due to this, the aforementioned approaches are not strictly unrelated with each other and therefore, our mechanism-process analytical framework applies, irrespective of the dominant narrative. Nevertheless, we should note that our explanatory approach signals an additional cognitive enlargement of SMOs, aside to the dominant transformation of repertoire change. This cognitive enlargement responds to a social opening of traditional SMOs due to the application of alternative repertoires. In the case of Ampariza social space, this took place due to the organization of the open-air markets and subsequently the cooperative in Galatsi. In the words of an interviewee,

we became more open; Ampariza became more open. It was not that open; it was more closed. And this is quite natural since its members grew up with specific (political) approaches and they used to belong (in a political space). Nevertheless, all of a sudden, Ampariza started to attract an audience that ranged from politically independent, right-wing, PASOK, *Panellinio Sosialistiko Kinima* (Panhellenic Socialist Movement), supporters to KKE, *Kommounistiko Komma Elladas* (Communist Party of Greece) but also many people that are here do not have any relation with all these. This is very good, because we should be open and not be limited only to our familiar ways. (Int.43)

3.3.2 Collective and Social Kitchens

The feature of “openness” attributed earlier to the social space of Ampariza can be also found in other cases. Together with other alternative repertoires undertaken by Mikropolis, its kitchen has contributed to the social centre’s openness. Similar to the grocery store operating within the social centre, the Mikropolis cooperative kitchen has attracted a non-activist audience, composed of local residents and shopkeepers. As an interviewee states, ‘I have an impression that this (social opening) has been assisted a lot by the provision of the services; Mikropolis has opened a lot due to these structures’ (Int.34). Sholio squat presents a similar story. The attempts of its members to attribute an open character to the squat has been also reinforced by Sholio’s kitchen, of which the daily services are not used only by activists but also by workers and neighbours (Int.51).

Of course, this openness has not only affected the audience who come in touch with movement activities, but also the movement itself. Although the incorporation of monetary transactions within the movement community took place in Germany, Denmark, the Netherlands and other North European countries long before the economic crisis (Int.34), we should bear in mind that this was a taboo issue for the social movement community in Greece. As a matter of fact, once monetary transactions started to take place in SMOs in Greece, many activists rejected this development and withdrew membership from many SMOs. However, this change has also affected a number of individuals who, despite their opposition, remained involved. Referring to the difficulties these activists faced, an interviewee from Mikropolis social centre adds,

just think that Mikropolis was a child of the anti-authoritarian space. Some of the older members, who were very active in the anarchist space, they finally remained. This was quite strange, if we think of what they have been used to do all these years. But it was an evolution! Of course, it (the logic of unofficial cooperativism) has its vulnerable points; I mean that these activists have a point. But we should also live! In my view, it is not possible that our political, even revolutionary, practice may concern only actions of propaganda. We should turn this into a way of living. In this respect, similar to someone who chooses to expropriate as a way of living, it (the logic of unofficial cooperativism) is a suggestion for creating a community of equality. Of course, as equal as someone can be in capitalism! (Int.34)

Very much alike is the case of VKP neighbourhood assembly, which comes also from a libertarian background. Although monetary transactions were not the issue at stake there, the assembly's enlargement in terms of audience and activities has also affected its identity. Quite indicatively, an interviewee claims that

it is this issue of (ideological) purity...and this has sparked internal conflicts. [...] When seeking for addressing (wider audiences), you should become more social and lower down your imaginary, your standards. You should play with less imagination and utopianism in your mind. And by this inevitably...We have taken some steps ahead. At some point, we stopped arguing publicly against elections, since there were people who vote. Some people left due to this, claiming that we are not revolutionary enough. But there were others who joined because they felt that there was also space for them. (Int.54)

The downplaying of ideological identities was quite an important aspect for engaging new activists in the GJM (Flesher Fominaya, 2007). According to Flesher Fominaya (2007, p. 339), left-wing activists, often affiliated with hierarchical and bureaucratic structures, engaged in assembly-based politics since the GJM's discourse of openness reduced the anarchist and autonomous connotations of these horizontal practices. Although the VKP assembly follows a similar root, Toumba's anarchist-autonomist character does not seem adjustable. Being involved into civil disobedience actions, such as the reconnection of electricity supply in indebted households, the assembly preferred not to sacrifice its ideological stands in favour of attracting more beneficiaries in its assembly. As a member comments, 'For us it is fine if they (beneficiaries) learn to re-connect the electricity supply and instead of coming here in the assembly, they go and do it in their buildings and apartments' (Int.52).

Regardless of whether the assemblies adjust their views and operation to the various dynamics that accompany the incorporation of the alternative repertoires, most of them emphasize the importance of beneficiaries being aware of the collectives' political background (Int.57; Int.51). This awareness aims to preserve the political character and solidarity perspective of the SMOs' services. Taking into consideration that the provision of services lacks any official requirements and thus, has attracted large audiences of non-activists, as well as that many beneficiaries have misinterpreted the SMOs' service provision with respective activities undertaken by municipal

authorities, church and NGOs (Int.43), the emphasis on the political character of the organizers becomes quite important.

The debate between ideological purity and “social opening” reveals an interesting aspect regarding identity. According to an interviewee (Int.57), many traditional SMOs, especially those rooted in the anarchist space, consider the persuasion and the coverage of the needs of their sympathizers as “social opening”. Nevertheless, critical voices note that,

the ones who had learned to think with an “Exarcheian” scale, they were gradually excluded, felt left out and found themselves uncoordinated. The scale and the potential of the things that were taking place were exceeding them. Exarcheia started to understand what was happening with three years of delay. (Int.39)

Although field research shows that the process of boundary enlargement finds a quite wide application, the aforementioned criticism invites us to distinguish between different levels of “social opening”. Indicative here is the different trajectory of Steki Metanaston in Athens with the respective one in Thessaloniki.

Although El Chef kitchen of Steki in Athens aimed to extend its services to external users, one member admits that this targeted a specific audience. The members of El Chef kitchen wanted to stress the political character of their service and to be on the same page with the users (Int.60). When the kitchen service ran the risk of becoming fully open, as it happened with the long queues of beneficiaries outside the kitchen's premises, the members tried to discourage the audience and prevent transforming the collective kitchen into a soup kitchen (Int.60). On the contrary, the audience of the Thessaloniki Steki dealt mostly with marginalized groups. Nevertheless, as an interviewee comments, its social opening to broader and more deprived audiences has affected its identity, since it created a new, internal contradiction between the popular and luben audience of the kitchen's beneficiaries with the more intellectual one of Steki (Int.32).

Social opening uncovers new challenges and dilemmas. The engagement of beneficiaries with the kitchens' management in Thessaloniki's Steki acknowledges the deployment of the social appropriation mechanism. However, an issue rose when the beneficiaries' former professional experience in cooking triggered some of them to develop hierarchical attitudes over the rest of the participants. An interviewee informs us that, ‘once they (beneficiaries) held the pan, they had the impression that they also got the power of the kitchen and issued orders to the rest on who is going to eat

and who is not' (Int.37). Problems did not concern only the development of informal hierarchies. For fear of missing their turn, and thus, their meal, some beneficiaries expressed violent behaviours against others. As an interviewee explains (Int.37), these incidents sparked serious discussions with the beneficiaries about Steki's role, what it represents and what are the acceptable limits. The most challenging incident took place when the kitchen's members discovered that some of its beneficiaries also attended the soup kitchens organized by Golden Dawn. As an interviewee recalls,

it was shocking for us because we couldn't know whether they supported Golden Dawn, or they went because of their need for food. We couldn't accuse them of being fascists and forcing them immediately out; but in any case, we couldn't accept them using both kitchens. Therefore, we tried to explain to them what it meant for us to attend Golden Dawn's soup kitchens, what it means to come to our place, that they are two opposite things and that they should choose. (Int.37)

These examples demonstrate that SMOs' social opening call activists to cope with issues that so far had not been part of the social movement agenda and respond to the blurred context of everyday needs. At the same time though, it triggers a large debate regarding the role of the solidarity structures, what their limits are, when the political transforms into humanitarian, and whether these efforts are substitutes to the state's welfare provision (Int.37). Although it is not possible to provide direct answers, these questions touch upon the distinctive characteristics ascribed to solidarity structures. Thessaloniki Steki's social opening to marginalized groups did not only affect its members, but it signaled a different perspective of welfare provision. Quite important here are the beneficiaries' emotions of disgrace that organizers are called to tackle with.

The absence of requirements regarding the documentation of the beneficiaries' economic condition encourages people in need to contact the kitchen without being involved with bureaucratic paperwork. Moreover, it decreases the feeling of humiliation found in institutional soup kitchens, when beneficiaries are required to document their inability to meet their basic nutrition needs (Int.37). A member of a social kitchen argues that 'those who are truly in need won't show it. They will hesitate to go to the soup kitchens' (Int.35), because they feel ashamed to be treated with pity. In order to deal with this issue, social kitchens try to enforce a sense of feast and celebration to make the users feel comfortable. As the same interviewee

continues, in this way social kitchens try to take away the beneficiaries' 'fear and disgrace' (Int.35).

The sense of disgrace is not just a structural characteristic of institutional soup kitchens, but it is heavily linked with the sudden impoverishment of large parts of the Greek population and the lack of a respective activist tradition in these alternative repertoires. Interviewees from different solidarity structures claim that Greeks are quite reluctant to use the provided services, for fear of publicly exposing their desperation. Despite the kitchens' efforts to frame their services as distinct from charity organizations, in many cases these have not been perceived as such. Commenting on that, an interviewee from Chania social kitchen observes that, 'Greeks do not attend the services usually used by migrants because they feel ashamed' (Int.36), despite the kitchen's efforts to demonstrate that its services are neither for migrants, nor for Greeks but for everyone.

The kitchens' role of covering the need for food was their basic characteristic, but it was not the only one. According to our field research, the need to socialize proved to be equally important. The words of an interviewee are quite telling:

if you speak with the beneficiaries they will tell you that they look forward for the weekend to come to Steki not only for the food but because this space (Steki's premises) fits us all; it is a space that they can sit, relax, socialize and speak with their friends, while they are waiting for the food to be prepared. (Int.37)

Similar narratives are presented by Allos Anthropos and particularly the project of Allos Anthropos home (Int.59). Nevertheless, by comparing collective with social kitchens, we confront some important differences with regards to the degree of openness. By providing their services to the poor and the rich, social kitchens present an inter-class approach concerning their audiences. This social opening is not limited to the social kitchens' audiences, but also characterizes their potential partners and collaborations. Framing its action as 'awake-up call' (Int.35) aiming to reduce indifference and discrimination, Allos Anthropos aims to demonstrate that the absence of legal status and institutional support cannot prevent the expansion of solidarity structures. As one member emphatically stresses, 'we can make it without you, and you should be afraid of this' (Int.59). Apart from the denouncement of fascists, this disapproval does not deal that much with the political and class backgrounds, but it marks a dualistic distinction between the people and the elites. Therefore, it is no surprise that the

practical expression of solidarity 'on five basic needs that everyone has in common, such as health, education, labour, justice and food' (Int.59) enables the kitchen to cooperate and coordinate actions with many SMOs, grassroots initiatives, social clinics and cooperatives, participate in left-wing and libertarian events, festivals and campaigns, but also join forces with NGOs (Int.59). Similar partnerships can be found in the case of Oikopolis social centre.

3.3.3 Collection and Distribution of Food Parcels

The last section deals with the dynamics of identity as these unfold in the SMOs preoccupied with the collection and distribution of food parcels. The dynamics developed in the distribution of food parcels by the Workers' Club in Nea Smirni are inextricably linked with the Club's overall approach. As mentioned earlier, the Club aims to connect different parts of people's everyday reality with labour and social struggles. From this perspective, the Club does not address individuals strictly as political comrades, but as members of the urban community, subject to multiple social settings. This approach fosters the members' understanding towards a holistic perspective of reality, where protests and solidarity actions are complementary parts that support the broader social transformation. Despite its maximalist orientation, the Clubs' approach offers quite important short-term outcomes. According to an interviewee, these lie in the development of strong bonds among its members, due to the diffusion of a "thick" understanding of solidarity. Speaking of the Club's audience that use the alternative repertoires, one member comments that:

they enter a discussion suggesting they should confront the everyday life in a collective and activist way. And this is because it starts in an exemplary way, meaning the solidarity that have developed among these people. They know each other. The people who blockade a shop (in response to workers' struggle) and risk being prosecuted, are people who attend the same dance classes in the Club twice per week. In this way, relations and bonds among the participants do not correspond to general, unfamiliar movements' calls for mobilization. Here, we are all together; we are the same people who participate in discussions, in dance classes and together we participate in shop blockades. This approach has increased the sense of what we call "people of the struggle". (Int.56)

The aforementioned insight shows the ability of alternative repertoires to enhance social bonding among the users. This indirectly results in strengthening the solidarity bonds of participants with strong effects on their mobilizations. However, the provision of the alternative repertoire also has direct effects on the participants regarding the SMOs' goals. This is illustrated by the provision of solidarity courses in developing anti-fascist dynamics. As the same interviewee goes on to say, 'high school courses are provided to Greek, Albanian and refugee students in joint classrooms. This automatically leaves out any racist features that might be cultivated in a school environment' (Int.56). According to the interviewee's view, this approach contradicts the traditional SMOs' actions of distributing anti-fascist brochures outside schools. In that way, 'students perceive you as an external, while this way (common attendance of courses) they experience anti-fascism in an experiential way with their classmates' (Int.56).

This inherent way of developing anti-fascist and anti-racist attitudes is not accustomed only to the provision of high school courses, but finds application in the collection and distribution of food parcels. This is the case in Trofosyllektes group of Autonomo social centre. As one interviewee comments on Trofosyllektes action,

they have actually unified the most impoverished parts of Greeks and foreigners in one common collective. And it is interesting because you see people that might start to participate by having a racist prejudice or language, and it works due to the common need to collaborate with those people, without having to defeat prejudice as such. (Int.33)

As the same interviewee adds, 'to me, this is much more important than producing 500,000 posters against racism and cursing fascists, racists and middleclass Greeks' (Int.33).

Closer attention to the collection and distribution of food parcels, nevertheless, reveals that the concept of "thick solidarity" described earlier contrasts the thin line between solidarity and charity (Theodossopoulos, 2016). Similar to the sense of disgrace discussed in the repertoire of collective and social kitchens, a member of the Workers' Club argues that beneficiaries are rather skeptical of deliberately speaking about poverty. Fighting to overthrow the individual responsibility assigned to the economic difficulties caused by austerity seems to be a never-ending task, as well as the reason the Club assigned one member responsible for each benefited family. Commenting on the thin line between charity and solidarity, an interviewee from Autonomo claimed that 'this becomes more difficult to

control in the Trofosyllektes group than in the collective kitchen' (Int.33). As the interviewee supports, in some cases beneficiaries have confused Trofosyllektes service with municipal and church organizations, while others developed offensive attitudes towards Trofosyllektes members, accusing them of stealing from the donated parcels. The unsuccessful efforts of Trofosyllektes members to defend their voluntary character led to the dissociation of those beneficiaries from Trofosyllektes services.

The process of boundary enlargement touches upon issues that traditional movement actors seemed to have overlooked. Therefore, this new reality has raised challenges and dilemmas for which the social movement community does not have ready-made answers. Autonomo argues that direct measures are not the solution for dealing with these problems. In this way, the members discuss every incident of bad attitude in the collective's assembly and try to build a common culture on how to address similar cases (Int.33). However, the construction of a common culture under austerity conditions presents a number of challenging questions with the potential to affect the stable identity that SMOs maintained before the advent of the economic crisis.

3.4 Conclusion

This chapter sheds light to the development of the boundary enlargement process with regards to the social movement scene of food. Table 3.1 summarizes the basic mechanisms and sub-mechanisms discussed here.

The social movement scene of food reveals three different repertoires applied by different actors. The repertoires deal with the organization of markets without middlemen and their evolution to consumer cooperatives, collective and social kitchens and the collection and distribution of food parcels. These repertoires are employed by neighbourhood assemblies, grassroots initiatives and traditional SMOs. Despite the variety of actions and actors, our study reveals a number of common mechanisms that shape the dynamic character of the context.

Starting with organizational structure, the use of contact lists and the direct communication between different organizers contributed to the markets' development and their subsequent diffusion across the country. The appropriation of public spaces and popular hubs by volunteers in collecting the consumers' orders was rather important. Initially, markets without middlemen gained certification by the majority of the political parties. However, once organizers started to better coordinate among themselves, obtaining an anti-austerity perspective and presenting a

Table 3.1 Mechanisms and sub-mechanisms in the social movement scene of Food

	Repertoires	Mechanisms	Sub-mechanisms
Organizational Structure	Operation of Markets without Middlemen	Diffusion	Brokerage + Spatial Appropriation
		Coordinated Action	
		Certification Decertification	
	Facilitation of Collective and Social Kitchens	Diffusion	Emulation + Bricolage
		Certification + Legitimation	
		Diffusion	Emulation
Collection and Distribution of Food Parcels	Social Appropriation		
	Coordinated Action		
Resources	Operation of Markets without Middlemen	Brokerage	
		Certification + Legitimation	
		Social Appropriation	
	Facilitation of Collective and Social Kitchens	Brokerage	
		Coordinated Action	
	Collection and Distribution of Food Parcels	Brokerage	
Identity	Operation of Markets without Middlemen	Diffusion	Social Appropriation
		Certification + Legitimation	
	Facilitation of Collective and Social Kitchens	Social Appropriation	
	Collection and Distribution of Food Parcels	Social Appropriation	

distinct aspect of on-site politicization, the welcoming environment was replaced by police repression. The change from certification to decertification mechanisms due to the activation of the coordinated action mechanism played a crucial role for the markets' course of life, with many of them turning into consumer cooperatives. This passage to becoming cooperatives signaled a new path but with the same mechanisms at play.

In particular, as the emulation and bricolage sub-mechanisms witness, the cooperatives either reproduced the markets organizational structure or they combined characteristics from different markets and adjusted them in their respective contexts.

Moving to the second repertoire of the food scene, certification and legitimation mechanisms were central to the kitchens' diffusion, since they mirrored the appreciation the kitchens received by institutional actors, local communities and SMOs. At the same time, however, the beneficiaries' active participation in the provision of collective meals underlines the practical approach to solidarity, empowerment and the overall process of boundary enlargement. Lastly, collection and distribution of food parcels was the third repertoire of the social movement scene of food. Similar to the markets without middlemen, beneficiaries of food packages have been approached due to the existing contact lists from SMOs' earlier actions. In some cases, this has been coupled with the mere replication of the organizational practices of specific SMOs in different contexts and places, while in other cases the distribution of food parcels was appreciated by institutional actors. Both ways resulted in the diffusion of the repertoire.

Our analysis suggests that in times of austerity, resources incarnate the basic form of expression of solidarity for all three repertoires. Although monetary support is a traditional form of solidarity in the international social movements' milieu, in the context of markets it took the form of a solidarity percentage. By retaining a percentage from producers' profits to fund a number of official and unofficial social welfare structures, the markets managed to connect with and receive recognition from a number of grassroots solidarity structures, municipal authorities and individuals in need. This development is illustrated by the activation of brokerage and certification. The brokerage and certification mechanisms contributed to the markets' development, facilitated their bonding with the social movement community and increased their popularity on a local level. Of course, the course of markets was not always successful, since they failed to connect consumers with the level of production or to fully cover the needs of the lower economic strata. Nevertheless, their transition to cooperatives revealed important aspects of an emancipatory system, which provides beneficiaries with an active role in cooperatives' operation. This can be composed in the mechanism of social appropriation.

The same logic also takes place in the case of collective and social kitchens. By referring to a number of social and collective kitchens, we analyse the different models introduced in terms of fees and members' compensation, as well as the dynamic aspect of their trajectories. Our

close attention to the acquisition of products and equipment demonstrates the use of donations and the criteria the kitchens set, while it helps us to unravel the mechanism of brokerage that administers their connection both with the local society and the social movement community. At the same time though, it exposes how the SMOs' attention to the service provision affects, and in some cases limits, the adoption of more militant actions. Once again, the kitchens' repertoires underline the development of the brokerage mechanism. However, apart from the usual paths of participating in local struggles, the kitchens' on-the-spot cooking recognizes the practical application of solidarity and triggers their coordination in facilitating the nutrition of refugee squats.

Things change when it comes to the collection and distribution of food parcels. Despite the different views of the organizers, this service is provided free of charge by all the studied SMOs which operate on a voluntary basis. The provision of this service is exclusively based on monetary and in-kind donations. Although the collection and distribution of food parcels is a rather sensitive issue, which challenges the monopoly of institutional actors and NGOs in caregiving, it is relatively "closed", since it is concentrated on a specific number of people. Nevertheless, our analysis manages to explain the development of the brokerage mechanism, which also exposes the connection of organizers with institutional actors. In these regards, the three repertoires highlight the importance of the brokerage mechanism in the factor of resources, and at the same time indicate that the provision of services challenges a number of characteristics that have been considered stable in the traditional trajectory of the social movement community. This is better articulated in the factor of identity.

Our attention to the factor of identity aims to provide the reader with a comprehensive understanding of the development of the social movement scene of food. Starting with the markets without middlemen, our analysis suggests that the organizers' coordination played a vital role in changing the markets' frame from a civil disobedient action to a broader disapproval of mediation, dressed in anti-fascist characteristics. Markets without middlemen were formed as a reaction to the brokers' unaffordable prices of basic goods. Once this reactionary approach was legitimized by the social movement community, the formation of the markets' identity began to take shape through their discussions on how they should address other retailers. These debates underline the dynamic role of identity and show how the markets' operation sparked a procedure of political sensitization. Together with this, our analysis shows the ability of markets to boost the further engagement of participants. By uncovering the development of

social appropriation mechanisms, we emphasize that sociality was essential both for boosting the sense of belonging on the micro-level, but also for encouraging the organizers on the meso-level, due to the achievement of their weekly goals. The festive atmosphere of markets highlighted the blend of political and social characteristics even more. In turn, the active socialization of the volunteers, the sense of belonging and their engagement with collective action as opposed to the widespread sentiments of misery, frustration and loneliness, fostered the markets' diffusion and triggered their legitimation by the social movement community. Although certification by institutional actors was crucial for the markets' diffusion regarding the factor of organizational structure, the legitimation by the movement community in the factor of identity shows how markets have functioned as shields for protecting also the identity of the organizers.

Discussion on the collective and social kitchens' identity focuses on social opening and how this has affected the internal dynamics of SMOs. Although the studied organizations emphasize the political and solidarity nature of their service provision, the process of boundary enlargement has reserved minor and major adjustments in their conceptualization. Quite important here is the incorporation of unofficial cooperativism within SMOs. As our analysis shows, the moneyless tradition of the social movement community hindered the more experienced activists from digesting this change, while the enlargement in terms of audience enforced some organizations to become less radical in terms of their declarations. Depending on the background of each organization, our research shows that through the provision of kitchen services, some SMOs aimed to engage mostly with their sympathizers, while others intended to attract non-activist audiences. Although the former option was developed in safe waters, the latter reveals the challenges of pre-figurative approaches, since SMOs should confront issues that are usually not part of their agendas. Collective and social kitchens acquire some complementary characteristics. They are called to tackle the widespread concept of disgrace for people using the solidarity services and meanwhile appear to respond to the beneficiaries' need for socialization. These two features confirm that the social movement community in Greece does not restrict itself in political mediation and claim-making against authorities, but it incarnates the provision of unofficial welfare in filling materialist and post-materialist needs.

Our last repertoire concerns the collection and distribution of food parcels. Here, the dynamics in terms of identity seem rather fragmented, since in some cases the application of the repertoire is subject to the organizers' approach, while in others it enjoys relative autonomy. The development of strong bonds

due to the application of the alternative repertoires seems quite central in the creation of activist and anti-discriminatory characteristics. The same goes for the collection and distribution of food parcels, an action which depicts a direct anti-discriminatory exercise. Our exploration shows that the issue of disgrace seems to affect the operation of this repertoire: the beneficiaries' mistaking of SMOs for institutional actors have led to the development of unfair attitudes. Since different problems require different solutions, organizers make efforts to create a common culture for addressing these issues. Unfortunately, the development of a common culture is promising, but it also runs the risk of affecting the stability that SMOs' identity used to enjoy prior to the crisis.

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List of Interviewees

- Interviewee 7 – Male, 51-55 years old, Freelancer, Founding Member of the social clinic in Thermi, Thessaloniki (1.7.16) – Audio recorded – Transcribed in Greek
- Interviewee 24 – Female, 41-45 years old, Founding Member of the Cooperative Allos Tropos, Thessaloniki (29.6.16) – Audio recorded – Transcribed in Greek

- Interviewee 26 – Male, 36-40 years old, Founding Member of the Cooperative Eklektik and member of Spame, Thessaloniki (2.11.16) – Audio recorded – Transcribed in Greek
- Interviewee 27 – Male, 61-65 years old, Founding Member of the Cooperative BiosCoop and of People's University of Social Solidarity Economy, Thessaloniki (25.7.16) – Audio recorded – Transcribed in Greek
- Interviewee 28 – Male, 26-30 years old, Founding Member of the Cooperative Sociality, Athens (9.12.16) – Audio recorded – Transcribed in Greek
- Interviewee 29 – Male, 36-40 years old, Member of the Petroupoli Markets Without Middlemen, Athens (10.12.16) – Audio recorded – Transcribed in Greek
- Interviewee 32 – Male, 36-40 years old, Member of Odysseas Migrants' School and Steki Metanaston, Thessaloniki (28.7.16) – Audio recorded – Transcribed in Greek
- Interviewee 33 – Male, 41-45 years old, Member of Autonomo Social Centre, Athens (28.9.16) – Audio recorded – Transcribed in Greek
- Interviewee 34 – Male, 31-35 years old, Member of Mikropolis Social Centre, Thessaloniki (27.7.16) – Audio recorded – Transcribed in Greek
- Interviewee 35 – Female, 41-45 years old, Member of Allos Anthropos Social Kitchen, Thessaloniki (27.10.17) – Audio recorded – Transcribed in Greek
- Interviewee 36 – Male, 51-55 years old, Member of Chania Social Kitchen, Crete (4.6.16) – Audio recorded – Transcribed in Greek
- Interviewee 37 – Female, 46-50 years old, Member of Collective Kitchen in Steki Metanaston, Thessaloniki (7.7.16) – Audio recorded – Transcribed in Greek
- Interviewee 38 – Male, 51-55 years old, Member of Oikopolis Social Centre, Thessaloniki (28.7.16) – Audio recorded – Transcribed in Greek
- Interviewee 39 – Male, 51-55 years old, Ex-member of Solidarity for All, Athens (26.9.16) – Audio recorded – Transcribed in Greek
- Interviewee 40 – Female, 46-50 years old, Employee in the Thermi Municipal Grocery, Thessaloniki (24.5.16) – Audio recorded – Transcribed in Greek
- Interviewee 41 – Male, 51-55 years old, Employee in Thermi Municipal Grocery, Thessaloniki (24.5.16) – Audio recorded – Transcribed in Greek
- Interviewee 42 – Male, 31-35 years old, Member of the Water Warriors collective, Thessaloniki (26.7.17) – Audio recorded – Transcribed in Greek
- Interviewee 43 – Female, 46-50 years old, Member of Ampariza Social Centre and Galatsi Without-Middlemen Cooperative, Athens (22.9.17) – Audio recorded – Transcribed in Greek
- Interviewee 51 – Male, 26-30 years old, Member of Sholio Squat, Thessaloniki (27.10.16) – Audio recorded – Transcribed in Greek
- Interviewee 52 – Male, 56-60 years old, Member of Open Assembly for the Struggle of Toumba Citizens, Thessaloniki (12.10.16) – Audio recorded – Transcribed in Greek

- Interviewee 54 – Male, 31-35 years old, Member of VKP neighbourhood assembly, Athens (27.9.16) – Audio recorded – Transcribed in Greek
- Interviewee 55 – Male, 36-40 years old, Member of Vox Squat in Exarcheia, Athens (7.11.16) – Audio recorded – Transcribed in Greek
- Interviewee 56 – Male, 46-50 years old, Member of Workers' Club in Nea Smirni, Athens (14.11.16) – Audio recorded -Transcribed in Greek
- Interviewee 57 – Male, 46-50 years old, Nosotros Social Centre in Exarcheia, Athens, (8.12.16) – Audio recorded – Transcribed in Greek
- Interviewee 59 – Male, 51-55 years old, Founder of Allos Anthropos Social Kitchen, Athens (26.10.17) – Audio recorded – Transcribed in Greek
- Interviewee 60 – Male, 36-40 years old, Member of El Chef Collective Kitchen in Steki Metanaston, Athens (3.11.17) – Audio recorded – Transcribed in Greek
- Interviewee 61 – Female 36-40 years old, Member of Steki Metanaston, Athens (15.10.17) – Audio recorded – Transcribed in Greek

4 The Social Movement Scene of Health

Abstract

Chapter 4 delves into the analysis of the social movement scene of health, by focusing on the advent of social clinics and the provision of primary healthcare services free of charge. The exclusion of almost one third of the Greek population from the health system triggered the expansion of social clinics across the country and granted them a contentious role. By paying attention to the clinics' organizational structure and decision-making systems, resources and identity, the chapter explores the contentious mechanisms that shaped the rise of the clinics, their coordination and the solidarity network of drugs distribution. At the same time, the analysis of the boundary enlargement process touches upon the clinics' relations with state and municipal authorities.

Keywords: Health movements; Social clinics; Solidarity pharmacies; Free healthcare

The social movement scene of health comprises another example which emerged due to the recent economic crisis and the conditions of austerity. Compared to the plurality of the repertoires analysed in the previous chapter, the health scene focuses on the advent of social clinics and the provision of primary healthcare services and medication free of charge. This chapter aims to investigate the social movement scene in the health sector, in order to unravel the development of the boundary enlargement process. By paying attention to the clinics' organizational structure and decision-making systems, resources and identity, we explore the basic mechanisms and sub-mechanisms that shaped the rise of the clinics, their coordination and the construction of an unofficial solidarity network of drugs distribution, as well as their relationship with the state and municipal authorities.

4.1 Organizational Structure

4.1.1 Affinity Groups Modeling and the Coordination of Autonomy

As stated above, social clinics are voluntary organizations offering free of charge healthcare services and medicine to people in need, situated within the broader anti-austerity campaign. These two characteristics reveal the two axes on which the clinics lie, namely the operational and political. As in pretty much every organized collective belonging to the broader social movement community, these two aspects are inextricably linked. These are also central accounts of the pre-figurative politics approach, meaning that the organizational and operational aspects of an organization reflect its political ambitions for a future society. In the following text we try to mark the different tasks these axes contain, in order to reveal the clinics' peculiar characteristics that take place due to the process of boundary enlargement.

In terms of the operational characteristics, the literature on social movements refers to the franchise organization type in order to emphasize the 'commonly recognized name and symbol, articulation between organizational levels, locus of member loyalty, territorial hegemony, locus and scope of control over financial affairs, the selection of goals, tactics, and operating procedures, and core technologies' (Davis et al., 2005, p. 191). Despite the provision of the same services, their similar organizational structure and the context of operation which have created a sense of a common identity, social clinics do not constitute a unified body. Rather, they are formed as independent and autonomous entities, which collaborate with each other and develop independent affiliations with official institutional and unofficial movement actors, based on their geographical position and political orientation. Therefore, a more precise description seems to be the affinity groups of modeling, which 'display a great deal of tactical flexibility but are inherently more difficult to direct and control than more centralized forms of organization' (Goodwin and Jasper, 2015, p. 158).

Apart from illustrating how the clinics are organized, the affinity model presents an analytical usage. Diani (2015) notes that feelings of solidarity and belongingness often address specific organizations and the movements as a whole. However, the author argues that affinity group modeling allows some individuals to be identified with a movement without necessarily being loyal to specific organizations (*Ibid*, p. 21). We are not sure whether this explanation of affinity group modeling corresponds to social clinics, since their members identify with their individual organizations and the

movement as a whole. In this respect, the clinics' model of coordination takes a dynamic format. Speaking of modes of coordination, Diani and Mische (2015, pp. 312-315) note that the social movement type of coordination is subject to intense boundary definition and resource allocation, coalitional mode enables intense resource exchanges among the participants but has a limited role in terms of boundary definition, while both resource allocation and boundary definition are rather limited regarding the organizational mode of coordination. However, the authors claim that these are ideal types, since in reality one mode of coordination may include characteristics of the others. As we explore further on, the majority of the social clinics started as independent entities, identified themselves as part of a broader network in the health scene and enabled the exchange of resources, while the internal debates sparked after the "backflip" of SYRIZA, *Synaspismos Rizospastikis Aristeras* (Coalition of Radical Left) in 2015 shifted the social movement mode of coordination to a coalitional and organizational type.

Among the various models of the different networks participated in the Global Justice Movement (GJM) (Della Porta et al., 2006, pp. 49-57), the affinity model, which was popular among the anarchist and anti-authoritarian blocks, has enabled the quick spread of practices. The participation of Greek anarchist and left-wing organizations in these summits and the interaction with foreign groups based on this type of organization led to a diffusion process of the affinity group modeling (Kotronaki, 2015). Affinity group modeling allows the process of diffusion to take place. However, what interests us here, in terms of the boundary enlargement process, are the factors that enable the diffusion to take place. We find the answer in the mechanism of in-group brokerage. In-group brokerage is defined as the 'connection of factions and groups on each side of an "us-them" boundary, without establishing new connections across the boundary' (Alimi et al., 2015, p. 287). The mechanism of brokerage as defined by Tilly and Tarrow refers to 'the production of a new connection between previously unconnected sites' (2015, p. 31). As the creation of new ties among actors is a central mechanism in the overall process of mobilization, brokerage is often taken for granted, without due explanation. In an effort to overcome this obstacle, we explicitly refer to in-group brokerage, where new ties enable the connection of specific actors on the same side of a boundary. This mechanism is tightly connected to the formation of new categories, which, in our case, are visible in the example of social clinics.

Common or similar ideological beliefs are often the broker, which enables the affinity groups modeling to take place (Goodwin and Jasper, 2015, p. 158).

These are often complemented by moral shocks (Jasper and Poulsen, 1995) and participation in eventful protests (Della Porta, 2008; Della Porta et al., 2018, pp. 1-24). This was the case, for instance, with the riots which followed the murder of Grigoropoulos by the police in Athens city centre in December 2008, which led activists from various ideological backgrounds to squat public buildings and transform them into centres of struggle for the coordination of their actions. In spite of these factors, our research argues that common goals translated into repertoires might also enable the construction of affinity groups modeling. In the case of social clinics, the provision of healthcare services, combined with their autonomy, did not prevent them from establishing a network in order to firstly share and distribute medicine, and secondly to coordinate protests, meetings and produce common denouncements. How have these networks been constructed? The sub-mechanisms of network cultivation and the attribution of similarity seem to provide us with an answer.

Attribution of similarity is defined as 'the mutual identification of actors in different sites as being sufficiently similar to justify common action' (McAdam et al., 2001, p. 334). Scholars emphasize the attribution of similarity as the activator of diffusion, brokerage and scale shift mechanisms (McAdam et al., 2001, p. 335; Tilly and Tarrow, 2015, p. 126). With regards to the social movement scene of health, attribution of similarity among healthcare professionals motivated a number of doctors to engage with the operation of social clinics. The participation of doctors and trainees in the first social clinic in Chania in 1990 enabled the cultivation of a network among the participants. Former trainees of the clinic were among the founders of the social clinics in Rethimno and Thessaloniki. Once the consequences of austerity actualized in the health sector, the members of the Rethimnian clinic started to use their professional networks and contact colleagues in other major Greek cities, in order to create a national mailing list which facilitated the distribution of medicine (Int.1). The attribution of similarity in terms of profession was the mediating factor that helped the establishment of that first network, which consequently started a process of the social clinics' network cultivation.¹

1 The sub-mechanism of network cultivation has many similarities with what Wang et al. (2018, p. 178) call boundary-spanning, since it fosters inter-organizational ties, enables activists' recruitment and encourages the accumulation of resources. Nevertheless, we think that network cultivation is more appropriate here, since boundary-spanning does not have clear effects in attracting public attention, as well as it describes a larger process compared to the more limited character of network cultivation.

4.1.2 Internal Structure

As autonomous entities, the social clinics decide what kind of organizational structure and decision-making system to follow. Born out of collective actions, they are mostly organized on the basis of a general assembly. The general assembly constitutes the ultimate decision-making instrument and determines the political, social and operational characteristics of each clinic. Procedures within the assemblies of the clinics emphasize their direct-democratic and horizontal character.

Depending on the number of members and beneficiaries, social clinics might also have a coordinating committee which decides its regular operational aspects. A great example here is the Metropolitan Community Clinic at Helliniko (MKIE), among the largest in the country, which, in order to better serve its needs, established a coordinating committee. This functions on an annual base and consists of representatives of the different teams that operate in the clinic. Nevertheless, we should note that despite efforts to appoint new members, the clinic in Helliniko follows an informal tradition of appointing the founding members in its coordinating committee (Int.8). The clinic's founding conditions might also be subject to the organizational principals of the team that established it. The social clinic in Thermi is a suitable example.

Located in the suburbs of Thessaloniki, the clinic in Thermi was established in 2013, following a public call issued by the grassroots citizens' initiative operating in the area. Among the various neighbourhood assemblies that emerged through the decentralization process of the square movement, Thermi citizens' initiative was established in the Fall of 2011, in order to oppose the "haratsi" ad-hoc taxation imposed on electricity bills (CI Thermi, 2013). Together with the incorporation of other practices in the initiative's repertoires of action, the organization of markets without middlemen required the creation of a committee in order to facilitate its operation. Once the idea of establishing a clinic had been put forward, the same committee was in charge of its maintenance (Int.7).

The general assemblies are central to the operation of social clinics. Nonetheless, they are not the only crucial element, since the clinics' organizational structure enables the creation of different groups within their structures. Here, one can find two broad categories of groups that schematically surround the general assembly. The first category includes the groups that have been formed mostly according to the clinics' operational needs, but also help indirectly to achieve their political goals. These groups, like the reception team, the cleaning team, the organization or resources team, have quite clear

tasks. The MKIE clinic in Helliniko is probably among the ones with the richest organizational structure, since it set up its own press office and radio show, preoccupied with the promotion of the clinic's activities, producing denunciations against austerity in the health sector and publishing cases of patients' maltreatment in public hospitals. Another example is the clinic's welcoming team, which is the first to contact the potential patient and explain the political role of the clinic as well as its conditions and criteria, thus promoting the clinic's political views. As a clinic's representative stressed

the social clinics struggle on two levels. The first level has to do with the demonstration of the patients' problems [...] and the second one has to do with the provision of help by any means. If we erase the one level, on the one hand we would substitute the state, and, on the other hand, we would simply yell (meaning protesting without achieving an outcome). (Omnitv, 2014: 1:02:45-1:03:06 minute).

Additionally, the second category consists of groups which are organized according to the interests of the clinics' members and lie within the boundaries of their operational and political axes. An important example is the clinic in Thessaloniki and the groups of diabetes and "other medicine".² These groups were formed on the side of the clinic's proper operation and deal with the further exploration of the way that medicine is being provided, challenging at the same time the normative doctor-patient relationship (SSCP Thessaloniki, 2015). Not only did social clinics oppose austerity in the health sector, but they also raised criticism against the mainstream provision of healthcare as another source of inequality.

So far, we have seen that social clinics have followed a structure which has enabled the formation of new groups, both in terms of tasks and of interest. Consequently, this internal grouping enabled the further elaboration of the clinics' members on the principle of self-management. An interviewee argued that,

the connection between the social clinic in Thessaloniki and Vio.Me (occupied factory) was achieved in practice since they participated

² The clinic's official declaration refers to "alternative medicine" and not "other medicine". However, alternative medicine usually implies alternative medical practices such as acupuncture, homeopathy, etc. and does not seem to correspond to the work of the group. Therefore, after communicating with the clinics' members, we agreed on the term "other medicine", which is the literal translation of *άλλη ιατρική* team.

in common struggles. The clinic provided its services to the workers of Vio.Me, and Vio.Me provided its products to the clinic which were subsequently distributed to its beneficiaries. But the real connection was achieved once we recognized our common views on autonomy, self-management, and direct democracy and, at the same time, our will to seek a different content. In particular, when Vio.Me asked itself “what am I producing?” and the clinic asked itself “what healthcare do I provide?”. (Int.3)

Social movement scholarship suggests that cross-movement boundary-spanning bears the potential to gain new support for a social movement, but at the same time runs the risk of becoming more vulnerable in terms of its identities and goals (Wang et al., 2018, pp. 179-180). Nevertheless, it was due to this attribution of similarity that the workers of Vio.Me and the members of Thessaloniki social clinic’s “other medicine” group proceeded with the establishment of the Workers’ Medical Centre in the factory of Vio.Me³ in the Fall of 2015, which specifically aimed in experimenting with a holistic approach to medicine. On a similar ground, the clinic in Thessaloniki was connected both with the movement against the privatization of the water company and the movement against the gold-mining operation in the nearby area of Chalkidiki. As an interviewee claims, ‘the health movement can connect with every movement, since the issue of health is rather wide and the harmful factors too many’ (Int.4). In order to better explain the crucial role of these mechanisms, we should dig deeper into the structure of the clinics and turn our attention towards other aspects of their organization.

