

Infrastructures of Solidarity and Care
in Athens (2010-2020):

Social Movements, Protocol Systems, and Prototypical Designs

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Abstract

My research explores the engagement of numerous social movements in the emancipatory solidarity movement for care provision (healthcare, housing, food, education) in the aftermath of the 2008 financial crisis, and their activism as part of the anti-austerity movement.

Focusing on Athens, Greece, my main hypothesis is that institutional structures monitor the spatial manifestation of the activities of social movements through data quantification systems —such as templates, matrices, legal and administrative protocols and portals— but, most importantly, require social movements to produce design work and architectural drawings. Alongside an in-depth discussion of how spatiality interplays with the concept of the institutionalisation of the activities of social movements, I investigate through architecture the system-building symptom of these initially small-scale autonomous infrastructures and their attempt to scale up the spatial, organisational and technical systems that originated in one place, growing in response to particular survival needs but also to ecological, legal, political, and institutional demands.

One of the main arguments of my thesis is that during the past decade, social movements are wiring the activities of their spaces with the devices, networks or architectures that they deem worthy of contestation or concern. From decentralised spaces and domestic sites diffused across the city to concentrated

consolidations of social movements in the same area, infrastructural projects of solidarity and care have become techno-material artefacts that social movements have taken upon themselves to plan, design, service and maintain, make visible or conceal. I claim that such interventions signal the rise of protocol systems and the design of prototypes to capture the needs, design methods and relationships between different subjects and space. This is a fact that speaks for the transformation of the urban syntax and architecture, directly challenges the public qualities of welfare infrastructure and institutions and reflects the power of solidarity bodies that enable another way of creating infrastructure.

By charting an inclusive history of their activities, including political activism and spatial occupation, my empirical work highlights new networks of exchange among social movements, argues for their agency in design histories, and aims to link the multiple forms of resistance as they have developed, connecting these otherwise dispersed geographies to solidarity organising elsewhere to argue about a network of social movements centred on solidarity and care.

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PART I

INTRODUCTION

1.

Introduction

1.1 The Case for the Thesis

This thesis begins by taking an empirical approach to the investigation of the contemporary context of Greece during the financial crisis. The global financial crisis of 2008 marked the beginning of a series of harsh austerity measures and budget cuts for welfare provision imposed upon Greek society.¹ The unprecedented social and economic conditions experienced during the past ten years exacerbated the conditions of the exclusion of the majority of the population from access to a series of public welfare services, such as healthcare, education, housing, water, electricity and food, along with high rates of unemployment and poverty.² Thus, Greece is examined here as a context in which the activities of social movements are defined by these dire conditions, which gave birth to *direct social action* initiatives in the form of urban uprisings, anti-austerity protest and solidarity support.³ This definition refers specifically to the collective mobilisation and radical organisation of social movements that emerged post-2008 and ‘are not merely “philanthropic” actors, but actors committed to forms of action that focus on directly transforming some specific aspect of society by means of the very action itself’.⁴ These activities include boycotts, solidarity action, alternative financing (e.g. crowd funding, food banks), collective purchasing groups, occupations, self-management, free legal advice, medical services, and further actions centred around welfare provision. Although these are not new, they are contingent on the specific context of crisis.

¹ Costis Hadjimichalis, ‘Crisis and Land Dispossession in Greece as Part of the Global Land Fever’, *City: Analysis of Urban Trends, Culture, Theory, Policy, Action*, 18.4-5 (2014), pp. 502–508.

² Massimo De Angelis, *Omnia Sunt Communia: On the Commons and the Transformation to Postcapitalism* (London: Zed Books, 2017), p. 27.

³ Lorenzo Bosi and Lorenzo Zamponi, ‘Politicizing Solidarity in Times of Crisis: The Politics of Alternative Action Organizations in Greece, Italy, and Spain’, *American Behavioral Scientist*, 62.6 (2018), p. 796. The authors defined the term ‘direct social action’ to precisely describe the characteristics of the organisation of social movements that emerged in the aftermath of the 2008 financial crisis.

⁴ Ibid.

It is precisely in the direct relationship between the activities of social movements and welfare infrastructure that the emergence of an interplay between social movements and state institutions is identified. I explore this interplay between the state and social movements throughout the years of the financial crisis and claim that it reached a peak during the government of the SYRIZA party (Coalition of the Radical Left) when new legislation and administrative regulations were introduced to provide an institutional framework to address the activities of social movements. This argument is based on the investigation of specific legislative frameworks produced by the Greek state that not only negotiated for the activities of social movements to take place in urban spaces but, more significantly, aimed to monitor the spatial configurations of these activities happening in the different administrative and spatial scales of the municipal, regional and central government authorities.

This hypothesis is investigated by interrogating the extent to which the series of small-scale architectures of welfare provision developed by social movements during the past decade have contested existing infrastructural arrangements of welfare and, as such, the limits of the institution as we know them. This is an important contribution because, as identified by social movements in Greece, this contestation does not simply concern the re-establishment or restoration of a bureaucratic welfare state after its collapse, but rather the reconfiguration and redesign of infrastructural modalities of healthcare and social care, housing, education, care for the elderly, the environment, and the safeguarding of labour rights and working conditions, all of which should be rendered on a popular basis so that the vulnerable and marginalised populations do not bear the greatest costs of deprivation.

