



SCUOLA NORMALE SUPERIORE
Ph.D. in Political Science and Sociology
Institute of Humanities and Social Sciences
XXX Cycle
Submission: 31/7/2018

**From Protest to Production:
Enlarging the Boundaries of Social Movements
in Crisis-Ridden Greece**

Ph.D. Candidate
Theocharis Malamidis

Ph.D. Coordinator
Donatella della Porta

Ph.D. Supervisors
Donatella della Porta, Lorenzo Bosi

Abstract

The recent economic crisis had severe consequences for the countries of the European South; at its epicenter, Greece experienced tremendous economic, social and political transformations. The imposition of harsh austerity measures resulted in the sharp increase of unemployment, the dissolution of labor rights, budget reductions in health and education and the broader deconstruction of the former welfare state. At the same time, these measures were welcomed by a polymorphous movement against austerity. The square movement, continuous national strikes as well as large scale protests and demonstrations have carved out a contentious environment in Greece's crisis-ridden landscape. These protest events brought new activists in the streets and transformed the criticism against austerity to a broader distaste for the neoliberal representative democracy.

Confronted with the impoverishment of large segments of the Greek population, the anti-austerity mobilizations gave birth to new grassroots solidarity structures. Barter clubs, markets without middlemen, collective kitchens, social clinics, workers' collectives and social cooperatives constitute only a few examples. Together with the eruption of these new initiatives, traditional social movement organizations (SMOs) shift their focus towards the provision of service-oriented repertoires. This process witnesses the enlargement of previously stable practical and conceptual boundaries. In line with post-modern accounts, this thesis argues that previously clear-cut boundaries, which used to distinguish the different roles within the social movement communities, become fluid, while the relationship between social movements and institutional actors gets blurred. The process of boundary enlargement in Greece is represented by the incorporation of service-oriented practices within the SMOs' repertoires of action, something which is further accelerated due to the conditions of crisis and austerity.

By focusing on the social movement scenes of health, food and labor, this inquiry explores the contentious dynamics and mechanisms that contributed to the enlargement of the SMOs' boundaries. Through qualitative field research in SMOs in Athens and Thessaloniki, we analyze the changes in terms of their organizational structure, resources and identities. Additionally, by emphasizing the similarities and differences in their trajectories, we shed light on the new dilemmas that SMOs are faced with, providing a substantial explanation of how the crisis has affected the passage from the politics of protest to the politics of production.

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Acknowledgements

When reading a new book, I always begin with the acknowledgements section. This is the point to realize that the author's name only partially reflects the effort of the exercise, since a number of visible and unknown 'heroes' helped in constructing, reflecting and questioning the path that the study has come through. The same also applies for this research.

First and foremost, I wish to thank my supervisors, Donatella della Porta and Lorenzo Bosi. Donatella's encouragement gave me the opportunity to enroll in the PhD program, while her overall guidance and tolerance structured my way of thinking. Lorenzo's detailed comments, challenging and inspiring discussions, and emotional support paved the way for the completion of this thesis. It was the smoothest and the most motivating relationship a student could imagine and, I could not be more grateful.

I would like to thank the Scuola Normale Superiore and all the faculty members, administration staff, visitors and students of the Institute of Humanities and Social Sciences for providing me with the resources and granting me a privileged position from which to carry out my research. Particular thanks go to Silvia, Giulia, Christian and Alessandra for creating a welcoming environment. I would like also to express my gratitude to the stimulating environment of the Center on Social Movement Studies and the lively workshops, talks, seminars, summer schools, conferences as well as the numerous informal debates that shaped my research. Particular thanks to Lorenzo Mosca, Andrea Felicetti, Lorenzo Zamponi, Pietro Castelli and Cesar Guzman for commenting early drafts of the thesis. For the same reason, I would like to acknowledge the Contentious Politics Lab in Athens, the Laboratory of Social Analysis and Applied Social Research in Crete and the Seeger Center for Hellenic Studies at Princeton University. Special thanks also go to Tracey Rosen and Evaggelos Evaggelinidis. Additionally, I wish to express my sincere thanks to Antonio Willox, Hara Kadere and Foteini Dimirouli for correcting parts of the thesis as well as Niamh Keady-Tabbal for her final language review. This thesis would not have been accomplished without the full engagement of my interviewees. My gratitude for devoting their time and trust to narrate their experiences for this research project cannot be explained by words. I hope the final result of this thesis will manage to highlight their courage and anxieties during the harsh times of austerity and correspond to the seriousness of their efforts.

I cannot not imagine how my life in Florence would be if I had not been honored by the friendship of Andrea and Elias. Discussing on my thesis at 5 o'clock in the morning and sharing my fears and anxieties can only provide a slight piece of the practical and mental support they provided. Together with them, I would like to thank all my classmates, the all-time second in Carcassonne Argyris and Taygeti, Anna, as well as Silvia, Anna, Daniela, Giorgos, Filip, and all the Sardo community for their hospitality and encouragement. I wish to thank my friends Haris and Nena, Vasilis, Panagiotis, Andriana, Konstantinos, Margarita, Dimitra, Michalis, Kostas, Eva, Lia, Popi, Antonis, Dimitris, Anestis, Haris and Kostas, Leonidas as well as the recreation thread, and particularly, Regina and my personal book sponsor Mike. And of course,

Hara. Her enthusiastic support was a necessary companion along this trip. Most of them were not familiar with the object of my research but all of them shared my fears and encouraged me to complete it.

Finally, I would like to thank my parents, my brother Miltos as well as Nikos, Lefteris and Rene. Inspiring and getting inspired by people from different ages, lifestyles and educational backgrounds, who share the same desire for knowledge, was the most retributive part in the course of this research.

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List of Abbreviations

- AK – Anti-authoritarian Movement
- ANTARSYA – Anticapitalistic Left Cooperation for the Overthrow (political party)
- CCC – Corriente Clasista y Combativa (Class Combative Current)
- CSA – Community Supported Agriculture
- Dikaex – Network of Social Solidarity in Exarcheia, Athens
- DIMAR – Democratic Left
- EC – European Commission
- ECB – European Central Bank
- ECHR – European Court of Human Rights
- ELSTAT – Hellenic Statistical Authority
- ERT – Hellenic Broadcasting Corporation
- EU – European Union
- FACTA – Federacion Argentina de Cooperativas de Trabajadores Autogestionados
(Argentine Federation of Self-Managed Workers' Cooperatives)
- FTV – Federacion de Trabajadores por la Tierra, Vivienda y Habitat (Federation for Land
and Housing)
- GJM – Global Justice Movement
- GMOs – Genetically Modified Objects
- ICT – Information and communications technology
- IMF – International Monetary Fund
- KKE – Communist Party of Greece (political party)
- LAE – Popular Unity (political party)
- MKIE – Metropolitan Community Clinic at Helliniko
- MNER – Movimiento Nacional de Empresas Recuperadas (National Movement of
Recuperated Businesses)
- MoU – Memorandum of Understanding
- MST – Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra (Brazil's Landless Workers'
Movement)
- MTD – Movimientos de Trabajadores Desocupados (Movement of Unemployed Workers)
- ND – New democracy (political party)
- NGO – Non-governmental Organization
- NoC – Network of Cooperatives in Athens
- NSFRs – National Strategic Reference Frameworks
- PAH – Plataforma de Afectados por la Hipoteca (Platform of Those Affected by Mortgages)
- PASOK – Panhellenic Socialist Movement (political party)
- PDAFA – Police Department of Attica's Foreign Administration
- PP – Partido Popular (People's Party)
- PSOE – Partido Socialista Obrero Español (Spanish Socialist Workers' Party)
- S4A – Solidarity for All
- SCK – Social clinic in Korydalos
- SMI – Social Movement Industry

SMO – Social Movement Organization

SYRIZA – Coalition of Radical Left (political party)

VKP – neighborhood assembly of Virona, Kesariani, Pagkrati

WHO – World Health Organization

1 Foreword

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. At the epicenter, Greece has experienced an explosion of movements against austerity which challenged the legitimacy of 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, 2018), which came to the forefront once the dynamic protests started to decline.

This period of transition provides the setting for the focal point of this thesis. By positioning the recent economic crisis and the subsequent austerity measures within the realm of contentious politics, this thesis argues that between 2008 and 2016 the social movement community in Greece, meaning formal and informal SMOs, grassroots networks and individuals (Staggenborg, 2013), has gone through a transformative process which enabled the shift of social movement organizations' interests towards the exercise of service-oriented¹ repertoires of action. During the period of austerity, the cognitive and structural boundaries of social movement organizations seem to change shape and become more flexible, leading to the inclusion of new and the transformation of old repertoires. Boundaries that used to distinguish social movement organizations with clear aims in mobilizing people with others advocating and lobbying for collective purposes as well as from those organizations with supportive roles that framed the movements' overall culture get blurred. The 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, organizational boundaries may change by engaging with other activities 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 a protest repertoire 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

¹ Critical scholars highlight that neoliberal approaches to civil society tend to substitute voluntarism with 'service', with its recipients described as 'beneficiaries' (Rozakou, 2008: 114). Although we are aware of these debates regarding the institutionalization and professionalization of voluntarism, we use these terms in order to underline the shift of social movements' attention from protest-oriented practices to the provision of social solidarity as well as to differentiate the activists from the users of these informal welfare practices. Thus, it is crucial to note that the aforementioned terms have only descriptive purposes without bearing analytical insight.

anti-austerity actions also included forms that are not compatible with the usual street politics. Additionally, the change of focus in the academic community gave birth to a number of definitions regarding the service-oriented repertoires. On the one hand, Bosi and Zamponi (2014) speak for the repetition of old ‘direct social actions’, which opt for social change without turning their claims towards the state. On the other hand, the combination of economic and social characteristics forced Kousis and Pachou (2017; 2014; Kousis, 2017) to present a framework of ‘alternative forms of resilience’, the actions of which aim to create a strong social resilience in times of crisis. 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 a third sector, including church and municipal organizations in the provision of these new actions urged Loukakis (2018) to frame them as ‘alternative action organizations’.

The provision of social 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 can also be found in the practices of the traditional labor movement. Additionally, the Italian autonomous movement’s tradition of organizing collective kitchens presents a similar tendency, while the first social clinic in Greece was established in Chania, Crete in 1990 long before the eruption of crisis. Taking into consideration other forms of social provision, the literature on the welfare state emphasizes a trend of outsourcing the basic social services towards non-state actors was already underway from the beginning of the 1990s (Stasinopoulou, 2002).

Nevertheless, a number of factors complicate the picture. These actions present a great variety in terms of services, actors who employ them and ones that use them since they do not refer only to activists but to larger parts of the population. Traditional social movement organizations turned their attention to the provision of services, and new organizations were established specifically for this purpose. These organizations seem to employ the traditional repertoire of movements but at the same time disregard clear political identities. Additionally, participants have also been engaged 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 social movement organizations.

By *alternative² repertoires of action* this research refers to the group of solidarity structures and the repertoires preoccupied with the informal provision of services, which used to be provided by the welfare state and the labor 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 languages and arts, self-managed workers collectives and other similar forms. The range of these

² Although the term ‘alternative’ implies something different to the mainstream capitalist system, it is often criticized for reducing any radical features. However, the use of the term ‘alternative’ here aims only to distinguish the new forms of actions from the traditional protest-oriented repertoires of social movements, without implying other analytical connotations.

actions is so wide that it tends to cover a great part of 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 repertoire. 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” (2018:161).

Coming across the rich empirical reality that gave birth to a number of different theoretical understandings, this thesis explores the transformative character of the recent economic crisis and the subsequent austerity measures on social movements and their relationship to the state. In particular, we draw our attention to the scenes of food, health and labor and the respective efforts accomplished by social movement actors by applying qualitative research on approximately 50 organizations. These three scenes have been widely studied by social movement scholars, each one contributing valuable insights 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 GMOs as well as urban studies and political geography, while the labor scene was dominating the social movement interest for more than a century.

Nevertheless, the attention of this dissertation on these three scenes is not due of their rich tradition in social movement studies; rather, our decision is grounded in three reasons. First, food, health and labor scenes were severely damaged by the recent economic crisis and the subsequent austerity measures, dramatically changing the everyday reality of the Greek population. Second, these three scenes host active and intense activity by a great variety of social movement actors with respect to the Greek context. Third, the two aforementioned conditions indicate that the scenes of food, health and labor are adequate cases to analyze the development of the boundary enlargement process. Therefore, instead of approaching each of these scenes separately and analyzing the evolution of the respective movements as a single-issue, we conceive food, health and labor 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 crisis and austerity accelerated the outburst of a process in which previously fixed boundaries of social movement organizations are transformed, enlarged and acquire a new shape. Although similar turbulent conditions in other settings may lead to different changes in the respective boundaries of social movement organizations, the most representative case of this change of boundaries with respect to Greece 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 to the traditional protest activities, in the sense that they have been developed *within* and not *aside to* the broader struggle against austerity.

1.1 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 the 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. Additional changes took place with regards to the social movement community in Greece. The development (and more precisely the decline) of the anti-austerity mobilizations initiated the advent of the alternative repertoires, concentrated in the provision of welfare that had previously been provided by the state and the market. This thesis 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. Social movement organizations 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 next to 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 within the charity-solidarity debate, up to issues regarding self-management, costs and efficiency, these alternative repertoires pose questions to social movements whose elaboration was previously attached only at a theoretical level.

Second, the indicators regarding the association of social movements and their organizations with institutional actors add another important element to the inquiry's object of study. Either with formal affiliations or with informal connections following similar means, the discrete line that used to distinguish movements with 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 informal 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 the crisis. In this regard, this thesis adds important empirical insight into the literature related to the transformative role of crises as well as bottom-up welfare practices. This

exercise manages to bridge the severe changes to the livelihood of Greek citizens with the macro-structural adjustments of the national and international environment and demonstrate how these are reflected in the heart of social movements, namely the meso-level of social movement organizations.

In our attempt to explore the mechanisms that shape this transformative character, we draw our attention to social movement theories and in particular, to the framework of contentious politics as it was introduced by McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly (2001). The theoretical framework used here favors a dynamic model and aspires to further contribute to the social movement literature that bridges the gap between the structural and cultural approaches. Although the aspect of resources has lost its prior popularity, this thesis brings it back by arguing that during times where 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 exercise 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 social movement organizations 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 commons, underlining features related to alternative economies often discussed in organization and marketing literature (Campana et al, 2017).

1.2 Structure of the dissertation

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

Chapter 2 demonstrates its theoretical underpinnings. Our elaboration of the framework of contentious politics demonstrates both its advantages for analyzing complex realities and its ambition for a dynamic approach. Nevertheless, the absence of an explanatory concept with regards to the changes over distinctive boundaries enables us to introduce the process of boundary enlargement and steal its utility in respect to other potential theorizations. Additionally, we provide detailed explanations for our decision to examine the meso-organization level and the use of social movement scenes. We also provide justifications for this dissertation's focus on the factors of organizational structure, resources and identity. Finally, we acknowledge some important limitations of our theoretical framework.

Chapter 3 presents the background context of this inquiry. By understanding the social movements as cases of continuities (Zamponi and Fernández, 2016), 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. 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 of the advent of the square movement and the following process of decentralization. Most importantly, as our research is mostly focused on alternative repertoires, we then draw our attention to the social movement scenes of food, health and labor and we closely 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 experienced with the Greek reality, it is more than necessary for someone with minimum knowledge of the background context.

Chapter 4 illustrates the basic methodological concerns of this inquiry and is divided into three parts. The first part deals with the overall research design. It addresses epistemological and ontological issues, provides information about the case-study model and presents the procedures followed for the selection of cases. The second part provides more explicit information on the research methods, and in particular, about the document analysis, qualitative semi-structured interviews and participant observation. Equally important, the third and last part, draws its attention to the politics and research ethics that accompanied us through-out the course of this study.

Chapters 5, 6, and 7 constitute the core part of our research as they expose our analytical contributions based on primary empirical evidence. All the three chapters follow similar design by analyzing the structural factors of organizational structure and resources and the cultural factor of identity. In particular, chapter 5 deals with the analysis of 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 packages. Chapter 6 deals with the social movement scene of health and the case of social clinics. Chapter 7 discusses the social movement scene of labor by focusing on the formation of formal and informal social cooperatives. The aforementioned structure enables us to explore and understand the different mechanisms and sub-mechanisms that operate in each of the three scenes, how they are combined, inter-linked, and compose the process of boundary enlargement. Apart from the analysis of the repertoires and the respective organizations, each chapter addresses issues related to the movement-state relationship.

Chapter 8 advocates for three necessary comparisons. Following a within-case comparative approach, this chapter first marks the most significant similarities and differences between the three social movement scenes. The second comparison puts in the epicenter the mechanisms and sub-mechanisms analyzed in the empirical chapters and relates them with the literature of contentious politics. Lastly, the third comparison deals with the different trajectories observed in the social movement scenes of food, health and labor with regards the factors of organizational structure, resources and identity.

Chapter 9 provides the conclusion. After summarizing what has been discussed in the thesis, this chapter expands the use of boundary enlargement in conceptual and

practical terms. In particular, first, it engages this research in broader academic debates by discussing the relationship of boundary enlargement with the social solidarity economy, commons and the neoliberal political economy. Second, by using secondary literature it discusses how the process of boundary enlargement can apply to other contentious episodes. To do so, it focuses on the recent anti-austerity mobilizations in Spain and the movements developed during the 2001 crisis in Argentina and indicates few suggestions for further research.

2 Theoretical Framework

This research argues that the recent economic crisis has enabled the facilitation of a boundary enlargement process, which has affected social movement organizations both internally, in terms of their internal operation, but also externally with regards to their relationship with institutional actors. In order to demonstrate this, we base our explanatory framework on the literature of social movements, particularly 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 “decision to participate over time [is] thus subject to frequent reassessment and negotiation” (Snow et al, 1986: 467). Despite earlier efforts to transform the static models of resource mobilization theory and the political process approach into more dynamic accounts, which took place prior to 2001 (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. For 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: 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: 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: 289).

Adopting a relational perspective, McAdam et al (2001) argued that contentious episodes and events are processes which emerge through 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: 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 and 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, further specification regarding its theoretical underpinnings is required.

2.1 Why Boundary Enlargement?

In 1996, Melucci argued that social movements are actions that imply “conflict, solidarity and a breaching of the system limits” (1996: 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” (Melucci, 1996: 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*, 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 physical and symbolic boundaries as central social factors shaping the development of collective action (van Stekelenburg et al, 2013). Despite having almost 20 years between them, both accounts underline the importance of limits and boundaries in collective action. Prompted by these, our research elevates the study of boundaries as the central issue at stake.

Speaking about 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: 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: 312). This approach adopts a relational perspective on boundaries, which enables their enlargement in practical and cognitive terms. Literature on social movements emphasizes the definition of boundaries as 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: 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: 15). Moving

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: 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 in 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 themselves with certain movements, especially when the formers’ lifestyles, values, beliefs and actions are not strong enough determinants (Diani, 2013: 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: 312). In this sense, the definition of boundaries deals with the “criteria that assign social actors to different groups and categories” (Diani and Mische, 2015: 312). 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 addresses social action in broad terms, and affects our understanding of political systems, processes and dynamics (Diani, 2015: 16).

Social movement literature pays particular attention to the boundary definition. For 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: 287). Framed as a mechanism that can “expand the range or extend the life of contentious episodes” *boundary activation*, for example, 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: 36). Boundary activation is also explained as the “increase in the salience of ‘us-them’ distinction separating two political actors” (Alimi et al, 2015: 287). Respectively, *boundary control* is a term used in order to describe the process of protecting the established boundary from outsiders (Alimi et al, 2015: 52, 287). These terms are inter-related as they all attempt to describe a process that affects specific boundaries. Tilly and Tarrow (2015: 106) argue that boundaries are being formed after complex processes which “commonly take shape outside contentious politics”. 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 erupt, contentious politics neither create nor activate new boundaries; rather, they activate or de-activate the boundaries that already exist (Tilly and Tarrow, 2006: 61).

Scholars of contentious politics 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: 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 describe 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 have been issued 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 process 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, 2015: 338-339-emphasis added). 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). 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 politics³ or to an outlawed one. 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 with respect to 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 developed within the field of business studies to describe the gradual trend 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 incorporation in SMOs’ activities services that used to be hitherto provided by the welfare state and

³ It worth noting here that according to some scholars movements’ institutionalization does not necessarily diminishes their antagonistic character (Dee, 2017). 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 movements’ engagement with mainstream politics and political parties as it is the case with Bosi’s (2015) definition.

the market, 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, *serviticization* 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 mistake since it would have excluded 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 retrenchment, missing firstly the agency of SMOs to decide upon their own practices; secondly, the critical stance of some of them 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, *serviticization* underlines a strategic behavior of a specific set of actors, namely businesses, while boundary enlargement indicates that the SMOs' boundary expansion takes place on a plain 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 with topics related to identities. Many authors (Tilly and Tarrow, 2015; Diani, 2015; van Stekelenburg et al, 2013) 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 dissertation. 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 (1988 [1982]) 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 (2017 [2007]) described how structured modernity becomes liquid. Although the former account embraced the goods of an era that progress 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, Alberto Melucci (2002) underlines that former integrated subjectivities transform and mark a fluid sense of identity. Late and post-modern accounts argue for the complexity of 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. 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 services reflects the enlargement of practical and conceptual boundaries. This enlargement tends to open the relatively close

structures of social movement organizations while also revealing new insights about the relation of movements with the state. 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 crisis and rampant austerity which still continues. This does not mean that similar changes in other settings cannot be studied through the lenses 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 succeed the boundary enlargement. In addition to this, the fluid nature of boundaries favors their transformations, which now direct towards enlargement, but in other cases might lead to boundary compression.

The incorporation of service-oriented repertoires by the movement community in Greece was not always 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, it raises 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, quite often they obtain a critical stance towards other forms of action since these reduce resources from the movements' central goal. Although by any means we do not underestimate the value of protest and public claim making with regards to the 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 carriers 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 (2010) focus on the movements' ability to sustain campaigns against specific claimants; while McCarthy and Zald draw their emphasis on the participants' shared beliefs and opinions (1977:1217-1218). This research acknowledges that the aforementioned definitions are not opposed to one another. Thus, in order to define the characteristics that constitute a social movement, we follow an inclusionary approach as expressed by Snow (2013). 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: 1201).

2.1.1 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 labor 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, 2008 [1996]: 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 within the organizations that constitute a social movement is rather debatable since it stretches the definition of social movements. NGOs, political parties, interest groups and other formal forms of political action might be sympathetic to a movement, while SMOs might also use formal means to defend their agenda (Diani, 1992: 13-15). Nonetheless, the incorporation of the former organizations within the definition of the latter runs the risk of creating a vague, catch-all term which provides little explanation. What interests us in that account is that the author's categorization establishes distinctive lines between SMOs, which have as their core goal to mobilize people, and movement associations which do not.

Related to Kriesi lies Rucht's categorization of the organizations affiliated to social movements. Rucht distinguishes six types of collectivities: *basic action groups* with local focus consisted 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 many issues and connect usually on ideological basis; *material and immaterial service structures*, such as educational centers, bookstores, training clubs, forums or indymedia; *social retails*,

such as self-organized cafes; and *supportive social milieus*, like specific jargons, lifestyles and consumer choices (Rucht, 2013: 171-173). According to Rucht, “the first four are ultimately geared toward action mobilization, whereas the last two provide a ground for consensus mobilization” (Rucht, 2013: 173).

These accounts touch upon two very important issues. The first one concerns the definition of SMOs and the second deals with the actual mobilization. Starting from the former one, both Kriesi and Rucht seem to conceive SMOs as the respective equivalent of what organizational studies consider as formal organizations in social movements, which imply rigid boundaries that can distinguish one organization from another. Formal organizations have specific decision-making models, membership, follow a hierarchical structure, employ 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: 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’, which chooses and exercises specific features from the ones that characterize the formal organizations, organization studies note the dynamic character that organizations have (Ahrne and Brunsson, 2011). Thinking of 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, Kriesi’s movement associations or Rucht’s social retailers 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: 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 their sympathizers and broader audiences by arguing that individuals’ structural position is a strong proxy for participating in a movement; while the latter supports that individuals’ participation is dependent on their agreement with the movements’ goals (Walgrave, 2013: 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, 198: 519-520) or align their frames with the needs of potential participants (Snow et al, 1986); while others claim individuals’ agency “as active attributors of meaning constructing their own ideas and searching for opportunities to put these ideas into practice” (Walgrave, 2013: 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 right and anti-

nuclear movements, Jasper and Poulsen argue that the recruitment of movements' sympathizers takes place "through proximity, affective bonds" (1995: 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 individuals' everyday experiences and develop "a sense of outrage in people that they become inclined toward political action" (Jasper and Poulsen, 1995:498). Although it is still debatable whether networks are the pre-condition or the outcome for 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" (1995: 509).

Perceived as suddenly (but continuously) imposed grievance, the economic crisis has managed to mobilize a number of people without previous experience in collective action. However, this did not stop only on 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 paper, 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, 2008 [1996]: 153). Following a similar path, social clinics do not constitute political organizations in the strict sense of having one goal and mobilizing people toward 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 movement and enhance commitment on the issue of self-management, but they do not directly contribute to the mobilization of their constituents. Thus, the actors operating in the social movement scene of labor fit the definition of supportive organizations (Kriesi, 2008 [1996]: 152).

Although at first glance this categorization appears to correspond with Social Movement Industries⁴ (SMIs) (McCarthy and Zald, 1977), it does so only partially. 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

⁴ 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: 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 employ the service-oriented repertoires of action.

of food packages as additional aspects of their repertoires, are factors which prevent us from labeling 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. Additionally, 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-136⁵ initiative against Thessaloniki's water privatization which led to activists' collaboration with municipal authorities as well as the incorporation of cooperative structures within the repertoires of traditional SMOs blurs the picture in the social movement scene of labor.

The aforementioned contradictions serve to demonstrate the boundaries among the SMOs, supportive organizations and movement associations, as these had been defined by social movement scholars (Kriesi, 2008 [1996]), cannot be applied 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, where these fixed boundaries became interlinked and 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 neighborhood assemblies, might proclaim people's empowerment but at the same time lack a specific 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 social movement organizations. Now that we have delimited the theoretical approach of this research, we turn our attention to the construction process of boundary enlargement.

2.2 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: 29). On the contrary, Alimi et al take a slightly divergent approach by perceiving processes as defined by the attainment of a

⁵ K-136 stands for Movement 136

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 (2015) 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 (Alimi et al, 2015: 30).

This research adopts the epistemological account proposed by Alimi et al (2015). More precisely, it does this by conceiving the enlargement of SMO boundaries as a process that took place during the period of crisis. It goes backwards in order to identify the mechanisms and sub-mechanisms that enable it to take place. For this, this research draws its attention to the social movement scenes of food, health and labor.

2.2.1 Social Movement Scenes

As mentioned earlier, we intend to better expose the development of boundary enlargement process through the activities of social movement organizations with regards to the scenes of food, health and labor. The next chapter on the background context presents the empirical evidence grounding this decision. The following chapter on methodology justifies the criteria used for the selection of the specific cases under study. 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 labor 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 *arenas and players* (2015) invites us to study the relations between a plethora of actors around a specific topic. Although the exploration of relationships between movements and the state constitutes part of this study, our research favors attention to social movements and the mechanisms at play and thus, indirectly excludes the study of other related actors. However, the structure of this research has many points in common with what Fligstein and McAdam (2012) described as strategic action fields, and the reader will probably understand that our reference to the social movement scenes of food, health and labor might provide similar application with what field theory argues for. In Fligstein and McAdam's (2012) 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: 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 labor; rather these are chosen in order to better explain the overall ‘invasion’ of social movement actors in a great 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 to explore the changes in the social movement community by observing the meso, organizational level. In this respect, the field approach acquires an instrumental usage, unlike Fligstein and McAdam’s (2012) theory of fields. Lastly, our third concern lies in the overall perspective of field theory as described from Fligstein and McAdam (2012). 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 with respect to the actors’ deeds. Although we do not disagree that some actions followed this invasion were the outcomes of strategic planning, our analysis suggests that the moral shock that movements experienced due to the vast austerity policies affecting many sectors of the everyday reality was the basic component of the boundary enlargement process and its related actions. This becomes particularly clear with regards to the scenes of health and food, as movements start to interact with state actors, deal with internal contradictions, and confront with new dilemmas that deviate from ideological purity. In this respect, the deterministic approach of field equilibrium after the shock (Fligstein and McAdam, 2012: 83-86) 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 Hauns and Leach (2007: 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 centered around a certain location or set of locations where that group is known to congregate*”. Earlier we noticed 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 important 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*” (Hauns and Leach, 2007: 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 counter-cultures, 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: 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 (Leach and Haunss, 2009: 258-259). Nevertheless, when scenes mirror the central values of movements and are tightly linked with them, we may speak for *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 labor. 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, according to Leach and Hauns (2009; Haunss and Leach 2007), scenes are strongly bound to physical spaces, giving us the ability to delve into more structural characteristics. Together with lifestyles and alternative cinema and music scenes, the empirical study of Hauns and Leach incorporates collectives, bookstores as well as people's kitchen (Vocku), which offer cheap meals, as important parts of the Autonomes social movement scene (Leach and Haunss, 2009). These examples show the relevance of social movement scenes with our research, since they are in line with the organizations under study as these are presented in the chapter 4 of methodology. However, this does not only reflect the broader relevance with the selection of the cases but it is also depicted in 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, Leach and Haunss argue that social movement scenes provide "shelter for activists in times of low mobilization" (2007: 81), without this decreasing their role in periods when mobilization is on the rise. Most importantly though, social movement scenes act as ways to engage people 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, which according to Hauns and Leach (2007) allows for the inclusion of non-activist audiences. Although social movement scenes propose alternative organizational formats, prefigurative ideals and carry the cultural inheritance of social movements, the development of tensions between movements and scenes is not rare. As Leach and Haunss note, scenes tend to follow an experience-oriented path that contradicts movements' attention on broader and long-term approaches (2007: 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 in enlarging its constituency outside of the scene's boundaries (Haunss and Leach, 2007: 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: 213), 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 a number of common features. These characteristics position 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: 276). In order to better expose and further boost these capabilities, we draw our attention to the factors of organizational structure, resources and identity.

2.2.2 Organizational Structure, Resources and Identity

In his literature review, Seferiades summarizes that 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 (2005; 1993) argues that organizational structure is a movements’ first political action as it pictures a way to publicize both the claims made 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 labor movement and new social movements. In his work on the movements of the 1960s, Tarrow (1998: 131-132) speaks about a boom of organizational innovation in social movements. Additionally, Gamson (in Staggenborg, 2011: 34-35) underlines that contrary to formal organizations, informal ones have a loose approach in terms of decision-making procedures, division of labor, criteria for membership and internal regulations. Among others, Diani also 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: 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 (Seferiades 2007: 59). 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 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” (McAdam, et al, 2001: 44). Some years later, the authors

asserted that their suggestion to move towards dynamic models had not been yet realized (McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly, 2009). Appropriation in our case deals mostly with repertoires and practices and it is not particularly related to the complete takeover of SMOs. However, 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: 116).

Despite some differences and adjustments (della Porta, 2015; 2014; della Porta and Matoni, 2014), these are also the characteristics of the anti-austerity mobilizations and the organizations that constitute them as described in chapter 3. The emphasis often given to the leaders of SMOs contradicts the anti-hierarchical form of the latter and increases the risk of losing a large part of the internal horizontality of libertarian, anti-authoritarian, as well as extra-parliamentary leftwing organizations. Nevertheless, these accounts are highly appreciated by the academic community and are usually taken for granted. The organizations studied in this work apply the aforementioned characteristics, but not exclusively. However, organizations are closely related to boundaries, since organizational structure consist of an additional factor that groups use in order to enact boundaries that separate or relate them with other groups (Reger, 2002: 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 being shaped.

Together 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 the social movements as a field of study 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 in conflict with resource mobilization theory, raising criticism against the structural and static approach of the latter (McAdam, et al, 2001: 44-50).

Although new theoretical frameworks have emerged and attention has moved away from resource mobilization theory, the same cannot be said for resources. In his latest piece, Diani (2015) conceives resource allocation as one of the two deceive 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 substantial role and foster both activists' mobilization and the connection among SMOs. 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 (della Porta, 2013). Conceiving movements as ‘discursive communities’ is also linked with sharing common identities (Taylor, 2013: 43). These identities refer to “the shared sense of ‘one-ness’ or ‘we-ness’ anchored in real or imagined shared attributes” (Snow, 2013: 266-267), which in respect to the movements’ meso-level, indicate the “cognitions shared by a group” (Taylor, 2013: 39). Snows 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” (2013: 269). However, since identities are subject to broader social transformations, they tend to be fluid and fragmented (van Stekelenburg and Roggeband, 2013: xvii-xviii).

Melucci finds difficulties to expose the processual approach on identity formation, since the term “conveys too strongly the idea of the permanence of a subject” (Melucci, 1996: 85). Due to the lack of a more adequate term, the author underlines that the co-existence of different identities is due to the fact that none of them are self-sufficient, they are each mutually dependent (Melucci, 2002). This dependency of one identity on the other emphasizes their complementing character. This point, which also corresponds to the internal culture of scenes with the diverse identities of their participants, is central to the recognition of symbiosis. One of the most favorable aspects for this symbiosis is solidarity (Melucci, 2002: 150; Snow, 2013: 267).

Jasper and Polletta define collective identity as “an individual’s cognitive, moral, and emotional connection with a broader community, category, practice, or institution” (2001: 285). 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. According to Diani “from this perspective, *culture shapes how traits and relations combine in specific settings*” (Diani, 2015: 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: 119). Nevertheless, 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: 39). In this sense, collective identity constitutes a process under which the members of a group create the latter’s cultural capital (Robnett, 2002: 267).

Following a post-structural approach, scholars underline that collective identities are “dynamic, interactive, and socially constructed” (Taylor, 2013: 38). Coming from the structuralist background of the political process approach, the framework of

contentious politics does not reject structures in favor 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: 108-109). The creation of 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: 268; Tarrow, 1998: 120). Among others, eventful protests (della Porta et al, 2018: 1-24; della Porta, 2008b; della Porta and Mosca, 2007; della Porta and Piazza, 2007) assist in the development of collective identities, which are also equipped with emotional booms, feelings of solidarity and moral shocks (Jasper and Poulsen, 1995).

Tilly and Tarrow move a step beyond by arguing that political identities develop as a result of their interaction with political regimes (2006:53). From this perspective, the exploration of political identities does not contradict with the analysis of structures, but since the latter enforce or restrict the former, political identities are fundamental components of structures (Tilly and Tarrow, 2006: 69). In particular, 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: 107). Taking into consideration the political opportunities and the movements' agency, the development of contentious identities results from internal cognitive and external relational mechanisms (Tilly and Tarrow, 2006: 46). Chapter 3 points 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 are seen to complement each other, this structure enables this exercise to address 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 these three factors enables us to conceptualize them as a continuum of SMOs' operation. At the same time however, the exploration of the mechanisms taking 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 factors like 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 the 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 continuum, without losing their individual values.

2.2.3 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 their organizational structure, resources and identity factors, we are able to demonstrate how the structural and cultural aspects blend together in movements' everyday context as well as to 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: 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 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 to 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 2008 [1996]). This leads us to suggest two things. First, as these three factors are often studied separately despite the fact that 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 factor in which it operates. Taking into consideration that a process can be composed of different (sequences and combinations of) mechanisms as proposed by Alimi et al (2015: 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 where they operate. Thus, the same mechanism that might take place in a clinic's organizational structure as well as in a cooperative's factor of resources would 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 works (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 favor the study of increased political activity taking social movements as their basic actors. Using earlier works 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 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 to (Tilly and Tarrow, 2015: 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 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 take place in periods of silence. As we describe further on, mobilization reached its peak in 2012 and then started to decline, while SYRIZA's participation in the governmental coalition from 2015 onwards 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 mechanism. As the research of Alimi et al (2015) shows, the same rationale also applies to the sub-mechanisms. However, we do not completely adopt this perspective in our research.

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 sets obstacles for 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, the outcome of this finds some mechanisms to be interrelated with interdependent development and others that were always present, but their tension grew due to specific conditions. Additionally, some mechanisms take place simultaneously in irregular timeframes, while others are activated not because of the combination of some mechanisms, but out of the mixture of specific features found in a group 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 burden and substance each mechanism carries in terms of the level of significance to the overall process of boundary enlargement. In simpler terms, specific mechanisms and sub-mechanisms 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 with respect to our inquiry, we recognized 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. Having said that, we move forward to present the basic theoretical and empirical limitations that this inquiry faces.

2.3 Limitations

The theoretical approach of this thesis contains many obstacles to overcome. The first one concerns problems that are analyzed in detail in the methodological chapter and concern the study of processes and mechanisms in current cases without having the advantage of taking a distant perspective. More precisely, mechanisms and processes are social phenomena which witness changes of a given status quo. Therefore, the identification of these changes and their subsequent confirmation by the academic community becomes easier when time has passed between the period which constitutes the object of the research and the period where 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 into the December 2008 riots, and Tilly and Tarrow's (2015, 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 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 in multiple levels both due to their own ability but also because of the great levels of uncertainty. 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 they will manage to achieve an internal unity on the subject with themselves. In Melucci's view, this is a long-lasting dynamic and relational procedure (Melucci, 2002: 21-28). Thus, it seems easier to speak in favor 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*, we draw our attention 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 on 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 at the micro level.

In particular, the mechanism of social appropriation signals a shift in 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 behavioral studies and theories of collective action that looked upon individual motives that led to participation. Although, this would be extremely useful, our research design is different in terms that it tries to demonstrate how the meso-level interacts with the micro⁶. As many scholars have underlined (Staggenborg, 2002; Kotronaki, 2015), 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 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 treat the identity-related mechanisms and sub-mechanisms mostly from the side of the

⁶ The approach of contentious politics interacts as well with the macro level. This becomes quite obvious when one looks on 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.

organizations and how these have changed the individuals, and to a lesser extent, how individual's 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* (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 rise⁷ of alternative repertoires is identified from 2012 onwards. 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. During this period, there are a number of contentious events that took place, something that we have taken into consideration. Nevertheless, the strict attachment of our design in these contentious events, as the contentious politics approach would have implied, carries the risk of losing the development of important mechanisms that do not comply with the appearance of these events.

A different approach to tracing important events would lead us to points where there were pronounced shifts in terms of service-related policies. Although the law introduced by the government of SYRIZA in August 2016, which gave the unemployed access to the public health system might signal a turning point for the operation of the social clinics, we cannot position the rise of unemployment to a specific point in time in order to have a precise time period for the study of the clinics. The case becomes much more complicated when it comes mostly to the social movement scenes of food and to a lesser extent labor, where the implementation of specific policies seems to have little (if any) correlation to the rise in respective services.

These methodological difficulties raise some problems for the explanation of the boundary enlargement process; however, they are not indestructible. As we have

⁷ The increase here refers to the popularity of the alternative repertoire and not to its practice, since the latter finds mostly its starting point before the period of austerity.

indicated earlier and we demonstrate in detail in our empirical chapters, the process of boundary enlargement is a gradual process, whose vast development is dated 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.

2.4 Conclusion

This chapter introduces the theoretical framework of the thesis which stands as our guide for the overall analysis of the effects of the recent economic crisis and the subsequent austerity measures on social movement organizations. Our argument is that the period of austerity acted as a catalyst that brought a process of boundary enlargement to the forefront. This process indicates that during the period of austerity, and particularly between 2008 and 2016, the fixed structural and cognitive boundaries of social movement organizations 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 the notion 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 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 draw our attention to the social movement scenes of food, health and labor and the respective social movement industries. Thus, in order 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 in factors of 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. This 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 on 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 thesis.

3 The Greek Wave of Anti-Austerity Mobilizations in Context

3.1 Previous phases of mobilization

At the intersection of sociology and political science is the field of social movement studies. This particular area of academic research not only represents and analyzes the formation of informal politics but also reflects the societal approach towards collective action. Taking Greece as an example, we can understand the changes in 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 from the national and international academic community towards collective action (Kornetis and Kouki, 2015). It was only in 1996 that a wind of modernization blew through Greek academia with the appearance of systematic research on social movements (*Greek Review of Political Science*, issue 8, 1996). Prior approaches had typically treated social movements as a marginal culture. Although this partially reflects the constrained role of these 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 thesis. 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 1973, which initiated the country's transition to democracy (della Porta et al, 2018: 37-43).

3.1.1 Three decades of mobilizations

Following the electoral victory of PASOK in 1981, the number of social provision policies implemented 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, Koupkiolis' critical account instead links this democratic boom with the development of the *mass party* model (introduction in Crouch, 2006). Koupkiolis notes that citizens' democratic participation did not evolve through their participation in decision-making bodies; rather, it was generated and activated through their association with the PASOK. Some years later, prior to the anti-austerity mobilizations, unions and cooperatives were tarnished by this association with political parties as they were beset by corruption scandals. The party's affiliations with unions and other formal forms of collective action, combined with its relationships with business elites, were contributing factors to what Crouch (2006) calls the post-democratic approach. The result was the development of a clientele conception of the citizen-state relationship (della Porta et al, 2018: 67; Alexandropoulos, 2010) and the recognition of the party as the central means of expression for the citizenry.

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, which complemented the Marxist-Leninist tradition of leftwing SMOs and forms the contemporary social movement culture in Greece (della Porta et al, 2018: 96-100; Staggenborg, 2002). That is not to say that social movements in Greece appeared only in the 1980s, since the first socialist and anarchist organizations have their roots in the late 19th century (Pelekoudas, 2017). However, the rise of PASOK in power weakened the extra-parliamentary left and brought the anarchists to the forefront (della Porta et al, 2018: 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 centers of Athens and Thessaloniki (Souzas, 2015) and began the modern cultivation of libertarian⁸ culture. Initially situating themselves around the anti-culture or the culture of disobedient youth as well as the Italian and German autonomous movements (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: 119-122). On the other hand, counter-criticism emphasized the anti-capitalist contribution of anti-culture to the broader libertarian space (Taibo, 2017: 122). Anti-culture and its accompanying characteristics have never entirely left the anarchist space, nor have the individualistic (and sometimes nihilist elements) that characterize some of the current armed groups. Nevertheless, over time the libertarian squats have expanded their actions and contributed to the development of an antagonistic space, both physical and intellectual. A brief introduction to the role of parties and other actors within social movements is necessary in order to understand the transformations that took place with the advent of the economic crisis and the new protest cycle almost 20 years later.

The 1990s, from the commemoration days to the end of the Colonels' dictatorship, were marked by violent protests (della Porta et al, 2018: 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); the actions of international solidarity with the Balkans and the Zapatistas which led to large protests during Clinton's visit (Kotronaki, 2015: 58); as well as single issue mobilizations by farmers, public employees and others. The transition from the 1990s to the 2000s witnessed the birth of an international GJM against neoliberal globalization which in turn had important effects on domestic movements in Greece.

⁸ Many SMOs and political organizations in Greece prefer not to use the term anarchist, which has stricter political orientation; rather, they define themselves as anti-authoritarians, social anarchists or autonomists. Following Taibo (2017), we use the term 'libertarian' to denote a broader political culture, which includes the aforementioned political beliefs, and distinguishes itself from the anarchist orthodoxy.

Following the protests in Prague, Genoa and the 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 complements this picture. At the same time, radicalization within anarchist organizations gave rise to a strategy of escalation. The GJM led to further adoption of anti-hierarchical and horizontal values from left-wing organizations, revived the debates regarding the symbolic use of violence (Kalamaras, 2017: 12-14), and signaled the creation of Athens Indymedia, an anti-commercial grassroots alternative media network, as well as the AK (anti-authoritarian movement), probably the most well-organized libertarian organization in Greece. The AK was established as an initiative that aimed to move beyond the ideological boundaries that divided the broader libertarian space, and to create open social spaces with a common denominator being the participants' anti-authoritarian approach (The AK for the various incidents, 2017). The subsequent mobilizations brought diversity to anarchist discourse and imparted a general skepticism towards orthodox views on ideologies, facilitating further by the use of libertarian term instead of anarchist. Based on these mobilization structures, protests and acts of civil disobedience took place in 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, for which around 70,000 protestors are estimated to have marched, (Giovanopoulos and Dalakoglou, 2011) was followed by almost 1.5 years of student mobilizations, including demonstrations and school and university occupations against the partial 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. As Giovanopoulos and Dalakoglou argue "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. 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" (2011: 109).

The above passages aim to highlight a number of features of social movement culture in Greece. First, it shows 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. 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, it has cultivated a vital movement community with its own culture and identity and a willingness to mobilize. Unfortunately, this first came to be realized with the murder of a 15-year-old school boy by the police.

3.1.2 From December 2008, onwards

News of the murder of Alexandros Grigoropoulos by two police officers in the district of Exarcheia in the city center of Athens on the 6th of December 2008, was followed by severe and intense riots. Protests against police brutality began in Athens city center 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 the local to the national level (Tilly and Tarrow, 2015: 120-126), which took place during the protests of the first two weeks, 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 following 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, who first took to the streets one year prior, during the student movement 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 disruptive 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 center 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 up-ward scale shift and the activation of boundaries (Tilly and Tarrow,

2015: 36) between the challenging groups of authorities and activists led to a broader process of radicalization.

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 centers of struggle brought together previously unconnected (and even competing) groups and individuals. In many cases these centers have constituted the basis for the construction of new social centers.

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 centers in late 1990s, but these increased mostly after the turn of the new millennia (Kalamaras, 2017: 17). The first reference on social centers appears in Italy with the marriage of housing occupations with various forms of subculture (Souzas, 2015: 160). Italian social centers were anchored in local neighborhoods, provided clothes, food and other daily care services, and they are sympathetic in anarchist and extra-parliamentary leftwing audiences (Hadjimichalis, 2018: 144-145). The development of the Italian autonomous movement finds its origins in the activists' efforts to differentiate themselves from the social centers, which in many cases have developed relations not only with the local communities but also with the respective municipal authorities (Ibid; Souzas, 2015: 160). However, the case of the Greek social centers is slightly different, since relations with state authorities are largely excluded. Although many social centers in Greece are on rent, something which differentiates the level of their disobedience with respect to squats, both of them adapt similar organizational, political and cultural structures and actions. Squats and social centers use the terms 'self-organized social space', 'self-managed social center' and 'free social center' interchangeably, without having a qualitative difference that enables their distinction. The Mikropolis⁹ social center in Thessaloniki is an illustrative example resulted from the squatted faculty of fine arts during the 2008 protests. The need to create new social spaces also resulted in the formation of the first guerilla-gardening initiative, the squatted Navarinou Park in Exarcheia (Dalakoglou, 2011), and caused the formation of many neighborhood assemblies and cooperative structures.