4.1.3 Core and Peripheral Networks

The social clinics operate on a voluntary basis.⁴ Volunteers can be divided into specialized members (doctors, pharmacists, dentists and other health-care practitioners) and non-specialized members (people in solidarity who are employed either as doctors’ assistants or in every other bureaucratic

3 This clinic is an autonomous entity which was born after the cooperation of the “other medicine” group of Thessaloniki’s social clinic with the workers of Vio.Me.

4 In earlier chapters we argued that social clinics distinguish themselves from charity organizations. In this regard, they often avoid the term volunteer, since it denotes actions of charity and, therefore, excludes their political characteristics. However, it was also quite often the case that both during the document analysis and interviews, social clinics have used the term volunteer to refer to their members. Thus, in this paper we refer to the members of the clinics by using the terms “volunteers”, “members”, “participants” and “activists” interchangeably.

task like the secretary). Social movement scholars argue that although the labour movement had its social basis on the working class, the anti-austerity mobilizations were constituted by the precariat (Della Porta, 2015). Can we say the same for the organizations that participated in these mobilizations? Although this argument can be applied mostly in relation to the organizations that operate within the social movement scenes of food and labour, the social movement scene of health presents a slightly different story.

Despite the lack of a comprehensive socio-demographic study on the members of the clinics, our empirical research argues that the clinics' specialized personnel often consist of healthcare professionals who already have an occupation, something that is quite relevant to the development of the clinics for two reasons. First, the fact of having an established professional relationship with other doctors working in private offices and public hospitals helped the growth of the clinics; second, the requirement of professionalized personnel not in the clinics' periphery, as is usually the case with advocates and lawyers participating in other social movement organizations (SMOs), but in the core of their operation, has enabled the elaboration of previously unconnected individuals with collective action, based on their profession. In this regard, the attribution of similarities among healthcare professionals becomes a nodal point in the clinics' development. The clinics' external networks also point us towards this direction.

Apart from the core group that facilitates the clinics' operation within their premises, in most cases there are also two external networks of doctors which ease the clinics' operation. Based on professional relationships with their colleagues in social clinics, many doctors working in the private sector agreed to provide their services to the clinics' beneficiaries free of charge. These range from general doctors and pathologists (general practitioners) to dentists and microbiologists. In some cases, like in the clinic in Thessaloniki, where there are no qualified doctors amongst the founding members, the entire operation relies on this external network.

The second external network is made up of doctors working in the public sector. Some of these networks have been maintained from previous phases of mobilization in the health sector, like the one in Thessaloniki (Int.3). However, in most cases it was the professional ties between the doctors from the clinics and their colleagues from the public hospitals that enabled the development of the network. The immediate outcome was for doctors working in the public sector to admit the clinics' beneficiaries in hospitals for secondary and tertiary treatment free of charge. These services cover specialized examinations as well as surgeries.

For the construction of these networks, the attribution of similarity in terms of professional networks played a crucial role. As an interviewee from the MKIE clinic notes:

our doctors came in contact with some other doctors out there and they explained our situation. The other doctors replied that they cannot participate in the clinic's offices since they are working in their private ones both in the morning and in the evening. So, 'send them here'. (Int.8)

The clinic in Thermi, of which the founding team did not include healthcare professionals, depicts a clear case in which the attribution of similarity sub-mechanism sets in motion an emulation process, 'as people imitate the performances that early risers have invented' (Tilly and Tarrow, 2015, p. 126). Quoting an interviewee:

in the beginning we prepared a list with all the doctors in Thermi. Our aim was to visit everyone, but we never managed that. We visited an important number of doctors, around 15% and then it worked alone. Since many doctors' offices are close to each other, same buildings, etc. what functioned was the "references". (Int.7)

In many cases doctors had to disobey the rules in order to admit patients to the hospitals free of charge. However, this does not reduce the efficiency of these networks for the overall operation of the clinics. One interviewee notes that,

one hospital used to help us with mammograms since we knew two persons working in the radiology department. Once, our gynecologist palpated a patient and directed her there. The doctors in the radiology department examined her with a mammogram and they found something. But since it was found in time, the woman didn't need any surgery and it caught it up...Then she came here and you...You turn emotional. (Int.10)

On the same topic, another interviewee added that:

a 28-year-old girl came one month ago (April 2016) to the clinic having a pain in her shoulder. When I looked at the actinography, I was shocked. [...] She was 28 years old and seven months earlier she had miscarried. She went to Papageorgiou hospital and she was told that if you do not run you will lose your arm. This is tragic. That girl was a second-generation

migrant, speaking Greek fluently and obviously she was uninsured. Together with other people in solidarity we tried to give her admission to the hospital. That (illness) was so aggressive that the two months she lost with going to the hospitals without even giving her an actinography were decisive. They gave her painkillers and kicked her out. She could not only lose her arm but die. Due to our intervention, this moment she is in Theagenio hospital doing chemotherapies. (Int.6)

The attribution of similarity in terms of profession seems to be important for another reason. Due to the unlikelihood of finding employment elsewhere, it was often the case that many of the clinics' members engaged initially in order to acquire unofficial medical training. An interviewee from Thessaloniki argues that,

I have been invited by a fellow student. He asked me “why don't you come to join us?” Initially, I discerned my personal profit which was the training in the clinic. In the beginning, it was neither the political, nor the ideological reasons. (Int.5)

In some cases, like the clinic in Athens, which has an official legal status, the “trainees” receive also recommendation letters which would facilitate their future employment. However, the absence of this official recommendation letter does not prevent graduate students from volunteering. An interviewee from Peristeri notes that their trainees are ‘nurses, psychologists, and doctors. We welcome them. But the problem is that we cannot provide them with any certificate since we do not have a legal form’ (Int.11).

The attribution of similarity in terms of professional networks was the sub-mechanism that facilitated the cultivation of a network among the healthcare professionals employed in the clinics. However, the attribution of similarity was also important for the non-specialized personnel. The economic difficulties that led to the loss of insurance coverage did not apply to a specific marginalized group but to broader parts of the Greek society. Our field research, and other empirical inquiries on social clinics (Cabot, 2016, p. 158), note that the threat of becoming a potential beneficiary attributed similarity to the clinics' non-specialized personnel perceived as a moral shock (Jasper and Poulsen, 1995) and enabled their engagement. In this regard, a non-specialized interviewee responded:

Last week I watched “I, Daniel Blake” and everyone found it a striking film. Indeed, it would be quite striking if I hadn't experienced similar instances

in the clinic over the last three years. It is quite different to see that your fellow citizen, who lives ten blocks further, has similar problems. (Int.11)

Research on social movements has shown that objective or relative deprivation theories as well as grievance theories have little to say about the individuals' participation in collective action, unless they are combined with other factors. In line with this criticism, the attribution of similarity should also take into account the political axe of social clinics. 'The activity of the clinic and the needs of the Greek society were the reasons that attracted me', were the words of an interviewee, who added that,

the collective decision-making, and the respect to the others' opinion were the aspects of democracy as we experienced it in the Syntagma square movement and we transferred them in the clinic. [...] This was the spirit of the Syntagma square, meaning the direct, unmediated communication, equal cooperation and mutual respect. (Int.8)

This process of diffusion, through which elements of the square movement have been transferred to the clinics, has also occurred in other cases, without having a direct link between the movement and the clinic's founders. The participation of 'society's anthropogeography' (Int.11), that an interviewee from Peristeri described as the members' ideological pluralism, has been filtered through a minimum political agreement regarding the clinic's operation. The understanding that everyone's faith is in a common mission despite their individual political orientation, was an essential element for cultivating the clinics' network and thus merging the operational axis with the political one. This is clearly reflected in the words of an interviewee who argues that,

it is quite characteristic that once you join the clinic you have only one identity; you are a member of the clinic. Whether you are a nuclear scientist, cleaner or painter, member of a party, independent or anarchist, once you join the clinic you have one identity. And this is the connective element. You provide a service and you decide on this. Beyond that, anything you do outside of the clinic, it is your business. (Int.8)

4.2 Resources

Resources reflect the process of boundary enlargement in two ways. First, being a crucial aspect of SMOs' operation, the factor of resources enabled

the activation of the out-group brokerage mechanism, an important component in the overall process of boundary enlargement. However, resources should not just be seen as a factor where mechanisms are being activated; they should also be understood as an analytical category per se. The classic approach to resources underlines their utility to serve the survival needs of SMOs. During times of austerity this seems to change. In particular, the previous pragmatic understanding is re-interpreted with resources perceived as a means of solidarity, which strengthens the ties between different components of the social movement community. In order to further explore this double character, in respect to the health social movement scene, we now turn our focus to the role of resources in the operation of social clinics and their three large categories, namely fixed costs, such as rent and bills; office and medical equipment; and medicine.

4.2.1 Fixed Costs

The Carta of Social Solidarity Clinics and Pharmacies, a collective declaration signed by the majority of social clinics regarding the terms of their operation, clearly states that social clinics 'are based on citizens' solidarity and they do not have any economic dependence on official, state and European institutions. [...] They receive contributions, donations and grants of any kind that are needed but they advertise neither individual nor collective donors', while 'they do not allow the involvement of any party in their operation' (S4A, 2013). Although this declaration applies to the clinics' independence in terms of their decision-making procedures as analysed in the previous section, the same cannot be said regarding their resources.

The vast majority – 45 out of 56 – of healthcare providers born during the crisis (including both movement-oriented and institutional social clinics) are placed in spaces which have been granted by another actor, while only eight clinics operate on rent premises (Adam and Teloni, 2015). With regards to the first category, 25 of them have been granted a place by municipal authorities, while the rest of the contributors are distributed among the church, labour centres, individuals in solidarity, hospitals, universities and other institutional actors. Surprisingly, the organizations of the second category fund their rental expenses mostly with the help of municipal authorities and other institutional actors, while only one clinic pays its own rent (*Ibid*, pp. 44-47). Unfortunately, Adam and Teloni's (2015) research does not provide further evidence regarding the place of operation of social

clinics or the sixteen healthcare providers which were not included in the authors' sample.⁵ Moreover, the time span of their inquiry (the research was conducted in 2014) did not take into consideration clinics that were established later on, such as the clinic in Piraeus or the Workers' Medical Centre at Vio.Me factory, which operates in squatted premises. However, these results do witness a clear tendency within social clinics to operate in places that have been granted by institutional actors. A closer look at some specific cases enables us to better understand how this tendency makes up part of the broader process of boundary enlargement and specifically of out-group brokerage and resource certification. Out-group brokerage stands for 'the production of a new connection between previously unconnected or weakly connected sites' (Alimi et al., 2015, p. 287). Here, out-group brokerage refers to the development of ties with individuals but mostly with collective actors and organizations that constitute the broader social movement sector. Additionally, resource certification entails the endorsement of specific activities as described by the mechanism of certification we referred in Chapter 3 (Alimi et al., 2015, p. 287), applied to the aspect of resources.

Many clinics have been granted either a place or payment of their rent by municipal authorities. This was achieved with the use of conventional means, like discussion and cooperation with municipal authorities, as it occurred in the cases of Rethimno (Int.2), Themis (Int.7), MKIE in Helliniko (SSCP MKIE, 2013), Social Clinic in Korydalos (SCK) and Piraeus (Int.9); or through confrontational means, for example the informal threat of squatting the place in the case of Nea Philadelphia (SSCP Nea Philadelphia, n.d.; Int.14). In each of these cases, framed by McAdam et al. as 'social movement repertoire' (2009, p. 262), resources acted as a form of certification, whereby the external authorities signaled and recognized the claims of the clinics (Alimi et al., 2015, p. 287). Despite these clear-cut paths, the clinics also managed to gain legitimacy through resources by other means. Following Tilly and Tarrow's certification which implies 'an external authority's signal of its readiness to recognize and support the existence and claims of a political actor' (2015, p. 36), we call this resource certification.

In Chapter 2 we outlined the conflicts between movements and trade unions and formal labour associations. However, the internal competition of different parties inside the trade unions and the pressure from SYRIZA MPs (Int.4) have opened a niche for Thessaloniki's social clinic. In particular, the clinic was

5 This point refers to six cases in which the researchers did not manage to contact with the clinics' representatives and ten cases in which the clinics denied their engagement in the exercise (Adam and Teloni, 2015, p. 20).

granted a place through the Institute for Macedonian Studies, an organization which belongs to Thessaloniki's labour centre. This niche has been used by other movement organizations, such as the migrants' school *Odysseas*⁶, an organization with strong tradition and ties to the city's movement community. Additionally, the role of Solidarity for All (S4A), as described in Chapter 2, appears to be in line with these alternative paths. Despite its party origins, the clinic in Athens funds its rental expenses through the contribution of foreign individuals and collectives in solidarity, after the mediation of S4A (Int.10).

Apart from the location, certification in terms of resources, both by institutional and movement actors, is also expressed in the case of utility costs (such as electricity, water, telephone and others). These are covered either by the municipal authorities, like in the cases of Rethimno (Int.2), MKIE (Int.8), Nea Philadelphia (Int.14), or by donations. This evidence leads us to some conclusions. First, although social clinics are skeptical towards institutional actors, in many cases the same cannot be said with regards to municipal authorities. Second, the coverage of the clinics' fixed costs by institutional or non-institutional actors removed an important burden from their overall costs. Subsequently, the clinics acquire greater flexibility and use their resources for other activities. Third, the use of resources in terms of the fixed costs reveals a mechanism of certification by institutional actors. However, this recognition applies also to individuals and organizations in solidarity with the clinics, and acts as a connective factor with the broader social movement community. This can be better observed, once we shift our focus to medical and office equipment and medicine.

4.2.2 Medical and Office Equipment

Earlier we pointed out how municipal authorities became engaged in the clinics' resources. Although there are no similar trends in terms of equipment and medicine, both aspects present another set of dilemmas. Donations are the basic source of funding for clinics to acquire office and medical equipment. These donations, as we explain further on, can be either in-kind or monetary. In the first case, donations in kind were granted by doctors' private offices and hospitals, as well as domestic and foreign individuals and collectives in solidarity. Quoting an interviewee from Peristeri,

we found the furniture by ourselves. Some were destroyed and we fixed them. Some of them came from a shipping company which went bankrupt.

6 *Odysseas* stands for *Ulysses*.

Some others, like a bookcase, came from a sex shop that ceased operation! We received our medical beds from a hospital which withdrew its equipment. (Int.12)

Although donations in kind were preferred as a transparent method of funding the clinics' activities, it raised concerns as to the donors' "origins". The mediating role of S4A was criticized by many clinics. Once again though, S4A was a valuable actor in terms of donations. As an interviewee (Int.9) explained, the SCK clinic established its dental clinic when S4A communicated that the French metal union would like to fund one. This procedure took place in the aftermath of the S4A campaign abroad and once the organization communicated the potential funding to the mailing list of the clinics, with the SCK expressing its interest. Donations offered by pharmaceutical companies were also controversial. The clinics condemned the deconstruction of the public health system and the outsourcing of the health services to private actors. In this context, pharmaceutical companies were clearly attributed a negative role in transforming medicines from common goods to commercial products. However, the situation was further complicated as the non-advertisement of the donors seemed to balance (and in some cases to overcome) this negative attribution. Thus, the clinic in Athens directly excluded any donations from pharmaceutical companies (Int.10), the one in Thessaloniki was skeptical and sought to further explore the origins of the donors, while the MKIE clinic approved these donations due to the general rule against advertising the donors, arguing nonetheless that almost 90% of medicine come from individuals in solidarity.

Monetary donations were also a source of controversy. The lack of legal status forced the clinic in Thessaloniki to establish a separate association, specifically for receiving monetary donations. This proved quite helpful since it also guaranteed the clinic's financial transparency.⁷ A process of diffusion took place and other clinics adopted this practice. In some cases, diffusion was achieved through imitation (Campbell, 2005, p. 58)⁸ as the popularity of this practice increased. In the case of Rethimno, for example, where one of its doctors studied for her specialization course in Thessaloniki and spent some months in the respective social clinic (Int.1), the diffusion

7 Together with transparency, this practice enables the clinic to identify the source of donations and in some cases, as the ones of the pharmaceutical companies we referred to earlier, to reject them.

8 Campbell's use of imitation is similar with what McAdam et al. (2001) call emulation. Therefore, the two terms are used interchangeably.

mechanism in establishing a separate association for receiving monetary donations was accomplished due to the in-group brokerage mechanism, as it was described in the previous section.

However, the monetary donations did not find universal application and were rejected by certain clinics. When asked about the procedure in receiving monetary donations, an interviewee from Peristeri replied that the clinic does not receive open donations where one can just donate whatever amount of money they want, but instead, 'we can tell you what our needs are and then you can allocate the respective amount' (Int.11). Although the organization of concerts and fund-raising events in order to pay its bills was included in the clinic's repertoire, the interviewee added that 'we have signed the Charta of social clinics, a clear collective decision, which prevents us from managing monetary donations and advertising the donors' (Int.11). In a similar vein, although slightly diversified, the MKIE clinic rejects monetary donations in order to purposely force potential donors to visit the clinic as a strategy for the latter's mobilization. According to a clinic's representative,

monetary donations force citizens to stay passive. We want them to get mobilized; to buy medicine, bring it to the clinic, have a tour there and mostly to see the patients. Once this procedure is accomplished, that person changes directly; they become our ambassador and transmit our message to society. (Omniatv, 2014, 47:10-48:03 minute)

This logic became quite popular with the square movement and it is largely adopted in the food social movement scene. In these terms, the sub-mechanism of resource certification is interlinked with a strategy of social appropriation, something which is analyzed in detail in the next section. What interests us here, nevertheless, is that the donation of medicine becomes an action that certifies and recognizes the role of the clinics and connects them not only with individuals, but also with collectives in solidarity.

4.2.3 Drugs and Medication

Medication and drugs were among the most crucial factors for the development of an in-group brokerage mechanism. The first mailing list, created by the social clinic in Rethimno to facilitate the exchange and distribution of medicine, laid the foundation for the development of the social clinics' network. The role of the first network did not change in the aftermath of SYRIZA's "backflip" and the grievances that the clinics were

later confronted with. Apart from being an internal broker connecting the clinics, the predominance of medicine among the rest of the clinics' resources seems to be also acknowledged both by the institutional and the non-institutional actors.

Of upmost priority for the pharmacies' operation, the need for the acquisition of drugs and medication led social clinics to form links with previously unconnected sections of the Greek social movement community. Chapter 2 refers to the outcome of the December 2008 riots, the growth of grassroots neighbourhood assemblies and the spread of direct actions. The square movement continued this legacy of pre-figurative politics and expanded it with the organization of collective kitchens and barter networks during the encampments. In the same spirit, social clinics managed to stabilize this tradition and transform the donation of medicine into the practical realization of solidarity.

The premises of many SMOs became collection points for medicine donated to the clinics. Equally frequent was the practice of donating medicine instead of a fee at festivals, concerts, and plays organized by grassroots collectives. According to an interviewee,

every SMO welcomed the clinic. They were collecting medicine during their events. [...] Both the local barter club and the markets without middlemen were always supportive to the clinic and they were collecting medicine during their events and food distribution. [...] I think also the local anti-racist festival was collecting medicine as well. Pretty much in every event organized in Rethimno, among other actions, there were also collecting medicine. (Int.1)

Social movement studies inform us that organizations which focus on broader issues are more likely to form coalitions than those with a narrow focus (Obach, 2004 in Wang et al., 2018, p. 175). Common identities, identity overlap and SMOs affiliation within a specific movement, form an identity aspect that favours the formation of coalitions, while political threats and pre-existing social ties comprise two additional reasons for bringing SMOs closer. It is mentioned above that instead of simply donating medicine, SMOs became collection points to receive medicine for the clinics. This organic connection between clinics and SMOs in terms of the former's operation, acted as a mechanism which certified the clinics' operation based on their resources. SMOs became unofficial brokers between the clinics and the potential donors, in what McCarthy and Zald (1977) would probably call the enlargement of conscience constituents.

The sub-mechanism of resource certification exceeded the domestic borders. The representative of the MKIE social clinic refers to similar cases where political and social collectives in Greece became focal points for the collection of medicine, while respective collectives in Germany, Italy and France used to collect money to then buy medicine and physically transfer them to the clinic (Litsis and Stefanakos, 2014: 4:00-9:00 minute). Another interviewee argued that the clinic in Thessaloniki ‘is among the richest ones, donates money to other clinics and has very good relations with the people in solidarity from abroad’ (Int.6), something that led the clinic to establish a reception group in order to communicate with foreign individuals and collectives in solidarity (SSCP Thessaloniki, 2015). With the clinic in Thessaloniki being among the pioneers, these good relations have been attributed by an interviewee to the clinic’s novelty but also ‘to the fact that we didn’t get involved in state’s structures’, which gifted the clinic ‘another level of recognition’ (Int.6). This last characteristic is analysed extensively along the chapters of this book but also turns our attention to the political reality of the clinics’ first days.

By definition, social clinics promote an anti-racist profile, since they provide healthcare services regardless of racial, ethnic and gender identity. In times when Golden Dawn used to organize blood donations “from Greeks to Greeks” and attempted to infiltrate the national medical associations, the clinics argued that ‘doctors cannot be fascists’ (SSCP Thessaloniki, 2014c). Apart from making statements, the clinics participated in anti-racist marches and festivals, sent massive solidarity missions to Kombanie and elsewhere (SSCP MKIE 2015e), while the transition from the economic crisis to the refugee “crisis” turned their attention to the provision of services to refugee camps and hotspots across Greece. In this sense, the donation of medicine was pictured as the legitimation of direct solidarity and support to the anti-racist struggle, adding another element that connected the clinics with other forms of the anti-austerity mobilizations.

So far, we have established how resources, and medicine in particular, certified the clinics’ operation and caused the connections with SMOs. Nonetheless, Clemens argues that ‘protest (and thus SMOs) is an important part of the repertoire of contention [...] but only one part’, since ‘attention must be paid to other paths of mobilization and levers of power’ (Clemens, 2005, p. 364). Therefore, this effort would have been incomplete if we did not take into account the role of medicine certification in respect to institutional actors.

We contacted the local drug stores to collect medicine for the clinic. The flow of medicine started almost the same time we started the provision

of healthcare services, with medicine arriving here from individuals and pharmacies (Int.7),

stated an interviewee from Thermi's clinic. Other clinics have experienced similar results, with local private pharmacies becoming collection points, where individuals donate medicine (Litsis and Stefanakos, 2014: 12:00-15:00 minute). These examples demonstrate a broader network that clinics have developed in order to acquire resources. Nevertheless, they did not limit their role on the demand side of asking for medicine, but they expanded it towards the supply side, by donating medicine themselves. More precisely, it was not rare for clinics to provide their services to beneficiaries that have been directed towards them, by institutional clinics operating by churches and non-governmental organizations (NGOs). Quite striking were the cases in which public hospitals sent their patients to social clinics, since the former were unable to provide treatment (Omniatv, 2014: 15:00-23:00 minute). Apart from treating patients sent by institutional actors, the clinics have also supplied public hospitals and medical centres with medicine and pharmaceutical products (SSCP MKIE, 2012c; 2015b).

The bad conditions of public hospitals have affected their ability to provide medicine for their patients. The clinic has a great stock of medicine. Once we cover our needs and the respective needs of the rest of the social clinics, we donate the remainders to hospitals. [...] Some hospitals ask us indirectly whether we have some specific drugs. However, most often patients receive their treatment in a hospital, and due to the latter's inadequacy to provide them with medicine, the hospital directs the patient here. (Int.8)

As one might expect, this issue raised skepticism and debates within and outside the clinics, regarding their role towards the state and its institutions.

It is a constant dilemma whether our actions transform us into the state's crutch. This is a rather critical question that cannot be answered directly. We are aware of the hospitals' needs and therefore, we provide our services; but at the same time, we denounce the hospitals for not providing medicine to their patients. In simple words, we act by providing our services, but we also reveal that our actions lie in the fact that these despicable don't give money for the patients. That's why this is not mere philanthropy. (Int.8)

The special weight attributed to denouncements, as a means of justifying the relationship between clinics and state institutions, received great appreciation from other clinics. Specifically, the massive police operations⁹ between 2012 and 2013 in the city centre of Athens led to the imprisonment of numerous undocumented migrants and, among other consequences, the prisoners' medical conditions deteriorated. Confronted with these conditions, members of the clinics experienced what Jasper and Poulsen (1995) call a moral shock. Outraged by the detrimental conditions of deportation centres, some clinics developed relations with the Police Department of Attica's Foreign Administration (PDAFA) by supplying it with medicines and, in some cases examining the prisoners.

The psychotherapist in PDAFA didn't even have an aspirin. We tried to help her through our network. The gravely ill prisoners have been sent to hospitals, issued prescriptions, which were handed to their accompanying policemen, with the latter ones bringing the prescriptions to us. Once, one hospital sent us a prisoner in handcuffs to visit the dentist. [...] Everything was extreme back then. You didn't have an option. Hospitals used to provide the prisoners with two pills only for one day and then issue prescriptions for them to buy the rest. If the prisoner had enough money, the policeman bought the medicine and passed them to them. But there were others who didn't have anything, or the medicine was quite expensive. We were the ones who started supplying them. What should we do? Wasn't that part of our operation? (Int.10)

The clinic in Korinthos employed similar actions in the local prison, while the clinics in Peristeri and SCK did the same in the detention centre of Amigdaleza, Athens. The arrival of the SYRIZA-led governmental coalition in office in January 2015 coincided with the expiration of the contracts of prison doctors, forcing the clinics' staff to pay daily visits to the prisons. 'Especially after January 2015, I went to Petrou Rali (the location of migrants' detention centre) all the time. I was keeping records and issuing denouncements continuously. We didn't simply supply medicine, we impeached everyday' (Int.10). Surprisingly, the interaction of clinics with institutional actors received a quid pro quo form. For example, the public hospital in Rethimno,

9 The name of this operation is actually Zeus Xenios, who according to the Greek mythology was the god that protected strangers and defended hospitality. The use of this code name for arresting and deporting undocumented migrants is another sign that witnesses the brutal anti-migratory political environment of that period.

offered treatment free of charge for two beneficiaries per day, in exchange for the medicine received by the respective social clinic (Int.2).

The aforementioned narratives demonstrate how the clinics gained legitimacy by public institutions and other formal actors due to their resources. This occurred mostly in times when PASOK, *Panellinio Sosialistiko Kinima* (Panhellenic Socialist Movement), and ND, *Nea Dimokratia* (New Democracy) were in government. The arrival of SYRIZA in office reaffirmed and strengthened this recognition. This is made quite clear with the appointment of a founding member of the Rethimno social clinic as the head of the Ministry of Health and the formation of a common working consisted of governmental officials and social clinics' representatives group preoccupied with the introduction of the unemployed in the health system, as we mentioned in Chapter 2. However, certification became even stronger in the summer of 2015, when the refugee flows were combined with the state's inability to cope with the emerging needs.

The instant provision of health services and medicine to Idomeni, Piraeus port and the Aegean islands brought the clinics to the epicentre once again. However, when the first official camps began to appear, controversies arose within the clinics' network. The "5th annual conference of social solidarity clinics and pharmacies" in April 2016, is indicative of these internal debates (field notes, Thessaloniki, 2016). On the one hand, the clinic of Nea Philadelpheia argued, among others, that healthcare provision in closed camps opposes the clinics' principle on self-management, and thus it should be avoided; with the more radical ones, like the clinics of Volos and Ilion, withdrawing their participation from the network. On the other hand, clinics like those in Peristeri, SCK and Piraeus supported the clinics' cooperation with the state, NGOs, church organizations and any actor working on the provision of health services to refugees.

4.3 Identity

Although the variety of actors involved in the social movement scene of food complicates the analysis concerning collective identity, the social movement scene of health presents a simpler picture. Social clinics distinguished themselves from the institutional healthcare providers (SSCP MKIE, 2014e), setting in motion the mechanism of boundary activation (Tilly and Tarrow, 2015, p. 36). The distinction of one group (or set of actors) and the formation of its identity based on the differences with other actors, is a rather usual procedure that social movements undergo, and as such it does not explain much. Our interest in understanding and exposing the process of boundary

enlargement leads us to identify how social clinics form their peculiar identity and how this identity is not solid and stable, but dynamic and liquid. In order to do this, we pay attention to the mechanisms of social appropriation and translation and their respective sub-mechanisms.

4.3.1 Social Appropriation through Organization and Resources

Earlier we underlined our intention to further foster the bridging of the structural and cultural approaches to social movements. Robnett argues that 'resources, political opportunities, and organizational strength are important determinants in creating a social movement culture that in turn creates collective identities' (2002, p. 268). In this sense, identity seems to act as the connective glue. In the case of social clinics this is better exposed with the mechanism of social appropriation and the sub-mechanisms of partial commitment and resource certification.

Social appropriation indicates the 'conversion or incorporation of previously existing non-political groups and networks into political actors' (Alimi et al., 2015, p. 287). With reference to the role of black churches during the civil rights movement in the USA, Tilly and Tarrow (2015, p. 36) argue that social appropriation mechanisms can be found in the organizational and institutional basis of the movement campaigns. This is also true in the case of social clinics, where their organizational structure has enabled the incorporation of previously non-political actors in their operation. The social appropriation mechanism marks the shift of movement from non-adherents into adherents, as described by resource mobilization theory (McCarthy and Zald, 1977, p. 1221). However, since social appropriation is related to a change in the individuals' identity from one state of being to another, we conceive the activation of this mechanism in relation to the clinics' identity. This is fueled by two additional sub-mechanisms. Since resource certification was described in detail in the previous section, it is worth providing some insight regarding the sub-mechanism of partial commitment. Tilly's popular definition of social movements holds commitment, meaning the 'persistence in costly or risky activity, declarations of readiness to persevere, resistance to attack', as one of the four basic characteristics (the other three being Worthiness, Unity and Number) (Tilly, 2003, p. 252). Although commitment is crucial for the sustenance of social movements and SMOs, Tilly's suggestion is quite ambitious as, in reality, the degree and intensity of the activists' engagement varies significantly. The absence of a mechanism with which to demonstrate this variation, as well as the opportunity provided by the alternative repertoires for minimizing the level of participation without

a respective decrease of someone's role within the organization, led us to introduce the sub-mechanism of partial commitment.

Along with movement-like procedures, social clinics tend to have many similarities with proper institutional clinics in terms of their operation. To quote an interviewee from Peristeri,

I organized the clinic as I had organized my personal office. The patients' health cards were based on the procedure I followed in my office. [...] The process of keeping records was similar to the one followed by the hospital I was working earlier. The same organizational system I followed in my office and in the hospital has been applied and adjusted to the clinic. (Int.12)

This becomes evident with regards to the clinics' organizational structure and the shift-based model that they follow.

Unlike strictly political organizations, which require their members to be fully committed in terms of values and participation in the actions, social clinics introduced a relatively open model. Apart from the compliance with the broad values of the respective clinic¹⁰, the members are free to choose the way, duration and intensity of their contribution. The clinics follow a shift-based operation, which in practical terms means that both specialized and non-specialized personnel devote their services based on a specific timetable. In this sense, the members' commitment to the organization is only partial. As many interviewees noted, a potential member can offer their services a couple of hours per week without it affecting their role, rights and responsibilities in the clinic (Int.16). This, in turn, is central to the characteristics of social movement scenes (Haunss and Leach, 2007; Leach and Haunss, 2009).

The open character of social clinics affects the overall participation, since it reduces the respective costs in time. Quite striking is the fact, however, that partial commitment applies also to the participation in the clinics' general assemblies. An interviewee from Thessaloniki recalls that, 'I joined the social clinic four years ago [...] without having any contact with the general assembly; without having any contact with the political part of the clinic' (Int.5). This points out that service provision, although theoretically supportive, is practically separate from the usual forms of political engagement. Non-participation becomes quite remarkable with

10 Among the healthcare providers set up by movement initiatives, NGOs, Church, municipal and professional associations, 27 have set specific criteria for potential members while 24 have not (Adam and Teloni, 2015, p. 65).

regards to the two external networks, of which the members rarely take part in the clinics' general assemblies.

Multiple causes seem to have led to this result. Among others, the great workload of the members limits their free time (Int.6); the intensity and disputes between individuals with conflicting political views, especially after the electoral victory of SYRIZA, annoyed others and turned them solely to the provision of services (Int.5); while the members' ability to be updated on current issues and express their views electronically via the clinics' mailing list decreased the need for their physical attendance (Int.16). Reverse trends have also been observed: some members who first participated in the provision of services, later joined the general assemblies (Int.5). Additionally, clinics like Adye in Exarcheia are clear products of assembly-based procedures, recognizing that physical participation in the assemblies is of major importance. In the same vein, another interviewee informs us on the great attendance in assemblies which followed the election of SYRIZA in the governmental coalition in January 2015: 'I remember the first assembly after SYRIZA got elected, when there wasn't an empty chair to sit!' (Int.5). Similar to the square movement, this enthusiasm for participating in assemblies is often combined with high levels of mobilization and increased interest, when there is an important issue at stake, while it is rarely observed in silent periods when the assemblies' agendas deal with everyday issues. Nevertheless, the case of social clinics witnessed a broader lack of activists' enthusiasm in participating in assemblies, instead they kept seeking politicization through action. In the words of an interviewee, 'what keeps the clinic alive is its practical character. If we stayed only on a theoretical level, we would have disappeared in the very first year' (Int.16).

Scholars note that multiple identities inevitably lead to the construction of a hierarchical order, where identities are being classified according to their salience (Snow, 2013, p. 268). In respect to social clinics, the provision of services acquires substantial salience and is considered a form of political engagement in itself. This commitment to the provision of services has loosened the clinics' structures and enabled the engagement of people from a variety of political backgrounds. An interviewee from Thessaloniki informed us that,

both the founders and the first members of the clinic came from the Left. The anarchists left quite soon. With regards to the people in solidarity, however, the range is quite great. Some of them belong to the political Centre and engaged with the clinic quite actively. Probably, the most remarkable difference is that people in solidarity who participate in the secretary service or assist the pharmacy's operation, do not belong to the

Left, radical Left or the anarchist space; while the ones who participate in the assemblies are mostly from the Left. (Int.6)

Another interviewee argued that apart from the Left,

the clinic has attracted people that just heard about it without any previous involvement in social movement activities. Despite our controversies, disagreements and conflicts, our common claim concerns the free universal access to the health system. [...] Once, a newcomer asked me “whether we provide treatment also to Roma people” and I freaked out. Nevertheless, in due time this person got engaged with the clinic and participated quite actively. (Int.16)

Similar xenophobic incidents were observed in other clinics, in particular after the summer of 2015, when social clinics dealt mostly with refugees and migrants and to a lesser extent with the domestic population. Nevertheless, in most cases these voices gradually turned down and changed, something that emphasizes the transformative dynamics that collective action has on individuals.

The non-participation in the assemblies bears the risk of a deeper democratic deficit and intensifies the quest for alternative paths of politicization. Partial commitment lowers activists’ costs in terms of time spent in social movement activities. At the same time though, the attention of clinics to conventional rather than disruptive practices allow partial commitment to also reduce more generic risks and costs, such as police repression or exposure to threatening environments that participation in collective action carries. The sub-mechanism of partial commitment shows how an aspect of organization has strong repercussions for the factor of identity, since it hinders the development of internal confrontation and factionalism. However, the partial character of this commitment does not seem to affect its strength. Snow claims that the higher the role of an identity in the individual’s hierarchy, the greater the commitment shown by the individual to this identity (Snow, 2013, p. 268). Following this point, the clinics’ commitment to healthcare provision became more specialized. In particular, the group “other medicine” operating in Thessaloniki’s social clinic, deployed its commitment to holistic approaches to medicine and self-management, which led to the establishment of the Workers’ Medical Centre at Vio.Me.

The new clinic does not only question the meaning of property, since it operates in squatted premises, but most importantly it puts in question the foundations of health provision as we know it. In particular, the Workers’ Medical

Centre tries to change two fundamental aspects: first, who is the healthcare provider and second, what healthcare means. In this respect, the clinic rejects the traditional doctor-patient model, treats the patient as “incomer” and replaces the doctor with what is called the “medical team”. The fifteen-member medical team is divided into small, three-member groups, which always consist of a general doctor-pathologist, a Psy member (meaning psychologist, psychotherapist or sociologist) and another member who can also be non-medical personnel. The clinic’s holistic approach obliges its members to devote significant time to each incomer, whose personal health card does not contain only their medical background but also their psychological and occupational status.¹¹

The sub-mechanism of partial commitment shows how an aspect of organization has strong repercussions for the factor of identity. In this respect, partial commitment manages to bridge structural and cultural issues. So does the mechanism of resource certification which underlines the interaction of clinics’ resources with the factor of identity.

The analysis of the previous section aimed to shed some light on how the certification of the clinics’ resources enabled the latter to develop links with previous unconnected sites of the social movement community. At the same time, donations played a double role: on the one hand, they helped to sustain the clinics’ operation, and, on the other hand, facilitated the engagement of individuals with the clinics. Either directly or indirectly, potential donors have been equated with what Snow called the audience identity field (*Ibid*, pp. 274-275) and developed into the clinics’ target population. The identity strategy (Taylor, 2013, p. 41) of the MKIE clinic aimed to bring individuals within its premises and transform them into its ambassadors. At the same time though, MKIE and other clinics also tried to engage their beneficiaries in the provision of services (Hadjimichalis, 2017, p. 165). Commenting on a bag of drugs left by a donor in the clinic’s front-door when it was closed, an interviewee from Peristeri claimed that,

we tried to socialize our effort, to make it popular and this is the substantial respond. The people who visited the clinic understood that they should communicate its existence; that you can contact us, bring the medicine you don’t need since someone else may need it. The great amount of people that contacted the clinic have realized that medicines are social goods and not commodities to be exploited by corporations; this is the most important success of our movement. [...] Both donors and beneficiaries have also started to participate in the clinic as volunteers. (Int.11)

11 For a detailed description on the novelty of the Workers’ Medical Centre in the factory of Vio.Me see Carenotes (2020).

Contrary to linear accounts, which would presume that protagonists affect the audience, identity factors are rather dynamic in the sense that clinics affect and are affected by their donors (Snow, 2013, pp. 274-275). Under this dialectic model, the collective identity of clinics is under continuous negotiation among the clinics' members, the donors, and of course its antagonists, who could be pictured here as the government and public institutions (Robnett, 2002, p. 268). In order to demonstrate this process of negotiation, we now turn to the mechanism of translation.

4.3.2 Translation and Bricolage

Dinerstein (2015) states that translation was the threat of deconstructing autonomous politics and creating hopelessness in Latin America. The author treats translation as the 'processes, mechanisms and dynamics through which autonomous organizing is integrated into the logic of power, and through which what does not fit into this demarcation is invisibilised or politically obliterated' (*Ibid*, pp. 69-70). In our context, we mean the way in which 'practices that travel from one site to another are modified and implemented by adopters in different ways so that they will blend into and fit the local social and institutional context' (Campbell, 2005, p. 55). Campbell introduces the notion of bricolage in order to refer to the 'innovative recombination of elements' which 'may entail the rearrangement of elements that are already at hand, but it may also entail the blending in of new elements that have diffused from elsewhere' (*Ibid*). As Campbell notes, both symbolic and technical elements render bricolage 'a new way of configuring organizations, social movements, institutions, and other forms of social activity' (*Ibid*). Bricolage occupies an important role in this debate (Campbell, 2005, pp. 53-54), as it demonstrates how the combination of symbolic and technical elements synthesize this mosaic. Campbell (2005) argues that translation and bricolage are vital characteristics of the diffusion mechanism, since they show how frames, approaches, and practices are diffused and adapted in new contexts (*Ibid*). In our context, however, they are treated as components of the clinics' identity factor.

The mechanism of translation occurred in facilitating the interaction between "theory" (participation in the assembly) and "action" (active provision of services). The combination of elements such as the individuals' will and social background, the duty, responsibility and personal effort in supporting the clinics' operation, as well as the distaste for *langue de bois* elevate the provision of services to the ultimate form of solidarity. In this respect, translation becomes the connective glue between partial commitment and organizational structure, by turning political participation into service provision.

Similarly, translation interacts with the factor of resources and the clinics' internal controversies. Their operation in places granted by municipal authorities does not seem to create noteworthy problems to the clinics in terms of independence, nor does it inhibit collaboration with SMOs or institutional actors. The denouncement of austerity policies and the clinics' refusal to be incorporated within the state's structures have been used as counterweights to balance those blurred relations. From a strictly ideological perspective, these controversies imply that practices such as direct democracy, self-management, autonomy and others have been misunderstood. Changes in the (attribution of) political opportunity structure with the arrival of SYRIZA provoked disputes along these frames, led to the isolation of some clinics from their network and affected the cohesiveness of the movement (Benford 1993: 694-697 in Staggenborg, 2011, p. 21). However, this explanation seems partial if we do not take into account the overall process of boundary enlargement and the nodal role that translation acquires.

Direct-democratic practices, autonomy and self-management made up a considerable proportion of anarchist, libertarian and radical left-wing organizations' agendas. However, the square movement put an end to this tradition of isolation, diffusing them into parts of the wider population, including also a number of first-time protesters. As Cabot (2016, p. 158) notes, 'austerity and crisis in Greece have, indeed, reconfigured the boundaries of social and political communities'. The subsequent decentralization of the square movement brought these values on a local level, with the clinics continuing this legacy. 'It is relatively easier to maintain your political purity in Exarcheia but not in Nea Philadelphia. The political level is different both in terms of the volunteers and the beneficiaries' (Int.14), argued one interviewee. In these terms, translation is contextualized and depends on the spatial/urban political culture. Moreover, a heated debate resulted in the withdrawal of the anti-authoritarian fraction from Thessaloniki's social clinic, following the disclosure that one of the clinic's members was a former police officer. The issue sparked again two years later with some members accusing the policeman for disturbing the clinic's operation and asking her to leave. As an interviewee explained, 'together with her, however, other members left the clinic, questioning its open character and "whether we all fit here or not" arguing that it was an issue of internal democracy' (Int.6).