In this light, the spatial dimension of social movements emerges not simply as a form of political organisation or a set of spatial claims set forth as a form of counter-power to the austerity policies but also as a relational nexus that links questions of spatial design to matters of subjectivity, space, power and governance.

Within this context, while Greece has been the most extreme case of a crisis-hit country in the European Union, it is far from being unique.⁵ The countries of Southern Europe are facing the results of the fiscal austerity measures to this day.

⁵ Darrío Azzellini and Marina Sitrin, *They Can't Represent Us, Re-inventing Democracy from Greece to Occupy*, (London: Verso, 2014), p. 7.

While in the past two years, we have seen the emergence of the COVID-19 pandemic crisis that has exacerbated the existing inequalities in all spectrums of society at large, while the US has experienced the largest Black uprising following the inception of the Black Lives Matter movement in response to police violence, racism, and structural inequality.

Triggered by continuous sources of unrest, escalating numbers of different social movements have been mobilised, driven by the universal appeal of the political call of this moment in time to fight any form of exclusion and marginalisation, and protect the earth and our environment. My research seeks these precarious geographies dominated by the interplay between social movements and the state apparatus. On the one hand, I investigate social movements, whose spaces the growing networks of institutionalisation protocols by the state apparatus traverse and threaten to dominate.⁶ On the other hand, I demonstrate the infrastructures of solidarity, mutual aid, and care that surround the struggles of social movements and are international illustrations of solidarity across causes, borders, and spatial locations.⁷ This fact emphasises an alternative narrative of architectural design and research that can inform such relations, one of direct relevance to questions about how to integrate spatial and socio-political concerns in situations of infrastructural contestation, shifting the current conception of the relevance of architecture.⁸

⁶ In the course of my research, I came across some key concepts, which I explored further to reveal the tensions arising between their meanings. My aim has been, firstly, to interrogate how these concepts sit within my research, and, secondly, to find a terminology that I can utilise throughout my thesis. Thus, for a more detailed review about the intersections that emerge between the concepts of institutionalisation and protocol and their role within mechanisms of the state apparatus, refer to Appendix 2 and the essay 'Institutionalisation and Protocol'.

⁷ Ibid. Refer to Appendix 3 and the essay 'Mutual Aid, Solidarity and Care in Social Movements'.

⁸ Ibid. Refer to Appendix 4 and the essay 'The Tools of Counter-Architecture'.

1.2 Research Aims and Objectives

A hierarchy of research aims has been devised to delineate the key subjects of this dissertation. Moreover, the research aims and objectives are articulated here in a sequential order based on the stages of this research.

1. Context of austerity: This first aim has been to investigate the scope of the effects of the financial crisis and the interplay of this condition with the rise of the social movements during the past decade. A way to approach this is to think about what differentiates the present situation from other moments in history when social movements initiated collective action and political mobilisation to support their ‘right to the city’.⁹ The specific impacts of the imposition of austerity policies, the decline of public welfare services and infrastructure, the prevailing structural inequalities, conditions of the structural violence of the state, the socio-political spectrums of the crisis, and the additional impact of population displacement –the “refugee crisis”¹⁰ as it has been labelled by western governments –on a transnational scale, suggest that this is a significant moment in modern Greek history. Greece has been at the forefront of these contingencies as the country faced the harshest austerity policies implemented by a government in the last hundred years.¹¹ Thus, the socio-political effects of unemployment, inadequate healthcare provision, and the inability of the welfare state to cope with the new demands are being explored as a means to raise the question of the more inclusive role of planning and spatial design in public welfare infrastructures, which is where the effect of these dire conditions is strikingly manifested.

⁹ Henri Lefebvre, ‘The Right to the City’, in *Writings on Cities*, ed. by Eleonore Kofman and Elizabeth Lebas (New Jersey, New Jersey: Wiley-Blackwell, 1996), pp. 147-159. Alternative configurations of democratic participation in urban decision-making processes over matters of healthcare, housing, water, education, transportation become central to my research that explores a specific manifestation of collective action wherein such rights take expression and ground themselves in concrete infrastructural conditions.

¹⁰ For the antiracist movement all over Europe, what the European authorities labelled as a “refugee crisis” in 2015 has been contested as an issue that should not be dealt with as a crisis of refugee arrivals to the European borders but as a displacement of populations entangled in the decision-making centres of Europe that led to the “summer of migration” in 2015.

¹¹ Bosi and Zamponi, ‘Politicizing Solidarity in Times of Crisis’, p. 796.

2. Modalities of welfare provision: Then, the second aim of my research has been to investigate the activities of participants in social movements, who, triggered by these continuous sources of unrest, have been mobilised as part of the broader anti-austerity movement to fight different forms of exclusion and marginalisation. However, what started as an investigation of the different modalities of welfare provision activities – activities that were the sole responsibility of state authorities and public institutions – such as the provision of healthcare, food, water and electricity, along with access to housing and education, soon revealed the tensions between the attempts of social movements to intervene in the reconfiguration of welfare infrastructures and the state, which proliferated strategies of capitulating these interventions.