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 events capable of carrying a certain legacy (della Porta et al, 2018: 99). These events can have a powerful impact, influencing ideas, relations and emotions surrounding an issue, by redefining debates, creating new networks and spreading feelings of solidarity (della Porta, 2008b; Sewell, 1996). The initiation of the new protest cycle against austerity in less than two years enabled the spread and

⁹ Mikropolis stands for Micropolis

multiplication of this shared knowledge and influenced different areas of Greek society with the introduction of alternative repertoires.

3.2 The Period of Austerity

3.2.1 Crisis and Austerity

The recent economic crisis gave rise to a period of severe austerity for Southern European countries. At the epicenter 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 Greek society. Therefore, it is important to point out some of these consequences in order to improve the reader's understanding of the extent of 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 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 governmental coalition between the left-wing SYRIZA and the right-wing An.El and of the austerity measures.

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% (Greece's sovereign-debt, 2010). The national debt moved from less than 110% of the GDP in 2008 up to 179% in 2014 (Eurostat, 2015a). Confronted with these numbers, first the government of PASOK¹⁰ in 2010, and then every government in office, implemented a

¹⁰ At this point it is important to clarify that although the government of PASOK stands as a bookmark 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 New Democracy (ND) 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.

series of austerity measures in order to tackle the rise of public debt and secure the country's membership in the Eurozone.

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 has spread quite quickly in the private sector. Under the same logic of TINA, the minimum wage was reduced and collective labor agreements were abolished (Kretsos, 2011). Unable to meet their initial targets, 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), 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, 2015b; Eurostat, 2015c). Economic hardship has been blamed as the main cause for the increase of suicide rates (Chalari, 2014: 89-91), while also exposing 35% of the Greek population to the risk of poverty and social exclusion (ELSTAT, 2016b).

3.2.2 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, 2011:197), and its end around the Fall of 2012 (Kousi, 2014). This time-frame is quite strict since protests against austerity had already taken place during the government of Karamanlis prior to 2009 (Kousis and Kanellopoulos, 2014: 6-9). Austerity packages were again introduced after the Fall of 2012, generating new protests and demonstrations. Nonetheless, the introduction of the troika as the supervisor of the structural adjustment programs 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 enables 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 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 that year. Diani and Kousis (2014: 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 as 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 what prevailed during the first phase was the practice of traditional social movement repertoire based on protests and strikes. 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 labor 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 split 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 Greek Communist Party (KKE); the loose but institutionalized networks affiliated with SYRIZA; the less institutionalized extra-parliamentary left; and the anarchists with a loose, non-institutionalized structure (Kanellopoulos and Kostopoulos, 2014: 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 argue that around 20,000 of them took place in the first two years (2014: 387). This impressive number in terms of mobilization has forced scholars to argue in favor of a ‘thickened period’ (*Ibid*: 389). This is better illustrated by the research of Kousis and Kanellopoulos, which shows that 20 of these events included a range of 25 to 500 thousand protesters, while 5 of them counted from 5 to 24 thousand participants (2014).

The broad range of actors involved, and the intensity of mobilizations underline the significance of these mobilizations against austerity. Characterized as “direct democratic, demonstrative, confrontational and violent” (Kousis and Kanellopoulos, 2014: 8), they 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 for the 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 their claims only against the neoliberal elites but the political system as a whole; and also the fact that many of the participants had not previously been 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 to collective action is especially striking and central to our further analysis of alternative repertoires of action.

It is quite often the case that the first days of a protest cycle attracts larger numbers of participants (Staggenborg, 2002). Based on survey data, Rudig and Karyotis 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

never taken part either in a strike or in a demonstration in the last ten years (Rudig and Karyotis, 2013). By applying 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” (Rudig and Karyotis, 2013: 320). Additionally, the “new demonstrators are far less likely to be left-wing (*Ibid*). Although these findings 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: 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” rejecting also the rational-choice theory (Rudig and Karyotis, 2013: 322).

Moving a step ahead and comparing the new strikers and demonstrators with the 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*: 326). Put simply, 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 as the creation of an anti-austerity campaign characterized by a wide cross-class coalition (2014: 389-390). As the authors continue, despite the presence of agents facilitating the association of individuals with organizations, activists’ common frames and requests had also had a connective role in the development of this coalition (*Ibid*). Although this account needs further research, an example that exposes the amalgam of various and diverse actors under the anti-austerity master frame is the square movement.

3.2.3 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 and transforming the contentious protest culture into joyful feasts for the celebration of direct democracy (Papapavlou, 2015). At the same time, it introduced new organizational and cultural formats. Contrary to the GJM, della Porta (2015; 2014) notes that the square movements (Arab spring, Indignados and Occupy) had loose organizational structures, while participants in the *acampanadas* connected each other based on their individual relationships and not that

much through collectivities. In their attempt to trace the roots of the Greek square movement, Oikonomakis and Roos (2014) noted 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 self-reduction movement against tolls and urban transportation tickets Den Plirano (not paying) as well as the presence of anarchist and anti-authoritarian squats and social centers.

Despite its initial skepticism towards organized collectivities, 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 December riots, enriched and played an important role in sustaining the square movement. Second, the main square assemblies in Syntagma, Athens and Leykos Pyrgos, Thessaloniki led to the constitution of new assemblies in the respective neighborhoods of the various participants. These local assemblies functioned as hubs which disseminated calls for participation in the main square assemblies. Quite soon 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, the square movement socialized a culture of civil disobedience, from the refusal to pay the bus tickets to the reconnection of electricity, water and gas supplies in indebted households; which developed shortly before and after the *acampanadas*. For 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, 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 neighborhood 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.

3.3 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 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 and neighborhood assemblies 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.

Under 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 to establish time banks where the participants exchange services by using time instead of money (Kalogeraki, Alexandridis and Papadaki, 2014; Kantzara, 2014). Others have incorporated cultural aspects, such as dancing schools and theaters. However, the deconstruction of the welfare state and the labor market as well as the citizens' inability to cover basic needs draws our attention to the social movement scenes around food, health and labor and the respective social movement industries which employ these services.

3.3.1 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 to everyone in need (figure 3.1). Between 2009 and 2014 "Greek GDP decreased by 25%" while the "disposable income fell by 27.5% between 2007 and 2015" (Benmecheddal et al, 2017: 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 Kalendides, 2015: 460). With regards the food sector, Skordili (2013) argues that during the last 20 years it is dominated by few great corporate 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%" (Skordili, 2013: 129-130). As Hadjimichalis 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" (2018: 161-162). 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 (Lowen, 2012; Hadjimichalis, 2018: 161) and concerned citizens initiatives, which facilitated the distribution of agricultural products without the intervention of brokers. Brokers' overcoming was rather important for the reduction of products' prices, sometimes reaching even 50% less than the retail standard prices (Rakopoulos, 2015: 90; Calvario et al, 2016: 6). These actions take place either through neighborhood assemblies or through the direct procurement of products from producers and their subsequent distribution (Rakopoulos, 2014). Occasionally, this repertoire was introduced by traditional SMOs which organize open markets in their premises or in nearby squares. According to the data of the organization S4A, in 2014 there were around 45 markets without middlemen, with half of them taking place in the broader

region of Athens and serve around 14,000 users (Kalodoukas, 2014), while Rakopoulos (2015: 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 these networks did not choose to adopt a cooperative format. Rather, they aim for the maximization of producers' profit and the minimization of consumers' cost and thus are perceived as means for "political sensitization" (Ibid: 104). 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 labor 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 neighborhood 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 market's operation. Having relatively cheaper prices compared to the usual open-air markets, the markets without middlemen often gained popularity among the consumers only for their prices, while many producers conceived of 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 ones, who were trying to impose stricter criteria on the 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 9,000 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 neighborhood assemblies, in which 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 apply characteristics of the latter one, and vice versa. However, it serves in identifying common trajectories.

More precisely, traditional SMOs and neighborhood assemblies organize collective meals as one of a broader set of actions. These usually take place on the

organizations' premises and follow a regular time-table. 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 neighborhood assemblies are in charge of 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 preoccupied with the distribution of more than 5,000 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 the social clinics, but in more irregular schedule. Contrary to the previous two actions, this one requires a fixed list of beneficiaries which is updated regularly. However, its operation meets 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 have long been a service in the repertoire of social movements, such as the large 'communist' kitchens during strikes of the labor 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 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: 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 the beneficiaries. The provision of food is one of many services provided by social movement actors. Another example is the provision of healthcare services.

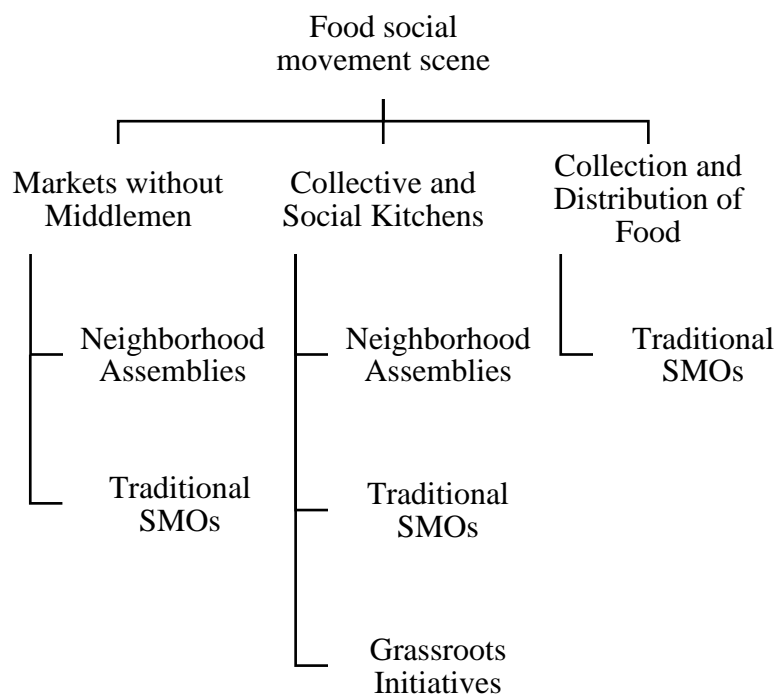


Figure 3.1 Repertoires and actors in the social movement scene of Food

3.3.2 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 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: 5). 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 3.1). 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: 12). For 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” (*Ibid*), 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 mean. According to 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*).

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%

Table 3.1 System of Health Accounts of year 2014 (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: 12-15). The patients’ share of direct payment for healthcare increased consequently. 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 centers and public hospitals to cease operation (*Ibid*). Most importantly, reforms imposed by the 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: 6-7). The “large number of the self-employed unable to continue paying contributions” (Petmesidou et al, 2014: 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, 2018: 163) and led to the exclusion of around 3 million people from the public health system.

The aforementioned conditions mobilized 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. 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 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, MKIE and Thessaloniki, indicate the popularity of these services. The MKIE clinic in Helliniko, Athens used to occupy 280 members with the 115 being doctors in the Fall of 2012, while beneficiaries increased from 4,000 in 2012 to 15,000 in 2013, 16,000 in 2014 and almost 6,000 until June 2015 (SSCP MKIE, 2013). Respectively, the clinic in Thessaloniki is staffed by 200 volunteers and used to serve around 15,000 per year (Thakomnis, 2012). Other clinics are much smaller. For example, the clinic in Athens has 150 members, 50 of whom are doctors (Int.10) and in Peristeri there are around 60 in total (Int.11), while the Workers’ Medical Center in the occupied factory of Vio.Me counts around 15 members (Int.3). However, it has a very extensive external network of doctors who provide their services when needed. In terms of beneficiaries, the clinic in Korydalos (SCK) served around 4,000 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, 2018: 166). Lastly, it worth to mention 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, 2013)

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: 25). However, they did not come out of a vacuum. The roots of social clinics can be traced to 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 Rethymno’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 crisis and the establishment of the social clinic in Thessaloniki.

With the migrant issue as a common root, the clinic in Thessaloniki has been 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 traveled to Athens and Thessaloniki to initiate a hunger strike demanding their legalization. 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 in 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 under different political contexts, the clinics in Nea Smirni, Themi, Adye (Exarcheia's Autonomous Health Structure) and the Athens 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 Themi's neighborhood 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 Athens¹¹ 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 has a more profound relationship with SYRIZA since its foundation was part of the social agenda introduced by the municipal party¹². Figure 3.2 present the actors involved in the social movement scene of health.

¹¹ Meaning within the geographical boundaries of the municipality of Athens

¹² 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 on 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

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 have 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 micro surgeries) to 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 with regards 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 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 created polarization once SYRIZA took in charge.

The accession of SYRIZA to the governing coalition 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 officials and clinics' representatives¹³. This process started in early 2015 but the law was introduced almost 1.5 years later, in August 2016, increasing the frustration between the party and clinics. This law gave access to every Greek citizen and Social Security Number holder, regardless of their occupational status. However, it had a minimal impact on the cases of refugees and undocumented migrants, the majority of whom were excluded. It ultimately failed to eliminate the burden of austerity from the health sector.

SYRIZA's controversial 'backflip' in the Greek referendum in the summer of that year increased tension within clinics, resulting in increased polarization amongst their pro- and anti-SYRIZA members. Although the new law is 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 the public hospitals and the simultaneous arrival of refugee groups

consider it as a hybrid case, whose study will enable us to better demonstrate the process of boundary enlargement.

¹³ 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.

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 also engaged in providing their services to refugees and undocumented migrants, thereby consistently responding to a crucial area of social concern.

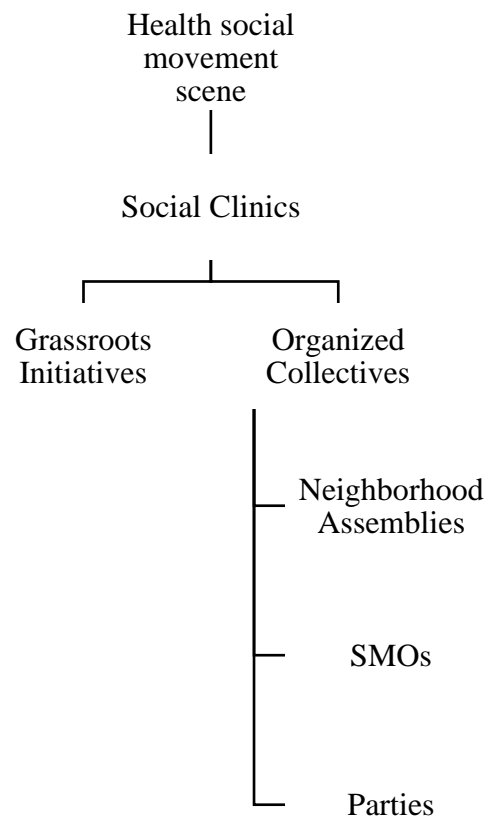


Figure 3.2 Repertoires and actors in the social movement scene of Health

3.3.3 The social movement scene of Labor

Labor conditions, employment status and other aspects related to labor 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 more traditional players in this social movement scene was the KKE. Using the connections between communism and the working class, the KKE and the organizations related to it have always paid great attention to labor issues and presented themselves as the only legitimate representative of workers' rights. Another player involved in labor issues were the main trade unions and their federations. However, the exclusionary approach of the KKE and the clientele one of the trade unions as analyzed earlier had detached both of them from the Greek social movement community. As a result of this, labor

struggles usually took the form of single-issue movements, where, apart from some left-wing organizations trying to engage the struggle for broader social changes, the affected workers, labor associations and interest groups were quite often the only ones who were interested.

This situation came to an end after the riots on 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 labor-related issues. Together with the rise of neighborhood assemblies and new social centers, the aftermath of December's riots gave birth to a number of grassroots worker-based unions and strengthened those already active. The initial skepticism expressed by SMOs towards the labor movement has turned into a welcoming environment where labor issues started to occupy important space on SMOs' activities, discussions and talks. This change of context did not only affect the relationship of activists with unions, but it also engaged in more practical terms the issue of labor within the realm of leftwing and anarchist political spaces. Among others, 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 the organizational structures of 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 dated to the late 18th century. However, due to patronage and clientele relationships that they have developed with political parties, the prevailing narrative framed cooperatives as hierarchical and corrupted entities, limiting their presence to the agriculture sector (for a detailed description see Nasioulas, 2012). 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 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 started to operate in the collective of Sporos¹⁴ in Exarcheia, Athens. Sporos tried to promote fair trade and solidarity, operating on a voluntary basis. In early 2008 debates regarding voluntary labor encouraged some activists to work on these issues and two years later to form the worker collective of Pagkaki, the first self-managed cafe in Greece.

A similar trajectory has been followed by the Spame¹⁵ collective in Thessaloniki. Inspired by the work of Sporos, Spame started its operation on a voluntary basis in 2009 distributing agricultural products of Greek cooperatives. However, subsequent discussions among its members led to the formation of Eklektik, a self-managed mini-market/cafe 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 the Libertatia squat in Thessaloniki to expand their discussions on workers' self-management. This theoretical frame became the basis on which some of these activists established the political

¹⁴ Sporos stands for Seed

¹⁵ Spame stands for Cooperative Bypass of Middlemen and its acronym means Break

collective of *Germinal*. The direct connection of this endeavor with a libertarian squat found 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, and of commercializing anarchist belief. The dissolution of the collective due to internal conflicts 2 years later led to some of its members working at the self-managed café Belle Ville Sin Patron¹⁶.

The advent of the economic crisis and the subsequent increase in unemployment rates favored the increase of cooperative enterprises. Legal, economic and political factors were central to this. Initially, the introduction of a law concerning social cooperatives in 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 labor status, cooperatives received great popularity among the precarious class¹⁷. 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 labor conditions.

Although it cannot compete with the vast growth of its 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 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 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 their 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 and organization of protests are only few of the factors that contributed in attributing to Vio.Me a nodal position within the Greek social movement sector as I have stressed elsewhere (Malamidis, 2018).

So far, we 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

¹⁶ Belle Ville Sin Patron stands for Beautiful City Without Bosses

¹⁷ 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, Vio.Me included, started to define themselves as worker collectives. The fact, however, that this was not a widespread tendency in order to distinguish the political reasoning behind cooperatives, this research uses both terms.

commons and the solidarity economy within the boundaries of SMOs, the economic hazards of activists, as well as the restored appreciation for labor-related issues in conditions of rampant precarity and unemployment have led many of the 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 center for freedom’ or on the respective libertarian social place ‘Sholio¹⁸ of learning freedom’ in Thessaloniki receive a little payment for their services. This is also the case for Mikropolis collective kitchen and was periodically introduced in the social center of Nosotros¹⁹ 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 3.3 presents the basic actors in the social movement scene of labor.

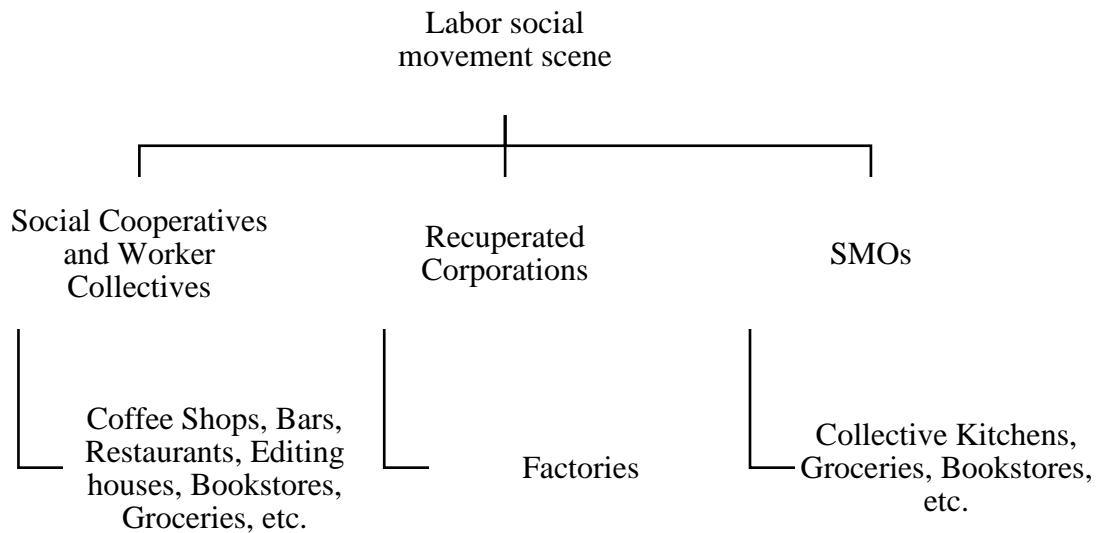


Figure 3.3 Repertoires and actors in the social movement scene of Labor

Despite the introduction of compensation, the incorporation of cooperative characteristics within the social movement community can be also observed in the movements against the privatization of Thessaloniki’s water company. This movement has its roots in the square movement and the assembly of Leykos Pyrgos. Back then, discussions among activists and members of the respective trade union on how to prevent the forthcoming privation, led to the creation of K-136 (stands for movement 136). This initiative included SMOs, unions and municipal authorities and aimed to establish a number of cooperatives whose members would all be residents of Thessaloniki. Each household would contribute the 136 euros (which is the appreciated

¹⁸ Sholio stands for School

¹⁹ Nosotros stands for We and Us

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.

3.3.4 Institutional and Hybrid Space

The relation between SMOs and other parts of the social movement community and the state and other institutional actors can be 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 met with a period of 'relaxation' from the social movements. 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 lasted almost 8 months, wavered during the days of the 2015 referendum and fell apart after the government's backflip during the negotiation process with the creditors. This relationship 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 bad administration of hospitals, despite supplying the hospitals with medicine. On a similar vein, but in a less interactive form, was the relationship in terms of the labor 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 miss to underline the great role of citizens' initiatives in tackling the 'external' positioned austerity policies. The vast increase of cooperatives and the spread of markets without middlemen coincided with SYRIZA's attention in promoting the 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 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) introduced by the Ministry of Labor 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 labor 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, 2015:20), soup kitchens, community gardens and even time banks (the social structures of Pavlos Melas municipality in Thessaloniki is a great example (Arsis, 2014)); while it was also common cases where municipal authorities either engaged with SMOs (K-136) or tried to incorporate them into their structures (the clinics in Rethimno, Themi, Thessaloniki and MKIE are particularly illustrative examples of efforts of 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, important changes took also place at the intersection of formal (institutional) and informal (social movement) spaces, which we call hybrid. Solidarity for All (S4A) constitutes a peculiar case in the hybrid space which deserves our attention.

Funded 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 know-how and expertise to new projects. As an NGO from a legal point of view and partially employing paid personnel, S4A is considered a hybrid (professional) organization which is connected both with social movement organizations and with institutional actors. S4A has been involved in the organization and partial coordination of the markers without middlemen networks, while it has also organized campaigns against evictions but also abroad in order to collect medicines for the clinics and connect foreign people in solidarity with domestic cooperatives and self-managed collectives. Despite its distaste towards monetary donations, the aforementioned practices underline the important role of S4A for the organizations with which this study is occupied in terms of its organizational structure and resources. However, this is stigmatized due to its relationship with a political party. Although it used to operate independently and thus, did not consider itself a SYRIZA organization, S4A have been accused of co-optation by the movements' radical flanks, a view that became quite popular once SYRIZA got elected.

3.4 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 enable us to better capture the development of Greek movements over time. In the beginning, we pointed out some important events that took place in previous phases of mobilization and played crucial role for the construction of social movement culture. 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 whose characteristics were exemplified by the square movement. However, the dissolution of the *acampanadas* 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 drawing our attention to the social movement scenes surrounding food, healthcare and labor 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 underline not only the novelty of these repertoires but also reveal the continuity with previous phases of mobilization. Overall, this chapter opts to contextualize the process of boundary enlargement. The following chapter provides information regarding the methodological tools and approaches of this thesis.

4 Methodological Considerations

Having set out the theoretical framework of this inquiry and the background context of the crisis-ridden Greece, this chapter presents its methodology. To achieve this, we will focus on three sections. First, we will explain the methodology of this work, and outline the reasons for using a case-study framework. Then, we will analyze the methodological tools, techniques and strategies utilized in this study. Finally, we will reflect on the ethical challenges and considerations that this research presents. The areas discussed aim to provide the reader with a comprehensive understanding of our research, as well as provide a backdrop for the analysis that follows.

4.1 Methodology and Research Design

4.1.1 Ontological and epistemological considerations

Apart from the inherent value of each inquiry, research in social sciences can suggest novel ways of perceiving the world. This is mostly reflected in the ontological and epistemological considerations surrounding an issue. It is quite often the case that these considerations are not immediately evident in inquiries and are instead derived from the study as a whole. Although we are confident that this will be the result of our inquiry, we prefer to briefly sketch out some points more clearly.

In response to the epistemological question of what is considered sufficient knowledge, we tend to occupy an interpretivist position. Contrary to the positivist philosophical account, where the “scientist’s conceptualization of reality actually directly reflects that reality” (Bryman, 2012: 28), the interpretivist approach “requires the social scientist to grasp the subjective meaning of social action” (*Ibid*: 30). The interpretivist approach accepts the subjective character of the researcher and builds upon that, in particular, the researcher’s ability to engage with her chosen field, interact with the subjects of her study and have as her final aim to understand the subjective knowledge (Yanow, 2006: 82). Speaking about changes in social movements in times of austerity and the enlargement of boundaries, interpretivism guides us to seek how the social movement actors understand the changes themselves. In this sense, data are not out there waiting to be *collected* or *gathered*; rather they are *generated* from the interaction of the researcher with the object of his/her study. This leads us to the second aspect, namely the ontological considerations.

Ontological questions deal with the nature of social entities, where objectivism and constructivism form two opposing trends. According to Bryman, these approaches “invite us to consider the nature of social phenomena; are they relatively inert and beyond our influence or are they very much a product of social interaction?” (2012: 6). With regards to the study of social movements, objective accounts of earlier theories have been challenged by the cultural turn and framing theories, which favored the understanding of movements as social constructions. Constructivism seems to be the

underpinning of current research on movements, including also the contentious politics approach and its emphasis on dynamic and relational perspectives.

4.1.2 Case Study Research Design

Research in social sciences usually fluctuates between theory-testing and theory-building with deductive and inductive approaches crafting the respective paths. Without disregarding the sharp distinctions between these approaches, their practical application becomes more complicated since each approach usually borrows characteristics of the other (Bryman, 2012: 24-27). The balance of this research favors the theory-building strategy in the sense that it is based on empirical data and introduces the process of boundary enlargement. At the same time, it is also in line with Bryman's earlier observation, since this explanation is theoretically driven and structured within the framework of contentious politics.

We started by observing some changes that occurred in the Greek social movement community within the period 2008-2016 due to austerity. Our interest in explaining the processes 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* (2015) urges us to first, understand what we 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. 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 onto a case, the outcome of this exercise is the combination of these approaches with the potential to explain a relatively new reality and at the same time contributing to the development of the theoretical approach. The framework of contentious politics and the scholars who adopt it, strongly favor 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 by applying a within-case comparison. This design enables the researcher to explore in depth "processes, activities and events" (Yin, 2009: 210) and aims to enhance her understanding of complex units (della Porta, 2008a: 198). Furthermore, the interpretive case-study research design has substantial theoretical contributions, since it "uses theoretical frameworks to provide an explanation of particular cases, which can lead as well to an evaluation and refinement of theories" (Vennesson, 2008: 227). Although it might create confusion regarding the

clear-cut distinctions between a case-oriented and a variable-oriented research design (della Porta, 2008a), in this instance the Greek social movement community and the boundary enlargement process respectively, our design favors the logic introduced from the former, while it borrows a few characteristics of the latter.

Different motivations enable the adoption of different case-study designs. Critical cases, extreme and unique, representative, revelatory and longitudinal cases (Bryman, 2012: 70) are some examples of case-study research based on different goals and rationales. The intensity of anti-austerity mobilizations and the severity of austerity policies are rather unique in the context of Greece. However, since this case can be equally critical for studying the process of boundary enlargement, our motivation lies in the combination of different characteristics among the suggested categories. This takes us to another consideration regarding sampling and the multiple cases found within a single case.

Researchers usually prefer the case-study design due to the importance of their cases. Nevertheless, we should not confuse the object of analysis with the units of analysis. In this respect, Bryman posits that the small number of units of analysis is preferred in the case-study designs since “the goal is to understand the selected case or cases in depth” (2012: 12). Taking this suggestion into consideration, the scenes of food, health and labor serve as the units of analysis of this research. Among a great number of scenes employing these alternative repertoires, the large consequences of austerity policies on the living conditions of the population, forced us to draw our attention to actions focused on addressing basic needs. In this regard, the issues of food, health and labor reflect adequate fields of study, since organized actions have been observed during the preliminary stage of this research and the systematic mapping of the LIVEWHAT project²⁰. We are aware that by selecting some, 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 enable 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 as well as social centers, squats and neighborhood assemblies that offer food, health or labor services, are considered. Nevertheless, the time constraints and the restrictions imposed by the case-study design, did not allow for further elaboration.

The Achilles’ heel of case-study design is its inability to generalize its findings. Qualitative scholars have replied to this criticism and underlined the different aims and goals of case-study design. Although we embrace this counter-criticism, the research design of our inquiry enables us to identify similarities and differences along the trajectories of the three scenes. Hence, the attempt to generalize does not correspond to the Durkheimian view of social sciences (della Porta, 2008a: 203), but it is in line with the framework of contentious politics, where trajectories constitute a detailed

²⁰ 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

contribution which expands the knowledge surrounding collective action in times of austerity.

4.1.3 Selection of Cases

Chapter 3 describes the main actions and actors involved in the three aforementioned scenes, namely markets without middlemen, social and collective kitchens and collection and distribution of food packages in the food scene, social clinics in the health scene, and workers' collectives dealing with issues around labor. Additionally, chapter 2 indicates the meso-level of organizations as the appropriate field of study. The following question deals with the criteria under which we select the organizations. Grassroots organizations and solidarity structures cannot always be visible (and thus identifiable) in street actions, such as demonstrations, strikes, sit-ins and protests. In order to tackle this issue, we draw our attention to qualitative inquiries that have been carried out in recent years.

Greece has been accused of being among the European countries with the lowest score on social capital (Huliaras, 2014). Nevertheless, research into Greek civil society finds around 6,217 civil society organizations currently active, with the vast majority operating in the geographic regions of Sterea Ellada (includes Athens) and Macedonia (includes Thessaloniki) (Afouxenidis and Gardiki, 2014: 13). Although this might be a good starting point for our case selection, earlier inquiries refer mostly to formal organizations with clear non-profit action, such as non-governmental organizations, non-profit-organizations, voluntary associations and others; leaving aside solidarity networks and neighborhood assemblies (Afouxenidis and Gardiki, 2013: 4). Respectively, Loukidou's (2014) inquiry in some 50 civil society organizations in Thessaloniki between 2009 and 2012 reveals a similar problem; although there is a rising tendency to establish informal organizations, such as self-help groups and grassroots collectives; these groups have no intention to formally register in state's archives in order to become more identifiable.

Taking a normative approach, Sotiropoulos (2013) distinguishes *civil* organizations, which offer voluntary services; from the *uncivil* ones, which try to impose their views of libertarian society often by the use of violent means. In accordance with the literature on social movements which argues that activists are not by default violent actors but might potentially employ the use of violence, our research embraces this criticism and turns our interest to more inclusive accounts. Under these lenses, the team working on LIVEWHAT research project found more than 3,500 formal and informal organizations providing social welfare as a response to austerity (Loukakis, 2018).

Based on the profile of these organizations as described on their online websites and platforms, the contributions of the LIVEWHAT research project sketches out their characteristics in terms of legal status, place of operation, main actions, etc. However, neither the aims of the project nor its methodological approach provide further evidence clearly connecting these organizations with the Greek social movement community.

The same problem is identified in more explicit inquiries regarding our three scenes, such as Adam and Teloni's (2015), on social clinics. Vennesson argues that in case-study research designs "researchers are not passive; they engage in 'casing'" (2008: 229). Taking into consideration the aforementioned inquires and our experience from previous research in the field, we tried to tackle this issue based on snowball sampling.

Our research is focused on the meso-level and the organizations that operate within the Greek social movement community. This research took into consideration approximately 50 organizations, with more than 15 operating in the social movement scene of food, 10 in the social movement scene of health, around 15 in the social movement scene of labor and the rest having active role in employing traditional forms of protest. For this, we conducted 63 interviews with members of traditional and new social movement organizations. With regards to the social movement scene of food we conducted 17 interviews. The interviewees were members of markets without middlemen, collective and social kitchens as well as organizations which collect and distribute food packages. 9 of the interviewees were members in organizations in Athens, 7 in Thessaloniki and 1 in Crete. With regards to the social movement scene of health, we conducted 17 interviews with members of social clinics. 8 of them were members in social clinics in Athens, 7 in Thessaloniki and 2 in Crete. Lastly, with regards to the social movement scene of labor, 20 interviews have been conducted with respective number of interviewees from cooperatives in Athens and Thessaloniki. Additional interviews took place with key members and life-time activists from traditional social centers, squats and grassroots unions as well as with key informants from hybrid, non-governmental and institutional organizations related with the provision of social solidarity.

Some interviewees were members of the same organization while others participate in more than one organization. The former enables us to confirm our data and explore in depth specific cases while the latter enables us to generate data for organizations that were not initially included in our sample. Moreover, some interviewees participate in committees that coordinate different initiatives and hold nodal positions within organizational networks, like for example the markets without middlemen. This provides them with expertise for other organizations but also for the respective scenes in which they operate. Additionally, a number of the organizations under study employ various aspects of the alternative repertoires and thus, may cover all the respective scenes. As described in chapter 3, social centers constitute a prominent example here. In this case, the organization of a collective kitchen may constitute part of a social center's repertoire with the members of the former being also members of the latter. Though, some organizations performing the alternative repertoires may be connected with the respective social centers and perform under their rules, but at the same time they may have volunteers who are not conceived as members of the respective social center. This variation mirrors the boundary enlargement process where previous clear-cut distinctions in organizational structure, decision-making processes, resources and identities are blended and mixed.

The primary empirical material generated from the vast majority of the interviews was used for the construction of the narratives with respect the social movement scenes

in the empirical chapters. Moreover, other interviews were used for cross-checking information and to strengthen our overall understanding of the formal and informal provision of social solidarity and the social movement community in Greece. The subsequent empirical chapters provide valuable insights that help the reader to acquire a clear understanding about the cases studied, while the appendix section provides information regarding the sources, SMOs' documents and interviewees of this inquiry.

Before we proceed further with this chapter, it is necessary to clarify several crucial details. Starting with the social clinics, research has been conducted into all the 3 clinics operate in Thessaloniki and around 8 in Athens. Our search to identify their roots led us to conduct field research in Crete, since the clinic in Rethimno was the first to be established. Although we sketched out the profile of other clinics in Athens that have been introduced as movement-oriented clinics, we were confronted the saturation effect, a *déjà vu* feeling of narrative repetition, taken as a sign to end the research (Bryman, 2012: 452). In respect to cooperatives and workers' collectives, our previous research on Vio.Me (Malamidis, 2018) brought us into contact with other self-managed cooperatives and served as our starting point. Snowball sampling was utilized here as well. In order to restrict our sample due to the highly increasing number of cooperatives, we tried to identify the ones affiliated with social movements. Together with the recommendations received by other cooperatives, we took into consideration the participation of its members in political collectives under study, the clear demonstration of connections with the movement community, their participation in, or organization of self-managed festivals and anti-racist fairs and the connections among them. The repetition of narratives became an indication to stop, something that was also the case for the social movement scene of food. Additionally, we also took into consideration social centers and squats which do not employ any activity of the alternative repertoires in order to have a comprehensive picture of the social movement community.

The selection of the aforementioned cases aims to reveal central issues in the Greek social movement community and to study how traditional SMOs and new collectives employ (or not) the alternative repertoires of action. Of course, we do not have any illusions that our data fully represent the pluralistic and rich repertoires of this community. 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" (2008 [1996]: 166). Nevertheless, we try to point out some of its most important developments that took place between 2008 and 2016. The following part introduces the methods used for the generation of data between May 2016 and January 2017 and an additional round of field research in September 2017.

4.2 Research Methods and Data Generation

Among other research methods, the case-study research design embraces qualitative fieldwork for data generation. Almost 15 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: 282). Among the many qualitative tools to produce the relevant data, qualitative interviews, document analysis and participant observation “are viewed as particularly helpful, in the generation of an intensive, detailed examination of a case” (Bryman, 2012: 68). The use of similar methods by ethnographers often results in framing this research strategy as ethnographic fieldwork, which fails to point out the differences in terms of the long duration of field research, the use of open-ended or unstructured interviews compared to semi-structured as well as the overall scope and design. Nevertheless, these tools found widespread application in many academic fields in recent decades.

In the same vein, scholars of contentious politics acknowledge this effort. Together with naturalistic experiments and quantitative variable-based analysis, McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly (2009) included the so called ‘ethnographic fieldwork’ among the preferred methods for the study of mechanisms and processes. Still, a closer review of the respective literature reveals a relative advantage for process tracing and document analysis from a historical perspective as methods to analyze past events compared to other methods (Bosi and Reiter, 2014). However, this is not the case in this instance. Although this thesis does not dismiss the reference on past events as a means to demonstrate the evolution of processes and mechanisms, it is strongly focused on contemporary events. Therefore, semi-structured interviews, participant observation and document analysis are used retrospectively in each factor, with varying degrees of application, serving different purposes that will be analyzed further on.

4.2.1 Document Analysis

Although archival research mostly refers to documents produced by state and institutional personnel on past events with permanent interest (Bosi and Reiter, 2014: 119), document analysis on social movement research indicates the consultation of documents, leaflets, posters and other material produced by activists for current affairs. Document analysis was the first method applied in each organization of the three factors. Although it does not allow any interaction with the studied object, this method is widely used from interpretive researchers as fieldwork’s first step to obtain an introductory understanding and background knowledge on the topic. In this respect, document analysis has been conducted in the preliminary stage of this research and before the actual beginning of the fieldwork period as a way to acquire an initial picture of the profile of the first organizations under study. Once a first set of data has been produced and certain organizations have been indicated as the appropriate sites to visit, the rest of the methods have been applied. Nevertheless, document analysis accompanied every step of our field research. On the one hand, it was often used for reference during our interviews in order to acquire further information for critical

issues, while on the other hand, it was used as a triangulation technique both after the end of the respective interviews and during the writing-up period.

The internet was a useful tool for acquiring information. The websites of the studied organizations, as well the vast majority of organizations under study, were impressively updated regarding their activities, founding declarations, political positions, denouncements, affiliations with other organizations and in some cases even statistical information in terms of the beneficiaries' treatment from day one. In addition to written texts, audiovisual material produced by the organizations and retrieved from their respective websites had been also used. This included radio and television programs, where the activists presented their organizations, as well as documentaries and short films. Together with the organizations' websites, material was also derived from online movement hubs; Indymedia in particular (<https://athens.indymedia.org>).

Of course, not everything is online. Social movements in Greece are well-known among its European counterparts for communicating their actions through written material (Kalamaras, 2017). Therefore, in cases where online material was absent, mostly in social centers and to a lesser extent in cooperatives, this was being retrieved and recorded during my contact with the respective organizations or my participation on their fairs and festivals. Lastly, we consulted books and collective volumes published by participants in certain movements, like the square movement or the student movement of 2006-2007.

4.2.2 Semi-structured Interviews

Semi-structured interviews were the second method applied in order to generate data with their overall number reaching 63. Among the different types of interviews (structured, semi-structured, unstructured, etc.) preferred in social sciences, semi-structured interviews correspond better to the needs of our exercise. In particular, they refer to a “*broader and more diverse* group of social movement participants” (Blee and Taylor, 2002: 93), which gives access to members that are usually underrepresented and provide first-hand information. Moreover, it enables the researcher to identify and engage in the interaction of themes and categories and allows her to “scrutinize the semantic *context* of statements” and of “*meaning*” (*Ibid*: 94-95) by understanding both the participants' worldviews as well as the way they understand their participation. In this sense, semi-structured interviews have crucial analytical importance for this inquiry and the analysis on identities.

The time-limits of field research and the large number of collectives under study were supportive factors in our decision to employ key informant interviews. By key informants we refer to activists who obtain nodal positions within the organizations and have a good knowledge of their practices and overall operation as well as their history. In this sense, aside from her individual experiences, the interviewee serves “as an expert to inform the researcher about various aspects of the movement” (Blee and Taylor, 2002: 106). All the interviewees were members of the respective collectives, with the exception of one who was a former member. However, it is important to note here that

in this case as well as in cases where the interviewees were part of internal fights and disputes, secondary interviews with current members have also been conducted. In two cases where information was not clear or missing, we applied complementary interviews with the same members. In one case where other members of the collective engaged in the interview, this was recorded and described during the transcription.

The overall design of our research embraces researcher's close interaction with the object of her study. In this respect, it is essential for the reader to understand the process of interviewing by illustrating three crucial points. Contrary to the structured questionnaire, our semi-structured interviews have been assisted by the use of an interview guide (provided in the appendix). This detailed the set of topics and questions to be discussed. As the relevant literature suggests, the use of a guide directs the researcher in managing her attention, helps her not to spend too much time on one topic, and gives her the flexibility to move beyond these topics, ask further questions and elaborate on issues that are considered critical (Blee and Taylor, 2002).

In addition to the first point, our second remark deals with the character of our interviews. Both in our first contact with collectives but also in subsequent cases, we communicated our request for doing research, providing at the same time any relevant information (usually in terms of funding and scope of inquiry). Depending on the collectives' internal procedures, in some cases the interviewees have been assigned the role of collectives' representors, while in cases with less criteria or skepticism towards the inquiry, the interviewees expressed their interest by replying to us directly. Snowball sampling was not applied only in terms of the case selection but also in our effort to contact potential interviewees. In many cases, one interviewee introduced us to the next, with the former's reference playing an important role in gaining the latter's trust, minimizing her skepticism and easing our access to the field. The scope of our research was already clear from our request to all the interviewees, regardless the path chosen for contacting them. Requests issued to the collective had a more formal character, with the interviewees showing a sense of representing the collective. On the contrary, in cases where snowball sampling was introduced, an informal tone was employed. Either way, the vast majority of the collectives do not have formal organizational structure or assigned positions. Therefore, we tried to distinguish the interviewees' personal opinions from their reference to collective decisions. 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 collective. Additionally, the official position of Adye clinic to generally reject interviews, denying also interviews to its own members who are researchers, forced one of our interviewees to clarify that the interview provides only her personal opinion, and does not provide any information or representation of the clinic. In this respect, any potential confusion the reader might have in any part of the paper, it is due to the researcher's fault and not of the interviewees.

The third and last remark concerns the actual practice of interviewing. All the interviews had been conducted and transcribed by the researcher²¹ in Greek, while

²¹ With the exception of one interview which has been transcribed by a third person due to time limits.

every mistake in the quotations used is attributed to the researcher's misuse of the text. Taking into consideration the suggestions of the respective literature (Smith, 1995), the vast majority of the interviews were audio-recorded and conducted face-to-face either in neutral places or on the organizations' premises. However, there were some exceptions. Due to the interviewees lack of time, an interview was conducted via skype and it was also audio-recorded, while in two cases the interviews were held via email based on an extensive and detailed version of the interview guide, with the interviewee providing clarifications and elaborating more on specific aspects that were not clear in subsequent emails. Additionally, in two cases when the option of audio-recorded was rejected, the researcher kept hand-written notes, while this option was repeated one more time due to technical difficulties. The average duration of interviews did not exceed the 1,15 hours, while in a few cases this varied from 30 minutes to 2,30 hours. Following Bryman's advice (2012: 476), notes were taken after the end of each interview regarding the place the interview was held and the overall setting, the way used to reach the interviewee as well as the latter's emotions and reactions. This tradition, rooted in ethnographic research, brings us to the last method applied: participant observation.

4.2.3 Participant Observation

Document analysis and qualitative semi-structured interviews were the main methods applied to primary sources for data generation. This way, participant observation played a complementary role, without, however, decreasing the importance of the respective data. Although participant observation is frequently used in exchange with ethnography, the confusion between the method and the outcome of the research (Bryman, 2012: 431-432) urges us to use the former term. The confusion between the two terms is indicative of their close connection. Nevertheless, this was not an obstacle to using participant observation in social movement studies or employing different research designs with a larger number of research sites and smaller duration of fieldwork.

In respect to our research, participant observation was mainly applied at fairs, events, conferences, festivals and coordinating assemblies, where many of the studied organizations have participated in. These included the 5th national meeting of social clinics in Thessaloniki in April 2016, the 5th anti-authoritarian B-fest in Athens in May 2016, the 19th anti-racist festival in Thessaloniki in July 2016, the preliminary coordination meeting in Rome as well as the 2nd Euro-Mediterranean meeting of Workers' Economy in Thessaloniki in October 2016. Additionally, participant observation was conducted at a number of grassroots conferences on commons, cooperative economy, social and solidarity economy as well as in general assemblies, fairs and concerts, talks, festivities, seminars and demonstrations organized by the organizations under study between May 2016 and January 2017 as well as in September 2017.

Following the usual ethnographic path, our participation in these events enabled us to keep detailed notes and collect primary material produced by the studied organizations. Although Malinowski urged researchers who use participant observation to represent the observed culture as coherently as possible (in Dewalt and Dewalt, 2002), an interpretive approach would also emphasize the need to understand what is considered important for the subjects of the inquiry. In this regard, notes were taken during our encounters in the aforementioned events, while after the end of each event, our notes were fair copied and used as primary sources.