Having members that are former policemen would be out of the question probably for all the traditional SMOs a few years ago. In the personal conversation with an activist that is also a member of Adye clinic, the potential police infiltration was underlined as the risk of introducing open

structures (Int.15). However, in the case of Thessaloniki clinic, the members knew about the former occupation of its member. This particular case spurred debate and opened a broader discussion on the “open structure” of SMOs. Adye differs from the vast majority of the social clinics in its clear political (and ideological) orientation. On the contrary, most of the interviewees have emphasized the political heterogeneity of the clinics, which inevitably leads to a process of continuous negotiation regarding their identity. In some cases, this process reserved surprises.

Our members come from various political backgrounds. Recently I was surprised by the news that one volunteer comes from the extreme right. We have chosen to be open, and despite the anti-racist profile, we don't have any exclusion criteria. We believe that the clinic should be representative of what is going on in the society. (Int.7)

Based on the aforementioned quote, the clinic in Thermi presents a clear case where identity is a direct product of political and ideological bricolage. Although field research shows that a few clinics have also experienced similar incidents, this is the exception rather than the rule. In a number of cases, members or beneficiaries expressing discriminatory claims are directly ousted. Nevertheless, these examples display how internal processes affect the construction of the clinics' collective identity.

According to Taylor, boundaries, negotiation and consciousness over the criteria ‘that explain a group's structural position and common interests’ (2013, p. 39) make up the underpinnings of collective identity. The previous examples were quite indicative in showing the amalgam of political positions through bricolage. However, these characteristics should not be studied in isolation; it is through their combination and subsequent interplay with social life and everyday practices that enable the formation of collective identity (Melucci, 2002). In this respect, the daily confrontation with hardships and human suffering complement the clinics' distinct identity. Social clinics served as caldrons, where veteran activists, eminent doctors, middle-class citizens and beneficiaries from different social and political backgrounds blend their individual identities, put aside the status designated by their respective expertise and decide altogether on an equal base.

The open character of social clinics has resulted in a mixture of different identities. McAdam et al. (2009) argue that interaction between different actors does not reproduce their previous relations but has transformative dynamics both to the actors and their relations. In this respect, the sub-mechanism of bricolage has also affected precisely the subject of social

clinics, namely the provision of healthcare. Speaking about the clinic's external networks, an interviewee from Thessaloniki notes that,

roles are changing with doctors becoming brokers. By using their contacts to facilitate the admission of a beneficiary in a public hospital, doctors transform themselves into social workers. This would happen neither in a regular clinic, where the secretary would not take the responsibility; nor in the clinics run by NGOs, where beneficiaries are confronted with skepticism and face-control for whether they fit the required criteria. We also call the beneficiaries to actively participate in our actions. Some turned into protesters, others become members and many of them try to "pay us back", to create a relationship. This was for example the case when a beneficiary volunteered to paint the clinic. (Int.5)

In his discussion about movement outcomes, Tarrow (1998, pp. 166-167) suggests that the nature of participation in collective action is a means of politicization. As the author goes on to suggest, this politicization can be highly empowering for the participants. Nonetheless, empowerment here is not treated as an outcome, but rather as a process that leads to the activists and beneficiaries' further engagement. From this view, another interviewee added that,

social clinics didn't restrict their roles in philanthropy by providing top-down health services, but moved towards solidarity and established relations with the beneficiaries. The dynamic character of this relationship does not exist in the regular hospitals. When someone gets sick, we don't simply provide medicine, we treat the patient holistically. Most importantly, patients are treated with compassion; the loss of employment humiliates them, makes them feel useless and they usually enter the clinic with their heads down. Here they are treated with respect; they are treated as equal to equal and they understand that their value as humans is much more substantial than their occupational status. This is also reflected in their complaints for losing this warm atmosphere now that the healthcare system has opened (access also for unemployed). (Int. 8)

4.4 Conclusion

This chapter aims to uncover the development of the boundary enlargement process regarding the social movement scene of health. Table 4.1

Table 4.1 Mechanisms and sub-mechanisms in the social movement scene of Health

	Mechanisms	Sub-mechanisms
Organizational Structure	In-group Brokerage	Network Cultivation + Attribution of Similarity
Resources	Out-group Brokerage Diffusion	Resource Certification Emulation + In-group Brokerage
Identity	Social Appropriation Translation	Partial Commitment + Resource Certification Bricolage

demonstrates the basic mechanisms and sub-mechanisms which compose this process.

In order to understand the mechanisms that constitute the boundary enlargement process in terms of the organizational structure of social clinics, we tried to emphasize the role of the operational and political axes. In line with their independent character, the clinics are organized based on an affinity groups modeling. Among other factors, such as ideology or eventful protests that facilitate the establishment of connections among these groups, the case of social clinics supports that the translation of common goals into repertoires of action might also be significant for activating the mechanism of in-group brokerage. This entails connecting a number of healthcare professionals and people in solidarity with the clinics' operation. The further deconstruction of the in-group brokerage mechanism reveals the sub-mechanisms of attribution of similarity and network cultivation.

The exploration of these sub-mechanisms proceeds respectively with the decomposition of the clinics' organizational structure. Aspects such as the general assembly and coordinating committees, as well as the different working groups operating within the clinics, shed light on how the attribution of similarities lead to the cultivation of the clinics' networks. This becomes quite clear when we analyse the core and peripheral networks of the clinics. Here, we distinguish two important aspects. First, the role of the doctors' professional networks for establishing connections within and among the clinics based on their professional networks; and second, the reflection of the beneficiaries' exclusion from the public health system as a potential reality for the non-specialized personnel. Doctors working in private clinics and public hospitals agreed to provide their services to the clinics once they saw their colleagues already doing so. Respectively, the fear of becoming a potential patient was crucial for engaging a number of people in solidarity with the clinics' operation. Of course, we do not want to undermine other factors that contributed to their engagement, nor to re-invent the wheel. Profession was

the basic connective element in the labour movement and trade unions, while the attribution of threat has been long analysed in social movement literature as a mobilizing factor. Nevertheless, in times when austerity policies deny access to almost 3 million of citizens to the health system, these proved to be rather decisive elements for fostering participation in collective action.

These accounts would be incomplete without considering the political axe of the clinics. The diffusion of direct democracy, mutual respect and horizontal decision-making from the square movement and previous phases of mobilization were factors that enabled a minimum political agreement among the clinics' members and imposed the conditions for the cultivation of their networks. Overall, the clinics' organizational structures provide empirical accounts on how, among other mechanisms, the attribution of similarities enabled the cultivation of the social clinics' networks, which subsequently set in motion the connection of previously unconnected sites.

Turning our attention to the social movement scene of health, this research argues that, among other differences between the movements of affluence and those of crisis, the material needs created under the latter's external conditions decrease the requirements for the establishment of SMOs as well as the construction of networks and alliances. This is both an important outcome and a condition of the process of boundary enlargement. Our elaboration on the clinics' resources brought aspects of past theories to the forefront, demonstrating some important innovations and revealing a number of contradictions. Most importantly, we tried to show how resources are connective elements between the clinics and previously unconnected sites. In the jargon of contentious politics, resource certification operates as a sub-mechanism which is critical to the construction of the out-group brokerage mechanism. This is better understood in the case of medication.

Medicine's relatively low cost, its utility in covering basic needs, the transparent character of donations in kind, combined with the rhetoric that 'austerity systematically kills the health system' (SSCP MKIE, 2014d), inspired individuals and collectives to affiliate with the clinics through the collection and donation of medicine. Resource certification has activated the out-group brokerage mechanism which connected the clinics with other SMOs. However, the internal debates expressed in the clinics' national conference in 2016 demonstrate that the same sub-mechanism has triggered internal rivalries, deconstructed their alliances and de-legitimized some clinics in the eyes of others when certification came by institutional actors who were in power.

If we isolate these findings, the results are inconclusive. If we combine them, however, with the mechanisms identified in the factors of organizational structure and identity, resources become important connective (and

disjunctive) elements not only among organizations, but also between the material infrastructure and the post-material views.

David Meyer argues that ‘the process of turning physical features or social practices into “identities” is forged by the interaction between people and the state’ (2002, p. 5). In our effort to shed light to the identity factor of social clinics, we occupy a dynamic, post-structural approach, arguing that collective identities are shaped both by the external conditions and austerity policies on health and by the internal processes and agency developed within the social clinics. The process of boundary enlargement was predominantly influenced by the combination of two sub-mechanisms discussed here: our focus on the clinics’ organizational structure and resources revealed how the respective sub-mechanisms of partial commitment and resource certification facilitate the mechanism of social appropriation. In other words, the low cost of participation in the clinics, together with the approval of the latter’s services through medicine donations, were essential for engaging a number of volunteers in the clinics. The loose character of the structures and the intermediate role of resources enabled the further engagement of the broader audience with the clinics’ operation.

Nevertheless, this would not be enough to explain the clinics’ identity, without taking into consideration the way in which political participation is translated into the provision of services. In accordance with the related literature, social clinics (or fractions within them) with clear identities have proceeded to sharp distinctions and conflicts. However, the ones ‘whose identities are relatively diffuse or fluid are better placed to play the brokerage roles by which movements may be held together’ (Rootes, 2013, p. 307). The sub-mechanism of bricolage was crucial in explaining this role. More precisely, bricolage allowed us to identify how practices, norms and values have been translated and adapted in different contexts and how a number of elements have been combined, resulting in the peculiar character of the social clinics’ identity.

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List of Interviewees

- Interviewee 1 – Female, 51-55 years old, Doctor, Founding member of the social clinic in Rethimno, Crete (2.6.16) – Audio recorded – Transcribed in Greek
- Interviewee 2 – Female, 41-45 years old, Doctor, Founding member of the social clinic in Rethimno, Crete (3.6.16) – Audio recorded – Transcribed in Greek
- Interviewee 3 – Female, 46-50 years old, Dentist, Founding member Workers' Medical Centre at Vio.Me factory, Member of the social clinic in Thessaloniki (10.10.16) – Audio recorded – Transcribed in Greek
- Interviewee 4 – Female, 46-50 years old, Public employee, Member of the social clinic in Thessaloniki (24.6.16) – Audio recorded – Transcribed in Greek
- Interviewee 5 – Female, 31-35 years old, Social worker, Member of the social clinic in Thessaloniki, Member of Workers' Medical Centre at Vio.Me (26.5.16) – Audio recorded – Transcribed in Greek
- Interviewee 6 – Female, 36-40 years old, Doctor, Member of the social clinic in Thessaloniki, Member of Workers' Medical Centre at Vio.Me (24.5.16) – Audio recorded – Transcribed in Greek
- Interviewee 7 – Male, 51-55 years old, Freelancer, Founding Member of the social clinic in Thermi, Thessaloniki (1.7.16) – Audio recorded – Transcribed in Greek
- Interviewee 8 – Male, 61-65 years old, Pensioner, Member of the social clinic in MKIE, Athens – Informal (16.11.16)- Audio recorded – Transcribed in Greek

- Interviewee 9 – Male, 61-65 years old, Doctor, Founding member of the social clinic in Piraeus, Member of Solidarity Clinic of Koridalos, Athens (11.11.16) – Hand written notes – Transcribed in Greek
- Interviewee 10 – Female, 56-60 years old, Pensioner, Founding Member of the social clinic in Athens (21.11.16) – Audio recorded – Transcribed in Greek
- Interviewee 11- Female, 46-50 years old, Private employee, Member of the social clinic in Peristeri, Athens (19.11.16) – Audio recorded – Transcribed in Greek
- Interviewee 12 – Female, 51-55 years old, Doctor, Founding Member of the social clinic in Peristeri, Athens (19.11.16) – Audio recorded – Transcribed in Greek
- Interviewee 14 – Female, 51-55 years old, Psychotherapist, Member of the social clinic in Nea Philadelphia, Athens (17.11.16) – Informal – Audio recorded – Transcribed in Greek
- Interviewee 15 – Male, 36-40 years old, Sociologist, Founding member of ADYE social clinic, Athens – Informal – Personal Opinion Only (1.12.16) – Hand written notes -Transcribed in Greek
- Interviewee 16 – Female, 41-45 years old, Dentist, Member of the social clinic in Thessaloniki (24.6.16) – Audio recorded – Transcribed in Greek

5 The Social Movement Scene of Labour

Abstract

This chapter analyses the social movement scene of labour and the catalytic role of the crisis in the rise of self-managed cooperatives and workers' collectives. Taking into consideration the vast increase in unemployment, the chapter explores the incorporation of self-managed structures in libertarian social centres, and shows how the social movement scene of labour moved beyond the margins of the usual audience of activists. By paying attention to the variety of decision-making systems, the formation of cooperatives' networks, the role of resources, as well as the different origins and evolution of self-management in Greece, this chapter discusses the development of the boundary enlargement process in the social movement scene of labour.

Keywords: Self-management; Social cooperatives; Workers' collectives; Labour movement

The term “social movement scene of labour” may be perhaps met with skepticism by those familiar with social movement studies. About 50 years ago the labour movement was not a distinct aspect of social movements; instead, it pervaded various forms of collective action. Nevertheless, the end of the 1960s signaled the advent of new social movements, bringing other actors to the forefront and enriching the activities, repertoires, frames and goals of the people taking to the streets. “Working class heroes” started to be replaced by middle-class citizens, while labour issues became marginal in the movements' agenda, compared to broader post-material claims against neoliberal globalization.

The case of Greece did not show any particular differences as we discussed in Chapter 2. Nevertheless, the advent of the economic crisis accelerated the process of boundary enlargement, giving way for the development of the social movement scene of labour with quite distinctive characteristics. The cultivation of the principles of self-organization on labour issues

within political collectives acted as a catalyst for the transition towards the establishment of autonomous self-managed cooperatives and, to a lesser extent, the incorporation of self-managed structures within social centres. However, in terms of its reach, the social movement scene of labour moved beyond the margins of its usual audience, with the formation of self-managed cooperatives by several people belonging either at the periphery or outside of the social movement community. In this respect, the vast increase in unemployment and the normalization of precarious conditions in the labour market, combined with the formulation of a friendly legislative framework, were additional reasons for the rise of social cooperatives. By looking at the organizational structure, resources and identity, this chapter aims to explore the formation of the boundary enlargement process in the social movement scene of labour.

5.1 Organizational Structure

The idea of self-management as an alternative to both state and market-controlled management is central to the social movement scene of labour. In this respect, the internal organizational structure consists of one of the two important pillars (the other being resources) that distinguish self-managed endeavours from other types of corporations. Based on the data generated through our field research, we concentrate on the variety of assemblies and different forms of participation, the procedures of accession and withdrawal and the capacity of networking, in order to explore how the mechanism of emulation triggered coordinated action, contributing to the process of boundary enlargement.

5.1.1 Assemblies and Participation

In our quest to understand the organizational structure of cooperatives, the first points to observe are the decision-making procedures and their internal formation. In both cases, the mechanism of emulation is of utmost importance. The mechanism of emulation refers to 'the deliberate repetition within a given setting of a performance observed in another setting' (Tilly and Tarrow, 2007, p. 215). In our case, emulation reflects the way that social movement culture initially intervened to the scene of labour by transferring practices from one setting to the other. Contrary to other cases, in which the boundary enlargement process is triggered by changes, with regards to the social movement scene of labour, this process took place because

emulation allowed activists to transfer social movement traditions and habits into the labour market.

Inspired by the social movement culture, self-managed cooperatives emphasize their differences with the corrupted cooperative movement of the past and pay great attention to participatory procedures. For this, the general assembly of members acquires a pivotal role in each cooperative and becomes the ultimate decision-making instrument for each of the cases studied. Against the tradition of the cooperative movement with the different shareholders, boards of directors and management councils, all the assemblies function under horizontal and direct-democratic procedures, where every member has one vote. Nevertheless, there is still a certain degree of variation which deserves our attention. Therefore, this section studies the different decision-making models that cooperatives apply, their internal organization in terms of tasks and responsibilities, as well as the different degrees of importance that members ascribe to the assemblies.

Akin to many political assemblies of the libertarian scene, members of Oreo Depo¹ café-tavern-grocery store, have veto rights, while decisions in the cooperative are considered legitimate if they reach unanimity. If this does not work, the members try to find a compromising solution and discuss the issue in the next assembly (Int.30). Unanimity is also desirable for the bookstore of Akivernites Polities², but the members have decided to operate by enhanced majority since, 'in case someone continues insisting on an issue without reaching unanimity, it might prove rather problematic' (Int.31). The same pretty much goes for Ekdosis ton Sinadelfon³ publishing house (Int.23), Youkali café (Int.48), the Eklektik café-grocery store (Int.26) and others as well, where the members try to work primarily on a consensual-synthetic approach, and in case there is great disagreement, they use enhanced majority.

Interestingly, the digital cooperative of Sociality distinguishes the decision-making model with regards to the subject discussed. In particular, when it comes to a business project, the members follow the procedure mentioned earlier; but once the project concerns a political collective, as for example the website development of a social movement organization (SMO), they follow a majoritarian model, where the issue is discussed in two consecutive assemblies and the right to veto exists (Int.28). These

1 Oreo Depo stands for Beautiful Depo and Depo is the name of the district in the eastern part of Thessaloniki.

2 Akivernites Polities stands for Drifted Cities as well as Ungoverned States.

3 Ekdosis ton Sinadelfon stands for Colleagues' Publications.

differences prove some degree of internal variation but all point towards more democratic and participatory procedures. This brings us to the next aspect, which deals with the content of the assemblies and the cooperatives' internal operation.

Sociality cooperative distinguishes between projects which entail some political elements and others which are purely business. Unless a project is proposed by an individual or an organization with fascist characteristics, the cooperative accepts pretty much every offer that comes from the private sector. Each project is distributed among Sociality's members, who choose not to include any task-management issues in their assemblies. Instead, during their assemblies, which are open to the public, they focus on discussing political projects and the cooperative's long-term strategic planning (Int.28). Similar procedures have been implemented in the occupied factory of Vio.Me, where workers use daily meetings to coordinate the cooperative's everyday operation, and the monthly general assembly for long-term planning. However, not every cooperative uses similar mechanisms.

'Not even the chairs can change position if we don't decide it in the assembly' (Int.30), argued a member from Oreo Depo in her effort to emphasize that everything is discussed in the members' weekly assemblies. Compared to what is often argued about the new social movements and their loose structure, cooperatives seem to employ a rather well-defined organizational structure. The reasoning behind this lies in the members' efforts to protect the team from overenthusiasm, which may lead to unintended results. In order to clarify tasks, individual duties are distributed to the members during the assemblies. However, problems can arise as specific issues discussed tend to be quite time-consuming. For this reason, the members of Oreo Depo try to first communicate some issues via email, as in the case of vacation leave, before opening them to deliberation. The same logic also goes for the cooperative café-bookstore Poeta, with some members being responsible for the operation of the café and others for the bookstore, as a way of sharing responsibilities and tasks (Int.44). However, in some cases, the division of responsibilities takes on a slightly more organized character through the establishment of working groups.

Although some procedures, such as the distribution of the weekly shifts, have not been yet automated and are still discussed in the assemblies, the working groups established in Youkali café-tavern help to considerably ease the cooperative's operation (Int.48). These groups usually consist of two to four members and deal with various practical concerns; the kitchen group is responsible for suggesting the menu to the assembly, the events group deals with the political and social actions within the cooperative,

the economics group pays closer attention to the financial arrangements of the cooperative, and so forth. Similar models followed in other collectives, with Pagkaki⁴ café-tavern cooperative applying an interesting distinction.

In particular, Pagkaki distinguishes between the practical tasks that concern the cooperative's operation and the political ones. Practical tasks can be considered as the collective's bureaucratic obligations, such as the payment of the bills; the creation of menus or financial monitoring; while political ones are the operation of the bookstore, attendance in the assemblies and committees that Pagkaki participates in, or even the creation of the music list and the response to emails (Int.49; Int.50). Depending on the issues at stake, tasks can be assigned either individually or collectively to the cooperative's members, whilst, like other cooperatives, members try to rotate in terms of shifts, tasks and participation in different working groups. Some of these tasks used to be paid, since members devoted a considerable amount of time (and thus labour). However, this practice was abandoned since the cooperative could not find an objective way to calculate how much time was required for each task.

A number of cooperatives use the internet in a crucial manner for their operation. Apart from the mailing list, Pagkaki cooperative has its own online forum, where every aspect of its operation is uploaded for internal consultation. This includes everything, from food recipes and technical instructions about the machinery, to the time span and recordings of each assembly. As the interviewees admit, the forum diminishes the potential for knowledge inequality, by giving information access to all the members and thus, prevents the rise of expertise and informal hierarchies. Although the case of social clinics recognizes that the virtual space of mailing lists grants members an impression of participation, the use of the internet in cooperatives is conceived only as an additional element to the physical operation of the assembly. This is also supported by Sociality, which, despite its expertise in digital tools of communication, urges its members to work at office in order to enhance communication and understanding. Commenting on that, an interviewee claimed that 'international experience shows that cooperatives tend to malfunction not because of market pressures but due to the members' internal fights. Therefore, face-to-face meetings are substantial for the cooperative economy' (Int.28). This opens up an interesting debate regarding the actual operation of the assemblies.

The cooperatives' small size and the members' friendly relations are two characteristics that quite often seemed to reduce the typical formality

4 Pagkaki stands for Bench.

that assemblies have. In the case of Lacandona café-grocery store for instance, assemblies take place while the café operates and seem to be quite informal. As one of Lacandona's four members stated, 'since we are few, we meet each other daily; we coincide between the end of the day and the beginning of the night shift and this makes things easier' (Int.45). The café remains open also during the assemblies of Oreo Depo, with the latter usually lasting long, since they are interrupted due to the workload (Int.30). However, this is not always the case. More precisely, the assembly in Youkali has specific duration, takes place when the café is closed, and it is usually adjusted in a way that fits the programme of the members in charge of the most shifts (Int.48). Additionally, previous experience from Sporos and large assemblies of 30 people urged the members of Pagkaki to strongly emphasize the need to select one coordinator and another person responsible for keeping track of time during the assemblies. As the members argue, this method not only safeguards the smooth operation of the assembly, but also gives the attendants the impression that this is not a friendly chat, but rather a serious procedure taking place among colleagues (Int.49).

The different examples mentioned so far illustrate the central role of collective decision-making in self-managed cooperatives (Kokkinidis, 2015). At the same time, this variety depicts different approaches that urged collectives to adopt different organizational structures. Being the first to be established, Pagkaki is pictured as the role model for many cooperatives. Freeman (1972) could not agree more with one of the cooperative's members stating that 'we are supporters of structures, procedures and organization. Strictness and looseness, exceptions and flexibility are all very malleable' (Int.49). However, other interviewees pointed out that despite the usefulness of role-models, self-management on its own provides the workers with a great degree of flexibility. 'You are the one to construct the cooperative from the very beginning, it's your terms you apply, and you can make it as you wish' (Int.47). However, the missing link here is not the opposing views of the different cooperatives, but whether the collectives' actual composition of members remained the same through all these years. As the interviewee of Pagkaki explained,

depending on the group's constitution and what will be decided as its common ground in the meantime, the procedure might soften. [...] Some people prefer more organized processes, others do not. Thus, the internal dynamics are strong and continuous and each time a member enters, they enforce you to seek a new balance. (Int.49)

This brings us to the next section, which concerns entry and exit procedures.

5.1.2 Procedures of Entry and Exit

Literature on social movements emphasizes that SMOs suffer from a relatively short lifespan (Diani, 2013). However, the costs of dissolution are much higher for the self-managed cooperatives, when compared to self-organized political and social groups, since the potential “death” of a cooperative automatically puts in danger the members’ economic livelihood. In our context, most of the cooperatives struggle to define clear procedures with regards to their operation, and in most cases, they are quite functional. However, they do not seem to pay much attention to a potential re-shuffle of their members. Field research shows that most of the cooperatives deal with entry and exit procedures mostly when these take the form of an emergency, and particularly, when people should either enter the cooperative or leave. In these regards, entry and exit procedures of new and old members are rather important as they outline the manner in which self-managed practices are formed. At the same time, the internal dynamics surrounding entry and exit procedures direct us towards the mechanisms that enable the process of boundary enlargement to take place within the social movement scene of labour.

Self-managed cooperatives constitute complex hubs that gather characteristics from self-organized SMOs, blended together with responsibilities often met in typical enterprises. Interestingly, entry and exit procedures prove that operations in self-managed cooperatives are closer to the internal procedures of movement organizations than to enterprises. In these regards, the above-mentioned mechanism of emulation is also at play here.

Early social movement scholars argued that widespread discontent is the number one reason that prompts people to mobilize. In spite of that, the free-rider problem introduced by Olson, urged researchers to focus on selective incentives as a means of understanding why people are mobilized and join SMOs. In the language of rational-choice theorists, selective incentives have been translated into material ones (Staggenborg, 2011, pp. 31-34). In our attempt to examine the social movement scene of labour, many members of cooperatives emphasized that the sense of equality, as opposed to the competitive and precarious character of the neoliberal market environment, was the triggering point that turned them to self-management. ‘Having a job that we like and from which we could live with dignity, as much as someone can live with dignity in this world’ depicts a Poeta member’s incentives, which ‘together with the broader situation of emergency, meaning that there

are no jobs, that you cannot even work as a (low paid) employee' (Int.44), prompted the members to set up the cooperative in the first place.

Nevertheless, material incentives are not the only factors that motivate people towards collective action. Many scholars bring forward more political incentives, such as the diffusion of political identity, solidarity incentives that are born due to friendly and social relations, as well as purposive incentives, like the sense of fulfillment when achieving a goal (Staggenborg, 2011, pp. 31-34). These seem to correspond to the incentives of the *Allos Tropos* social cooperative in Thessaloniki, of which the members' need for decent employment was coupled with more political questions, 'on the way that someone makes a living' (Int.24). As one member argued, 'returns cannot be always measured in money. The cooperative supports everyone; everyone gives what they can give and take what they need. We trust in personal relationships and everyone who enters the team should follow this logic' (Int.24). In a similar vein, when trying to find new members, *Youkali* cooperative pays stronger attention to the persons' political experience in collective action and social movements, rather than to their prior work experience. A member that was not in the initial team stated that,

the burden was mostly on political issues and experience in assemblies both in my case and in others that followed. The last two persons who entered (the cooperative), have never done this job; but together with the passion to learn it, we should also understand what shared responsibility and self-management means. The last criteria we set concerned racist and sexist behaviour. (Int.48)

To some degree, the aforementioned cases resemble the model followed by self-managed structures operating within social centres and squats. In these cases as well, prior work experience is not a requirement, with most of the criteria focusing on the active participation in the centres' assemblies and political activities (Int.51).

Whether they met in traditional SMOs or in the market environment, self-managed structures are rather closed groups. More precisely, they occupy a specific number of members, who are usually recruited on the basis of existing social and political networks, as a means of ensuring that a certain degree of trust and common understanding is already there. This informal rule is also confirmed by negative cases like *Sociality*, where there was no prior relationship with newcomers. In particular, when seeking new staff for the cooperative, *Sociality* issued a public advertisement. To the members' dislike, many people showed up to fill the position, but without

any interest in learning how the cooperative functions. After this failure, the members decided to issue job openings only when they have ensured that potential candidates would already be aware of how the cooperative works and what goals it has (Int.28).

We mentioned earlier that cooperatives are hubs, which accommodate political elements in the way of working and living. These are also reflected in what social movement studies have underlined about the incentives to mobilization. For this reason, when too much attention is given to the political side, it may transform the cooperative into a political group and create problems for the economic side. On the contrary, by focusing only on its wellbeing, a cooperative may lose its political appeal and turn into a normal enterprise. Dealing with this dilemma, Pagkaki's potential members should balance their need for employment and their political desire to participate in the cooperative. As a matter of fact, there were times that the cooperative rejected people whose will to participate was based only on one of the two reasons (Int.49).

Similar to the entry procedures, the cooperatives' approaches to exit procedures reveal the burden of personal relations and political ethics. Internal disagreements stand as the number one reason that leads members to abandon the cooperatives, with the minority being usually the one to voluntarily withdraw their membership. Similar to Youkali, Ekdosis do not have specific entry and exit procedures. According to the members, once a potential newcomer agrees to the cooperative's principles, they automatically become a member with equal rights and obligations to the rest of the staff. The same also applies to the exit procedures, when, as it happened twice, members withdrew the same way they entered in the first place, since they could not comply with the cooperative's regulations. As an interviewee claimed, 'I am going to be the one to leave if I cannot work in this context; I am not going to ask you to leave' (Int.23).

So far, we have shown that the cooperatives' composition is based mostly on three characteristics: social networks and affinity groups (Int.25), such as friendly and family ties; political beliefs; and the need for employment. Although each of these characteristics may be considered more important than the other two for each cooperative, at one degree or another, these features are present in all the cases. At the same time though, these are the characteristics often found within traditional SMOs. Taking into consideration the entry and exit procedures, we can see that the cooperatives' pre-figurative approach, also common for SMOs, has triggered the mechanism of emulation, through which the members' initial incentives are also translated into the criteria for potential entries and exits.

Before we proceed further, it is important to remind the reader that, as a mechanism, emulation should not be conceived as a stable practice that acts alone. On the contrary, as every other mechanism, it is subject to a dynamic approach that expects the mechanism to be evolved and developed, and most importantly to have interplay with other mechanisms. In this case, the mechanism of emulation is intertwined with the mechanism of category formation, which is analysed extensively in the identity factor. The mechanism of emulation helped the new cooperatives to imitate some of the SMOs' practices, but also to understand when these practices could reach a dead end. Field research reveals that the absence of relative experience in self-management, together with the mechanism of emulation might bring about problems in terms of entry and exit procedures.

Starting from the former one, similar to the technical help and support provided sometimes to SMOs by friends, familiars and sympathizers who are not members, respective practices have been observed in some cooperatives. More precisely, increased demand in the workforce encouraged cooperatives to add personnel for a short period of time, receiving equal payment but without becoming members or participating actively in the assemblies. An interviewee from *Allos Tropos* noted that some of their friends have occasionally worked paid shifts in the cooperative without being members (Int.24), while another one from *Poeta* admitted the same, due to difficulties in the early stage of the cooperative's development (Int.44). In both cases, interviewees claimed that newcomers enjoyed equal rights with the rest of the members and received the same compensation, despite the temporary character of their employment and their non-participation in the assemblies.

Similar examples can be found in other cooperatives. Health reasons forced a member of *Lacandona* to stay away for ten months and her position to be covered temporarily by a friend. Although equally paid, that person neither became a member of the cooperative, nor did she participate in the assemblies. According to the interviewees, despite the fact that the temporary newcomer did not become a member of the cooperative, no communication problem or issue of internal hierarchy emerged, since there was a mutual feeling of equality (Int.45). *Youkali's* experience is slightly different. The cooperative, in need of a temporary workforce, added two people to fill some shifts in the summer period. As a member recalled,

we made one bad decision. We told these people that since they are working just for some months, there is no need to also attend the assemblies. That was a mistake. Many issues rose due to this arrangement. Our approach in general is not to have employees. In this case, although they

were not actual employees, practically they were. If something happened, I would be the responsible one, I would be at risk. So, there was hierarchy. Although work was of equal value, responsibility was not. (Int.48)

Some members were opposed to that decision, while others evaluated it positively, since a couple of months later one of these persons became a full member of the cooperative.

Similar occasions in other cooperatives have sparked discussions, debates and dilemmas regarding issues of morality and equality. These cases are simply a few examples that help us to shed light on some of the difficulties that might arise within self-managed cooperatives, due to undetermined procedures and a lack of prior experience. However, the exit procedures suffer from the negative effects of emulation as well. More precisely, cooperatives strive to implement a different logic from the capitalistic enterprises. This effort has sparked internal debates, with some members arguing against the right to dismiss the personnel since this is not in accordance with the cooperatives' social principles (Int.23), and others supporting that layoffs may be a necessary evil. In support of the latter approach, an interviewee claimed that,

it isn't honest to hire people only for the summer and then to kick them out because you belong to the founders of the cooperative. In case someone enters the cooperative that would be for good, they would enjoy equal rights and if a member does not fit, the cooperative can let them go. (Int.30)

Despite the different opinions expressed, empirical evidence shows that exit procedures are rarely prepared unless they are needed. Internal disagreements, health problems or other personal issues have led members to voluntary withdrawal. Nevertheless, the case of Pagkaki, of which the internal problems between 2013 and 2014 divided the cooperative into two teams and led five members to withdraw, is able to show that it is precisely that point at which members' (individual) incentives are transformed into the cooperatives' (collective) procedures.⁵ In particular, the fruitful discussions in the aftermath of the conflict, led the members to re-negotiate the

5 Serious internal problems emerged in some of the cooperatives studied. Some of them did not have any exit procedures, while others claimed they did. Unfortunately, reality showed that in both categories, problems could not be easily solved, putting at risk the existence of the cooperatives. The end of the official field research period did not allow the careful study of these examples and for this reason we do not elaborate further.

identity of Pagkaki and to draw clear lines that might lead to the purposeful dismissal of a member; indicatively: disrespect to the collective's basic values, non-participation in the Pagkaki's political actions, lack of punctuality in terms of shifts and assemblies and behaviours that may harm the cooperative (for a detailed account see Pagkaki, 2015). At the same time, the members pointed out that the hasty incorporation of new members was among the main reasons for this disorder, something that forced them to clearly determine exit as well as entry procedures. More specifically, each potential member should first agree with Pagkaki's basic principles and be able to serve a specific number of shifts per week, in order to acquire substantial knowledge of the cooperative's operation. What follows is a trial period of two years. During this time, the candidate enjoys equal rights and responsibilities with the rest of the members. After six months and again after one year, the candidate evaluates and is evaluated by the assembly. In case there are complaints, the candidate withdraws since they are not formally considered a member of Pagkaki yet (Int.49; Int.50).

5.1.3 Networked Cooperativism

Learning from mistakes is an ongoing process that self-managed cooperatives in Greece undertake. It is also an important element that points out the dynamic character of these structures. Being among the very first self-managed cooperatives in Greece, Pagkaki communicates its experience and the steps prior to and after its establishment to other collectives, and also shares its knowledge on the reconciliation process, following a period of internal fights. Having stressed the dynamics of the emulation mechanism in transforming the individual incentives to collective procedures of entry and exit, we turn our attention to the coordinated action mechanism that helped the enlargement of boundaries in the social movement scene of labour.

Tilly and Tarrow define the mechanism of coordinated action as 'two or more actors' engagement in mutual signaling and parallel making of claims on the same object' (2015, p. 31). Sometimes referred also as "new coordination", the mechanism of coordinated action usually emerges due to the combination of brokerage and diffusion mechanisms, when the connection of actors and the spread of practices join forces (McAdam et al., 2001, p. 150; Tilly and Tarrow, 2015, p. 102). Brokerage and diffusion are also important mechanisms, concerning the social movement scene of labour. However, we argue that it was the emulation mechanism that enabled the adoption of practices and culture found in traditional SMOs, and their

subsequent adjustment in the labour market, where coordinated action took place. In this context, the mechanism of coordinated action matches Diani's modes of coordination, in the sense that social networks are not only the precondition for collective action to take place, which then lead to interactions, but they are also the outcome of the interaction of different actors (Diani, 2015, p. 198).

Providing support to movement-oriented cooperatives was among the main aims of the cooperativist trend, already from the early steps of Sporos collective, Pagkaki's ancestor, in 2005. Additionally, Germinal café, the first established self-managed cooperative in Thessaloniki, hosted many discussions on self-management and also tried to promote the establishment of other cooperatives. An important example here is the fact that Germinal "lent" one of its members to aid the establishment of Belleville Sin Patron café. Subsequently, Belleville proved to be a helpful source for information sharing, since it supported the first steps of Vio.Me workers towards self-management (Int.25) and assisted the formation of other cooperatives (Int.44). In Athens, respectively, Pagkaki supported the first steps of Youkali by providing economic support and consultation on the latter's legal form (Int.48). Two years of research on legal information, internal procedures and potential difficulties in some Athenian self-managed cooperatives prompted the establishment of Oreo Depo cooperative, while Akivernites Polities is considered as the twin brother of Ekdosis ton Sinadelfon in Athens, due to the strong bonds that characterize the two publishing houses. Sharing of information was among the main reasons that enabled the increase of cooperative structures, and in many cases led to their subsequent connection.

Apart from the transition of knowledge from one group to the other, coordinated action was also the result of more collective efforts. Grassroots agricultural markets, festivals on commons and solidarity economy and fairs organized by SMOs, often attracted a number of cooperatives. By bringing them into a public setting, exposing their work and fostering the further connection among them, these small events were important for the cooperatives' diffusion. Cooperatives started to form an informal category, where the worldviews for justice and equality were attempted to, through an equal share of the decision-making processes, decent working conditions and even remuneration among the members. At the same time, social cooperativism became a state law in 2011 and was met with institutional endorsement by left-wing parties, SYRIZA, *Synaspismos Rizospastikis Aristeras* (Coalition of Radical Left) included, as a viable alternative to the economic crisis. These were among the factors that boosted the first steps of the category formation mechanism and increased coordination among the cooperatives.

Cooperativism does not only stand for equal participation in the internal proceedings of a collective; it also reflects a broader desire amongst these small groups to connect with each other. In this context, the “Festival on Self-management” in Thessaloniki (Festival on Self-management, 2012) that started in 2012, aimed to establish a network of cooperatives that would allow their coordination and help them deal with practical needs, such as transportation, storage and the exchange of resources. However, the lack of respective experience, the early stage of cooperatives’ development, and some political disagreements led this attempt to fail (Int.21; Int.25). Similar attempts took place over the years, with the latest occurring in the aftermath of the “Second Euro-Mediterranean Workers Meeting” (Trespass, 2016; field notes, Thessaloniki, 2016) in Vio.Me factory in October 2016. Despite the international character of the event, a number of domestic cooperatives came in contact with each other and set the foundations for the organization of the Coopenair Festival, the largest annual festival of self-managed cooperatives in Greece.

Although the first attempt of networking in Thessaloniki was not successful, the Coopenair Festival brought together cooperatives from across Greece and aimed to establish a nation-wide network. The long geographical distances set barriers to the cooperatives’ communication and triggered discussions on which mode of coordination better serves their goals. However, smaller networks seem to have overcome these difficulties. The successful example of the “Network of Cooperatives” (henceforth NoC) in Athens, indicates how the coordinated action mechanism constitutes a critical component within the organizational structure of the labour social movement scene.

NoC was established in the summer of 2012, due to the attempt of some cooperatives to promote self-management, coordinate their actions and help each other overcome their operational difficulties. Apart from the members’ anti-hierarchical relationships, equal remuneration and participation in decision-making procedures, NoC argues against the dependent labour relations, such as having employees and individual ownership. For NoC, membership is attached to employment status and vice versa; this means that workers of the cooperatives that participate in NoC should also be members of these cooperatives, and that members should also be workers. Cooperatives in NoC are owned by the collectives and not by the individual members, in the sense that there are no individual and personal shares (NoC, 2012).⁶ The monthly general assembly is the ultimate decision-making

6 See also www.kolektives.org, the official website of NoC.

instrument; decisions are based on a synthetic approach of composition and co-modulation, while absence from three consecutive assemblies signals the removal of the cooperative from the NoC.

Among other actions analyzed in the following parts of this chapter, the role of NoC was instrumental in solving one of the main problems that cooperatives seem to confront, namely the need for labour. Confronted with the departure of half of Pagkaki's team in 2013, the cooperatives of NoC established an internal practice of "sharing" their members when needed. At that time, members from Youkali, Lacandona, and Ekdosis worked shifts in Pagkaki for more than a year, so the latter could avoid hasty entry procedures for new members. The "exchange" newcomers received equal remuneration as the members of Pagkaki, but they did not participate in its assembly, since being members of other collectives assured that they already enjoyed the right to decide upon their labour without being exploited (Int.49; Int.50). This practice also took place in other collectives of NoC when temporary labour workforce was needed. At the same time, it signals how the mechanism of coordinated action fights back against the negative outcomes of emulation and can prove advantageous in enlarging the boundaries of the labour social movement scene.

Although NoC's efforts are deemed successful in many regards, the rest of networking efforts were not. This observation led a number of cooperatives in Rethimno, Crete to reject the network type of coordination, and suggest a communitarian approach instead. Departing from a libertarian communitarian approach also met in recent examples, such as Rojava, and supported by libertarian theorists like Bookchin, the cooperatives in Rethimno collaborate with political initiatives, syndicalist associations and SMOs, hold common assemblies, participate in common actions, and share a common fund in order to serve their needs. As we see throughout this chapter, the vast majority of the studied cooperatives are actively involved in a number of political activities and consider themselves part of the broader antagonistic movement. Nevertheless, the communitarian approach suggested by the cooperatives in Rethimno, attaches by default a radical identity to cooperatives, without distinguishing them at all from the rest of the political initiatives.⁷

7 This project was called "proplasma", a Greek term meaning pre-creature and denoting that this community is the basis for the imaginary society. The pre-figurative and communitarian characteristics of proplasma suggest a different form of connection for cooperatives. Nevertheless, its birth came after the end of our field research, and, therefore, we could not study it in detail.