3. An account of institutionalisation protocols: To unravel the tensions resulting from the activities of social movements in urban spaces, the third research aim has been to trace and reveal the relations between social movements and the state, which this thesis acknowledges as being a timely topic of inquiry in the history of social movements. In particular, the links between social movements, welfare infrastructure, and the state are investigated through both the prism of institutionalisation (of protocol systems), which is here examined as happening at different administrative scales, and the spatial claims made by social movements in the form of occupations, squats, and the re-appropriation of buildings, which are investigated as playing a part in the institutionalisation frameworks that were created. Thus, the investigation of the role of spatial design in this interplay between social movements and public state institutions, as defined by the Athenian context, is key here.

4. Survey of spaces: As a result, the next aim has been to investigate the activities of the different kinds of social movements that emerged during the years of crisis in Athens, but this time concerning the spatial configurations and the integration of their daily procedures, spaces and microstructures into the architecture of the buildings they occupy, adhering to property ownership mechanisms, new requirements set out in regulations, legislation, and other norms. Arguing for a counter-architecture shaped by the activities of social movements, the re-appropriation of buildings, and the reconfiguration of their interiors have been explored as a means to assess the particular experiences of their inhabitants and the effects on the everyday life of the neighbourhoods in which they are located.

5. Counter-architecture of solidarity healthcare: From the body to infrastructure, the exploration of the inclusive holism of the infrastructure of the solidarity projects of social movements is the fifth line of inquiry. In this case, the built environment and infrastructure are investigated not only as an issue of access to public welfare and care provision, or through a critique of the abandonment of welfare architectures such as those for healthcare or housing by the state. Here, I re-assemble the analysis to explore how solidarity clinics meet people along the lines of class, race, gender, age. To do so, the codes, values, designs and redistribution networks of social movements —of solidarity clinics and pharmacies in particular— are investigated as a counter-architecture against the multi-scalar biopolitical concept of intentional debilitation of marginalised bodies and infrastructures that aim to prohibit the existence of alternative forms of life.¹²

6. An international network of solidarity: Drawing links among counter-architectures designed for and by the marginalised and precarious populations on an international scale is a significant aim, not only to interrogate and highlight the relevance of Greece to other social movements but also to think about how this research can be of use to other social movements and researchers by making explicit the various ways in which similar socio-political mobilisations contested different aspects of infrastructure systems, flows, and power during the same period while providing insights and a method that can inform research in different frameworks.

7. Prototypes of intervention: Finally, this dissertation embarks on a search of the challenges and disruptions that thinking with and through infrastructure poses for social movements. Through the reconceptualisation of their interventions as different (proto)types of intervention in urban space, my final aim is to propose an architectural concept for state-of-the-art design studies, one which can be further used in related research.

¹² To tackle this, I draw, among others, from the book by Jasbir K. Puar, *The Right to Maim* (Duke University Press, 2017) that explores how biopower proliferates through infrastructural debilitation, and the timely work of Elizabeth Povinelli, in particular her book *Economies of Abandonment: Social Belonging and Endurance in Late Liberalism* (Duke University Press, 2011) that also speaks about the co-optation of every notion of care by the liberal state as a strategy to sustain debilitation and exclusion of alternative forms of life, which refers to the most marginalised populations of western societies.

1.3 Research Question and Sub-questions

The major research question that this research addresses is:

- How have social movements acted as accelerators for transformation in both institutional politics and protocols of collective care, changing the urban syntax, and building interiors and forms of social participation during the past decade of financial crisis (2010-2020), and how can they contribute to establishing new forms for social life and public health? If it is not a matter of defining the welfare state through norms, then could intervention according to a new set of social interactions and a reconfiguration of infrastructural spatiality and diversity, within and through institutions, at different levels, but connected between each other be an answer?

To respond to this multifaceted question, an approach to the subject matter that reaches across various disciplines and perspectives is employed. The approach can be divided into categories of research questions as follows:

- 1) By constructing a dialectic of architecture through the social movements' agency in urban space, the subject matter is questioned from a spatial perspective, as follows:
 - How can the social movements form a relational nexus for services, infrastructures and amenities of solidarity support within the neighbourhood and the city?
 - What are the architectural design components that organise the microstructures of solidarity support between the different spatial scales: i.e., interiors, apartments, buildings and the neighbourhood?

2) Then, by constructing a dialectic of the activities of social movements through collective (counter) power/state power, the subject matter of the research is questioned from a spatial and an institutional perspective, as follows:

- What are the main mechanisms of an institutional *ecology* (norms, structures, templates, portals, regulations, laws) that have addressed the activities and spatial configurations of social movements in Athens and what are the spatial transformations that could emerge from this interaction?
- What are the challenges that emerge from the relationships developed between social movements and state authorities, and what types of relationships have emerged between the activities of social movements in Athens and the current political and financial systems?

3) Also, by focusing on the spatial expressions of social movements as being part of an infrastructural system, the subject matter of the research is questioned from a theory on infrastructures perspective, as follows:

- How do the spaces of social movements relate to infrastructural contestation and at what level do they have the capacity to reconfigure these infrastructures?
- What are the organisational and spatial models of the infrastructures of solidarity and care, and how do they modify the institutional conceptualisations of health-care, housing, education and social care?