Both generic (ant-racist festivals) and specialized (conference of social clinics) fields offered valuable insights. When participant observation was conducted in generic fields, information was derived regarding the public exposure of organizations, their affiliations and approach on specific issues as well as the overall directions of the movement community. In this respect, participant observation has been used as means of finding connections, introducing new organizations and providing potential interviewees. With respect to more specialized fields, valuable insights enhanced our understanding, not only in terms of the individual organizations but also regarding their respective factors. Lastly, participation in the assemblies of some organizations granted valuable information regarding their practices and the internal dynamics. Overall, participant observation introduced new data and served as a means to triangulate data generated by the other two methods.

4.3 Politics and Research Ethics

Qualitative research demands a number of political and ethical considerations. These considerations become even more crucial when research is applied to social movements. Perceived as carriers of social change, movements and their participants devote a significant amount of their time and take important risks in order to facilitate their activities. In these terms, our engagement with the field entails some important ethical concerns. In order to bring them to light, we apply the ethical check-list discussed by Stefania Milan and refer to the questions of relevance, risk, power and accountability (Milan, 2014). Additionally, we also elaborate on two aspects that exceed the capacity of the aforementioned categories.

Starting from the first one, questions on relevance address the way our research can benefit the organizations under study and provide knowledge that can be helpful for and appreciated by the subjects of our research. Although Milan's (2014) suggestion for an 'engaged research' was partially followed, since our data have been generated through our interaction with the interviewees, our design lacks a precise pay-back logic. Nevertheless, we hope our theoretical and empirical findings will shed light on unexplored aspects of social movements, juxtapose how the undertaken practices may benefit or harm their goals and operation and help the activists and their organizations to reflect on these turbulent years of austerity.

Moving on to the second aspect and the question of risk, Milan underlines that researchers should guarantee the identity and privacy of activists by any means, even

in cases where this prevents the publication of valuable information (2014: 454-455). Our research encompasses this account and tries to protect activists and their organizations with regards to the state and its authorities and makes an effort not to harm the inter- and intra-group relations. Sensitive information, such as the names of interviewees, their precise age as well as membership in other organizations are avoided. Additionally, we did not include cases where the character of actions may deal with legal problems, unless they were publicly presented by the organizations themselves prior to our field research. Lastly, in cases where the interviewees were willing to provide insights about the operation of their organizations, without however agreeing in their subsequent publication, we decided to avoid pursuing this information. Surprisingly, this request has been rarely issued by libertarian organizations, despite the fact that they may be subject to greater police surveillance.

The third concern relates to the question of power and the “unbalanced relation between the subject and the object of research” (Milan, 2014: 456). Despite our effort to minimize the gap between the individualistic character of academic endeavor and the collectivist approach of SMOs, we do not hold false hopes that this gap has been diminished. Our engagement with the field during the field research as well as our previous experience in the study of social movements enhanced our familiarity with social movement practices. We tried to make the interviewees feel comfortable in the settings where interviews were conducted, and, to some extent, we shared and discussed our understandings in terms of processes and methods with the interviewees. However, we have to underline another issue that might had affected the question of power in a deeper extent. Being a Greek national and doing research on and during a period which had hazardous consequences for the majority of the population blurs the image of the researcher as external or internal. Additionally, this has also raised many ethical boundaries on adopting a more critical perspective. The question of how critical someone could be towards organizations providing even the slightest degree of help and dignity to a suffering population was quite difficult to be answered. Although an objective demonstration of reality in social sciences seems extremely unlikely to occur, we believe we kept a relatively balanced position in illustrating both the advantages and shortcomings of the organizations under review.

Milan’s final concern deals with the question of accountability and how the role of the researcher is being challenged, particularly during the stage of data generation (2014: 458-460). The rejection followed our request for fieldwork by some organizations and activists stands indicative here. Most striking was, however, the question of accountability in cases where our approach contradicted that of the interviewees. In particular, the field research required to engage in conversations with organizations coming from different political and social backgrounds, often employing a conflictual to our perspective. Although research was *about* and not *with* social movements, the active engagement of interviewees frequently posed questions, raised fruitful debates and helped in the production of knowledge, causing both the activists and ourselves to reflect and analytically deploy the argument of this thesis.

Two last points that do not fit in the aforementioned categories came to add to our ethical check list. Although vibrant, the Greek social movement community did not

manage to escape the usual trend observed in social movement studies in terms of conflicts and disputes among the organizations. The usual starting points of these disputes are the ideological differences but, in many cases, these move beyond that and developed through the daily frictions. Respecting these differences, we were very cautious to not emphasize (or underestimate) the actions of one organization at the expense of another, both in terms of political values and in terms of its influence to the social movement community and the Greek society. Nevertheless, this inquiry did not employ a representative research design, and, thus, it may have excluded some organizations and include others. Therefore, we feel obliged to state that any potential mistreatment did not aim to decrease the role of some organizations, but it is accountable to our individual judgement on the cases that better fit the proposed research design.

Lastly, our participation in social movement activities and events continued also after the official end of the fieldwork period. Nevertheless, our role was limited to that of participant rather than researcher, as our identity was not clear to the rest of the participants. Therefore, although our further engagement improved our understanding of the mechanisms and processes that took place within and among the studied organizations, they did not consider the fruits of our field research and thus have been excluded from our data.

5 The social movement scene of Food

The social movement scene of food presents a greater degree of complexity in terms of the different repertoires when compared to the social movement scenes of health and labor. In particular, the social movement scene of health is concentrated on social clinics, while the labor scene emphasizes the cooperative form as its main organizational principle. This is not the case in the social movement scene of food, in which there are three main movements' repertoires. These deal with the organization of markets without middlemen, the facilitation of collective and social kitchens and the collection and distribution of food packages. Along with the repertoires, plurality also refers to the organizers. These range from grassroots initiatives and neighborhood assemblies to traditional social centers. 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, we analyze the rise of the markets without middlemen and their transition to consumer cooperatives. Additionally, we address the development of collective and social kitchens and the collection and distribution of food packages as well as their subsequent coordination that assisted the formation of solidarity networks first for domestic population and then for the so called 'refugee crisis'. Without undermining the distinctiveness of the respective actors and repertoires, we analyze each of the three repertoires in respect to the factors of organizational structure, resources and identity.

5.1 Organizational Structure

5.1.1 Markets without Middlemen

Beginning with the markets without middlemen, chapter 3 mentions that the model finds its roots in the so called 'potato movement' developed in 2012 by the cooperation of producers and consumers. Back then, the low prices of Egyptian potatoes provided brokers with the leverage to charge Greek potato producers lower prices. Unlike producers' traditional protest repertoire, which usually includes street blockades or products dumped in front of public institutions and ministries, 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: 2), attracted more organized collectives, with the local group of volunteers in Katerini in Northern Greece (Voluntary Action Group of Pieria Region) being the first to organize collective distributions. However, the extent of markets' popularity is closely associated with sharp falls in the population's purchasing power. In this context, markets without middlemen sell their products at considerably lower prices compared to the retail standard prices (Rakopoulos, 2015: 90; Calvario et al, 2016: 6).

The impressive number of consumers who joined the potato distributions inspired other organized collectives to become involved in their organization. Various

neighborhood assemblies that formed due to or received an active role in the mobilizations against ‘haratsi’, the ad-hoc taxation imposed on electricity bills in 2011 with strong connotations on the suffering when Greece was under the Ottoman rule, were the corner stone of the markets’ spread. In the jargon of contentious politics diffusion is framed as “any transfer of information across existing lines of communication” (McAdam et al, 2001: 68). Some assemblies with an active role in the movement society used the knowledge developed in traditional collectives, like Sporos, to get information about the international social movement experience on similar issues (Int.29). Nevertheless, the novelty of markets forced most of the organizers to “*re-event the wheel*” (Int.29) in a traditional and old-fashioned way. Either by traveling directly to Katerini, which happened with the Ampariza social space from Galatsi, Athens (Int.43), or by communicating with other neighborhood assemblies, as seen with the Thermi citizens’ initiative (Int.7); these groups set in motion the sub-mechanism of brokerage in know-how transmission. Brokerage refers to “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: 26). Mobilization against haratsi tax and in support of indebted households (Int.43) was also an important element in the markets’ successful organization. According to our findings, many organizations used the contact information they had collected in earlier mobilizations 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 list with more than 3,500 people*” (Int.7). Although this does not imply that all these contacts corresponded to activists, their interest in participating in local actions in the past have created pools of potential markets’ users.

Depending on the local context, markets have been arranged in various ways. As Rakopoulos informs, markets in Athens usually used massive pre-order forms while markets operating in Thessaloniki mostly referred to the “immediate distribution or ‘direct provision’ of foodstuff” (2015: 86). A further differentiation found in both cities deals with the importance of markets with regards to the organizers’ repertoires. In particular, some assemblies have been preoccupied only with the markets’ organization, while others introduced them only as part of their broader activities. Although the immediate distribution assigned to the cases in Thessaloniki seems quite simple, with producers directly providing their goods to consumers, 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 to achieve lower prices and convince the producers to bring massive quantities of their products. Once the first attempts were successful diffusion was on, since producers started to join the markets without previous contact (Int.7). What is striking here is the procedure used for receiving these pre-orders. As noted earlier, previous phases of mobilization enabled many assemblies to create lists of sympathizers and use them for organizing the markets, while these lists have been constantly updated with new contact information. Traditional social movement tools, like posters and informative material, have also been used to bring markets to the public. The movement transformed public places like squares and parks

into open markets to further its development. In particular, together with organizations' headquarters, municipal buildings (Int.7), central districts, cafeterias and institutional Centers for the Open Care of Elderly were used for the collection of pre-orders (Int.29), with volunteers distributing the adequate number of sheets, to collect them again some days later and order the necessary quantity of products. In McAdam's et al study, black churches were actively appropriated as sites for mobilization (McAdam, et al, 2001: 44). Although the popularity and importance that churches played in the U.S. civil rights movement does not allow for specific comparison with our case, the active transformation of public spaces into movement's 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).

Nevertheless, the development of the markets' operation was not always smooth. In many cases where markets were organized as open bazaars, difficulties appeared in the early stages, with producers occupying a first-come-first-served logic and many of the consumers being unable to receive the goods they had ordered (Int.29). Once the organization of the markets started to become a Sunday's tradition, the mechanism of coordinated action was set in motion within and among the different groups. With regards to the former, the aforementioned problem was gradually solved after the organizers set reception desks and accustomed their members to check the orders and provide assistance in the parking lots. Additionally, in terms of the latter, the desire to diffuse and coordinate their struggle led the markets to organize a series of national conferences²² (Voluntary Action Group of Pieria Region 2012a; 2012b; 2013a; 2014; 2016; 2017).

As we see throughout the chapter, the mechanism of coordinated action is central to the markets' repertoire. With regards to the organizational factor, coordinated action further boosted the markets' evolution on a national level. Difficulties had already risen from the first national conference held in Katerini in September 2012, when potato producers requested an increase in potatoes' price. This was not appreciated by the participants, who decided to turn their attention to other products (Kotoulas, 2012). Subsequently, coordination further boosted markets' political element by prioritizing suppliers from cooperatives, small groups of producers and individual producers; while their approach to fair prices for producers and consumers was combined with workers' descent labor 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 and many of the markets moved from hand-written to electronic orders. Sociality digital cooperative developed Agrotopia, an online tool which allows

²² The 1st 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.

producers, consumers and the organizing groups to register their data, their stock, place their orders and announce where the next market will take place (Int.28). Apart from the organization of the markets, the experimental logic in unknown terrain continued, with markets applying some of the social movement tools that they were familiar with. The experience of the square movement encouraged many of the organizers to hold large, open-air assemblies with all the participants aiming to decide about their next moves. The lack of coordination and the diversity of the markets' context proved quite disastrous, with many participants willing to impose their political views and others interested solely in shopping (Int.29). Although the coordination of the subsequent markets took place primarily within the thematic assemblies of the organizing groups, often involving the common participation of activists, consumers and producers; markets developed a different method of politicization. In particular, their great popularity attracted a number of political organizations and SMOs to propagate their actions, organize various events or to collect medicines for the social clinics. The simultaneous organization of collective kitchens was not uncommon. In this way, typical farmers' markets transformed into weekly feasts (Int.29), introducing a different, on-site politicization, which allowed them to approach an audience that was otherwise unreachable.

Brokerage and spatial appropriation sub-mechanisms were quite important for the markets' diffusion, while coordinated action probably played the most vital role for providing them the power to collectively overcome the policies of poverty. Nevertheless, in an intense political period, when every act of civil disobedience weighted much more compared to periods of silence, an important mechanism that backed up the spread of the markets was certification. According to McAdam et al (2001: 121), certification "entails the validation of actors, their performances, and their claims by external authorities". Political institutions were unprepared to react and express either their sympathy or disagreement to the markets' novelty. After the awkward first moments of not knowing how to deal with this novel form of action have passed, all the political parties but the communist one²³ (SYRIZA on 'potato movement', 2012; DIM.AR: We welcome, 2012; KKE: Propaganda, 2012; ND also, 2012) welcomed the 'potato movement' as a grassroots action that can facilitate citizens' well-being in hard times. In a similar vein, many municipal authorities stood sympathetic to the markets (Rakopoulos, 2015: 95) and assisted their operation. However, as soon as the potato movement acquired an anti-austerity character and argued not only against the high prices but more broadly against the brokers, the governing parties, in conjunction with brokers' associations, started to express their skepticism towards the terms of products' quality controls and tax evasion. This sparked the mechanism of decertification, implying the "withdrawal of such validation by certifying agents" (McAdam et al, 2001: 121). The market's reaction was to position their members next to producers during the products' distribution in order to ensure the

²³ Quite interesting are the anecdotes during some interviews that positioned members of communist party to use the markets' services by sending their familiars to shop in areas where KKE was among the leading municipal parties, something that underlines the importance of markets in serving people's everyday needs (Int.29).

provision of receipts. Additionally, they imposed quality controls over the products by sending samples to the General Chemical State's Laboratory and paid unexpected visits to the respective farms. As we see also in chapter 7, with respect to the self-managed workers' cooperatives, this reflective system presents an important mechanism for markets' self-preservation based on brokerage and diffusion. In particular, the expulsion of producers that did not fill the individual requirements acquired 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 due to the occupation of public spaces. In cases where these have been granted by the municipal authorities, the state intervened by introducing the 4264/2014 bill (FEK, 2014), preventing farmers from selling their products in open markets and issuing lawsuits to those who disobeyed.

Aside from the markets' interaction with the municipal authorities, political parties and police, the case of S4A is also interesting. Similar to the other two movement scenes, the hybrid organization S4A was engaged with the social movement scene of food. The rise of SYRIZA in opposition in the 2012 elections signaled two years of consecutive austerity and a marked decrease of general purchasing power (Vaious and Kalendides, 2015; Skordili, 2013). This environment fueled the growth of solidarity structures and the first open markets without middlemen, as well as the unification of different actors under the common frame against troika. In this context, with regards to the scene of food, S4A tried to play the role of network facilitator among the different markets as well as other food-related initiatives. S4A has organized various actions to urge markets' coordination and assist their diffusion. Additionally, it helped many producers to acquire licenses for selling their products and provided equipment to many markets (Int.39). Among their most popular practices was the funding of the Sociality cooperative to develop the Agrotopia digital platform (Int.28).

However, S4A also received great criticism from the social movement community. This included criticism for being mere philanthropic or 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 a paternalistic attitude. This criticism can be found in the national conference of food solidarity structures held in 2014 (Kalodoukas, 2014), when some participants felt that S4A did not respect the markets' organizational variety and tried to cast them all in the same mold (Int.43). As a result, markets who were sympathetic to SYRIZA continued their collaboration with S4A, while others joined forces with the rival camp, expressed by the market in Katerini.

5.1.1.1 The evolution of open-air markets to consumer cooperatives

All these resulted in the retreat of markets' activity and signaled their passage to the next stage. A first consequence was the markets' cease of operation, like the one in Themi, where the respective citizens' committee devoted its efforts to the establishment of a local social clinic (Int.7). In other cases, markets continued, but with

a more limited audience. This was the case for the self-organized market in Exarcheia square, which currently takes place twice a month; their focus on contractual agriculture as happened with the market in Katerini (Voluntary Action Group of Pieria Region, 2013b); or the farmers' bazaar in Sholio squat that takes place every Wednesday and concludes with a common assembly of producers and squatters (Int.51).

A third interesting development deals with the formation of small groceries within the premises of SMOs and neighborhood assemblies, such as the neighborhood assembly of Virona, Kesariani, Pagkrati (VKP), an initiative born out of the efforts of anarchist and leftwing activists to coordinate their local protests on December 2008. Based on a horizontal decision-making model, the end of December's revolt fostered the VKP to adopt actions in order to increase the local resistance, ranging 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 exercise of 'kalathi'²⁴, a practice which finds its roots in Sporos collective and received great attention after the markets' diffusion. Specifically, by distributing the usual order sheets, the VKP used to make mass orders of agricultural products to then distribute from its premises. In response, one member comments that *"in the beginning it was a close procedure aiming to serve the members' needs, while later it opened also for outsiders"* (Int.54). Nevertheless, kalathi's inability to engage more people turned it once again into a members' service. But it also reveals some dilemmas that organizers started to deal with. As one interviewee states, *"you cannot transform the space into a grocery store; it would be problematic. After all, there are plenty of greengrocers in the neighborhood and in a way, they should make a living"*, which together with the absence of a legal status does not allow *"to turn the greengrocer into your enemy"* (Int.54).

Equally interesting is the endeavor of Autonomo²⁵ social center in Exarcheia. Autonomo's participation in an activist network against biotechnology and GMOs inspired some of its members to establish Doulapi²⁶ grocery in its premises. Born in the late 1990s by a group of anti-capitalist leftwing and anarchist activists that aimed to create an open, horizontal and direct-democratic social space, Autonomo has a long tradition of grassroots and urban struggles. Shortly after 2008, Autonomo incorporated groups and solidarity structures, like Doulapi grocery. In contrast to VKP, these structures enjoyed full autonomy and held their own individual assemblies. Nevertheless, the strong tradition of Autonomo's political assembly within the center informally granted it a point of reference, something that led to the group's self-dissolution in 2016 and the birth of the new collective of Perasma²⁷.

In a similar vein, Sidrofia²⁸ grocery operates on a daily basis within Mikropolis social center in Thessaloniki, supplying its products from local cooperatives and groups of small producers. Although the grocery has its own assembly, unlike Doulapi,

²⁴ Kalathi stands for Basket

²⁵ Autonomo stands for Autonomous

²⁶ Doulapi stands for Cupboard

²⁷ Perasma stands Passage

²⁸ Sidrofia stands for Fellowship, Company

Sidrofia is not considered an autonomous structure; rather it is subject to the decisions of Mikropolis general assembly. What is striking about the last two cases though, is that Sidrofia and Doulapi turned from voluntary structures to informal cooperatives, with their members receiving compensation for their services, in line with a shift of perspective on forms of solidarity economy (Int.34; Int.33). VKP, Doulapi and Sidrofia present the main trends of markets incorporation within organized collectives; namely dealing with consumers and members' orders, establishing an autonomous grocery or embodying it in the center's solidarity structures.

Coming back to the markets without middlemen, these began as an attempt for producers to attain fair prices, but soon after, the burden moved to consumers. Although the producers often got involved in the organizing assemblies, there are very few cases in which they managed to be organized collectively at the production level. In most cases, the ones who took charge came from the side of consumers (Int.34; Int.29). For this, it is no surprise that many internal discussions among the organizers dealt with the development of the open-air markets into cooperatives, without missing some more hesitant voices (Rakopoulos, 2015: 99). In cases like the market in Galatsi, this was accelerated due to the police repression (Int.43).

As their direct outcome, consumers' cooperatives present quite familiar characteristics with the markets. The 600 monthly users of Galatsi consumers' cooperative departed from the 4,500 contact-list the organizers had from their earlier days of activity. Additionally, the cooperative continues to distribute pre-order sheets, while its members participate voluntarily. Moreover, the procedure where markets adopted the role of brokers for the diffusion of know-how technics is also continued here, with Galatsi cooperative sharing valuable information for the organization of similar initiatives. This point reveals the interplay of emulation, which refers to "the deliberate repetition within a given setting of a performance observed in another setting" (Alimi et al, 2015: 87; Tilly and Tarrow 2007: 215); and bricolage, pointing to the synthesis of symbolic and technical elements (Campbell, 2005: 53-54) sub-mechanisms. In particular, some initiatives operate under the exact same procedure, with the change of their legal status being the main difference; while others collect information from different initiatives and blend them into a unique 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, [...] while we have been also contacted by a cooperative in Ioannina and we sent them our accounting system. It cannot work the same for everyone. Every district and city has its own peculiar characteristics. We were in contact with the cooperative in Ioannina but they are employing a different model. (Int.43)

Regardless of the organizational models, or whether the members are getting paid, the underneath logic of forming cooperatives is not a new idea. Rather, it finds its roots in the self-organized collective of Sporos in Athens. Formed in the early 2000s, 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 labor 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). It was an important node that put in contact markets, cooperatives and producers.

Either as an outcome or as a starting point, the formation of cooperatives is tightly connected with the actions of markets without middlemen. As Rakopoulos (2015: 99) notes, in this context lies also the effort of Bios coop supermarket, a consumer cooperative formed in Thessaloniki in 2013. Established by Proskalo²⁹ collective for social and solidarity economy, Bios aimed to establish a large, economically successful cooperative that could bypass the intervention of brokers and have a measurable social impact. In these terms, Bios participated in a coordination committee among different neighborhood assemblies and grassroots collectives 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, and small working groups and task forces being 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, an interviewee from Bios notes that *“you cannot avoid it by; but we conceive (the different layers) as unpaid tasks and not as positions of authority”* (Int.27). The dense frequency and open character to all its 400 members are, according to the same interviewee, the essence of direct-democracy.

Referring to the transition towards cooperatives, we paid attention to the different organizational models in terms of paid or voluntary participation. This is further analyzed in the labor social movement scene, where we discuss the growth of cooperative groceries operating in the capitalistic market. Apart from the clear cases of cooperative groceries, like Eklektik in Thessaloniki and Lacandona³⁰ in Athens, cooperatives' major did not prevent the diffusion of products' direct distribution. In this context, the cooperative of Allos Tropos³¹ in Thessaloniki is quite representative. Established in 2012, the cooperative's major deals are 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.

5.1.2 Collective and Social Kitchens

Collective and social kitchens are the second form of repertoires related to food that became popular during the era of austerity. Non-governmental and church

²⁹ Proskalo stands for Cooperation Initiative for the Social and Solidarity Economy and its acronym means Invite

³⁰ Lacandona is also the rainforest area in Chiapas, Mexico

³¹ Allos Tropos stands for Another Way

organizations have a long tradition of providing meals to people in need, while municipalities and other institutional organizations have started or intensified similar actions since the onset of the economic crisis. The self-organized character is one aspect that clearly distinguishes the collective kitchens employed by social movement actors from the institutional ones. Together with self-organization, collective kitchens' overall operation draws a thick dividing line that distinguishes them from the soup kitchens organized by a number of institutional actors. In particular, collective kitchens oppose to the logic of beneficiaries' queuing to receive meals; organizers and beneficiaries enjoy the same meal, and there are no restricting criteria for the users. In this sense, collective kitchens constitute a direct expression of solidarity practices as these contradict the apolitical tone and a sentiment of superiority (Int.35) of philanthropic soup kitchens (Rakopoulos, 2015: 87-88).

Field research shows plurality in terms of the kitchens' organizers. Starting with neighborhood assemblies, which have been multiplied during the anti-austerity cycle. We mentioned earlier that many neighborhood assemblies have developed a number of advocacy and protest activities against the instant taxation on electricity, while others obtained a more radical stance by re-connecting electricity, water and gas supplies in households or proceeded in symbolic occupations of the respective agencies (Int.54; Int.52). In this context, the establishment of collective kitchens finds great popularity.

Following its housing in 2011, the organization of a collective kitchen was among VKP's first activities. The kitchen takes place once a week with the members responsible spending at least 6 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 Center 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. With regards to Toumba citizens' committee, an interviewee (Int.52) admits that the assembly's strong bonds with the neighborhood were mostly restricted to civil disobedience activities, such as the re-connection of the electricity supply. Following the decline of these repertoires in late 2014, the assembly narrowed even more, pausing its collective kitchen for one year (Int.52). The problem was not the same for VKP, since its activities enabled the development of strong bonds with the neighborhood. This is mostly located in the actual operation of the kitchen. As an interviewee explains, the members' inability 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), restricted its popularity.

Together with the neighborhood assemblies, grassroots initiatives constitute the second actor responsible for the operation of kitchens. In their attempt to underline the social aspect of solidarity as this complements the political one, these are mostly referred as *social* kitchens. In particular, contrary to the collective kitchens, which draw their attention to the political objectives of the organizers, social kitchens aim to fill the need for food targeting on the social sensitization. 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. But at the same time, it is crucial in order to foster readers' understanding of the presence of the same contentious mechanisms in kitchens with different starting points.

The social kitchen in Chania, Crete, began its services during the square movement, when some participants urged for direct action against poverty. Following the principles of the square movement, the kitchen continued after the movement's dissolution on the basis of self-organization and direct-democracy. Nevertheless, fatigue of the everyday services was among the main factors that caused a decrease in membership (Int.36), which also affected its decision-making procedures. In particular, the passionate 30-members' assemblies belong to the past, since currently assemblies are called mostly when there is an important issue to be discussed. Additionally, members' decrease has also moved 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, the legitimation and certification mechanisms acquire a pivotal role for their development as well as for the diffusion and acceptance of cooking as part of the alternative repertoires. Certification stands for the external approval of social movement activities by institutional actors, while legitimation refers to the "increase of positive and popularly resonating representations of actors and their actions" (Alimi et al, 2015: 288). Coming out of the square movement, the kitchen in Chania has granted the acceptance of the participants, while its grassroots character and anti-discriminatory approach facilitated its welcoming from the local social movement society (Int.36). Nevertheless, movements' legitimation has provoked the opposite results in the institutional sphere with the kitchen receiving tremendous criticism by the local store owners. Inclusive of migrants, the homeless and other marginalized populations, the kitchen has managed to move to the city center in order to serve meals, affecting the city's urban environment and triggering the complaints of the surrounding businesses. This provoked a chain reaction with the local teachers' association offering to host the kitchen on its premises, and many leftwing parties declaring their support, while the change of power in municipal authorities sympathetic with the Left also granted the kitchen 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 began with 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 Anthropos³² started when an unemployed middle-aged male 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 this racism and fascism against the strange 'other'*" (Int.59). Currently, Allos Anthropos preoccupies 30 people on a daily basis, counts 20 similar endeavors all around the country, and has served a total of 5 million

³² Allos Anthropos stands for Another Human

meals (Int.59). What distinguishes Allos Antropos from many other kitchens is not only its daily and out-doors operation; rather, it is its disapproval of any kind of discrimination, including on the grounds of class or political inclinations. The kitchen openly calls rich and poor, leftwing and rightwing, 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 troika (Int.59). In 2014, Allos Anthropos launched the 'Allos Anthropos home', an apartment, which serves the storage of its equipment and provides breakfast, coffee, clothes' washing, bathing and Internet-use to everyone in need. Similar to the Steki Metanaston collective kitchen in Thessaloniki that we explore further on, an interviewee informs that the apartment is mainly used by the homeless for leisure and socialization, while high school and theater courses also take place there.

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 movement-oriented events and anti-racists festivals (Allos Anthropos, n.d.) contributed to the kitchen's acknowledgement by the broader social movement community and in many cases by citizens and shop owners in the neighborhoods in which they were organized (Int.35). Appreciation has also been granted by a number of institutional actors. As an interviewee admits, the kitchen has rejected many political parties, big firms and large supermarket chains that were interested in supporting its effort; while, together with the MKIE social clinic, it won the prize of the European Citizen by the European Parliament, to finally reject it ("No" from two, 2015).

Collective and social kitchens present a peculiar characteristic that is rarely met in other actions of the alternative repertoires. This particularity has to do with the aspect of professionalism. Markets without middlemen would be impossible to occur in the absence of producers, and most social clinics could not support their activities if their members did not have some kind of connection with the provision of healthcare services. This also applies to language or high school courses, and recreational activities such as dance classes, etc., whose members are either professionals or experienced individuals (Int.57). However, when it comes to the organization of kitchens, the vast majority of the members are not professionals. As many interviewees noted, the lack of explicit skills in order to organize collective kitchens is a feature that has supported diffusion.

The status of legitimacy assigned to Allos Anthropos encouraged its diffusion. But Allos Anthropos is a notable example in which diffusion is affected by the sub-mechanism of emulation. As an interviewee from the kitchen in Thessaloniki explains, the very idea of Allos Anthropos lies in its ability to be duplicated by everyone interested in doing so (Int.35), something which is also proved from the identical operation of all the respective Allos Anthropos' kitchens. At the same time, cases like Thessaloniki or Megara show that the emulation sub-mechanism assists the kitchens' diffusion without abandoning the reproduction of their vulnerabilities. Despite the popularity of their services, Allos Anthropos social kitchens in the aforementioned cities have been organized again by small groups of committed individuals and mostly

assisted by their acquaintances. This is not new; the kitchen in Chania is also operated by a small number of committed individuals. Subsequently, this makes rotation quite rare and causes much fatigue for the participants in charge. As one interviewee notes (Int.36), serving 150 to 200 meals on a daily basis from 2011 onwards “*in an open kitchen, where you have to deal pretty much with everyone, at some point makes you feel tired*”, to add later on that “*I have said many times that I will quit*” (Int. 36).

Although some interviewees have stressed that the small number of people in charge provides the kitchens with greater flexibility in terms of operation and decision-making procedures (Int.35), it sets in danger its long-term survival. Interviewees from social and collective kitchens have repeatedly stressed how demanding the kitchens’ operation is. The kitchen operation requires activists to participate 6 hours on average during the days of the meals, while the small number of members involved adds an additional burden. Cases such as VKP neighborhood assembly and Autonomo social center witness some examples that could not respond to these demands resulting in the kitchens’ malfunction, while it caused the operations of Allos Anthropos social kitchen in Thessaloniki to end.

Together with the neighborhood 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, such as social centers and squats; kitchens which had been previously reserved for members were opened for external use. Before we further our exploration of the mechanisms at play, it is essential to proceed with a brief clarification. In relation to the Greek context specifically, collective kitchens do not refer to the provision of food during the organization of specific events. This is a widespread international activity of SMOs, with a long tradition in Greece and in the Italian movement, with the *cene popolari*. Rather, by collective kitchens we 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 center was established in 2008. In particular, the kitchen was the direct outcome of Creative Resistances festival as an action that “*has the potential to politicize the 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 the 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 its role in covering the needs created due to austerity. Similar is the case of the collective kitchen of Nosotros social center. Although it was strongly influenced by the austerity environment, the kitchen complements a series of services, such as radio station, language courses, and theater and dance groups. In this respect, it aims to respond to the center’s core values for establishing an anti-authoritarian political and cultural space with social

characteristics, able to move beyond the orthodox purity and sectarianization of the anarchist groups that used to operate in the area of the Exarcheia (Int.57).

Although the enlargement of Autonomo and Nosotros social centers' activities lies on their efforts to create an alternative narrative to the typical libertarian repertoire, the trajectories of the collective kitchens of Steki Metanaston³³ 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 helped the establishment of similar Steki in many major Greek cities (Int.61). Although a mechanism of emulation allowed the reproduction of the founder's organizational structure, 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 centers' 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 taking place from their early establishment. The advent of the economic crisis fostered the two centers to hold also weekly collective kitchens with quite important differences. In particular, Steki's collective kitchen in Thessaloniki started around 2011. Previous participation in similar repertoires of the Argentinean movement between 2002 and 2008 as well as the members' desire to respond 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 enlarge and attract outsiders after December 2008 riots and the anti-austerity mobilizations. This change urged its members to squat a building nearby Steki and transfer the kitchen's operations there (Int.60).

In the cases of Toumba and VKP neighborhood assemblies, the kitchens' audiences were mainly composed of activists. What distinguishes the collective kitchen of Thessaloniki's Steki from the rest though, is that the enlargement of its audience was particularly targeting marginalized groups, such as drug addicts, homeless, migrants, unemployed and elder people (Int.37). As such, the kitchen tried to approach them by distributing brochures to municipality and churches' soup kitchens, parks, bridges and relative hangouts. Similar to Themi's market without middlemen, whose first successful product distributions encouraged producers to contact the assembly on their own, news was widely diffused in these circles by word of mouth shortly after Steki's initial excursions (Int.37). On the other hand, the Athenian Steki's kitchen El Chef express a different approach in terms of 'opening', since the members were not in favor of targeting marginalized groups. As stated by an interviewee,

we were not in the logic of feeding some people just for the sake of it. I don't think it is possible the movement to be in charge of destitute and homeless' nutrition. These are things that we should claim from the state [...]. What we did

³³ Steki Metanaston stands for Migrants' Center

was to try to highlight the crisis, the homeless, and the 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, variation is also met in the kitchens' internal organization and rotation system. As our findings suggest, this follows the broader organizational structure of the respective assemblies. In cases where the organization of the kitchen is undertaken by either an autonomous group that is hosted in a social center or by collective's sub-group that follows the directions of the general assembly, rotation is applied internally among the members of the respective groups. The former reflects the kitchen of Autonomo social center, where its organizers are not required to be members in the center's political group (Int.33), while the latter mirrors the kitchens of the two Steki centers and Nosotros. With regards to the kitchens' assemblies of the two Steki, despite some mild variations in their decision-making models, both of them participate and are in line with the respective general assemblies. Similar is the case for Nosotros. According to an interviewee (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. The kitchen is also demonstrative of this aspect. Although it was initially organized by Nosotros members, at some point a group of outsiders took charge. Regardless of whether they have their own assemblies, every group is required to attend the center's weekly general assembly; while, similar to the vast majority of the SMOs studied here, Nosotros requires the groups' minimum participation in the maintenance of the building, mostly with regards to cleaning or holding shifts in the center's bar. Lastly, 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).

As emphasized above, the division of labor in the case of markets is of utmost importance. This was usually encapsulated by the division of tasks and responsibilities, such as the distribution of the orders sheets, the setting up of markets' equipment, and the arrangement of producers' trucks and consumers' cars (Int.29). Although less clearly, the collective kitchens follow a similar approach to the division of labor, with some members being responsible for cooking, others for cleaning or serving, and others for sourcing the products. Although the members in Chania social kitchen cook the meals in their homes before distributing them from the kitchen's premises, this seems to be an exceptional case, and not the rule. Either the kitchen takes place out-doors or in the organizer'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). To this extent, the deployment of a social appropriation mechanism deserves further attention.

Tilly and Tarrow (2015: 36) 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". We argue that the same mechanism took place with respect to 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 (Int.54; Int.52; Int.59), although it is not considered a requirement (Int.33). 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 many aspects of the provided services.

Social appropriation also reveals a different aspect of the organizational factor. In particular, by assigning the aspect of self-organization to these precise services, the actors begin to interact with their audience and enlarge, the dividing line between organizers and beneficiaries. Although interviewees (Int.60) underline that 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). Two years after the establishment of the kitchen at Steki, Thessaloniki, the stable beneficiaries began to actively participate both in the co-organization of the kitchen and its assembly. According to an interviewee:

usually we are a group of 5 members who cooks and is in charge. During the supply procedure, we are much more. Together with the beneficiaries we are around 15 and the ones who systematically cook are people who used to come here to eat and then joined. The one is a chef, who lost everything, became homeless and lived in the municipal shelter. Once this person found us, we developed very good and trustworthy relationships, 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. Although in the case of markets without middlemen the mechanism reached the national level, with regards to the kitchens organization it is mainly referred to the local level. First of all, coordinated action refers to the collective customization of 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), the organizers tried to set their operation in 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 seems to facilitate the kitchens' smooth operation. As we see further on, with regards to the factor of resources, the complete deployment of the mechanism took place 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 some SMOs, like Sholio squat and Mikropolis social center in Thessaloniki, have launched collective kitchens, but under a cooperative

form. Similar to Sholio squat, each sub-group and structure of Mikropolis social center has its own assembly, but all are subject to the general coordination assembly. As we see in the social movement scene of labor, where the two cases are analyzed thoroughly, the members of the Mikropolis kitchen are obliged to participate also in the centers' general assemblies. Despite the fact that Sholio and Mikropolis' kitchens are not organized on a voluntary basis, the two cases follow quite a similar organizational structure, with the rest of the SMOs' kitchens in terms of members' active participation in the centers' maintenance. With regards to the case of Mikropolis, this means that the members in charge of the cooperative structures are obliged to hold shifts in the center's bar at least 3 hours per week, while the participants in the voluntary structures, like in the kickboxing group, are encouraged to devote 1.5 hours shift per month (Int.34).

5.1.3 Collection and Distribution of Food Packages

The last form of action related to the social movement scene of food deals with the collection and distribution of food packages. The rationale behind this action is to collect food packages and distribute them to individuals and families in need. Although this is an international practice, carried out by humanitarian NGOs, church organizations and other institutional actors, it is purely a child of austerity in the context of the social movement community in Greece. In this respect, SMOs present different narratives about beneficiaries' organization from below, which contradicts the top-down provision of help from institutional actors, such as the respective efforts of municipal authorities (Int.40; Int.41); or the neoliberal context of civil society organizations (Rozakou, 2008; Serdedakis, 2008). Emphasizing the role of trust once again, beneficiaries do not require any official documents. 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 should pay closer attention to the roots of such initiatives as well as their operation.

Established in 2012 from the collaboration of ecological organizations, Oikopolis³⁴ social center is a representative case of repertoire boundary enlargement. 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 sense, Oikopolis established a number of service-oriented activities, like language courses to refugees and dance classes. It also distributes cooked and raw food for take-away, as well as sanitary goods, clothes, electric devices and furniture. Although Oikopolis' change was an individual decision, in other cases this resulted out of a collective effort. In particular, Autonomo's participation in the electricity re-

³⁴ Oikopolis stands for Ecological City

connection activities of Exarcheia's Network of Social Solidarity (Dikaex), its members came in contact with impoverished families in Exarcheia, whose existence would be otherwise ignored (Int.33). Imitating a respective action taking place in the popular district of Perama in Piraeus, Autonomo formed the group of Trofosyllektes³⁵ in close cooperation with Dikaex (Dikaex, 2014).

Although collection and distribution of food packages in Oikopolis and Autonomo was the result of repertoire change forced by the centers' interaction with people in need, the respective action in Nea Smirni Workers' Club has clear theoretical origins. Arguing that neoliberalism and austerity have radically changed workers' everyday life and fragmented even more their identity, a group of radical leftwing and anti-authoritarian activists with a long tradition in local struggles concluded that neighborhood 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 opens the ground for a more pre-figurative approach able to construct a solid, antagonistic subject. In this respect, reminding us of Autonomo collective kitchen's origins, the club's participation in protest activities, its advocacy role for labor issues as well as the establishment of solidarity structures, the collection and distribution of food packages including, are inherited in a holistic approach to connect everyday life with everyday resistance.

Actions regarding the collection and distribution of food packages follow similar organizational principles with the kitchens. More precisely, initiatives preoccupied with the collection and distribution of food are either autonomous entities with their own assembly (Int.33) or part of the social centers' actions (Int.56; Int.38) and thus, subjects to the general assemblies of the latter. The study of Vaiou and Kalandides on Myrmigi solidarity initiative, which organized markets without middlemen but also collects and distributes food packages to "about 1000 poverty-stricken households" (2015: 465) is quite indicative. Similar to the brokerage mechanism in the markets, the SMOs used the contact information from previous activities to communicate with potential beneficiaries about their forthcoming initiative (Int.56; Int.33). Once individuals and families are subscribed to the beneficiaries' lists, the SMOs set a timetable and decide about the days and the local supermarkets they will visit. There, SMOs' members inform the customers about their action and collect food donations. Donations are also collected in the SMOs' headquarters or from fund-raising events (Int.56; Int.33), while donations have been also issued by S4A (Int.33). Once donations are collected and food packages are prepared, SMOs are in charge of their distribution. Together with markets and kitchens, this practice is also subject to internal variation. Distribution of the cooked food in Oikopolis, which attracts mostly homeless people, takes place one time per week in the spring season and twice in the winter. The rest of the services, including also the distribution of food packages, take place once per month and deals mostly with families and individuals in need. Respectively, the 30 families subscribed in Trofosyllektes receive their goods once per week also from the center's headquarters (Int.33). However, Nea Smirni Workers' Club has implemented a different approach.

³⁵ Trofosyllektes stands for Food Collectors

In order to tackle the beneficiaries' shame and make them feel more comfortable, the center has accustomed 20 of its members to be responsible for contacting each the respective families and arrange the monthly distribution of the packages (Int.56).

Together with its roots and internal operation, the bottom-up characteristics of this alternative service provision is also expressed in the beneficiaries' participation. With regards to the Workers' Club in Nea Smirni, beneficiaries participate in the collection of food in fund-raising events and outside the supermarkets. Although participation is not always successful, this approach reveals that SMOs combine empowerment with self-organization. Apart from its theoretical value, this combination also finds practical application, keeping the action alive. As one interviewee notes "*if someone finds a job and won't use the service for this month, to be able 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 was a key feature that led to the club's institutional certification. This was mostly expressed by the extra-parliamentary party of ANTARSYA, which welcomed the action and called 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 structure and activities in the Club of Nea Smirni (Int.56).

Trofosyllektes collect and distribute food packages in support of 30 families every week. While beneficiaries' participation was optional in Nea Smirni, in Trofosyllektes it was a mandatory requirement. In particular, beneficiaries who are subscribed in the Trofosyllektes' list are organized in shifts and participate 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). Oikopolis also succeeded in engaging beneficiaries, to a certain extent, in cooking and distributing the food packages. Quite surprisingly though, it is often refugees who distribute meals to Greeks as the former group participate much more than the latter (Int.38).

5.2 Resources

5.2.1 Markets without Middlemen

Resources are quite a central factor in social movement activities. With regards to the Greek austerity environment, resources have played a vital role in the expression of solidarity in all the three social movement scenes studied here. In this respect, the markets without middlemen prove that resources are an essential aspect of the brokerage mechanism. The role of brokerage was stressed in the organizational structure regarding the transmission and distribution of know-how technics. Taking into consideration the markets' suppression, solidarity was also expressed by individual producers to first protect the participant cooperatives, such as Allos Tropos and Vio.Me,

due to the higher risk they run in receiving fines (Int.24). Nevertheless, this was not the only way resources and brokerage have been used in the context of solidarity.

Following the operation of the first markets, the organizers set a ‘solidarity percentage’ on producers’ profits. More precisely, after the weekly operation of the markets, the organizers counted the quantity of products sold, and usually kept around 3% of them to fund social welfare endeavors (Int.29; Int.43). Here it is important to clarify that this percentage referred to producers’ profit without affecting the consumers’ final cost. Based on the particular context of the markets, these mostly referred to municipal social groceries, church soup kitchens, municipal kindergartens as well as individuals and families in need that subscribed to the organizers’ contact lists (Int.29; Int.7). Together with the political character assigned to the brokers’ overcoming, the solidarity percentage underlined the markets’ social role. Calvario et al (2016: 77) 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”. Additionally, this managed to connect the markets with other fractions of the social movement community, as well as to increase their certification with regards to the local institutional environment. The imposition of the solidarity percentage was also appreciated by the producers. In cases where the organizers did not have any other sources to fund the information campaigns, this was also covered by the producers (Int.29). The implementation of the solidarity percentage policy continued into the final stages of the markets, regardless of whether they have continued to function as cooperatives (Int.43) or took other forms. For this, it is not rare that after the long summer of migration, receivers of the solidarity percentage changed from domestic social welfare initiatives to the refugee camps (Int.7).

The factor of organizational structure reveals that brokerage was quite central for triggering markets’ diffusion, while following the first distribution of products local producers started to contact organizers independently. Additionally, we analyzed how the mechanism of coordinated action was essential for setting a number of criteria for the markets’ operation. Speaking about the factor of resources, field research enables us to distinguish two criteria that have also affected the factor of identity and at the same time demonstrate failures and dilemmas that have been cultivated during the markets’ development.

Starting with the first one, the operation of markets without middlemen were exclusively based on goods produced in Greece. Although this is discussed further in the factor of identity, what emerged from this approach was the call for support of local producers. However, this was not always easy. Many of the everyday required products were not produced in the country, causing difficulties for the organizers. Most important, however, was the issue of high prices of goods produced in Greece, which also took place in the social movement scene of labor. In particular, agricultural products produced in Greece are considered medium to high quality, something which naturally affects their prices. As an interviewee informs:

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 supply the sesame from Ethiopia! [...] There are some products, which the only domestic characteristic they have is that they are produced in their grinding machines of Greek farmers. [...] So, there were dilemmas whether we want such products or not. (Int.29)

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

The second criterion deals with producers' working conditions and the markers' preference for cooperatives and small groups of producers. However, in the cases where producers were not collectively organized, the markets' criteria called for decent labor conditions both for the producers and their employees. According to our field-notes, these criteria became stricter in the aftermath of a scandal about the human trafficking of Bangladesh workers in 2012 in Manolada's strawberry fields (ECHR, 2017). To this extent, many markets urged for consumers' participation in the production process. Similar to the Community Supported Agriculture (CSA) in France (Benmecheddal et al, 2017), the strategy behind this plan was to engage the unemployed, and thus to create trustworthy relationships between the markets and the rest of the social movement community (Int.29). Nevertheless, as an interviewee (Int.29) admits, this plan did not find any success, with the professional relationship of producers and consumers limited in occasional assistance during the markets' operation.

Earlier in the section dealing with the organizational structure, we argued that the same mechanisms took place during the development stage of markets and the cooperatives that succeeded them. When it comes to the factor of resources, however, this was accompanied by important changes, connected with the lack of tradition of consumers' cooperatives (Skordili, 2013). Most central are the issues of time and fatigue. The passage from the markets to cooperatives have strongly affected and complicated the internal procedures, since responsibility in terms of quality controls and a number of bureaucratic requirements moved from producers to consumers' cooperatives.