5.2 Resources

We have stressed many times so far how important resources are for social movement actors in times of austerity. When it comes to the social movement scene of labour, of which the basic concern is the expansion of self-organization in the labour market and the economic survival of its constituents, resources acquire a substantive value. Resources concern the operation of the self-organized cooperatives, but also reflect the goals and means to achieve them. Respectively, inputs and outputs have an economic dimension and they also characterize the relation and interaction of cooperatives with social movements (Diani and Mische, 2015, p. 308). By looking at the initial capital, the compensation and pricing policies, as well as the audience they address regarding the demand and supply side, we explore the mechanisms and sub-mechanisms that helped the expansion of boundaries with regards to the social movement scene of labour.

5.2.1 Initial Capital

The need for employment and the desire to expand the values of self-organization within the labour market are the main reasons behind the establishment of self-managed cooperatives. Although the degree of application varies, these two issues are present in all the cooperatives studied and affect many aspects of their operation, also including the cooperatives' initial capital.

Starting with the former, the self-managed cooperatives are characterized by low initial capital.⁸ Also, taking into consideration that they are mostly funded by the unemployed or workers in a precarious employment position, cooperatives are usually labour and not capital-intensive. In this context, many cooperatives are characterized by a do-it-yourself (DIY) logic, often found in SMOs and not in typical enterprises. 'We bought very few things, like a fridge and shelves, while everything else came from the members' previous activities and stocks. The basic capital we invested was our working hours' (Int.24), argued an interviewee from Allos Tropos. Likewise, another interviewee from Oreo Depo claimed that, 'apart from the electrical and

8 Although the aim of the research and the sensitive nature of the economic issues did not allow thorough and in-depth evaluation of cooperatives' financial data and economic well-being, we were able to draw some general conclusions that are helpful for depicting their operation. In this respect, the usual initial budget of the cooperatives counts approximately between 5000 to 20,000 euros.

plumbing installations, we did everything else on our own' (Int.30), while similar accounts have been expressed by Ekdosis ton Sinadelfon and other cooperatives as well.

Of course, low capital creates many problems, with the delays in starting-up businesses being among the most important ones. In many cases though, this delay proved valuable, as it further boosted the members' "homogenization" and bonding. Lacandona members stressed that setting their own terms in the cooperative's management was strongly linked to the collective construction of the café-grocery store. 'We set it up on our own; we painted it, we laid the tiles, we learned to do a number of things with our own hands. It belongs to us, it's totally and truly ours' (Int.49). Along the same line, among the tactics to reduce their fixed costs or to pay back the money they borrowed, some of Pagkaki members decided to live collectively before the opening of the café (Int.49). On their effort to save as much money as possible, many members of cooperatives kept their previous employment at least during the cooperative's first stages, something that urged other members to devote more time to setting up the enterprise.

The low initial level of capital is not only due to the members' strained economic means, but it is also subject to their political values. In their effort to stand on their own feet, cooperatives try to have as little dependency as possible on institutional actors. In line with this argument, NoC urges its members to avoid potential affiliations with, and funding from, the Greek Orthodox Church, political parties and other institutional actors (NoC, 2012). Rather debatable in this context for NoC's members, is the European funding coming from National Strategic Reference Frameworks (NSFRs). Some cooperatives, like Pagkaki, automatically reject this type of funding, but appear to be more susceptible to absorbing funds from the national unemployment association or the social insurance agency (Pagkaki, 2015). Other cooperatives, like Ekdosis ton Sinadelfon, embrace a skeptical stance towards NSFRs, but without rejecting them by default, while other cooperatives, such as Lacandona, received funding from NSFRs, arguing that it was 'very crucial to relieve the burden from the internal loan' (Int.45). Similar approaches can also be found outside of NoC, with some cooperatives clearly willing to receive it (Int.30); others not contesting the possibility to review their initial negative decision (Int.21; Int.19); and finally, some cooperatives that fully rejected it by arguing that they 'did not want to become anyone's alibi' (Int.24).

An interesting juncture with regards to the initial capital, where the need for employment meets the political character of the cooperatives, can be found in the entry requirements. Among the innovative characteristics that

Pagkaki and Germinal brought to the social movement scene of labour, was the fact that lack of capital did not prevent people from getting involved in the cooperatives. The project of Germinal collective was a product of discussions within the Libertatia squat; after the decision of Germinal's establishment was achieved, its members issued a call for the participation of the rest of the squatters, regardless of whether they could contribute to the initial capital or not (Int.25). The same applied to the Belleville cooperative, where only two out of six initial members contributed financially, with the rest participating equally in the cooperative's operation. According to an interviewee,

this is the collective's social character, that you don't need capital to become our colleague. [...] It was also a way to support people that were unemployed to create something of their own. Otherwise, it would be just a civic capitalistic enterprise, a civic cooperative. That's exactly what we wanted to overcome. (Int.25)

In the same vein, Pagkaki's members argued that since the initial capital was amortized in the first two years, there was no need for the newcomers to financially contribute. Many cooperatives' members argued that asking for a newcomer to contribute the same amount of money as the rest of the members did, in the beginning, improve the sense of equality among the workers. Commenting on that, a member of Pagkaki claimed that 'since the initial capital was amortized, we don't want money to represent commitment and equality in our collective' (Int.50). Instead, potential newcomers are consulted to devote some extra 40 hours to political duties as a way of symbolically compensating the effort of the first members.

The path paved by Pagkaki and Belleville has been followed by many cooperatives, without avoiding differentiations. The members of Ekdisis ton Sinadelfon contributed unequally to the initial capital and worked voluntarily during the first five months, in order to pay back their internal loan, while the absence of shares indicates that no initial capital is required for new entries (Int.23). Similarly, the desire to be as close to equality and equity as they could, urged the members of Akivernites Polities to argue that, 'we are neither employees nor employers, we are not shareholders, we do not have 20% of the cooperative each, we cannot bequeath, sell or transfer our part of the cooperative' (Int.31). The case of Oreo Depo is different, as its members ask newcomers to symbolically contribute at least fifteen euros to acquire one share which will be given back once amortized, although the amount is not bound to the assembly's votes (Int.30). Nevertheless, the

unequal initial contribution or the absence of a capital requirement in the potential entries are not always considered valuable. Although members of Domino café cooperative share equal rights and responsibilities, the unequal contribution in terms of initial capital and members' working hours during the construction of the cooperative, gave a different leverage regarding the demand of working shifts once the cooperative began its operation. So far, the varying degrees of effort seem to be respected by all the members in the cooperative and no problems have arisen; but as an interviewee stressed, that decision was quite risky, and it could prove rather problematic (Int.21). That was for instance the case for Youkali cooperative. The cooperative's policy of not asking initial capital from the newcomers created tensions until its amortization. As one member noted, 'we didn't have the same goals; the guys were stressed because they wanted to take their money back, meaning automatically that in some occasions you should back off' (Int.48).

Although the legal self-managed cooperatives are subject to variations regarding their initial capital, no initial capital is required for the newcomers in the self-managed structures operating within social centres. As active components of the centres' general assemblies, the self-managed structures have their own assemblies, but are unable to move away from the central value system. In addition to this, attendance to the social centres' general assemblies are amongst the pre-requisites for participation (Int.51). As an act of compensation, in cases like the Mikropolis social centre, the members working in the self-managed structures are required to voluntarily work three hours per week in the social centre's bar, which is the centre's main resource (Int.34). Usually, self-managed structures have their own separate repository and manage their finances independently from the social centre. However, it is quite important that when it comes to initial capital, in most cases it is the social centre that provides an unofficial internal loan to the structure, which is gradually payed back by the latter's surplus.

5.2.2 Compensation, Demand and Supply

The aforementioned examples demonstrate a variety of practices applied, aiming to merge the members' political beliefs with the need for employment. No matter their differences, success or failure, all of them witness the desire of cooperatives to create equal working conditions. To this end, the different ways of compensation consist also of an additional tool for achieving equality in the working space. Most of the cooperatives apply a shift-based approach, through which each worker is paid according to the monthly working hours. However, there are also cases, like the one

of Lacandona, in which members receive equal monthly compensation, regardless of their working hours (Int.45; Int.47). In order to achieve the maximum degree of equality, cooperatives apply a rotation system, with each member undertaking different tasks. Although the rotation practice can be widely applicable, it is not always possible. This is the case, for instance, with Ekdosis ton Sinadelfon publishing house. Ekdosis ton Sinadelfon members preoccupied with wholesale and retail sales work the same shifts and receive the same salary, but the production and publication of books involve different tasks, such as editing, graphic design, etc. In order to find an adequate way to evaluate the amount of money for members serving different tasks, the cooperative takes into consideration the market value of their labour and adjusts it accordingly to the respective market value of the rest of the members (Int.23).

The self-managed structures within SMOs exhibit a different approach. The three self-managed structures of the Mikropolis social centre, namely the grocery store, the collective kitchen and the bookstore, collect their different surpluses and distribute them equally to all the members. As an interviewee noted,

every six months there is an opening in case more people want to participate in the structures, presupposing they are already members of Mikropolis. In case someone is interested, then the older member should leave, since our approach is based on social ownership, meaning that structures do not belong to anyone. (Int.34)

On the other hand, the three respective self-managed structures operating in Sholio squat do not share a common repository, but each member is paid according to the surplus of the structure that they participate in. This risks the potential of increasing the competition among the members to join the most profitable structures. Nevertheless, participation in Sholio is a prerequisite for participation in any of the structures, and therefore, secures that members share common values and ideological beliefs. In this respect, according to an interviewee, common participation prevents the rise of competition, and on the contrary, motivates members to further develop the respective structures they participate in (Int.51).

Despite the different approaches applied within the official self-managed cooperatives operating in the capitalist market and the unofficial cooperatives within social centres, both categories demonstrate that members of the self-managed cooperatives do not act as typical businessmen. This becomes quite evident when it comes to the pricing policies and supply procedures.

Cooperatives not only suggest a different model of management, but they also advocate for economic moralization. Instead of applying a profit-driven logic and acting as transformative instruments, which buy cheap and sell expensive to make a profit, self-managed cooperatives act as equalizers between producers and consumers. In particular, they try to secure decent labour conditions and fair prices both for their suppliers and themselves, without decreasing the quality of their products and services. This approach mirrors some features often found in the consumerist movements of the global North and the solidarity trade in support to the global South. As is the case in social clinics, resources are not pictured only as a means of mobilization, but also as vehicles of solidarity in practice. The development of ties between different struggles through resources reflects the mechanism of in-group brokerage.

Earlier we defined in-group brokerage as the ‘connection of factions and groups on each side of an “us–them” boundary without establishing new connections across the boundary’ (Alimi et al., 2015, p. 287). In the context of cooperatives, in-group brokerage refers to the “supply side”, which connects them to other cooperatives and alternative grassroots endeavours. Diani (2003a, p. 7) distinguishes between direct and indirect ties: the former point to personal relationships on an individual level or the coordination for the promotion of a common goal on an organizational level; the latter describe cases in which organizations share members, sympathizers or resources. We argue that the development of in-group brokerage in the factor of resources manages to merge direct and indirect ties. The mechanism is quite complex and may unfold through different channels, depending on the content and services that each cooperative provides. In the cases of Perisilogi⁹ producers’ cooperative and Vio.Me, which are built on the model of integrated cooperatives where every aspect of their operation takes place within the cooperative, in-group brokerage concerns the supply of raw materials. Since most cooperatives are formed as grocery stores, cafeterias, bars and taverns, we turn our attention mainly to the food and catering sectors.

Starting with in-group brokerage, self-managed cooperatives try to support similar efforts, by supplying their products from cooperatives in Greece and abroad. ‘We mainly distribute products from cooperatives. When we cannot find cooperative products, we turn to small industries which we know have good labour conditions and quality products’ (Int.26), argued an interviewee from Eklektik café-grocery, while Oreo Depo supplies

9 Perisilogi stands for self-reflection but also implies the collection (sillogi) of agricultural products.

'Latin American coffee from Svoura collective, LiberoMondo tea from Bios consumer cooperative, the Zapatista coffee from Allos Tropos' (Int.30). Additionally, a Lacandona's interviewee noted that,

we prefer to call it solidarity and not fair trade, since trade can never become fair! Apart from the products of solidarity trade that come from the countries of the South, we are interested in abolishing the division between north and south. In order to achieve this, we chose to distribute products from cooperatives and small producers in Greece as well. (Int.45)

The case of Vio.Me is rather important here, since the factory does not operate in the regular market and does not collaborate with big supermarket retailers. Rather, it distributes its products solely through the solidarity networks of cooperatives, squats and social centres (Malamidis, 2018).

Due to the criteria established by cooperatives regarding the labour conditions their suppliers provide for their employees and the quality of the products they receive, in-group brokerage stands as an additional mechanism for the social appropriation and diffusion of self-management principles to small producers. This way, resources are the spearhead for the connection among cooperatives, as well as for the diffusion of their organizational practices and the culture of self-management. Thus, in-group brokerage can prove to be quite helpful for the economic survival of many cooperatives, but at the same time it might have devastating effects on those who do not comply with the criteria set by the cooperatives. Poor labour conditions, dismissals of employees and poor quality of the products caused cooperatives to stop collaboration with specific suppliers many times, while instances of revelation that some producers were Golden Dawn's supporters immediately ceased any transaction. Equally important, in-group brokerage stands crucial for the dissemination of relevant information among the cooperatives, something that can prove to be both highly advantageous and disastrous for the suppliers.

Apart from the individual cooperatives, the mechanism of in-group brokerage also operates on a collective level. Together with the members' exchange, cooperatives in NoC distribute each other's products. Thus, Pagkaki sells the books of Ekdisis ton Sinadelfon, Ekdisis ton Sinadelfon sells Zapatista coffee from Synallois cooperative supermarket, etc., connecting in this way their wellbeing to each other's. Similar examples can be found outside of NoC. For instance, Perisilogi producers' cooperative distributes its products through the local market without middlemen and Allos Tropos members participate in the Koukouli cooperative grocery store (Int.22). Despite keeping our focus mainly on food and catering, we observe that

similar paths of in-group brokerage are followed in other sectors, with digital cooperatives supporting open software, digital commons and alternative cyber communities, or Ekdosis ton Sinadelfon and Akivernites Polities developing ties with small and alternative publishing houses.

Supply is only one side of the coin, since, as economic entities, cooperatives also deal with the side of demand. Although cooperatives are supported by activists, according to the interviewees, they reach a far broader audience from different social and political environments. The same also goes for the cooperative structures within social centres. In this respect, pricing policies and practices of socialization are the connective elements between the sides of supply and demand.

Following the logic first introduced by the grocery store of Sporos collective, self-managed cooperatives try to achieve fair prices for producers and consumers.

We have a stable 25 per cent profit over the grocery store's products. Our aim is that basic products should be economically accessible to the lower strata. Nevertheless, there are other products which are subject to a different logic, meaning that consumers will also express their support in a way (Int.26),

argued a member of Eklektik. Nevertheless, the tremendous reduction of the population's purchasing power, together with the continuous introduction of new taxes, created serious obstacles in the fair-prices policy. Cooperatives responded to that in various ways. Pagkaki, for instance, expressed publicly that it will absorb the crisis' consequences by arguing that 'when the consequences of the rapid impoverishment reached us as well [...] we did not choose to downgrade the quality of our products, [...] to increase our prices, [...] to extend our shifts, but to lower our wages' (Pagkaki, 2015). In a similar vein, Perisilogi producers' cooperative chose not to calculate the members' cost of labour on the products' prices, but to add a specific percentage to the cost of the raw materials instead; otherwise, the final price would be very high (Int.22). Reflecting on this, a member from Youkali café argued that,

we are supplied our products from small producers, our coffee from Synallois cooperative supermarket and tea from Lacandona. When you want to keep prices low, as in our case, you cannot avoid also buying commercial products. The truth is that alternative trade is very nice, products are of great quality, but they are also very expensive. (Int. 48)

Another interviewee from Oreo Depo claimed that, 'since we support the concept of solidarity economy, we buy expensive and sell cheap' (Int.30). Research in solidarity purchasing groups in Italy reveals similar issues (Grasseni, 2014a, p. 84). Although by not having bosses cooperatives secure the non-seizure of their surplus value, these examples reveal one of the most important dilemmas that they have to deal with, regarding their economic success: keeping the quality of the products high while maintaining low prices, in order to serve the needs of the broader population, and thus decreasing the members' compensation and risking the cooperatives' economic growth; or sacrifice any of these features in favour of the others. Despite the variations in this equation, the social and political approaches of cooperatives so far seem to dominate, as opposed to larger economic growth.

Lowering the prices or adding a new member are two of the policies that many cooperatives follow, in order to socialize their profits. However, cooperatives also practice different methods of demonstrating their social character. The cooperative of Allos Tropos for example has established a grocery store, which distributes products without the intervention of brokers, while at the same time it organizes courses of chess and painting, free of charge (Int.24). Following the same approach, Lacandona organizes workshops on soaps' production or seeds' growing (Int.45), Perisilogi producers' cooperative organizes hiking tours on their fields (Int.22), while Sociality organizes seminars on software and offers consultancy services for the establishment of cooperatives (Int.28). These are only a few of the actions that cooperatives undertake free of charge as a means of socializing resources. A closer look at the cooperatives' resources, however, reveals another important aspect. Resource socialization does not only address society in general, it is also directed towards the social movement community more specifically. This is explained in detail in the next section.

5.2.3 Investing within

In-group brokerage and the distribution of products show how resources are used among domestic and foreign cooperatives, as a practical way to support each other's struggles. Resources are being also used in order to enhance the internal connection between various cooperatives, as well as between cooperatives and more traditional SMOs. This intermediary role of resources triggers the mechanism of out-group brokerage. Cooperatives in Athens and Thessaloniki try to establish common self-help funds in a way that supports their members in cases of emergency, but also to fund other

cooperatives or labour-related struggles. Cooperatives have also developed contacts with the social clinics for the provision of free medical care to their members. In the same context, cooperatives are closed during strikes, with their members participating in the demonstrations, while in some cases, the surplus of the nightshifts on strike days is used to fund labour struggles and grassroots unions. Similar practices were rather widespread in the labour movement and its respective organizations (Gall, 2010; Katsoridas, 2016; Williams, 2016); nevertheless, these are still under development with regards to the self-managed cooperatives in Greece.

What seems rather important, however, is that self-managed cooperatives are transformed into resources for the broader social movement community. In particular, cooperatives have developed a dual relationship with the movement community, in the sense that they both serve as resources, but also as sources for new resources. 'We were also thinking that this space could serve as a meeting place for the city's movements' (Int.45), argued an interviewee from Lacandona, revealing a view that was often promoted by other cooperatives. Similar to what many social centres do, Lacandona's space hosts the assemblies of political collectives and initiatives, Oreo Depo hosts the assemblies of other cooperatives, while the same is also expressed by Poeta, where members of the extra-parliamentary Left, 'like ANTARSYA (Anticapitalistic Left Cooperation for the Overthrow) and LAE (Popular Unity), hold their assemblies here and sometimes also groups from the anti-authoritarian space' (Int.44).

The spatial characteristic of cooperatives is an important element for out-group brokerage, something that is also fostered by the distribution of activist material from their premises. Like other cooperatives, Belleville has established a small bookstore, where 'political and movement-oriented books are sold at cost price and aim to promote a certain logic' (Int.20), while it also distributes brochures, leaflets and books published by SMOs, which cannot be found in commercial bookstores. Together with written material, cooperatives distribute T-shirts as well as vouchers issued for the financial support of SMOs. The increased flows of refugees in the summer of 2015 forced many cooperatives to become collection points for food, clothes and medicines. 'We were collecting stuff for Idomeni from the first moment' (Int.30) commented an interviewee from Oreo Depo, while Lacandona supplied the unofficial refugee camp of Pedion Areos park and Dervenion refugee squat in Athens (Int.45).

To some extent, cooperatives managed to organically build connections with the movement community. In a way of sharing its audience with social centres and squats, Ekdotis ton Sinadelfon hold many of their

book presentations in SMOs. Most importantly, Ekdotis ton Sinadelfon has decided from day one to distribute its books to social centres and squats with 50% discount on the original price (Int.23), while Akivernites Polities have supplied the bookstores within SMOs at cost price (Int.31). These two policies are rather crucial source of resources for SMOs, since they are the ones to set the final price of the books. Thus, one squat may sell an Ekdotis ton Sinadelfon book at the same price as the publisher, but it is the squat that will enjoy the 50% profit. Using a similar logic, Sociality offers its 'premises, infrastructure and "know-how" to different collectives, to help them to create (digital) calendars or to promote movement-related events' (Int.28). In this respect, the cooperative has also produced the digital coordinating platform for the markets without middlemen in open source code and implements different pricing policies for SMOs and movement initiatives (Int.28).

The mutual-aid funds that cooperatives implement are the offspring of the labour movement, while the distribution of movement material or the provision of spaces for assemblage, is something mostly found in SMOs and not in enterprises. These incidents show that emulation constitutes a great component of the out-group brokerage mechanism, as the practices are transferred and applied from one movement scene to another. Since financial contributions in times of austerity are valuable and highly appreciated, the sub-mechanism of emulation presents another practice which further strengthens the development of the out-group brokerage mechanism. This practice refers to the "financial contribution nights" or the so-called "red shifts".

The organization of parties and events dedicated to raise funds for a specific cause is probably one of the most common practices of squats and social centres worldwide. This repertoire has been largely welcomed by the cooperatives, which dedicate the surpluses of specific days to support different struggles. How are these red shifts organized? One can identify two paths: either the cooperative "lends" its premises to a collective responsible for the event with the latter's members providing their services, as happened around 40 to 50 times in Belleville (Int.25); or the event is organized by the members of the cooperative, who are also in charge of working during the event, as is the case of Pagkaki (Int.50). In both cases, shifts are unpaid, and surplus is given to a specific initiative which the event is dedicated to. This varies from the support of cooperatives, as was many times the case for Vio.Me, Poeta, Akivernites Polities and others (Int.25); emerging squats or self-managed enterprises and factories, like the timber plant of Roben in Veria (Int. 48); political and social initiatives, like the assembly of the

unemployed in Autonomous social centre (Int.48); or for the coverage of activists' medical expenses (Int.44; Int.25).

Red shifts are not only important for the financial support of cooperatives and SMOs, but they also have a particular significance for the overall process of boundary enlargement. Although emulation suggests the repetition of performance in different settings (Alimi et al., 2015, p. 288), red shift practices do not just multiply the potential sources for movement resources, but they actually expand them in new settings. To put it simply, red shifts do not recycle resources within the movement community, but since cooperatives reach much more diverse and wider audiences than traditional SMOs, the overall financial capital of the movement community is increased. Similar to the concept of transvention discussed in the commons literature, cooperatives transfer resources from the capitalistic market to the movement community, which are then re-invested in producing similar and new projects. In these terms, movement resources seem to gradually enlarge their own boundaries and reflect what in the literature of commons and solidarity economy is often described as "generative commons".

5.3 Identity

The previous sections indicate how self-managed cooperatives are formed with respect to the factors of organizational structure and resources. In line with the contentious politics approach, these factors are not static; instead, due to the cooperatives' experimental approach, their characteristics are dynamic and evolve in relation to their internal procedures and external environment. The cooperatives' pre-figurative approach provides both an instrumental (objective) and an experiential (subjective) element to their organizational model and resources, reflective of their identity. Due to this, the emulation sub-mechanism identified in the two previous factors, declares that signs of path dependency contributed to the passage from self-organization to self-management; from the social movement community to the social movement scene of labour. Simultaneously, the development of the social movement scene of labour included diversifications, with some cooperatives arguing for aggressive and others for defensive approaches to self-management. In our effort to dismantle the development of the self-managed identity, this section investigates the mechanisms which explain the origins of self-managed cooperative culture and points out the main forces surrounding the cooperative spirit.

5.3.1 Contentious Origins of Self-management

Although the social movement community in Greece was relatively active and vibrant before the advent of the crisis, the same cannot be said about the scene of labour. As many inquiries witness, Greece is a country with a strong tradition of hierarchical and paternalistic management structures (Bourantas and Papadakis, 1996; Kritsantonis, 1998; Marcovitz et al., 2007; Psychogios and Wood, 2010). Kioupkiolis and Karyotis (2015) inquiry on self-managed initiatives refers to a dozen of industries dating back to the 1980s, with workers actively involved in their management, and in some cases running their factories on their own. Despite the qualitative differences of participatory models such as “co-management”, where the workers contribute to an existing structure and system of values without the potentials to change them completely, with self-management (Katsoridas, 2016, pp. 18-22; Kokkinidis, 2012, 2015), the absence of supportive movement networks, as well as the workers’ ambition for the enterprises’ nationalization, were among the factors that led to the collapse of these endeavours (Katsoridas, 2016, pp. 105-126; Kioupkiolis and Karyotis, 2015). With the hierarchical tradition of management on the one hand, and the noticeable silence of the movements’ involvement in self-management on the other, one question that arises is how the idea of self-management became so popular in a context where it has not been part of the historical tradition.

McAdam et al. (2001, Chapter 2) analyse the difficulties in understanding contentious origins through the usual agenda of social movement studies. Instead, they argue (*Ibid*, Chapter 3 and 4) that by decomposing the events into mechanisms, one can understand the dynamic trajectories at play. In this context, we argue that the origins of the social movement scene of labour were a result of the combination of four mechanisms, namely appropriation, legitimation, certification and diffusion.

Similar to the appropriation of black churches in McAdam’s et al classic example (2001, pp. 40-44), self-management and cooperativism in our case have been appropriated both conceptually and practically. McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly note that ‘appropriation paves the way for innovative action by reorienting an existing group to a new conception of its collective purpose. But for the initial mobilization process to be fully realized, this disposition to act must be translated into innovative collective action’ (2001, p. 316). Although our explanation does not deal with mobilization per se, our discussion proves that appropriation takes place in other processes as well. Chapter 2 briefly outlined how Pagkaki and Germinal collectives started their operation in 2010. The establishment of these two collectives at the same

time was a clear product of coincidence, since none of them were aware of the other's efforts (Int.25).¹⁰ Nevertheless, both cooperatives were outcomes of political discussions within the assemblies of self-organized collectives. 'As a prerequisite for action', McAdam argues that 'would-be-insurgents must either create an organizational vehicle and its supporting collective identity or, more likely, *appropriate* an existing organization and the routine collective identity on which it rests' (2003, pp. 291-292). Without a tradition to refer to or appropriate, debates within collectives dealt with the limits of self-organization in political collectives, and the way that this type of participatory management could be introduced in everyday contexts, such as the environment of the labour market.

Around two years before the establishment of Germinal collective, internal discussions among the members of Libertatia squat concluded that self-management is the answer to the neoliberal crisis. The members argued that history is full of failed examples of small and individual self-managed efforts that were absorbed by the neoliberal market. However, the diffusion of self-managed laboratories has revolutionary dynamics, which can create spaces that will not re-produce the dominant logic of development; instead they will "train" people in the libertarian ideals (Int.25). Half of the squat members came to realize these accounts through Germinal cooperative. As they supported in the collective's founding declaration, Germinal was born out of frustration with their previous precarious labour conditions and also because it was time for action. In the members' words, 'it is not enough for us to declare our denial and reaction towards the world of bosses. It is time to experiment with our own self-organized, anti-hierarchical, self-managed structures on the issue of livelihood without bosses. We move from theory to practice' (Germinal, 2012). Unfortunately, financial difficulties forced Germinal to cease operations two years later. In the meantime, the collective has attracted and consulted many people interested in setting up similar endeavours. As such, some of its members got involved in the establishment of Belleville and Domino self-managed cooperative cafes in 2011 and 2013 respectively.

Although theoretical debates were also present prior to Pagkaki's establishment, the birth of the cooperative took place mostly due to the practical dilemmas in the ancestor collective of Sporos. The international solidarity movement to the Zapatistas in the late 1990s and the common interest in

10 Lack of information has been met in many organizations and constitutes one of the main reasons that caused cooperatives to undertake different trajectories observed in the social movement scene of labour.

Latin American struggles, led a group of activists in Athens to order and distribute Zapatista coffee by hand. Gradually, this network started to expand, and in 2005 the self-organized collective of Sporos inaugurated its premises in Exarcheia, as a way of economically supporting the Zapatistas struggle. Quite soon, Sporos got engaged in many political initiatives dealing with genetically modified organisms (GMOs), natural cultivation of seeds and de-growth, something that led the collective to distribute the products of movement-oriented Greek cooperatives and to establish a clothing barter-club (Varkaolis, 2012). Although it had a legal status of civic cooperative, its 25 members used to hold unpaid shifts in the collective once per week. In this sense, Sporos was probably the first political group that tried to promote solidarity economy in Greece, formed under the principles of direct democracy and horizontality. As one interviewee argued,

when I entered Sporos I was 20 years old and although I was active in anarchist collectives, it was there where I joined some discussions for the first time in my life. Sporos members came from different political backgrounds but in reality, all of them were part of this new trend; the one prompting that apart from arguing against the state and capitalism, we should see what we should do here and now. (Int.49)

Despite its success, Sporos' operations ceased in 2012, while the project continued under the same model of operation by another collective named Svoura.¹¹ The lack of passion during the assemblies and the internal disputes were amplified by the members' different perspectives on labour (Varkaolis, 2012). The great increase in Sporos' turnover required the members to devote a lot of time, with some of them posing the issue of receiving compensation and others insisting that the political role of the collective should be strictly voluntary. As an interviewee noted, 'it is one thing to participate in a social centre and a completely different thing to be in a shop with high turnovers and no one getting paid. An enterprise with great demand that required extensive commitment from its members and worked well' (Int.49). At that point, the absence of unanimity prevented the members from proceeding further with self-management. Nevertheless, by 2008, the continuous discussions had inspired eight of Sporos members to develop the plan and open Pagkaki in 2010, and others to form the cooperative supermarket of Synallois in 2011.

11 Svoura stands for Spinning Top.

Through the lens of the resource mobilization approach, both Sporos and Libertatia squat served as pre-mobilization structures that fostered the idea of self-management. However, this static understanding would miss much from the evolution of trajectories of these first self-managed collectives. McAdam et al. argued that, ‘instead of pointing to pre-existing mobilizing structures, we call attention to the active appropriation of sites for mobilization’ (2001, p. 44). From this perspective, we move towards a dynamic approach to structures, which recognizes the different powers that interplay in the path from point A to point B, which, in our case is translated from self-organization to self-management. As such, both Sporos and Libertatia can be seen as vehicles that served to ease, both practically and theoretically, the appropriation of the sites of labour by the social movement scene. The mechanism of social appropriation is rather important since, on the one hand, the application of the movements’ self-organized principles on the labour scene helps the development and diffusion of self-managed collectives; while on the other hand, it serves to fill the country’s cultural void of self-management.

Of course, the path towards appropriation was not paved with roses, and diffusion has not been set in motion automatically; rather it was through the intervention of the legitimation mechanism. As Alimi et al. put it, legitimation stands for ‘the generation of favorable and resonating representations of a SMO’ (2015, p. 56). In our context, the traditional de-legitimation of economic activities within and by SMOs started to reverse. Apart from the internal disagreements we referred to earlier, fractions of the movement community accused Sporos and Pagkaki of supporting the logic of consumerism and trade (Int.49). The same also happened with Germinal, with an ex member arguing that,

I am not sure how “legitimized” it (the logic of cooperativism) is nowadays within the movement community [...] but we received tremendous criticism since we were against the culture of anti-commercial and money-less transaction; they accused us of making money out of it and that these ideas were parochial. (Int.25)

The continuous publication of informative material regarding the actions and theoretical approaches of Pagkaki and Germinal were accompanied by the simultaneous organization of festivals and events, such as the “Creative Resistance Festival” (Varkaolis, 2012, pp. 37-41); Second anti-consumerist, 2008), as well as by the international experience of Zapatistas and the movement repertoires during the Argentinean crisis of 2001 (Int.49).

Legitimation also came from a number of social centres that started to introduce self-managed practices within their operation. In their search for a larger space, the members of Buenaventura social centre squatted an abandoned school in Thessaloniki in 2010 under the name “Sholio”. Since they were in Buenaventura, the members of the collective were already arguing for the free dissemination of knowledge through the provision of free courses and alternative forms of teaching. However, once the theoretical quest blended with the practical difficulties of austerity, the situation urged Sholio to set the promotion of solidarity economy as another central goal. In particular, the relatively cheap food provided by the Sholio’s members’ collective kitchen, combined with broader economic distress, and the flight of many of its members outside Thessaloniki to seek employment, encouraged the general assembly to transform it into a collective self-managed structure and introduce compensation for the members in charge (Int.51). Together with its members working in the collective kitchen, Sholio also provides compensation for the members working in its brewery and grocery store, as a way of practically promoting its approach to solidarity economy. This decision created internal tension and led some of its members to withdraw, arguing about the anti-commercial logic of squats. Sholio continues to receive criticism by many SMOs, regardless of the collectives’ absence of any legal status or tax registration. Nevertheless, the introduction of compensation for certain tasks has been adopted by other social centres as well, stabilizing the mechanism of legitimation in terms of solidarity economic practices.

Our data so far suggests that the appropriation mechanism came to be followed by the legitimation of self-managed practices. Although these mechanisms are ordered sequentially, the same cannot be said for another set of mechanisms that followed. In particular, the mechanisms of diffusion and certification are intertwined with one feeding back the other. In order to clarify this, we first turn our attention to the mechanism of diffusion.

The mechanisms developed in the factor of resources show that many cooperatives have developed strong ties amongst themselves. Nevertheless, their vast expansion both in terms of organizational practices and cultural artifacts, were due to the diffusion mechanism and not brokerage. According to McAdam, ‘diffusion requires a much lower investment in time and entrepreneurial energy than brokerage’ (2003, p. 296). Diani argues that ‘typically, social movement activists and sympathizers are linked through both “private” and “public” ties well before collective action develops’ (2003a, p. 12). Direct ties such as friendship or shared participation in movement activities, and indirect ones like ‘joint involvement in specific activities

and/or events, yet without any face-to-face interaction' (*Ibid*), usually consist of the antecedent conditions that affect the creation of individual networks. Building on that, we argue that political and social homogeneity are significant components of the diffusion mechanism.

Political homogeneity refers to a population bound with strong political affiliations and experience in participatory procedures; while social homogeneity points to a group of friends and familiars, who share experience in similar working environments (Table 5.1).¹² In the case of Germinal, Libertatia squat helped create a shared understanding on how assemblies function, whilst the members' previous work experience in the catering business proved to be decisive for establishing the café (Germinal, 2012). The same applies also to Pagkaki, of which the experience in Sporos and their shared will to work collectively encouraged the members to prefer the option of a coffee shop (Int.49). Being the pioneers, Pagkaki and Germinal have every characteristic included in Table 5.1, which was not always the issue for the self-managed collectives to come.

Ekdosis ton Sinadelfon started as an unofficial political intervention by four friends in 2009 to the workers' union in publications and bookstores, by publishing material regarding the Argentinean crisis. Three years later, while being unemployed, more people joined in through their personal networks and opened the cooperative bookstore, suggesting self-management as a different approach to labour (Int.23). Conversely, the respective effort of Akivernites Polities in Thessaloniki 'started as the union's idea to create its own bookstore in order to deal with the sector's wave of layoffs and unemployment' (Int.31). Although the union did not realize its plan, five of its members discovered it in October 2013, when they became unemployed. Membership in unions was common, but neither friendship nor political origins were. The passion of Lacandona's members

Table 5.1 Political and Social Homogeneity

	Political Characteristics	Social Characteristics
Ties	Political Relations	Social Relations
Experience	Collective Procedures	Sector of Occupation

12 To avoid any misunderstandings, it is important to note that we use the term homogenization in a generic manner, since ethnographic inquires and in-depth case studies may reveal that members of the organizations share quite diverse theorizations. The empirical chapters of this book discuss such instances, where the different views resulted from internal disputes and up to the dissolution of organizations.

for solidarity trade coincided with poor working conditions in their former employment and urged them to quit and establish their self-managed café-grocery store in 2011 (Int.45). Although these examples denote the members' close relation with the ideas of self-management, other examples witness its diffusion towards more peripheral parts of the social movement society. The café-bookstore Poeta and the café-tavern-grocery store Oreo Depo in Thessaloniki are exemplary cases. Established in February 2014 and April 2015 respectively, they shared the members' precarious working conditions and dreams for bohemian cafes with quality products and respect for the workers. In both cases the members were politicized, but without participating in SMOs, they knew each other through their personal social networks and had either minimum (Oreo Depo) or no (Poeta) relative work experience (Int.44; Int.30).

These examples do not witness clear cut patterns in terms of ties and experience prior to the establishment of the collectives, but most cases resulted of a combination of some of the political and social characteristics described in Table 5.1. As we discussed in the previous section, six months up to three years mediated prior to the cooperative's establishment, facilitating the better connection of the members. Additionally, the shared trust and minimum political agreement, combined with the desire to work collectively under equal labour conditions, were factors that boosted the expansion of self-managed cooperatives. At the same time though, the relational approach of contentious politics calls us to pay attention to the attribution of opportunities and threats related to the external environment. In this context, the legislature environment triggers the last mechanism, the one of certification.

Moving to the certification mechanism, the cooperative form became quite popular since it was pictured as the most adequate form that could support the collectives' intention for self-management. The shameful past of state intervention¹³ and corruption scandals in the Greek cooperative movement, forced many of the first collectives to distance themselves from the traditional cooperatives and redefine themselves based on their commitment to self-management. Things changed in 2011, when a distinct legislation for social cooperatives was introduced, setting the foundations of institutional provision for social economy for the first time in the country. Under the new legislation, social cooperatives enjoyed less taxation compared to the

13 It is worth mentioning here that the state's intervention in cooperatives is extremely great; between 1915 and 1970 there have been 946 different legislative actions dealing with cooperatives, and between 1984 and 1994 there were some 230 more (Patronis, 2002, pp. 25-26).

civic ones.¹⁴ Profits were distributed only among the members working in the cooperative (Adam, 2012). These two aspects raised the popularity of social cooperatives between activists, who started to form assemblies, committees and networks for its promotion, emphasizing the solidarity aspect of this economic approach. Against the precarious conditions of the neoliberal market, the turbulent years that followed saw many collectives adopting and somehow appropriating the legal status of a social cooperative.

We found a window. The form of social cooperative has become property of the movement community. We know that whenever we hear about a social cooperative, we know that the people who work will be co-workers, they will be equal partners and they will make their decisions based on their general assemblies. (Int.20)

The de-legitimation of SYRIZA due to its “backflip” in the summer of 2015 also raised skepticism towards social economy, since the party was among the main institutional actors advocating for it. The new bill on social economy in 2016 sparked an open debate between bureaucrats, government officials and the movements. Some collectives started referring only to solidarity and not social economy, others favoured the frame of cooperative economy and started to use the term “workers’ collective”, while others blended social economy with the approach of commons as something distant from the state and market (field notes Thessaloniki, 2016; field notes Athens, 2017). One way or the other, legislative attention to social cooperativism, public consultation between the state and movement actors and the expansion of self-managed collectives, brought to the forefront the forgotten scene of labour as a space for interaction between the state and movement actors.

5.3.2 Aggressive and Defensive Self-management

Drawing on the roots of self-management is helpful in understanding how cooperativism was diffused and legitimized within the social movement community; nevertheless, legitimation does not necessarily equal blind appreciation. The range of criticism is broad within the movement community: some argue that self-management is doomed to fail without the seizure of power by the proletariat; while others claim that the power of the capitalistic market is able to absorb and co-opt every individual

14 This welcoming policy changed some years later with social cooperatives being subject to the same taxation as every other business.

effort. Harsher criticism points out that self-managed cooperatives tend to commercialize the movement culture, while milder voices are at best skeptical towards cooperatives. The latter occurred in the case of grassroots unions which, although expressing sympathy towards cooperatives, did not eventually accept them in their associations (Int.49). However, the opposite also took place, with some collectives hesitating to network and coordinate actions with others, due to the members' previous unpleasant experience in trade unionism (Int.30). The different preferences expressed by cooperatives and other fractions of the social movement community do not constitute random views; rather, they point to the activation of category formation mechanism under conflictual and complementary approaches.

Category formation stands for the creation of a social category, which 'consists of a set of sites that share a boundary distinguishing all of them from and relating all of them to at least one set of sites visibly excluded by the boundary' (McAdam et al., 2001, p. 142). The mechanism of category formation has been identified many times in the process of actor constitution, mostly with regards to ethnic rivalries (Alimi et al., 2015, Chapter 5; McAdam et al., 2001, pp. 143-144, 313-317). Rather emphatically, McAdam et al. have emphasized that 'category formation creates identities' (2001, p. 142). As we mentioned earlier, the characteristics of the cooperatives' category are rather blurred, since it seems to refer to different actors, with different values and differences in their organizational principles and resources.¹⁵ Nevertheless, this fluid category runs through all the factors transversely, but is mostly depicted in the factor of identity.

Regarding the organizational structure, we mentioned that emulation and coordinated action are intertwined with the category formation mechanism. Nevertheless, as Diani observes, 'it is the definition of a shared identity which qualifies a movement network vis-à-vis a coalition network, and draws its boundaries', with the 'circulation of meaning and mutual recognition' occupying a significant place (2003a, p. 10). Therefore, in our context, category formation refers to the gradual creation of a cooperative identity, blended with the principles of self-management. Despite some minor differences in their organizational models, the lack of a respective tradition, coupled with their diffusion and the development of links with traditional movement actors through their resources, assisted the mutual

15 The lack of tradition in social economy brought different actors, such as parties, interest groups, SMOs and squats to compete for its representation. During the fieldwork period, these actors gradually started to create their own boundaries and definitions of what they represent.

identification of cooperatives as similar forms that promote equal labour relations. In this respect, the early stage of category formation mechanism does not follow solid, concrete and compact beliefs and practices. Instead, built on a post-modern approach, this fluid category is based on the aggregation of different elements that denounce market inequalities and precarious labour conditions. To capture how the category of self-managed cooperativism is being formed, we focus on the aggressive and defensive types of self-management.