4) By focusing on a comparative framework between the activities and spaces of social movements from different contexts, the subject matter is questioned as follows:

- In what ways have similar socio-political mobilisations in a transnational context contested infrastructure systems and flows during the same period?
- Drawing from different contexts of social unrest and mobilisation regarding infrastructural contestation, which method of architectural intervention can be drawn on and how can architectural research contribute to shaping an agency in this network?

1.4 The Contribution to Knowledge

Due to the relatively recent history of social movements operating during the years of the financial crisis in Greece, there appears to be no previous systematic research regarding their spatial configurations in relation to the scales of institutionalisation, while formal information about the institutionalisation frameworks addressing the activities of social movements at the scale of municipal, regional and legal/central government remains scarce. Having in mind, that the conceptualisation of ‘institutionalisation’ remains undertheorised in social movement studies more generally, I address this by examining the moments, including history and context, of the reciprocal and dialectical (trans)formations between institutional structures and spatial forms of collective mobilisations through the context of the rise of social movements in the past decade of the financial crisis. In this way, my thesis contributes to the renewal of the discourse between socio-political structures and spatial forms, considering both as dynamic and mutually transformative entities.

In addition, recent ways of considering space as an integral part of the institutionalisation of provisional coping mechanisms within the historical trajectory of the politics of austerity (adjustment policies and structural reforms) are addressed. My research offers a detailed account of the effects of state institutionalised action under the first radical left government in Europe in recent history and asks what this means for the spatial expression of solidarity projects. Considered as an important milestone, the January 2015 electoral victory of SYRIZA (Coalition of the Radical Left), made for a particularly rich, although unstable, time to research this topic, when the role of the state and the futures of the people and the nation

were under profound discussion and scrutiny. In my research, I navigate the political landscape of the time and I trace the proliferation of institutionalisation mechanisms by the government of SYRIZA that started to show their effects on the organisations and spatial configurations of social movement in the urban space.

On a broader scale, this dissertation offers a renewed approach to how care and health can obtain a defining role in the democratisation of institutions. By arguing for a holistic perception of medical and pharmaceutical care provision that is inclusive and at the same time based on the needs and history of the community that social movements have become part of, my thesis offers new ways of perceiving projects of solidarity and care. Moreover, the historical moment of today's urgency on re-reading what care means for our bodies and communities, and amidst an unprecedented public health crisis exacerbated by the COVID-19 pandemic, calls for transformations on many levels, including everyday life. This fact makes the reconfiguration of the healthcare infrastructure more relevant than ever before. However, as the case studies in this research reveal, the reasons that led to the rise of social movements during the past decade continue, a fact that calls for a fundamental shift to define practices and protocols of functioning around care and health, as inclusive in terms of democratic values and expressions of a multifaceted everyday life. This is precisely where the originality of my thesis lies, as it addresses not only the infrastructural spatiality that tends to be fundamental in the interplay between social movements and processes of institutionalisation, but also issues of infrastructural diversity, such as the ones exemplified in the cultural and inclusive protocols of social movements. It is precisely this discussion that contains the key to the question of the democratisation of institutions of provisional welfare.

Finally, the methodology used to address the identified gaps in knowledge includes the compilation of a technical account of protocols of institutionalisation and a survey of spaces of social movements. These accounts hold the potential to act as a tool to hack/intervene in institutionalisation systems and to (re)construct, replicate, or transfer the architectures of solidarity, respectively, so that social movements become able to deal with a fluctuating institutional environment and situations of contingency and hostility, which make their existence vulnerable and subject to displacement, while the need for their operation continues undiminished.

1.5 Methodology

Introduction to the Research Process: Grounded Research

The concept of grounded research in my research refers partly to the fact that it has as its main entry point at the very specific field of in-situ research done alongside some specific social movements that operate in Athens. However, a part of it has a strong reference to what Leanne Simpson and Glen Coulthard explore as the theory and practice of grounded normativity, referring to research done alongside indigenous communities to speak about in-situ ‘practices and longstanding experiential knowledge that inform and structure our ethical engagements with the world and the community’.¹³ Political theorist Glen Coulthard, author of *Red Skin, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition*, calls “grounded normativity”, ethical frameworks generated by place-based practices and associated knowledge.¹⁴ Reflecting on this, in her book *As We Have Always Done: Indigenous Freedom through Radical Resistance*, Leanne Betasamosake Simpson finds that ‘in academia, this is an important intervention because grounded normativity is suggested to become the base of our political systems, economy, and it creates process-centred modes of living that generate profoundly different conceptualisations of collectivity and governmentality —ones that aren’t based on enclosure, authoritarian power, and hierarchy’.¹⁵

In this research, this practice involves turning observations into concepts, concepts into tools and tools into possible (architectural) research methodologies. Precisely, as the researcher I see myself ‘participating and intervening’¹⁶ in the context —

¹³ Glen Sean Coulthard, *Red Skin, White Masks: Rejecting the Colonial Politics of Recognition* (Minneapolis, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2014), p. 13.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, *As We Have Always Done: Indigenous Freedom through Radical Resistance* (Minneapolis, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2017), p. 11.

which in this case is the urban syntax of Athens— and ‘interpreting actions and projects by means of a method of investigation grounded in the in-situ needs’¹⁷ and activist struggle by social movements. With this in mind, my involvement in the interplay between the state and social movements in Greece and, in particular, with the solidarity clinics and pharmacies in Athens that are interrogated in more detail, opened different points of view and provided most of the human connections, interlocutors, and source material.