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 be always clean.... (Int.43)

claims an interviewee from Galatsi cooperative without middlemen. But as the case of Galatsi shows, the increase in workload set in motion a mechanism of social appropriation. In particular, since the members of Ampariza social space are in charge of the cooperative in Galatsi on a voluntary basis, they have urged the beneficiaries receiving the solidarity percentage to assist in the cooperative's operation. In this

context, social appropriation depicts a case of transformation, where beneficiaries have been transformed into active participants who take shifts in the cooperative. Interestingly, the same was also the case for the interviewee, who started as a user of Ampariza's services and currently plays an active role both in Ampariza and in the cooperative (Int.43).

Apart from the mechanism of social appropriation, the factor of resources reveals yet another dimension, which deals with the members' compensation. Being among the ancestors of these new forms, Spame used the model of unpaid labor for its members, exactly as the cooperative of Galatsi does. Nevertheless, Galatsi's voluntary character contradicts to that of Spame. Evaluating Spame's trajectory after it ceased operation in 2014, one of its former members argues that *"in exchange of 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). As the same interviewee confesses, 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. The cooperative adds 10-15% onto the product value, with 7 of the members receiving monetary compensation for their undertaken tasks. Following the approach developed in the markets without middlemen, Bios prioritizes suppliers from cooperatives to small groups of producers located in the surroundings of Thessaloniki and rejects large private corporations. As seen in the social movement scene of health, the cooperative has strongly relied on donations and the voluntary participation of members and non-members during its first steps. Similar to the producers' and social cooperatives we studied in chapter 7, Bios shares do not provide any profit to its members. But by distinguishing its profits (money coming from customers that are non-members) from the surpluses (money coming from customers that are members), the cooperative provides discounts to its members, and socialize its profits in support of movements and solidarity actions (Int.27). As pure examples of consumers' cooperatives, Bios and Spame have added a percentage over producers' prices in order to maintain and develop their operation. Nevertheless, the same has been applied by social cooperatives, such as Allos Tropos, in order to cover its operational costs (Int.24).

With regards to groceries operating within neighborhood assemblies and traditional SMOs, the case becomes a bit more complicated. On the one hand, some assemblies understand the operation of their groceries as an additional repertoire to their overall action, which promotes an alternative, grassroots way of providing good-quality food. An illustrative example of this, is the VKP neighborhood assembly, which distributes goods on the producers' price (Int.54). On the other hand, groceries like Sydrofia in Mikropolis social center or Sholio squat operate on the basis of solidarity and cooperative economy. This allows the collectives to set an additional 10% over the producers' prices (Int.51) so as to cover their running costs and to provide some compensation for their members.

Taking these examples as two extreme cases, one can find various trajectories between them. Various different models have been applied to the structure of the

Doulapi grocery in Autonomo social center. One of the first models that Doulapi relied on was based on free contributions; meaning customers are free to choose whether and how much they want to contribute. Quite surprisingly, this approach did not apply only for the members' remuneration but also for the price of the products. In these terms, Doulapi represents the traditional anti-commercial character of the libertarian social movement community in Greece. Its development underlines the transformative dynamics of the boundary enlargement process. As an interviewee explains, this approach generated many problems for the collective. For this reason, following the approach of informal cooperativism as applied in SMOs and squats, in 2015, Doulapi established a solidarity, mutual-help fund to support its members financially.

Lastly, field research shows that proper consumer cooperatives and the respective informal cooperative efforts as introduced in SMOs, are not only related with respect to members' compensation, but are also organically connected through the factor of resources. Together with the transmission of organizational know-how, consumers' cooperatives often assist the informal groceries of SMOs to order vast amounts of agricultural products and other goods, due to the latter's lack of legal status (Int.34). This procedure is important, not only because it is vital for the survival of the informal groceries, but also because it promotes a logic of collaboration, antagonistic to the competitive environment of the neoliberal market. In this respect, and as we see also in the other two repertoires of the social movement scene of food, resources activate the mechanism of brokerage that boosts the connection between traditional SMOs and cooperatives.

5.2.2 Collective and Social Kitchens

In our study of collective and social kitchens with regards to the factor of resources, field-research has drawn our attention to three important areas of concern: the issue of fees for the provided services, members' compensation and the way that products and equipment are acquired. Our analysis shows that all three issues are inter-connected, with great impacts on each other. Subsequently, many cases seem to respond to the aforementioned categories. The dynamic character of the alternative repertoires enables others to present deviant and interesting characteristics.

Starting with the fee for using the kitchens' services, field research reveals that there are three main approaches, which are strongly related to the overall approach of the organization which hosts them. Starting with the first approach, many collective kitchens are based on the beneficiaries' free contributions. Free contributions are probably one of the most traditional forms of funding used by the broader social movement community in Greece. In particular, it finds widespread application in traditional SMOs as well as in more loose initiatives that emerged during the period of crisis. The case of Toumba citizens' assembly and Autonomo social center 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 the ones who have money and the ones who don't. I eat here and take food also 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: 31-34), could not be avoided. As a member of Toumba's initiative informs, the problem of free rider sparked internal debates, with its members expressing their disagreement towards beneficiaries who had the economic ability to contribute but they did not (Int.52).

Moreover, the second option deals with the absence of any kind of fee. Activists (Int.57) recall that the strict anti-commercial tradition of the libertarian space in Greece has fueled serious debates within the assemblies of SMOs during the 1990s. Discussions problematized on whether there should be any type of monetary transaction within squats and social centers. Although this debate has never reached a conclusion, it provoked many divisions and disputes. As a matter of fact, some SMOs started to operate bar services in order to fund their expenses, while others favored the moneyless approach, which sometimes even caused the rejection of the free contributions policy. Surprisingly, the absence of a fee for using the kitchens' services is quite rare in the studied SMOs, while it finds broad application in social kitchens, such as Allos Anthropos and Chania social kitchen. Lastly, the third approach points to the determination of specific prices adjusted to the meals. As the case of El Chef (Int.60) attests, this is mostly linked to the funding of the kitchen's activities and the acquisition of products for the next cooking, while with the examples of informal cooperativism in Sholio and Mikropolis kitchens, fees are also linked to the members' compensation.

Although these three categories provide the reader with a comprehensive understanding of kitchens' basic approaches to fees, they cannot really underline the dynamic character that lies behind the decisions to obtain them. Representative of the dynamic role of trajectories, are the cases of Nosotros social center in Athens and Steki Metanaston in Thessaloniki.

With the exception of the kitchen, Nosotros' activities and services are not dependent on a fee. Nevertheless, the economic difficulties caused by austerity have largely affected the participants, who were not able to spend the same amount of time volunteering. This condition forced Nosotros assembly to develop a more tolerant position. 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 or not they contribute to the acquired service (Int.57). This tolerance "*have changed Nosotros perspective from a purely communist into a more collectivist perception*" (Int.57), something which has been also encouraged by the center's participation in the square movement. In order to clarify this, we turn to the kitchen's model of compensation. As an interviewee informs, during the period of austerity, the

voluntary operation of the kitchen changed, with its members experimenting with the introduction of a collectivist approach and receiving compensation for their services. Nevertheless, internal problems led to the model's rejection and temporary halt to the kitchen's services, while currently the members are in discussions about the kitchen's potential model (Int.57).

Flesher-Fominaya (2007) raises attention for not confusing the liberal concept of atomized individual with the autonomous individual. As the author suggests, the atomized individual "is a rational actor with an existence prior to the social collective", while the autonomous individual is free to act and express "but these actions are understood as forming part of a social collective in a framework of collective action" (Flesher-Fominaya, 2007:340). This is exposed on the issue of fees with regards to the Nosotros' activities. The topics of fees and compensation remain debatable issues within Nostoros' assembly, with some members arguing that "*we are an open endeavor and thus we have the ability to change perspective when the facts are changing, and the ones 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.

Dynamic trajectories also move in reverse. This was the case in Steki's collective kitchen in Thessaloniki. Currently, meals are not provided in exchange for money, and everyone is welcomed to join for free. However, this was an outcome of internal changes with respect to the kitchen's audience. According to an interviewee, the first stages of the kitchen were also combined with the larger presence of Steki's members. For this, the kitchen implemented a policy of free contributions. 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 free of charge (Int.37).

Fees and compensation are quite central issues, which concern the operation of collective and social kitchens; but they are not the only ones. Another important issue deals with the actual resources, such as equipment and raw materials, as these are used in the kitchens' operation. With regards to the studied social kitchens, monetary and in-kind donations are the main forms of resources. Drawing our attention to the social kitchen in Chania, donations are mostly issued by individuals in solidarity and local enterprises. 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. Together with in-kind donations, fund-raising events and parties are organized in order to fund the purchase of additional products. However, these have a very low cost. As the same interviewee continues "*we don't manage great loads of money; once we spent 2,500 euros for the whole year*" (Int.36). Similar to the case of clinics, social kitchens do not advertise their donors, something that in many cases deprived the kitchen from receiving 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 1 tone of fishes and asked us to

issue a letter of acknowledgements 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). Nevertheless, its Athenian branch presents some distinct features. In particular, donations here do not only concern the kitchens' preparation as well as maintenance of the Allos Anthropos home, but also transportation costs and the personal expenses of the founder. According to an interviewee (Int.59), this information is known to the donors, and the founder's daily preoccupation with the kitchen is used as the justification.

Similar to the social clinics, 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. They also organize fund-raising events and parties (Int.52; Int.37; Int.60). On some occasions, in-kind donations in the form of olive oil and vegetables are issued 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). Resources, one of the most central aspects in social movement studies, play a vital role in the movements' sustenance (McCarthy and Zald, 1977). At the same time, donations serve to demonstrate the pre-figurative approach of this alternative repertoire and emphasize the contradiction of grassroots development with the resource dependency from institutional actors. According to an interviewee, self-managing a kitchen, which serves 200 meals on its shift, without any type of institutional funding for five years is a successful example that demonstrates the efficiency of bottom-up solidarity (Int.37).

Unlike social clinics, donations make up one part of collective kitchens' resources, since they are also used to purchase raw products and equipment. With respect to the context and political beliefs of the organizers, one can also find further variation. Following respective examples of the Italian autonomous in the 1970s and the Argentinean anti-austerity movement in 2001, collective kitchens built around more libertarian principles have not rejected militant actions, such as the expropriation of products from supermarkets. But their desire of operating on a stable timetable and be consistent in terms of their long-term service, as well as the great quantities of ingredients required for the preparation of large number of meals were decisive factors for not obtaining this logic.

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). Moreover, as we see also in the collection and distribution of food packages, the increased flows of refugees in the summer of 2015 had direct impacts on the content of the food and the reduction of pork (Int.60). Simultaneously, the massive donations of products created surpluses in some kitchens, facilitating a re-distributive procedure from the one kitchen to another (Int.60). This gives us the opportunity to unravel the mechanism of brokerage as it has been developed in the factor of resources.

So far, we have seen the different aspects of resources in terms of the kitchens and the diverse approaches that organizations apply to them. Nevertheless, as we see in all the three social movement scenes, the factor of resources presents another element to consider: it facilitates the connection of different factions of the social movement community and the strengthening of the solidarity bonds. Collective kitchens stand as an additional way to connect and support social movements and grassroots initiatives. In this respect, it is not rare that kitchens' revenues are used to economically support specific grassroots endeavors. That was the case of Autonomo collective kitchen (Int.33) in support to Vio.Me factory, and Sholio's establishment of a separate solidarity fund to support similar endeavors (Int.51). Similar to Allos Anthropos, with whom it has organized common events, the grassroots character of Chania social kitchen enabled its connection with the local Steki Metanaston and the Rosa Nera squat, and has also participated in local protests and demonstrations (Int.36).

As we have mentioned before, resources play a great role in facilitating the mechanism of brokerage for connecting nodes and fractions of the social movement community. For instance, the 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). Although resources favor the development of the brokerage mechanism, sometimes it might provoke exactly the opposite result. Together with other collectives, SYRIZA's youth section used to hold shifts in Steki's bar in order to support the latter's maintenance. Nevertheless, after the referendum in 2015, this stopped, offering an additional symbolic signal of SYRIZA's delegitimation from the movements (Int.32).

The use of the brokerage mechanism through the economic support of grassroots struggles is discussed in depth in chapter 7, and its application in connecting grassroots struggles is explored in chapter 6. However, with regards to the collective and social kitchens, the mechanism finds practical application through the action of cooking on its own. Cooking in support of labor struggles was important for the collective kitchen of El Chef. This does not refer only to economic support but also to extrovert actions. In particular, the kitchen was cooking on-the-spot during the 9-months strike of the steel workers in 2012; the media strikes in Eleftherotipia newspaper, Alter and the 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). In the same vein, the cooperative kitchen of Sholio squat provided food to the squatters of the occupied labor center 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 many examples, the cooperative kitchen of Sholio squat was among the main suppliers in 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 has played great role in the center's connection with other movements, having one of its basic actions the daily nutrition of the refugee squats in Exarcheia for almost a year (Int.57). To this, Nosotros was not

alone, since it coordinated its actions with collective and social kitchens like El Chef, Allos Anthropos and others (Int.60). Taking into consideration the different characteristics and political approaches of the three aforementioned kitchens as they are discussed earlier with respect to the organizational structure, the combination of brokerage with coordinated action seems extremely vital to the development of the boundary enlargement process.

5.2.3 Collection and Distribution of Food Packages

Markets without middlemen as well as collective and social kitchens present important internal variations with respect to the factor of resources. This does not seem to be the case with regards to the collection and distribution of food packages. Starting with the issue of fees, each of the organizations under review provide food packages free of charge. This seems unavoidable if we consider that these services target mostly impoverished groups with low purchase power. The same applies for the issue of compensation, with all the members participating in their organization offering their services on a voluntary basis. Nevertheless, as we saw earlier, the voluntary character of these actions is quite a debatable issue for many collectives. Similar to the debate on the voluntary provision of services, many SMOs are in favor of voluntary participation as the proxy for their anti-commercial character, while others oppose the mere voluntarism and employ a cooperative logic by introducing small compensation. Oikopolis is located at the center of this division. Although its members participate voluntarily in the collection and distribution of food packages, the absence of compensation is mainly due to the collective's inability to obtain surplus resources, not because of ideological barriers (Int.38). This view seems quite interesting, as it introduces an additional perspective to the aforementioned debate.

As discussed earlier, this repertoire refers mainly to extrovert actions that take place outside of local supermarkets, where members and beneficiaries collect donations from individual customers. Donations are the main form of funding that operates this service. Donations are also issued within the organizers' premises as well as during fund-raising events (Int.38). Similar to many collective and social kitchens, donations are also issued by shop owners and farmers in solidarity. This is the case for Oikopolis social center, which receives vegetables free of charge from Thessaloniki's central vegetable market (Int.38). Although in many cases in-kind donations are preferred for transparency reasons (Int.38), 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 excursions in supermarkets (Int.33). However, since in-kind donations mainly refer to dry food, monetary donations are also used to purchase more expensive goods or fresh food that cannot be stored (Int.56).

Similar to the case of kitchens, the operation of this service, based mostly on donations, is another important characteristic that demonstrates the coverage of basic needs with a bottom-up approach. At the same time, it emphasizes the large

repercussions of crisis on the welfare provision, while also challenging the role of institutional actors' and NGOs' monopoly in care-giving by presenting a 'hidden welfare' (Rakopoulos, 2015). Nevertheless, this becomes more complicated when it comes to the donors' profile.

Similar to many traditional SMOs and social clinics, the Workers' Club in Nea Smirni and the Autonomo social center reject any collaboration with state, church and non-governmental organizations. Nevertheless, 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 center, which has received donations from the SYRIZA-funded organization S4A. As a member explains, this decision was not easy and created strong internal debates. On the one hand, the pink period of SYRIZA (Oikonomakis, 2018) and the sympathy expressed by deprived parts of the population urged some beneficiaries to be in favor of receiving donations issued by S4A. In their view "*these were their money and they should take them*", since S4A funding comes from SYRIZA's MPs compensation; while on the other hand, the members of Autonomo "*insisted on standing on their own foot 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. It should be noted that this is quite an unusual case, with Autonomo's members "*putting aside our political will in favor of the beneficiaries*" (Int.33).

The main trend in the collection and distribution of food packages in terms of resources refers to the organizers' external actions in order to collect donations, with the latter recognized as the main source of funding, and the subsequent distributions taking place inside the SMO's premises. The refugee crisis opened a new path for this repertoire, enlarging the previous role of resources. 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 packages. 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 with food packages. This was the case with the occupied hotel 'City Plaza' (Int.56). Similar narratives signify the change in the practical application of the food package repertoire from the internal to the external provision of services. It nonetheless emphasizes 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 long summer of migration conceived as a moral shock which mobilized a number of volunteers without previous affiliations with SMOs in support of refugee solidarity initiatives and increased cooperation among activist organizations. It acted as a catalyst for the development of a brokerage mechanism for Oikopolis social center. Although we stated earlier that Oikopolis does not represent an ideological homogenous group, but rather the amalgamation of different groups on a minimum political agreement; its active

participation in Idomeni informal camp expanded the center'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 to the participants (della Porta et al, 2018: 1-24; della Porta, 2008b), Idomeni acted as a unifying event that brought into collaboration diverse groups in response to a crisis situation (Zamponi, 2018; 2017). As we see in the social movement scene of health, this unitary environment was also the case for the different actors participating in the anti-austerity mobilizations prior to SYRIZA's appointment to office.

Returning to the resources factor, collaboration did not stop only in Idomeni. On a reverse logic of food supply issued by Workers' Club to the refugee squats, Oikopolis receives donations in support to the distribution of food packages to domestic and foreign individuals and families in need from foreign collectives and civil society organizations with whom collaborated in Idomeni (Int.38). This narrative reveals another point which connects the two 'crises'. In particular, Rozakou's ethnographic research informs that "donations were so many, that in autumn 2015 collectivities in Lesbos had to ask publicly for a halt until they sorted and distributed the items they had accumulated" (2016: 196). On this ground, one interviewee notes that when there was an over-accumulation of donated material in support to refugees this was subsequently distributed to beneficiaries harmed by the economic crisis (Int. 38).

Earlier we mentioned the relation of S4A with Autonomo social center. The same goes also for Oikopolis, which keeps receiving donations to support its actions on the refugee issue. On the same ground lies the intervention of the local municipal authorities to grant a place for storing the donations collected in support of refugees (Int.38). The deployment of the brokerage mechanism in the factor of resources is not pictured only by the SMOs' connection with other organizations, but is also acknowledged from their relationship with institutional actors. Although this is better exposed in the case of social clinics, the social movement scene of food highlights additional examples.

5.3 Identity

5.3.1 Markets without Middlemen

The last section of this chapter deals with the factor of identity, a rather important ground in order to acquire a comprehensive view on the development of the social

movement scene of food. Similar to the movement scenes of health and labor, the identity factor of the food scene presents rich empirical material able to unpack the trajectories as they evolved from the dynamic interaction of the austerity environment (macro level) with the organizations (meso level) and activists (micro level).

Starting with the markets without middlemen, the factor of identity unravels the relations that were arguably the most instrumental in terms of boosting their development in organizational and political terms. Previously, 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 markets' discourse and framing 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 potatoes' low prices. However, the transformation of the so-called potato movement to the politically oriented movement 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 stigma of potato and to be called the movement without middlemen. Otherwise, if the potato movement had prevailed we would have stack on potatoes and it won't lead 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 change of frame for the markets' development also impacted their anti-fascist approach. Although the movements' anti-fascist element tends to be considered a secondary characteristic, parallel to the dominant 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 markets to promote domestic products in a way to support local farmers ran the risk of markets' cooptation and integration in a nationalistic narrative. Recent examples of cooptation can be found in the square movement, with Syntagma's division to upper and lower assemblies (Hadjimihalis, 2018: 154) characterized also by the presence of national symbols (Kaika and Karaliotas, 2014); as well as the transformation of neighborhood assemblies' framework into 'disobedient citizens' by fascist groups in order to acquire spatial certification for their attacks on migrants in the Athenian city center (Kandyliis, 2013). For 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 activist character of the markets. Once these features stabilized and the mechanism of diffusion started to take place, the markets faced a number of new dilemmas in respect to their identity. Although the disapproval towards the high prices of the big supermarket chains was already made clear, identity dilemmas were similar to the concern expressed by the

member of VKP in the first section of this chapter. In particular, at the conferences, in organizers' assemblies as well as during the markets' operation participants and organizers started to debate whether markets were antagonistic to the traditional farmers' markets or the local groceries (Int.29). The questions and dilemmas shape the procedure of market's identity formation and corresponds to what Rakopoulos (2014: 104) describes as 'political sensitization'. Political sensitization was not only decisive in shaping the markets trajectory in the factor of identity, but it is also connected with their diffusion.

The organization and operation of markets was perceived by many actors as an act of civil disobedience with its own independent characteristics. But at the same time, markets have been recognized by many activists and SMOs as an access point for approaching new constituents and bringing them in contact with the movement community. An interviewee (Int.29) notes that markets attracted very heterogeneous groups from different age groups and social backgrounds who were volunteering for the first time. 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 for most, our everyday life is currently based on voluntarism"* (Int.43).

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

The same interviewee continues by arguing that the engagement with the markets was decisive for changing the personal time-schedule and becoming actively involved in political issues on a daily basis. Although the aforementioned narrative illustrates the life changes of one single person, similar stories have been expressed by many participants during our field research. In other words, markets have been mostly organized by activist groups, but their audience moved far beyond the activist community. In this respect, markets managed to break the border that usually divides activists and general public by creating space and assigning roles regardless of participants' previous political activity. One activist commented that solidarity structures succeeded in overcoming the division between the movements from below and the political intervention in the institutional sphere and *"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, unravels the deployment of the social appropriation sub-mechanism which fosters diffusion.

In our quest to unravel the 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: 87). Markets do not oppose the consumer-producer and the money-based

transactions and therefore cannot be explained by the divides of interest-altruism or market-reciprocity (Rakopoulos, 2015: 89). Therefore, the author uses the term sociality to analyze the formation of social groups, like the markets, in the environment of social economy (*Ibid*), while we extend its use to other forms of the alternative repertoires. 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: 98-101).

In these terms, sociality presents two important stages. The first one is mirrored in the attempts of the SMOs and markets to displace the users' personal blame for their economic difficulties and the rapid decrease of their well-being (Hadjimichalis, 2018: 79-107). The second stage presents what is arguably the most important aspect of the sociality procedure and deals with the straightforward way of getting politicized through the exercise of the alternative repertoires (Rozakou, 2016: 188; Cabot, 2016: 158). In contrast to the old-fashioned type of engagement that required individuals' sophisticated political theorization, the markets as well as other alternative repertoires were rather grounded in everyday problems. As we see in the case of social clinics, politicization did not come through profound political analysis; participation in the organization of markets was considered a political action in itself. Speaking about the participants in a local market without middlemen, one interviewee comments that, "*the ones taking care of the telephone orders are ladies that went out of their apartments, because they understand 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. The research of Rakopoulos 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: 93); while other inquiries on alternative repertoires (Benmecheddal et al, 2017) demonstrate related narratives.

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. In other words, sociality complements solidarity, as this "could be part of the process of politicization and alternative political emancipation" (Hadjimichalis, 2018: 160). The 'no one alone in the crisis' popular slogan targets precisely the logic of individuals' loneliness in experiencing their personal dramas, which during the first years of crisis was combined with feeling of uselessness, depression and 33% increase in suicide rates (Vaiou and Kalandides, 2015: 461). The content of the first assemblies during the square movement reminds the reader that quite often were paralleled with collective sessions of psychotherapy. In this way, solidarity initiatives promote a collective solution to tackle these issues (Hadjimichalis, 2018: 138-177; Vaiou and Kalandides, 2015: 459). At the same time, they also play the role of local communities, which allow individuals to communicate their individual economic difficulties, receive consultation from activists, advocates and experts on potential solutions and increase the sense of belonging. This is also underlined by a member of Galatsi market, who argues that "*it is the sense of community that I found here*" (Int.43). In this sense, sociality is an important feature of

what Melucci (1996: 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 weekly organization of the markets involved a number of tasks and they had clear aims to be completed within a specified time frame. In contrast to the usual political goals aiming at the broader social transformation, 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), whose importance could be grasped only when it is contextualized in the environment of the streets' defeat after decrease of protests in 2012.

Returning on 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. Together with the diffusion of the markets, it also diffused their trademark. This diffusion was accompanied by a widespread appreciation of the markets' operation and the people who are in charge of it. As many interviewees note, wearing a specific jacket that signifies participation in the markets was quite essential for the members to be acknowledged by the local neighborhoods 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 were also members. As an interviewee informs 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' moods; 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 derived from the other areas is that markets legitimized the local assemblies that came out especially after December (2008). (Int.29)

Moreover, 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 medicines for social clinics or food for refugees; plays and other cultural activities were also taking place (Int.29). This type of interaction reminds also 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: 9). The occupied squares “brought people who would not ordinarily engage with each other in urban settings, across age, class and ethnic divides” (Flesher-Fominaya, 2017: 10). By offering their services in central parks and squares on Sunday afternoons, markets attracted passers-by, raised their popularity and eased further their operation (Int.43). In simple words, markets were neither the usual farmers’ bazaars nor strictly political meetings; rather, as other researchers observe (Hadjimichalis, 2018), they obtained a character of feasts, which boosted their joyful atmosphere and their diffusion.

Markets, as an indirect consequence of their political engagement, have raised topical debates in the movement community, such as whether municipal authorities can be conceived as part of the broader struggle (Int.29). Nevertheless, markets were not a homogenized entity. Producers, consumers and organizers were often driven by their own motives (Int.29). This underlines their blurred identity, which is also related to the different forms they received. On the one hand, markets without middlemen 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 of the crisis context. Among these groups, the latter was the case for the ‘Initiative of residents and collectives in Exarcheia’ (Initiative of residents and collectives in Exarcheia, n.d.). With a clear political approach, the initiative proceeded in the establishment of ‘Zikos’ grocery as well as the operation of an open-air market in Exarcheia square (Int.55). 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).

Markets found popularity among consumers for serving their everyday needs, as well as within the social movement community, which incorporated radical social transformation in its repertoire. Markets’ novelty in the Greek context becomes clearer when the reader takes into consideration that “until quite recently, anti-supermarket campaigns and alternative food initiatives were rather marginal if non-existent in Greece” (Skordili, 2013: 133). For this, closer attention to some cooperatives reveal additional elements of markets’ identity. This is the case with the direct distribution of products from Allos Tropos cooperative, which emphasizes that access to quality food should be open for everyone:

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 belong to middle and upper class have access to quality food, while the middle and lower one, 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 the producers. This has been stated by many interviewees (Int.24; Int.33). Other

cooperatives stress that the decrease in prices is also connected to the decrease in the ecological footprint (Int.27), relating the food scene to the scene of labor. At the same time though, we have to bear in mind that despite the political features that cooperatives introduce with regards to the direct distribution of products, they mostly avoid following a clear political line, since their members may have different political backgrounds (Int.27).

The cases we described so far present various features of the markets' identity. Nevertheless, we can distinguish two main trends of thought that deal with their development. The first approach conceives the development of the markets as an alternative, autonomous repertoire, with its own unique characteristics. In this sense, it directs the Greek movement community towards new paths and territories and acknowledges different ways for the expression of the political struggle. On the contrary, the second trend perceives the markets as additional instruments to the usual social movement tools. Under this approach, markets' operation is an instrument that fits in the crisis context and aids the promotion of more traditional struggles. This dualism does not limit itself on the repertoire of markets. Rather, it is a debate that applies to each of the repertoires studied in this dissertation. For this, it touches upon the narrative discussed in chapter 3 regarding the passage from protest to production. In particular, we argued that this has been heavily stigmatized by the fulfillment of the insurrectionary imaginary of the December 2008 riots, which signaled the quest for different methods of struggle. Although this view is expressed in the vast majority of interviewees, there are some who provide alternative explanations. One of these explanations argue that the inclination towards more social forms of struggle lies in an instrumental use of different tools, without implying any additional qualitative transformation in terms of movements' identity (Int.55). A second explanation contradicts the aforementioned division as rigid and suggests a different view under the lens of social and solidarity economy. This view 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 cooperation 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)

To sum up, the first perspective argues for the end of an insurrectionary imaginary and the emphasis to the social perspective of the struggle; the second argues that this division lies only in the instrumental logic of the respective repertoires; while the third perspective distinguishes the movement practices from those which promote the social and solidarity economy. As we argue through-out this dissertation, the process of boundary enlargement carries instrumental characteristics and incorporates aspects of the social and solidarity economy. For this, the aforementioned approaches do not picture strictly unrelated with each other and therefore, the same theoretical framework

can be applied irrespective of the dominant view. But by adopting the approach that argues for a passage to a different model, we should note that it bears some important effects in our overall analysis. In particular, this paper argues that the process of boundary enlargement does not deal only with the application of different models in terms of the movements' repertoires, but it also signals a cognitive enlargement in the respective SMOs. This cognitive enlargement responds to a social opening of the traditional SMOs due to the application of the 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, rightwing, PASOK supporters to KKE 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 to be limited only to our familiars. (Int.43)

5.3.2 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 the implementation of other parts of the alternative repertoires, the kitchen of Mikropolis has contributed to the enlargement of the social center's openness. Similar to its grocery, Mikropolis cooperative kitchen has attracted a non-activist audience, composed of local residents and shopkeepers. As one interviewee states, "*I have an impression that this (social opening) have 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 narrative. The members' attempts to attribute an open character to the squat has also been reinforced by Sholio's kitchen, whose everyday services are not used only by activists but also by workers, residents of the neighborhood and elderly people (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 in other western countries, like Germany, Denmark or the Netherlands the incorporation of monetary transactions within the movement community has taken place long before the economic crisis (Int.34), we have argued in other parts of this paper that this was a taboo issue for the Greek social movement community. As a matter of fact, once monetary transactions started to take place in SMOs in Greece, many activists rejected the change and withdrew from the community. However, this change has also affected a number of individuals who, despite their opposition, decided to remain involved in the SMOs. Referring to the difficult position of these activists, an interviewee from Mikropolis social center 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 excessive in what they have been used to do all these years. But it was an evolution! Of course, it (the logic of informal 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 informal cooperativism) is a suggestion for creating a community of equality. Of course, as much as equal someone can be in capitalism! (Int.34)

Very much alike is the case of VKP neighborhood assembly, which comes also from a libertarian background. Although monetary transactions were not the issue at stake there, the assembly's openness 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 imaginary and utopianism in your mind. And this inevitably...We have done 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 space also for them. (Int.54)

Downplaying of ideological identities was quite important aspect for engaging new activists in the GJM (Flesher-Fominaya, 2007). According to Flesher-Fominaya (2007: 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 VKP assembly follows a similar root, Toumba's anarchist-autonomist character does not seem adjustable. As a member admits, this developed into a barrier for the assembly's desire to obtain a more social and open character, since it failed to attract larger audiences. However, Toumba's members do not perceive this as a problem, with the assembly showing a different trajectory for boundary enlargement to follow. Grounded on the actions of civil disobedience described in chapter 3, Toumba's assembly is preoccupied with the diffusion of resistance technics, such as the re-connection of electricity supply in households. Nevertheless, the assembly's potential for communicating with politically heterogeneous audiences was not strong enough to affect the members' decision against sacrificing their ideological stands. One member argues that beneficiaries "*don't have to participate in the assembly. For us it is fine if they learn to re-connect the electricity and instead of coming here in the assembly, they*

go and do it in their buildings and apartments” (Int.52). In this way, Toumba seems to put less effort into enlarging the participation in its assembly, instead focusing mainly on the different actions it employs.

Regardless of whether the assemblies adjust their views and operation to the various dynamics that accompany the incorporation of the alternative repertoires, many try to underline their political origins. Many SMOs emphasize the importance of beneficiaries being aware about 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 non-governmental organizations (Int.43), the emphasis of the political character of the organizers becomes quite important in tackling Olson’s free rider effect (Staggenborg, 2011: 31-34).

The emphasis on their political identity and the desire to become social reveals interesting criticism of the factor of 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’. Commenting on the inadequacy of the libertarian space to feel the social needs, another interviewee (Int.39) notes:

the ones who have learned to think with an ‘Exarcheian’ scale, they were gradually expelled, felt outside 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 quite wide application, the aforementioned criticism invites us to distinguish between the diverse levels of the ‘social opening’. Quite characteristic here are the different trajectories of the two Steki Metanaston in Athens and Thessaloniki.

Although the kitchen of the Athenian Steki 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 as well as to be able to discuss and be on the same page with the users (Int.60). When the kitchen service ran the risk of becoming fully open, as happened with the long queues of beneficiaries outside the kitchen’s premises, the members tried to discourage the audience and prevent transforming the collective into a soup kitchen (Int.60). On the contrary, the audience of the Thessaloniki Steki dealt mostly with marginalized groups. Despite that, the Thessaloniki Steki also aimed at “*having a political argument and giving your take on it*” (Int.37), its social opening to a broader and more deprived audience has, nonetheless, affected its identity. One interviewee notes that the kitchen and the rest of solidarity structures operating within the Steki premises created a new, internal

contradiction between the popular and lumpen audience of beneficiaries with the more intellectual one of Steki (Int. 32).

At the same time though, this opening uncovers a number of challenges and dilemmas that Steki's members had to deal with. Although the engagement of beneficiaries with the kitchens' management acknowledges the deployment of the social appropriation mechanism, its application could not avoid problems. An issue rose when beneficiaries' former professional experience in cooking enabled some of them to develop authoritarian attitudes. Accordingly, an interviewee informs that, "*once they 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 but also dealt with unfair behaviors due to the kitchen's misinterpretation with institutional structures. In some occasions this turned violent, with beneficiaries reacting against other users in the fear of missing their turn, and thus, their meal. As an interviewee explains (Int.37), these instances sparked serious discussions with the beneficiaries about Steki's role, what it represents and what constitutes acceptable limits. The most challenging incident took place when the kitchen's members discovered that some of the beneficiaries also used to attend 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 does not require only the greater attribution of activists' free time in volunteering since they deal with issues in addition to their main political activities. More importantly, it calls them to cope with issues that so far had not been part of the social movement agenda. To this extent, social opening asks the social movement imaginary to 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 are their limits, 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 different characteristics implemented by solidarity structures. Steki's social opening to marginalized groups did not only affect its members, it signaled a different perspective of welfare provision. Quite important here are the beneficiaries' emotions of disgrace that organizers are called to tackle.

The absence of requirements regarding the documentation of 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 respective institutional structures when beneficiaries are required to document their inability to meet their basic nutrition needs (Int.37). In this respect,

collective kitchens present several common features with social kitchens, whose general audience deals mainly with marginalized groups. Collective and social kitchens do not only contest the usual hierarchical organization in catering businesses (Int.60), they also challenge the typical soup kitchens organized by humanitarian organizations and other institutional actors. A member of a social kitchen argues that “*those who are truly in need they 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 tackle 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 take away “*fear and disgrace*” (Int.35).

However, 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. 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 they have not been perceived as such. The lack of a respective culture is an additional factor that raised barriers for the use of movement services. Commenting on that, an interviewee from Chania social kitchen observes that, “*Greeks do not attend the services 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 fear of disgrace stands as an additional barrier that kitchens should address, while as we discuss further on, it also acted as a preventive factor for beneficiaries during the first years of social clinics.

The kitchens’ role of covering the need for food was their basic characteristic but not the only one. According to our field research, the need for sociality proved 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 that 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 to Allos Anthropos home, which adopts the same perspective (Int.59), Steki’s collective kitchen acquires a supplementary social character apart from filling the need for food. In particular, SMOs and other movement premises move beyond their usual role in facilitating activists’ connection and stand as meeting places that serve basic social needs for the most deprived factions of society.

Nevertheless, by comparing collective with social kitchens, we are confronted by some important differences with regards to the degree of openness. By providing their services to the poor and the rich, social kitchens present an interclass approach with respect to their audiences; which was also the case in the square movement (Diani and Kousis, 2014). Moreover, this social opening is not limited to social kitchens’ audiences, it also characterizes their potential partners and collaborations. Framing its action as “*a call to wake up*” (Int.35) and reduce indifference and discrimination, Allos

Anthropos aims to demonstrate to the national and international elites 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 elite. Therefore, it is no surprise that its practical expression of solidarity “*on 5 basic needs that everyone has in common, such as health, education, labor, justice and food*” (Int.59) enables the kitchen to cooperate and coordinate actions with many SMOs, grassroots initiatives, social clinics and cooperatives; participate in leftwing and libertarian events, festivals and campaigns; but also join forces with NGOs for dealing with the refugee issue (Int.59). Although SMOs are much more closed in terms of collaboration compared to the grassroots initiatives, Oikopolis’ collaboration with different partners during the refugee crisis demonstrates that boundaries are not always strictly defined.

Lastly, the factor of identity informs about social bonding as an endogenous aspect to the operation of collective and social kitchens. Similar to the sense of community with respect to the markets’ operation, field research reveals that kitchens mirror collective experiences which help to strengthen the relations among its members and its beneficiaries and incrementally construct collective identities (Melucci, 1996). This is also true of El Chef kitchen in the Athenian Steki. Separate to its proper weekly operation, the kitchen’s premises are also used once a week by teachers and migrants of Steki’s language classes as a way to enhance further bonding and solidarity (Int.60). Similarly, Chania social kitchen argues that taking meals collectively fosters a sense of community (Int.36). This sense of community is also emphasized by other researchers studying solidarity initiatives like Allos Anthropos (Papataxiarchis, 2016: 208). As one interviewee claims:

food is a means which brings people closer and enables them to start speak and communicate. It is nature. Food is used as a Trojan horse in order to learn people’s needs, to break the racism and fascism against the unknown other, to learn how to respect the different choices that other people might take. (Int.59)

Nevertheless, collective meals are not restricted to beneficiaries and social and collective kitchens; they are also used by other fractions of the movement community in order to bolster the members’ relations. Priza³⁶ cooperative (Int.19) organizes collective meals for its members in order to promote the sense of community in a professional space, while the organization of collective meals enhances the further bonding in Ampariza social space (Int.43).

5.3.3 Collection and Distribution of Food Packages

³⁶ Priza stands for Plug

The last repertoire in the food social movement scene deals with the collection and distribution of food packages. With regards to the factor of identity, this repertoire mirrors the broader dynamics of identity as these unfold in the respective SMOs that implement it.

The dynamics developed in the collection and distribution of food packages by the Workers' Club in Nea Smirni are inextricably linked with the club's overall approach. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the club's core idea aims to connect different parts of people's everyday reality with labor 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 struggle for the broader social transformation. Despite its maximalist orientation, the clubs' approach offers quite important short-term outcomes. According to an interviewee, these lie on the development of strong bonds among its members due to the diffusion of a 'thick' understanding of solidarity. Speaking about the club's audience that use the alternative repertoires, one member comments that:

they enter into a discussion that they should confront the everyday life with a collective and activist way. And this because it starts with 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 of being prosecuted, are people who attend the same dance classes in the club two times per week. In this way, relations and bonds among the participants do not correspond in general, unfamiliar movements' calls for mobilization. Here, we are all together; we are the same persons who participate in discussions, in dance classes and together we participate in shops blockades. This approach has increased what we call 'people of the struggle'. (Int.56)

The aforementioned narrative provides valuable insights into 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 in their mobilizations. However, the provision of the alternative repertoire also has direct effects on the participants with respect to the SMOs' goals. This is illustrated by the provision of solidarity courses in developing anti-fascist dynamics. As the same interviewee continues, "*high school courses are provided to Greek, Albanian and refugee students in joint classrooms. This automatically sets out any racist features that might be cultivated in a school environment*" (Int.56). According to the interviewee's view, this approach contradicts to the traditional SMOs' actions of distributing anti-fascist brochures outside schools. In that way adds "*the students perceive you as an external, while this way they experience anti-fascism in an experiential way with their classmates*" (Int.56).

This inherent way of developing anti-fascist and anti-racists attitudes is not accustomed only to the provision of high school courses. Through the mechanism of

social appropriation, it also finds application in the collection and distribution of food packages. This is the case in Trofosyllektes group of Autonomo social center. As one interviewee comments about 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 speech, and due to the common need to collaborate with those people, without having defeat prejudice as such. (Int.33)

As the same interviewee adds, “*to me this is much more important than producing 500 thousand posters against racism and swearing to fascists, racists and middleclass Greeks*” (Int.33).

Closer attention to the collection and distribution of food packages, 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. In this respect, the dynamics met in the factor of identity have affected the organization of the food packages service by forcing the club to assign one member responsibility for each family that participates in the list of beneficiaries.

Autonomo’s story addresses the same topic from a different angle. Commenting on the thin line between charity and solidarity, an interviewee claimed that “*this becomes more difficult to control in the Trofosyllektes group than to the collective kitchen*” (Int.33). As the interviewee supports, in some cases beneficiaries have confused Trofosyllektes service with municipal and church organizations. Similar to the kitchen service of Steki in Thessaloniki, some beneficiaries developed offensive attitudes towards Trofosyllektes members and accusing the latter for stealing from the donated packages. The unsuccessful efforts of Trofosyllektes members to defend their voluntary character led to the dissociation of those beneficiaries from Trofosyllektes services.

Trofosyllektes’ narrative brings to the forefront the fragile division of solidarity structures with charity organizations with regards to the factor of identity. However, this does not solely concern an individual collective or a specific social movement scene (Theodossopoulos, 2016; Rakopoulos, 2015: 87-88). As it is stressed through-out the paper, 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 society 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 instance of bad attitudes in the collective’s assembly and try to build a common culture on how to address similar cases (Int.33). However, as we saw in the factor of resources with respect to the donation

issued by S4A, 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.

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter sheds light in the development of the boundary enlargement process with regards to the social movement scene of food. Table 5.1 summarizes the basic mechanisms and sub-mechanisms discussed here.

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

Table 5-1 Mechanisms and sub-mechanisms in the social movement scene of Food

The factor of organizational structure in 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

packages. Additionally, these are employed by neighborhood assemblies, grassroots initiatives and traditional SMOs. Despite the variety of actors and actions, our exploration reveals a number of contentious mechanisms that shape the dynamic character of the context. In some cases, the same mechanisms developed in all the three repertoires. First, our analysis draws attention on the factor of organizational structure. Starting with the markets without middlemen, we explore how the use of contact lists and the direct communication between different organizers led to initial development of the markets and their subsequent spread across the country. Quite important here was the appropriation of public spaces and popular hubs by the volunteers in collecting the customers' orders and further boosting the markets' diffusion. The vast increase of markets without middlemen was certified by the majority of the political parties. However, once the markets started to better coordinate themselves, obtaining an anti-austerity perspective against the brokers and presenting a distinct aspect of on-site politicization, the welcoming environment was replaced by repression. The change from certification to de-certification mechanisms due to the activation of the coordinated action mechanism played crucial role for the markets' course of life by following distinct trajectories. Amongst the most popular was their transformation into consumer cooperatives. The markets' passage to 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. Regardless of the preferred way, the organization of the consumer cooperatives set in motion the mechanism of diffusion as was also the case with the markets' initial stage.

Moving on to the second repertoire of the food scene, a number of collective and social kitchens present valuable insights regarding the organization of nutrition from below. Central to the kitchens' diffusion was the mechanisms of certification and legitimation, which mirrored the appreciation the kitchens received by institutional actors, local communities and SMOs. At the same time however, the kitchen's organization recognized the impressive burden of beneficiaries' active participation in the provision of collective meals. This was an essential characteristic in expressing the practical approach on solidarity, empowerment and the overall process of boundary enlargement. Although on a local level this time, coordination was crucial for the kitchens' development. Lastly, collection and distribution of food packages was the third repertoire of the social movement scene of food. Here the initial stage of development through the connection of previously unconnected actors presents a similar narrative to that of the markets. The beneficiaries of food packages have been approached due to existed contact lists as well as through earlier actions deployed by the SMOs. 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 packages was appreciated by institutional actors. Both ways resulted in the diffusion of the repertoire.

Following the analysis of the organizational structure, the factor of resources underlines the dynamic role these acquire in the context of austerity. As it is supported

through-out the section, resources are not just another factor for the development of the social movement scene of food, but it is conceived as the basic form for the expression of solidarity. Despite their internal differences, all three repertoires seem to correspond with this view.

In this sense, the analysis of contentious mechanisms that have been triggered in the markets without middlemen, collective kitchens as well as the collection and distribution of food packages complement each other and result in the process of boundary enlargement. Although protection from police repression is a traditional form of solidarity in the international social movements' milieu, in the context of markets, it was also combined with the introduction of the solidarity percentage. By retaining a percentage from producers' profits to fund a number of formal and informal social welfare structures, the markets managed to connect and receive recognition by 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 in the local level. Of course, the course of markets was not always successful, since they were not able 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 provide the beneficiaries with an active role in cooperatives' operation. This can be composed into the mechanism of social appropriation. Closer attention to formal and informal cooperative forms that adopt the over-coming of middlemen present a rich empirical account. At the same time though, they witness the development of a brokerage mechanism, able to connect and serve the needs of different activist endeavors and approaches.

The same logic takes also place in the case of collective and social kitchens. By referring to a number of social and collective kitchens, we analyze 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, and it helps us to unravel the mechanism of brokerage that administer their connection with the local society and the respective social movement community. At the same time though, as we also see in the collection and distribution of food packages, it exposes how the SMOs' focus on 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 recognize 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 packages. 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 packages is a rather sensitive issue, which challenges the monopoly

of institutional actors and NGOs in care-giving, by default it is relatively close, since it is concentrated on a specific number of people. Nevertheless, our analysis manages to explain the development of the brokerage mechanism, which exposes the connection of organizers with institutional actors, without restricting its application to the social movement society. 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 on the factor of identity aims to provide the reader with a comprehensive understanding of the development of the social movement scene of food. Although this is less complicated in the respective movement scenes of health and labor, here it proved to be a challenging task. The diversity of the actors as well as the variety in terms of the repertoires employed in the scene of food have increased the difficulties in presenting a more coherent narrative regarding their identity. For this, without abandoning the particular characteristics of each of the three repertoires, we focus on identifying common trajectories and exploring the unique features that these experience within the identity terrain.