Aggressive and defensive self-management have been used in the context of the Argentinean recuperated factories in the aftermath of the 2001 economic crisis. Defensive self-management was used to describe those cases of recuperated factories that defended self-management as a way of re-assuring the maintenance of workers' jobs under equal labour relations. Aggressive self-management, on the other hand, aimed to describe those cooperatives in which self-management was pictured as the necessary instrument for broader social transformation (Davranche and Hassoun, 2015, p. 67). We cannot deny that the aforementioned distinction has many subjective connotations. But it also serves to provide some signs about the different (and to some extent contradictory) approaches to self-management within the same category. Therefore, applying such a categorization is rough and maybe unfair, since it is difficult to take into consideration all the different aspects of cooperatives. With regards to the Greek case, we are aware that this can be problematic, since cooperatives are in their initial stages and still develop their identity. Nevertheless, by applying the concepts of aggressive and defensive self-management, we are in a better position to understand the plethora of features that make up the category of self-managed cooperativism.

The aggressive type of self-management is among the main reasons behind the establishment of collectives within social centres. At the same time though, aggressive self-management can be also found in cooperatives that operate as legal entities in the market. We demonstrated earlier that *Geminal* was the result of a careful plan, drawn by some members of the *Libertatia* squat in order to create a parallel system,

a political organization which would base its structures on that (self-management); which would be economically self-sufficient and operate on a national level. [...] If there is no political aim and the members do not have political characteristics, then it would just create an islet within the system, and it will actually reproduce it. Only when self-management spreads will it be able to acquire revolutionary characteristics. (Int.25)

The same also goes for Belleville, which tried, but failed, to develop other self-managed structures, such as a publishing house (Int.25). Similarly, Pagkaki's members clearly state that,

we didn't join forces only to find a solution for our livelihood in times of crisis, but because we are inspired by this logic: to explore and develop today the relationships of equality and solidarity we dream for a future society. [...] We consider our workers' collective part of the struggles for the social transformation into a society in which the laws of profit, the professional politicians and the power experts won't rule our lives' (Pagkaki, 2013).

Similarly, NoC declares that one of its aims is 'to coordinate our participation with the struggle for the broader social transformation [...] via our direct connection with the autonomous labour movement and the movement of social and solidarity economy' (NoC, 2012). In this context, the factory of Vio.Me occupies a prominent position. Apart from the occupation of the means of production, which depicts the realization of the radical left and libertarian imaginary, in 2014 Vio.Me introduced in its statute the concept of "solidarity supporter" by trying to socialize the factory's control. Through a monthly fee exchangeable with Vio.Me products, the solidarity supporter participates in the cooperative's open assemblies with a consulting vote. According to Vio.Me's official announcement, this aims to open 'to the majority of society, the opportunity to participate in the democratic processes of the operation of the factory. We ask you to become part of this struggle that opens the way for factories to pass into the hands of workers, for a society without bosses and exploitation' (VWA, 2014).

When it comes to defensive self-management, things become slightly blurred. Both *Ekdosis ton Sinadelfon* (Int.23) and *Lacandona* (Int.45; Int.46) argued that they are not political groups with concrete political direction, and that their participation in NoC and their self-managed orientation is their political characteristic. Similarly, *Akivernites Polities* does not define itself as a political group. It does, however, consider its action as part of the movement for social change. Nevertheless, one member noted that,

cooperatives are the rearguard; they are the efforts for survival and exemplification. They are not the places where the most significant battles will take place. The most important battles will be given by the workers, the employees, the migrants, the excluded, and the proletariat. [...] We miss the element of disobedience, of rupture against the laws and

orders; and that's why cooperatives are constantly on a fluctuation. Either they will be coopted, or destroyed, or they will help only as an example of different social organization without bosses, in order to help the real actors to occupy the means of production and change the society. (Int.31)

From this point of view, cooperatives fit Diani's (2003b, p. 302) definition of non-conflictual movements. Nevertheless, their members (and sometimes as organizations) do participate collectively in protest events, while the interviewee's sharp criticism does not apply to the self-managed structures within social centres or the occupied factory of Vio.Me, which clearly urge their "constituents" to mobilize. Other cooperatives offer more complex explanations. For example, a member of Poeta argued that the cooperative does not have any political projection of self-management: 'We just want to live with dignity without having dependent labour relations. [...] We didn't come here to solve our political disagreements, but to work', to later add that, as is the case in other cooperatives, their effort 'is part of the broader struggle for the revolutionary social change; it's a nice way for people to train themselves to work and live without bosses' (Int.44).

While the odds of adopting a defensive strategy would normally be on the side of the cooperatives with less politicized members, many interviewees agreed that this is not the case. Speaking of that, an interviewee pointed out that there are three categories of cooperatives: those who chose this form only in order to open a relative low-cost enterprise with less taxation; those who promote self-management as a worldview and support networking, and

there are many cooperatives staffed by activists who clearly distinguish it (activism and labour). They participate in social centres, squats or parties but (in their view) cooperatives are only for making a living. For instance, the members of (name of the cooperative) are activists, but they chose not to participate in NoC, arguing that the cooperative is only a way to make money, make a living and not to promote their ideology. (Int.48)

The cooperatives' willingness to network seems to be a crucial aspect that distinguishes aggressive from defensive self-management. This derives both from the narrative expressed earlier, and from in-group and out-group brokerage as analysed in the section on resources. In these terms, networks are not only modes of coordination with intense or loose ties with regards to the allocation of resources, but they also picture a deeper understanding with regards to the definition of identity boundaries (Diani, 2015, p. 198). At the same time though, some cooperatives seem rather hesitant to situate

themselves in one of these two extremes. They are also skeptical of how to relate and interact with social and solidarity economy networks. A member from Eklektik for example argues that, 'we made it clear from the beginning that here, we want to make a decent living' (Int.26), something that would have situated the cooperative in the defensive style of self-management. But, as the interviewee continued, Eklektik tries to create a network with other self-managed cooperatives and also to engage female and agricultural cooperatives, while any potential surpluses will be distributed for the support of other cooperatives. A clearer stance is adopted by Perisilogi, of which the members argue that no matter how networked a cooperative is, 'it is an enterprise with social sensitivities shared by all the members, but we don't want to make it political. We are a social cooperative enterprise, not a political space' (Int.22).

In terms of the social appropriation mechanism, self-managed cooperatives try to diffuse their form of organization to more conventional cooperatives, either by applying specific criteria and conditions, as we saw with in-group brokerage through resources, or by incorporating them into their networks via their organizational structure. In times of economic hardship, the cooperatives' success seems as the most important factor in becoming an example to be imitated. Nevertheless, the promotion of a political stance through the work environment is not only a matter of collective desire, but also an issue of time and fatigue. As many interviewees have stressed, working in cooperatives includes many personal compromises; they have often contributed unpaid labour that would otherwise be probably translated to protest claims against the employers. Additionally, thinking in double gears, meaning both as members who want their enterprise to succeed and as political subjects who seek equality inside the competitive market environment, creates stress and confusion to the members; while leaving aside personal disagreements for the sake of the collective is not an easy task, especially for people without similar experience in participatory collective management (Int.25; Int.44). As it was stressed by all the interviewees, challenging these internal dynamics has great impact on both the collective and the individual identity. Moreover, participation in the cooperatives' weekly assemblies as well as red shifts and other actions included in the out-group brokerage mechanism, are considered part of the job and in many ways, decrease the members' willingness to involve themselves in purely political actions (Int.30; Int.48).

The aforementioned narratives witness some clear cases of aggressive self-management, but they also show the different dynamics that gradually advocate for the construction of category formation mechanism. However,

the cooperatives' identity does not only concern self-management. Among others, the anti-fascist element seems to be strongly embedded in the social movement scene of labour. The long list of actions includes the public screening of anti-racist documentaries (Int.30), the organization of common events with migrants, such as the reading of fairy tales in Greek and Arabic for Greek and migrant kids (Int.31); the establishment of vegetable gardens within refugee camps (Int.22), or the creation of self-managed structures within social centres to be run only by refugees (field notes, Thessaloniki, 2016). Moreover, most of the interviewees argued that when customers raise discriminatory claims or are identified as Golden Dawn supporters, they are immediately expelled.

Lastly, with regards to the cooperatives' identity, we cannot leave aside their spatial dimension, where respect to the workers is also translated as respect to the community. Unlike many profit-driven enterprises, cooperatives show total compliance with the laws against territorial trespassing and the requirements for people with disabilities (Pagkaki, 2015), host and participate in grassroots neighbourhood initiatives (Int.30), and adjust their operation to quiet hours' regulations; these are some characteristics that, in some cases, drive them to conflict with profit-driven enterprises (Int.45; Int.47). Through the lens of a spatial approach, cooperatives also seem to blend their civic characteristics with the activist ones. Apart from their internal organizational structure, the organization of political and social events and their anti-fascist character provide these entities with a movement-friendly label. As an interviewee claimed, 'here there are two enterprises operating under self-management, something that also gives the neighbourhood a special character. It is not that easy for someone wearing a Golden Dawn T-shirt to walk around' (Int.20), while other cooperatives have raised similar claims as well. As such, the category formation mechanism contributes to the expansion of identity boundaries also in the physical space, signaling a safe place (and in some cases a safe district) from the movements' potential opponents.

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter unravels the central mechanisms and sub-mechanisms that activate the process of boundary enlargement with regards to the social movement scene of labour (Table 5.2).

During the effort to produce equal labour relationships for their members, self-managed cooperatives in Greece focused a great deal of attention on

Table 5.2 Mechanisms and sub-mechanisms in the social movement scene of Labour

	Mechanisms	Sub-mechanisms
Organizational Structure	Emulation Coordinated Action	
Resources	In-group Brokerage Out-group Brokerage	Emulation
Identity	Social Appropriation Legitimation Diffusion Certification Category Formation	

their organizational structure. Internal organization does not only result in the better operation of the respective enterprises; it also serves as a means of diminishing any potential rise of hierarchy and promoting equality in the workplace. To this extent, the pluralism observed with regards to the cooperatives' decision-making systems and internal designs, seems rather innovative when compared to the administrative formats found in typical businesses. Nevertheless, a closer look reveals that this was not a product of coincidence. Rather, it was mainly achieved through an emulation mechanism, allowing cooperatives to transfer the respective organizational designs of SMOs within the labour market. Of course, the reproduction of SMOs' settings in the labour market varied, with some cooperatives being more structured or well organized than others. However, all of them share a great degree of cohesion when it comes to the application of direct-democratic proceedings. Emulation, however, should not be interpreted as a panacea for the elimination of inequalities in the workplace. Similar to activists' recruitment, cooperatives can be found to pay too much attention to the personal relations and political values of potential members. Although this marks their unique approach to labour, it became rather problematic as it did not define the entry and exit procedures in cases when internal fights proved to be unsolvable.

The mechanism of emulation brought to light another mechanism often found in social movement studies, namely coordinated action. This mechanism finds its roots in the early steps of self-organized collectives and self-managed cooperatives. Sharing of practical information and exchange of positive and negative experiences brought cooperatives quite close to each other and favoured their diffusion. Individual efforts to form connections between the cooperatives occurred with the collective organization of events, workshops and festivals about self-management, enabling the

gradual rise of cooperatives. Apart from helping the diffusion of cooperatives, the coordination between them played a vital role in the production of a common framework and contributed to the creation of networks able to offer practical assistance when needed. Both emulation and coordinated action were important mechanisms, which contributed towards the enlargement of the organizational boundaries of the social movement scene of labour. What comes next is the factor of resources.

Being among the basic actors of the social movement scene of labour, self-managed cooperatives struggle for workplace equality. In order to do so, cooperatives urge for horizontal decision-making systems and participatory management. However, our explanation for how the boundaries have been enlarged in the social movement scene of labour would be incomplete without considering the economic side of the cooperatives. Here, the factor of resources acquires particular interest, as it provides evidence of how economic entities interact with the voluntary environment of the social movement community, as well as how the social movement approaches communicate within the market environment. Focusing on the cooperatives' initial capital, we show how the political element merges with the need for employment, as well as some potential disadvantages that it might create. However, this interaction becomes more evident when it comes to the issues of pricing and socialization.

Acting against a profit-driven logic, cooperatives apply a social approach to valuing their services and products. In this respect, the in-group brokerage mechanism illustrates how the organizational networking is also expressed through resources, facilitating the organic connection among cooperatives. At the same time though, in the context of austerity, where the cooperatives' political and social character is sometimes at odds with economic success, this mechanism brings forward important dilemmas. Self-management directs the way something is produced, but what is equally important, both in terms of resources and identity, is to engage the society in a dialogue on *what* is produced (Katsoridas, 2016, p. 10). VioMe's solidarity supporter or the organization of consumer cooperatives follow this line, that is being able to direct the cooperatives' production towards the service of social needs and not the creation of fake ones. The simultaneous establishment of producers and consumers' cooperatives is also important in the long run. In particular, it sets the base for the creation of a small cooperative ecosystem that will prohibit potential market cooptation and will also help to find solutions with regards to the cooperatives' economic success equation.

Our attention to socialization also reveals how resources are used as a means of connecting self-managed cooperatives with traditional SMOs

and other social movement actors. The emulation sub-mechanism studied in cooperatives' organizational structure was also present in resources, constituting a key component of the out-group brokerage mechanism. From the provision of the cooperatives' infrastructure hosting political and social groups, to the red shifts, out-group brokerage reveals how cooperatives not only manage to financially contribute to traditional SMOs, something particularly valuable in times of austerity; but how they also expand the sources of the social movement community.

Attention to identity reveals the cultural formation of the social movement scene of labour. To this extent, our analysis was divided in two chronological sections, in order to better capture its conception and evolution. Although not contentious in the strict sense of the term, the origins of the cooperative trend find their roots in the incorporation of self-organized practices into everyday life. Theoretical aspirations and practical limitations contributed to the appropriation of self-management, in a context lacking a respective culture. The gradual evolution of the first self-managed examples coincided with the onset of the crisis, triggering the mechanism of legitimation. Additionally, the introduction of a friendly legislative framework generated the mechanisms of certification and diffusion. The combination and sequence of these four mechanisms helped to demonstrate how the cultural background of cooperatives has been developed.

However, this development came to be confronted with criticism from many parts of the social movement community. On this ground, diversification gave space to gradual initiation of a category formation mechanism, through different and sometimes conflicting approaches. Our analysis tried to demonstrate how the formation of the cooperative identity, although in its first steps, has been built around the ideals of self-management. Although the vulnerabilities of the aggressive-defensive style of self-management made us cautious, this dichotomy serves to demonstrate that many cooperatives might be situated in the medium space, knitting the dynamic character of their identity. However, collective desire for self-management is only one of the factors that form the political element of cooperatives, as their dynamic identity is also influenced by everyday parameters, such as lack of time and fatigue. At the same time though, by incorporating the cooperatives' anti-fascist characteristics as well as their spatial approach, we aimed to complement the picture of the cooperatives' category formation and to expose that the enlargement of boundaries concerns a multiplicity of topics.

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List of Interviewees

- Interviewee 19 – Male, 36-40 years old, Founding Member of the Cooperative Priza, Athens (28.9.16) – Email interview – Transcribed in Greek
- Interviewee 20 – Female, 26-30 years old, Member of the Cooperative Belle Ville Sin Patron, Thessaloniki (23.5.16) – Audio recorded – Transcribed in Greek
- Interviewee 21 – Male, 26-30 years old, Founding Member of the Cooperative Domino, Thessaloniki (3.7.16) – Audio recorded – Transcribed in Greek
- Interviewee 22 – Male, 41-45 years old, Founding Member of the Cooperative Perisilogi, Thessaloniki (4.7.16) – Audio recorded – Transcribed in Greek
- Interviewee 23 – Male, 56-60 years old, Founding Member of the Cooperative Ekdotis ton Sinadelfon, Athens (11.11.16) – Handwritten notes – Transcribed in Greek
- Interviewee 24 – Female, 41-45 years old, Founding Member of the Cooperative Allos Tropos, Thessaloniki (29.6.16) – Audio recorded – Transcribed in Greek
- Interviewee 25 – Male, 31-35 years old, Member of the Cooperative Belleville Sin Patron and founding member of Germinal, Thessaloniki (24.6.16) – Audio recorded – Transcribed in Greek
- Interviewee 26 – Male, 36-40 years old, Founding Member of the Cooperative Eklektik and member of Spame, Thessaloniki (2.11.16) – Audio recorded – Transcribed in Greek

- Interviewee 28 – Male, 26-30 years old, Founding Member of the Cooperative Sociality, Athens (9.12.16) – Audio recorded – Transcribed in Greek
- Interviewee 30 – Female, 36-40 years old, Founding Member of the Cooperative Oreo Depo, Thessaloniki (2.7.16) – Audio recorded – Transcribed in Greek
- Interviewee 31 – Male, 36-40 years old, Founding Member of the Cooperative Akivernites Politics, Thessaloniki (23.5.16) – Audio recorded – Transcribed in Greek
- Interviewee 34 – Male, 31-35 years old, Member of Mikropolis Social Centre, Thessaloniki (27.7.16) – Audio recorded – Transcribed in Greek
- Interviewee 44 – Male, 41-45 years old, Founding Member of the Cooperative Poeta, Thessaloniki (13.10.16) – Audio recorded – Transcribed in Greek
- Interviewee 45 – Female, 36-40 years old, Founding Member of the Cooperative Lacandona, Athens (26.9.16) – Audio recorded – Transcribed in Greek
- Interviewee 46 – Female, 36-40 years old, Founding Member of the Cooperative Lacandona, Athens (26.9.16) – Audio recorded – Transcribed in Greek
- Interviewee 47 – Female, 36-40 years old, Founding Member of the Cooperative Lacandona, Athens (26.9.16) – Audio recorded – Transcribed in Greek
- Interviewee 48 – Male, 31-35 years old, Member of the Cooperative Youkali, Athens (27.9.16) – Audio recorded – Transcribed in Greek
- Interviewee 49 – Female, 31-35 years old, Founding Member of the Cooperative Pagkaki and Sporos collective, Athens (9.12.16 and 31.10.17) – Audio recorded – Transcribed in Greek
- Interviewee 50 – Female, 41-45 years old, Founding Member of the Cooperative Pagkaki and Sporos collective, Athens (9.12.16 and 31.10.17) – Audio recorded – Transcribed in Greek
- Interviewee 51 – Male, 26-30 years old, Member of Sholio Squat, Thessaloniki (27.10.16) – Audio recorded – Transcribed in Greek

Part III

Different Applications of Boundary Enlargement

6 Different Scenes, Different Trajectories but the Same Process: A Within-Case Comparison

Abstract

This chapter offers a comparative perspective by discussing two necessary comparisons. Following a within-case comparative approach, this chapter first analyses the different development of the social movement scenes of food, health and labour, and marks the most significant similarities and differences in their course. Moreover, the second comparison deals with the different trajectories observed in the social movement scenes of food, health and labour, with regards to the factors of organizational structure, resources and identity. By doing so, it places in the epicentre the mechanisms and sub-mechanisms analysed in the empirical chapters and relates them to the literature of contentious politics. In this respect, the chapter provides an overview of the different scenes and the contentious mechanisms that contributed to their development.

Keywords: Social movement scenes; Social movement trajectories; Comparative perspective; Contentious mechanisms

The advent of the economic crisis transformed the social movement community in Greece, as attention shifted from claim-based protest repertoires towards service-oriented forms of action. Chapters 3, 4, and 5 provide primary empirical insight to the repertoires developed in the food, health, and labour social movement scenes; the contentious politics framework claims that similar sets of mechanisms are identified in different contexts, while different sets of mechanisms lead to similar processes. This inquiry conceives the change in repertoires as a reflection of a boundary enlargement process, where previously defined boundaries of collective action are extended both practically and conceptually. In order to understand the different paths

leading to the development of the boundary enlargement process, this chapter, first, marks some important similarities and differences among the social movement scenes of food, health, and labour; and second, compares the distinct development of the three scenes by focusing on the trajectories' evolution in terms of organizational structure, resources, and identity.

6.1 Comparing the Scenes

Austerity measures have severely affected the sectors of food, health, and labour. Perceived as social movement scenes, the social movement community presents increased activity with the provision of bottom-up services. Our aim is to demonstrate the way in which social movement initiatives become unofficial welfare providers in covering basic needs. The three aforementioned scenes are closely related; some organizations are involved in multiple scenes, while those operating in one scene exclusively, tend to have links with organizations from other scenes as well. The three social movement scenes present similarities and differences in terms of their organizational structure, resources, and identity. Starting with the organizational structure, we turn our attention to the origins of these repertoires, the lack of initial coordination, the issue of expertise, the different degrees of commitment, as well as recruitment criteria for the members of the alternative repertoires. Furthermore, we underline the common role of resources in facilitating connections between new and traditional actors of the social movement community, as well as the role of the former in allocating new resources within the latter. We single out the anti-fascist feature, which is shared among the service-oriented organizations – albeit with varying degrees of political engagement – and finally, we underline the construction of their collective identities based on debates, conflicts, and collaborations.

6.1.1 Comparing the Organization of the Scenes

The most common feature of all the social movement scenes relates to the origins of their organizations. Field research shows that they have all been set up by bottom-up initiatives. However, these initiatives are not identical. With respect to the social movement scene of food, we can observe some internal differentiations. The first attempts to organize the markets without middlemen was initiated by a group of volunteers in a small municipality in Northern Greece. Although more traditional social movement actors

followed, the initial efforts were employed by groups of citizens without any precise ideological position. On the same ground, we can see a number of social kitchens established by grassroots collectives, which were previously engaged in ad-hoc civil disobedient actions. Nevertheless, the organization of collective meals originates in more traditional social movement organizations (SMOs), by incorporating the operation of kitchens into their activities; we refer to these as collective kitchens. Similarly, the collection and distribution of food parcels is attributed to traditional political organizations responsible for their operation. Moving on to the social movement scene of health, the establishment of the social clinics appears to be the result of healthcare activism. This is the case of the first clinic founded in the early 1990s and those that were established shortly after 2008. Our last concern deals with the labour social movement scene and the establishment of self-managed cooperatives. The investigation of the past reveals that political aspirations, stemming from international practices of solidarity trade, interwoven with the activists' interest in promoting egalitarian views in their workplace, were among the most important determinants for bringing the cooperatives to life.

Although it is hard to deny the grassroots' character of these endeavours, the founders' internal differentiation is important, in order to understand how boundary enlargement applies in different settings. This is the case concerning the diverse social backgrounds of the founders of social kitchens and those of social clinics: the former were among the most deprived parts of the population and the latter were healthcare professionals with upper social statuses. Similar variations were observed in terms of politicization. The markets have been established by active volunteer groups, while the self-managed cooperatives came from the international solidarity to the Zapatistas experience and discussions on self-management among squatters.

Social movement theorists distinguish between official and unofficial SMOs (Staggenborg, 2011, pp. 34-35). The former are subject to bureaucratic procedures, specific decision-making processes, division of labour, precise criteria for membership and rules that govern the SMOs' subunits. On the contrary, unofficial SMOs take on a looser approach when it comes to each of the aforementioned features. It is stressed in Chapter 1 that this rigid distinction is not useful anymore, since the boundaries responsible for their division seem to have been enlarged. However, this enlargement was not the same for each of the organizations under study. Although relations and tasks are subject to informal rules, the clinics have a relatively clear division of labour according to the members' skills and professional expertise. This does not apply to the labour scene. Cooperatives implement rotation strategies,

thus having all their members receive comprehensive training. Division of labour in the scene of food according to the members' skills is obvious in the collective and social kitchens, but much less so in the open-air markets and the collection of food parcels.

The lack of coordination among these endeavours is striking. Although the establishment of the first self-managed cooperatives took place in Athens and Thessaloniki around the same period, they were not aware of each other's existence. The same goes for social clinics. The establishment of the social clinic in Thessaloniki coincided with the foundation of the Metropolitan Community Clinic at Helliniko (MKIE) in Athens, without any communication between the two taking place. The social movement scene of food differs slightly. The establishment of the first market received enormous attention from the national media, urging other initiatives to familiarize themselves with its operation. Despite cases where communication among different initiatives gave rise to new markets without middlemen, the emerging alternative repertoires initially lacked coordination.

Markets, clinics, and cooperatives grew in different cities during the same period without being subject to strong coordination. This is reflective of a broader and increasing social trend towards service-oriented practices. Most importantly, though, these cases show the complexity of networks within social movements.

In contrast to the classic agenda of social movement studies, Diani (2015, p. 198) argues that networks should not be conceived as preconditions that lead to sustained interactions with the opponents, but, rather, the outcome of these interactions. These approaches employ qualitative differences which set the foundations for introducing divergent definitions of what is considered a social movement. Without underestimating their contributions, this research claims that networks are mainly the outcome of collective action, and, to a lesser degree, the prerequisite for its development. Of course, we do not intend to disregard the existence of unofficial networks, assisting the expansion of these repertoires. Networks that were already established before the square movement, were important to the development of many service-oriented organizations. The ties between activists and traditional SMOs were also important in spreading these practices across the social movement community. However, the networks of the alternative repertoires came in play once the organizations under study stabilized their actions.

Coming back to the social movement scenes, we cannot discuss the provision of welfare services, without first addressing the topic of expertise. Social clinics require a certain level of professional expertise or connection with the related networks in healthcare. The same also goes for the labour

scene. However, expertise was not at all relevant in the food scene. Members and beneficiaries in the markets without middlemen were assigned manual labour, which did not require any relevant experience. This is also illustrated in the markets' passage towards consumers' cooperatives, when the respective organizations seek personnel from the reservoir of their beneficiaries. The same also goes for the repertoires of collection and distribution of food parcels and the collective and social kitchens. Despite the fact that some members were professional chefs or used to work in the catering industry, empirical evidence shows that the organization of collective meals does not require any previous experience.

Diversity is also present in the issue of commitment. The rise of the protest cycles is characterized by intense action, creativity and enthusiasm. However, the decline of mobilization tends to have negative impact on the aforementioned features. Research on social movements shows that lifetime activism regarding people enrolled in specific official SMOs, who develop their lives on the basis of their activism, becomes less common over time (Walgrave, 2013, p. 206). This does not mean that people engage less in social movements; rather 'many potential participants do not commit themselves to one cause but act as wavering protest consumers jumping from one cause to another, temporarily picking a SMO or protest event as they see fit' (*Ibid*, p. 207). This becomes quite interesting since the culture of the left-wing and libertarian political space in Greece imposes a sense of "duty to participate" and a feeling of guilt on activists who refrain from participation. Devotion and consistency are crucial for boosting participation in SMOs, but it varies when it comes to the alternative repertoires of action. Commitment to the new service-oriented organizations is marked with differences. This becomes clear when comparing the social clinics to the social and collective kitchens. Social clinics present great flexibility in the commitment of their members. In particular, the clinics' operation is based on a defined time-schedule, while the external networks of healthcare professionals supporting their operation, enables the participants to engage with different degrees of intensity. On the contrary, the operation of the social kitchens, and to a lesser extent, the collective kitchens, requires the greatest commitment possible from a few individuals responsible for the smooth operation of the collective meals. Moreover, group commitment is also required for the collection and distribution of food parcels.

Nevertheless, we should be cautious not to confuse commitment with engagement. Volunteers in the clinics may work shifts for two hours a week, but this does not imply they feel less engaged than others. This approach contradicts the sense of guilt and the arteriosclerotic "activist purity" often

met in the social movement community in Greece. It marks the necessity for less demanding structures, that will not exhaust activists, in order to incorporate politics in the settings of everyday life, as well as it underlines the need to create “spaces for rest” to decrease the fatigue of activists burned out from the continuous and demanding engagement in collective action. The mechanism of partial commitment, as described in the case of social clinics, represents one step towards this goal.

Organizations operating in each of the three scenes are based on direct-democratic, self-organized and horizontal procedures. However, they seem to have different philosophies for recruiting new members. The relatively strict criteria direct cooperatives to seek for personnel through the members’ personal networks. This contradicts the repertoires introduced in the food and health social movement scenes, which are characterized by their open-minded attitude. Social clinics and markets without middlemen have few entry requirements, allowing people without previous involvement in collective political settings to find a role, feel useful, and participate in the organization of the respective repertoires.

6.1.2 Comparing the Resources of the Scenes

Having sketched out the most important similarities and differences in the organizational structure, we now turn our attention to resources. Markets without middlemen, social clinics, and self-managed cooperatives have commonly treated resources as the means of connecting with other organizations, with resource-exchange incarnating the practical expression of solidarity. Markets without middlemen introduced the practice of “solidarity percentage” by distributing some of the producers’ goods to other social solidarity structures, individuals, and families in need. Similar actions have been undertaken by self-managed cooperatives. These dealt with donations of a percentage of their surpluses to other cooperatives, political groups, and grassroots initiatives. Resources show a welcoming environment for the development of contacts between the service-oriented organizations and more traditional SMOs. Most importantly however, the markets and self-managed cooperatives act as entry points for new resources, since they receive monetary resources from wider audiences to then fund similar endeavours and social struggles.

However, new resources have also been provided by organizations without the use of monetary transactions. The health scene shows that social clinics are funded through donations and provide medication free of charge to beneficiaries, while many of them found themselves supplying the local

hospitals with drugs and other pharmaceutical products. Fundraising through donations also takes place in many collective and social kitchens, as well as in organizations collecting and distributing food parcels. These organizations provide their services free of charge, and often operate to support other local struggles. In this respect, resources enhance the development of solidarity ties among different organizations, and often engage donors in collective action. Overall, organizations in all the scenes act as mediators which receive resources from wider audiences and allocate them to the social movement community. In this respect, resources set the basis for the construction of an unofficial network of solidarity economy.

6.1.3 Comparing the Identity of the Scenes

The process of boundary enlargement in the Greek context marks the shift from protest to service-oriented repertoires of action. Equally important, it signifies the conceptual and cognitive enlargement of the actors' limits, which are extended beyond the previously rigid and well-defined political and social understandings. Therefore, it is important to underscore the similarities and differences in the three scenes with regards to identity.

A strict anti-fascist stance is shared by each respective scene. When the neo-Nazi party of Golden Dawn started to gain popularity in the public sphere, the service-oriented repertoires were dressed in clear anti-fascist elements. Anti-fascist and anti-racist fields are interrelated, and unite different sectors of the social movement community in Greece. The organization of annual anti-racist festivals in many Greek cities since the early 1990s, have managed to create a common space where different political collectives and heterogeneous social groups meet each other, interact, and engage in debate. This common space has preserved the anti-fascist identity deeply embodied in the activists' political course throughout the years. Similar to the anti-austerity claims, anti-fascism acts as an umbrella identity, connecting various social struggles.

The new service-oriented organizations did not limit their anti-fascist character in claim-making, but rather, through the provision of bottom-up welfare services, they implemented an inclusionary approach in practice. Markets without middlemen excluded producers supporting Golden Dawn, as well as those who imposed poor working conditions to Greek and migrant fieldworkers. Collective and social kitchens served marginalized social groups and cooked in support of the refugee squats, while a set of collectives collected and distributed food parcels to deprived groups of Greeks and migrants. The provision of primary healthcare services was also inclusive,

with social clinics collectively declaring that medicine should by default adopt an indiscriminate perspective. As a matter of fact, the food and health social movement scenes strongly contradict with the exclusive food and blood donations from Greeks to Greeks organized by Golden Dawn. In the same vein, the self-managed cooperatives participated in many pro-migrant solidarity actions and served as anti-fascist territorial hubs.

Each of the three scenes is characterized by progressive understandings based on left-wing and libertarian ideologies. In this respect, anti-fascism played a strong role in shaping their cultural development. Although this progressive view is shared by each of the three scenes, its application varies among repertoires. In this respect, markets without middlemen, social kitchens, and social clinics seem to promote broader and all-encompassing perspectives, while the collective kitchens and cooperatives adopt more explicit viewpoints.

In response to the unaffordable prices of agricultural products and the exclusion of citizens from the public healthcare system, markets and clinics quickly adopted an anti-austerity rhetoric. The gradual development of the two networks on a national level further enabled them to promote their anti-austerity claims. This development also coincides with the unifying environment against the troika, during the first years of the protest cycle, which brought together politically diverse organizations. However, changes in the external political environment with the rise of SYRIZA, *Synaspismos Rizospastikis Aristeras* (Coalition of Radical Left), paved the way for the fragmentation of this unity. Social clinics are representative cases here. The restoration of the unemployed's access to the public health system affected the clinics' internal operation, caused internal fights, ceased some of their services and welcomed the development of new alliances based on specific political orientations.

Although markets and clinics gradually adopted specific political positions, cooperatives and collective kitchens were already politicized from their inception. The rise of unemployment, and the decrease of the citizens' ability to meet their nutrition needs, increased the establishment of cooperatives and collective kitchens. However, these repertoires were already employed by relatively closed groups of people with increased ideological homogeneity. This does not imply the absence of internal disputes, nor does it mean that these organizations followed identical paths. But this relative homogeneity enabled the organizations to focus on and challenge specific political issues, as well as to discuss how the "new" reality interacts with their theoretical backgrounds. Self-management is a central aspect brought up from these debates. In the context of austerity, self-management was not just another

theoretical issue; rather, it mirrored the practical tool for experiencing the activists' norms and values. This becomes clear with regards the social movement scene of labour. Cooperatives employ different approaches in terms of aggressive and defensive self-management. Nevertheless, attention to identity reveals a growing trend of forming cooperatives in different sectors of the social movement community, with squats, social centres, and SMOs incorporating forms of unofficial cooperativism and solidarity economy. This is quite fascinating, if we take into consideration that around 25 years ago the social movement community in Greece emphatically favoured the absence of economic transactions.

Regardless of whether or not the alternative repertoires obtained a generic or a more precise political perspective, they managed to engage a number of individuals without any prior participation in collective action. This engagement is twofold. On the one hand, it refers to the movements' sympathizers, individuals donating drugs to social clinics, shopkeepers offering their goods to collective and social kitchens and customers donating food outside supermarkets. On the other hand, it points to the active involvement of the producers, customers, patients, and hungry and poor people in the operation of the respective organizations. This entails a common process of politicization and active involvement of outsiders in social movement activities, which took place during the period of austerity. At the same time, it marks crucial differences between the scenes.

The social movement scenes of food and health managed to engage their beneficiaries in the provision of services and to distinguish their actions from similar efforts of welfare provision held by institutional actors. What is important here, was the development of a sense of community between organizers and the audience. This was not an easy process, as collective identities were constructed on the basis of continuous debates. By recruiting and interacting with volunteers and beneficiaries from diverse political and social backgrounds, these organizations came across numerous dilemmas. Due to the absence of fees for the provision of services, dilemmas in the food and health scene mostly centred on the issues of charity, philanthropy, and social solidarity. Additionally, their role towards the state (health system, institutional soup kitchens) and the market (small grocery stores, farmer markets) was also under negotiation. Nevertheless, the continuous debates set the basis for the construction of collective identities and the enhancement of a sense of community. Similar problems arose in the labour scene, despite the fact that cooperatives typically attract a more homogenized population. The debates in the labour scene are positioned prior to the establishment of the first cooperatives, with criticism first targeting the commercialization of

movement ethics for economic profit, and second, for securing the egalitarian labour conditions for a small number of workers, while leaving the capitalist system untouched. As the time passed, self-managed practices gained legitimation within the social movement community and reached wider audiences that had a relatively loose relationship with collective action. In this respect, the different starting points of the three social movement scenes concluded in a similar fashion, with a common outcome.

Our analysis suffers, to a certain extent, from the overlapping between cases. Alternative repertoires from different scenes have been employed by the same organizations, impeding the categorization and systematic analysis. However, this difficulty also shows how these movement scenes are interconnected and interact with each other. This does not only affect the individual organizations but also discloses the dynamic relationships developed between the mechanisms in the three scenes of food, health, and labour.

6.2 Comparing the Trajectories

The previous section outlined the basic similarities and differences of the three scenes. This section continues this discussion and compares the trajectories of the basic mechanisms, as these were developed regarding the factors of organizational structure, resources and identity.

6.2.1 Trajectories in Organizational Structure

McAdam et al. argue that processes involve ‘recurrent combinations and sequences of mechanisms that operate identically or with great similarity across a variety of situations’ (2001, p. 27). Our study shows that similar sets of recurrent mechanisms, namely, coordinated action, certification, emulation, and brokerage, have been developed in the organizational structure of all three scenes. However, these sets of mechanisms are subject to important differences that influence the variety of the scenes in terms of their trajectories. Following the Alimi et al. (2015) suggestion to further regress the mechanisms composing one process, specific mechanisms in one repertoire may appear as sub-mechanisms in others. This depends on the significance the mechanisms acquire in the given contexts, and whether they are the final outcome, or constitute crucial components of it. This occurs in the case of brokerage and appropriation mechanisms.

Brokerage is probably the purest example of relational mechanisms, which in periods of increased contention enhances the connection among

groups and individuals, as well as new and traditional groups (McAdam et al., 2001, p. 26. 85). In the case of markets without middlemen, the different organizers interacted by sharing information on the procedures required to set up the different markets, as well as by using the contact details from earlier struggles to advertise their action. McAdam et al. support that, 'social appropriation and brokerage involves foregone framings and linkages as much as strategies and lines of action actually adopted' (2001, p. 117). In our case, appropriation involves a spatial dimension. The appropriation of squares, parks, and community care centres served the distribution of order sheets, diffused information for the markets' operation in broader audiences and transformed the urban space into everyday resistance (Harvey, 2012). Brokerage and spatial appropriation were significant components (sub-mechanisms) which facilitated the diffusion of markets without middlemen. However, brokerage and social appropriation were much more decisive for the overall process of boundary enlargement, with regards to the operation of collective and social kitchens and the collection and distribution of food parcels.

Scholars of contentious politics argue that social appropriation mechanisms turn non-political groups into political actors (Tilly and Tarrow, 2015, p. 36). Although the process of politicization is too complicated and time-consuming to be described under the name of a single mechanism, social appropriation provides the basis for this procedure to take place. In the case of kitchens, social appropriation mechanisms triggered the active engagement of beneficiaries in the provision of services, marking the self-organized and solidarity character of their operation. In the collection and distribution of food parcels, brokerage mechanisms pointed to the use of pre-existing contact information by SMOs, which activated their connection with the beneficiaries. The mechanism of brokerage helped advertise the markets' operation in the movement community, but these have reached much wider audiences. However, brokerage was the cornerstone for the organization and distribution of food parcels, since this repertoire was exclusively based on a specific group of beneficiaries. The same also stands for appropriation mechanisms. In other words, although the same mechanisms can be found in all three cases, their role is more significant for the repertoires' overall operation in some cases and less in others.

Specific mechanisms seem to be more important in activating particular repertoires and less in others, defining in this way the different sequences of trajectories that the scenes follow. In order to understand the reasons behind this differentiation leading to different trajectories, we focus on the

mechanisms of coordinated action, certification, emulation, and brokerage, and the way these are formed in the three social movement scenes.

Starting with the food scene, the markets without middlemen have been organized on a national level. This is mirrored by the centrality of the coordinated action mechanism, which turned the scattered markets around the country into an organized network. However, the same does not apply to the case of kitchens. Although the mechanism of coordinated action was triggered in the markets' initial stage, it took place quite late with regards to the collective and social kitchens. This diversity reflects the different degrees of popularity the two repertoires attracted, while it also emphasizes the different size of the respective audiences they served. Coordinated action was necessary for the markets' diffusion. Once it was activated, it also affected the root of other mechanisms, by triggering a shift from the certification to the de-certification mechanism. This observation calls for greater attention to the certification mechanisms.

Certification by external authorities acted as a catalyst for the development of some initiatives, while it had relatively low influence on others. The markets without middlemen, the social clinics, and the cooperatives are striking examples of how the approval granted by institutional actors and the legislature have also positively affected their popularity. Certification by institutional authorities smoothed the flow of new activists into collective action and, initially, reduced the possibility of confrontation with the authorities. Additionally, it provided the activists with the legal means of establishing cooperatives. However, certification mechanisms were less influential in the collection and distribution of food parcels. We stressed earlier that the markets' open character addressed the local community settings and invited volunteers to assist their operation. Nevertheless, the collection and distribution of food parcels was a particularly internal practice for the SMOs' activity. Therefore, instead of certification, brokerage mechanisms were more valuable here. Brokerage signified the development of the network of beneficiaries, whose absence would have made the operation of this repertoire impossible.

All the repertoires in the food scene are subject to variation, with regards to the coordinated action, certification and brokerage mechanisms. Nevertheless, they share the contribution of the emulation sub-mechanism for the activation of diffusion mechanisms. This is not only for the sake of the mechanisms' description. Rather, emulation here confirms the literature on social movements, which argues that change in movements' repertoires is very slow. Despite the outbreak of the service-oriented repertoires and the social creativity that characterizes them, our analysis shows that social

movement actors draw heavily on their traditional toolkits. Collective identities in post-modern societies are fluid, relational, and combine the living reality with its pre-figurative potentials (Psimitis, 2017, p. 230). In this sense, emulation seems to be the mechanism that connects the old with the new, tradition with modernity, or even better: modernity with post-modernity. Emulation shows the connection of these alternative forms with traditional SMOs and the transition of activists' organizational formats and values in the context of everyday life.