Preliminary data for the case studies have been collected through a series of visits to the spaces where social movements operate, such as housing accommodation for refugees, solidarity schools, solidarity clinics, and waste management and energy anti-privatisation collectives. During these visits, introductions to their self-organisation protocols through informal discussions were presented. I also participated in conversations with representatives of these initiatives during scheduled meetings and attended the assemblies of some of the solidarity initiatives. Some which had been developed by more radical groups asked for a presentation to their general assemblies of the aims and methods of this research to consider my investigation into their spaces and their indirect inclusion in the thesis. This has enabled an understanding of the processes, rituals, intentions, aims and practices of those involved. Most importantly, the arguments I raised throughout the thesis draw on insights from the discussions and the collected material during fieldwork.

During the visits, to better capture the self-organisation protocols and spatial configurations of the social movements during the fieldwork, documentation consisted of notes, sketches, photos and some video material upon agreement. These forms of documentation act as integral artefacts in investigating the main aims, as they assist with the re-reading of the spaces and re-assembling of the data for the purposes of this research.

Therefore, the research methods consist of fieldwork in Athens as a method of in-situ research to provide a survey of the spaces along with a taxonomy methodology in order to identify the categories of direct action by social movements

¹⁶ Characteristically, Tim Ingold, in a critique of overusing ethnography as an umbrella to justify the researcher’s involvement in a case study and a specific group of people, stresses that such use is in fact, most often, lacking any critical practice. He stresses that this understanding of ethnography as methodology sets a boundary between the researcher’s observation and participation. Instead, he suggests involvement and participation as a means that can lead us (i.e., researchers, anthropologists) to healing the rupture between imagination and real-life experience. In Tim Ingold, ‘That’s Enough about Ethnography!’, *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory*, 4.1 (2014), p. 383.

¹⁷ Ibid.

and the fields of infrastructural dispute that emerge from these types of actions; an extended literature review of the context of Greece during the years of crisis and, in particular, of Athens, which grapples with many disciplines in order to trace the rise of the numerous social movements; archival work and technical investigation of the current history of both the social movements and government institutions in Greece to compile a technical account of the protocol frameworks and spatial transformations that have emerged as responses to their activities on urban space; a visual analysis of the spatial configurations of the different types of infrastructures of solidarity support, coupled with diagramming as a method of representation, with the aim of unpacking overlapping layers of information regarding the spaces that social movements have developed; and, finally, a view of the international experience regarding infrastructural contestation by social movements by rendering visible the spatial configurations and institutionalisation strategies in different contexts.

Survey of Spaces: Case Study Analysis

This research begins with an investigation of different types of social movements. However, this is not based on exhaustive documentation of case studies regarding collective mobilisation in Athens in their totality throughout the years of crisis, but rather on a selection based on a number of criteria and conditions of engagement that led to the formation of the social movements that have operated in urban space during the past decade. The selection criteria taken into consideration are:

1. The social movement cycle: The transformation of the form of action taken by social movements operating in urban space in Greece has been identified as developing through three cycles.¹⁸ The history of contemporary social movements in Greece starts with the December 2008 uprising, followed by the movement of the squares in 2011 that culminated the 2009-2011 period of anti-austerity mobilisation and, eventually, in its third cycle, it transforms and diffuses from the squares to the neighbourhoods through more permanent interventions in urban space. I focus on the third cycle of social movements that have intervened in the built environment by creating microstructures of welfare provision in the past decade (2010-2020).¹⁹ The aims of selecting the case studies from the third cycle of social movements have been to (a) define infrastructural dispute as a

¹⁸ This argument unfolds in detail in Chapter 2.

¹⁹ The first and second cycle of social movements in Greece were examined during my undergraduate studies in my research dissertation titled 'Polis, Politics and ad hoc Urban Practices in Athens', which was submitted in October 2013 at the University of Patras, Greece and published on Issuu (in the Greek language) <<https://bit.ly/3zuZI9M>> [accessed 10 September 2021].

field of struggle for social movements in relation to state institutions, (b) create a taxonomy of the types of social movements based on the infrastructural field they engage with (presented in Chapter 2.5), and (c) identify the fields of contestation, challenges and networks of collaboration that emerge for each type of social movement based on the infrastructural field they operate.

2. The urban and political significance of the solidarity project and/or the infrastructural dispute: The manifestation of intense urban conditions such as contested areas or buildings within the city, has led to the selection of an in-depth analysis of four emblematic case studies for my research: the Refugee Accommodation and Solidarity Space of City Plaza, the Notara 26 Refugee Accommodation, KIFA.A (Social Clinic and Pharmacy of Solidarity of Athens), and the Metropolitan Community Clinic of Hellinikon, whose significance for the entire solidarity movement in Greece traversed the local scale. In particular, Chapters 3 and 4 unpack the multiple qualities of these solidarity projects to interrogate what thinking and working infrastructurally means for social movements.