Starting with the markets without middlemen, the factor of identity manages to demonstrate how their organization is linked with the political development. Our analysis suggests that the markets' coordination played a central 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' high prices in basic goods. Once this reactionary approach was legitimized by the social movement community and certified by the institutional actors, the formation of markets identity began to take shape through their discussions on how they should address other retailers. These debates underline the dynamic role of the identity factor 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 in the meso-level due to achievement of their weekly goals. Added to this was the festive atmosphere of markets, which highlighted the blend of political and social characteristics. In turn, the active socialization of the volunteers, the sense of belonging and community-building and their engagement with collective action as opposed to the widespread sentiments of misery, frustration and loneliness brought with austerity politics fostered the markets diffusion and triggered their legitimation by the social movement community. Although certification by institutional actors was crucial for markets' diffusion with respect to 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. Participation in open-air markets without middlemen translated by a number of consumers as an action for promoting fair social values. Nevertheless, the different trajectories followed

exposed the fact that their identity did not obey to a linear model of development but was based on an amalgam of understandings regarding the roles and potential of solidarity structures.

Moving to the second repertoire of collective and social kitchens, the factor of identity draws its attention to the issue of 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 informal cooperativism within SMOs. As our analysis shows, the moneyless tradition of the social movement community hindered the more experienced activists from digesting this change. Another notable change that took place was the softening of the organizations' claims against institutional forms of political participation. As the field research shows, enlargement in terms of audience enforced some organizations to become less radical in terms of their declarations. However, this was not always the case since other assemblies chose to draw their attention to the diffusion of their repertoires, regardless of the growth of their organizations. This observation affirmed that organizations have implemented different levels in terms of their social opening. 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 more diverse and non-activist audiences. Although the former option was developed in safe waters, the latter reveals the challenges of pre-figurative approaches, since SMOs should cope and confront with issues that usually are not part of their agendas. Collective and social kitchens acquire some complementary characteristics. They are called to tackle the widespread conception of disgrace for people using the solidarity structures and meanwhile appear to respond to the beneficiaries' need for sociality. These two features confirm that the social movement community in Greece does not restrict itself in terms of political mediation and the rise of claims against authorities. It also incarnates the provision of informal welfare in filling materialist and post-materialist needs. The different degrees of social opening, as well as the assemblies' potential partnerships and collaborations, show the various dynamics forming the process of boundary enlargement.

Our last repertoire concerns the collection and distribution of food packages. Here, the dynamics in terms of the identity factor seem rather fragmented, since in some cases the application of the repertoire is subject to the organizers' approach, while in others it seems to enjoy relative autonomy. Nevertheless, our study manages to identify some key dynamics that take place within these different trajectories. 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 packages, whose application depicts a direct anti-discriminatory exercise. Our exploration of the collection and distribution of food packages unfolds similarities with the repertoire of kitchens. In particular, the issue of disgrace seems to also affect the operation of this repertoire: beneficiaries' misinterpretation of SMOs with 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 and SMOs used to enjoy in terms of their identity.

6 The social movement scene of Health

The social movement scene of health consists another example which emerged due to the recent economic crisis and the conditions of austerity. Compared to the plurality of the repertoires analyzed 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 informal solidarity network of drugs distribution as well as their relation with state and municipal authorities.

6.1 Organizational Structure

6.1.1 Affinity Groups Modeling and the Coordination of Autonomy

As stated above, social clinics are voluntary organizations offering free of charge healthcare services and medicines 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 future society. Although it is difficult, in the following text we make an effort marking the different tasks these axes contain in order to reveal the clinic's 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: 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 formal institutional and informal movement actors based on their local boundaries 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: 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 wholes. However, the author argues that affinity group modelling allows some individuals to be identified with a movement without necessarily being loyal to specific organizations (Diani, 2015: 21). We are not sure whether this explanation of affinity group modeling corresponds to social clinics, since their members identify themselves with their individual organizations and the movement as a whole. In this respect, the clinics' model of coordination takes a dynamic format. Among the four broad modes of coordination, Diani and Mische (2015: 312-315) note that 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 limited role in terms of boundary definition, while both resource allocation and boundary definition are rather limited regarding the organizational type. However, the authors claim that these are ideal types, since in reality the one mode of coordination may include characteristics from the others. As we explore further on, most 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 referendum in 2015 shifted the social movement mode of coordination to coalitional and organizational type.

Among the various models of the different networks participated in the GJM (della Porta et al, 2006: 49-57), the affinity model, which was introduced as a form of coordination among the anarchist and anti-authoritarian blocks during the summit protests, has enabled the quick spread of practices. The participation of Greek anarchist and leftwing 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 as Kotronaki describes in her doctoral study (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. Common or similar ideological beliefs are often the broker, which enables the affinity groups modeling to take place (Goodwin and Jasper: 2015: 158). These are often complemented by moral shocks (Jasper and Poulsen, 1995) and participation in eventful protests (della Porta et al, 2018: 1-24; della Porta, 2008b). This was the case with the riots followed the murder of Grigoropoulos by the police in Athens city center in December 2008, which led activists from various ideological backgrounds to squat public buildings and transform them into centers of struggle for coordinating 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 health-care services combined with their autonomy did not prevent them from establishing a network in order to firstly share and distribute medicines, 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.

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 medicines (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.

6.1.2 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 the members and of the beneficiaries, the clinics might also have a coordinating committee which decides its regular operational aspects. A great example here is the clinic MKIE in Helliniko, among the largest in the country, which, in order to better serve its needs, established a coordinating committee. This functions on an annual base, constituted by representatives of the different teams that operate in the clinic. The existence of a coordinating committee might also be a product of the clinics' founding conditions. 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 neighborhood assemblies that emerged with the decentralization process of the square movement, Thermi citizens' initiative established in the Fall of 2011 in order to oppose the 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 the social clinics. Nonetheless, they are not the only important 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 set mostly according to the clinics' operational demands but help also indirectly in achieving 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 the public hospitals. Another example is the clinic's welcoming team, which contacts first the potential patient, explains the political role of the clinic as well as its conditions and criteria, promoting the clinic's political views. As a clinic's representative stressed

the social clinics struggle in 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). (Omniatv, 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 on the boundaries of their operational and political axes. Important example is the clinic in Thessaloniki and the groups of diabetes and 'other medicine'³⁷. 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). Social clinics not only opposed austerity in the health sector but raised criticisms 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 formulation of new groups, both in terms of tasks and of interest. Consequently, this internal grouping enabled the further elaboration of the clinics' members with 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 in common struggles. The clinic provided its services to the workers of Vio.Me, and Vio.Me provided its products to the clinic which subsequently distributed to its beneficiaries. But the real connection 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)

³⁷ The official text refers to 'alternative medicine' and not other medicine. However, alternative medicine usually implies alternative approaches 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.

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 Center in the factory of Vio.Me³⁸ in the fall of 2015, which was specifically aimed in experimenting a holistic approach to medicine.

Although it corresponds to the mechanism of the attribution of similarity, the case described earlier is quite a specialized example since it refers to a situation in which there is an already cultivated network and there are similarities, like the participation in organized collectives against austerity, which have been already attributed. In order to better explain the crucial role of these mechanisms, we should dig deeper into the structure of the clinics and draw our attention towards other aspects of their organization.

6.1.3 Core and Peripheral Networks

The social clinics operate on a voluntary³⁹ basis. Volunteers can be divided into specialized (doctors, pharmacists, dentists and other healthcare practitioners) and non-specialized members (people in solidarity who are occupied either as doctors' assistants or in every other bureaucratic task like the secretary). Social movement scholars argue that although the labor 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 SMOs that constituted these mobilizations? Although this argument can be applied mostly in relation to the organizations that operate within the social movement scenes of food and labor, 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 by 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 on the clinics' periphery, as it is usually the case with advocates and lawyers participating in other SMOs, but on 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.

³⁸ 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.

³⁹ 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 in their documents as and interviews that the 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.

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 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 clinics' beneficiaries free of charge. This stands for general doctors and pathologists (general practitioners) up to dentists and microbiologists. In some cases, like in the clinic in Thermi, 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 consequence was for doctors working in the public sector to admit the clinics' beneficiaries 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, whose founding team did not include healthcare professionals, depicts a clear case in which the attribution of similarity sub-mechanism set in motion an emulation process "as people imitate the performances that early risers have invented" (Tilly and Tarrow, 2015: 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 function 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-years-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 (name of the 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 taking 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 (name of the 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 informal 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 a formal 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 other 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 acted was the sub-mechanism that facilitated the cultivation of a network among the healthcare professionals that constitute the clinics. However, the attribution of similarity was also important for the non-specialized personnel. The economic difficulties that led to the loss of the 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: 158) note that the threat of becoming a potential beneficiary attributed similarity to the clinics' non-specialized personnel perceived as 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 later added that,

the collective decision making, and the respect of 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, where 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 on a common mission despite their individual political orientation was an essential element for cultivating the clinics’ network and thus merging the operational and political axis. 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 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 for this. Beyond that, anything you are doing outside of the clinic, it is your business. (Int.8)

6.2 Resources

The factor of resources reflects 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 on resources underlines their utility to serve the survival needs of the organization's role. 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 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 medicines.

6.2.1 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 citizen's' solidarity and they do not have any economic dependence on formal, 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 clinics' independence in terms of their decision-making procedures as analyzed in the previous section, the same cannot be said regarding their resources.

The vast majority of 45 out of 56 informal healthcare providers (including both the movement-oriented and institutional ones) are placed in spaces which have been granted by another actor, while only 8 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 contributors are distributed among the church, labor centers, individuals in solidarity, hospitals, universities and other institutional actors. Surprisingly, the organizations of the second category fund their rent mostly with the help of municipal authorities and other institutional actors, while only 1 clinic pays its own rent (Adam and Teloni, 2015: 44-47). Unfortunately, Adam and Teloni's (2015) research does not provide further evidence regarding the place of operation of social clinics or the 16 healthcare providers which were not included in the authors' sample⁴⁰. Moreover, the time span of their inquiry (the research was conducted in 2014) excluded clinics that have been established later on, such as the clinic in Piraeus or the Workers' Medical Center 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 enable 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.

⁴⁰ This point refers to 6 cases which the researchers did not manage to contact with the clinics' representatives and 10 cases in which the clinics denied their engagement in the exercise (Adam and Teloni, 2015: 20).

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 in the cases of Rethimno (Int.2), Themi (Int.7), MKIE (SSCP MKIE, 2013), Koridalos (SCK) and Piraeus (Int.9); or through confrontational means, for example the informal threat of squatting the place in 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: 262), resources acted as a form of certification, whereby the external authorities signaled and recognized the claims of the clinics (Alimi et al, 2015: 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: 36), we call this resource certification.

In chapter 3 we outlined the conflicts between movements and trade unions and formal labor 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 which was granted a place through the Institute for Macedonian Studies, an organization which belongs to Thessaloniki’s labor center. This niche has been used by other movement organizations. The migrants school Odysseas⁴¹, an organization with strong tradition and ties to the city’s movement society, reveals the alternative paths that SMOs take. Additionally, the role of S4A, described in chapter 3, appears to be in line with these alternative paths. Despite its party origins, the clinic in Athens funds its rent 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 bills (such as electricity, water, telephone and others). These are covered either by the municipal authorities, like 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 can give their attention 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 medicines.

6.2.2 Medical and Office Equipment

⁴¹ Odysseas stands for Ulysses.

We have previously explained how municipal authorities became engaged in the clinics' resources. Although there are no similar trends in terms of equipment and medicines, both aspects present another set of dilemmas. Donations are the basic income 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. Some others 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. Nevertheless, S4A was a valuable actor in terms of donations. As an interviewee (Int.9) explained, the SCK clinic established its dental clinic once 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 issued 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 medicines 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 transparency⁴². A process of diffusion took place and other clinics adopted this practice. In some cases, diffusion was achieved through imitation⁴³ (Campbell, 2005: 58) as the popularity of this practice increased. In the case of Rethimno, for example, where one of its doctors studied her specialization course in Thessaloniki and spent some months in the respective social clinic (Int.1), the diffusion

⁴² 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 earlier, to reject them.

⁴³ 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 she wants 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 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 medicines, bring them to the clinic, have a tour there and mostly to see the patients. Once this procedure is accomplished, that person changes directly; she becomes our ambassador and transmits 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.

6.2.3 Drugs and Medication

Medicines 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 medicines, formed 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 medicines among the rest of their resources seems to be also acknowledged both by the institutional and the non-institutional actors.

Of utmost priority for the pharmacies’ operation, the need for the acquisition of drugs and medications led social clinics to form links with previously unconnected sections of the Greek social movement community. The third chapter refers to the

outcomes of the December 2008 riots, the growth of grassroots neighborhood 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 medicines into the practical realization of solidarity.

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

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

It is mentioned earlier that instead of simply donating medicines, SMOs became collection points to receive medicines for the clinics. This organic connection which clinics achieved with SMOs in terms of the former's operation, acted as a mechanism which certified the clinics' operation based on their resources. SMOs became informal 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 medicines, while respective ones in Germany, Italy and France used to collect money to then buy medicines and transfer them physically 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). 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*" that gifted the clinic "*another degree of recognition*" (Int.6). This last characteristic is analyzed extensively along the chapters of this paper but draws also 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 sympathizers 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 statements, the clinics participated in anti-racists marches and festivals, sent massive solidarity

missions to Kombanie and elsewhere (SSCP MKIE 2015e), while the transition from the economic crisis to refugee ‘crisis’ turned their attention to the provision of services to refugee camps and hotspots. In this sense, the donation of medicines pictured as the certification 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 medicines in particular, certified the clinics operation and intervened in the development of 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: 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 medicines for the clinic. The flow of medicines started almost the same time we started the provision of healthcare services, with medicines arriving here from individuals and pharmacies” (Int.7) stated the interviewee from Thermi. Other clinics have experienced similar results, with local private pharmacies becoming collection points, where individuals donate medicines (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 medicines, but they expanded it towards the supply side by donating medicines themselves.

It was not rare that clinics provided their services to beneficiaries that have been directed by institutional clinics operating by churches and NGOs. Quite striking were the examples that 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 facilitated public hospitals and medical centers with medicines and pharmaceutical products (SSCP MKIE, 2012c; 2015b).

The bad conditions of public hospitals have affected their ability to provide medicines to their patients. The clinic has great stock of medicines. Once we cover our needs and the respective of the rest of social clinics, we donate the remainders to hospitals. [...] Some hospitals ask us indirectly whether we have some specific drugs. However, most often a patient receives her treatment in a hospital, and due to the latter’s inadequacy to provide her with medicines, 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 medicines to their patients. In

simple words, we act by providing our services, but we also reveal that our actions lie on the fact that these desplicables don't not give money for the patients. That's why this is not mere philanthropy. (Int.8)

The special weight attributed to denouncements as means to justify the relationship between clinics and state institutions received greater appreciation from other clinics. Specifically, the massive police operations between 2012 and 2013 in the city center of Athens led to the imprisonment of numerous undocumented migrants and, among others results, have also worsened the prisoners' medical conditions. Confronted with these conditions, members of the clinics experienced what Jasper and Poulsen (1995) call moral shock. Outraged by the detrimental conditions of deportations centers, 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, handed them to their accompanied 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 in order to buy the rest. If the prisoner had enough money, the policeman bought the medicines and passed them to her. But there were others who didn't have anything, or the medicines were 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 Korinthos local prison, while the clinics in Peristeri and SCK in the detention center of Amigdaleza, Athens. The arrival of Syriza in office in January 2015 was combined 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 prison's location) all the time. I was keeping records and issuing denouncements continuously. We didn't simply supplied medicines, but 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, offered treatment free of charge for two beneficiaries per day in exchange for the medicines received by the respective social clinic (Int.2).

The aforementioned narratives demonstrate how the clinics gain legitimacy by public institutions and other formal actors, due to their resources. These were mostly in times when PASOK and ND were in the government. The arrival of SYRIZA in office reaffirmed and strengthened this recognition. This is quite clear in 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 group preoccupied with the introduction of the unemployed in the health system we mentioned in the third chapter. However,

certification became even stronger with the refugee flows in the summer of 2015 combined with the state's inability to cope with the emerging needs.

The instant provision of health services and medicines to Idomeni, Piraeus port and the Aegean islands brought the clinics once again to the epicenter. However, once the first official camps began to appear, controversies arose within their network. The '5th annual conference of social solidarity clinics and pharmacies' in April 2016, stands indicative for these internal debates (field notes, Thessaloniki, 2016). On the one hand, the clinic of Nea Philadelphieia 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 to tackle the issue.

6.3 Identity

Although the variety of actors involved in the social movement scene of food complicates the analysis with respect to the 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: 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 to understand and expose the process of boundary enlargement lead 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 draw our attention to the mechanisms of social appropriation and translation and their respective sub-mechanisms.

6.3.1 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: 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.

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 hospital I was working earlier. The same organizational system I followed in my office and in the hospital has been applied and adjusted in 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 clinic⁴⁴, the members are free to choose the way, duration and intensity of their elaboration. Moreover, 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 her services a couple of hours per week without affecting her role, rights and responsibilities in the clinic (Int.16), something which is central in the characteristics of social movement scenes (Leach and Haunss, 2009; Haunss and Leach, 2007).

The open character of the 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, practically is separated from the usual forms of political engagement. Non-participation becomes quite remarkable with regards to the two external networks, whose 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 restricts 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. On the same vein, another interviewee informs about the great attendance in assemblies followed the election of SYRIZA in the governmental coalition in January 2015: "*I remember the first assembly after SYRIZA got elected that there wasn't*

⁴⁴ Among the informal healthcare providers 27 have set specific criteria for potential members while 24 have not (Adam and Teloni, 2015: 65).

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 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 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 (Snows, 2013: 268). In respect to social clinics, the provision of services acquires substantial salience and is considered itself a form of political engagement. 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 the people in solidarity, however, the range is quite great. Some of them belong to the political Center and engaged with the clinic quite actively. Probably, the most remarkable difference is that people in solidarity who participate in the secretary 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)

Moreover, 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 instances observed in other clinics, in particular after the summer of 2015 when social clinics had to also deal with refugees and migrants, emphasize the transformative dynamics that collective action has on individuals.

The non-participation in the assemblies bears the risk of a deeper democratic deficit and increase the quest for alternative paths of politicization. Partial commitment lowers the 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, expose to threatening environments, physical and emotional fatigue that participation in collective action carries. However, the partial character of this

commitment does not seem to affect its strength. Snows 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 (Snows, 2013: 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 Center at Vio.Me. 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 Snows called the audience identity field (2013: 274-275) and developed into the clinics' target population. The identity strategy (Taylor, 2013: 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, 2018: 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 them. The great amount of people that contacted the clinic have realized that medicines are social goods and not commodities ready 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)

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 (Snows, 2013: 274-275). Under this dialectic model, the collective identity of clinics is under continuous negotiation (Robnett, 2002: 268) among the clinics' members, the donors and of course its antagonists, which here could be pictured as the government and public institutions. In order to demonstrate this process of negotiation, we now turn to the mechanism of translation.

6.3.2 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” (Dinerstein, 2015: 69-70). In our context, the mechanism of translation aims to explain how different practices are conceived, adopted and adapted by a given actor in the latter’s cognitive and environmental setting. Bricolage occupies an important role in this debate (Campbell, 2005: 53-54), as it demonstrates how the combination of symbolic and technical elements synthesize this mosaic. Campbell (2005) argues that translation and bricolage are important elements in the process of diffusion. 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 their 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 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: 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 leftwing 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: 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 to the 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 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 calling 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 used to be former policemen would be out of the question probably for all the traditional and political SMOs. In the personal conversation with an activist that is also member in Adye clinic, the potential police infiltration was underlined as the risk of introducing open structures (Int.15). However, in the case of Thessaloniki, 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 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 in the news that one volunteer comes also 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 few clinics have also experienced similar incidents, this is not the rule, but rather the exception. Similar cases show that members or beneficiaries expressing discriminatory claims are directly ousted. Nevertheless, it displays how internal processes affect the construction of clinics’ collective identity.

According to Taylor, boundaries, negotiation and consciousness over the criteria “that explain a group’s structural position and common interests” (2013: 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 and put aside the status designated by their respective expertise and decide altogether on an equal base.

The open character of the clinics has resulted in a mixture of different identities. McAdam, Tarrow and Tilly (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 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 suggests that the nature of participation in collective action is a means for politicization (1998: 166-167). As the author continues, 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 activists and beneficiaries' further engagement. On this line, 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 medicines but 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 bowed heads. Here they are treated with respect, they are treated as equal to equal and they understand that their value as humans are much more substantial to their occupational status. This is also reflected in their complaints for losing this warm atmosphere now that the system has opened. (Int. 8)

6.4 Conclusion

This chapter aims to uncover the development of the boundary enlargement process with respect the social movement scene of health. Table 6.1 demonstrates the basic mechanisms and sub-mechanisms which compose this process.

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

Table 6-1 Mechanisms and sub-mechanisms in the social movement scene of Health

In order to understand the mechanisms that constitute the boundary enlargement process in terms of the organizational structure of the social clinics, we tried to emphasize the role of the operational and political axis. 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 actions might also be significant for activating the mechanism of in-group brokerage. This stands for 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 analyze 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 in providing 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 labor movement and trade unions, while attribution of threat has been long analyzed 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 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.

Drawing 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 decreases 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 of the clinics' resources brought aspects of past theories to the forefront, demonstrating some important innovations and revealed 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 medicines.

Medicines' relative low cost, their 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 medicines. Resource certification has activated the out-group brokerage mechanism which connected the clinics with other SMOs. However, the internal debates expressed in the clinics' last conference 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: 5). In our effort to shed light on 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 with 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: 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 social clinics' identity.

7 The social movement scene of Labor

The term ‘social movement scene of labor’ may perhaps be met with skepticism by those familiar with social movement studies. Some fifty years ago the labor movement was not one distinct aspect of social movements; instead, it pervaded various different forms of collective action. Nevertheless, the end of 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 participants started to be replaced by middle class citizens, while labor issues became marginal in the movements’ agenda compared to broader post-material claims and accounts against neoliberal globalization.

The case of Greece did not show any particular differences as we discussed in chapter 3. Nevertheless, the advent of the economic crisis accelerated the process of boundary enlargement, giving way for the development of the social movement scene of labor with quite distinctive characteristics. The cultivation of the principles of self-organization on labor 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 libertarian social centers. However, in terms of its reach, the social movement scene of labor moved beyond the margins of its usual audience, with the formation of self-managed cooperatives by a number of people found either at the periphery or outside of the social movement society. In this respect, the vast increase in unemployment and the normalization of precarious conditions in the labor market, combined with the formulation of a friendly legislative framework, were additional reasons for the tremendous increase in social cooperatives. By paying attention on the factors of organizational structure, resources and identity, this chapter aims to explore the formation of the boundary enlargement process in the social movement scene of labor.

7.1 Organizational Structure

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

7.1.1 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” (Alimi et al, 2015: 87; Tilly and Tarrow 2007: 215). In our case, emulation reflects the way that social movement culture initially intervened within the scene of labor by transferring practices from one setting to the other. Contrary to other cases, where the boundary enlargement process is triggered by changes, with regards to the social movement scene of labor, this process took place because emulation allowed activists to transfer social movement traditions and habits into the labor market.

Inspired by the social movement culture, self-managed cooperatives emphasize their differences with the past of the 1980s cooperative movement 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. 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 Oreó Depo⁴⁵ café-restaurant-grocery 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 compromise and discuss the issue in the next assembly (Int.30). Unanimity is also desirable for the bookstore of Akivernites Polities⁴⁶ 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 Sinadelfon⁴⁷ publishing house (Int.23), Youkali café (Int.48), the Eklektik café-grocery (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 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 SMO, they follow a majoritarian model, where the issue is discussed in two consecutive assemblies and the right for veto exists (Int.28). These differences witness some degree

⁴⁵ Oreó Depo stands for Beautiful Depo and Depo is the name of the district in the eastern part of Thessaloniki

⁴⁶ Akivernites Polities stands for Drifted Cities as well as Ungoverned States

⁴⁷ Ekdosis ton Sinadelfon stands for Colleagues' Publications

of internal variation but all point towards more democratic and participatory procedures. This brings us to the next aspect that deals with the content of the assemblies and the cooperatives' internal operation.

The cooperative of Sociality distinguishes between projects which entail some political elements and others which are purely business. Unless a project is issued 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 within their assemblies. Instead, their assemblies are open to the public, where they focus on discussing political projects as well as 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 the 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 that 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 Depo try to first communicate some issues via email, as in the case of vacation leave, before opening them to deliberation. The same logic goes also 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 to share responsibilities and tasks (Int. 44). However, in some cases the division of responsibilities takes 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 automated yet and are still discussed in the assemblies, the working groups established in Youkali café-restaurant help to considerably ease the cooperative's operation (Int.48). These groups usually consist of 2 to 4 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 pay closer attention to the financial arrangements of the cooperative, and so forth. Similar models followed in other collectives, with Pagkaki⁴⁸ café-restaurant 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 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

⁴⁸ Pagkaki stands for Bench

in the assemblies and committees that Pagkaki participates or even the creation of the music list and the response to emails and requests (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. Surprisingly, some of these tasks used to be paid, since members devoted a considerable amount of time (and thus labor). However, this practice was abandoned since the cooperative could not find an objective way to calculate how much time was required for each task.

Together with the internal sub-groups found in Youkali, in certain cases, namely in Oreo Depo, Pagkaki also uses the internet in a crucial manner. Apart from the mailing list, the 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 minutes and recordings of each assembly. As the interviewees admit, the forum diminishes the potentials 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 provides the members with 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, insists that its members work in the same place 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.

Cooperatives' small size and members' friendly relations are two characteristics that quite often seemed to reduce the typical formality that assemblies use to have. In the case of Lacandona café-grocery for instance, assemblies take place while the café operates and seem to be quite informal. As one out of the 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, while they usually last long and are interrupted often 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 program of the members charged with the most shifts (Int.48). Additionally, previous experience from Sporos and large assemblies of 30 persons urged the members of Pagkaki to strongly emphasize the need to select one coordinator and another person responsible for keeping the minutes during the assemblies. As the members argue, this method not only safeguards the smooth operation of the assembly but also gives 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. At the same time, this variety depicts different approaches and trajectories that urged collectives to adopt different organizational structures. Being the first to be established, Pagkaki is pictured as the role model for many cooperatives. Joe Freeman could not agree more with one of the cooperative's members who stated that "*we are supporters of structures, procedures and organization. Strictness and looseness, exceptions and flexibility are all very malleable*" (Int. 49). But 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 the actual composition of the members, and whether this composition remained the same through all these years. As the interviewee of Pagkaki explained,

depending on the group's constitution and what will result as its common ground in the meantime, the procedure might soften. [...] Some people prefer more organized processes, others 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.

7.1.2 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 sets in risks to the members' economic livelihood. In our context, most of the cooperatives struggle to draw 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 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. The internal dynamics surrounding entry and exit procedures also direct us towards some important mechanisms that enable the process of boundary enlargement to take place within the social movement scene of labor.

Self-managed cooperatives constitute complex hubs that gather characteristics of self-organized SMOs, blended together with responsibilities often met in typical enterprises. Interestingly, entry and exit procedures witness that operations in self-managed cooperatives are closer to the internal procedures of movement organizations

than to enterprises. In these regards, the mechanism of emulation referred to earlier 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 issued a call for focusing on selective incentives as a means to understand why people mobilize and join SMOs. In the language of rational-choice theorists, selective incentives have been translated into material ones (Staggenborg, 2011: 31-34). In our attempt to examine the social movement scene of labor, many cooperatives emphasized their desire to work under equal terms compared to the precarious conditions of the neo-liberal market among the most crucial factors that turned them to self-management. *“Having a job that we like and that we could live with dignity, as much as someone can live with dignity in this world”* depicts Poeta’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 ones that motivate people to collective action. Many scholars put in 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: 31-34). These seem to correspond to the incentives of the Allos Tropos social cooperative in Thessaloniki, whose 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 she can give and takes what she needs. We trust in personal relationships and everyone enters the team should follow this logic”* (Int.24). Similar to Allos Tropos are the criteria used in Youkali cooperative for adding new members, where political experience seems to weigh more when compared to 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 entered 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 issued were on racist and sexist behavior. (Int.48)

To some degree, the aforementioned cases resemble the model followed by self-managed structures operating within social centers 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 centers assemblies and political activities (Int.51).

Either when they met in traditional SMOs or in the market environment, self-managed structures are rather closed groups. More precisely, they occupy specific number of members, who are usually recruited on the basis of existing social and political networks as a means to ensure 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 members of 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 there is too much attention 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, 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 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, she automatically becomes a member with equal rights and obligations as 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 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, in 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 cooperatives' pre-figurative approach, also common for SMOs, have triggered the mechanism of emulation, where 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 intertwines with the mechanism of category formation, which is analyzed extensively in the identity factor. The mechanism of emulation helped the new cooperatives to imitate some of the SMOs' practices. At the same time though, emulation was important in order to understand where these practices could reach a dead end and how this can serve for the further clarification of self-management. 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 done 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 their temporary character and their non-participation in the assemblies.

Similar examples can be found in other cooperatives. Health reasons forced a member from Lacandona to stay away for ten months. Her position was covered by a common friend who was in Greece only for these months, offering a helping hand once or twice a week. Although equally paid, that person neither became a member in 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 in the cooperative, no problem of communication 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 took one bad decision. We told these persons that since they are working just for some months, there is no need to attend also 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 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, it is not only the entry but also the exit procedures that suffer bad effects from emulation. 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 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 because you belong to the founders of the cooperative. In case that someone enters the cooperative that would be for good, enjoy equal rights and if a member does not fit, the cooperative can delete him. (Int. 30)

Despite the different opinions expressed, empirical evidence shows that exit procedures are rarely produced unless they are needed. Internal disagreements, health problems or other personal issues have led members to voluntary withdrawal. Nevertheless, the case of Pagkaki, whose 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 where members' (individual) incentives are transformed into the cooperatives' (collective) procedures⁴⁹. In particular, the fruitful discussions in the aftermath of the fights led the members to re-negotiate the 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, inconsistency in terms of shifts and assemblies and behaviors that may harm the cooperative are some of them (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 a week in order to acquire substantive 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 one year, the candidate evaluates and is evaluated by the assembly. In case there are complaints, the candidate withdraws since she is not yet formally considered a member of Pagkaki (Int. 49; Int.50).

⁴⁹ Serious internal problems emerged in other cooperatives as well. 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, setting 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.

7.1.3 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 experiences and the steps prior to and after its establishment to other cooperatives and collectives, and also shared its knowledge on the reconciliation process following the 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 draw our attention to the coordinated action mechanism that helped the enlargement of boundaries in the social movement scene of labor.

Tilly and Tarrow (2015: 31) define the mechanism of coordinated action as “two or more actors’ engagement in mutual signaling and parallel making of claims on the same object”. 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: 150; Tilly and Tarrow, 2015: 102). Brokerage and diffusion are also important mechanisms in what concerns the social movement scene of labor. However, we argue that it was the emulation mechanism that enabled the adoption of practices and cultures found in traditional SMOs, and their subsequent adjustment in the labor market that coordinated action took place. In this context, the mechanism of coordinated action fits with 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 outcomes of the interaction of different actors (Diani, 2015: 198).

Providing support to movement-oriented cooperatives was among the main aims of this trend, already from the early steps of Sporos collective, Pagkaki’s ancestor, in 2005. Germinal café, the first established self-managed cooperative in Thessaloniki, hosted many discussions on self-management and tried to also 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 Belle Ville Sin Patron café. Subsequently, Belle Ville proved a helpful source for information sharing, since it supported the first steps of Vio.Me workers towards self-management (Int. 25), while it also assisted Poeta café’s establishment (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 research on legal information, internal procedures and potential difficulties in some Athenian self-managed cooperatives prompted the establishment of Oreo Depo cooperative, while Akivernites is considered the twin brother of Ek dosis in Athens due to the strong bonds that characterize their relationship. 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, social and solidarity economy, as well as other events organized by local initiatives and SMOs became meeting points for cooperatives. By bringing them into a public setting, exposing their work and fostering the further connection among them, these small events were important for cooperatives' diffusion. Cooperatives started to form an informal category, where the worldviews for justice and equality were attempted through an equal share of the decision-making processes, decent working conditions and even remuneration among the members. The state's acknowledgment of social cooperativism through some legislature acts in 2011, followed by SYRIZA's endorsement as the viable alternative to the crisis when in opposition, were among the factors that boosted the first steps of category formation mechanism, that we analyze in the factor of identity, and increased cooperation and coordination among the cooperatives.

Cooperativism does not only stand for equal participation in the internal proceedings of a collective but 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) started in 2012, aimed to establish a network of cooperatives that would allow coordination between them to help deal with practical needs like transportation, storage and the exchange of resources. In the view of two interviewees (Int.21; Int. 25), the lack of respective experience, the early stage of the development of cooperatives and political disagreements were amongst the factors that led this attempt to fail. Over the years, similar attempts took place in Thessaloniki, with the latest being in the aftermath of the 'Second Euro-Mediterranean Workers Meeting' (Trespas, 2016; field notes, Thessaloniki, 2016) in Vio.Me factory in October 2016.

Although coordinated action mechanism between the cooperatives in Thessaloniki does not have clear outcomes, the opposite can be said of similar endeavors in the Greek capital. More precisely, the successful example of the Athenian 'Network of Cooperatives' (hence fore NoC) where we can witness how the coordinated action mechanism constitutes a critical component within the organizational structure of the labor social movement scene.

NoC was established in the summer of 2012 as a united attempt by some cooperatives to promote self-management, coordinate their actions and help each other with practical difficulties that might emerge. Apart from the anti-hierarchical relationships, equal remuneration and participation in decision-making procedures, NoC argues against the dependent labor relations of having employees and individual ownership. In particular, membership is attached to employment status and vice versa, meaning that each worker of the cooperatives that participates in NoC should also be a member and members should be also workers. Additionally, 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, 2012⁵⁰). The monthly general assembly is the ultimate decision-making instrument; decisions are based on a synthetic approach of

⁵⁰ See also www.kolektives.org, the official website of NoC.

composition and co-modulation, and 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 labor. Confronted with the departure of Pagkaki's half 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 took 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 labor without being exploited (Int.49; Int.50). This practice also took place in other collectives of NoC when temporary labor workforce was needed and signals how the mechanism of coordinated action fights back against the negative outcomes of emulation and can prove advantageous in enlarging the boundaries of labor social movement scene.

7.2 Resources

One of the main arguments this thesis tries to put forward is the importance of resources for social movement actors in times of austerity. When it comes to the social movement scene of labor, whose basic concern is the expansion of self-organization in the labor 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 (Diani and Mische, 2015: 308) of cooperatives with social movements. In this respect, by looking on the initial capital, the compensation and pricing policies, as well as the audience they address with respect to the demand and supply side, we explore the mechanisms and sub-mechanism helped the expansion of boundaries with regards to the social movement scene of labor.

7.2.1 Initial Capital

The need for employment and the desire to expand the values of self-organization within the labor 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, including also the cooperatives' initial capital.

Starting with the former one, the self-managed cooperatives are characterized by low initial capital⁵¹. Also taking into consideration that are mostly funded by

⁵¹ 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 wellbeing, we were able to draw

unemployed or workers in a precarious employment position, cooperatives are usually labor 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 by the members’ previous activities and stocks. The basic capital we invest was our working hours*” (Int. 24) argued an interviewee from Allos Tropos. On the same line, another one from Oreo Depo claimed that “*apart from the electrical and plumbing installations, we did everything else on our own*” (Int. 30), while similar accounts have been expressed by Ekdosis 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 boosted further the members’ homogenization and bonding. Lacandona members stressed that setting their own terms on the cooperative’s management was strongly linked to the collective construction of the café-grocery. “*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). Based on the logic to secure as many resources as possible, many members of cooperatives kept their previous employment, with the rest of the members showing tolerance and devoting more time to setting up the enterprises.

The low initial level of capital is not only due to the members’ strained economic means, 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, church, parties and other institutional organizations (NoC, 2012). Rather debatable in this context is the European funding coming from NSFRs. Some cooperatives, like Pagkaki, automatically reject funding from NSFR, but appear more susceptible to discuss potential funds that could be absorbed by the national unemployment association or the social insurance agency (Pagkaki, 2015). Cooperatives like Ekdosis occupy a skeptical stance towards NSFRs as well, 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 who do not contest the case to review their initial negative decision (Int.21; Int. 19); and finally, the ones that fully rejected it by arguing that they “*did not want to become nobody’s alibi*” (Int. 24).

An interesting juncture with regards to the initial capital, where the need for employment meets the political element 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 labor was that lack of capital did not prevent people

some general conclusions that are helpful for depicting their operation. In this respect, the usual initial budget of the cooperatives counts approximately between 5,000 to 20,000 euros.

from getting involved in the cooperatives. Being a product of discussions within Libertatia squat, when Germinal cooperative was under formation, its members issued a call for the participation of the rest of squatters, and regardless of whether they could contribute to the initial capital or not (Int.25). The same applied to Belle Ville, where only two out of the 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 on 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 improves 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 to symbolically compensate the effort of the first members.

The path paved by Pagkaki and Belle Ville has been followed by many cooperatives, without avoiding differentiations. Like Belle Ville, the members of Ekdoxis 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 of Akivernites members to be as close to equality and equity as they could, urged them 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 the members ask newcomers to symbolically contribute a small amount of money. In particular, newcomers are supposed to contribute at least 15 euros to acquire one share which will be given back once amortized, although the latter's number 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 were 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 procedure, gave a different leverage regarding the demand of working shifts once the cooperative began its operation. So far, the varying degrees of effort seems to be respected by all the members in the cooperative and no problems have arisen; but as an interviewee stressed, it was quite risky, and it could prove rather problematic (Int. 21).

However, this did not prove easy 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).

The self-managed structures within social centers are subject to many variations, however, no initial capital is required for the newcomers. As active components of the centers' 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 of the respective assemblies in social centers are amongst the pre-requisites for participation (Int.51). As a matter of compensation, in cases like the Mikropolis social center, the members working in the self-managed structures are required to voluntarily work 3 hours per week in the social center's bar, which is the latter's main resource (Int. 34). Usually the self-managed structures have their own separate repository and manage their finances independent of the social center. However, it is quite important that when it comes to initial capital, in most cases it is the social center that provides an informal internal loan to the structure, which is gradually payed back by the formers' surplus.

7.2.2 Compensation, Demand and Supply

The aforementioned examples demonstrate a variety of practices applied, aiming to merge 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, 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, where each worker is paid according to the monthly working hours. But, there are also cases, like 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 Ekdsosis publishing house. Ekdsosis' 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 labor 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 center, namely the grocery, 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 participates. This risks the potential of increasing the competition among the members to join the most profitable structures. Participation in Sholio is a prerequisite for participation in any of the structures. This secures that members share common values and ideological beliefs, something that prevents the rise of competition according to an interviewee (Int. 51). On the contrary, as the same interviewee observed, in this way members are motivated to further develop the respective structures they participate in (Int. 51).

Despite the different approaches applied within the formal self-managed cooperatives operating in the capitalist market and those informal cooperatives within social centers, 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 advocate for economic moralization. Instead of applying a profit-driven logic or acting as transformative instruments which buy cheap and sell to make a profit, self-managed cooperatives act as equalizers between producers and consumers. In particular, they try to secure decent labor 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 with social clinics, resources are not pictured only as means for 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.

We previously 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: 287). In the context of cooperatives, in-group brokerage refers to the ‘supply side’, which connects them to other cooperatives and alternative grassroots endeavors. Diani (2003a: 7) distinguishes between direct and indirect ties, with the former pointing to personal relationships on an individual level or the coordination for the promotion of a common goal on an organizational level. The latter describes cases in which organizations share members, sympathizers or resources. We argue that the development of in-group brokerage in the factor of resources manage to merge direct and indirect ties, which is also depicted on the identity factor as we analyze further on. The mechanism is quite complex and may unfold through different channels depending on the content and services that each cooperative provides. So, in

the cases of Perisilogi⁵² producers' cooperative and Vio.Me, which are built on the model of integrated cooperatives that 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 groceries, cafeterias, bars and restaurants, we draw 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 we know that have good labor relations and quality products"* (Int.26) argued an interviewee from Eklektik café-grocery, while Depo supplies *"the Latin American coffees from Svoura cooperative, LiberoMondo teas from Bios consumer cooperative, the Zapatista coffee from Allos Tropos"* (Int.30). Additionally, 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 to abolish the division between north and south. For this, we chose as well to distribute products from cooperatives and small producers in Greece. (Int.45)

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

Due to the criteria established by cooperatives regarding the labor conditions their suppliers use 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 of cooperatives and the diffusion both of their organizational practices but also of the culture of self-management. Thus, in-group brokerage can be proved as quite helpful for the economic survival of many cooperatives, but at the same time it might have devastating effects for those who do not comply with the criteria set by the cooperatives. Bad labor conditions, dismissals of employees and poor quality of the products caused cooperatives to stop collaboration with specific suppliers many times, while the revelation that producers were Golden Dawn's supporters immediately ceased any transaction. In-group brokerage plays an equally important role for the dissemination of relevant information among the cooperatives, something that can be proved both highly advantageous and disastrous for the suppliers.

Apart from the individual cooperatives, in-group brokerage has been also met on a collective level. Together with the members' exchange, cooperatives in NoC distribute each other's products. Thus, Pagkaki sell the books of Ekdosis, Ekdosis sell Zapatista coffee from Synallois cooperative supermarket, etc. connecting in this way

⁵² Perisilogi stands for self-reflection but also implies the collection of agricultural products

each other's wellbeing. Additionally, Perisilogi producers' cooperative distribute its products through the local market without middlemen and Allos Tropos members participate also in the Koukouli cooperative grocery (Int.22). Despite having our focus mainly on food and catering, 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 and Akivernites developing ties with small and alternative publishing houses.

Supply is only one side of the coin, since, as economic entities, cooperatives also deal also with the side of demand. Although cooperatives are being supported by activists, according to the interviewees they reach a far broader audience from different social and political environments. The same goes also for the cooperative structures within social centers. 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 of Sporos collective, self-managed cooperatives try to achieve fair prices for producers and consumers.

We have a stable 25% profit over the grocery'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 labor on the products' prices but instead to add a specific percentage to the cost of the raw materials because otherwise the final price would be very high (Int.22). Reflecting on this, a member from Youkali café argued that,

we supply our products from small producers, our coffees from Synallois cooperative and teas from Lacandona. When you want to keep prices low, as in our case, you cannot avoid buying also commercial ones. 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 Oreó Depo claimed that "*since we support the concept of solidarity economy, we buy expensive and sell cheap!*" (Int.30). Although by not having bosses, cooperatives secure the non-seizure of their surplus value, these examples witness 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 favor of the others. Despite the variations in this equation, the social and political approach of cooperatives so far seem to dominate over higher economic growth.

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

7.2.3 Investing within

In-group brokerage and the distribution of products demonstrates how resources are used among domestic and foreign cooperatives as a practical way to support each other's struggles. Resources are being used also in other ways in order to enhance the internal connection between various cooperatives and 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 labor-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, during strikes cooperatives are closed with their members participating in the demonstrations, while in some cases, the surplus of the night-shifts on strike days is used to fund labor struggles and grassroots unions. Similar practices were rather widespread in the labor movement and its respective organizations (Katsoridas, 2016; Gall, 2010; Williams, 2007); 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 movement community and its respective political and social collectives. In particular, cooperatives have developed a dual relationship with the movement community in the sense that they serve both as resources but also as source for new ones. "*We were thinking also this space to 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 centers do, Lacandona's space hosts the assemblies of political collectives and initiatives, Ore Depo hosts the assemblies of other cooperatives, while the same also expressed by Poeta, where members of the extra-parliamentary Left, "*like ANTARSYA and LAE, hold their assemblies here and sometimes also 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 through their premises. Like other cooperatives, Belle Ville has established a small bookstore, where "*political and movement-oriented books are sold on the cost price and aim to promote a certain logic*" (Int. 20), while it also distributes brochures, leaflets and books published by SMOs that cannot be found in commercial bookstores. Together with written material, cooperatives distribute t-shirts as well as vouchers issued by SMOs for financial support. 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 Ore Depo, while Lacandona supplied the informal 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 to share some of its audience with social centers and squats, Ekdosis hold many of their book presentations in SMOs. Most importantly, Ekdosis has decided from day one to distribute its books to social centers and squats with 50% discount on the original price (Int.23), while Akivernites have supplied the bookstores run by movement organizations at the cost price (Int.31). This is an important source of resources for movements since they are the ones to set the final price of the books. Thus, one squat may sell Ekdosis book on 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, 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 (Int.28) in open source and implements different pricing policies for SMOs and movement initiatives.

The mutual-aid funds that cooperatives implement are the offspring of the labor movement, while the distribution of movement material or the provision of spaces for assemblage can be usually found in movement organizations. These incidents show that emulation also 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 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 centers. This repertoire has been largely welcomed by the cooperatives, which dedicate the surpluses

of specific days for supporting 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 Belle Ville (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 in 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 it was many times the case for Vio.Me, Poeta, Akivernites 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 unemployed in Autonomous social center (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 a performance in different settings (Alimi et al, 2015: 288), red shift practices do not just multiply the potential sources for movement resources, they actually expand them in to new settings. Put it simply, red shifts do not recycle resources within the movement community but since cooperatives reach much more diverse and wider audiences, the overall financial capital is increased. Similar to the concept of transvestment discussed in the commons literature, cooperatives transfer resources from the capitalistic market to the movement community, which are then re-invested for producing similar and new projects. In these terms, movement resources seem to gradually enlarge their own boundaries.

7.3 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. For 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 labor. Simultaneously, the development of the social movement scene of labor 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 point out the main forces surrounding the cooperative spirit.