The labour scene follows a similar trajectory with regards to organizational structure. Here as well, coordinated action and emulation proved to be the central mechanisms in facilitating the development of the boundary enlargement process. As in the cases of markets and kitchens, coordinated action was essential in the construction of common understandings and a cooperativist identity in the labour scene. However, even more decisive for the trajectory of the cooperatives was the emulation mechanism.

Born out of activists' efforts to promote self-organized practices in the workplace (that is self-management), cooperatives mirror the experience of applying the social movement organizational practices in the work environment. This becomes quite clear mostly for the cooperatives established shortly before the advent of the new protest cycle, and to a lesser extent, for the cooperatives born during the crisis. With regards to the food scene, emulation mechanisms enabled the "know-how" transition from one organization to another (collective kitchens, collection of food parcels), as well as the repetition of practices from one period to another (from open-air markets to consumers' cooperatives). With regards to the labour scene however, the mechanism of emulation seems to acquire a more significant role, since it points precisely to the transition of the organizational experience from one social setting to another (from social movements to labour environment). The recognition of collective decision-making as the ultimate power and the establishment of entry and exit criteria for the new members similar to those set by SMOs for activists, are profound characteristics which mark the adoption of SMOs' organizational practices by the cooperatives. Due to this, the mechanism of emulation constitutes the most central mechanism in the organizational structure of the labour scene. This difference is quite substantial in explaining the distinct trajectories of the food and labour scenes, since it highlights that cooperatives are strongly advised and defined by the traditional social movement practices, regardless of their relatively new organizational formats.

Having sketched out the mechanisms of coordinated action, certification, and emulation, we now turn our attention to the mechanism of brokerage.

As mentioned above, brokerage mechanisms were important for the collection and distribution of food parcels, since the latter was a rather internal practice to the SMOs' activities. However, brokerage mechanisms took on substantial roles in more open collectives, like the social clinics. In particular, brokerage mechanisms show how the doctors' professional networks have been developed and contributed to the establishment of the social clinics. Unlike the food and labour scenes, where the mechanism of coordinated action was triggered after the appearance of the first organizations and acted mainly during the process of diffusion, the social clinics' development was based on pre-existing networks of healthcare professionals.

6.2.2 Trajectories in Resources

The social movement scenes of food, health, and labour present great similarities in the development of their trajectories concerning the factor of resources. This is mostly due to the brokerage mechanism, which proved to be an important facilitator in all three scenes and their respective repertoires. However, one particularity regarding the different functions that resources might incarnate deserves our attention. Depending on the different repertoires, resources have been used in funding similar activities, connecting different organizations, and granting the approval of institutional actors. This is to say that, although the mechanism of brokerage is common in all three scenes, it is also shaped by the respective role resources are called to play. This becomes clearer when looking at the similar paths followed by the markets' organizers and the self-managed cooperatives, as well as the respective similarities between the social clinics and the rest of the repertoires in the food scene.

Starting with the markets without middlemen, the mechanism of brokerage is clearly marked by the practice of the "solidarity percentage". By distributing a small share from the producers' profits, the markets used to fund impoverished families and social solidarity initiatives. In this respect, they managed to establish connections not only with similar initiatives, but also with grassroots organizations that have quite different activities. Drawing on this, similar was the practice introduced by self-managed cooperatives in the labour scene, where a solidarity percentage was used in order to fund other cooperatives, self-managed endeavours, social solidarity actions and labour struggles.

The solidarity percentage was a common feature developed in the markets and the cooperatives. Another one deals with actions supporting the establishment of an unofficial solidarity market. The markets' attention

to quality products produced in Greece and decent labour conditions for the fieldworkers, overlap to a great extent with the values that define the actions of the self-managed cooperatives regarding their suppliers. The markets' evolution and their shift towards consumer cooperatives increase these similarities. Moreover, our analysis shows that many consumer cooperatives assisted the operation of the unofficial cooperative grocery stores functioning in the premises of traditional SMOs. This was mainly by providing consultation regarding the respective legislation and hands-on operation of the grocery stores, as well as sharing orders to the same producers. The same practice took place in the self-managed workers' cooperatives, as it is explained in Chapter 5. Nevertheless, what distinguishes the two repertoires is the introduction of compensation, with the markets supporting the voluntary character of their repertoires and the cooperatives promoting decent compensation for their members. Although this difference is quite salient, the two scenes seem to share a common path towards the construction of an unofficial solidarity economy. Still, we should be cautious. Both markets and cooperatives have relatively lower prices of products and services compared to the standards of the neoliberal market. But, at the same time, by customizing specific fees to specific services they do not reject the dominant economic transactions, as other forms of alternative markets do (Benmecheddal et al., 2017). Nevertheless, by paying attention to the members' well-being instead of profit, implementing internal horizontal relations, attempting to share the "know-how" techniques as opposed to the rough competition of neoliberal corporations and engaging in funding social solidarity practices, markets without middlemen and social cooperatives distinguish themselves from mainstream economic endeavours.

Together with the aforementioned similarities, resources in the social movement scenes of food and labour increase the social movement's activity. In the first case, markets are pictured as open hubs, which enabled the dissemination of informative material and the operation of grassroots actions hosted by local SMOs. In the second case, the premises of the self-managed cooperatives have been used as open spaces, where a number of political and social initiatives held their assemblies. Anti-fascist movie screenings and workshops on solidarity economy took place quite often. Both markets and cooperatives stood as collection points for medicine, clothes, and dry food, which was subsequently donated to local social clinics and pro-refugee solidarity actions.

Resources in markets without middlemen and social cooperatives dealt mostly with monetary and infrastructural support. However, this is only one side of the coin, since the alternative repertoires strongly highlight the role

of donations. In this respect, the case of social clinics constitutes a notable example. Drugs and medication were among the most important aspects regarding the clinics' resources. Although our field research shows that many clinics have set separate associations to receive monetary donations, drugs and medication derive mainly from in-kind donations. With the exception of some organizations, the establishment of separate associations does not find application in the rest of the studied repertoires. However, funding through in-kind donations does. In this respect, the social movement scene of health presents similarities with the rest of the repertoires developed in the scene of food. In-kind donations were also the main resources in the social kitchens (and to a lesser extent in the collective kitchens) and in the organizations responsible for collecting and distributing food parcels. These examples show that the health and food scenes are very much alike on the side of "demand". The same also happens on the "supply" side. Social clinics and social kitchens provide their services free of charge. The same also goes for the collection and distribution of food parcels, while the collective kitchens introduced a small fee. These examples further strengthen our suggestion regarding the common role of brokerage in the health and food scenes.

Resources enhance the connection among different grassroots organizations, but they also favour the interaction with institutional actors. The "solidarity percentage" connected the markets with bottom-up initiatives, but it also granted their certification by institutional actors. The dual role of brokerage in connecting service-oriented organizations with traditional SMOs and institutional actors does not constitute a privilege of the markets without middlemen; similar to the "solidarity percentage", social clinics issued medicine donations to local hospitals to support the latter's activities. Attention to the case of clinics shows that out-group brokerage and certification mechanisms seem to support each other once again. More precisely, the coverage of the clinics' fixed costs by municipal authorities, as well as the donation of medical and office equipment from institutional actors, hybrid organizations initiatives and associations, can be correlated with the licensing of many markets by municipal authorities to operate in public squares. Respectively, reactions that came from healthcare professional associations against the clinics' operations, awaken memories of similar claims introduced by brokers' associations regarding the markets' operation. Markets and cooperatives on the one hand, and clinics, kitchens, and organizations distributing food parcels on the other hand, present great similarities in terms of their trajectories. However, the similarities between markets and clinics with regards to the institutional actors, highlight the interconnection of these repertoires in terms of resources.

The experiences discussed in terms of the alternative repertoires show that resources do not refer only to the maintenance of the organizations. Through the mechanism of brokerage, resources bring organizations closer to each other. Moreover, the development of ties and supportive practices also bear characteristics related to the factor of identity. In particular, the service-oriented structures do not operate only to cover the needs of their members. Nor do they open their services to wider audiences as a direct strategy for attracting more members. On the contrary, service-oriented organizations make use of their resources in order to support similar structures and diffuse their actions. The diffusion of service-oriented practices is also combined with the spread of cultural elements. Depending on the perspective, the spread of this culture might be seen either as filling the gap of state's retrenchment and bound to fail, or as hopeful innovative resistance practices which create independent (if not antagonistic) communities in the everyday life.

6.2.3 Trajectories in Identity

McAdam asserts that, 'as a prerequisite for action, would-be-insurgents must either create an organizational vehicle and its supporting collective identity or, more likely, *appropriate* an existing organization and the routine collective identity on which it rests' (2003, pp. 291-292). By analyzing the roots of the alternative repertoires, we came across instances of continuities from earlier periods of mobilization. However, if we focus on the respective organizational vehicles that the alternative repertoires made use of, we conclude that the food and health scenes developed new organizational formats, while the labour scene appropriated existing ones. All of them have, nevertheless, based the development of their collective identities on a new terrain. In order to further explore this field, we focus on the fluidity of identities, as indicated by post-modern accounts in relation to the alternative repertoires.

In line with research on social movements (Rootes, 2013, p. 307), our research suggests that organizations with less defined identities develop ties with other organizations faster and become brokers by bridging previously unconnected organizations. This becomes clearer especially in times when there is a common issue at stake. Although less-defined identities soften the external edges of organizations and allow their connection, field research suggests that organizations with fluid identities cannot escape sharp internal conflicts. Collective identities in the alternative repertoires have been developed through internal debates. They have mainly centred on whether

these endeavours are antagonistic to the respective services provided by the state and the market. On this ground, the markets without middlemen, the unofficial grocery stores established by neighbourhood assemblies and the social clinics, present important similarities, while the self-managed cooperatives in the scene of labour present a contrasting scenario.

The food related repertoires compared their role to the one of open-air farmers' markets and small local grocery stores. Additionally, social clinics were subject to an ongoing internal discussion on their position, in relation to the public healthcare system. Apart from the more ideologically radical initiatives (mostly of libertarian origins), which perceived by default the nature of their repertoires as opposing to the state and market-oriented welfare provision, the vast majority of the service-oriented organizations argued in favour of their independent character, their ambition to promote fair trade practices and move towards universal healthcare coverage respectively. Nevertheless, their actions did not aim to completely dissolve the dominant systems of power, nor the actors traditionally responsible for the provision of welfare services. Self-managed cooperatives seem to have a more radical view by using their workplace as a means of connecting with other social struggles, and promoting an egalitarian and solidarity view on economy. This difference in the pathways of the labour scene with the other two scenes is better explained by examining the respective contentious mechanisms. The translation mechanism and the sub-mechanism of bricolage in the case of clinics is contradicted with the category formation mechanism in the social movement scene of labour. The former show that identity construction is an amalgamation of different features, while the latter favours a relatively more stable improvement of the collective identity.

Boundary enlargement also implies a cognitive enlargement. One aspect of this cognitive opening points to the social opening of the studied organizations. The food scene presents an adequate example of social opening, since both the markets without middlemen and the collective kitchens had to cope with a rather diverse audience of members and beneficiaries. However, the social opening is another aspect that presents internal differentiation, since some organizations set even their basic principles open to debate, while others perceived their encounter with audiences different from their usual sympathizers, in terms of social opening. Examples picturing both orientations can be found in a wide array of organizations from all three scenes, such as neighbourhood assemblies, organized collective kitchens in traditional SMOs and social clinics.

Regardless of the scale of social opening, the incorporation of service-oriented practices held surprises for the organizers. In each of the studied

cases, the organizers were confronted with beneficiaries, patients, and customers expressing fascist, xenophobic and sexist behaviour. Of course, the more socially open an organization is, the more severely it is affected by this behaviour. This, in turn, facilitated a respective change in frames and practices, defining their organizers' subsequent trajectories.

Together with the agency of collective action, scholars of contentious politics urge researchers to also pay attention to dominant social powers, such as the state. Our analysis suggests that many service-oriented organizations did not hesitate to collaborate with institutional actors, something that would be quite problematic in a pre-crisis context. On the one hand, social clinics, social kitchens and the organizations distributing food parcels interacted and negotiated with public authorities and institutional actors to different degrees and for different reasons. On the other hand, this applies, to a lesser extent, to the markets without middlemen and self-managed cooperatives. Potential partnerships with institutional actors were decisive for many of these organizations to follow distinct trajectories. However, variation does not appear only in terms of the different repertoires; it can be also found within the same repertoires as well. With regards to the health scene, some clinics decided to closely cooperate with institutional authorities, while others adopted a confrontational approach against state dependency. Similarly, in the food scene, some organizations distributing food parcels received funding from hybrid and institutional organizations, while others relied solely on the non-institutional forms of politics. Additionally, a number of markets without middlemen received approval from the municipal authorities to operate in public parks and squares, while others decided to continue their operation in squatted spaces. Lastly, in respect to the labour scene, some cooperatives did not find it problematic to receive funding from the European Union (EU) National Strategic Reference Frameworks (NSFRs), while others clearly rejected any kind of state-related subsidies.

Social appropriation is probably among the most central mechanisms that defined the alternative repertoires' trajectory. Whether as a mechanism or a sub-mechanism, social appropriation takes place in each repertoire of the three social movement scenes. Social appropriation mirrors the engagement of previously non-politicized individuals, or better said, non-activists, in the implementation of the alternative repertoires. It also stresses the personal transformation of service receivers into service providers. Although the increased politicization of individuals is bounded by the context of the crisis, the role of social appropriation should not be minimized as a mere reaction to the economic hardships. On the contrary, it should be also connected

with the broader discontent towards the mainstream political settings and the neoliberal representative democracy, as this has been illustrated by theorists of political economy (Crouch, 2011; Schäfer and Streeck, 2013). The sense of community, family and sociality found in these repertoires, contrast the elements of alienation and identities' fragmentation that come to the forefront in post-modern societies. Therefore, social appropriation represents this mechanism that enabled the actors of these repertoires to leave their passive background and engage in collective action.

As we now turn our attention to the mechanism of social appropriation, it is important to begin by illustrating the process through which it was developed. Starting with the food scene, the markets without middlemen managed to associate their members with specific roles, independent of their political background. The critical component here was sociality. As we explain in Chapter 3, sociality depicts a unique procedure of socialization, which facilitates the individuals' exodus from their private settings and shows their incorporation in a collective environment, formed out of the difficulties that isolated them in the first place. The sense of belonging to collective organizations, with assigned roles that do not require any expertise, proved to be valuable for engaging beneficiaries in the provision of services. With regards to the kitchens' repertoires, social appropriation began with the beneficiaries serving and cooking; their participation in collecting donations outside of supermarkets also supported the collection and distribution of food parcels. Similar was the trajectory in the health scene, where instead of sociality, the basic component was the members' partial commitment. Partial commitment was the characteristic which resulted in individuals overcoming their skepticism in participating in political endeavours *stricto sensu* and offering their skills by concentrating on the provision of services. Partial commitment does not refer only to the clinics' core and peripheral members, but also to the donors. Donors were not external to the clinics' operation; they have been perceived as organic parts of their supporting networks. In many occasions, medicine donations were the first steps donors followed in gradually engaging with the clinics' operation and finally become regular members. Although to a lesser extent, this path was also followed by the clinics' beneficiaries.

The labour scene experiences cases with members of cooperatives becoming politically active, as an outcome of their participation in collectively managing their businesses. However, appropriation here was not translated in the engagement of beneficiaries or non-politicized individuals in collective action. Rather, it signals a broader procedure that took place mostly in the initial phase of the cooperatives' establishment. Particularly,

it refers to the appropriation of the scene of labour by social movement actors. This appropriation, which is inextricably linked to the practices of self-management, marks the transition from a claim-making tradition met in the labour struggles, to the incorporation of the work environment as a field for creative action.

Service-oriented organizations managed to bridge the gap between the claims of the broader anti-austerity struggle and the personal difficulties of the individuals. Together with the aforementioned features of the social appropriation mechanism, the spatial dimension comes to the forefront. Against the neoliberal re-construction of the urban environment which came along with the recent crisis (Hayes, 2017, pp. 29-30), the alternative repertoires imposed the movement reality to the urban landscape. By implicating the sense of community feasts with activists' repertoires, open-air markets expanded the social movement activity outside the premises of SMOs and underlined the spatial dimension of openness. Although on a smaller scale, this spatial dimension also took place in the organization of outdoor social kitchens and the open-air activities of the collective kitchens in support of specific struggles. Lastly, the public anti-discriminatory actions of the cooperatives, such as workshops, movie screenings, pro-refugee actions, and neighbourhood marches, along with the fact that the majority of their audiences were anti-fascist activists, helped to mark specific neighbourhoods with an activist-friendly and an anti-fascist element.

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7 Boundary Enlargement in Different Contexts

Abstract

This chapter examines how the process of boundary enlargement applies to the 2011 Spanish and 2001 Argentinean anti-austerity mobilizations. After discussing boundary enlargement with regards to crisis-ridden Greece, this chapter explores how the process is formed in different geographical and chronological contexts. Taking into consideration the distinct contentious history of the two countries, it analyses the formation of boundary enlargement by elaborating secondary literature. Focusing on the Spanish mobilizations, the chapter investigates the contentious mechanisms developed in the cases of housing, health and education movements, and discusses the municipalist trend and the feminization of politics. Respectively, in the Argentinean case it focuses on the unemployed workers' movement, neighbourhood assemblies and recuperated factories, and touches upon the affective politics.

Keywords: Spanish crisis; Argentinean crisis; Municipalism; Feminization of politics; Affective politics

The previous chapters analyse the process of boundary enlargement in crisis-ridden Greece. Without limiting its function to the incorporation of service-oriented repertoires, this section focuses on the provision of unofficial welfare services by social movement actors in other contexts. By paying attention to the Spanish anti-austerity mobilizations in 2011 and the Argentinean movements of the 2001 crisis, we highlight a few instances in which the process of boundary enlargement may contribute to empirical research.

7.1 The Spanish anti-austerity mobilizations

Spain has experienced three protest cycles from the 1960s onwards (Portos, 2019, p. 48), with the last one ending in 2004 after the PSOE, *Partido Socialista Obrero Español* (Spanish Socialist Workers' Party) government complied with the movements' demands to withdraw the Spanish troops from Iraq (Karamichas, 2007). The advent of international social unrest in 2010-2011 followed by the economic crisis, triggered a new protest cycle against austerity measures. Critical scholars emphasize that public debt was not the cause of the Spanish crisis but, rather, its symptom, since the uneven geographical social development of the European Union (EU) has enabled the economic and political dominance of a "closed" number of countries over the region (Hadjimichalis, 2011). Nevertheless, the massive increase of unemployment and continuous cuts in public spending, the growing mistrust of people towards the traditional democratic institutions, and a widespread sense of corruption regarding the political elites (Anduiza et al., 2014, p. 751; Charnock et al., 2012, p. 9; Fortes and Brihuega, 2012), were among the main reasons for bringing thousands of people to the streets. An emblematic feature of the Spanish anti-austerity protest cycle was the protest on the 15th of May 2011, which characterizes the outburst of the Indignados movement (also described as 15M Movement named by the day of the protest) a few days earlier than the respective square movement in Greece.

The 15M movement occupied major squares all around Spain, with the Puerta del Sol in Madrid and Plaza Cataluña in Barcelona being the main centres. Based on horizontal procedures and through exchange libraries, grassroots kitchens and the main assembly, people of different ages and from different political backgrounds contributed to the development of their manifestations (Castañeda, 2012). Although earlier movements were characterized by issue-based claims, such as educational and labour reforms, or focused on specific ideological narratives, the Indignados were born out of widespread aggression due to the austerity reforms and mistrust towards the political and economic elites.

The Spanish Indignados and the Greek square movement were not the outcome of a direct diffusion (Roos and Oikonomakis, 2014). Still, they share a number of similar characteristics. Both movements were based on and advocated for direct democracy and horizontality, they established task forces and small thematic groups to ease their internal procedures, while decisions were determined by actions. What distinguishes the Indignados from earlier movements is the absence of control by any party, labour union, or specific political space (Abellán et al., 2012, p. 758). The

absence of unions and parties controlling the demonstrations, enabled the personalization of the communication channels through the use of social media and self-organized connective action networks (Anduiza et al., 2014), and opened the possibility of participation to everyone. The Indignados did not have clear boundaries and avoided any formal membership. Although skepticism rose for unions' participation in the first place, participants were an amalgamation of activists, interest groups, union members and academics. Similar to the participants in the Greek anti-austerity mobilizations, the majority of Indignados were more likely to be younger, educated, female, and unemployed (*Ibid*, pp. 760-762). The Indignados and the square movement involved numerous first-time protesters and, consequently, participants without an activist background became a decisive element for both movements (*Ibid*).

Perceiving movements as cases of continuities, Spain also experienced the rise of the student movement prior to the era of crisis (Zamponi and Fernández González, 2017). The student platform *Juventud Sin Futuro* (Youth without Future) played a crucial role in the development of the anti-austerity mobilizations and the connection between different discursive frames (*Ibid*). Similarities in their effects can also be found with regards to the mainstream political setting (Della Porta et al., 2017). In the case of Greece, the party of SYRIZA, *Synaspismos Rizospastikis Aristeras* (Coalition of Radical Left), expressed its support and adopted many of the movements' demands and discourse (Spourdalakis, 2014; Stavrakakis and Katsambekis, 2014), while its youth sector participated in the movement's actions and assemblies. In a similar vein, the founders of the radical left Podemos participated in the Indignados movement, adopted similar demands, while the party's initial decentralized and deliberative organizational form was based on the structure of Indignados assemblies (Barriere et al., 2015, p. 155; Romanos, 2017).

The square encampments were accompanied by claims for real and direct democracy in Spain and Greece respectively, expressing a broader discontent with the neoliberal economic and political system of governance. However, similarities are not limited to the squares' occupations, but they are extended to the trajectories of the two protest cycles. In this respect, attention to the course of the Spanish mobilizations reveals features of the boundary enlargement process. The crisis context triggered the development of this process, but its roots can be found in the pre-crisis era.

Although normative accounts distinguish the protest culture in Greece from a culture of consolidation in Spain (Andronikidou and Kovras, 2012), Spain appears to be 'in the first places in European statistics for protest

participation' (Anduiza et al., 2014, p. 752). The social movement community in Spain shows distinct orientations and organizational models of institutional left and autonomous political spaces (Flesher Fominaya, 2007). At the same time, Spain seems to pass through a process observed also in Greece (Kotronaki, 2015), when the early stages of the Global Justice Movement (GJM) were characterized by the diffusion of horizontal elements in traditional hierarchical political spaces (Flesher Fominaya, 2007). Of course, the diffusion of horizontal and self-organized practices in Greece and Spain differed, but both cases seem to share similar experiences in engaging leftist activists with more direct-democratic principles. The anti-austerity mobilizations, and the Indignados movement in particular, triggered the further diffusion of horizontal procedures to wider audiences and sparked the shift of attention towards more practical and pre-figurative approaches.

Like the Greek square movement, the Spanish Indignados present a case of eventful campaign (Portos, 2019). The two movements bear transformative characteristics on the individual and collective level, able to create memories, emotions, and a horizontal character which shapes the legacy of the following collective actions. This transformative role is highlighted by 'the attitude of the Indignados towards the role of "collective thinking" and "active listening" during assemblies' (Romanos, 2017, p. 152). This reminds us of the Melucci (1996, p. 376) listening spaces, one of the necessary conditions for communities responding to urgent situations. The peak of the 15M protests was followed by a process of decentralization, setting in action the mechanisms of downward scale-shift and coalition building (Portos, 2019). In particular, activists moved from the main city squares to local neighbourhood actions, while the collaboration of 15M activists with more traditional social movement actors increased.

Spain has a more than 50-year-old tradition in neighbourhood associations. However, over the years, the neighbourhood associations faded away and others became highly institutionalized, many of them being of libertarian and left-wing origins related to the Spanish Communist Party under the Franco dictatorship (Walliser, 2013). The advent of the 15M movement and its subsequent decentralization gave rise to new neighbourhood assemblies and granted the Indignados' engagement in (or appropriation of) the traditional ones by attributing a more confrontational tone to them. Attention shifted to urban issues by using the information and communications technology and open source communities (*Ibid*). Neighbourhood assemblies differed in size and intensity and lacked coordination among them. However, a number of neighbourhood assemblies reproduced the Indignados model,

put democracy at their core, and organized working groups and committees (Romanos, 2017, pp. 139-140).

Despite the incorporation of self-organized elements, the transition of 15M principles to the local level was not a linear process. Many assemblies were open to collaborating with local governments, and others profited from the cities' promotion of cultural and innovative practices, in order to support their activities (Walliser, 2013). These contradicted with a number of local assemblies which obtained more radical positions. Similar to the Greek context discussed in Chapter 2, the Indignados movement triggered the emergence of new actors, such as local assemblies, self-managed consumer cooperatives, and food banks; and strengthened already existing ones, like the housing movement (Romanos, 2017, p. 139). The decentralization of Indignados brought activists closer to the local contexts, forced them to face the everyday problems and set more attainable goals (Portos, 2019, p. 58). In order to see how the process of boundary enlargement takes place in the Spanish context, we turn our attention to housing, health, and education issues and particularly to the cases of PAH, *Plataforma de Afectados por la Hipoteca* (Platform of Those Affected by Mortgages), and *Marea Verde* (Green Tide) and *Marea Blanca* (White Tide).

7.1.1 The case of PAH

Upon its arrival in office in 1995-1996, the right-wing PP, *Partido Popular* (Popular Party) proposed a purely neoliberal agenda. Aznar's government implemented a series of reforms in labour market legislations, increasing flexibility and privatizations, and decreasing the share of the public sector (Charnock et al., 2012, p. 7). The high rise of new jobs and the simultaneous fall in unemployment rates were important aspects which prevented the PSOE-led governing coalition in 2004 from changing policies (*Ibid*). The construction sector was among the main targets of capital investment, with the Spanish banks trying to capitalize this propensity by reinforcing a 'credit-based speculation and extensive mortgage lending' (*Ibid*). On the other side of the coin, households' debts reached considerable highs, while the residential miracle with low interest rates created 'a housing stock of 23 million in a country of 40 million inhabitants' (Chislett, 2009 in Charnock et al., 2012, p. 7). The recent economic crisis triggered the explosion of this housing bubble.

The explosion of the growth bubble sparked a housing crisis, specifically pertaining to the repayment of mortgages (Lois-González and Piñeira-Mantiñán, 2015). At the same time, it gave rise to urban struggles, with

PAH being among its most popular expressions. However, the roots of the housing movement date back to 2003. An amalgamation of neighbourhood associations, unions, and left-leaning parties constructed the *Movimiento por una Vivienda Digna* (Movement for the Right to Decent Housing), initially raising claims against the real estate speculation and the high property prices (Flesher Fominaya, 2015, p. 468). The course of the movement's trajectory included the engagement of youth activists and the construction of the *V de Vivienda* (H for Housing) network. This development led to the adoption of more radical forms of action, destabilized the movement's affiliations with more institutional actors and associated the housing problem with precarity and corruption (Flesher Fominaya, 2015, p. 468; Romanos, 2014, p. 297). The outburst of the recent economic crisis signaled a change, from claiming decent housing to the inadequacy of mortgages' repayment, while the housing issue received popularity and became incorporated in the agenda of the 15M movement (*Ibid*).

'Between 2007 and 2011, there were 349,438 foreclosures and in 2008–2011 there were 166,716 evictions' (Flesher Fominaya, 2015, p. 468). As the crisis unfolded, the number increased dramatically. 212 foreclosures and 159 evictions took place every day in 2011, while 126,426 foreclosures were initiated in the first six months of 2012 (*Ibid*), with more than 30,000 families evicted in the same year (Romanos, 2014). Respectively, 39,000 people lost their primary residence in 2013 and 34,680 foreclosures on primary residence took place in 2014 (Flesher Fominaya, 2015, p. 468). And all of this occurred in a country with almost 3.4 million vacant homes (Romanos, 2014, p. 296). The striking numbers of people affected by the housing problem triggered the incorporation of new and the re-definition of old repertoires, enlarging in this way the boundaries of the Spanish movement community.

Of the most important examples is the occupation of Hotel Madrid in October 2011 by Indignados activists. This occupation set forward new challenges, such as the collective management of a huge building, accommodating evicted families and vulnerable groups and aiming to politicize non-activist individuals. Pre-figurative elements popped up from the 15M movement and the occupation of Hotel Madrid, showing that established rights, such as property rights, were questioned. This new repertoire illustrates signs of radical distinction from the past, or 'in other words, the 15-M movement embodies a new mobilization cycle and recognizes that demonstrations alone cannot be the pivotal acts in bringing about collective social change' (Abellán et al., 2012, p. 3). The occupied Hotel Madrid successfully diffused its actions, with its activists establishing 5 different squats in less than a month, while similar squats emerged in other major cities (*Ibid*, p. 5).

Of course, squatting has a long tradition in the Spanish social movement community (see Martínez López, 2018a). However, the anti-austerity mobilizations transformed it from an underground activity, which used to refer mostly to politicized activists, to a means of social use for broader audiences. The project of the occupied Hotel Madrid distanced itself from the squatting movement. By abandoning the usual attacking references of the squatting movement, new discourses surrounded this and similar subsequent endeavours. Framing the building occupations as recovered and liberated spaces from the real estate drama of evictions, Hotel Madrid opened its gates to neighbours and visitors (Abellán et al., 2012, p. 4; Debelle et al., 2018, p. 52; Martínez López, 2018b, pp. 41-42). Squatted social centres, an action initiated by 15M activists increased considerably, and traditional squats received new audiences related to the Indignados. These new squats started promoting food banks, cooperatives, and other social, cultural, and political activities, directly linked with the piazzas' encampments and neighbourhood struggles (Debelle et al., 2018, p. 59; Martínez López, 2018b, p. 41). Despite the differentiation of the new squats to the traditional squatting movement, collaboration was not abandoned. The cases of Can Batllo and El Banc Expropiat in Catalunya in 2011 are noteworthy cases which were developed by joint efforts of anarchist squatters and 15M activists (Debelle et al., 2018, pp. 62-68). Additionally, more institutionalized social centres occupying historical buildings and squatted social centres in banking offices rose in the next years (*Ibid*). These instances show that the Indignados movement 'has enabled a qualitative change with regard to the social meaning of occupations. Within a couple of weeks, squatting went from being a "taboo" in Spanish society to part of the commonly accepted repertoire of collective action' (Abellán et al., 2012, p. 6). This appropriation of old practices under new frames becomes quite clear in the case of PAH.

PAH was born in Barcelona in 2009, however, it received great attention in the aftermath of the squares' occupations. Based on a network model, PAH counts 224 platforms spread across the country (Flesher Fominaya, 2015, p. 470; Lois-González and Piñeira-Mantiñán, 2015, p. 133; Romanos, 2017, p. 149). These groups are self-funded and operate horizontally and according to the decisions of their general assemblies (*Ibid*). PAH employs a wide spectrum of repertoires. During their local meetings, PAH assemblies provide consultation and support debtors in their negotiations with the banks (Sabaté, 2016, p. 116). However, its role does not stop here. If negotiations do not work, PAH's members coordinate their actions, gather outside the houses, and block evictions. More than 2000 successful blockages have taken place up until September 2017 (Lois-González and Piñeira-Mantiñán, 2015;

Portos, 2019, p. 58; Romanos, 2014, pp. 297-298). Along with the blockades, PAH organizes marches and demonstrations inside and outside banks, attracting activists from the 15M and the traditional squatting movement (Flesher Fominaya, 2015, p. 471). Most importantly, PAH proceeds in the occupation of vacant houses and apartments, usually belonging to the banks, in order to practically serve the needs of the evicted families (Romanos, 2014, pp. 297-298; Sabaté, 2016, p. 116). By September 2017, PAH had managed to rehouse about 2,500 people in occupied apartments (Portos, 2019, p. 58; Romanos, 2017, pp. 142-143).

The practice of squatting diffused beyond the boundaries of the traditional squatting movement. Traditional squatters cooperated with 15M and PAH activists (Debelle et al., 2018, pp. 68-69), something that resembles the solidarity between official and unofficial cooperatives in the Greek social movement community. Contrary to the precedent movement for decent housing, PAH has specific goals. However, by scaling-up squatting to address a mainstream audience and using it with instrumental purposes (*Ibid.*, p. 60), PAH does not reject negotiation with authorities. In 2011, the platform used the legal institutional paths by issuing a Popular Legislative Initiative in order to deal with indebted households and provide them with alternative housing. Once this was rejected by the right-wing government, an upward scale shift mechanism followed, reminding us of the trajectory of social clinics in Greece. On the one hand, PAH issued an *escrache* (public condemnation) campaign, originally attributed to the movement dealing with those who disappeared during the dictatorship in Argentina, targeting specific politicians and publicly denouncing them for the sufferings of the evicted families (Flesher Fominaya, 2015, pp. 471-472; Romanos, 2014, pp. 297-298). On the other hand, the platform approached international institutions and the European court in order to allege the Spanish law on evictions for not complying with the EU consumer rights (Flesher Fominaya, 2015, p. 471; Sabaté, 2016, p. 116). The EU's decision in favour of PAH in 2013 triggered almost 400 municipal authorities to form a coalition with PAH and search for institutional solutions for decreasing the evictions (Romanos, 2014, pp. 299-300; Sabaté, 2016, p. 116). Although the squatting movement has been often demonized in the mainstream media (Debelle et al., 2018, pp. 61-62), the use of mass media by PAH enabled it to address the state and the banks and create a friendly profile. In these terms, PAH transformed the housing issue from an individual to a collective social problem (Romanos, 2017, p. 144), broke the silence of indebted households, gained legitimation on the neighbourhood scale, and legitimized protests on a local level (Sabaté, 2016, p. 115).

The housing movement's trajectory, and the specific case of PAH, entail the activation of brokerage, diffusion, coordinated action, up-ward scale shift, legitimation and certification mechanisms. However, one important mechanism dealing with the process of boundary enlargement both in the Greek and Spanish case, is the mechanism of social appropriation. Similar to the health and food social movement scenes in Greece, one of the first things that PAH focuses on is helping the affected people to overcome the sense of shame they feel (Lois-González and Piñeira-Mantiñán, 2015). How did it manage this? By actually engaging the ones affected in taking an active role in the organization's activities.

Research shows that once the affected by mortgages people engaged with PAH activities, they started to feel better about themselves, learned technicalities about their cases, and felt more confident in defending themselves (Sabaté, 2016, pp. 114-115). In this way, the affected people 'transformed by personal individual circumstances into political activists' (Flesher Fominaya, 2015, p. 471). The visibility of the housing problem set forward the wide spread of the request for just prices. Following the course of the Indignados, PAH fostered the collaboration of people from different social classes and backgrounds in favour of a common goal. Individual differences were never abolished, but what mattered in PAH assemblies was precisely what each of the participants could contribute to changing the urgent situation (Moreno-Caballud, 2015, p. 201). PAH's empowerment highlights the engagement of the ones affected. Furthermore, it underlines the abolishment of the assignment of problems to mediators, activists, and experts while the suffering ones remain passive (*Ibid*, p. 192, 198). There are visible parallels between this case and the active engagement of beneficiaries in the case of social kitchens in Greece.

One last aspect that is worth noting here is the contradiction between the post-modern approach to boundary enlargement and the attachment of the housing issue to modernity. Sabaté's (2016) anthropological study shows that the acquisition of a house was rather widespread in the Spanish society, since it correlated with the individuals' social progress. Migrants in Spain also attested to the importance of having a house, in order to be integrated into the Spanish society. The advent of 15M and the increased popularity of PAH call for a step towards an alternative approach to housing issues. However, this is not an easy task. Although PAH challenged the deeply established property rights (Flesher Fominaya, 2015), this type of economic re-moralization does not imply a rough de-legitimation of capitalism. Similar to the markets without middlemen, which did not question the mainstream economic transactions, Sabaté's (2016, p. 115) inquiry shows that

debtors wanted to be excused for their inability to cover their mortgages despite their willingness to pay them. By differentiating themselves from the purposefully unreliable creditors, and by incorporating a sentiment of failure when going back to renting, many debtors expressed narratives where the process of boundary enlargement was experienced only on the practical and not on the conceptual level.

7.1.2 The cases of Marea Verde and Marea Blanca

The rapid emergence of new squats was highlighted as a direct outcome of the Indignados' action. The process of gentrification triggered the increase of new squatted social centres, in neighbourhoods suffering from great levels of unemployment and public spending cuts on education and health (Martínez López, 2018b, pp. 37, 43). In this respect, together with PAH, another form of urban struggle which intervenes in local politics is the movement of *Mareas Ciudadanas* (citizen tides), and particularly, the *Marea Blanca* and *Marea Verde* mobilizations in health and education sectors respectively (Lois-González and Piñeira-Mantiñán, 2015).

As Portos informs us, 'more than €10 billion were slashed' in health and education sectors 'since the onset of the recession' (Portos, 2019, p. 61). The Spanish transition to democracy found strikes to be intense and short-lived. According to Huke and Tietje (2018), from the 1980s onwards, the communist and socialist parties followed a moderate path of negotiated consensus, which de-radicalized their affiliated trade unions. From the mid-1990s onwards, the major trade unions were institutionalized, the number of strikes decreased and their negotiating skills against the flexibilization of employment remained relatively weak. The crisis signaled a new status-quo, with the unions' role in bargaining and negotiating collective agreements decreasing even more. In response to great labour cuts, general strikes were rare compared to Greece, with the mainstream unions occupying a moderate perspective in changing the governmental policies. The Indignados conceived the unions' policies as part of the broader problem, while it triggered bottom-up protests in relation to the public sector (*Ibid*). Tightly connected with the Indignados movement, *Marea Blanca* and *Marea Verde* set their organizational structure based on grassroots conceptions of democracy (Romanos, 2017).

Marea Verde, named after protesters wearing green shirts, raised claims in favour of free access to public education. The movement sparked in Madrid after the regional government decided to increase teaching hours and dismiss approximately 3000 substitute teachers (Alvarez Ruiz and

Nunez Gomez, 2016, pp. 56-57; Huke and Tietje, 2018, p. 266). Inspired by the Indignados movement, the first organized assemblies of *Marea Verde* took place in Madrid in the summer of 2011 (Alvarez Ruiz and Nunez Gomez, 2016, pp. 56-57). News on mobilizations spread quickly through social media, with the teachers trying to organize and coordinate their responses (Romanos, 2017, pp. 140-141).

Unions did not strongly confront the regional and national governments' effort for privatization. This gave space to grassroots organizations and the *Marea Verde* to take the lead (Portos, 2019, p. 61). Nevertheless, the role of unions was essential in facilitating the development of mass strikes according to Portos (2019, p. 61), with the teachers' assemblies receiving support from the trade unions in education during the first days of the mobilizations. The first important moment took place in autumn 2011 with the organization of a ten-day strike (*Ibid*). However, soon enough, the grassroots character of the assemblies contradicted with the unions' institutional structure, with the former gaining their autonomy and developing independently (Huke and Tietje, 2018, p. 266). Assemblies of the *Marea Verde* started taking place in the school buildings on a regular basis. Contrary to the traditional meetings of trade unionists, the assemblies were organized by the teaching staff. But most striking is the fact that in many cases parents and pupils also participated (*Ibid*). Reforms on education including increase of the number of pupils, teaching hours, administrative limitations and competition among different education centres, as well as the unequal treatment of private schools, raised further the suspicion for potential privatization of the education system. At this point, diffusion mechanisms were activated, facilitating the spread of the movement in other regions across the country (Alvarez Ruiz and Nunez Gomez, 2016, pp. 56-57). The national strike on education in May 2012 mobilized a number of teachers, while the participation of parents, students, and pupils was eminent (Huke and Tietje, 2018, p. 267). By the end of 2013, the new LOMCE reforms on education once again triggered the increase of mobilizations and two national strikes (Romanos, 2017, pp. 140-141).

Moving to the health sector, Spain experienced considerable reforms due to austerity. In 2012, the Spanish government issued the RDL 16/2012 law, limiting the migrants' access only to emergency and maternal care, asylum seekers and children. Access was also limited for the domestic population, granted only to those with social security entitlements (Cimas et al., 2016). Together with the exclusion of people from the health system, reforms in the Spanish health sector finds more similarities with the Greek case. The patients' share for the medicine purchase increased, waiting hours rose,

while many health centres ceased operation (Huke and Tietje, 2018, p. 268). In this context, Madrid's regional government issued a plan for the privatization of 6 hospitals and 27 health centres (Alvarez Ruiz and Nunez Gomez, 2016, pp. 56-57). As a first response to these news, hospitals' employees occupied the hospitals and formed assemblies in order to discuss their next moves. These assemblies were steadily regularized and diffused in the affected hospitals of the region, forming the healthcare movement of *Marea Blanca* in Madrid between the fall of 2012 and beginning of 2013 (*Ibid*).

The fear of privatization was combined with the diffusion of *Marea Blanca* assemblies in other regions. As in the case of PAH, *Marea Blanca* was constructed on a network basis. Although differences exist among the assemblies with regards to the regions (Portos, 2019, p. 61), they are all subject to similar characteristics. The movement enjoys a wide support basis and operates on an assembly model. In contrast to previous movements, *Marea Blanca* highlights horizontality. There are no specific leaders or union directors, while different individuals and groups receive specific responsibilities through a rotation system (Alvarez Ruiz and Nunez Gomez, 2016, p. 57). This is further enhanced due to the network and decentralized structure of the movement (*Ibid*). The role of the Indignados is quite essential here.