3. Empirical/experiential: My experiences with particular locations and the relationships with representatives of specific solidarity projects whose work I have closely followed have led to further exploration of the self-management and interiors of the solidarity pharmacies of Neos Kosmos, Vyronas and Nea Filadelfia; the food cooperative solidarity networks of Paleo Faliro and Hellinikon, and the neighbourhood solidarity centres of Kallithea, Gkyzi and Exarchia. As a result, embodied memory and personal experiences have played a key role in the progress and decision-making points that take place throughout this work.²⁰

²⁰ Previous early research, including living in Athens (hometown), as well as in Barcelona (2011) and Madrid (2013) for periods of time when the Indignados movement in 2011 and the urban commons projects that sprung across the country in 2013 were formed, have helped to frame the scope of this research and establish communication with a number of participants in social movements.

Extended Literature Review

The transformation of the means and tools of action by social movements through the three social movement cycles should in no way be perceived as being smooth and happening linearly, e.g., from protest to strikes to welfare provision, but more as a symptom of the mechanisms of endurance developed by social movements, whose struggle against oppression and exclusion require the reinvention of their tools and configurations in urban space. This has been precisely the topic of the extended literature review in the context of Greece and, in particular, of

Athens, during the years of crisis. Besides presenting data from a variety of institutional bodies to convey the multifaceted effects of the crisis on the country, this research has explored with the work of several scholars from a variety of disciplines who have engaged with the charged socio-political phenomena of recent years in Greece, with an emphasis on theories that perceive space in the city as a spatial claim by emancipatory social movements.

Essays on Key Terms

Furthermore, since very early in the process of my research, I have identified key terms that are seemingly at odds with each other, such as “social movement” and “hierarchy” or “protocol”, and “institutionalisation”, “policy” and “participation”, which are the result of thinking through and working with social movements. This exploration is presented in a series of essays in the appendices that address the scale of these tensions and explain how specific terms have shaped my research.

Technical Account: Archival Investigation

To investigate the interplay between social movements and the state apparatus, a series of documents and administrative protocols applicable to the activities of social movements in Athens have been identified and reviewed. This investigation aims to create a technical account that captures the activities of social movements in Greece, focusing on the administrative district of the Attica region and the urban space of Athens. To do this, my research scrutinises the institutionalisation framework developed during the past decade (2010-2020), especially the one shaped around the social solidarity economy sector, and reveals in Chapter 3 the documents that have acted as not only as devices in this mechanism of bureaucratic organisations but rather ‘as being constitutive of bureaucratic rules, ideologies, knowledge, practices, subjectivities, objects and outcomes’.²¹ Moreover, written documents but also files are treated as an artefact yet keeping in mind the assuredness by Cornelia Vismann that files process the separation of the law into authority and administration.²² From lists to files to platforms, from their initial compilation to their final storage every sort of technical device is investigated to speak about the scalar institutionalisation of social movements in technical terms.

²¹ Matthew S. Hull, ‘Documents and Bureaucracy’, *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 41 (2012), pp. 251–67.

²² Cornelia Vismann, *Files: Law and Media Technology* (Palo Alto, California: Stanford University Press, 2008), p. xii.

This method was employed to address the identified gap in knowledge as empirical quantitative evidence that captures a broader portrait of the wider social solidarity economy sector and its main attributes across the country remains scarce. The scarcity of quantitative nationwide studies on the social solidarity economy is probably due to the relatively recent expansion of the sector that encompasses different types of solidarity bodies and cooperatives.²³ It is worth mentioning that until recently, there was a lack of a coherent legal framework that would allow research based on official data. At the end of October 2016, the Greek parliament voted for the new law (Law 4430/2016) that was seen as constituting essential progress for the development of the social solidarity economy of Greece. This legislation is a major signifier for the hypothesis of this dissertation — that a broader administrative framework must exist to justify the implementation of it. However, further empirical research was required, and this took the form of visits to both social services of the federal state such as the Solidarity Network office of the Region of Attica, but also discussions with participants in solidarity initiatives to confirm the existence of any form of interplay between them and the state institutions, but also with regulatory bodies such as the Association of Pharmacists in Greece.

Therefore, this research has drawn on the one hand, on content from the Greek state institutions' digital platforms and databases such the online platforms of the related administrative departments of the Ministry of Labour, Social Insurance and Social Solidarity, the Office for Social Care and Solidarity, the Social Solidarity Economy General Secretariat and the archival records of the PEDDA (Regional Association of Municipalities of Attica). In addition, the digital platforms of several regional authorities were accessed to gather information and develop a chronological narration of events. On the other hand, information was retrieved from the digital sources and physical archives of social movements.

To do so, my investigation includes:

- A content analysis and interpretation of documents of the relevant laws, portals, regulations, templates, contracts of agreement, matrices, portals and registration lists, that address, via their wording, the operation of social movements and their activities in urban space.