7.3.1 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 labor. As many inquiries witness, Greece is a country with a strong tradition of hierarchical and paternalistic management structures (Bourantas and Papadakis, 1996; Kritsantonis, 1998; Psychogios and Wood, 2010; Markovits et al, 2007). In their inquiry into self-managed initiatives, Kiouпкиolis and Karyotis (2015) refer to a dozen of industries dating back to the 1980s, with workers actively involved in their management, and in some cases running their factories alone. 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: 18-22), the absence of supportive movement networks, as well as the workers’ ambition for nationalization, were among the factors that led to their collapse (Kiouпкиolis and Karyotis, 2015; Katsoridas, 2016: 105-126). With the hierarchical tradition of management on the one hand, and the noticeable silence of 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) analyze 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 on labor 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 classical example (2001: 40-44), self-management and cooperativism in our case have been appropriated both conceptually and practically. McAdam et al (2001: 316) 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”. Although our explanation does not deal with mobilization per se, our discussion proves that appropriation takes place in other processes as well. Chapter 3 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 each other’s efforts⁵³ (Int.25). Nevertheless, both were outcomes of political discussions within the assemblies of self-organized collectives. “As a prerequisite for action”, McAdam (2003: 291-292) 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”. Without a tradition to refer to or

⁵³ Lack of information has been met in many organizations that came to follow and consists one of the main reasons for the different trajectories observed in the social movement scene of labor.

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 every-day contexts, such as the environment of the labor market.

Some 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 are 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 previously precarious labor 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 endeavors. As such, some of its members got involved in the establishment of Belle Ville 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 came out mostly due to the practical dilemmas in the ancestor collective of Sporos. In response to the international solidarity movement to the Zapatistas in the late 1990s and the common interest in Latin American struggles led a group of people 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 to economically support the Zapatistas struggle. Quite soon Sporos got engaged in many political initiatives including GMOs, natural cultivation of seeds and de-growth, something that led the collective to distribute the products of movement-oriented Greek cooperatives as well as 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 and was replaced by the Svoura⁵⁴ collective which applied the same model of operation. The lack of passion during the assemblies (Varkaolis, 2012) and the internal disputes were amplified by the members' different perspectives on labor. The great increase in 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 different to participate in a social center and completely another thing in a shop with high turnovers and no one getting paid. An enterprise with great demands 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 them to develop the plan and open Pagkaki in 2010, and others to form the cooperative supermarket of Synallos in 2011.

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 (2001: 44) argued that "instead of pointing to pre-existing mobilizing structures, we call attention to the active appropriation of sites for mobilization". From this perspective, we move towards a dynamic approach on 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 labor by the social movement scene. The mechanism of social appropriation is rather important since, on the one hand, the application of movements' self-organized principles on the labor 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 legitimation mechanism. As Alimi et al (2015: 56) put it, legitimation stands for "the generation of favorable and resonating representations of a SMO". 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 trade (Int. 49). The same also happened with Germinal, with an ex member arguing that,

I am not sure how 'legitimized' it 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)

⁵⁴ Svoura stands for Spinning Top

The continuous publication of informative material regarding the actions and theoretical approaches of these first initiatives was accompanied by the simultaneous organization of festivals and events, such as the ‘Creative Resistance Festival’ (Varkaolis, 2012: 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 came also from a number of social centers that started to introduce self-managed practices within their operation. In their search for a larger space, the members of Buenaventura social center squatted an abandoned school in Thessaloniki city center in 2010 under the name ‘Sholio’. Already from Buenaventura, the members of the collective were arguing for the free dissemination of knowledge through the provision of free courses and alternative forms of teaching. The theoretical quest blended with practical difficulties urged Sholio to introduce as a second aim the promotion of solidarity economy. 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 ones in charge (Int.51). Together with the members working in the collective kitchen, Sholio also provides compensation for the members working in its brewery and grocery store as a way to practically promote 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 be criticized 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 centers as well, therefore 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 to the other. In order to clarify this, we first draw our attention on 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 (2003: 296) “diffusion requires a much lower investment in time and entrepreneurial energy than brokerage”. Moreover, Diani (2003a: 12) argues that “typically, social movement activists and sympathizers are linked through both ‘private’ and ‘public’ ties well before collective action develops”. 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 great 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 7.1). In the case of Germinal, Libertatia squat helped in creating a shared understanding on how assemblies function, whilst the members’ previous work experience in the catering business proved decisive for establishing the café (Germinal, 2012). The same applies also to Pagkaki, whose 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 the table 7.1, which was not always the issue for the self-managed collectives to come.

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

Table 7.1 Political and Social Homogeneity

Ekdosis started as an informal political intervention by four friends in 2009 within the workers union in publications and bookstores by publishing material regarding the Argentinean crisis. Three years later, while being unemployed, more people joined through their personal networks and opened the cooperative bookstore, suggesting self-management as a different approach on labor (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 layoff and unemployment wave” (Int.31). Although the union did not realize its plan, five of its members discovered it in October 2013, when they became unemployed. Although membership in unions was common, neither friendship nor political origins were. The passion for solidarity trade that Lacandona’s members had coincided with bad working conditions in their former employment, forced the members to quit and establish their self-managed café-grocery 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-restaurant-grocery store Oreo Depo in Thessaloniki are exemplary cases. Established in February 2014 and April 2015 respectively, they each 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, 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 as a combination of the political and social characteristics described in table 7.1. As we discussed in the previous section, 6 months up to 3 years mediated prior to the cooperative's establishment, facilitating the better connection of the members. Additionally, sharing of trust and minimum political agreement, combined with the desire to working collectively under equal labor conditions, were factors that boosted the expansion of self-managed cooperatives. At the same time though, the relational approach of contentious politics urges 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 of certification.

Moving to the certification mechanism, the cooperative form became quite popular since it pictured as the most adequate form that could support the collectives' intention for self-management. The shameful past of state intervention⁵⁵ 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 on social economy for the first time in the country. Under the new legislation, social cooperatives enjoyed less taxation compared to the civic ones (something which changed later on with social cooperatives being subject to the same taxation as every other business). Profits were distributed only among the members working in the cooperative (Nasioulas, 2012: 156). 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 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 will know that the people who work will be co-workers, they will be equal partners and they will take their decisions based on their general assemblies. (Int.20)

Among the main actors promoting social economy, the de-legitimation of SYRIZA after the referendum in the summer of 2015 also raised skepticism towards social economy. Nevertheless, the new bill on social economy in 2016 sparked an open debate between state and government officials and the movements. Some collectives started referring only to solidarity and not social economy, others favored the frame of

⁵⁵ It worth to mention here that state's intervention in cooperatives is extremely great that between 1915 and 1970 there have been 946 different legislative actions (meaning two legislative actions per month) and between 1984 and 1994 there some 230 more (Patronis and Papadopoulos, 2002: 25-26).

cooperative economy and started to use the term ‘worker collective’, while others blended social economy with the approach of commons as something distant from the state and market (field notes Thessaloniki, 2016; Athens, 2017). One way or another, legislature attention to social cooperativism as well as actions of public consultation with movement actors witness that certification mechanism and the expansion of self-managed collectives brought to the forefront the forgotten scene of labor as a space for interaction between state and movement actors.

7.3.2 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, but legitimation does not necessarily equate 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 from the proletariat; while others claim that the power of the capitalistic market is able absorb and co-opt every individual effort. Harsher criticism points out that self-managed cooperatives tend to commercialize the movement culture, while milder ones are at best skeptical towards the cooperatives. The latter is true in the case of grassroots unions which, although expressing sympathy towards cooperatives, in the end did not accept them to 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 views, diverse approaches and polymorphous actions.

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: 142). The mechanism of category formation has been identified many times in the process of actor constitution, mostly with regards to ethnic rivalries (*Ibid*: 143-144; 313-317; Alimi et al, 2015: chapter 5), while McAdam et al (2001: 142) have emphasized that “category formation creates identities”. As we mentioned earlier, the characteristics of this category are rather blurred, since it seems to refer to different actors, with different values and differences in their organizational principles and resources⁵⁶. Nevertheless, this liquid category runs through all the factors transversely, but it is mostly depicted in the factor of identity.

With respect to the organizational structure, we mentioned that emulation and coordinated action are intertwined with the category formation mechanism. Nevertheless, as Diani (2003a: 10) observes “it is the definition of a shared identity

⁵⁶ The lack of tradition in social economy brought different actors, such as parties, interest groups, SMOs and squats to claim that they represent the values of these terms. During the fieldwork period, these actors gradually started to create their own boundaries and definitions of what they represent.

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. 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 identification of cooperatives as similar forms that promote equal labor relations. In this respect, the early stage of the 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 labor conditions. To capture how the category of self-managed cooperativism is being formed, we draw our attention to 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 and enterprises to defend self-management as a way to re-assure the maintenance of their jobs under equal labor relations. Aggressive, on the other hand, aimed to describe the cooperatives in which self-management was pictured as the necessary instrument for broader social transformation (Davranche and Hassoun, 2015: 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 on 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 developing 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 this category.

The aggressive type of self-management is among the main reasons behind the establishment of collectives within social centers. 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 Germinal 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 sufficient and operate on the national level. [...] If there is not a 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 spread it can acquire revolutionary characteristics. (Int. 25)

The same goes also for Belle Ville, which tried to develop other self-managed structures, such as a publishing house, but this did not succeed due to internal strife (Int.25). Similarly, Pagkaki clearly states 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 to 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 labor 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 supporter participates in the cooperative’s open assemblies with 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 (Int.23) and Lacandona (Int.45; Int.46) argued that they are not political groups with concrete political direction, but their participation in NoC and their self-managed orientation is their political characteristic. Similarly, Akivernites does not define itself as a political group, but it does consider its action as part of the movement for social change. Nevertheless, one member noted that,

cooperatives are the rearguard; they are the efforts of 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 with Diani’s (2013b: 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 centers or the occupied factory of Vio.Me, which clearly urge their ‘constituents’ to mobilization. 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 labor relations. [...] We didn’t come here to solve our political disagreements but to work”*, to later add that, alike 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 about 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 stuffed by activists who clearly distinguish it (activism and labor). They participate in social centers, 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, making their 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 earlier narrative but also from in-group and out-group brokerage as analyzed in the resources factor. In these terms, networks are not only modes of coordination with intense or loose ties with regards to the allocation of resources but picture a deeper understanding with regards to the definition of identity boundaries (Diani, 2015: 198). At the same time though, some cooperatives seem rather hesitant to situate themselves in these two extremes. They are also skeptical of how to relate and interact (Diani, 2015: 308) 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. Its short living affected Oreo Depo’s first priority, which concerns the maintenance of the members’ everyday relations (Int.30), while Perisilogi argues 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).

Thinking 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, cooperatives’ success seems as the most

important factor in becoming an example to be imitated. Nevertheless, the promotion of a political stance through employment more generally or of self-management more specifically, is not only a matter of collective desire but also an issue of time and fatigue. As many interviewees have stressed, working in cooperatives include many personal compromises and often contributed unpaid labor that otherwise would probably be translated to protest claims against the employers. Additionally, thinking in double gears, meaning as members who want their enterprise to succeed and as political subjects who seek equality inside the competitive market environment, create stress and confusion to the members; while leaving aside the personal disagreements for the sake of the collective is not an easy task, especially for people without similar experiences in participatory collective management (Int.25; Int.44). Challenging these internal dynamics has great impacts both to the collective and individual identity, as was stressed by all the interviewees. 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. Self-management is not the only issue that concerns the assessment of cooperatives' identity. Among others, the anti-fascist element seems to be strongly embedded in the social movement scene of labor. 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 centers to be run only by refugees (field notes, Thessaloniki, 2016). Moreover, most of the interviewees argued that when clients raise discriminatory claims or have been identified as Golden Dawn supporters, they were immediately expelled.

Lastly, with regards to the cooperatives' identity, we cannot leave aside their spatial dimension, where respect to the workers is also translated to 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 neighborhood initiatives (Int.30) and adjust their operation with quiet hours' regulations; characteristics that in some cases bring them to conflict with profit-driven enterprises (Int.45; Int.47). Under 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 gives also a special character to the neighborhood. It is not that easy for someone wearing a Golden Dawn t-shirt to walk around*" (Int.20), while others 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 movements' potential opponents.

7.4 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 labor (table 7.2).

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

Table 7.2 Mechanisms and sub-mechanisms in the social movement scene of Labor

During the effort to produce equal labor relationships for their members, self-managed cooperatives in Greece focused a great deal of attention towards their organizational structure. Internal organization does not only result in the better operation of the respective enterprises but serves as a means to diminish any potential rise of hierarchy and promote equality in the working place. To this extent, the pluralism observed with to regards cooperatives' decision-making systems and internal designs seem 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 labor market. Of course, the reproduction of SMOs' settings to the labor 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 work place. 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 on labor, it became rather problematic as it did not define the entry and exit procedures in cases when internal fights proved unsolvable.

At the same time however, the mechanism of emulation brought to light another mechanism often found in social movement studies, namely coordinated action. This mechanism found its roots in the early steps of self-organized collectives and self-managed cooperatives, the sharing of practical information as well as the exchange of positive and negative experiences brought the cooperatives quite close to each other

and favored 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, coordination between the cooperatives 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 that contributed towards enlarging the organizational boundaries of the social movement scene of labor. What comes next is the factor of resources.

Among the basic actors of the social movement scene of labor, 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 of how the boundaries have been enlarged in the social movement scene of labor 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 and also how the social movement approaches communicate within the market environment. Focusing on the cooperatives' initial capital demonstrated 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 presented in the previous section is also expressed through the factor of resources, facilitating the organic connection among cooperatives. At the same time though, in the context of austerity, where cooperatives' political and social character is sometimes at odds with economic success, this mechanism brings forward important dilemmas for cooperatives. Self-management directs the way something is being produced but what is equally important, both in terms of resources and identity, is to engage dialogue with the society on what is being produced (Katsoridas, 2016: 10). VioMe's solidarity supporter or the organization of consumer cooperatives are on this line, 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 cooperatives' economic success equation.

Our attention to socialization also revealed how resources are used as a means to connect self-managed cooperatives with traditional SMOs and other actors in the social movement community. 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 cooperatives' infrastructure to political and social groups, to the red shifts, out-group brokerage revealed how cooperatives not only manage to financially contribute to traditional SMOs, something

particularly valuable in times of austerity; but how they also expanded the sources of the social movement community.

Equally important within the factors of organizational structure and resources, attention to identity reveals the cultural formation of the social movement scene of labor. To this extent, our analysis was divided in two chronological sections to better capture its conception and evolution. Although not contentious with 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 coincide with the onset of the crisis triggering the mechanism of legitimation, while 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 criticisms 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 informing the political element of cooperatives, as their dynamic identity is also influenced by everyday parameters, such as a lack of time and fatigue. At the same time though, by incorporating 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.

8 Comparing Scenes, Mechanisms and Trajectories

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 5, 6, and 7 provide primary empirical insights regarding the repertoires developed in the food, health, and labor 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 better demonstrate the essence of the framework and understand the different paths leading to the development of the boundary enlargement process, this chapter proceeds with three comparisons. The following sections outline: first, some important similarities and differences among the social movement scenes of food, health, and labor. Second, attention is paid to the basic mechanisms and sub-mechanisms developed in the three scenes by marking significant aspects in relation to the contentious politics literature. Third, we compare the distinct development of the three scenes by focusing on the trajectories' evolution in terms of organizational structure, resources, and identity.

8.1 Comparing the Scenes

Austerity measures have severely affected the sectors of food, health, and labor. Perceived as social movement scenes, the social movement community (Staggenborg, 2013) presents increased activity with the provision of bottom-up services. Our aim is to demonstrate the way in which social movement initiatives become informal welfare providers in covering basic needs. The three aforementioned scenes are closely related; some organizations are involved in multiple scenes, while those which operate 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 draw our attention to the origins of these repertoires, the lack of initial coordination, the issue of expertise, and the different degrees of commitment and recruitment criteria for the members of the alternative repertoires. Then, we underline the common role of resources in facilitating connections between the various service-oriented organizations 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 by each of 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.

8.1.1 Comparing the Organization of the Scenes

The most common feature of all the social movement scenes relates to the origins of their organizations. According to our field research, 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 for the organization of the markets without middlemen were made by a group of volunteers in a small municipality in Northern Greece. Although more traditional social movement actors followed, the initial efforts were made by groups of citizens without any precise ideological position. On the same ground, we can see for instance a number of social kitchens established by grassroots collectives, which were previously engaged in ad-hoc civil disobedient actions reacting for the downgrade of daily life conditions. Nevertheless, the organization of collective meals originates in more traditional SMOs, by incorporating the organization of kitchens into their activities. We refer to the latter as collective kitchens. Similarly, the collection and distribution of food packages 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 true of the first clinic founded in the early 1990s and those that established shortly after 2008. Our last concern deals with the labor social movement scene and the establishment of self-managed cooperatives. The investigation to 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 endeavors, the founders' internal differentiation is important in order to understand how boundary enlargement applies in different settings. This is the case with respect to the diverse social backgrounds of the founders of social kitchens and social clinics. The former was among the most deprived parts of the population and the latter were healthcare professionals with upper social statuses. Similar is the variation in terms of the levels of politicization. Markets have been established by active volunteer groups while the self-managed cooperatives in the labor scene came from the international solidarity experience to the Zapatistas and discussions on self-management among squatters.

Social movement theorists distinguish between formal and informal SMOs (Staggenborg, 2011: 34-35). The former are subject to bureaucratic procedures, specific decision-making processes, division of labor, precise criteria for membership and rules that govern the SMOs' subunits. On the contrary, informal SMOs have a looser approach when it comes to each of the aforementioned features. It is stressed in chapter 2 that this rigid distinction is not useful anymore as 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 labor according to the members' skills and professional expertise. This does not apply to the labor scene.

Cooperatives implement rotation strategies forcing all their members to receive comprehensive training. Division of labor 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 organizations collecting food packages.

The lack of coordination among these endeavors 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 the social clinics. The establishment of the social clinic in Thessaloniki coincided with the foundation of the MKIE social clinic in Athens, without any communication between the two. 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 lacked initially coordination. This continued until the deepening of the economic crisis and the stabilization of the state of austerity, which escalated the development of the alternative repertoires and further enhanced cooperation and coordination among the organizers.

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 argues that networks should not be conceived as preconditions that lead to sustained interactions with the opponents, but rather the outcomes of these interactions (Diani, 2015: 198). 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 firstly the outcomes of collective action, and, to a lesser degree, the prerequisite for its development. Of course, we do not intend to disregard the existence of informal networks assisting the expansion of these repertoires. Networks established out of the civil disobedience actions before and after the square movement facilitated 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 into 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 health care. The same also goes for the labor scene. Though, expertise was not at all relevant in the food scene. Members and beneficiaries in the markets without middlemen were assigned manual labor, which did not require any relevant experience. This is also illustrated in the markets' passage to consumers' cooperatives when the respective organizations seek personnel from the reservoir of their beneficiaries. The same also goes for the other two repertoires of the food social movement scene, namely the

collection and distribution of food packages and the collective and social kitchens. Despite the fact that some of the 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 impacts on the aforementioned features. Research on social movements shows that life-time activism with people enrolled in specific formal and top-down SMOs and developing their lives on the basis of their activism is in steady decline and becomes less common over time (Walgrave, 2013: 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” (Walgrave, 2013: 207). This becomes quite interesting since the culture of the leftwing and libertarian political space in Greece imposes a sense of ‘duty for participation’ and a feeling of guilt on activists who refrain from participation. Devotion and consistency are crucial for boosting participation in political organizations and SMOs, but it varies when it comes to the alternative repertoires of action. Commitment in 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, of the collective kitchens, requires the greater commitment of few individuals responsible for the smooth operation of the collective meals. Moreover, group commitment is also required for the collection and distribution of food packages.

However, we should be cautious for not confusing commitment with engagement. Volunteers in the clinics may pay 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 of less demanding structures that will not exhaust activists in order to incorporate politics in the settings of everyday life and the need to create ‘spaces for rest’ to decrease the fatigue of activists born out of the continuous and demanding engagement in collective action. The mechanism of partial commitment, as described in the case of the clinics, represents one step towards this goal.

The repertoires of each of the three scenes operate 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.

8.1.2 Comparing the Resources of the Scenes

Having sketched out the most important similarities and differences in the organizational structure, we now look to resources. It is underlined throughout the thesis that resources play a vital role in the development of the alternative repertoires. This corresponds to the survival and maintenance of the SMOs and their actions. Moreover, in times of crisis and austerity, resources incarnate the practical expression of solidarity. Markets without middlemen, social clinics, and self-managed cooperatives have commonly treated resources as the means to connect with other organizations of the social movement community in Greece. 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 from their surpluses to other cooperatives, political groups, and initiatives in solidarity with urban struggles. Resources show a welcoming environment for the development of contacts between the service-oriented organizations with 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 endeavors and other 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. Fund-raising through donations also takes place in many collective and social kitchens as well as in organizations collecting and distributing food packages. 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 informal network of solidarity economy.

8.1.3 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 that extend beyond the previously rigid and well-defined political and social understandings. Therefore, it is important to also

underscore the similarities and differences in the three scenes with regards to the factor of 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 occupied a clear anti-fascist character. 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 movements and heterogeneous social groups, such as immigrants from the Middle East and LGBTQI activists, meet each other, interact, and debate. This common space has preserved the anti-fascist identity deeply embodied in the activists' political career throughout the years. Similar to the anti-austerity claims, anti-fascism act 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 or those with poor working conditions for Greek and migrant fieldworkers. Collective and social kitchens served marginalized groups and individuals and cooked in support of the refugee squats. Moreover, food packages were collected and distributed to deprived groups of Greeks and migrants. The provision of primary healthcare services was also inclusive, with the 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 are characterized by progressive understandings based on leftwing and libertarian ideologies. In this respect, anti-fascism played a strong role in shaping their cultural development. However, although this progressive view is shared by each of the three scenes, its application varies between repertoires. This is owing to the fact that it was constructed according to the particularities of each repertoire and influenced by the external political environment to different degrees. For this, 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, the markets and clinics quickly adopted an anti-austerity rhetoric. The gradual development of the two networks on the national level further enabled them to promote their anti-austerity claims. This development also coincides with the unifying environment against austerity and the troika during the first years of the protest cycle. The unifying environment brought politically diverse organizations together and enabled individuals from different political backgrounds to engage with these organizations. However, changes in the external political

environment with the rise of SYRIZA paved the way for the fragmentation of this unity. Social clinics are representative cases, as the restoration of access for the unemployed to the public health system affected their 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 politicized from their inception. The rise of unemployment and the decrease of citizens' ability to serve 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 labor. Cooperatives employ different approaches in terms of aggressive and defensive self-management. Nevertheless, attention to identity reveals the spread of forming cooperatives in different sectors of the social movement community; with squats, social centers, and SMOs incorporating forms of informal cooperativism and solidarity economy. This is quite fascinating if we take into consideration that some twenty years ago the social movement community in Greece emphatically favored 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. 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 centered around the issues of charity, philanthropy, and social solidarity.

Additionally, their role towards the state (health system, institutional soup kitchens) and the market (small groceries, 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 labor scene, despite the fact that cooperatives typically attract a more homogenized population. The debates in the labor 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 labor 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 relative loose relationship with collective action. In this respect, the different starting points of the three social movement scenes concluded in a similar fashion, with common outcomes.

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 inter-connected 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 labor. In what follows, we recapitulate the basic mechanisms and sub-mechanisms that form the process of boundary enlargement as it is argued from our analysis.

8.2 Comparing the Mechanisms

This section discusses the basic mechanisms which compose the process of boundary enlargement in the three social movement scenes. However, the multiple level of analysis (three scenes, five repertoires, three different factors in the analysis of each repertoire) prohibits us from focusing on one mechanism and observing its trajectory on the different scenes. Instead, we recapitulate the development of the basic sets of mechanisms in each scene separately, by highlighting important similarities and differences in the operation of the same mechanisms in the three different contexts.

8.2.1 Mechanisms and Sub-mechanisms in the Social Movement Scene of Food

The social movement scene of food presents variety in terms of the actors involved. It also points to the different repertoires developed, while diversity is observed between the food services employed by the recently established organizations and the more traditional collectivities. The organization of markets without middlemen, collective and social kitchens and the collection and distribution of food packages are the most popular food-provision actions developed here. The markets' organization was an innovative practice that departed from civil disobedience actions and landed in the establishment of consumer cooperatives. Collective and social kitchens present a

slightly different story since their organization was fostered by SMOs, groups within SMOs, and individuals that later developed into stable collectivities. The provision of collective meals has a long-standing tradition within the international experience of social movements. Its late adoption by the social movement community in Greece, with its different voluntary and cooperative formats, further boosted the development of separate trajectories. On the same ground lies the collection and distribution of food packages. Internationally accustomed to organizations of the third sector, the collection and distribution of food packages was appropriated by a variety of SMOs, which adjusted the repertoire in their everyday operation. For this, our analysis treats the development of these repertoires separately.

8.2.1.1 *Markets without middlemen*

McAdam et al (2001: 27) argue that processes “involve recurrent combinations and sequences of mechanisms that operate identically or with great similarity across a variety of situations”. Boundary enlargement experience the recurrence of mechanisms with regards to the markets without middlemen and the factors of organizational structure, resources, and identity. However, an internal variety is observed in mechanisms comprised by different sub-mechanisms with respect to the context in which they operate. Moreover, the same mechanisms shift into sub-mechanisms with reference to the different factors. Attention to the food scene shows that diffusion, coordinated action, certification and legitimation are important mechanisms which activate the process of boundary enlargement in the organization factor; brokerage, certification, and social appropriation operate in the factor of resources; while diffusion and certification acquire a central role in the factor of identity. Therefore, this section pays particular attention to the mechanisms and sub-mechanisms of diffusion, brokerage, appropriation, coordinated action, certification, legitimation, emulation and bricolage.

Diffusion is often discussed in relation to mobilization. More specifically, diffusion is usually affirmed by the spread of collective action from the most to the least mobilized factions of society in different scales and settings (McAdam et al, 2001: 65). Studies on contentious politics often combine diffusion mechanisms with repression and radicalization mechanisms. This the case for instance in McAdam et al (2001: chapter 2) exploration of contentious mechanisms in the French revolution, US civil rights movement and the Italian Autonomia. In these cases, diffusion is described as the “*transfer in the same or similar shape of forms and claims of contention across space or across sectors and ideological divides*” (McAdam, 2001: 68). However, according to the authors “at the most general level, diffusion includes any transfer of information across existing lines of communication” (*Ibid*).

With regards to the markets without middlemen, diffusion is encountered in different stages and factors. First, diffusion signals the spread of markets’ organization in different locales across the country. In this respect, diffusion mechanisms point to the scattered emergence of various self-organized informal market places in the squares and parks of Greek cities and towns. However, detailed research of this phenomenon

allows us to suggest that markets' diffusion did not come out from a simplified narrative on the general economic recession and widespread discontent. Rather, it was the product of the interaction of two sub-mechanisms, namely brokerage and spatial appropriation.

Brokerage is probably the purest example of relational mechanisms. Brokerage mechanisms mark the connection of groups and individuals, and also enhance the connection of new and traditional groups in periods of increased contention (McAdam et al, 2001: 26). Apart from developing stable ties between actors and groups, brokerage mirrors a dynamic mechanism that can evolve over the time. Therefore, it not only creates interaction between previously unconnected individuals and groups, it also enhances ideological bridging. In basic terms, brokerage is "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, 2001:85). In the case of the markets, brokerage is mainly preoccupied with the connection of previously unconnected organizers. Brokerage mirrors the mediation for transferring organizational practices and know-how techniques among new collectivities which favored the establishment of markets without middlemen as well as between traditional and new SMOs in sharing information regarding products and procedures. Together with the organizational structure, brokerage mechanisms also take place in resources. By developing connections between the markets and broader aspects of society, brokerage mechanisms lay the groundwork for activating certification mechanisms.

Drawing on the comparison of the Mau Mau revolt in Kenya in the 1950s and the Yellow revolution in Philippines in the 1980s, (McAdam et al, 2001: chapter 4) brokerage mechanisms are strongly related to diffusion and appropriation mechanisms. Having already spelled out the mechanism of diffusion, appropriation mechanisms are slightly improved in the case of the markets without middlemen. According to McAdam et al (2001: 117) "social appropriation and brokerage involves foregone framings and linkages as much as strategies and lines of action actually adopted". In our case, appropriation involves a spatial dimension. Specifically, it refers to the appropriation of squares and parks, but also to community care centers that served the distribution of order sheets and diffuse information for the markets' operation in broader audiences. This spatial dimension of appropriation adds on the role of the black churches during the American civil rights movement. By emphasizing the instrumental use of space, such as the markets' operation in parks so as to attract passengers on Sunday afternoons, our study extends the scopes of the appropriation mechanism. As it has been emphasized by critical geographers (Harvey, 2013), the mechanisms of appropriation also consider the use of urban space in accommodating alternative communities and creating everyday resistances.

As it is explained earlier, diffusion mechanisms activate the mechanism of coordinated action. Paying attention to a number of cases studied by McAdam et al (2001), coordinated action is often the result of brokerage and diffusion mechanisms. In some cases, coordinated action may produce powerful strikes (McAdam et al, 2001: 150) while in others disastrous genocides (*Ibid*: 339). Fortunately, in respect to the markets without middlemen, coordinated action brought together various local

organizers under the same values of solidarity trade, fair prices for consumers and producers, raised claims in support of the decent working conditions and quality products, and fostered the markets' anti-fascist character.

Without underestimating the movements' agency, the framework of contentious politics pays particular attention to the external environment. Environmental mechanisms are decisive factors with regards to collective action. In these respects, the markets' coordination would probably not be the same if certification mechanisms were not at play. Certification here refers to the markets' legitimation by external institutional actors and political parties. The certification mechanism developed in close relation with the mechanism of coordinated action. When the latter proved to transform the dispersed aggregation of the informal markets into an organized anti-austerity endeavor for overcoming the brokers, certification shifted into decertification with the mainstream political parties, but SYRIZA, proceeded to markets' disapproval and the respective activation of repression.

Certification mechanisms affected the markets' organization, resources and identity. However, these mechanisms do not always refer to the approval of markets' operation by institutional actors. Here, certification may be intertwined with legitimation mechanisms departing from broader social actors, such as consumers, elder people, community care associations, grassroots solidarity structures, and other actors that considered outsiders to the markets' operation. But gaining legitimation by different actors strengthen different sectors of the markets operation. Thus, legitimation by a consumer group may facilitate the markets' increase of economic operation but it would not stop repression. Despite its limits, this context-dependent use of certification and legitimation mechanisms allow us to reveal features that enable the development of markets and their subsequent incorporation into the daily social life, which would otherwise remain hidden. Markets' legitimation by solidarity structures granted due to the latter's funding by the former's operation enabled the activation of the social appropriation mechanism in the factor of resources. This in turn provided the markets with voluntary personnel of beneficiaries, which was crucial for the smooth transition from open-air markets to consumer cooperatives. Similarly, markets' legitimation by consumers assisted the local group of organizers, traditional SMOs, and squats to get further anchored in the local communities with respect to the factor of identity.

Coming back to markets' evolution, the passage from the open-air markets to organized consumer cooperatives takes us back to diffusion mechanisms. Here, diffusion emerged due to the combination of emulation and bricolage sub-mechanisms. Putting emulation and bricolage as the sub-mechanisms of the same mechanism might initially confuse the reader, since the two sub-mechanisms imply different trajectories. In particular, emulation refers to "the deliberate repetition within a given setting of a performance observed in another setting" (Alimi et al, 2015: 87), while bricolage denotes the outcome of combining different symbolic and technical elements (Campbell, 2005: 53-54). However, by taking into consideration first, the distinct context of the markets as these have been formed by the variety of their local settings; second, the different political backgrounds of the organizers' political backgrounds; and third, the multiple levels of experience in collective action, the initial confusion is

reduced. Emulation and bricolage sub-mechanisms mainly mark the repetition of organizing attitudes observed in other settings. Similar to what is observed in the health and labor social movement scenes in chapters 6 and 7 respectively, emulation mechanisms signal the transfer of organizational practices and activists' norms from traditional SMOs to the new collectives. The second stage of the consumer cooperatives witness this journey by applying the markets' grassroots and solidarity character to the stable structures of cooperatives. Respectively, the mechanism of bricolage mirrors the formation of new service-oriented organizations based on information from diverse examples of alternative repertoires. Bricolage marks the organizational plurality of consumer cooperatives, further boosts the local elements, and highlights the social innovation and creativity.

The diffusion mechanism has also affected the factor of identity. Diffusion here refers to the spread of practices towards the formation of a collective identity. Diffusion in the factor of identity is strongly advised by the underlining sub-mechanism of social appropriation. The change of frames from the promotion of the 'Greek products' to the 'products produced in Greece' enabled the markets' anti-fascist character to be appreciated and diffused within the broader social movement community. At the same time, markets attracted wider audiences due to the construction of social belonging. The widespread sense of community and family enact a peculiar form of sociality, which subsequently boosted the members' emancipation.

8.2.1.2 Collective and Social Kitchens

In respect to the markets without middlemen, diffusion, certification and legitimation mechanisms proved essential for the process of boundary enlargement. The same goes for the social and collective kitchens, although social appropriation mechanisms are equally important. In order to demonstrate the centrality of specific mechanisms and sub-mechanisms in the process of boundary enlargement with respect to the kitchens' operation, this section pays close attention to the role of legitimation, certification, emulation, diffusion, social appropriation, brokerage and coordinated action.

The differentiation between social and collective kitchens lies in the origins of their organizers. Born out of the deconstruction of the social fabric caused by austerity policies, social kitchens depart from grassroots initiatives and neighborhood assemblies active in civil disobedience actions in earlier stages of anti-austerity mobilizations. On the contrary, collective kitchens operate by established political actors and traditional SMOs, prompted by political ideals on the practical exposition of solidarity, and theoretical understandings of solidarity and cooperative economy. The stable, on schedule, provision of collective meals during times of austerity as well as the variety of their beneficiaries mark the novelty of collective and social kitchens within the social movement community in Greece and distinguish them from similar actions practiced from movements abroad.

The provision of collective meals to deprived groups of the population based on bottom-up organizational formats granted the social kitchens legitimation in the movement society. This legitimation is in close relation with certification and

decertification mechanisms. Depending on the particularities of their local settings, social kitchens were favored or disapproved by specific parts of the business world and the local associations. This interplay between certification and decertification mechanisms further fueled the kitchens' operation and shaped their identities in distinct ways. This diversity allowed the social kitchens to develop coalitions (Diani, 2015) based on the provision of specific services with various informal and institutional actors. In line with other alternative repertoires, the diffusion of the social kitchens was not the direct result of certification or decertification mechanisms; rather, it was due to the interplay of these mechanisms, which forced specific actors to choose sides and promote or discourage their actions.

The interplay of certification and decertification mechanisms sparked the mechanism of diffusion. In this setting, the contribution of the emulation sub-mechanism was rather valuable. The value of emulation mechanisms through the transfer of organizational practices and norms from one setting to another is central to the application of the new alternative repertoires. Knowledge, techniques, and values gained from previous struggles and diverse local settings are transferred and adjusted in the new realities. The rejection of hierarchies and the construction of their operation on self-organization provide these initiatives with precious flexibility. The new service-oriented organizations adapt to social settings quickly, without limiting the provision of services to strict regulations. Therefore, like in the case of social clinics, emulation sub-mechanisms aided the quick diffusion of social kitchens.

Diffusion mechanisms introduced social and collective kitchens to the everyday reality of social movements in Greece. However, it was due to social appropriation mechanisms that these endeavors stabilized their actions. Scholars of contentious politics argue that social appropriation mechanisms turn non-political groups into political actors (Tilly and Tarrow, 2015: 36). In other words, social appropriation describes a procedure of active political engagement. 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 the kitchens, social appropriation mechanisms mirror the engagement of beneficiaries in the provision of food services. Instead of top-down technics and strategies of charismatic leaders for engaging individuals in collective action (Melucci, 1996: 332-347), alternative repertoires draw their emphasis on the values of self-organization, requiring beneficiaries to assist in their operation. Of course, the numerous social and collective kitchens achieve different degrees of beneficiaries' engagement. Nevertheless, this active engagement, which contradicts with the passive role of beneficiaries in the institutional soup kitchens organized by the state, NGOs and the church, serves the better organization of the kitchens, and lays the ground for a practice-based politicization of individuals as explored in the factor of identity.

Earlier we saw that brokerage served the transition of know-how techniques and the establishment of new connections between actors and places with respect to the markets without middlemen. With regards to the social and collective kitchens, the provision of on-site collective meals during social and political struggles acted as a

broker connecting them with the broader social movement community. Urged by different motives, social and collective kitchens provided their services during strikes, demonstrations, and occupations, creating solidarity bonds based on the basic human need for food. McAdam et al (2001: 85) claim that brokerage mechanisms develop connections “among previously less connected or unconnected social sites [...] facilitating coordinated action among those sites”. Empirical research on social and collective kitchens confirms the aforementioned suggestion.

Although to a lesser extent, compared to markets without middlemen, coordinated action mechanisms were also important in facilitating the overall operation of the kitchens. The linkages established among the organizers of the different kitchens enabled the adjustment of food services based on a timetable preventing a potential overlap. This coordination led to common actions and exchange of resources. In the more advanced examples, it set the basis for the construction of an informal nutrition system. Nevertheless, the complete activation of coordinated action mechanisms came to fulfillment with the so-called refugee crisis in the summer of 2015. The provision of meals and other forms of resources from social and collective kitchens to the refugee squats helped the latter to operate, adding another element connecting the two crises.

8.2.1.3 Collection and distribution of food packages

The last repertoire in the social movement scene of food deals with the collection and distribution of food packages. Similar to the provision of collective meals for marginalized groups of people, this practice has been traditionally employed by NGOs and church organizations. In this respect, the incorporation of the collection and distribution of food packages in the alternative social movement repertoires presents an additional example of how repertoires traditionally employed in the institutional sphere are appropriated and adjusted in the grassroots environment of social movements. With regards to the overall process of boundary enlargement, the collection and distribution of food packages present great similarities with the mechanisms analyzed in the previous two cases. This section focuses on the most central mechanisms and sub-mechanisms responsible for the process of boundary enlargement; namely brokerage, certification, diffusion, emulation, legitimation and social appropriation.

So far, the mechanism of brokerage shows how the organizers of markets and kitchens develop contacts with other sectors of the social movement community and receive information that helps the establishment of similar repertoires across the country. The latter also stands for the collection and distribution of food packages. By using contacts from earlier activities, traditional SMOs reach impoverished households and provide them with food packages necessary for their survival. The deployment of the brokerage mechanism is not limited to the organization of this repertoire, it is also expanded in the factor of resources. In particular, the development of relations during the rough times of refugee solidarity actions enabled the organizers to interact and establish connections with domestic and foreign grassroots organizations and formal associations. These connections transformed into monetary and in-kind donations,

which in turn contributed the funding of the collection and distribution of food packages.

The collection and distribution of food packages is internal in the proceedings of the SMOs as it is compared with the open character of markets without middlemen and the organization of collective and social kitchens. Nevertheless, certification mechanisms, as expressed by leftwing parties, also took place here and enhanced its diffusion. The diffusion of the collection and distribution of food packages was also assisted by the sub-mechanism of emulation, since the certification of the repertoire by leftwing political parties pictured as an indirect call to the respective constituencies in developing similar initiatives in their local contexts. In cases where resources were available, and individuals were willing to undertake collective action, certification led to an imitation process that fostered the diffusion of the repertoire. However, certification here appears to be a complementary, rather than decisive factor for the diffusion of this practice. Research shows that grassroots coalitions played an equally important role in legitimizing the collection and distribution of food packages as an activist repertoire among the various social movement tools.

All the aforementioned mechanisms reinforced the development of the boundary enlargement process. However, the mechanism of social appropriation seems to have the largest share of responsibility. As both a mechanism and a sub-mechanism, social appropriation has been triggered in all the three repertoires. This was mostly due to the individuals' engagement in the provision of services without having any previous experience in collective action. Together with new members, many former beneficiaries also engaged in volunteering and systematically assisting the operation of these repertoires. In other words, previously non-politicized actors turned to actively participating in the SMOs and the exercise of the alternative repertoires. For this, the deployment of social appropriation mechanisms regarding the beneficiaries' participation in the collection and distribution of food packages gained particular attention.

Participation in the collection of donations was mandatory only on specific occasions. However, in one way or another, beneficiaries participated in the provision of the services they receive in each of the organizations under study. This was rather important since it consolidated the most deprived parts of the population and organized them through collective action. However, we should note here that this does not necessarily equate to the creation of any collective identity. As we have repeatedly claimed, the formation of collective identities is a very slow process that requires ongoing engagement. Nevertheless, by adopting Melucci's (1996) perspective on the dynamic and processual understanding of identity formation as well as the author's view on the non-ephemeral role of the organizational formats born during periods of crisis, social appropriation mechanisms acquire a distinct role in pre-figurative politics, as indicated by the process of boundary enlargement.

8.2.2 Mechanisms and Sub-mechanisms in the Social Movement Scene of Health

Social clinics constitute the basic actors in the social movement scene of health. The founders' diverse backgrounds, the autonomy of their operation, their contrasting ideological and political directions, the peculiar conditions imposed by their particular local settings and, of course, the number of volunteers and beneficiaries that the clinics serve are some of the factors responsible for the internal variation within the category of social clinics. Without disregarding the individual differences of each case, the vast majority of the clinics acknowledge themselves as part of a common network involved in the provision of informal healthcare services. Therefore, our analysis treats the social clinics as one actor. Boundary enlargement is a process composed of different sets of mechanisms. In the social movement scene of health, the process of boundary enlargement is the product of five mechanisms; four relational and one cognitive. The term 'relational' is used to refer to mechanisms which "alter the connections among people, groups and interpersonal networks", while cognitive mechanisms are those which "operate through alterations of individual and collective perception" (McAdam et al, 2001: 26). However, these mechanisms do not operate alone; they are also fostered by the presence of specific sub-mechanisms. Although other mechanisms and sub-mechanisms may also occur, our research emphasizes the mechanisms most central to the process of boundary enlargement. Hence, this section discusses in relation to the literature of contentious politics the mechanisms and sub-mechanisms of in-group brokerage, network cultivation, attribution of similarity, out-group brokerage, resource certification, diffusion, emulation, social appropriation, partial commitment, translation and bricolage.

The first relational mechanism deals with the factor of organizational structure and refers to the in-group brokerage, meaning 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: 287). The mechanism of brokerage as defined by Tilly and Tarrow refers to "the production of a new connection between previously unconnected sites" (2015: 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 boundary, 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. With regards to the clinics' organizational structure, the mechanism of in-group brokerage facilitates the birth and development of the clinics, and, to a lesser extent, the connections among the clinics.

The mechanism of in-group brokerage appears to be the product of the combination of network cultivation and the attribution of similarity sub-mechanisms. The importance of networks, both as a means of diffusion and as organizational structures, is widely accepted within the social movement literature. This is also depicted in della Porta and Diani's (2006) account, where the networks constitute an important aspect in the definition of social movements. However, the salience of networks has allowed them to be taken for granted, without understanding how they developed. By looking at the neighborhood social ties that affected the construction of

the Paris Commune and those of interlocking cooperative directors in Silicon Valley, Campbell (2005: 62) argues that network cultivation is a relational mechanism which shows the way in which networks are constructed. In the case of social clinics, our analysis demonstrates how the doctors' professional relationships helped to activate the mechanism of in-group brokerage. However, this would not have been achieved without the activation of the second sub-mechanism of attribution of similarity. This sub-mechanism is defined as "the mutual identification of actors in different sites as being sufficiently similar to justify common action: (McAdam et al, 2001: 334). Many inquiries emphasize the attribution of similarity as the activator of diffusion, brokerage and scale shift mechanisms (McAdam et al, 2001: 335; Tilly and Tarrow, 2015: 126). With regards to the social movement scene of health, attribution of similarity among healthcare professionals motivated a number of doctors to engage with and was an important mechanism for facilitating the connection of individuals with the social clinics, while also affecting the way their networks are formed.

The second relational mechanism composing the process of boundary enlargement occurs in the factor of resources and is also based in brokerage. However, this time refers to the connection with actors outside the given category of social clinics. The mechanism of out-group brokerage stands for "the production of a new connection between previously unconnected or weakly connected sites" (Alimi et al, 2015: 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 (McCarthy and Zald, 1977: 1219). In the case of social clinics, this mechanism is identified in the factor of resources and aims to explain how the social clinics have been welcomed by traditional SMOs, and the way that they have been developed within the anti-austerity mobilizations.

Out-group brokerage indicates the way that social clinics have developed connections with other actors of the anti-austerity mobilizations. Among the elements which enabled the activation of out-group brokerage, the factor of resources acquires substantial weight. Resources have been studied extensively in the social movement literature. Nonetheless, they have been mostly related to formal SMOs (McCarthy and Zald, 1977) and have been conceptualized as a means with which to sustain an organization and attain its goals. What we argue here is that during the harsh period of austerity, resources acquired a substantial role not only for sustaining organizations, but also for the approval of specific repertoires of action and the development of connections among SMOs. To further highlight this dynamic situation, we introduce the sub-mechanism of resource certification. Resource certification stands for the endorsement of specific activities as described by the mechanism of certification (Alimi et al, 2015: 287), applied to the aspect of resources. Granting premises, equipment and infrastructure as well as donating and collecting medicines to help the operation of the social clinics, a number of SMOs, grassroots groups, neighborhood collectives and institutional actors set in motion the sub-mechanism of resource certification, an important element of the out-group brokerage mechanism.

Although out-group brokerage plays the most important role regarding the clinics' resources, other mechanisms, such as the mechanism of diffusion, contributed

as well. Soon after the out-group brokerage was activated, the diffusion of information regarding techniques for resource collection took place. The doctors' professional relationships enabled the fast development of communication channels among the clinics. Subsequently, these channels facilitated the spread of knowledge of organizational practices, the exchange of medicines, as well as information on paperwork for bureaucratic procedures. This supported the establishment of formal affiliated associations able to accept monetary donations. In most cases, diffusion mechanisms were accompanied by direct imitation of the aforementioned techniques, signaling the activation of the emulation sub-mechanism. However, in other cases, diffusion was achieved precisely through the in-group brokerage sub-mechanism. The doctors' obligatory training period in different cities brought them in contact with the social clinics in other local settings. Through an informal feedback procedure, the aforementioned practices traveled back and forth, adjusted and transformed based on the local particularities. In this respect, the examples of the clinics' resources present similar trajectories regarding the diffusion, brokerage, and emulation mechanisms we saw in the social movement scene of food.