The *Mareas* were inspired by the Indignados movement in many respects, such as the grassroots organizational structure and the horizontal deliberative decision-making model (*Ibid*, p. 61). The collaborative and horizontal communication which was developed in the 15M movement, enforced the *Mareas* to look forward in establishing direct contacts with citizens, in order to mobilize them. Additionally, the social media were used both for promoting their struggle and as a means of coordinating the actions among the different assemblies (*Ibid*, p. 59, 65).

Due to the sector-based context, *Marea Blanca* and *Marea Verde* were relatively homogenized groups, compared to the 15M protests. This kind of group homogeneity enabled them to establish direct links with other activists and organizations in the education and health sectors (*Ibid*, p. 59). With regards to the health sector, the linkages between the different health centres and hospitals enhanced the quick coordination of the assemblies. Taking into consideration that hospitals were the centres of the healthcare struggle, by appropriating and using the existing professional channels, the different assemblies of *Marea Blanca* strengthened their coordination (*Ibid*, p. 62). The development of brokerage and coordinated action mechanisms is quite similar to the first stage of the clinics' development through their professional networks in Greece. However, these mechanisms had less impact on the case of *Marea Verde* due to the weak pre-existing linkages among

the different centres (*Ibid*). Nevertheless, the spread of their members in several centres enforced both *Mareas* to employ a similar structure in terms of their communication. Communication tasks and organizational decisions reached two levels: the local level, where each health and teaching centre enjoyed its autonomy and communicated with the local neighbourhood; and the general level, where the local centres' representatives proceeded in common large-scale activities (*Ibid*, p. 64).

In 2013, *Marea Blanca* managed to organize mass demonstrations (Romanos, 2017, pp. 140-141), while it participated in domestic and international anti-austerity campaigns (*Ibid*, pp. 148-149). The close connection between the two movements and the Indignados witnesses the activation of emulation mechanisms. Part of the *Mareas'* repertoire was also the *escraches*, the tactic of publicly shaming politicians, introduced by PAH activists discussed earlier. By holding *escraches* 'outside the offices of firms which have benefitted from the privatization plans enacted by various regional governments' (Romanos, 2014, p. 299), the same tactic has been emulated by activists of the education and health sectors. As we saw in the case of PAH, the movement also followed more conventional tactics, such as petitions, while it used the legal paths by taking the case in the courts and successfully halting the forthcoming privatizations (Alvarez Ruiz and Nunez Gomez, 2016, pp. 56-57; Romanos, 2017, pp. 140-141).

The emergence of *Marea Verde* and *Blanca* experiences the change from demonstrative to more confrontational strikes (Huke and Tietje, 2018, p. 270). Research conducted by Romanos (2017, pp. 148-149) shows that unions played quite a marginal role in enhancing mobilizations within the health sector. In particular, unions mirror the old corporatist means of claim-making and are regarded as destined to fail. This conception was juxtaposed with the novelty of hospitals' occupations and the creativity endorsed by similar actions as well as the assemblies' radical democracy.

Marea Blanca directly contradicts the traditional corporate representational structure of the healthcare mobilizations. In contrast to the union-based model, *Marea Blanca* suggests a horizontal decision-making system. The strike-oriented repertoires were accompanied by more radical forms of actions, such as the hospitals' occupations and *escraches*. Although these novelties comprise a break of the traditional boundaries towards new forms of organization and repertoires, the most notable feature of boundary enlargement dealt with, is the activation of social appropriation mechanisms. Along with the hospitals' workforce, *Marea Blanca* also consists of patients and healthcare users (Huke and Tietje, 2018, p. 268; Romanos, 2017, pp. 140-141). As in the assemblies of the Indignados, PAH

and *Marea Verde*, *Marea Blanca* presents an open, non-hierarchical and non-corporatist space, which welcomes different voices. From the healthcare professionals with specialized knowledge, the social approaches of caregivers, the technical skills of the janitorial and logistic staff, to the everyday problems expressed by patients, *Marea Blanca* extended the traditional claims of healthcare activism and challenged the hierarchical environment of the health sector. As Moreno-Caballud claims ‘this redistribution of values has had an almost playful echo in the sudden transformation of healthcare personnel, patients, and hospital neighbours into “activists” who have been able to pull together huge strikes overnight’ (2015, p. 182). In this respect, *Marea Blanca* moved beyond the strict limits of job loss, privatization, and austerity, thus challenging the deep-rooted notions which present patients as passive victims and doctors’ expertise as uncontested expertise (*Ibid*).

7.1.3 Municipalism and the Feminization of Politics

Central to the process of boundary enlargement in the Greek context, was the aspect of inclusiveness. This was inextricably linked with sociality and expressed through the mechanism of social and spatial appropriation. The same seems to be also the case for the Spanish anti-austerity mobilizations. The history of Spanish movements witnesses stories of inclusiveness, openness and loose organizational structures. Nevertheless, Romanos (2017) notes that the Indignados brought to the surface two new aspects of inclusiveness. First, inclusiveness does not target the participants of the movement in order to strengthen their role in the decision-making procedures; rather, it refers to the incorporation of potential participants (*Ibid*, pp.144-145). Although deliberative democratic procedures used to take place in closed assemblies and fora, according to the author, the Indignados introduced these practices to wider audiences in the squares. Second, the 15M movement promoted ‘a less rational, more affective sense of inclusiveness’, which points ‘to the transformation of public spaces into an arena that is also open to empathy’ (*Ibid*). In this respect, the Indignados and the movements developed in the aftermath of the encampments, changed the approach of the Spanish movement community from targeting specific activists to now focusing on the wider, non-politically organized public. At the same time, they also granted a sense of belonging to public spaces and local settings. In this respect, the Spanish movements exemplify continuity. The combination of the ‘fragile voices, that is, of “anyone” with technical, specialized proposals and languages, no matter how strange it might be’

(Moreno-Caballud, 2015, p. 180) that was born in the camps, resulted in subsequent mobilizations in housing, healthcare, and education.

The cases of PAH, *Marea Verde*, and *Marea Blanca* mirror the rise of new urban activism. At the same time, they picture the process of boundary enlargement in the Spanish context of austerity. Of course, the Greek and Spanish cases are not identical. The shift of the social movement community in Greece towards the service-oriented repertoires was much more intense, while in the Spanish case, boundary enlargement was much more attached to the protest-oriented forms of politics. Nevertheless, both cases mark new orientations towards practical, hands-on approaches. The spread of horizontal organizational structures, the emergence of new repertoires of actions, as well as the important conceptual changes, distinguish these movements from earlier phases of mobilization.

Scholars associate the eruption of 15M, PAH and *Mareas* with the rise of a new type of pre-figurative disruptive subjectivity (Bailey et al., 2018). Moreno-Caballud notes that 'there is a feeling that something fundamental is broken, or at least being questioned. Along with that, there are unavoidable perceptions that now something different has been opened' (2015, p. 183). In this respect, the Indignados should not be perceived as a movement which occupied cities' squares, 'but also as the opening moment of a different climate that is altering the limits of what is possible in Spanish society' (*Ibid*). The squares' limited experiment enhanced collaboration and respect for vulnerabilities, which supported their technical skills. This sequence transformed the subsequent mobilizations of PAH and *Mareas* on solidarity practices addressing everyday needs (*Ibid*, p. 192, 198). However, the grassroots and horizontal type of this unofficial welfare provision does not stop here; rather, the needs for housing, education, and health become 'source of active abilities that are multiplied when they are woven in collaborative ways' (*Ibid*, p. 201).

Without underestimating the novelty of their organization, repertoires and the audience they attracted, it seems quite important that these movements re-examined their relationships with the official institutional channels. Although normative and neoliberal conceptions accuse South European countries of having weak civil societies, this proves to be debatable, if we calculate the strong citizens' participation in politics by taking the high numbers of protests into account. In the pre-crisis context, scholars emphasized that self-organized conceptions of civil society cannot be promoted by state and institutional actors (Karamichas, 2007, pp. 277-278). However, this seems to change. Referring to the election of Ada Colau, the former speaker of PAH, as Mayor of Barcelona's municipality, Flesher

Fominaya (2015, p. 480) suggests that anti-austerity mobilizations do not only suggest a new symbolic order; they also advocate for a new institutional framework of participatory democracy. In this way, the author highlights the turn of autonomous movements to discussing their relationship with the state and institutional actors (*Ibid*). The previous chapters outlined similar issues with regards to the movements' collaboration with institutional actors in the Greek case. This shift seems to be much more embodied in Spain.

Southern European countries concentrate their emphasis on local governance, in terms of participatory democracy and institutional participation, compared to the national attention of participatory agendas observed in Germany, England, and Scandinavia (Sintomer and Del Pino, 2014, pp. 27-32). Spain expresses this participatory democracy through a multi-stakeholder model, incorporating international organizations, businesses, and civil society actors. Although with limited policy effect, the most popular participatory democratic form in Spain comes from the neighbourhood associations, by using sector-specific and territorial based consultative councils (*Ibid*). The decentralization of the 15M movement towards local actions reinforced the right to the city and enriched the traditional neighbourhood associations with self-organized practices (Walliser, 2013). This combination of grassroots and participatory politics with local institutional actors gave rise to the growing trend of *municipalismo* (municipalism), expressed by municipalist confluences like *Ahora Madrid* (Madrid Now), *Barcelona en Comú* (Barcelona in Common), and *Por Cádiz Sí Se Puede* (Cadiz Yes We Can) (Rubio-Pueyo, 2017). Some scholars insist that municipalism bears the risk of appropriation and the reproduction of the neoliberal capitalist logic, if it does not open its gates to grassroots solidarity and mutual aid (Delclós, 2017). Others raise awareness that these transformations have great effects on the urban daily life, but they appear to have little impact on the rural areas ridden by the crisis (Lois-González and Piñeira-Mantiñán, 2015). However, others highlight that the municipalism trend does not represent another form of local governance; rather, it sets the basis for the creation of radical libertarian municipalist or communalist social structure, able to minimize different levels of oppression (Bookchin, 2017; Finley, 2017).

The Spanish case of the boundary enlargement process brings yet another important aspect under the spotlight: the rise of feminism. This aspect was briefly touched upon with regards to the Greek case. The nodal role of women in the operation of the solidarity structures came up during the field research, but it was not analysed in depth in this study. Women's participation in the service-oriented repertoires, and particularly in the case of social clinics, outweighed that of men (Papageorgiou and Petousi,

2018). Although salient, the role of women was also quite silent, and remains invisible and unexplored. Often associated with (invisible) caring, the provision of the alternative repertoires witnessed another aspect of the boundary enlargement process, which deals with the gender perspective. In particular, the shift from protest to service-oriented repertoires signals the change of emphasis from a more “masculine” understanding of contentions as built around disruptive and confrontational politics (Craddock, 2019), towards politics of empathy, solidarity, care and interdependence, which are often associated with feminist concerns (Kouki and Chatzidakis, 2020). Together with the shift of focus to local politics and *municipalismo*, these elements are more clearly articulated in the Spanish case.

The rise of Spanish feminism dates back to the 1960s, with the clandestine groups affiliated with the Spanish communist party (Karamichas, 2007, pp. 281-282). During the fall of 1970, the socialist PSOE started to incorporate the women’s claims into its agenda. However, feminism occupied a moderate stance and marginal role in mainstream politics, and it was not conceived as a means of broader social and political changes (*Ibid*). Feminism was demobilized in the 1980s, reached institutionalization in the 1990s, while in the 2000s there was a revival of feminism due to the GJM (Gámez Fuentes, 2015, pp. 360-361). Despite the grassroots and open character of the 15M movement, feminist suggestions have been initially met with skepticism, patronizing behaviour, and sexist stereotypes (*Ibid*). However, by strategically advancing intersectionality and bridging the fight against neoliberalism with the fight against patriarchy and other forms of oppression, this changed. The development of the 15M movement incorporated feminist demands in its agenda, while feminist terms have been adopted in the assemblies’ proceedings (Romanos, 2017, p. 152). During the encampments, feminists ‘argue that through their unpaid everyday work they counter the effects of capitalist cuts in health, education and social services. But they have also provided, along with other fellow camp activists, care and support to families in precarious situations’ (Gámez Fuentes, 2015, pp. 361-363). In this way, the 15M movement also set the foundations to bridge traditional and post-modern feminism, as well as different women groups (*Ibid*). Together with the *Marea Verde* and *Marea Blanca*, the rise of *Marea Violeta* (Purple Tide) in the fall of 2011 shows the continuity of the feminist growth after the end of the encampments (*Ibid*).

The trend of municipalism is also connected with what has been labelled as “the feminization of politics”. This is not limited to the promotion of equal participation of men and women in politics or the policies of quotas, but mostly due to the promotion of different forms of politics (Roth and

Baird, 2017). Local politics seem to promote empathy and compassion, to avoid the traditional masculine and patriarchical discourse, to challenge hierarchies and homogenization, and to create conceptual and actual open spaces of dialogue and listening (Roth and Baird, 2017, p. 100; Rubio-Pueyo, 2017, p. 13). The case of *foros locales* (local fora) in promoting direct communication between the different neighbourhoods and the city in Madrid, and respective attempts in Barcelona constitute such examples (Rubio-Pueyo, 2017, pp. 16-17). Moreover, the promotion of economies of care through the campaign *Ciudad de los Cuidados* (Caring City) enabled Spanish cities to create gender policy offices and to incorporate a gender approach in the policy level. Just to mention a few, the creation of domestic workers' networks, collaboration with parent school associations (*Ibid*), and the planning of public transportation based on women's needs (dosanys despres, 2017) move towards this direction.

Similar to Greece, traditional left-wing activists were skeptical through this process of boundary enlargement, for fear of diverting emphasis from broader class struggles to single issue demands. However, the truth seems to be rather the opposite. Advocates for the feminization of politics underline the need of progressive forces to move beyond definitions based on reactive "anti" frameworks, and promote a creative 'space for active self-definition' instead (Rubio-Pueyo, 2017, p. 14). In a nutshell, this is the central dimension exposed by the shift from protest to everyday solidarity practices of political intervention; from raising claims against something to producing something new.

7.2 The 2001 Argentinean Crisis

Latin America is an exceptional case in which autonomous practices evolve through everyday practices, but without a precise political connotation. The widespread land occupations by impoverished populations lacking basic everyday goods from 1960s onwards, the implementation of a series of neoliberal policies through the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the Washington consensus in the 1980s, the rise of left-wing populist governments in the late 1980s, the continuous economic crises throughout the last 40 years, the peculiar relationship with the state's institutions, church and liberal theology, contribute to the rise of autonomous practices (Dinerstein, 2015). Autonomous practices were developed through a communal way of living, deeply interlinked with the reality, distinct values, ways of communication and culture of indigenous populations, and to a

lesser extent because of specific ideological and political approaches. To deal with autonomy in Latin America, we should understand that this is not pictured solely as an attitude against or outside the state. Autonomy for indigenous populations is primarily a struggle against colonization and oppressive tactics maintained by the state, the communal practices based on the *buen vivir* cosmologies and claims for recognition of the alternative forms of indigenous politics always with respect to nature (Dinerstein, 2015, pp. 12-18, 32).

According to Zibechi, the particular context of Latin America cannot be explained with the North American and European theories on social movements. The poor peripheries are often discussed as problematic anomalies, and not as spaces of emancipatory production (Zibechi, 2010, pp. 214-219). By focusing on contentious cycles, actors, claims and repertoires, Zibechi argues that social movement theories speak of homogenized societies with one state, one judicial system and one group or social class that is oppressed and raises demands for its rights (Hardt et al., 2016, p. 33). Because of this, they can only explain some institutional movements, but fail to capture the essence of Latin American politics (Zibechi, 2010, pp. 219-220). According to Zibechi, Latin America is characterized by many systems of power and at least two societies, of which the boundaries are not defined (Hardt et al., 2016, pp. 33-34). These deal with the dominant society of colonialist origins and another fragmented, unofficial society coming from the agricultural and peripheral areas, with its own systems of organization and justice, which becomes visible only when it is mobilized (*Ibid*). Therefore, the author suggests the term “societal movements” or “societies in move”, in order to highlight the continuous movement of a society (seen as a system of social relationships) within another society (Zibechi, 2010, pp. 219-220). This in turn moves the focus of analysis from organizational models and repertoires of action to the aspects of territory, community and the construction of social relationships; from structures to flows (*Ibid*).

The resistance culture of Latin America highlights two issues discussed in the Spanish case and, to a lesser extent, in the Greek case. The first deals with the issue of territoriality, and the second with the feminization of politics. Territoriality is closely linked to the “accumulation by dispossession” modus operandi of the neoliberal policies in Latin America (Harvey, 2012). In response, Latin American movements evolve directly through the relationship they have with natural spaces, these being either indigenous lands, occupied barrios in the cities’ peripheries, or recuperated enterprises (Zibechi, 2010, pp. 23-24). This leads us to the second issue of politics’ feminization. The feminization of politics does not only deal with the protagonist role of

women in Latin American mobilizations. It also poses the production and reproduction of politics in domestic spaces, like the house and the market; and the blurring of boundaries between the private and public spheres. The feminization of politics enforces new social relationships based on respect, solidarity, and caring (*Ibid*, pp. 51-52). Latin American struggles in the popular peripheries seem to deconstruct the institutional forms of action employed by the bureaucratic unions, while also taking distance from the seizing of state power pursued by guerilla groups. Between these two extremes, Latin American movements focus on developing autonomous practices for serving everyday needs (*Ibid*, pp. 195-286).

Although we are in line with Zibechi's criticism on social movement studies in relation to the Latin American context, it would be unfair to disregard the field's contributions to the analysis of mechanisms in the context of broader social transformations. From the mid-1990s and the Zapatista's revolt, autonomous politics were once more introduced in the public debates of Latin America, with autonomous movements creating "autonomous geographies" and organizing pre-figurative practices (Dinerstein, 2015, pp. 2-5; Pickerill and Chatterton, 2006). Boundary enlargement in the Greek case advocates for the embedding of social movement activity in the daily life of austerity, which also represents the movements' incorporation in Latin America. The pre-figurative practices developed during the 2001 Argentinean crisis mirror the aspect of autonomous creation and horizontality (Dinerstein, 2015; Sitrin, 2006), and constitute an adequate field for the study of the boundary enlargement process.

The tradition of Peronism has deep effects on Argentina's social formation, with the local party-brokers "punteros" acting as the channels which connect the citizens with the state apparatus (Sitrin, 2006, p. 5). This tradition of clientilism and the exposition of leading figures erupted in the 2001 crisis. The aftermath of the 2001 uprisings gave the floor to many debates regarding the content of change of the Argentinean society. Many scholars speak of movements' demobilization, co-optation, as well as the second wave of incorporation of popular sectors in the sociopolitical arena after the 1940s and 1950s' Peronism (Rossi, 2015a). Although critics centred on the re-emergence of clientilistic relationships of the movements' leaders with political elites, others underline that this not true, since the new relationship is stigmatized by compulsion mechanisms (Rossi, 2017). At the same time, scholars highlight the widespread diffusion of autonomist and horizontal practices and the development of new repertoires. Although discussion on the outcome is affected by the different academic focuses, the path towards this suggested outcome seems to be common. In this respect, the 2001 crisis

marks a past event in a non-European or North American context, which activated the mechanism of boundary enlargement.

To cope with the high inflation and the IMF's structural adjustments, Menem's presidency combined its appointment in office in the early 1990s with vast privatizations (Sitrin, 2006, pp. 8-9; Vieta, 2010). Gas, electricity and petroleum enterprises, as well as banks, transportation, and media systems make up the long list of privatizations (Ranis, 2010, p. 79). This privatization wave came alongside the development of a clientelist apparatus (Garay, 2007). At the same time, labour flexibility, de-industrialization, and the increase of unemployment became stabilized and more evident in the 1998-2002 turbulent years of recession and crisis (Ranis, 2010, p. 81; Rossi, 2015b, p. 9).

Argentina's focus on foreign investors was combined with the devaluation of the peso. The imposition of tougher austerity conditions by the government, in order not to default the 132 billion debt, exacerbated the recession and left more than 35 per cent of the population in poverty (Rossi, 2017, p. 580). Unemployment in 2001 reached 25 per cent (Ranis, 2010), while almost 45 per cent of the employed population were employed in off-the-books jobs (Gaudin, 2004). The bankruptcy figures per month almost quadrupled compared to a decade earlier (Vieta, 2010, p. 297). The IMF's unwillingness to renew the loans led to the collapse of the economy, leading the De La Rúa administration to implement banking restrictions in withdrawing savings (known as *corralito*) and imposing a state of emergency. Bank restrictions and unwillingness to negotiate the terms of its loans seem to be the IMF's preferred option for demonstrating its power, since it also took place during the "referendum period" in the summer of 2015 in Greece. In this respect, the 2001 Argentinean case emphatically shows that it was not only an economic crisis. It was also a crisis of capital in mediating the political and social relationships (Dinerstein, 2015, pp. 113-114), as well as a crisis of the state's legitimation in serving the citizens' everyday needs (Sitrin, 2006). These conditions were met with widespread social unrest in December 2001, a period often described as *Argentinazo*.

The looting of supermarkets in Buenos Aires started in mid-December and continued during the first months of 2002, sometimes violently and others with masses of ashamed people asking peacefully for food (*Ibid*, pp. 25-26). Banks have been set on fire, institutional buildings have been occupied, while the example of motorbike couriers bringing stones to the rioters, captures the widespread anger (libcom, 2005). Soon enough, the riots diffused to more than ten cities across the country. In the events of the 19th and 20th December 2001, more than 30 people were killed by the

police (Mauro and Rossi, 2015, pp. 108-109; Rossi, 2017, p. 581), while four presidents resigned in two weeks' time.

Many activists identify the December 2001 riots as the direct rupture with the past and the creation of a new social reality. This rupture was not only with earlier hierarchical and clientilistic practices. It was also a turning point of breaking the traditional fear imposed by the disappearance of 30,000 people during the military dictatorship, once again providing the individuals with protagonist roles (Sitrin, 2006, p. 9). The spontaneous riots were followed by the movement's organization. The establishment of new and the reinforcement of old organizations inaugurated a new context based on horizontal, self-organized and direct-democratic principles (*Ibid*, p. 38). In order to see the change of boundaries in the Argentinean social movements, we move our attention to the movements of neighbourhood assemblies, unemployed workers and recuperated factories.

7.2.1 Neighbourhood Assemblies

One of the most striking forms of action, which was replicated by the participants of the square movement in Greece almost ten years later, was the pot-banging protests of *cacerolazos*. After the *corallito* and state of emergency declaration, the evening of the 19th December 2001 witnessed a spontaneous demonstration of thousands of people. The diffusion of news by the mainstream media, as well as the noise from the banging pots, inspired a spontaneous demonstration in the neighbourhoods, streets and squares of Buenos Aires, with many people joining forces in their pajamas and slippers (Sitrin, 2006). 'People smiled and mutually recognized that something had changed. Later came euphoria. It was a very intense feeling that I'll never forget' (quoted in Sitrin, 2006, p. 26). The spontaneous discussions during the long queues in the banks (*Ibid*), continued when the pot-banging protesters returned to their neighbourhoods and formed local assemblies to coordinate their moves (Dinerstein, 2015, p. 115).

Argentina's tradition of neighbourhood assemblies dates back to the early 20th century, while it was reinforced by the Peron administration after the WW2 (libcom, 2005). However, their role and format were upgraded during the 2001 crisis. The first assemblies took the form of encounters with neighbours getting to know each other. Spontaneity was central since, 'in many cases, someone would write on a wall or street, "neighbors, let's meet Tuesday at 9PM" and an assembly was begun' (Sitrin, 2006, p. 10). The atmosphere in the assemblies during the uprisings was 'enjoyable and exciting but not idealistic or romantic. It dealt with fear and crisis-ridden

uncertainty' (Dinerstein, 2015, p. 116). The same sentiment was felt afterwards but in a more secure environment. According to a member from Colegiales neighbourhood assembly:

this is also a memory of that power, because something political that has such an effect, is an incredible weapon. It's important to note that it was spontaneous. All of this helped us to create a wonderful atmosphere, a joyful atmosphere, a militant atmosphere characterized by happiness. The assembly has made me happier (quoted in Sitrin, 2006, p. 144).

The trajectory of the assemblies' movement follows two paths: the popular assemblies being affiliated with left-wing Trotskyist parties and opting for a broader social transformation, and the neighbourhood assemblies consisting of previously non-politically organized neighbours, focusing on the transformation of the local context (Mauro and Rossi, 2015; Rossi, 2017). Attention to the neighbourhood level and skepticism towards the organized political forces triggered category formation mechanisms, with participants in the assemblies favouring the term *vecino* (neighbour) to address each other, instead of other terms with connotations of past political practices (Dinerstein, 2015, p. 116). In both cases, assemblies have been organized horizontally, with emphasis given to the deliberate and lengthy conversations of the participants. Horizontality was not conceived only as a feature in decision-making procedures, but as an intriguing process in relating with others (Sitrin, 2006, p. 40).

Similar to the Spanish movement against evictions, neighbourhood assemblies in Argentina set forward *escraches* campaigns condemning politicians, judges and businessmen (libcom, 2005). Although the bank freeze and the declaration of the state of emergency are important features that brought many people to the streets, we should not limit the spring of neighbourhood assemblies only to this. Many narratives argue that inter-neighbourhood assemblies paid little attention to the *corralito* and instead, touched upon broader political issues (libcom, 2005). Of great concern was the tackling of the crisis situation and the employment of direct actions, something that was combined with the decrease of calls for mobilization in 2003, and the shift of focus to the alternative repertoires and fair-trade activities (Dinerstein, 2015, p. 120; Mauro and Rossi, 2015, p. 122; Rossi, 2017, p. 580).

'The personal abilities and experience of the *vecinos* were put at the service of the everyday life of the commons' (Dinerstein, 2015, p. 116), developing the neighbourhood assemblies into a practical expression of

solidarity. Communal soup kitchens, art workshops, operational support in school canteens, the establishment of popular secondary schools for adults, self-reductive actions and illegal re-connection of energy supply, were accompanied by negotiation for prices reductions and anti-eviction efforts (*Ibid*, pp. 120-121). As a member of one neighbourhood assembly argues, 'we are creating tools of freedom. First is the obvious: to meet our basic necessities. But the process of finding solutions to meet our basic needs leads us to develop tools that make us free' (quoted in Sitrin, 2006, p. 115). Many assemblies run projects like 'barter networks, creating popular kitchens, planting organic gardens, and sometimes taking over buildings-including the highly symbolic take-over of abandoned banks, which they turn into community centres' (Sitrin, 2006, p. 10). The kitchen run by the neighbourhood assembly in La Toma squat serves 120 people per day (*Ibid*, p. 134), while other solidarity practices deal with the organization of dinners and the collection of newspapers for the carteneros (adults and kids collecting cardboards) (Rossi, 2017, pp. 588-589; Sitrin, 2006, pp. 136-138, 149).

Bartering networks, mostly organized by women in neighbourhoods, also diffused rapidly, serving nutrition and transportation needs. The use of tickets representing the credit of individuals were preferred by some barter clubs, while others focused on the direct exchange of objects. Exchanges involved objects, skills, and services, while in some cases tickets have been accepted by municipal authorities in paying gas and electricity bills. Although bartering networks used to take place before the 2001 uprisings, they referred to frivolous products and services; after the uprisings they used to address basic needs. Problems emerged since the exchange of tickets with money increased the value of the products by a lot, leading to the collapse of the bartering networks (Sitrin, 2006, pp. 151-152).

Together with the limits on the acquisition of goods, the deconstruction of the state's medical service resulted in ceasing the operation of hospitals and clinics, as well as price increases for drugs and medication. The grassroots response included the collection of drugs in central places of Buenos Aires to be later distributed to people in need, while many assemblies organized health committees to deal with this issue. Although in a less organized fashion compared to the social clinics in Greece, the health committees supplied hospitals with donated drugs, occupied and set in operation abandoned clinics, while mobilizations targeting pharmaceutical firms for cost reductions proved to be successful (libcom, 2005).

This rich realm of the alternative repertoires suggests the construction of a broad network of solidarity practices. Research claims that 20 assemblies were born in Buenos Aires shortly after the December's uprisings, while two

years later there were almost 140 neighbourhood assemblies with around 8000 participants (Rossi, 2017, p. 586). Without reducing the autonomy of each assembly, coordination mechanisms were at play on the micro-level, with the establishment of working groups, and on the meso-level with the development of inter-zone and inter-neighbourhood meetings (Dinerstein, 2015, pp. 116-117; Sitrin, 2006, p. 42). Nevertheless, the implementation of the alternative repertoires, which had enlarged their boundaries, brought the assemblies close to the respective boundaries of institutional actors.

Many left-wing parties perceived the neighbourhood assemblies as the first steps for the politicization of the masses, with the assemblies expressing skepticism towards the elitist role of the former (Dinerstein, 2015, p. 117). Parties and left-wing militants tried to interfere with the assemblies' proceedings through the inter-assemblies' coordination, thus receiving the neighbours' disapproval (Sitrin, 2006, pp. 10-13). Additionally, governmental actors increased their attempts to evict the assemblies held in occupied buildings, while the state started to fund the assemblies' collective kitchens with boxes of food, as well as to invite their relocation to institutional premises (*Ibid*, pp. 10-13). Things got more blurred with the re-legitimation of the municipal *Centros de Gestion y Participacion* (Centres of Management and Participation) as the institutional channels for local welfare, with some assemblies being hostile to and others expressing their sympathy towards the state's response (Dinerstein, 2015, p. 117), leading to the assemblies' shrinkage.

7.2.2 Piqueteros Unemployed Workers Movement

The privatization of the oil company in the mid-1990s by the Menem government resulted in the sudden dismissal of a great share of its workforce (Sitrin, 2006, pp. 32-33). From being workers' towns, Cutral Co and Plaza Huincul in Patagonia transformed into ghost cities of unemployed workers, with the latter responding with road blockages. Run mostly by women who raised claims for governmental subsidies, similar roadblocks took place in the provinces of Salta and Jujuy (Rossi, 2015b, p. 10; Sitrin, 2006, pp. 6-7). Named after road blockages, the piqueteros' repertoire diffused in other cities and, quite soon, reached the industrial centres near the capital (libcom, 2005). Although unemployed and unregistered workers were marginalized by mainstream trade-unions (Garay, 2007, pp. 301-302), the advent of this new form of direct action witnessed the first break from the hierarchical tradition of past protests led by union leaders and party-brokers (Sitrin, 2006, pp. 6-7). As Rossi suggests, the piqueteros were 'the first massive

mobilization of the poor by non-Peronist political organizations since 1945' (2015b, p. 18). The roadblocks became the actual points where the piqueteros directly negotiated with the governmental officials, while, gradually, claims addressed other communal and neighbourhood needs (Sitrin, 2006, p. 7). The successful acquisition of small subsidies after the government issued the *Planes Trabajar* (Work Plans) in 1996, legitimized the "piquetero question", and further inspired the movement's diffusion (Garay, 2007; Rossi, 2015b, pp. 10-13; Sitrin, 2006, pp. 7, 145-146). Participation in protests and the concentration of claims concerning the workfare programmes, led to the construction of a common identity around unemployment, enabling the piqueteros to legitimize their actions and develop contacts with previously non-related groups (Garay, 2007, pp. 307-310). This peaked with the 2001 crisis.

Although some groups operated on a top-down model introduced by left-wing parties (*Ibid*, p. 315), the local organization of piqueteros mirrors the increase of many city-based groups, while diffusion and coordinated action mechanisms proved to be crucial for the subsequent formation of larger coordinator groups and federations.¹ Local groups of unemployed workers held weekly assemblies, applied direct democracy, and aimed to reach decisions based on synthesis. Town-based assemblies were organized once per month, while the appointment of coordinators was necessary considering that, for instance, Solano's unemployed workers' movement includes seven neighbourhoods, of which each neighbourhood has its own assembly (Sitrin, 2006, pp. 6, 65).

Piqueteros' mobilization was in place prior to the December events. The external shocks in 2000 resulted in the sharp decline of work plans' beneficiaries, leading to new mobilizations, the establishment of new organizations and the piqueteros' coordination on national level (Garay, 2007, p. 311). The actions increased in August 2001, involving thousands of people blocking more than 300 roads in one day (Sitrin, 2006). Nevertheless, the social unrest in 2001 witnessed piqueteros' marches towards Plaza de Mayo, while different groups started to coordinate through loose networks and exchange practices and experiences. Next year's demonstrations were marked by the slogan "*piquete y cacerola, la lucha es una sola*" ("picket and pot-banger, the struggle is the same"), signaling the connection of

1 Rossi (2015b, p. 5) refers to the Guevarist and autonomist MTDs, *Movimientos de Trabajadores Desocupados* (Movement of Unemployed Workers), the Maoist CCC, *Corriente Clasista y Combativa* (Class Combative Current) and the FTV, *Federacion de Trabajadores por la Tierra, Vivienda y Habitat* (Federation for Land and Housing) inspired by Liberation Theology, while others add the Bloque Piquetero, and the Coordinadora Anibal Veron (libcom, 2005).

Piqueteros and Cacerolazo (libcom, 2005). The development of ties between the neighbourhood assemblies and the piqueteros is not only important in terms of coordination and the broader diffusion of self-organization, participatory democracy and the social experience of communitarian models (Vieta, 2010, p. 299). It is also crucial because they brought together middle-class citizens and unemployed members of the working-class and created new self-organized structures (Sitrin, 2006, p. 13).

Together with the road blockades, the Piqueteros' repertoire included looting and other violent forms of contention, while riots in 2000 and 2002 were characterized by two dead protesters respectively (libcom, 2005). However, the contentious repertoire has been combined with the exercise of the alternative repertoires and the neighbourhoods' self-organization. During the De La Rúa administration, the operation of Work Plans programmes was handed from the municipal authorities to non-governmental organizations (NGOs), in order to decongest the movement's activity. Nevertheless, the demobilization of piqueteros was not achieved, since the movement established its own NGOs and used the state's subsidies in support of its local projects (Dinerstein, 2015; Garay, 2007, pp. 127-128). Due to this type of resource appropriation, the piqueteros set their own social projects, such as

housing, nurseries, food banks, community wardrobes, community farms, housing and water cooperatives, sports activities, training and education, alphabetization, the promotion of health and prevention, cleansing of brooks and small rivers, recycling, refurbishing public buildings and houses, maintaining and repairing hospital emergency rooms and schools (Dinerstein, 2015, pp. 126-127).

According to a member of Solano's unemployment movement:

every *compañero* who belongs to this movement we're building, who receives a work subsidy from the state, makes a voluntary contribution to the movement – in solidarity with the movement – but they're not obligated to do so. Through these contributions, for example, we were able to buy some tools to open the shops, rent the mini buses to continue attending demonstrations, pave new roads in the neighbourhood, etc. We aren't a movement about making demands, but about creating things (quoted in Sitrin, 2006, p. 117).

The unemployed workers' movement set forward a different logic in terms of labour. Although access to the labour market was the movement's top

priority, this was not to be accomplished only by finding employment in the capitalistic market. Rather, it was accompanied by a collective and autonomous view of labour, expressed by the aforementioned communal projects (Dinerstein, 2015, pp. 125-130). As a member of Solano's unemployed group states, 'we don't see our role as merely making claims or struggling for survival' (quoted in Sitrin, 2006, p. 145). La Plata's unemployed group raise animals, grow vegetables, and build their own mud ovens to facilitate the communal kitchen's operation, while the respective group in Solano aims to produce its own clothes and shoes (Sitrin, 2006, pp. 82-83, 98). The exercise of the alternative repertoires by the piqueteros groups is quite important, given the fact that in 2004 the FTV organization alone 'included approximately 3600 soup kitchens, cooperatives, micro-enterprises, and day-care centres as well as 75,000 workfare beneficiaries' (Garay, 2007, p. 315). Many of the piqueteros groups operate health clinics, where the unemployed and healthcare professionals implement preventive medicine. Although they provide drugs and medication free of charge, the piqueteros groups cultivate herbs in their fields and bring to the forefront traditional approaches to medicine (Zibechi, 2010, pp. 45-46). Similar to the Greek alternative repertoires, narratives regarding the participation in these communal projects contradicted the depressive atmosphere following the lack of employment, and granted a sense of belonging and usefulness through serving the collective (Sitrin, 2006, p. 149).

Attention to the alternative repertoires increased with the advent of Kirchner in office in 2003 and cost the partial demobilization of the movement (*Ibid.*, pp. 7-8). The movement's internal pluralism led the CCC and FTV unemployed organizations to affiliate with the Duhalde and Kirchner governments, while the rest of the piqueteros rejected any type of collaboration and became somewhat marginalized (Garay, 2007, p. 314; Rossi, 2015b, pp. 4-15; Sitrin, 2006, p. 149).

7.2.3 Recuperated Factories and Enterprises

The advent of the economic crisis triggered the rise of social cooperatives. Although Argentina has a long tradition of agricultural, consumer, credit and public utilities cooperatives from the 1920s and on, 2/3 of the 15,000 cooperatives operating until 2009 were established between 2001 and 2007, with the vast majority of them referring to workers' cooperatives (Ranis, 2010, pp. 93-95). Similar to Greece, poverty, unemployment and the common interests of their members empowered the rise of these collective entrepreneurial endeavours. However, the rise of cooperatives is

interlinked with the two above mentioned movements. Examples like the neighbourhood assemblies of Almagro district of Buenos Aires refused to receive governmental subsidies in support of their projects, leading to the establishment of consumer cooperatives to collectively order vegetables and fruits (*Ibid*). Additionally, the respective assembly of the unemployed workers set up a cooperative bakery and restaurant, also subsidizing certain public schools in need (*Ibid*). The rise of similar endeavours across the country triggered coordination mechanisms, as well as the development of joint social economic networks. Most importantly though, the cooperative model is deeply associated with the tremendous boom of recuperated self-managed factories and enterprises.

Factory self-management is not a new practice. From the factories in the USSR in the early 20th century, to the Yugoslavian, Peruvian, and Bolivian cases in the 1950s (Petras and Veltmeyer, 2003) and the recent examples in France, Italy and Turkey, there seems to be rich experience in workers taking over of the means of production (Davranche, 2015). Argentina's history is rich in labour struggles. Characterized by workers' mobilizations and union-led clientelist relations from 1950 onwards (Ranis, 2006, pp. 19-21), factories' occupation was a tool for bargaining better economic conditions and wage increases for union workers during the 1970s (Dinerstein, 2015, pp. 130-131). But, as many narratives suggest, the current factories' occupations have no engagement with union bureaucracies. Accused of complying with neoliberal policies, the large trade unions lost connection with the grassroots (*Ibid*), while they developed an indifferent, if not hostile, approach towards the recuperated factories (Vieta, 2010, pp. 298-299). Factory occupations had started by the late 1990s and diffused widely after the crisis of 2001 (Dinerstein, 2015, pp. 130-131; Gaudin, 2004). The recuperation of the Argentinean factories was not typically imposed by a governmental top-down model or by workers' ideological incentives; rather, it evolved due to the necessity of employment and the threat of imminent poverty (*Ibid*). The recuperation process took place in factories and enterprises that either went bankrupted or were on the brink of bankruptcy. Relevant studies concentrate on the relations that developed among recuperated enterprises and the market, the new models of labour relations, the changes in the workers' daily life and the different strategies on mobilization (Dinerstein, 2015, pp. 131-132). In this respect, this section aims to mark some insight regarding this new practice of resistance, in relation to the overall enlargement of boundaries that took place in the aftermath of the Argentinean crisis.

Borrowed from the MST, Brazil's *Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra* (Landless Workers' Movement) the slogan "*ocupar, resistir, produzir*"

“occupy, resist, produce”) became the master frame pointing out the different layers the workers should go through (Gaudin, 2004; Vieta, 2010, pp. 296-301). In October 2003, there were around 140 recuperated factories with 12,000 workers (*Ibid*), while the current numbers are estimated to 310 factories with more than 15,000 members (Ruggeri, 2014, pp. 49-50). More than 40% of the recuperated factories and enterprises operate in the metal and industrial sector, ranging from printing shops and newspapers, health clinics, bakeries, balloon factories to a four-star hotel (Ranis, 2006, p. 17; Ruggeri, 2014, p. 50; Sitrin, 2006, p. 14). The recuperated workplaces consist of a 30-members average, but cases like the Zanon ceramic industry or the Bauen hotel employ a couple of hundreds of workers (Ruggeri, 2014). Quite important is the presence of women in the textile industries, health and education sectors, while 50 per cent of the recuperated factories and enterprises is concentrated in the province of Buenos Aires (*Ibid*, p. 51).

Subject to the legislative limitations, the factories’ self-management illustrates two basic trajectories. The first deals with the establishment of workers’ cooperatives. Once in bankruptcy, the litigation of the enterprises’ equipment and infrastructure begins. Being among the first creditors, workers have been allowed by the Argentinean legislation to operate the enterprises in return for the lost wages, if the majority of them agreed to form a legal entity (Ranis, 2010, pp. 79-82; Steven, 2006, November 10). However, this was a rather unstable and temporal condition until ‘the factory could be auctioned off to a new buyer’ (Ranis, 2006, p. 14). In 2004, the municipal council of Buenos Aires assured ownership of machinery, trademarks and patents for thirteen occupied factories, with the workers paying in 20 years the value of the enterprise when bankrupted (Ranis, 2010, p. 82). The second path followed by the recuperated enterprises, deals with the workers’ control through state, provincial, or municipal expropriation (statization) (Steven, 2006, November 10). This path enhances the workers’ protection from previous owners’ debts (Ranis, 2010, p. 85), and acknowledges a stronger political incentive which contributes ‘to a wider process of political emancipation’ (Dinerstein, 2015, p. 133). At the same time, though, this path is more difficult since expropriations issued mostly on a case-to-case to model. Nevertheless, both paths witnessed the factories’ occupations, cooperation under democratic rules, and fair, if not equal, compensation (Vieta, 2010, pp. 310-311).