²³ Stefania Kalogeraki and Marina Papadaki, 'Exploring Social and Solidarity Economy (SSE) During the Greek Economic Crisis', *Partecipazione e Conflitto (PACO)*, 11.1(2018), p. 43.

- An analysis of the building regulations and interpretation of the effects of such regulations on the spatial reconfigurations of the buildings that the social movements occupied when this has been mentioned as a requirement by an administrative protocol.

Also,

- A content analysis of documents related to various social movements' collective documentation material, such as the Charters of Constitution.
- A content analysis of self-organisation protocols and self-regulating norms of social movements, such as the codes of conduct or, for instance, contracts of agreements signed between them and local authorities, and so forth.

Methodological Restrictions:

In terms of technical restrictions, because the available archival sources, mainly those of state institutions, are subject to bureaucratic cataloguing systems, and because the labelling of sources in the digital portals happens to be in relation to their relevancy to other material, this method required preparatory work and research before any preliminary data gathering. Moreover, additional access to online sources such as 'opengov.gr' was required to verify that the documents consulted were, indeed, part of the general legislative framework for which they were accessed. Archives of other institutions were accessed if a piece of data indicated that it was necessary to do so, depending on how the research developed.

Diagrams and Illustrations

Visual interpretation and representation have an instrumental role throughout my thesis, especially when summarising the very complex institutional structures and activities across solidarity bodies, government bodies and the role of space in diagrams. In this process, qualitative data related to solidarity bodies and their provisional functions, or even the protocol interactions between the latter and other social agents/political bodies, are incorporated.

Comparative Framework

Bringing the international experience into this research (Chapter 6), acts as an entry point to explore the infrastructural diversity of social movements, which is also (if not more) important alongside their infrastructural spatiality. It is the prevailing socio-economic context of the 2008 financial crisis, the infrastructural gaps of the modern state and the legacy of the movement of the squares (Indignados, Aganaktismenoi, Occupy) that crossed continents that form the basis of a direct link.²⁴ This approach does not seek to suggest or refute the value of some form of comparison, rather it identifies the common values, protocols, tools for self-management and self-organisation by social movements across continents and reflects on the spatiality of infrastructural disputes, with a greater and crucially more sensitive attendance to context.

Therefore, the criteria for selecting the international case studies from Madrid (Los Madriles, El Campo), Barcelona (Can Batlló, La Borda) and the Standing Rock reservation in the US (No Dakota Access Pipeline movement, Standing Rock Medic and Healer Council) are based on the fact that (1) they demonstrate the characteristics of direct social action and exhibit specific claims and contestations around infrastructure, (2) have had a crucial impact on both social movements and the communities, while demonstrating an international reach, and (3) demonstrate a different aspect of infrastructural crisis (this will be revealed to be failure, absence and presence) to provide a thorough understanding of the different spatial expressions that emerge from the interplay between social movements and the state apparatus.

²⁴ The links between different forms of resistance that emerged during the past decade are studied in detail in Chapter 6.

1.6 Dissertation Structure

The dissertation is divided into four (IV) parts and consists of seven chapters. It has an introductory part that establishes the case for the research, a second part that focuses on the Greek context as it has been defined during the years of the financial crisis, a third part that focuses on a specific aspect of the crisis in Greece dealing with the healthcare infrastructure, and a fourth part that creates links with paradigms of social movements from the international experience to speak about the organisation of social movements during the past decade as a system. In addition, there is a Postscript, where I reflect on some of the characteristics of what I define as “prototypical designs”, which consist of the infrastructure of solidarity and care, and are likely to propose alternative solutions to urban and architectural design at large. Finally, the Appendices section supports the introduction and offers a more detailed analysis of the concepts in the theoretical background of the thesis to provide an understanding of how and why specific terms have been instrumentalised throughout my research.

Chapter 1 serves as an introduction to the research topic, where I set out the research question, the drivers for the thesis, the contribution to knowledge, as well as the research methods to frame the research inquiries.

Chapter 2 focuses on the Greek context. Here I highlight the events that led to the emergence of the socio-political and cultural conditions that form the basis of the inquiry. The data gathered and analysed in this chapter demonstrate the extent and impact of the financial crisis on all aspects of welfare and public services in Greece. Thus, I further define the rise of social movements as responses to these dire conditions in Athens and articulate the activities of social movements around specific infrastructural disputes with state institutions.

Chapter 3 focuses on the interplay between social movements and the Greek state institutions, especially following the election of the SYRIZA party to government in 2015. By adopting a relational approach highlighting the interplay between the networks of self-organisation, the fluctuating institutional environment, an ecology of protocols, including registration mechanisms, legislation, regulatory structures and institutionalisation processes, and the broader administrative and structural processes in the background of a dismantled welfare state, I demonstrate the infrastructural potential of the activities of social movements in Greece.

Chapter 4 provides a spatial analysis of the buildings occupied by social movements and present an understanding of the urban context from which social movements have emerged to create infrastructures of solidarity and care across Athens. I do so by exploring the interiors of these spaces and interrogating the ways in which they have been shaped by social movements during the past decade. Navigating through different types of ownership models and practices of occupation, I seek to define the architectures of social movements and addresses issues of scale.