The last set of mechanisms and sub-mechanisms develop in the factor of identity and relate to social appropriation and translation. Social appropriation indicates the "conversion or incorporation of previously existing non-political groups and networks into political actors" (Alimi et al, 2015: 287). With reference to the role of black churches during the civil rights movement in USA, Tilly and Tarrow argue that social appropriation mechanisms can be found in the organizational and institutional basis of the movement campaigns (2015: 36). 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 non-adherents into adherents as described by resource mobilization theory by McCarthy and Zald (1977: 1221). However, since social appropriation is related to a change in individuals' identity from one state of being to another, we conceive the activation of this mechanism in relation to the clinics' identity.

The social appropriation mechanism consists of the partial commitment and resource certification sub-mechanisms. Similar to the out-group brokerage mechanism, resource certification brings individuals closer to the daily operations of the clinics and stands as a proxy for transforming donors into clinics' members. However, for social appropriation to take place, the sub-mechanism of partial commitment must acquire a substantial role. 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: 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 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. In the case

of social clinics, the members' partial commitment boosts their participation and their subsequent politicization as proposed by the mechanism of social appropriation.

Translation is the last mechanism responsible for the boundary enlargement process in the health scene. By translation, 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: 55). Translation is a cognitive mechanism identified in the factor of identity. According to Campbell (2005: 56), translation is a vital characteristic of the diffusion mechanism, since it denotes how frames, approaches, and practices are diffused and adapted in new contexts. In this case, translation clarifies how approaches such as self-organization and autonomy have been translated and incorporated in the context of social clinics. Here, the role of the bricolage sub-mechanism was essential.

Bricolage is an important constitutive element for translation. By discussing how translation takes place, 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" (Campbell, 2005: 55). Campbell concludes that both symbolic and technical elements constitute bricolage as "a new way of configuring organizations, social movements, institutions, and other forms of social activity" (*Ibid*). Although ascribed in the factor of identity, the sub-mechanism of bricolage seems to run through the other two factors. Notions and practices that shape both the organizational structure of social clinics and their resources affect and are affected in a way that create an amalgam of different (and often conflictual) elements that constitute the clinics' identity.

8.2.3 Mechanisms and Sub-mechanisms in the Social Movement Scene of Labor

The third and last empirical chapter deals with the labor scene and the rise of self-managed cooperatives in crisis-ridden Greece. Compared to its European counterparts, the increase of social cooperatives in Greece began quite late, with most of them emerging from 2011 onwards. The first laws on social economy appeared in the same time period, carving out bureaucratic channels to set up businesses on the basis of workers' general assemblies. Gradually, social cooperatives and self-managed workers' collectivities became popular among activists, while informal forms of cooperation were also introduced within traditional SMOs and squats. Moreover, in the terrain of mainstream politics, SYRIZA's participation in the governmental coalition in 2015 raised claims for the establishment of social cooperatives as an antidote to the economic recession.

However, the rise of cooperatives is not as linear as it may appear. Our analysis suggests that roots for this development may be found in the turn of the new millennia, while the introduction of stable monetary transactions within the social movement sphere have taken various shapes and raised numerous intense debates within SMOs. Similar to the social movement scenes of food and health, the turn to cooperatives and

self-management of the workplace indicates an additional paradigm of the boundary enlargement process. By stretching the defined limits of the social movement community in practical and conceptual terms, the labor scene introduces new, alternative forms of action, where many cases witness the activation of similar sets of mechanisms. Being the most central mechanisms and sub-mechanisms in shaping the factors of organizational structure, resources and identity in a number of cooperatives, this section focuses on emulation, coordinated action, in group and out-group brokerage, social appropriation, legitimation, diffusion, certification, and category formation,

Although emulation framed as sub-mechanism in the social movement scenes of food and health, it has a rather central role in the social movement scene of labor. Here, the mechanism of emulation was nodal for bridging the social movements with the world of businesses. From the 2000s onwards, the labor scene has received little attention in the social movement agenda in Greece. Claims related to labor were mostly represented by mainstream trade unions and traditional leftwing organizations affiliated with the communist party. Emulation mechanisms managed to fill this gap by incorporating the SMOs' horizontal organizational models and norms into the market environment. This mechanism was quite important if we take into consideration the hierarchical environment of the business world in Greece and the lack of social movement experience in self-managed practices. In this respect, emulation mechanisms helped the adjustment of SMOs' decision-making systems in the cooperatives' organizational principles as well as introduced similar entry and exit procedures for their respective members. Together with the organizational structure, emulation was important in the factor of resources.

Literature on collective action points to the participatory and horizontal models observed in activists' organizations and the new social movements (della Porta and Diani, 2006). Moreover, it underlines the importance of network models for developing ties among these organizations, preserving the horizontality of their models and collectively promoting their action. The self-managed cooperatives in Greece move in a similar vein. Although the emulation mechanism is important for promoting egalitarian organizational structures in the labor scene, the mechanism of coordinated action further boosted the development of solidarity relationships among the cooperatives. The coordinated action mechanism is defined by the contentious politics framework as "two or more actors' engagement in mutual signaling and parallel making of claims on the same object" (Tilly and Tarrow, 2015: 31). In our case it mirrors the development of networks among the self-managed cooperatives. Collaboration among actors for achieving common goals lies in the principle of cooperativism. As such, the networking capacity of cooperatives enabled the concrete diffusion of know-how technics, assisted members with limited knowledge on business administration, and most importantly, set the basis for overcoming the most serious problem observed in cooperatives, namely the need for personnel.

For social movement scholars, resources mark the potential for developing dispersed struggles and social contention into an organized social movement. Personnel, infrastructure, and money are often cited as crucial factors that enable or

prevent this process from taking place. With regards to the self-managed cooperatives, resources acquire an additional reason for their economic sustainability. Focusing on the issue of resources in times of austerity, however, shows that resources become the glue for connecting cooperatives with each other and with other SMOs. The mechanisms of in-group and out-group brokerage deal with the former and the latter cases respectively.

In-group brokerage facilitates the initial stages for the development of social clinics through the doctors' professional networks. With regards to the self-managed cooperatives, in-group brokerage has been deployed through the circulation of cooperatives' products. Either referring to the production and retail of domestic products or the importation of products from cooperatives abroad, the mechanism of in-group brokerage enhanced the development of these informal networks of solidarity trade and simultaneously strengthened the economic wellbeing of cooperatives. In the case of social clinics, the mechanism of out-group brokerage enabled the development of links with grassroots organizational and SMOs. The same also goes for the self-managed cooperatives. Coupled by the emulation sub-mechanism, which point to imitation of SMOs' practices by the self-managed cooperatives, out-group brokerage further enhanced the connections between cooperatives and other movement organizations. The distribution of movement material, the implementation of red shifts and the allocation of resources to movement organizations as well as the provision of the cooperatives' premises for the organization of movement activities constitute some of the most important examples for the activation of the out-group brokerage mechanism.

Activism in terms of the food and health scenes was quite rare prior to the economic crisis, with the most popular activities limited to claim-making campaigns by professional associations and unions targeting institutional actors. In this sense, the rise of the alternative repertoires in both scenes entails an underlying mechanism of social appropriation. Nevertheless, social appropriation was much more intense in the social movement scene of labor, allowing us to recognize it as a proper mechanism in the construction of the boundary enlargement process. Research shows signs of the activation of the social appropriation mechanism before the advent of the economic crisis. Back then, a series of debates sparked within collectives contrasting the voluntary character of activism with self-managed approaches centered on the members' stipend. For this to be fully developed, a legitimation mechanism was required.

McAdam et al (2001) limit certification to the external authorities. Contrary to the relational approach of certification, Alimi et al (2015) suggest the mechanism of legitimation which is treated in cognitive terms. In particular, legitimation stands for an "increase of positive and popularly resonating representations of actors and their actions" (Alimi et al, 2015: 288). Although certification and legitimation mechanisms mark the appreciation of specific actions by external actors, certification refers to institutional authorities while legitimation implies an internal procedure granted by the exercise of specific actions. As such, the gradual appreciation of the first self-managed cooperatives as well as the incorporation of self-managed practices by many traditional

SMOs functioned as an internal (to the social movement community) acknowledgment of cooperativism as a repertoire sympathetic to the activist values. In contrast to the strict labor conditions and the extraction of the surplus value by the employers in the capitalist market, cooperatives advocate for equal and fair labor relations, while decisions are taken by all the respective members. In these terms, the internal organization of the self-managed cooperatives is closer to SMOs than to traditional enterprises which operate in the market; something that grants the legitimation of the former by wide parts of the social movement community. The steady growth of self-managed cooperatives, intertwined with the research for alternative business models that may decrease unemployment, triggered the subsequent certification of cooperativism by institutional actors as well as the vast diffusion of social cooperatives.

The aforementioned narrative presents an amalgam of cognitive and relational mechanisms which shaped the social movement scene of labor. The effects of the crisis and the tremendous difficulties in finding employment have nevertheless compared cooperatives with life vests in the storm of austerity. As such, many debates concentrate on the aggressive perspective of self-management, figuring the potential for a more libertarian society; and the defensive self-management, which limits the role of cooperativism only on the workplace. Although empirical research shows that these diverse accounts are widespread in Greece's social movement community, it also suggests the deployment of a category formation mechanism that gradually constructs the cooperative identity.

8.3 Comparing the Trajectories

In the previous section we outlined the mechanisms and sub-mechanisms responsible for the formation of the process of boundary enlargement. This discussion focused on the operation of specific mechanisms with regards the scenes of food, health, and labor, and paid particular attention to the similarities and differences that these might have compared to the literature of contentious politics. This section continues this discussion and moves it to the next level by focusing on the similarities and differences in the trajectories of the three scenes. In order to do that, we concentrate on the most central mechanisms of each repertoire of the three scenes by paying particular attention to the factors of organizational structure, resources, and identity.

8.3.1 Trajectories in Organizational Structure

The development of the organizational structure in the three scenes has been influenced by similar sets of recurrent mechanisms: coordinated action, certification, emulation, and brokerage. However, these sets of mechanisms are subject to important differences that influence the variety of the scenes in terms of their trajectories.

Following 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 outcomes or constitute crucial components of them. This is true in the case of brokerage and appropriation mechanisms.

Starting with brokerage 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. Similarly, appropriation mechanisms triggered by the use of public spaces and popular hubs, such as cafeterias, from volunteers to collect the consumers' orders. Both 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 and the particular operation of collective and social kitchens and the collection and distribution of food packages. 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 packages 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 advertising the markets operation, but these have reached much wider audiences. However, brokerage was the cornerstone for the organization and distribution of food packages, 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 the three cases, their role is more significant for the repertoires' overall operation in some cases and less in others.

As mentioned, 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 draw our attention to 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 decertification mechanism. This observation calls for greater attention on the certification mechanisms.

Certification by external authorities acted as a catalyst for the development of some initiatives, while it had relatively low influence for 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 in collective action and initially reduced the possibility of confrontation with the authorities. Additionally, it provided the activists with the legal means for establishing cooperatives. However, certification mechanisms were less influential in the collection and distribution of food packages. We stressed earlier that markets' open character targeted the local community settings and invited volunteers to assist their operation. However, the collection and distribution of food packages 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 not made possible the operation of this repertoire.

All the repertoires in the food scene are subject to variation with regards the coordinated action, certification and brokerage mechanisms. Nevertheless, they shared the contribution of emulation sub-mechanism for the activation of diffusion mechanisms. This is not only for the sake of mechanisms' description. Rather, emulation here confirms the literature on social movements, arguing 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 (Psimits, 2017: 230). In this sense, emulation seems to be this mechanism that connects the old with the new, tradition with modernity, or better: modernity with post-modernity. In other words, 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 labor 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. Alike the cases of markets and kitchens, coordinated action was essential in the construction of common understandings and a cooperativist identity in the labor 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 packages) as well as the repetition of practices from one period to another (from open-air markets to consumers' cooperatives). With regards to the labor 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

labor environment). Recognizing the collective decision-making of the assemblies as the ultimate power and establishing entry and exit criteria for the new members similar to those set by SMOs for the activists are profound characteristics which mark the adoption of SMOs' organizational practices by the cooperatives. For this, the mechanism of emulation constitutes the most central mechanism in the organizational structure of the labor scene. This difference is quite substantial in explaining the distinct trajectories of food and labor 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 packages. It is also underlined that this was a rather internal practice to the SMOs' activities. However, brokerage mechanisms conceived 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 labor scenes, where the mechanism of coordinated action was triggered after the appearance of the first organizations and acted mainly during the process of diffusion, signifying the bonding of the respective groups, social clinics development was based on pre-existing networks of healthcare professionals.

8.3.2 Trajectories in Resources

The social movement scenes of food, health, and labor present great similarities in the development of their trajectories with respect to the factor of resources. This is mostly due to the brokerage mechanism, which proved an important facilitator in all the three scenes and their respective repertoires. Though, 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 the three scenes, it is also shaped by the respective role resources are called to play. Therefore, this section first sketches out the similar paths followed by the markets without middlemen and the self-managed cooperatives, the respective similarities between the social clinics with the rest of the repertoires in the food scene, and finally underlines the role of certification mechanisms in suggesting commonalities between the markets with the clinics.

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 labor scene, where a solidarity percentage was used in order to fund other cooperatives, self-managed endeavors, social solidarity actions and labor 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 informal solidarity market. Markets' attention to quality products produced in Greece and decent labor conditions for the fieldworkers overlap to a great extent with the values imposed in the self-managed cooperatives regarding their suppliers. The markets' evolution and their shift towards consumer cooperatives increase these similarities. Moreover, our analysis emphasizes the fact that many consumer cooperatives assisted the operation of the informal cooperative groceries working in the premises of traditional SMOs. This was mainly by providing consultation regarding the respective legislation and hands-on operation of the groceries as well as sharing orders from the same producers. The same practice took place in the self-managed workers' cooperatives as it is explained in chapter 7. Nevertheless, what distinguishes the two repertoires is the introduction of compensation, with the markets supporting the voluntary character and the cooperatives promoting descent compensation for their members. Although this difference is quite salient, the two scenes seem to share a common path towards the construction of an informal solidarity economy. Here, again, 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 well-being instead of profit, implementing internal horizontal relations, attempting to share the know-how technics compared to the rough competition of neoliberal corporations as well as their engagement in funding social solidarity practices are important factors that distinguish them from mainstream economic endeavors.

Together with the aforementioned similarities, resources in the social movement scenes of food and labor 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 trade took place quite often. Both markets and cooperatives stood as collection points for medicines, clothes, and dry food, which was subsequently donated to local social clinics and pro-refugee solidarity actions.

Resources in markets and 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 great example. Drugs and medication were among the most important aspects with respect to 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 packages. These instances show that health and food scenes are very much alike on the side of 'demand'. The same happens also in the 'supply' side. Social clinics and social kitchens provide their services free of charge. The same goes also for the collection and distribution of food packages, while the collective kitchens introduce 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 favor the interaction with institutional actors. 'Solidarity percentage' connected the markets with bottom-up initiatives but it also granted their certification by institutional actors. The dual role of brokerage to connect service-oriented organizations with traditional SMOs and institutional actors does not constitute 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 in the case of clinics shows that out-group brokerage and certification mechanisms seem again to support each other. 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 and foreign grassroots initiatives and associations can be correlated with the licensing of many markets by municipal authorities to operate in public squares and parks. Respectively, reactions issued by healthcare professional associations against the clinics' operations awake memories of similar claims introduced by brokers' associations with respect to the markets' operation. Markets and cooperatives on the one hand, and clinics, kitchens, and organizations distributing food packages on the other hand, present great similarities in terms of their trajectories. However, the similarities between the 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 only apply 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 for covering the needs of their members. Nor do they open their services to wider audiences as direct strategies 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 convicted to fail or

as hopeful innovative resistance practices which create independent (if not antagonistic) communities in the everyday life.

8.3.3 Trajectories in Identity

Sociologists claim that identities in modernity tend to follow an unaltered path. Social conflicts are stable and coherent and social contradictions are formed between two antagonistic approaches on the production level (Psimitis, 2017: 289). On the contrary, in post-modernity, identities conceived as liquid and reflective constructions, social conflicts are imbalanced and social contradictions take place not only between two opposite sites but also in the interior of these sites (*Ibid*). With regards to collective action, social movement scholars argue that organizations and individuals with well-defined identities provoke sharper conflicts, while those with fluid identities perceived as brokers which connect movements and keep them together (Rootes, 2013: 307). McAdam (2003: 291-292) 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”. 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 labor scene appropriated existing ones. All of them have, nevertheless, based the development of their collective identities on a new terrain. In order to explore further this terrain, this section focuses on the fluidity of identities in relation to the internal conflicts, the similarities and differences of the three scenes with regards to the dominant systems of power, the enlargement of the conceptual boundaries in terms of the organizations’ social opening, the role of solidarity, trust, sociality and partial commitment with respect the social appropriation mechanisms as well as the different logic of politicization through action the alternative repertoires advocate for.

Our research suggests that organizations with less defined identities develop ties faster with other organizations and become brokers by bringing previously non-connected 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 been firstly centered around discussions of the same nature as these endeavors and whether their operation is antagonistic to the respective services provided by the state and the market. On this ground, the markets without middlemen, the informal groceries established by neighborhood assemblies as well as the social clinics present important similarities, while the self-managed cooperatives in the scene of labor present a contrasting scenario.

The food related repertoires compared their role to the role of open-air farmers' markets and small local groceries. Additionally, the 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 contrasting to the state and market-oriented welfare provision, the vast majority of the service-oriented organizations argued in favor of their independent character and their ambition in promoting 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. However, the opposite is observed in the case of the self-managed cooperatives. Few of the cooperatives seem to rely only on the relatively relaxed labor relations compared to the usual competitive environment of businesses. On the contrary, the vast majority of the cooperatives discussed in this study seem to adopt an aggressive view on self-management by using their workplace as a means to connect with other social struggles and promote an egalitarian and solidarity view on economy. This difference in the pathways of the labor 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 contradicts with the category formation mechanism in the social movement scene of labor. The former show that identity construction is an amalgamation of different features, while the latter favors a relatively more stable improvement of the collective identity.

Moving forward with the factor of identity, boundary enlargement also implies a cognitive enlargement. One aspect of this cognitive opening projected in the empirical research 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 meets internal differentiation. Social opening does not find universal application. Some organizations do not seem ready to sacrifice their ideological purity for the sake of a social-friendly attitude. Together with that, the service-oriented organizations have set different criteria in judging social opening. Some organizations were open to debate even their basic principles, while others perceived their encounter with audiences different from their usual sympathizers as social opening. Examples picturing both orientations can be found in a wide array of organizations from all the three scenes, such as neighborhood 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 behaviors. Of course, the more socially open an organization is, the more severely it is affected by these behaviors. This, in turn, facilitated a respective change in frames and practices, defining their 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. Drawing on this, social opening does not restrict itself to the interaction of conservative or middleclass norms with the values of the social movement community. Rather, it has also affected the organizations' potential partnerships. 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 packages 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 with regards to the markets without middlemen and self-managed cooperatives. Potential partnerships with institutional actors was decisive for many of these organizations to follow distinct trajectories. However, variation does not hold 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 the state dependency. Similarly, in the food scene, some organizations distributing food packages 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 admission 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 labor scene, some cooperatives did not find problematic in receiving funding from the EU NSFRs, while others clearly rejected any kind of state-related subsidies.

Even in times when capitalism is delegitimized, history shows that it preserves the dominance to frame its failure on its own terms (Psimitis, 2017: 293). In times of economic recession, solidarity does not mirror the everyday experiential practices which are antagonistic to capitalism. Rather, the capitalistic system frames solidarity practices as the tools allowing individuals to survive. By excluding the social antagonism that solidarity bears, capitalism decreases the former's social transformative strength, sacrifices its political element for the sake of broader humanitarian values, and indirectly re-legitimizes the system (*Ibid*). Social movements engage in social antagonisms in order to prevent capitalism from appropriating solidarity. This is reflected in the organizers' anxiety to demonstrate the political character of their service-oriented actions.

The political character of the alternative repertoires often follows specific ideological traditions as opposed to others. Such distinctive lines could be for instance between rich and poor, proletarians and bourgeois, left and right, anti-fascists and fascists. However, field research shows that this is not always the case. Examples of social kitchens witness cases of cross-class coalitions, with the main division being between people and the elites. Meyer argues that "the process of turning physical features or social practices into 'identities' is forged from the interaction between people and that state" (Meyer, 2002: 5). Although this is one of the many paths leading to the development of identities, the rampant cuts on the welfare provision certainly

boosted the acknowledgment of solidarity as the most antagonistic bottom-up practice of resistance. Moreover, the political character of the alternative repertoires may also lie on the organizers' intentions to distinguish solidarity from respective state-funded or market-driven philanthropic actions. In this respect, local solidarity actions are not mere antidotes in the austerity malaise. Rather, solidarity plays a central role in social antagonism (Melucci, 1996) and adopts a grassroots character, which sets the basis for the broader social transformation.

The alternative repertoires ground this conceptual imaginary into the everyday reality. This is also reflected by the vast array of structures employing social solidarity practices to Greek and refugees over the past seven years (Papataxiarchis, 2016). The absence of requirements for the beneficiaries and the creation of a friendly, community-like environment in the food and health scenes contradicts with the provision of social welfare by institutional actors, such as state, municipal authorities, church and NGOs. Additionally, economic support offered by self-managed cooperatives to grassroots collectives and social struggles, witness a similar story with regards to the labor scene. In these terms, alternative repertoires contradict the bureaucratic justifications with trust.

As an essential factor for the development of social relationships, trust is emphasized in two layers: first, it points to the relationships developed among the members of these organizations. Solidarity bonds based on trust were decisive for the establishment of clinics, markets, and kitchens in order to operate on a voluntary time-schedule, while they were crucial for the members of the cooperatives to collectively undertake economic responsibilities. In all these cases, trust helped the construction of a sense of community. Second, it marks the relationships developed between the organizers and the beneficiaries. Markets without middlemen and cooperatives underline the role of trust in their relations with the producers. Social clinics and the organizations distributing food packages mirror trust relations in the absence of paperwork to document the beneficiaries' economic statuses. However, closer attention to the food and health scenes shows that trust is tightly connected with the mechanism of social appropriation. This deals with the engagement of the beneficiaries with the respective organizations and the formers' active role in the provision of services.

The relationship between the social appropriation mechanism and identity mirrors the mechanism of brokerage when we discuss resources. Whether as a mechanism or a sub-mechanism, social appropriation takes place in each repertoire of the three social movement scenes. By adopting Melucci's (1996) processual perspective on collective identities, we attest to their dynamic and fluid character. For this, we do not perceive identities as given formations which attribute precise features on specific actors. Rather, our approach marks the cultural, often conflictual characteristics, which shape the development of the alternative repertoires. Social appropriation mirrors the engagement of previously non-politicized, or better non-participants in political organizations and collective action, individuals in the implementation of the alternative repertoires. Additionally, it also stresses the personal transformation of service-receivers into service-providers.

Although the increased politicization of individuals is bounded to the context of 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 (Schäfer and Streeck, 2013; Crouch, 2011). Moreover, 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 by which it 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 explained in chapter 5, sociality depicts a unique procedure of socialization, which facilitates 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 valuable for engaging beneficiaries in the provision of services. With regards to the kitchens, social appropriation began with beneficiaries' serving and cooking; their participation in collecting donations outside of supermarkets also supported the collection and distribution of food packages.

Similar was the trajectory in the health scene, where instead of sociality, the basic component was the members' partial commitment. Partial commitment was this characteristic which overcame the skepticism of individuals in participating in political endeavors *stricto sensu*, to offer their skills by concentrating on the provision of services. Partial commitment refers not 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.

Furthermore, partial commitment and social appropriation mechanisms uncover another interesting aspect. This deals with the emphasis on the action compared to theory, the interest in the provision of services compared to the participation in the assemblies. Although this runs the risk of a broader democratic deficit, it also stresses a different approach to the process of politicization. Flesher-Fominaya (2007) argues that autonomous movements advocate for the politicization through direct-action. This way they contradict with the institutional Left in which "leadership and even participation itself are based on political and ideological credentials and membership" (Flesher-Fominaya, 2007: 338). The same seems to be the case for the social clinics and the rest of organizations employing the alternative repertoires. Instead of requiring in-depth rhetoric skills in complicated political concepts that might discourage potential

members, this form of politicization calls for immediate action projected in the local settings of daily life. This, in turn, takes us to the scene of labor.

The labor scene experiences cases with members of cooperatives becoming politically active as a consequence of their participation in the collective management of 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 labor by social movement actors. This appropriation marks the transition from a claim-making tradition met in the labor struggles to the incorporation of the job environment as a field for creative action. This appropriation, which is inextricably linked to the practices of self-management, exposes different perspectives on the role of social movements by activists. Either perceived as a trespass or a step forward, the appropriation of the work space based on self-managed practices complements the understanding of the social appropriation mechanism as it was explained in the social movement scenes of food and health.

Service-oriented organizations managed to bridge the gap between the claims of the broader anti-austerity struggle with the personal difficulties of the individuals. Together with the aforementioned features of the social appropriation mechanism, the spatial dimension comes to the forefront. Critical theorists and urban geographers (Harvey, 2013) call for attention on the role of the urban space with regards to the social movements. Although our research does not analyze this dimension in depth, we wish to stress some important observations. Together with fiscal, political and ideological austerity, Hayes (2017) underlines that the recent neoliberal crisis also revealed the civic dimension of austerity. Civic austerity is pictured from the neoliberal reconstruction of the urban environment through the enclosure of wealth and dispossession, displacement and securitization of the 'unwanted' (Hayes, 2017: 29-30). Privatization and gentrification processes prevent the public use of space and further boost civic austerity. Recent urban struggles concentrate their claims against the corporate ownership of domestic spaces, the expropriation of civic spaces, and the marketization of public services (Ibid). In line with the square and occupy movements, spatial appropriation deals with the ownership of public spaces.

The organization of markets without middlemen in public spaces imposed a new reality to urban life. Either by getting authorization from the municipal authorities or by squatting central parks and squares of major Greek cities, the markets expanded the social movement activity outside the premises of SMOs. Reminding us of the square movement and extending the sphere of action of the neighborhood associations, the markets forced an additional re-appropriation of urban spaces and posed the movement reality in the urban landscape. The open character of these repertoires does not only correspond to the invitation of non-activists to participate in the repertoires' proceedings. The markets' organization in public spaces adds another element to it by underlying the spatial dimension of openness, able to attract a number of passengers. Taking into consideration the cultural activities which accompanied the markets' operation, as well as the joyful atmosphere maintained in times of decreased

mobilization and general emotional downgrade caused by austerity, allow us to suggest the open-air markets implicated the sense of community feasts with activists' repertoires. In these terms, markets without middlemen shaped the outburst of affective emotions (Jasper, 1998) and embodied something more than the expression of a consumerist movement. Although on a smaller scale, this spatial dimension also took place in the organization of out-door social kitchens and the open-air excursions of the collective kitchens in support to specific struggles. This differentiation lies mostly in the content of the repertoire, its duration, as well as the smaller audience the kitchens attracted compared to the markets.

However, it would not be fair to limit the spatial dimension of the alternative repertoires only to the celebratory feeling and the inclusion of non-activist audiences during the open-air events. Like traditional SMOs, social centers, and squats, research on self-managed cooperatives shows that these new repertoires helped in marking the local territories with an anti-fascist element. The public anti-discriminatory actions of the cooperatives, such as workshops, movie screenings, pro-refugee actions, and neighborhood marches; together with the fact that the majority of their audiences were anti-fascist activists assisted the development of this new territoriality. In many ways, the presence of self-managed cooperatives in specific neighborhoods reflects an activist-friendly environment and complements the anti-fascist character of the three scenes. Therefore, the social movement scene of labor seems to extend beyond the spatial limits of the traditional urban culture (or sub-culture) of the social movement community.

9 Epilogue

In response to the economic crisis of 2008, 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 epicenter of the economic crisis. Similar to the policies of the neoliberal ‘shock doctrine’ (Klein, 2007), Greek authorities signed a series of packages of structural adjustment programs (MoUs) with the IMF, EC, and ECB, severely affecting the livelihoods 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 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 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.

Crisis and its effects also touched the informal political terrain, that 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 2, the alternative repertoires bring further changes to the social movement sphere. Literature on social movements draws distinctive lines between SMOs and other organizational formats, such as movement associations, interest groups, and supportive organizations (Kriesi, 2008 [1996]; Rucht, 2013). More precisely, SMOs are supposed to foster action mobilization, while the rest of the organizational formats play supportive roles without engaging their audiences in actively participating in mobilization. In line with post-modern accounts regarding the fluidity of contemporary limits and identities, the rigid boundaries of these distinctions enter a period of ambiguity. The new service-oriented organizations appear to foster actual mobilization, while alternative repertoires occupy 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 matter of this dissertation. Although the roots of this process are older than the period of crisis, we argue that crisis and austerity were catalysts for further fostering the boundary enlargement process and allowing it to take place. The process of boundary enlargement occupies a post-modern perspective in dealing with issues related to identities (Melucci, 1996). Though, 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 with respect to organizational structure, resources, and identity factors.

Chapter 3 unpacks the critical moments in time that led to the process of boundary enlargement. In line with post-modern accounts regarding the fluidity of contemporary limits and identities, boundary enlargement presents a dynamic character which changed shape many times over the years. The aftermath of riots in December 2008 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 and opposition to the conditions of austerity. More than 20 thousand protest events took place between 2010 and 2014 (Diani and Kousis, 2014), with 20 of them bringing from 25 to 500 thousand 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 (Rudig 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% 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 a criticism against the neoliberal political system in general (della Porta, 2015). Similar to the Spanish Indignados and the occupy movements in 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 a more practical approach 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 every day needs. Urged from the population's difficulties in covering basic needs, this research focusses on the scenes of food, health, and labor and the respective repertoires developed there.

Building on the framework of the contentious politics approach, this inquiry aims to unravel the new reality in the social movement community in Greece. Therefore, chapter 4 explains in detail the research design followed. Research on collective action underlines the importance of SMOs in constructing the life of social movements (Staggenborg, 2002). The contentious politics framework invites researchers to pay attention on the meso-level (Kotronaki, 2015). The economic, political, and social changes flourished in the crisis-ridden Greece having large repercussions on individuals. In terms of social movements, the activists' (micro) environment shaped the (macro) transformation of anti-austerity mobilizations. For this, the (meso) organizational level acquires an important intermediate role in bridging these stages. In order to explore the contentious mechanisms that shaped the development of the alternative repertoires, this research employs a case-study approach (Yin, 2009) with a within-case comparison. Qualitative field research with document analysis, semi-structured interviews, and participant observation is applied in approximately 50 grassroots organizations. These organizations deal with markets without middlemen, collective and social kitchens, the collection and distribution of food packages, social clinics, and self-managed workers' cooperatives. Respectively, chapters 5, 6, 7 correspond to the study of the social movement scenes of food, health, and labor. Lastly, chapter 8 indicates some important similarities and differences revealed from the comparison of the social movement scenes of food, health and labor, key features among the contentious mechanisms developed in the three scenes, and also highlights crucial aspects that shaped the trajectories of the alternative repertoires with regards to the factors of organizational structure, resources, and identity.

This final chapter is divided in two parts. The first part 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 the everyday life setting associates with solidarity economy and commons and the role of the local contexts. Finally, we discuss how the rise of the alternative repertoires reveal new aspects related to citizenship.

Signs of the boundary enlargement can be found already from the late 1990s. However, its full length is revealed in times of crisis, with the latter being the turning points leading to the process of diffusion. Subsequently, the second part introduces two cases which developed similar alternative repertoires and where the process of boundary enlargement seems to find application. The first case deals with the recent 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 content of this dissertation. 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 the

usual suspects of western countries and highlights the usage of the boundary enlargement process in facilitating the better explanation of historical trajectories.

These indicative examples, where the process of boundary enlargement denotes some short of relevance, opens the floor to recommendations for future research. Relevant theoretical frameworks that may assist the deeper understanding of the operation of alternative repertoires, as well as topics and issues that deserve more attention are underlined.

9.1 Expanding the notion of boundary enlargement

The economic crisis and the austerity measures were accompanied by the shift of the social movement community in Greece towards the 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 thesis 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 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 as reactions to crises, but we should acknowledge that are “symptoms of antagonist conflicts, even if this does not wholly exhaust their significance” (Melucci, 1996: 99). Melucci (1996) underlines the qualitative differences that distinguish crises and 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: 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 labor 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 labor 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 in 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

market's inability to meet the needs of the population. However, they managed to open the 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 develop structures and produce new resources which act independently of the restoration (or not) 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 endeavors are connected with each other and construct informal solidarity networks producing their own resources and culture. According to Psimitis (2017), the networks of social solidarity construct a radical reality which opposes the capitalist system. These networks of hands-on solidarity practices express a wider trend associated with informal 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 (Psimitis, 2017: 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 about the conflictual relationship of these views, these solidarity networks seem to be under attack by the capitalist system (Psimitis, 2017: 329).

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's (2006) 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 than the market. The rise of SYRIZA was accompanied by a governmental rhetoric promoting the role of social and solidarity economy. On the contrary, many grassroots organizations tried to distance themselves from this type of state appropriation, either by introducing new terms such as cooperative economy or by emphasizing the solidarity aspect of the economy compared to the social aspect. In order to secure the grassroots character of the social solidarity practices, Psimitis suggests the further strengthening of these informal networks (Psimitis, 2017: 330-346). According to the author, this may derive from the construction of a unified, antagonistic identity that will respect plurality and the particularities of the different actors.

In respect to the operation of these solidarity networks, pre-figurative approaches are of the most central issues. Pre-figurative politics propose a set of behaviors that direct 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: 347-348). In this respect, 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 outcomes become quite blurred (Psimitis, 2017: 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: 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: 351-352). All these characteristics have been illustrated in the analysis of the social movement scenes of food, health, and labor. Moreover, they also define the organizational formats in social and solidarity economy.

Although alternative repertoires are studied here through the lenses of social movement theories, they also lie in the field of social and solidarity economy. Studies of bottom-up solidarity endeavors 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 (Benmecheddal et al, 2017; Rozakou, 2016), which enrich the universe of social solidarity economy. The role of social and solidarity economy is often described as ambiguous. This ambiguity mostly concerns whether social and solidarity economy has a conflictual relation with or operates independently to the state and the market. Our research supports that there is not a clear-cut answer, since, among other reasons, this depends on the political orientations of the organizers. What is clear, nevertheless, is the different perspective of solidarity with the neoliberal economy. To briefly outline few, solidarity economy focuses on labor, 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: 363). One issue that complements these differences and derives from the empirical research refers to the different ways of solidarity and neoliberal economy in gaining legitimation from wider audiences. Social solidarity endeavors 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 of solidarity economy initiatives aims to transform the social relationships and the living conditions (Psimitis, 2017: 353). In other words, “social transformation comes through the creation of alternatives, not through the existing institutional system” (Flesher-Fominaya, 2007: 339). In order to do so, these bottom-up initiatives construct informal communities with great attention to the local settings. It is stressed

throughout this thesis that service-oriented repertoires concentrated in local actions. 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 to the non-capitalistic structures of economy (Psimitis, 2017: 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, 2013). This procedure seems similar to the capitalistic 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 (2014), there are two potential dangers here. First, in cases where commons are advertised with neoliberal lenses they “can easily be construed as a convenient fic to various internal and external road-blocks to capital accumulation through the exploitation of unwaged labor and the externalization of negative impacts of capital production” (Buck, 2014: 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 (Psimitis, 2017: 370). Moreover, Buck claims that the reproduction of commons should take place through a process of communing, which is resistant to the neoliberal system (Buck, 2017:64). This resistant character of commons to 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 procedure (De Angelis, 2013: 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 of the commons and of the individuals’ daily life against the systemic crisis of capitalism (Psimitis, 2017: 376; Papadaki and Kalogeraki, 2017). 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 capitalist model, De Angelis (2013) notes that activists should move beyond the established ethical choices as well as 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 (De Angelis, 2013: 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 lenses of ideology or identity politics. Commons are neither utopias nor dystopias (De Angelis, 2013: 132). Similar to the dilemma regarding the solidarity-charity nature 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 where 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 establishing social justice (De Angelis, 2013: 139).

De Angelis' suggestion seems to refer more to an ideal type and less to an empirical expression of reality. Although sticking to ideological ideals might prove disastrous for the construction of a new value system and despite the fact that ideological orthodoxy shrinks the possibilities for cooperation and experimentation, certain ideological principles seem necessary for drawing the directions in order to distinguish the resistant from the resilient character of these grassroots endeavors. Self-organization, direct democracy, and horizontality constitute central aspects for painting 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.

Focus on the local contexts has been enabled by activists' deep internalization of the systemic crisis in their everyday life, giving a distinct power to the anti-austerity protest cycle developed between 2010 and 2012. According to Psimitis (2017: 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 dissertation. Both the arrival of new activists and the rise of the alternative repertoires mirrors Psimitis' narrative. Melucci further highlights the role of solidarity in relation to the local settings. Together with preexisting institutional bonds and the presence of listening spaces, Melucci (1996: 376) counts the existence of informal 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 dissertation. 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.

Gustave Le Bon (2014) wrote in the late 19th century on the transformative crowd behavior 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 that enabled considering collective action as rational. The growth of the social movement studies as a distinct field of academic work clearly confirms this suggestion. More important, 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 accurate in the 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. This research treats these service-oriented repertoires as complementary forms of actions to the traditional street protest politics. In these terms, alternative repertoires integrate a character of everyday resistance. As Hadjimichalis (2018: 172) 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”.

How did austerity get politicized in the everyday context? The answer here is not easy, but our argument relies highly 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. Moreover, it challenges the solidarity imaginary by developing a field where the moral shock caused by austerity, urges for direct action and collaboration with the authorities in order to tackle the crisis situation, comes into 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 the domestic social movement community. On the contrary, reflexes and responses from less politicized and activist groups, which used to pay more attention to local issues and focused on a lesser extent to the ‘big narratives’, were much faster. However, this contradiction between traditional and recently established organized forms of collective action reveal insights which correspond to new understandings of citizenship and activism.

Chapter 3 underscores the relative absence of civil society formats as this is 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 have 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 received aggressive stance towards the bottom-up service-oriented

organizations and confused with municipal authorities and professional volunteers, something which 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 formal institutions and organizations. 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 market's dominant role to the respective construction of a future world in 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 the welfare state 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 in 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 of To Potami in Greece and Ciudadanos in Spain. Although we touch on the issue of citizenship briefly⁵⁷, 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: 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 underline 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 (Gerbaudo, 2017: 44). In this regard, the author notes that anti-austerity movements were not protest movements but proposal movements which suggest 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

⁵⁷ For a detailed analysis of the relationship between civil society and social movements see Diani, 2015.

of the power of the dispersed citizenry against the concentrated power of economic and political elites” (Gerbaudo, 2017: 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 (2018: 171), 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”. Nevertheless, what interests us in Gerbaudo’s (2017: 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 mirrors the post-modern 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 the everyday life. During the 1968 protest cycle, feminist movements claimed that the personal was also political. The recent protest cycle against austerity transformed the political into personal. Political involvement no longer constituted a distinct aspect of 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 living needs, such as food, health, sanitation, housing, labor, education, and others. This is also mirrored by the fact that activists contribute to these structures not on the basis of their political education or theoretical skills but actually as the continuation of their professional life or based on their practical skills. Doctors involve in the social clinics; chefs in the collective kitchens; solidarity courses are provided by teachers and professors; directors set up 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 labor 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 the movements to reproduce the capitalist relations of the career environment. Rather 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.

9.2 Expanding the application of boundary enlargement

Crisis-ridden Greece was marked by a shift in the locus of social movements from a protest-oriented approach to the provision of bottom-up welfare services. This thesis studies this shift through the lens of the boundary enlargement process, where previously defined conceptual and practical boundaries change shape and transform. Boundary enlargement draws strongly on the framework of contentious politics. However, its theoretical values are not limited to social movement theories. The previous section shows how the process of boundary enlargement is related to topics of political economy, solidarity economy, commons and citizenship. The use of the boundary enlargement process is not extended only in terms of theoretical analysis, it also finds practical application in other contexts. Without limiting its function to the incorporation of service-oriented repertoires, this section focuses on the provision of informal welfare services by social movement actors. 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.

9.2.1 Boundary enlargement and the Spanish anti-austerity mobilizations

Spain has experienced three protest cycles from the 1960s onwards (Portos, 2017: 4), with the last one finishing in 2004 after the PSOE government complied with the movements' demands for withdrawing the Spanish troops from Iraq (Karamichas, 2007). The advent of the international social unrest in 2010-2011 followed the economic crisis triggered a new protest cycle against austerity measures. Critical scholars emphasize that public debt was not the cause for the Spanish crisis but rather its symptom, since the uneven geographical social development of the EU has enabled the economic and political dominance of a close 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 in the traditional democratic institutions, and a widespread sense of corruption regarding the political elites (Charnock et al, 2012: 9; Anduiza et al, 2014: 751; Fortes and Brihuega, 2012) were among the main reasons for bringing thousands of people in 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 from 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 centers. Based on horizontal procedures and through exchange libraries, grassroots kitchens and the main assembly, people from different ages and political backgrounds contributed to the development of their manifestations (Castañeda, 2012). Although earlier movements

characterized by issue-based claims, such as educational and labor reforms, or they focused on specific ideological narratives, Indignados born out of widespread aggression due to the austerity reforms and mistrust to the political and economic elites.

Spanish Indignados and the Greek square movement were not the outcome of a direct diffusion (Oikonomakis and Roos, 2014). Still, they share a number of similar characteristics. Both movements based on direct-democracy and horizontality, established task forces and small thematic groups to ease their internal procedures, while decisions were determined by the actions. What distinguishes Indignados from earlier movements is the absence of control by any party, labor union, or a specific political space (Abellán et al, 2012: 758). The absence of unions, and parties for 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 participation to everyone. 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 (Anduiza et al, 2014: 760-762). Indignados and the square movement engaged 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, 2016). The student platform organization 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. In the case of Greece, the party of SYRIZA 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 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; Karyotis, 2015; Romanos, 2017: 155).

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, they are extended in 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 with a culture of consolidation in Spain (Andronikou and Kovras, 2012), Spain pictures "in the first places in European statistics for protest participation" (Anduiza et al, 2014:

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 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, 2017). 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: 152). This reminds Melluci’s (1996: 376) listening spaces, one of the necessary conditions for communities responding in emergent situations. The peak of the 15M protests followed by a process of decentralization, setting in action the mechanisms of downward scale-shift and coalition building as indicated by Portos (2017). In particular, activists moved from the main city squares to local neighborhood actions, while the collaboration of 15M activists with more traditional social movement actors increased.

Spain has a more than 50-year-old tradition in neighborhood associations. Although, over the years, the neighborhood associations faded, and others became highly institutionalized, many of them were of libertarian and leftwing 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 neighborhood assemblies and granted Indignados’ engagement in (or appropriation of) the traditional ones by stigmatizing them with a more confrontational tone. Attention shifted to urban issues by using the ICTs and open source communities (*Ibid*). Neighborhood assemblies differ in size and intensity and lacked coordination between them. However, a number of neighborhood assemblies reproduced the Indignados model, put democracy at their core, and organized working groups and committees (Romanos, 2017: 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 3, the Indignados movement triggered the emergence of new actors, such as local assemblies, self-managed consumer cooperatives, and food banks; and strengthened already existed

ones, like the housing movement (Romanos, 2017: 139). The decentralization of Indignados brought activists closer to the local contexts, forced them to face the everyday problems and pose more attainable goals (Portos, 2017: 14). In order to see how the process of boundary enlargement takes place in the Spanish context, we draw our attention to housing, health, and education issues and particularly to

9.2.1.1 *The case of PAH*

The arrival of the rightwing PP in office in 1995-1996 proposed a purely neoliberal agenda. Aznar's government implemented series of reforms in labor market legislations increasing flexibility and privatizations and decreasing the share of the public sector (Charnock et al, 2012: 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 to change 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: 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 among its most popular expressions. However, the roots of the housing movement dates back to 2003. An amalgamation of neighborhood 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: 468). The course of the movement's trajectory witnessed the engagement of youth activists and the construction of the V de Vivienda (H for Housing) network. Subsequently, this led to the adoption of more radical forms of actions, destabilized its affiliations with more institutional actors and associated the housing problem with precarity and corruption (Flesher-Fominaya, 2015: 468; Romanos, 2014: 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 into the agenda of the 15M movement (*Ibid*).

"Between 2007 and 2011, there were 349,438 foreclosures and in 2008–11 there were 166,716 evictions" (Flesher-Fominaya, 2015: 468). As the crisis unfolded, the number increased tremendously. 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: 468). And all these in a country with almost 3.4 million vacant homes (Romanos, 2014: 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 the Hotel Madrid in October of 2011 by Indignados activists. This occupation set forward new challenges, such as the collective management of a huge building, accommodated evicted families and vulnerable groups and aimed to politicize non-activist individuals. Pre-figure elements popped up from the 15M movement and the occupation of the Hotel Madrid, showing that established rights, such as the 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: 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 (Abellán et al, 2012: 5).