Recuperated enterprises present great similarities with the Greek social movement scene of labour, in terms of their organizational structure and resources. All the recuperated factories are subject to the “one worker-one vote” principle. Revenues are firstly allocated to workers’ salaries and pensions of

the retired ones, and then for the enterprises' production purposes (*Ibid*). The workers' strategy illustrates a shift from the typical claim-making strategies of union struggles, towards more experimental routes, with great effect on the working conditions (Gaudin, 2004; Petras and Veltmeyer, 2003). The former state of ownership was characterized by limited knowledge of workers in terms of the factories' procedures and minimum social relationships with their colleagues (Ranis, 2006; Steven, 2006, November 10). With the workers now being responsible for the management of the plants, the new model requires that they know the overall operation of the factories, something that eventually led to the adoption of rotation systems. Changes in working conditions are crucial in raising the sense of creativity in an otherwise standardized job. The creation of leisure spaces and lack of stress are of great significance, compared to the previous stressful environment of long working hours and strict supervision (Ranis, 2006, 2010).

The aftermath of the 2001 crisis activated coordinated action and diffusion mechanisms. One of the first groups lobbying in favour of the recuperated factories and the legal path of the cooperative model was MNER, *Movimiento Nacional de Empresas Recuperadas* (National Movement of Recuperated Businesses) (Vieta, 2010, p. 303). Established in 2002, MNER was accused of following conventional practices (Steven, 2006, November 10). However, its successful lobbying resulted in the factories' minimum subsidy and tax exemption, and secured the diffusion of the worker cooperatives across the country (Gaudin, 2004; Ranis, 2010, p. 81). Having good relations with the Kirchner administration, the organization contributed to the popularity of the cooperative model, reaching a new social consensus for the factories' recuperation (Dinerstein, 2015, pp. 134-135). Further coordination developed with the establishment of FACTA, *Federacion Argentina de Cooperativas de Trabajadores Autogestionados* (Argentine Federation of Self-Managed Workers' Cooperatives) in 2006 in Buenos Aires, to 'collectively lobby and coordinate funds from the state and forge alliances with universities and NGOs' (Vieta, 2010, p. 309).

Despite the aforementioned progress, many studies suggest that the factories' recuperation met a number of difficulties. The first period after the recuperation was characterized by low pace of productivity. The workers needed to acquire administrative and managerial skills, while maintaining the clientele of enterprises that went bankrupt; it was not an easy task. The economic institutions were quite hesitant to provide loans, resulting in the lack of initial capital for the acquisition of raw products and reparation of the machinery (Ranis, 2010, p. 86; Vieta, 2010, pp. 303-305). Difficulties were also found on an individual level. Transforming the wage-earner workers to

self-managed members of recuperated enterprises proved to be a lengthy process, with many of them hesitating to take on new responsibilities. Similar to the Greek experiences analysed earlier, the need for personnel due to the increased seasonal productivity or retirement of old workers, forced the factories to get temporal workers in order to avoid issuing members that they knew relatively little about. This type of employment was an excuse for the newcomers not to enjoy full rights and responsibilities, while other factories chose the relatively closed path of adding family members (Vieta, 2010, p. 305). Additionally, market competition affected the wage levels and pace of productivity as well as the final price of the product (Gaudin, 2004). Due to this, criticism highlights the risks of recuperated factories becoming subjects of self-surveillance, and ultimately self-managing the workers' misery and exploitation (Dinerstein, 2015, p. 136).

Dealing with similar problems, the activation of coordinated action and category formation mechanisms enabled the recuperated enterprises to bear with these inconsistencies. Many of them tried to help each other by jointly ordering raw materials, as well as operating in *façon* for other companies, sharing production, machinery and clients. Similar to what was discussed in the labour social movement scene in Greece, the recuperated enterprises developed unofficial networks of solidarity economy, where 'a local medical clinic will service members of a printing factory in exchange for the free printing of all of their material' (Sitrin, 2006, p. 15). The danger of unemployment in a period of deep recession underlined the self-management of the workplaces as the only viable alternative. Workers had to organize themselves, form cooperatives, resist evictions, and re-introduce their enterprises in the market. In this respect, the recuperated enterprises 'became both a territory for workers' resistance and nodes of social networks' (Dinerstein, 2015, pp. 132-133).

The recuperated factories became part of Argentina's everyday life (Dinerstein, 2015, p. 72; Sitrin, 2006, pp. 4-5). Relationships among the recuperated factories, the union-led labour movement and the anti-capitalist movement were not close (Gaudin, 2004), contrary to the respective connection with the movement of unemployed workers and neighbourhood assemblies, as well as human right groups, academics, activists and small parties (Ruggeri, 2014). Moving a step beyond the verbal expressions of sympathy, boundary enlargement enhanced the practical expression of solidarity ties. As the cases of Chilavert printing shop and Zanon ceramic industry suggest, workers' resistance was coupled with the neighbours offering food and protecting the factories from evictions (Sitrin, 2006; Steven, 2006, November 10, p. 70). Given the fact that workers lived in the neighbourhoods surrounding the

factories, this relationship improved, with the factories supplying products and sharing their surpluses with the local communities, as well as recruiting personnel from the unemployed workers' movement (Ranis, 2010, pp. 89-90; Sitrin, 2006, pp. 14-15; Steven, 2006, November 10). Moreover, recuperated enterprises participated in local and labour struggles, hosted activists' assemblies (libcom, 2005), and operated 'cultural and community centres, free community health clinics, popular education schools, alternative media spaces, and even community dining rooms run by workers, neighbors, or volunteers' (Vieta, 2010, p. 312). As Vieta claims, the recuperated enterprises do not just give 'back to the neighborhood out of self-interest or corporate "goodwill"' (2010, p. 313), but they are considered as their continuations.

Together with the meso-organizational level, the collective self-management of enterprises had a strong effect on the individuals' self-esteem and attitude towards their work environment. Although it is not easy to tell whether the workers turned into anti-capitalists, political discussions became part of the everyday life in previously politically sterile factories (Gaudin, 2004). Social appropriation mechanisms denoted a break with the old tradition of corporatist union-based and party-brokerage mobilization, and the advent of a new subjectivity characterized by social protagonism.

7.2.4 Affective Politics

The neighbourhood assemblies' trajectory experiences the activation of brokerage, diffusion, legitimation, repression, coordinated action, and social appropriation mechanisms. The same mechanisms mirror the boundary enlargement process with respect to the piqueteros movement. Compared to the passive role they used to have, narratives witness the emancipation of the unemployed and the citizens of the neighbourhoods through the collective decision-making models of the assemblies (Sitrin, 2006). The same also applies to the case of the recuperated factories.

Taking into consideration each of the three struggles mentioned here, scholars suggest that Argentina has gone through a path of "política afectiva" (*Ibid*). Similar to what Romanos (2017, pp. 144-145) argued for the Spanish case, 'política afectiva is an embodied form of politics that relies on the human capacity to understand, listen and cooperate' (Dinerstein, 2015, p. 137). By introducing new organizational practices and reinforcing old repertoires, the Argentinean crisis brought the autonomous and self-organized resistances to the forefront, and incorporated them into everyday life (Sitrin, 2006). Changes referred to both structural and cultural aspects. According to Dinerstein, 'disillusioned and apprehensive citizens became politically

active and *solidarios* neighbours, “the unemployed” became Piqueteros and unemployed workers, workers on the verge of losing their jobs became self-managed – *autogestionados* – workers of their own factories’ (2015, p. 139). Although the beginning of this process can be traced prior to 2001, the crisis was a point that triggered the broader enlargement of individual and collective boundaries towards the affective politics.

Research on Greece highlights a process in which the work-related professional boundaries become liquid and merge into the practices of the social movement community. The years of crisis in Latin America witnessed a pronounced change. This deals with the transfer of practices from the domestic sphere into the public sphere of social movements, as well as their transformation from invisible and undervalued to meaningful and visible. From the pot-bagging protests and the power of gossip in mobilizing people, to the collective use of everyday practices in serving private and communal needs (Zibechi, 2010, p. 211), the alternative repertoires blur the previously defined boundaries of living. In this respect, the role of women, which changed from passivity to empowerment, receives attention.

The role of women was quite important in the rise of mobilizations (*Ibid*). Many narratives present men getting depressed after losing their employment and savings, with women taking on the protagonist role in the early rise of the unemployed and neighbourhood movements (Sitrin, 2006, pp. 199-214). However, power imbalances still exist. Although the women’s presence outweighed that of men in the early piqueteros protests, the role of the spokesperson was more commonly filled by a man (*Ibid*). Additionally, machismo has not entirely left the recuperated workplaces, not even those characterized as “women factories”, while similar attitudes were noted in popular kitchens (*Ibid*). The establishment of women group-meetings from recuperated factories, as well as related discussions raised in the unemployed and neighbourhood assemblies, are important attempts in tackling these issues.

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8 Epilogue

Abstract

This chapter provides the conclusion of the book. It starts by providing an overview of the analysis discussed in the different chapters. Subsequently, the epilogue sets the basis for a discussion regarding the rise of the alternative repertoires and the way they touch upon issues that move beyond the narrow interest of the Greek context. Therefore, it relates the shift from protest-oriented and claim-based actions towards the provision of bottom-up welfare services within the neoliberal political economy. Moreover, it associates the pre-figurative politics of everyday life with solidarity economy, the commons, and the role of the local contexts. Finally, it discusses the relation of alternative repertoires with debates on citizenship and provides some recommendations for future research.

Keywords: Boundary enlargement; Political economy; Pre-figurative politics; Social solidarity economy; Commons

In response to the 2008 economic crisis, the European states implemented a series of strict austerity measures, the most severe of which were implemented in the Mediterranean countries. Austerity agendas were met with tremendous social mobilizations, triggering a new cycle of contention. The exposition of the Greek national debt placed the country at the epicentre of the economic crisis. Similar to the policies of the neoliberal “shock doctrine” (Klein, 2007), Greek authorities signed a series of structural adjustment programmes known as Memorandums of Understanding, with the International Monetary Fund (IMF), European Commission (EC), and European Central Bank (ECB), severely affecting the livelihood of millions of citizens. Despite the desire of neoliberal economists to distinguish the economic realm from the rest of the social spheres, changes in the economic conditions largely affected the Greek political life. The implementation of consecutive electoral rounds, the degradation of mainstream political parties accompanied by the rise of less popular and newly emerging parties, the

formation of governmental coalitions in a country with a strong tradition in one-party-governments, as well as the rise of abstention votes, outline several of the major features that led to broader political instability.

The crisis and its effects also touched the unofficial political terrain of social movements. The harsh economic conditions and the inability of private and public institutions to provide welfare services to large parts of the population, brought the exercise of service-oriented practices by social movement actors to the forefront. We call these alternative repertoires of action. Social movement theories have long argued that times of crises and the rise of contentious cycles give birth to new organizational formations as well as repertoires (Tarrow, 1998). The rise of these alternative repertoires mirrors this process, with the engagement of new activists in collective action.

As outlined in Chapter 1, the alternative repertoires bring further changes to the social movement sphere. Literature on social movements draws distinctive lines between social movement organizations (SMOs) and other organizational formats, such as movement associations, interest groups, and supportive organizations. More precisely, SMOs are supposed to foster action mobilization, while the rest of the organizational formats play supportive roles without engaging their audience in mobilization. In line with post-modern accounts, regarding the fluidity of contemporary structures, the rigid boundaries of these distinctions enter a period of ambiguity. The new service-oriented organizations appear to foster actual mobilization, while alternative repertoires take on a significant role in the activities of the more traditional SMOs. In these terms, the aforementioned assigned roles no longer correspond to the qualitative division of the organizations constituting the social movement community. However, the fluidity of the organizational limits does not only correspond to the roles and repertoires of the organizations. Rather, it reflects a larger social process that fosters the socialization of the ideologically stricter organizations and the incorporation of more radical repertoires in the activities of more conventional collectivities. This shift towards the provision of services by social movement actors, presents an extension of their practical and conceptual boundaries. Prompted by the social movement theories and the Contentious Politics paradigm (McAdam et al, 2001), we treat this shift as a process of boundary enlargement, which constitutes the subject of this study. Although the roots of this process are prior to the period of the crisis, we argue that the crisis and austerity were catalysts for further fostering the boundary enlargement process and allowing it to take place. The process of boundary enlargement adopts a post-modern perspective in dealing with issues related to identities

(Melucci, 1996). However, the rise of new organizational formats affects the movements' internal structure and resources. Together with other academic efforts in bridging the structural and cultural traditions of social movement literature, we examine the process of boundary enlargement regarding organizational structure, resources, and identity factors.

Chapter 2 unpacks the critical moments in time that led to the process of boundary enlargement. In line with post-modern accounts, boundary enlargement presents a dynamic character which changed shape many times over the years. The aftermath of the December 2008 riots was the turning point for social movements, triggering them to reassess the means and goals of their community, while earlier periods of mobilization established the initial foundations. Nevertheless, the economic crisis created a number of needs which accelerated the implementation of the process of boundary enlargement.

Similar to its European counterparts, Greece experienced the tremendous rise of mobilizations in response to the conditions of austerity. More than 20,000 protest events took place between 2010 and 2014 (Diani and Kousis, 2014), with 20 of them bringing from 25,000 to 500,000 participants to the streets (Kousis and Kanellopoulos, 2014). The width of the reactions becomes clearer, if we consider that one third of the population took part in at least one protest event (Rüdig and Karyotis, 2013). Anti-austerity mobilizations were not characterized only by their range and the large amounts of people taking to the streets. Almost 20 per cent of the participants who engaged with collective action participated for the first time in protests and strikes (*Ibid*). Protests and other contentious events created a pool of potential activists. However, soon the claims did not only target the austerity packages but evolved into criticism against the neoliberal political system in general (Della Porta, 2015). Similar to the Spanish Indignados and the occupy movements in the USA, England, and Germany, the Greek square movement constituted the cornerstone of the anti-austerity mobilizations.

The decline of the powerful protests by the end of 2012 increased the prominence of welfare services provided by grassroots collectives. The rise of time banks, community gardens, urban agriculture initiatives, solidarity language and high school courses and numerous other actions, bear evidence of the tendency of social movements towards more practical approaches of political intervention. Contrary to the criticism on new social movements for dealing only with post-materialist concerns, alternative repertoires intervene by pre-figuring the coverage of rather material everyday needs. Urged from the population's difficulties in covering basic needs, this research focuses on the scenes of food, health, and labour, and the respective repertoires developed there.

Building on the framework of the Contentious Politics approach, this inquiry unravels the new reality of the social movement community in Greece. In order to explore the contentious mechanisms that shaped the development of the alternative repertoires, this research employs a case-study approach with a within-case comparison. Qualitative field research with document analysis, semi-structured interviews, and participant observation are applied to approximately 50 grassroots organizations. These organizations deal with the organization of markets without middlemen, collective and social kitchens, the collection and distribution of food parcels, social clinics, and self-managed workers' cooperatives. Respectively, Chapters 3, 4, 5 correspond to the study of the social movement scenes of food, health, and labour. Chapter 6 indicates some important similarities and differences revealed from the comparison among the social movement scenes of food, health and labour, and also highlights crucial aspects that shaped the trajectories of the alternative repertoires, with regards to the factors of organizational structure, resources, and identity. Chapter 7 introduces the process of boundary enlargement as applied to the recent Spanish anti-austerity struggles, as well as in the 2001 Argentinean crisis, and briefly investigates the contentious mechanisms at play.

This final Chapter 8 sets the basis for a discussion regarding the rise of the alternative repertoires and the way they touch upon issues that move beyond the narrow interest of the Greek context. As such, we relate the shift from protest-oriented and claim-based actions towards the provision of bottom-up welfare services with the neoliberal political economy. Moreover, we show how the application of pre-figurative approaches to politics on an everyday life setting, associates with solidarity economy, the commons, and the role of the local contexts. Finally, we discuss how the rise of the alternative repertoires reveal new aspects related to citizenship and we provide some recommendations for future research.

8.1 Expanding the notion of boundary enlargement

The economic crisis and the austerity measures signaled the shift of the social movement community in Greece towards bottom-up welfare provision. Although the shift from protest to service-oriented repertoires has been sped up in the aftermath of the economic crisis in 2008, it would be unfair to limit its role as a mere consequence of the crisis. On the contrary, this study claims that the rise of the alternative repertoires should be seen under the lenses of a broader process of boundary enlargement. The enlargement

of SMOs' boundaries in other social settings may expose different forms of application, such as boundary reduction or contraction, and lead to distinct outcomes. Nevertheless, with regards to the case of Greece, this was mostly experienced through the incorporation of service-oriented practices. This process was accelerated due to the disastrous effects caused by the rampant austerity to large parts of the Greek population. More precisely, though, it also reveals deeper social antagonisms.

According to Melucci, it would be unfair to limit the role of social movements to reactions to crises; instead we should acknowledge that they are 'symptoms of antagonist conflicts, even if this does not wholly exhaust their significance' (Melucci, 1996, p. 99). Melucci (1996) underlines the qualitative differences that distinguish crises from conflicts. Crises imply the collapse of sets of rules, functions and relations. Therefore, by associating the outburst of collective action with periods of crises, social movements tend to be conceived as 'a pathology of the social system' (Melucci, 1996, p. 22). Conversely, conflicts indicate a battle of (at least) two actors over the expropriation and control of a specific set of resources (*Ibid*). Melucci warns that a potential failure in distinguishing these two processes may risk missing the historical trajectory of collective action. As he emphatically states, the labour movement would not be conceived as a struggle against the capitalist industrial production but just as the working-class reaction to the economic difficulties caused by the crises. In this way, the labour movement would have collapsed once the working conditions became better (*Ibid*).

The fact that crises and conflicts are distinct processes does not mean that they are not related. Periods of crises develop a number of social conditions which pave the way for the recognition of deeper conflicts. But once these conflicts rise to the surface and become recognizable, collective action should no longer be perceived as the reaction to the respective crises (*Ibid*). With regards to crisis-ridden Greece, our research shows that the alternative repertoires came to the forefront due to the state and the market's inability to meet the needs of the population. However, they managed to offer space for reflection, on whether the service-oriented actions are part of broader social conflict between the social movement community and the dominant neoliberal system expressed through public and private institutions. In this regard, the shift towards the provision of bottom-up welfare services develops structures and produces new resources, which act independently from the restoration (or the lack thereof) of the pre-crisis setting.

The alternative repertoires are collective efforts aiming to tackle the economic, political, and social adversities caused by austerity. Our analysis shows that these endeavours are connected with each other, construct

unofficial solidarity networks, and produce their own resources and culture. According to Psimitis (2017), the networks of hands-on solidarity practices construct a radical reality which opposes the capitalist system. These networks express a wider trend, associated with unofficial structures of the social and solidarity economy. Solidarity economy networks adopt an ecological perspective, localize production and culture, de-commercialize goods and services, criticize consumption, and provide egalitarian relations in the economic production (*Ibid*, p. 329). Although empirical research shows that the plethora of solidarity structures associate, in different degrees, with the aforementioned aspects, the development of these networks promotes an alternative worldview, antagonistic to the mainstream neoliberal logic. Taking into consideration Melucci's perspective on the conflictual relationship of these views, these solidarity networks seem to be under attack by the capitalist system (*Ibid*).

Capitalism tries to appropriate these forms of action. By introducing notions and practices such as "social entrepreneurship", "social innovation", "good practices" or "social footprint", capitalism attempts to incorporate the social practices of solidarity economy within the profit-oriented logic of mainstream businesses (*Ibid*). This harks back to Crouch (2004) work on post-democracy. There, Crouch condemns the role of corporate social responsibility, since this reflects a tendency of outsourcing the state-provided welfare services to corporate actors. In the Greek context, more attention is paid to the role of the state rather than to the one of the markets.

The appointment of SYRIZA, *Synaspismos Rizospastikis Aristeras* (Coalition of Radical Left), as the leading partner of the governmental coalition between 2015 and 2019, was combined with an institutional promotion of social and solidarity economy. As a first step, the SYRIZA-led governmental coalition established a Special Secretary for Social and Solidarity Economy within the Ministry of Labour, of which the actions ranged from the organization of expos and forums regarding solidarity economy up to the organization of specific bureaucratic agencies responsible for informing potential entrepreneurs on how to set up a cooperative. Moreover, university syllabus started to concentrate specifically on social and solidarity economy, with individual university courses as well as complete master programmes being devoted solely on this new topic. At the same time, a number of new cooperatives appeared, offering consultancy services and legal advice to newly established cooperatives.

In order to secure the grassroots character of the social solidarity practices, Psimitis (2017, pp. 330-346) suggests the further strengthening of these unofficial networks, through the construction of a unified, antagonistic

identity that will respect plurality and the particularities of the different actors. This seems to be the case for the empirical reality in Greece. Either by introducing new terms, such as cooperative economy, or by emphasizing the solidarity aspect of the economy compared to the social aspect, many grassroots organizations tried to distance themselves from state appropriation of solidarity economy. The loose character of their grassroots networks become more concrete, while they issue criteria that exclude initiatives missing a social movement background. As the official political discourses on the crisis fade away, the grassroots networks of solidarity economy are preoccupied with maintaining their radical identity. As such, the cooperatives' new internal debates deal with strategic issues on how to protect themselves in the new neoliberal market environment, and whether collectivism or networking modes are the most appropriate ways in order to strengthen their bonds with the rest of the social movement community.

In respect to the operation of these solidarity networks, pre-figurative approaches are one of the most central issues. Pre-figurative politics propose a type of behaviour that directs individuals to act as they would do in a future, imaginary society, post to the great social transformation. More importantly though, pre-figurative politics are tightly related to broader organizational issues and democratic principles (Psimitis, 2017, pp. 347-348). Pre-figurative politics suggest a reconstruction of the social relationships, which blends the subjectivities with an organized plan of collective action. An important effect of the pre-figurative understanding of politics is that in everyday life, the distinction between individuals and collectives, means and ends, actions and their outcome, become quite blurred (*Ibid*, pp. 348-351). In this respect, pre-figurative politics are related with autonomous politics, in the sense that 'organizational forms, decision-making processes, and forms of action are not just means to an end, but ends in themselves' (Flesher Fominaya, 2007, p. 339). Pre-figurative politics combine the collective experimentation, the imaginary construction of political meanings, the creation of new social norms, the stabilization of these norms in the movements' structures, and the diffusion of ideas in broader networks (Psimitis, 2017, pp. 351-352). All these characteristics have been illustrated in the analysis of the social movement scenes of food, health, and labour. Moreover, they also define the organizational formats in social and solidarity economy.

Although alternative repertoires are studied here through the lens of social movement theories, they also lie in the field of social and solidarity economy. Studies of bottom-up solidarity endeavours, through the approach of social solidarity economy, emphasize the economic perspective in developing a viable alternative to the capitalistic logic of production and

consumption. However, this does not mean that it pays attention only to cases which implement monetary transactions. Gift and exchange economies include non-monetary economic activities, which enrich the universe of social solidarity economy (Benmecheddal et al., 2017; Rozakou, 2016). The role of social solidarity economy is often described as ambiguous, as to whether it has a conflictual relation with, or operates independently from the state and the market (Adam, 2012; Kavoulakos, 2018). What is clear, nevertheless, is the different perspective of solidarity regarding the neoliberal economy. To briefly outline a few, solidarity economy focuses on labour, cooperative relations and common ownership of the means of production, while the neoliberal economy underlines the capital, profit-oriented relations and private ownership (Psimitis, 2017, p. 363). One issue that complements these differences and derives from the empirical research, refers to the different ways that solidarity and neoliberal economy gain legitimation from wider audiences. Social solidarity endeavours have to cross a difficult path, by proving their economic sustainability and efficiency, underestimating indirectly the great application of democratic procedures compared to capitalist businesses. The opposite, however, is not observed for the neoliberal economy, despite the strong defeat that was signaled from the recent economic crisis.

Solidarity economy initiatives adopt a self-organized approach, which underlines the values of autonomy. Instead of focusing on big narratives, the pre-figurative approach to solidarity economy initiatives, aims to transform the social relationships and the living conditions in the “here and now”. In other words, ‘social transformation comes through the creation of alternatives, not through the existing institutional system’ (Flesher Fominaya, 2007, p. 339). In order to do so, these bottom-up initiatives construct unofficial communities with great attention to the local settings. It is stressed throughout this study that service-oriented repertoires concentrated in local actions. So do the recent municipalist movements developed in the Southern European cities, such as Barcelona, Madrid, Turin and the ones that, to some extent, try to rise also in Greece. A helpful way to approach this emphasis on the local element is through “commons”.

Commons support the collective and communal perspective on material and immaterial resources. Although the interest of the literature on commons tilts more towards the non-capitalistic structures of economy (Psimitis, 2017, p. 269), scholars emphasize that commons are quite necessary for the survival of capitalism. Capitalism needs commons for its reproduction, by using and extracting the profit from the natural and social resources (De Angelis, 2017). This procedure seems similar to the capitalist invasion in the

solidarity practices, as it was described earlier. The risk of the capitalist appropriation of commons becomes apparent especially in times of crises, since they are perceived as the temporary solutions to fix the state and market's inabilities. According to Buck (2013), there are two potential dangers here. First, in cases where commons are advertised through a neoliberal lens, they 'can easily be construed as a convenient fix to various internal and external road-blocks to capital accumulation through the exploitation of unwaged labour and the externalization of negative impacts of capital production' (Buck, 2013, p. 64). Second, in cases where commons are expressed through grassroots orientations in tackling the economic difficulties, they run the risk of pacifying the internal tensions of neoliberalism by fixing its disruptions and leaving the dominant production relations untouched (*Ibid*).

Among others, Psimitis proposes that the only way to secure commons is through the local communities (2017, p. 370). Moreover, Buck claims that the reproduction of commons should take place through a process of communing, which is resistant to the neoliberal system (2013, p. 64). This resistant character of commons towards the neoliberal enclosures, requires an internal reflection of the subjectivities. According to De Angelis, commoners should ask who they are, what they want and how they can achieve it, having as a necessary condition the prevalence of democratic procedures throughout this process (De Angelis, 2013, p. 73). The neoliberal enclosures can be expressed with the form of the traditional interest-based associations, but also with the spatial appropriation of land, for instance the cases of gated communities in South Africa (Morange et al., 2012). Therefore, the communal protection of commons should be based on open and egalitarian social relations. In this respect, local communities become the protective shield both for the commons and for the individuals' daily life, against the systemic crisis of capitalism (Papadaki and Kalogeraki, 2017; Psimitis, 2017, p. 376). However, this procedure requires a deeper transformation of the social relationships and the way in which they are understood.

In order to suggest an alternative to the capitalist model, De Angelis (2013) notes that activists should move beyond the established ethical choices and the strict limits of ideology. Regarding the former, the development of individual or collective identities based on a value system that is directed by ethical choices, although helpful, does not represent a comprehensive understanding of commons (*Ibid*, pp. 88-89). Commons should be seen as a field for the production of new values, shared by people from different political and social backgrounds (*Ibid*). With regards to ideology, De Angelis argues that the relationship of commons to capital is quite ambiguous. Commons and capital evolve simultaneously throughout time, making it

difficult to determine which affected the other first. Therefore, the author urges researchers to avoid judging commons—whether or not they are absorbed by the system—by using the lens of ideology or identity politics. Commons are neither utopias nor dystopias (*Ibid*, p. 132). Similar to the dilemma regarding the solidarity-charity character of the alternative repertoires, commons might provoke empowerment, but they can also be repressive. Commons constitute a field of possibilities for social cooperation, but their mere reproduction is not enough for enhancing an antagonistic character to capitalism; rather, the reproduction of commons should target the fields of social reproduction in which people define their basic living needs. Health, food, education, housing, care, and energy constitute adequate fields for the cultivation of an egalitarian logic in commons and for establishing social justice (*Ibid*, p. 139).

De Angelis' suggestion seems to refer more to an ideal type and less to an empirical expression of reality. Although sticking to ideological orthodoxy shrinks the possibilities for cooperation, experimentation, and might prove disastrous for the construction of a new value system, certain ideological principles seem necessary for distinguishing the resistant from the resilient character of these grassroots endeavours. Self-organization, direct democracy, and horizontality constitute central aspects for paving the radical path of commons (as the field), through the solidarity economy (as the means). Nevertheless, one way towards the creation of this type of community is through the cognitive enlargement of boundaries. Empirical research shows that sociality and social opening constitute basic elements of this trajectory.

The internalization of the systemic crisis in the activists' everyday life has enabled attention to be drawn at the local contexts, giving a distinct power to the anti-austerity protest cycle developed between 2010 and 2012. According to Psimitis (2017, p. 382), this experiential understanding of the crisis of capital produced new mobilization resources, which have been appropriated by the individuals. In this respect, the social movements constitute the collective expression and multiplication of these resources (*Ibid*). The aforementioned claims have been largely displayed in this book. Both the arrival of new activists and the rise of the alternative repertoires mirror Psimitis' narrative. Melucci further highlights the role of solidarity in relation to the local settings. Together with pre-existing institutional bonds and the presence of listening spaces, Melucci (1996, p. 376) counts the existence of unofficial networks of everyday solidarity, as the third crucial factor which leads to positive responses in situations of emergency. The author claims that these hidden networks of everyday solidarity, as well as

the accumulation of experience through the participation in these practices, are crucial elements for the protection of autonomy within communities. These networks of solidarity, which Melucci calls the “heritage of the communities”, strongly reflect the organizations studied in this book. On this ground, more attention should be paid to how the alternative repertoires interact with and affect the everyday routine and the local social settings.

In the late 19th century, Le Bon (2004) wrote on the transformative crowd behaviour, which turns rational subjects to irrational masses. Almost a century later, social movements have been established as a legitimate form of political action (Tarrow, 1998), while their former “irrational” repertoires have been largely adopted and used by market and state institutions (Meyer and Tarrow, 1998). This change in perception indicates a wider shift of the scholarship, which enabled considering collective action as rational. The growth of social movement studies, as a distinct field of academic work, clearly confirms this suggestion. More importantly, though, it actually marks the embodiment of social movement practices in the everyday setting. Psimitis (2017) claims that social movements in post-modern (and more accurately in post-industrial) societies do not advocate for the potential of a broader social transformation through a revolution. Instead, movements are embedded forms of social transformation interlocked in daily life (*Ibid*). This is further depicted by the alternative repertoires studied here. Our research treats these service-oriented repertoires as complementary forms of action to the traditional street protest politics. In these terms, alternative repertoires integrate a character of everyday resistance. As Hadjimichalis puts it, ‘on the terrain of everyday life, solidarity movements developed to contest and politicize austerity by doing something lasting longer than a three-hour demonstration’ (2017, p. 172).

How did austerity get politicized in the everyday context? The answer here is not easy, but our argument relies heavily on the boundary enlargement process. Boundary enlargement brings social movement scenes and political spaces closer to each other. At the same time, it triggers contradictions between the material needs caused by austerity and the post-material values of the new social movements. It challenges the solidarity imaginary, by developing a field where the moral shock caused by austerity, urging for direct action and collaboration with the institutional actors, comes in conflict with the ideological purity expressed by the traditional political spaces. Our research shows that this ideological purity caused initial skepticism and inertia to the more traditional organized forms of Greece’s social movement community. On the contrary, reflexes and responses from less politicized groups, which used to pay more attention to local

issues and focused on a lesser extent to “big narratives”, were much faster. However, this contradiction between traditional and recently established organized forms of collective action reveals insight, which corresponds to new understandings of citizenship and activism.

Chapter 2 underscores the relative absence of civil society formats in Greece, as these are usually met in other Northern European countries. Mistrust towards the state institutions and the non-governmental organizations over the last 20 years was quite characteristic in the Greek society. Political parties used to fill the gap between the grassroots and the state in modern Greece, while the third sector has been widely accused for corruption scandals. This skepticism has sharply increased in the years of austerity, and particularly once the social movements started to intervene with the local context. Attention of social movements to the local level clearly increased in the aftermath of the 2008 December riots. The empirical chapters show that beneficiaries have often adopted an aggressive stance towards the bottom-up service-oriented organizations and confused them with municipal authorities and professional volunteers. This confirms both the lack of a respective culture for the provision of alternative repertoires by the social movement community, and the mistrust towards the neoliberal civil society organizations (Rozakou, 2008). At the same time, it shows how easily these forms of action have been welcomed by the local population, and also highlights the experimental stage of their operation due to the lack of respective culture and experience from official institutions. The hands-on approach of the alternative repertoires moved the social movements towards fields often associated with civil society organizations and increased their interaction with institutional and hybrid organizations.

The amalgam of different voices shapes the construction of collective identities. However, these collective identities are not solid, but mostly mirror a mosaic of different conceptions, with the internal streams moving from reformist to more radical approaches; from the construction of a common solidarity economy, parallel to the state and the market’s dominant role, to the respective construction of a future world build on the ruins of the current. This narrative challenges the rigid divisions that used to distinguish the “bad state”, the apolitical civil society, and the “good social movements”. Of course, the state may still be “bad”, the civil society may still be conceived as the neoliberal trick for outsourcing welfare services, and the social movements may still incarnate the most authentic voice of the people; but the relationships between these three actors are much more complicated and dynamic. Citizenship seems to be a key aspect here.

Citizenship occupies considerable space in the agenda of democratic theorists, a long-standing tradition in the European academia. Urged by this, recent studies of European social movement scholars call for attention to philosophical accounts and social theories, as the ancestors of the European social movement theories (Cox and Flesher Fominaya, 2013). The revival of citizenship in the mainstream political setting is also pictured by the newly established neoliberal parties *To Potami* in Greece and *Ciudadanos* in Spain. Although we touch on the issue of citizenship briefly,¹ it is worth mentioning that liberal theories on citizenship focus on the citizens' autonomy; civic understandings emphasize the active involvement of citizens in the public sphere; while the social-democratic tradition underlines the material needs of citizens and their access to public services (Gerbaudo, 2017, p. 39). Gerbaudo posits that recent movements against austerity put forward the anti-oligarchic understanding of citizenship, as this opposes the dominance of economic and political elites in the social realm. The rise of Indignados and Occupy movements underlines that citizenship does not refer to established rights and obligations; rather, it seems to be a notion that has been appropriated by the neoliberal elites and that should be gained back (*Ibid*, p. 44). In this regard, the author notes that anti-austerity movements were not protest movements but proposal movements, which suggested potential ways for the restoration and extension of citizens' rights (*Ibid*). The anti-oligarchic citizen does not only claim for the 'bottom-up reconstruction of a crisis-ridden democracy, but also a reassertion of the power of the dispersed citizenry against the concentrated power of economic and political elites' (*Ibid*, pp. 46-47).

We are still skeptical as to whether the notion of commons described earlier fits with the anti-oligarchic understanding of citizenship. Following Hadjimichalis, during the occupation of squares, 'younger middle-class activists gave the tone, but the most deprived parts of the population were absent – feminist and ecological issues were marginalized and union participation was rejected' (2017, p. 171). Nevertheless, what interests us in Gerbaudo (2017, p. 48) view is that activists do not want to change the system from inside (as the social-democratic view suggests), nor do they see themselves as something completely external and independent from the state (as the autonomist perspective implies). Rather, they see themselves both as insiders and outsiders. This view, which reminds Tarrow (2012) metaphor of "strangers at the gates" (of the polity), mirrors the post-modern

1 For a detailed analysis of the relationship between civil society and social movements see Diani (2015).

approach of fluid identities and points to yet another element of the boundary enlargement process.

The simultaneous insider-outsider perspective allows us to stress another aspect, which deals with the introduction of the service-oriented alternative repertoires of action in everyday life. During the 1968 protest cycle, feminist movements claimed that the personal was also political. The same goes for the recent outburst of feminist mobilizations against gender-based violence with the Me Too and the Non Una di Meno campaigns in the US and Italy respectively, as well as with similar actions that followed the murder of the LGBTQ+ activist Zak/Zackie in September 2018 and the protests against a number of rapes and femicides that took place recently in Greece. In a reverse process, the recent protest cycle against austerity transformed the political into personal. Political involvement no longer constituted a distinct aspect of the activists' everyday reality, independent from their "normal" routine. On the contrary, activists incorporate their political activities within their daily needs. First, this is reflected by the increase of solidarity structures occupied with serving daily basic needs, such as food, health, sanitation, housing, labour, education, and others. This is also mirrored by the fact that activists contribute to these structures, neither on the basis of their political education nor their theoretical skills, but actually as the continuation of their professional life or based on their practical skills. Doctors are involved in the social clinics; chefs in the collective kitchens; solidarity courses are provided by teachers and professors; directors put on theatrical plays; dance instructors organize grassroots dance courses; while the political is incorporated in the business sector by the introduction of cooperatives in a number of professions. However, we should not be misunderstood here. This is not to say that the service-oriented organizations reproduce the Taylorism model of management labour division based on the professions. Self-organization promotes creativity and the engagement of the members in any task they want. Additionally, collective decision-making removes the passive implementation of orders coming from the leaders of the respective organizations. A plethora of examples show that the social movement community in Greece has been structured on what the activists are willing to offer, and not on what they should offer. Rather, we want to mark a reverse process of engaging those people who can provide their services *also* based on their professional skills within the social movement community. This element does not show a tendency of movements to reproduce the capitalist relations of the career environment. On the contrary, social movements challenge the stabilization of the traditional social relationships by contrasting

the horizontal environment of SMOs with the hierarchical professional environment, through the provision of the same sets of services. In these terms, the culture of self-organization and direct democracy bridge the political and private spheres on a daily basis.

8.2 Future Research

Meyer (2002, p. 20) posits that social movements take risks in order to construct a better world. Therefore, they should not be studied as another academic field which discusses only specific, popular issues. Rather, researchers should also contribute to this direction by providing answers to meaningful questions. This inquiry has two main intentions: first, to present primary empirical material in order to demonstrate the turbulent reality in Greece from 2008 to 2016; second, to explain and analyse this new reality from the lens of the boundary enlargement process. We hope we succeed in providing some satisfactory answers.

Social movement studies, and the framework of Contentious Politics in particular, were the main theoretical tools employed. Our first suggestion for future research deals with the study of current and past contentious episodes, where the social movement communities experienced changes in their structural and cognitive boundaries. Spain and Argentina are two promising sites for an in-depth analysis of the boundary enlargement process, which allow us to compare phenomena with great geographical distances and during different periods. Although cases which incorporate service-oriented repertoires may further strengthen the argument of this inquiry, studies on SMOs' engagement with different repertoires and practices bear the potential for better constructing the process of boundary enlargement. On top of that, inquiries discussing reverse processes would be of utmost importance. Potential analyses of the circumstances that lead to boundary reduction or boundary contraction processes can grant a comprehensive picture of changes along SMOs' boundaries.

Moving ahead, this research touches upon other theoretical frameworks which have not been discussed thoroughly. Theories on social and solidarity economy and the commons offer an important analytical lens, through which one is able to understand the rise of the alternative repertoires of actions. Although we touched upon these issues, we indicate aspects of the social and solidarity economy and commons only partially, without completely incorporating their framework. In other words, we relied more heavily on the descriptive usage of these frameworks rather than on their

analytical strength. Due to this, we recommend future researchers who wish to study the service-oriented repertoires of action, to do so by fully taking advantage of the analytical dimensions of social and solidarity economy and the commons. Post-capitalist approaches, such as Gibson-Graham's (1996) work on diverse economies, might be a good start. Although it might risk missing the elements of contention and disruption as revealed here, it increases the possibilities for a more detailed understanding of the interaction between grassroots organizations and official institutions.

Apart from suggesting a different analytical framework, we call on future inquiries to pay attention to specific issues that have been stressed here but not studied in detail. Our research design has focused on specific organizations, topics and moments. Therefore, research on other service-oriented organizations, other topics, such as education and housing, or other moments, such as the 2015 refugee "crisis" or the 2020 Covid-19 pandemic, will provide new insight and enable a richer narrative of the operation of the alternative repertoires.

Restrictions in terms of the sample, not only relate to the content of the repertoires but also to their local setting, since the field research was carried out in the two major cities of Athens and Thessaloniki, complemented by some organizations from Crete. This enabled the thorough exploration of the boundary enlargement process. However, it restricted the narrative of its application in relatively major urban centres and relatively middle-class neighbourhoods. The study of the alternative repertoires is not limited to sociologists or political scientists. Over the last years, a great stream of anthropological research has drawn attention to the issues of solidarity and sociality by exploring in-depth the internal operation of the service-oriented organizations (Cabot, 2016; Rakopoulos, 2016; Rozakou, 2016; Theodossopoulos, 2016). However, these, too, have focused either on the major cities of Athens, Thessaloniki, and Patra, or on the Aegean islands where the increasing flows of people during the so-called refugee "crisis" resulted in a parallel increase of service-oriented solidarity structures. The operation of the service-oriented organizations in relatively poor and popular districts, as well as in provincial towns, make for interesting subjects of future inquiry. This is not only for the sake of comparison. Rather, it is important to understand the way in which the service-oriented repertoires fit into settings with different levels of politicization and engagement in collective action, settings which have been affected on different levels by austerity, as well as to see what type of implications the different social classes may have on the development of the boundary enlargement process.

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Annex

SMOs Material

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