Of course, squatting has a long tradition in the Spanish social movement community (Martínez Lopez, 2017 for Madrid; Debelle et al, 2017 for Barcelona; Díaz-Parra and Martínez Lopez, 2017 for Seville). 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 endeavors. By framing the building occupations as recovered and liberated spaces from the real estate drama of evictions, Hotel Madrid opened its gates to neighbors and visitors (Abellán et al, 2012: 4; Martínez Lopez, 2017: 41-42; Debelle et al, 2017: 52). Squatted social centers initiated by 15M activists increased considerably and traditional squats received new audiences related to Indignados. These new squats started promoting food banks, cooperatives, and other social, cultural, and political activities, directly linked with the piazzas’ encampments and neighborhood struggles (Martínez Lopez, 2017: 41; Debelle et al, 2017: 59). Despite the differentiation of the new squats with 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, 2017: 62-68). Additionally, more institutionalized social centers occupying historical buildings and squatted social centers 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: 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 (Lois-González and Piñeira-Mantiñán, 2015: 133;

Flesher-Fominaya, 2015: 470; Romanos, 2017: 149). These groups are self-funded and operate horizontally under the directions of their general assemblies (Lois-González and Piñeira-Mantiñán, 2015: 133; Romanos, 2017: 149). 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: 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 2,000 successful blockages have taken place until September 2017 (Lois-González and Piñeira-Mantiñán, 2015; Romanos, 2014: 297-298; Portos, 2017: 14). Together 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: 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: 297-298; Sabaté 2016: 116). Until September 2017, PAH managed to rehouse about 2,500 people in occupied apartments (Romanos, 2007: 142-143; Portos, 2017: 14).

The practice of squatting diffused beyond the boundaries of the traditional squatting movement. Traditional squatters cooperate with 15M and PAH activists (Debelle et al, 2017: 68-69), something that resembles the solidarity between formal and informal 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 the mainstream and using it with instrumental purposes (Debelle et al, 2017: 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 rightwing government, an upward scale shift mechanism followed, reminding the trajectory of social clinics in Greece. On the one hand, PAH issued an *escrache* 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: 471-472; Romanos, 2014: 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: 471; Sabaté 2016: 116). EU's decision in favor of PAH in 2013 triggered almost 400 municipal authorities to coalition with PAH and search for institutional solutions for decreasing the evictions (Romanos, 2014: 209-300; Sabaté 2016: 116). Although the squatting movement has been often demonized in the mainstream media (Debelle et al, 2017: 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: 144), broke the silence of indebted households, gained legitimation on the neighborhood scale, and legitimized protests on the local level (Sabaté 2016: 115).

The housing movement's trajectory and the specific case of PAH witness 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 puts its attention is to help 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 to take 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 for themselves, learned technicalities about their cases, and felt more confident in defending themselves (Sabaté 2016: 114-115). In this way, the affected people “transformed by personal individual circumstances into political activists” (Flesher-Fominaya, 2015: 471). The visibility of the housing problem set forward the wide spread of request for just prices. Following the course of Indignados, PAH fostered the collaboration of people from different social classes and backgrounds in favor of a common goal. Individual differences never abolished but what mattered in PAH assemblies was precisely what each of the participants could contribute to in changing the emergent situation (Moreno-Caballud, 2015: 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 suffered ones remain passive (Moreno-Caballud, 2015: 192, 198). There are visible parallels between this case and the active engagement of beneficiaries in the food social movement scene in Greece and particularly the case of social kitchens.

One last aspect that worth noting here is the contradiction between the post-modern approach of boundary enlargement and the attachment of the housing issue with modernity. Sabaté's (2016) anthropological study shows that the acquisition of a house was rather widespread in the Spanish society since it correlated with individuals' social progress. Migrants in Spain attested to the importance of having a house for integrating into Spanish society. The advent of 15M and the increased popularity of PAH call for a step towards an alternative approach on 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: 115) anthropological inquiry shows that debtors excused 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 in renting, many debtors expressed narratives where the process of boundary enlargement was experienced only on the practical and not on the conceptual level.

9.2.1.2 The cases of Marea Verde and Marea Blanca

The rapid emergence of new squats was highlighted as direct outcomes of Indignados' action. The process of gentrification triggered the increase of new squatted social centers in neighborhoods suffering from great levels of unemployment and public

spending cuts on education and health (Martinez Lopez 2017: 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, Marea Blanca and Marea Verde mobilizations in health and education sectors respectively (Lois-González and Piñeira-Mantiñán, 2015).

As Portos informs, “more than €10 billion were slashed” in health and education sectors “since the onset of the recession” (Portos, 2017: 17). 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 institutionalized with the number of strikes decreasing and their negotiating skills against the flexibilization of employment remaining relatively weak. The crisis signaled a new status-quo with unions’ role in bargaining and negotiating collective agreements decreasing even more. In response to great labor cuts, general strikes were rare (compared to Greece) with the mainstream unions occupying a moderate perspective in changing the governmental policies. Indignados conceived the unions’ policies as part of the broader problem, while it triggered bottom-up protests in relation to the public sector (Huke and Tietje, 2018). 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 by protesters wearing green shirts, raised claims in favor of free access to public education. The movement sparked in Madrid after the regional government decided to increase teaching hours and dismiss approximately 3,000 substitute teachers (Huke and Tietje, 2018: 266; Álvarez Ruiz and Núñez Gómez, 2016: 56-57). Inspired by the Indignados movement, the first organized assemblies of the Marea Verde took place in Madrid in the summer of 2011 (Álvarez Ruiz and Núñez Gómez, 2016: 56-57). News on mobilizations spread quickly through social media, with the teachers trying to organize and coordinate their responses (Romanos, 2017: 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, 2017: 17). Nevertheless, according to Portos (2017: 17) the role of unions was essential in facilitating the development of mass strikes. In this respect, the teachers’ assemblies received 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 10-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: 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 pupils, teaching hours, administrative limitations and competition among different

education centers as well as the unequal treatment of the 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 (*Ibid*; Álvarez Ruiz and Núñez Gómez, 2016: 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: 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: 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 access to migrants only in emergency and maternal care, asylum seekers and children. Access was also limited for the domestic population 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 centers ceased operation (Huke and Tietje, 2018: 268). In this context, the Madrid's regional government issued a plan for the privatization of 6 hospitals and 27 health centers (Álvarez Ruiz and Núñez Gómez, 2016: 56-57). As a first response to these news, hospitals' employees occupied the hospitals and formed assemblies in order to discuss about their next moves. These assemblies steadily stabilized 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 (Huke and Tietje, 2018: 268; Álvarez Ruiz and Núñez Gómez, 2016: 56-57).

The fear of privatization combined with the diffusion of Marea Blanca assemblies in other regions. Alike PAH, Marea Blanca constructed on a network basis. Although differences exist among the assemblies with regards to the regions (Portos, 2017: 17), 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 rotation system (Álvarez Ruiz and Núñez Gómez, 2016: 57). This is further enhanced due to the network and decentralized structure of the movement (*Ibid*). The role of Indignados is quite essential here.

Mareas inspired by the Indignados movement in many respects, such as the grassroots organizational structure and the horizontal deliberative decision-making model (Álvarez Ruiz and Núñez Gómez, 2016: 61). The collaborative and horizontal communication 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 used both for promoting their struggle as well as means to coordinate the actions among the different assemblies (Álvarez Ruiz and Núñez Gómez, 2016: 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 (Álvarez Ruiz and Núñez Gómez, 2016: 59). With regards

to the health sector, the linkages between the different health centers and hospitals enhanced the quick coordination of the assemblies. Taking into consideration that hospitals were the centers of the healthcare struggle, by appropriating and using the existing professional channels, the different assemblies of Marea Blanca strengthened their coordination (Álvarez Ruiz and Núñez Gómez, 2016: 62). The development of brokerage and coordinated action mechanisms are quite similar to the first stage of the clinics' development through their professional networks in Greece. However, these mechanisms had less impact in the case of Marea Verde due to the weak pre-existed linkages among the different centers (*Ibid*). Nevertheless, the spread of their members in several centers enforced both Mareas to employ similar structure in terms of their communication. According to Álvarez Ruiz and Núñez Gómez (2016: 64), communication tasks and organizational decisions reached two levels: the local level, where each health and teaching center enjoyed its autonomy and communicated with the local neighborhood; and the general level, where the local centers' representatives proceeded in common large-scale activities.

In 2013, Marea Blanca managed to organize mass demonstrations (Romanos, 2017: 140-141), while it participated in domestic and international anti-austerity campaigns (Romanos, 2017: 148-149). The close connection between the two movements and Indignados witness 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: 299), the same tactic has been emulated by activists on 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 halt the forthcoming privatizations (Romanos 2017: 140-141; Álvarez Ruiz and Núñez Gómez, 2016: 56-57).

The emergence of Marea Verde and Blanca experience the change from demonstrative to more confrontational strikes (Huke and Tietje, 2018: 270). Research conducted by Romanos (2017: 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 for claim-making and 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 witness a break of the traditional boundaries towards new forms of organization and repertoires, the most notable feature of boundary enlargement dealt with the activation of social appropriation mechanisms. Along with the hospitals' workforce, Marea Blanca also consists of patients and healthcare users (Huke and Tietje, 2018: 268; Romanos, 2017: 140-141). Alike the assemblies of 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 (Moreno-Caballud, 2015: 181). As Moreno-Caballud (2015: 182) claims “this redistribution of values has had an almost playful echo in the sudden transformation of healthcare personnel, patients, and hospital neighbors into ‘activists’ who have been able to pull together huge strikes overnight”. In this respect, Marea Blanca moved beyond the strict limits of job loss, privatization, and austerity; challenging the deep-rooted notions which present patients as passive victims and service-receivers and doctors’ expertise as uncontested expertise (*Ibid*).

9.2.1.3 *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 the case also 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 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 (Romanos, 2017: 144-145). Although deliberative democratic procedures used to take place in closed assemblies and forums, according to the author, 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, Indignados and the subsequent movements in the aftermath of the encampments changed the approach of the Spanish movement community from targeting specific activists to now focusing on wider non-politically organized publics. At the same time, they granted also 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” that was born in the camps, moved to subsequent mobilizations in housing, healthcare, and education (Moreno-Caballud, 2015: 180). However, the latter mobilizations were subject to more pragmatic discussion procedures (Álvarez Ruiz and Núñez Gómez, 2016: 56).

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 cases are not identical in Greece and Spain. The turn 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, 2016). Moreno-Caballud (2015: 183) notes that “there’s 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”. In this respect, 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 (Moreno-Caballud, 2015: 192, 198). However, the grassroots and horizontal type of this informal 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” (Moreno-Caballud, 2015: 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 formal institutional channels. Although normative and neoliberal conceptions accuse South European countries of having weak civil societies, this changes 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: 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: 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 (Flesher-Fominaya, 2007) in discussing their relation with the state and institutional actors (Flesher-Fominaya, 2015: 480). The previous chapters outlined similar issues with regards to the movements’ collaboration with institutional actors for the Greek case. This shift seems to be much more embodied in Spain.

Southern European countries draw their emphasis to 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: 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 neighborhood associations by using sector-specific and territorial based consultative councils (*Ibid*). The decentralization of the 15M movement into local actions reinforced the right to the

city and enriched the traditional neighborhood 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’, expressed by municipalist confluences like *Ahora Madrid*, *Barcelona en Comú*, and *Cádiz Sí Se Puede* (Rubio-Pueyo, 2017; dosanys despres, 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 in the urban daily life, but they appear to have little impact in 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 set 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 into the spotlight: the rise of feminisms. This aspect was briefly touched on with regards to the Greek case. The nodal role of women came up during the field research, but it was not analyzed in depth in this dissertation. Women’s participation in the service-oriented repertoires, and particularly in the case of social clinics, outweighed that of men. Although salient, the role of women was also quite silent. 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 the acknowledgement of loud voices and physical strength during protests towards a more feminine understanding of politics of empathy, solidarity, and decreased competition. Together with the shift of locus 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: 281-282). During the fall of 1970s, the socialist PSOE started to incorporate the women claims into its agenda. However, feminism occupied a moderate stance and marginal role in mainstream politics and it was not conceived as a means for broader social and political changes (*Ibid*). Feminism was demobilized in the 1980s, reached institutionalization in the 1990s, while in 2000s there was a revival of feminism due to the GJM (Fuentes, 2015: 361). Despite the grassroots and open character of the 15M movement, feminist suggestions have been initially met with skepticism, patronizing behavior, and sexist stereotypes (Fuentes, 2015: 360). 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 feminine terms have been adopted in the assemblies’ proceedings (Romanos, 2017: 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” (Fuentes, 2015: 363). In this way, the 15M movement also set the foundations to bridge traditional and post-modern feminisms as well as different women groups (Fuentes, 2015: 362). 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 (Fuentes, 2015: 363).

The municipalism trend is also connected with the feminization of politics. This is not limited to the electoral victories of women representatives 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 patriarchal discourse, to challenge hierarchies and homogenization and to create conceptual and physical open spaces of dialogue and listening (Rubio-Pueyo, 2017: 13; Roth and Baird, 2017: 100). The case of foros locales (local forums) in promoting direct communication between the different neighborhoods and the city in Madrid, and respective attempts in Barcelona constitute such examples (Rubio-Pueyo, 2017: 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 few, the creation of domestic workers’ networks, collaboration with parent school associations (Rubio-Pueyo, 2017: 16) and the planning of public transportation based on women needs (dosanys despres, 2017) move towards this direction.

Similar to Greece, traditional leftwing activists were skeptical in this process of boundary enlargement for taking the social antagonisms out of the equation. However, the truth is 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 instead promote a creative “space for active self-definition” (Rubio-Pueyo, 2017: 14). To put in a nutshell, this is the central dimension exposed by the shift from protest to production; from raising claims against something to producing something new.

9.2.2 Boundary enlargement and the 2001 Argentinean Crisis

Latin America is an exceptional case where 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 series of neoliberal policies through IMF and the Washington consensus in the 1980s, the increases of leftwing populist governments in the late 1980s, the continuous economic crises throughout the last 40 years, the peculiar relationship with state’s institutions, church and liberal theology contribute to the rise of autonomous practices (Dinerstein, 2015). Autonomous practices 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 a 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 the nature (Dinerstein, 2015: 12-18, 32).

According to Zibeche, 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 (Zibeche, 2010: 207, 214-219). By focusing on contentious cycles, actors, claims and repertoires, Zibeche 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 raise demands for its rights (Hardt et al, 2016: 33). For this, they can only explain some institutional movements but fail to capture the essence of Latin American politics (Zibeche, 2010: 219-220). According to Zibeche, Latin America is characterized by many systems of power and at least two societies, whose boundaries are not defined (Hardt et al, 2016: 33). These deal with the dominant society of colonialist origins and another fragmented, informal society coming from the agricultural and peripheral areas with its own systems of organization and justice, which becomes visible only when it is mobilized (Hardt et al, 2016: 34). 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 (Zibeche, 2010: 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 (Hardt et al, 2016: 66-67; Zibeche, 2010: 221).

The resistant 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 their response, Latin American movements evolve directly through the relationship they have with physical spaces either being indigenous lands, occupied barrios in the cities’ peripheries, or recuperated enterprises (Zibeche, 2010: 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. The feminization of politics enforces new social relationships based on respect, solidarity, and caring (Zibeche, 2010: 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 imposed by guerilla groups. Between these two extremes, Latin American movements focus on developing autonomous practices for serving everyday needs (Zibeche, 2010: 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 introduced again in the public debates of Latin America, with autonomous movements creating 'autonomous geographies' and organizing pre-figurative practices (Dinerstein, 2015: 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 in the times of the Argentinean crisis in 2001 mirrors the aspect of autonomous creation and horizontality (Dinerstein 2015; Sitrin, 2006) and stands an adequate field for the study of the boundary enlargement process.

The tradition of Peronism has deep effects in Argentina's social formation, with the local party-brokers 'punteros' acting as the channels which connect the citizens with the state apparatus (Sitrin, 2006: 5). This tradition of clientilism and the exposition of leading figures erupted in the 2001 crisis. The aftermath of the 2001 uprisings opened the floor for 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 centered on the re-emergence of clientilistic relationships of movements' leaders with political elites, others underline that this not true (Rossi, 2015a), 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 outcomes is affected by the different academic focuses, the path towards these suggested outcomes seems to be common. In this respect, the crisis of 2001 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: 8-9; Vieta, 2010; libcom, 2005). Gas, electricity and petroleum enterprises as well as banks, transportation, and media systems make up the long list of privatizations (Ranis, 2010: 79). This privatization wave came alongside the development of a clientilist apparatus (Garay, 2007). At the same time, labor flexibility, de-industrialization, increase of unemployment, and limited labor securing mechanisms stabilized (Rossi, 2015b: 9) and became more evident in the 1998-2002 turbulent years of recession and crisis (Ranis, 2010: 81).

Argentina's focus on foreign investors was combined with the devaluation of the peso (libcom, 2005). 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% of the population in poverty (Rossi, 2017: 580). Unemployment in 2001 reached 25% (Ranis, 2006), while almost 45% of the employed population worked in off-the-books work (Reddebek, 2017). The bankruptcy figures per month almost quadrupled compared to a decade earlier (Vieta, 2010: 297). The IMF's unwillingness to renew the

loans led to the collapse of the economy (Sitrin, 2006: 8-9; Dinerstein, 2015: 113; libcom, 2005), leading the De La Rúa government to implement banking restrictions in withdrawing savings (known as corralito) and imposing a state of emergency. However, the 2001 was not only an economic crisis. It was also a crisis of capital in mediating the political and social relationships (Dinerstein, 2015: 113-114) as well as a crisis of state's legitimation in serving citizens' everyday needs (Sitrin, 2006). These conditions met with widespread social unrest in December 2001, often described as Argentinazo.

Looting of supermarkets in Buenos Aires started in mid-December (libcom, 2005) and continued during the first months of 2002, sometimes violently and others with masses of ashamed people asking peacefully for food (Sitrin, 2006: 25-26). Banks have been set on fire, institutional buildings have been occupied while the example of motorbike couriers bringing stones to the rioters (libcom, 2005) captures the widespread anger. Soon enough, the riots diffused to more than 10 cities across the country. In the events of the 19th and 20th December 2001 more than 30 people were killed by the police (Rossi, 2017: 581; Mauro and Rossi, 2013: 108-109), 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 (Sitrin, 2006). 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, imposing again individuals in the role of protagonists (Sitrin, 2006: 9). The spontaneous riots followed by the movement's organization. The establishment of new and reinforcement of old organizations inaugurated a new context based on horizontal, self-organized and direct-democratic principles (Sitrin, 2006: 38). In order to see the change of boundaries in the Argentinean social movements we move our attention on the movements of neighborhood assemblies, the unemployed workers and the recuperated factories.

9.2.2.1 *Neighborhood 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 neighborhoods, streets and squares of Buenos Aires, with many people joining forces on their pajamas and slippers (Sitri, 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: 26). The spontaneous discussions during the long queues in the banks (Sitrin, 2006: 26) continued when the pot-banging protesters returned to their neighborhoods and formed local assemblies to coordinate their moves (Dinerstein, 2015: 115).

Argentina's tradition of neighborhood assemblies goes back to the early 20th century, while it was reinforced by the Peron administration after the WW2 (libcom,

2005). However, their role and format upgraded during the 2001 crisis. The first assemblies took the forms of encounters with neighbors 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: 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: 116). The same sentiment was felt afterwards but in a more secure environment. According to a member from Colegiales neighborhood 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: 144).

The trajectory of the assemblies’ movement follows two paths: the popular assemblies being affiliated with leftwing Trotskyist parties and opting for a broader social transformation and the neighborhood assemblies consisted of previously non-politically organized neighbors focusing on the transformation of the local context (Mauro and Rossi, 2013; Rossi, 2017). Attention on the neighborhood level and skepticism towards the organized political forces triggered category formation mechanisms with participants in the assemblies favoring the term *vecino* (neighbor) to call each other instead of other terms with connotations of political practices of the past (Dinerstein, 2015: 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: 40).

Similar to the Spanish movement against evictions, neighborhood 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 sprung of neighborhood assemblies only to this. Many narratives argue that inter-neighborhood assemblies paid little attention on 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, 2003: 120; Mauro and Rossi, 2013: 122; Rossi, 2017: 580).

“The personal abilities and experience of the *vecinos* were put at the service of the everyday life of the commons” (Dinerstein, 2015: 116), developing the neighborhood assemblies into the 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 the energy supplies accompanied with negotiation for prices reductions and anti-

eviction efforts (Dinerstein, 2003: 120-121; libcom, 2005). As a member of one neighborhood 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: 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 centers” (Sitrin, 2006: 10). The kitchen run by the neighborhood assembly in La Toma squat serves 120 people per day (Sitrin, 2006: 134), while other solidarity practices deal with the organization of dinners and the collection of newspapers for the carteneros (adults and kids collecting cardboards) (Sitrin, 2006: 136-138, 149; Rossi, 2017: 588-589).

Bartering networks, mostly organized by women in neighborhoods, also diffused rapidly, serving nutrition and transportation needs. The use of tickets representing the credit of individuals preferred from some barter clubs, while others focused on the direct exchange of objects by 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 refer to basic needs. Problems emerged since the exchange of tickets with money increased a lot the value of the products, leading to the collapse of the bartering networks (Sitrin, 2006: 151-152; libcom, 2005).

Together with the limits on the acquisition of goods, the deconstruction of the state’s medical service resulted in ceasing 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 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 born in Buenos Aires shortly after the December’s uprisings, while two years later there were almost 140 neighborhood assemblies with around 8,000 participants (Rossi, 2017: 586; libcom, 2005). Without reducing the autonomy of each assembly coordination mechanisms were at play in the micro level with the establishment of working groups and in the meso level with the development of inter-zone and inter-neighborhood meetings (Dinerstein, 2015: 116-117; Sitrin, 2006: 42). Nevertheless, the implementation of the alternative repertoires that enlarged their boundaries brought the assemblies close to the respective boundaries of institutional actors.

Many leftwing parties perceived the neighborhood 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: 117). Parties and leftwing militants tried to interfere with the assemblies’ proceedings through the inter-assemblies’

coordination, meeting the neighbors' disapproval (Sitrin, 2006: 10-13; libcom, 2005). 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 (Sitrin, 2006: 10-13). Things got more blurred with the re-legitimation of the municipal Centers of Management and Participation (Centros de Gestión y Participación) 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: 117), leading to the assemblies' shrinkage.

9.2.2.2 Piqueteros Unemployed Workers Movement

The privatization of the oil company in the mid-1990s by Menem government resulted in the sudden dismissal of great share of its workforce (Sitrin, 2006: 32-33; libcom, 2005). From workers' towns, Cutral Co and Plaza Huincul in Patagonia transformed into ghost cities of unemployed, with the unemployed workers 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: 10; Sitrin, 2006: 6-7). Getting their name after road blockages, the piqueteros' repertoire diffused in other cities and quite soon reached the industrial centers near the capital (libcom, 2005). Although unemployed and informal workers were marginalized by mainstream trade-unions (Garay, 2007: 301-302), the advent of this new form of direct action witnessed the first break with the hierarchical tradition of past protests led by union leaders and party-brokers (Sitrin 2006: 6-7). As Rossi (2015: 18) suggests, the piqueteros was "the first massive mobilization of the poor by non-Peronist political organizations since 1945". The roadblocks became the actual points where the piqueteros directly negotiated with the governmental officials, while gradually claims addressed other communal and neighborhood needs (Sitrin, 2006: 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 (Rossi, 2015b: 10-13; Sitrin, 2006: 7, 145-146; Garay, 2007). Participation in protests and the concentration of claims on the workfare programs 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, 2007:307-310). This peaked with the 2001 crisis.

Although some groups operated on a top-down model by left-wing parties (Garay, 2007: 315), the local organization of piqueteros mirrors the increase of many city-based groups, while diffusion and coordinated action mechanisms proved crucial for the subsequent formation of larger coordinator groups and federations⁵⁸. Local groups of unemployed workers held weekly assemblies, used direct democracy, and

⁵⁸ Rossi (2015: 5) refers to the Guevarist and autonomist MTDs, the Maoist CCC and the FTV inspired by Liberation Theology, while others add the Bloque Piquetero, and the Coordinadora Anibal Veron (libcom, 2005).

aimed to reach decisions based on synthesis. Town-based assemblies organized once per month, while the appointment of coordinators was necessary considering that, for instance, Solano's unemployed workers' movement includes seven neighborhoods, where each neighborhood has its own assembly (Sitrin, 2006: 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 the national level (Garay, 2007: 311). The actions increased in August 2001, involving thousands of people blocking more than 300 roads in one day (Sitrin, 2006; libcom, 2005). 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 characterized by the slogan 'Piquete y cacerola, la lucha es una sola' (Picket and pot-banger, the struggle is the same), signaling the connection of Piqueteros and Cacerolazo (libcom, 2005). The development of ties between the neighborhood 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: 299). It is also crucial because they brought middle-class citizens and unemployed members of the working-class together to cooperate and create new self-organized structures (Sitrin, 2006: 13).

Together with the road blockades, Piqueteros' repertoire included looting and other violent forms of contention, while riots in 2000 and 2002 characterized by two dead protesters respectively (libcom, 2005). However, the contentious repertoire have been combined with the exercise of the alternative repertoires and the neighborhoods' self-organization. During the De La Rúa administration the operation of Work Plans programs handed from the municipal authorities to the NGOs in order to decongest the movement's activity. Nevertheless, 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 (Garay, 2007; Dinerstein, 2015: 127-128; libcom, 2005). By this type of resource appropriation piqueteros set their own social projects, such as

housing, nurseries, food banks, community wardrobes, community farms, housing and water cooperatives, sport 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: 126-127).

According to a member of Solano's unemployment movement:

every companero 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

neighborhood, etc. We aren't a movement about making demands, but about creating things (quoted in Sitrin, 2006: 118).

The unemployed workers movement set forward a different logic in terms of labor. Although access to the labor market was the movement's top priority, this was not pictured only by finding employment in the capitalistic market. Rather, it was accompanied by a collective and autonomous view of labor expressed by the aforementioned communal projects (Dinerstein, 2015: 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: 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: 82-83, 98). The exercise of the alternative repertoires by piqueteros groups is quite important given the fact that in 2004 the FTV organization just "included approximately 3,600 soup kitchens, cooperatives, micro-enterprises, and day-care centers as well as 75,000 workfare beneficiaries" (Garay, 2007: 315). Many of the piqueteros groups operate health clinics, where unemployed and healthcare professionals implement preventive medicine. Although they provide drugs and medication free of charge, piqueteros groups cultivate herbs in their fields and bring to the forefront traditional approaches to medicine (Zibechi, 2010: 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 in serving the collective (Sitrin, 2006: 149).

Attention to the alternative repertoires increased with the advent of Kirchner in office in 2003 and cost the partial demobilization of the movement (Sitrin, 2016: 7-8). The movement's internal pluralism led the CCC and FTV unemployed organizations to affiliate with Duhalde and Kirchner governments, while the rest of piqueteros rejected any type of collaboration and became somewhat marginalized (Garay, 2007: 314; Rossi, 2015b: 14-15; Sitrin, 2006: 149).

9.2.2.3 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, 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: 93-94). Similar to Greece, poverty, unemployment and the common interests of their members empowered the rise of these collective entrepreneurial endeavors. However, the rise of cooperatives is interlinked with the two above-mentioned movements. Examples like the neighborhood 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 (Ranis, 2010: 94-95). Respectively, the assembly of the

unemployed workers set up a cooperative bakery and restaurant, also subsidizing certain public schools in need (*Ibid*). The rise of similar endeavors across the country triggered coordination mechanisms and 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 USSR in the early 20th century to the Yugoslavian, Peruvian, and Bolivian cases in 1950s (sam sanchez, 2006) and the recent examples in France, Italy and Turkey (Davranche, 2015) present rich experiences in workers' taking over of the means of production. Argentina's history is rich in labor struggles. Characterized by workers' mobilizations and union-led clientelist relations from 1950 onwards (Ranis, 2006: 19-21; libcom, 2005), factories' occupation was a tool for bargaining better economic conditions and wage increases for union workers during 1970s (Dinerstein, 2015: 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 (Dinerstein, 2015: 130-131), while they developed an indifferent if not hostile approach towards the recuperated factories (Vieta, 2010: 298-299). Factory occupations started by the late 1990s and diffused widely after the crisis of 2001 (Dinerstein, 2015: 130-131; Reddebrek, 2017; Ranis, 2010). The recuperation of the Argentinean factories was not typically imposed by a top-down model or by workers' ideological incentives, but rather evolved due to the necessity of employment and the danger of the forthcoming poverty (Reddebrek, 2017; Dinerstein, 2015: 130-131). The recuperation process took place in factories and enterprises that either went bankrupted or were on the brink of bankruptcy. Related studies concentrate on the relations that developed among recuperated enterprises and the market, the new models of labor relations, the changes in workers' daily life and the different strategies on mobilization (Dinerstein, 2015: 131-132). In this respect, this part aims to mark some insights 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 Landless Workers' Movement (Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra) the slogan 'Ocupar, resistir, producer' (Occupy, resist, produce) became the master frame pointing the different layers the workers should go through (Vieta, 2010: 301; Reddebrek, 2017). In October 2003, there were around 140 recuperated factories with 12,000 workers (Reddebrek, 2017; Vieta, 2010: 296), while the current numbers are estimated to 310 with more than 15,000 members (Ruggeri, 2014: 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 (Ruggeri, 2014: 50; Sitrin, 2006: 14; Ranis, 2006: 17; Cortes, 2014). The recuperated workplaces consists of a 30-members average but cases like the Zanon ceramic industry or the Bauen hotel employ a couple hundreds of workers (Ruggeri, 2014). Quite important is the presence of women in the textile industries, health and education sectors, while the 50% of the

recuperated factories and enterprises concentrate in the province of Buenos Aires (Ruggeri, 2014: 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: 79-82; Steven, 2006). However, this was a rather unstable and temporal condition until "the factory could be auctioned off to a new buyer" (Ranis, 2006: 14). In 2004, the municipal council of Buenos Aires assured ownership of machinery, trademarks and patents for 13 occupied factories, with the workers paying in 20 years the value of the enterprise when bankrupted (Ranis, 2010: 82). The second path followed by the recuperated enterprises deals with workers' control through state, provincial, or municipal expropriation (statization) (Steven, 2006). This path enhances the workers' protection from previous owners' debts (Ranis, 2010: 85) and acknowledges a stronger political incentive which contributes "to a wider process of political emancipation" (Dinerstein, 2015: 133). At the same time, though, it 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 fare if not equal compensation.

Recuperated enterprises present great similarities with the Greek social movement scene of labor in terms their organizational structure and resources. All the recuperated factories are subject to the 'one worker-one vote' principle. The vast majority of them "practice complete or nearly complete pay equity" (Vieta, 2010: 310), while research shows that the older the enterprise has been recuperated, the more equal the workers' salary would be (Vieta, 2010: 310-311). Revenues are firstly allocated to workers' salaries and pensions of the retired ones and then for the enterprises' production purposes (Vieta, 2010: 311). Moreover, the workers' strategy illustrates a shift from the typical claim-making strategies of union struggles towards more experimental avenues with great effect on the working conditions (Reddebek, 2017; sam sanchez, 2006). The former state of ownership characterized by limited knowledge of workers in terms of the factories' procedures and minimum social relationships with their colleagues (Ranis, 2006; Steven, 2006). Being responsible for the management of the plants, the new model requires them to know the overall operation of the factories, something that eventually led to 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, 2010: 91; Ranis, 2006; Steven, 2006).

The aftermath of the 2001 crisis activated coordinated action and diffusion mechanisms. One of the first groups lobbying in favor of the recuperated factories and the legal path of cooperative model was MNER (Movimiento Nacional de Empresas Recuperadas - National Movement of Recuperated Businesses) (Vieta, 2010: 303). Established in 2002, MNER accused for following conventional practices (Steven,

2006). However, its successful lobbying resulted in factories minimum subsidy, exempt taxes and secured the diffusion of the worker cooperatives across the country (Reddebek, 2017; Ranis, 2010: 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: 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 among many recuperated enterprises to "collectively lobby and coordinate funds from the state and forge alliances with universities and NGOs" (Vieta, 2010: 309).

Despite the aforementioned progress, many studies suggest that factories' recuperation met a number of difficulties (Reddebek, 2017; Ruggeri, 2014; Vieta, 2010; Ranis, 2010: 88; Ranis, 2006: 21-22). 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 was not an easy task. The economic institutions were quite hesitant to provide loans (Ranis, 2010: 86; Vieta, 2010: 303-305) resulting in the lack of initial capital for the acquisition of raw products and reparation of the machinery. Difficulties 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 new responsibilities. Similar to the Greek experiences analyzed earlier, 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 knew relatively little. This type of employment excused the newcomers of enjoying full rights and responsibilities, while other factories chose the relatively closed path of adding family members (Vieta, 2010: 305). Additionally, market competition affected the wage levels and pace of productivity as well as the final price of the product (Reddebek, 2017). For this, criticism highlights the risks of recuperated factories becoming subjects of self-surveillance and ultimately self-managing workers' misery and exploitation (Dinerstein, 2015: 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 labor social movement scene in Greece, the recuperated enterprises developed informal 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: 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: 132-133).

The recuperated factories became part of the landscape Argentina's everyday life (Dinerstein, 2015: 72; Sitrin, 2006: 4-5). Although relationships between the recuperated factories and the union-led labor movement and the anti-capitalist movement were not intense (Reddebek, 2017), the respective connection with the movement of unemployed workers movement and neighborhood assemblies as well as human right groups, academics, activists and small parties from the left was (Ruggeri, 2014; Ranis, 2010: 79; Vieta, 2010: 299; sam sanchez, 2006). 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 coupled with neighbors' offering food and protecting the factories from evictions (Sitrin, 2006: 70; Steven, 2006). Given the fact that workers lived in the neighborhoods surrounding the factories, this relationship improved, with the factories supplying products and share their surpluses with the local communities as well as recruiting personnel from the unemployed workers' movement (Ranis, 2010: 89-90; Vieta, 2010: 300; Sitrin, 2006: 14-15, 70; Steven, 2006). Moreover, recuperated enterprises participated in local and labor struggles, hosted activists' assemblies (libcom, 2005), and operated "cultural and community centers, free community health clinics, popular education schools, alternative media spaces, and even community dining rooms run by workers, neighbors, or volunteers" (Vieta, 2010: 312). As Vieta (2010: 313) claims, the recuperated enterprises do not just give "back to the neighborhood out of self-interest or corporate 'goodwill'" but they are considered as their continuations.

Together with the meso-organizational level, the collective self-management of enterprises had a strong effect on individuals' self-esteem and attitude towards their work environment. Although it is not easy to tell whether the workers turned into anti-capitalists (Reddebek, 2017), political discussions became part of the everyday life in previously politically sterile factories. 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 (Sitrin, 2006).

9.2.2.4 Affective Politics

Neighborhood 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 neighborhoods through the collective decision-making models of the assemblies (Sitrin, 2006). The same also applies for 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' (Sitrin, 2006). Similar to what Romanos (2017: 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: 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 the 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” (Dinerstein, 2015: 139). Although the beginning of this process can be traced prior to the 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 domestic space and life into the movement. 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: 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 (Zibechi, 2010). Many narratives present men getting depressed after losing their employment and savings with women taking the protagonist role in the early rise of unemployed and neighborhood movements (Sitrin, 2006: 199-214). However, power imbalances still continue. Although women’s presence outweighed that of men in the early piqueteros protests, the role of spokesperson was more commonly filled by a man (Sitrin, 2006: 204). Additionally, machismo has not entirely left the recuperated workplaces even those characterized as ‘women factories’, while similar attitudes noted in popular kitchens (Sitrin, 2006: 209-212). The establishment of women group-meetings from recuperated factories as well as related discussions raised in unemployed and neighborhood assemblies are important attempts in tackling these issues.

9.3 Future Research

Meyer (2002: 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. We hope this inquiry succeeds in providing some satisfactory answers. It 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 analyze this new reality from the lens of the boundary enlargement process.

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. 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.

Moving ahead, this research touches upon other theoretical frameworks which have been not discussed thoroughly. Theories on social and solidarity economy offer important analytical lenses through which to understand the rise of the alternative repertoires of actions. The role of the social and solidarity economy is underlined in the first section of this chapter as well as in many parts of this dissertation. The same also occurred for the commons approach. However, 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 than their analytical strength. For this, we suggest 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. 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 these grassroots organizations and the formal 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 a specific range of organizations. Therefore, research on other service-oriented organizations or on other topics, such as education, will provide new insights and enhance a richer narrative of the operation of the alternative repertoires.

However, restrictions in terms of the sample not only relate to the content of the repertoires but also with regards 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. Though, it restricted the narrative of its application in relatively major urban centers and relatively middle-class neighborhoods. 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 have also focused either on the major cities of Athens, Thessaloniki, and Patra, or in 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 poorer 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 in 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.

10 Appendix

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10.3 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 Center 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 Center 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 Center 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 13 - Female, 45-50 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
- 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
- Interviewee 17 - Female, 56-60 years old, Psychologist, Member in the social clinic in Thessaloniki (20.5.16) - Audio recorded - Transcribed in Greek
- Interviewee 18 - Male, 36-40 years old, former member of a cooperative, Athens (2.10.16) - Email interview - Transcribed in Greek

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 Ekdosis 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 Belle Ville 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 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 Petroupolis Markets Without Middlemen, Athens (10.12.16) - 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 Polities, Thessaloniki (23.5.16) - Audio recorded - Transcribed in Greek

Interviewee 32 - Male, 36-40 years old, Member of Odysseas Migrant School and Steki Metanaston, Thessaloniki (28.7.16) - Audio recorded - Transcribed in Greek

Interviewee 33 - Male, 41-45 years old, Member of Autonomo Social Center, Athens (28.9.16) - Audio recorded - Transcribed in Greek

Interviewee 34 - Male, 31-35 years old, Member of Mikropolis Social Center, 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 Center, 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 Center and Galatsi Without-Middlemen Cooperative, Athens (22.9.17) - 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

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 53 - Male, 31-35 years old, Member of Sabot Social Center and Thessaloniki's Libertarian Initiative, Thessaloniki (15.10.16) – Skype interview- Transcribed in Greek

Interviewee 54 - Male, 31-35 years old, Member of VKP neighborhood 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 Center in Exarcheia, Athens, (8.12.16) - Audio recorded - Transcribed in Greek

Interviewee 58 - Male, 46-50 years old, Member in Empros Squat, 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

Interviewee 62 - Female 36-40 years old, Employee in NGO Arsis, Thessaloniki (13.10.16) - Audio recorded - Transcribed in Greek

Interviewee 63 – Male-36-40 years old, Member of Attica Book Workers Union, Athens (10.11.16) - Audio recorded - Transcribed in Greek

10.4 Interview Guides

Social Centers – SMOs	Age / Occupation/ Task/ When did you start participating?	
General Characteristics	1. Can you tell me a few things about the reason that the Social Center started and what was the cause?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Year of Establishment; Potential number of members and sex. • Was it an ad-hoc initiative of individuals or it was decided by an organized collectivity?
	2. Is it a squat or you pay rent? How and why did you decide that?	
	3. Was there any respective organization that inspired you?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Was it the continuation of another political space/place? • Does it refer to a particular audience? (political beliefs)
Organization and Resources	4. How is it organized?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • How do you take decisions? (majoritarian, consensus, hierarchically) • Who (can) participates in the assembly?
	5. Which are the groups/teams that participate in the social center?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Does every group/team have its own assembly?
	6. How do you fund it?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Legal status?
	7. Which are your main actions?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Protest level and service-oriented level?
	8. Did you change your actions (e.g. more service-oriented) from the time of its establishment? Why did that happen?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Towards what direction? • Were there any actions that became more important than others?

Repertoires of Action	9. Did anything particular happen that made you consider changing your repertoire of actions?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Is it related to the growth of solidarity structures? • What were the conversations regarding the (potential) change in the repertoire of actions?
	10. Do you think that the beneficiaries understand the political approach of the social center?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Are you doing anything particular in order to make that clear?
	11. Was there any moment that was decisive for the development of the social center?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Change of: goals, actions, services • E.g. election of Syriza
Relation with the SM (Collaboration)	12. Which are the teams/groups and social centers of the SM that you collaborate with?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In what way? In what level? (political, same city, same sector?) • With respective structures from abroad?
Relation with the State (Collaboration)	13. Which is your stance regarding the state?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Did it change from the time of your establishment until now? • Do you collaborate with any structure of the state?

Food	Age / Occupation/ Task/ When did you start participating?	
General Characteristics	1. Can you tell me a few things about the reason the [collective kitchen] started and if there was any respective organization that inspired you?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Year of Establishment; Potential number of members and sex • Is it part of a social center/assembly or do you act independently?
	2. Was there anything respective before the crisis? Why (not)?	
Organization	3. How is the [collective kitchen] organized?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Is it on a daily basis? • Are there any sub-groups? How do they coordinate? • How do you take decisions? (majoritarian, consensus, hierarchically) • Do you server food for free or do the people pay? • Are you getting paid for your service? • Does every member work the same hours? • Legal status?
Relation with State and SM (Collaboration and Resources)	4. How do you get the food and the adequate infrastructures?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Is there any external network that supports you e.g. network of producers? • Do you collaborate with any supermarket, NGO, municipal structure? • Which are the SMOs and social centers that you collaborate?
	5. What is your difference with the state or the churches soup kitchens?	
Repertoires of action	6. Despite the provision of food, do you do other actions?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Do they have a political hint?
	7. Do you think that the beneficiaries understand your political view (if any)?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Which ways do you use in order to make that clear?
	8. Do you try to promote any alternative approach t nutrition?	
Relation with State and SM (Time)	9. Did you change your actions in 2012 when Syriza became the leading oppositional party or later on when became government or during the current refugee crisis?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Change: goals, actions, services • Did something happen in order to re-consider the above?

Relation with State and SM (Dynamic)	10. In general, do you think that you have affected the state? Or you have been affected from it?	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Any former or current member of the [kitchen] works in governmental positions?
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Health	Age / Occupation/ Task/ When did you start participating?	
General Characteristics (Organization and Resources)	1. Can you tell me a few things about the reason that the clinic started and how it is organized?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Year of Establishment; Potential number of members and sex • Dominant age group • Was it an ad-hoc initiative of individuals, organized collectivity, NGO, or state's action? • To whom do your actions refer to (neighborhood, municipality, region, etc.) • Are there sub-groups? Is there any network of external doctors that help? Do they participate in the assembly? • Legal status? • How do you take decisions? (majoritarian, consensus, hierarchically) • Do you have standard shifts? Does every member work the same hours? • Funding?
	2. Was there any respective organization that inspired you?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Municipal clinic or NGOs' clinics?
Repertoires of Action	3. Which are the central services you provide?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Do they have a political hint? • Are you involved in other actions apart from the services?
	4. Do you think that the beneficiaries understand your role?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Which ways do you use in order to make that clear?
	5. Do you treat the beneficiaries in a different way compared to the institutional clinics?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Do you use alternative approaches on medicine?
Relation with State and SM (Collaboration)	6. Do you collaborate with hospitals, municipal social clinics, NGOs or churches? Why (not)?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What is your difference compared to the municipal or NGO's social clinics?

	7. Do you collaborate with movement and grassroots organizations? Why (not)?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In what way? • In which level? (political orientation, same city, same sector?) • With respective organizations abroad?
Relation with State and SM (Time)	8. Were there any decisive moments for the evolution of clinic?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Change: goals, actions, services • Did something happen in order to re-consider the above?
	9. Did you change your actions in 2012 when Syriza became the leading oppositional party or later on when became government? How?	
Relation with State and SM (Dynamic)	10. In general, do you think that you have affected the state? Or you have been affected from it?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Any former or current member of the clinic works in a governmental position?

Labor	Age / Occupation/ Task/ When did you start participating?	
General Characteristics	1. Can you tell me a few things about the history of the coop, how did it start as an idea and why did you establish it?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Year of Establishment; Potential number of members and sex. • Was it an ad-hoc initiative of individuals or by an organized collectivity? • Did you work previously in respective private stores? • Were you members of the same political collective before? • Do you see it as an immediate way to tackle unemployment or as something longstanding?
	2. Was there any respective organization that inspired you?	
Organization	3. Can you tell me a few things about your organizational structure and decision-making processes?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Legal status? Why this? • How do you recruit people? • Do you have standard shifts? • Does every member work the same hours?
	4. What is your difference compared to the old cooperatives?	
Repertoires of Action	5. Which are the major services you provide?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Do you have a political hint? • What other actions/events do you do apart from the services? • Did they change over the years?
	6. Which are your clients?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Activists or wider public? • Do you think that your clients understand that you are something different from a respective private shop? • Do you treat your clients in a different way?
	7. Do you think that the presence of the coop has affected somehow the neighborhood?	
Relation with SM	8. Do you collaborate with SMOs, grassroots initiatives and social centers?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • In what way? In which level? (political, same city, same sector?)

(Collaboration-Time)	9. Was there any decisive moment that prevented (inspired) you from collaborating with some SMOs (changed some of your actions)?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • For instance, when Syriza got elected?
Relation with the State	10. Apart from other things, the promotion of the coops was also a governmental plan. What is your stance about it?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Social Economy

State Structures (social groceries/ clinics etc.)	Age / Occupation/ Task/ When did you start participating	
General Characteristics	1. Can you tell me a few things about the history of the [social grocery] and which was the initial cause for its establishment?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Year of Establishment; Potential number of members and sex. • Was it an initiative of an employee, state authority or NGO?
	2. Was there any respective organization that inspired you?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Movement solidarity structures?
	3. Was there any respective organization before the crisis?	
Resources	4. How do you finance your organization and how do you use the money?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Do the members participate voluntarily or are they getting paid?
Organizational Structure	5. Can you tell me a few things about your organizational structure?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • To whom do your actions refer to (neighborhood, municipality, region, etc.) and what is the procedure for someone to become beneficiary? • Legal status? • Who takes the decision in your organization, employees or the municipal authorities? • Do you have standard shifts? • Does every member work the same hours?
Repertoire of actions	6. Which are the major services you provide?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Do they have a political hint? • What other actions do you do apart from the services? • Did they change over the years?
Relation with State and SM (Collaboration and Dynamic)	7. Are there any respective organizations in the municipality?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Respective organizations of your (or other) municipality?
	8. With whom do you collaborate? Why?	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • With social clinics or other local self-help groups? • With SMOs? With NGOs/Church?
	9. In general, do you believe that you have been affected from respective SMOs?	

Relation with State and SM (Time)	10. Were there any changes during the last years with regards the services you provide/ the number of beneficiaries/ the organization you collaborate with?	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• For instance, with the changes of the governments or with the refugee crisis?• Any particular moment?
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