Chapter 5 examines the urban welfare infrastructure of Athens through the lens of the healthcare social movement. Here, I further explore the infrastructure of the solidarity clinic and pharmacy as a system that functions under specific protocols, codes, charters and architectures, which I demonstrate through an analysis of specific case studies of solidarity healthcare.

Chapter 6 traces practices of endurance, processes of institutionalisation, and protocols of functioning of “alternative forms of life” and their spatial manifestations that have been retrieved from the international experience, embarking from the most emblematic cases of social movements that emerged in Southern Europe and the US.

Chapter 7 forms the conclusion of this doctoral dissertation, where I review the main findings of my research, set out the contributions this research makes and outline directions for future research.

PART II

THE GREEK CONTEXT

2.

2. The Rise of Social Movements in Greece during the Years of Crisis



Figure 2.1

Banner "Solidarity Will Win!" hanging from the façade of City Plaza Hotel Refugee Accommodation in Athens (2019). Courtesy: Refugee Accommodation and Solidarity Space City Plaza.

2.1 Introduction to Chapter 2

This chapter describes the context that saw the emergence of solidarity projects by social movements in Greece in the aftermath of the 2008 financial crisis. This is done within the framework of the financial crisis and the subsequent adjustment reform policies introduced by the state. However, I argue that social movements arose not exclusively as responses to the multiple exclusions resulting from austerity policy, but more importantly as socio-spatial practices that spatially reconfigure and manifest modes of socio-political encounters, economic conduct and architectural formations, and by doing so they have rendered the infrastructural domain as one of the most important public sites of collective participation and struggle.

To begin with, I summarise some of the effects of the austerity programmes based on the data published by the Hellenic Statistical Authority (ELSTAT) and other government and international sources, such as the Hellenic Statistical Authority (ELSTAT), INE/GSEE (Institute of Labour of the General Confederation of Trade Unions), DEI (public electricity company), Doctors and Pharmacist Associations of Athens, the Consumers Institute of Greece, Eurostat and the European Commission, that demonstrate the extent of the crisis in Greece regarding unemployment, poverty, dismantling of public welfare services and public infrastructures and the shrinkage and privatisation of public goods. Other datasets include the annual report on strikes and labour mobilisations of the Research Institute of the General Confederation of Greek Workers (INE-GSEE) published between 2011–2017. The aim of compiling data from datasets, statistics,

archives and public records is to convey the sense of scale – financial, political, social and spatial – regarding the effects that the austerity measures and adjustment reforms of state institutions (central government, regional authorities and municipalities) had during this period. I do so because the hypothesis of my research here is that the financial crisis, which affected from individual households to public health institutions, had a direct effect on the scale of the social movements' activities across the country.

Information relevant to the activities of social movements in the urban space of Athens has been gathered from the online media hubs (webpages, blogs, online outlets and social media), digital archives and file records of the social movements, including the Solidarity For All initiative, which made available unprocessed archival material for the 2011–2015 period. Using these sources, I have documented specific grassroots direct action and identified struggles and initiatives. These have since been confirmed and explored via other avenues, such as email or phone communication, and for some of them through visits to the spaces they occupy.

Eventually, I interrogate the claims by social movements as they have taken place around disputes that concerned infrastructures. Hence, I define and classify the infrastructural fields that social movements have been claiming through their activities related to welfare provision and investigate a comparative framework to assess the different types of activities by social movements in urban space.



Figure 2.2
Graffiti by street artist Jupiterfab, depicting Greek Prime Minister Alexis Tsipras and German Chancellor Angela Merkel in Athens.
Photo by Giorgos Georgiou.



2.2 The Politics of Extreme Austerity

The sovereign debt levels of Greece were revealed in February 2010 and led to the government's appeal for emergency loans. The first of three debt memoranda (for a €110bn loan)²⁵ was signed in May 2010 between the Greek government and a tripartite coalition comprising the ECB (European Central Bank), the IMF (International Monetary Fund), and the EU (the EU Commission). The memoranda allotted Greece the needed loans on the condition that the country would undergo radical structural adjustments – a process that has continued unabated since then. In order to actually release the funds, the fast-track of austerity policies and measures that would fuel the Greek economy was demanded. Another memorandum followed in October 2012, loaning the country another 130bn €. ²⁶ In addition, in July 2015, Greece and the newly elected government of SYRIZA (Coalition of the Radical Left), made an official request for 'stability support' in the form a government loan up to €86 billion from the ESM (European Stability Mechanism).²⁷ The third economic adjustment programme for Greece started in August 2015 and was scheduled to run until August 2018.

It is worth observing that in the course of five years, the country changed its executive administration five times. Different forms of government have been implemented, ranging from a coalition from the far right to the centre left in 2010, to an experiment in technocratic governance during mid-2011, to the bipartite coalition of SYRIZA (Coalition of Radical Left) and ANEL (far right party).²⁸

²⁵ IMF, 'Press Release: IMF Statement on Greece', Press Release No. 10/31, (9 May 2010) <<http://www.imf.org/external/country/GRC/index.htm>> [accessed 10 September 2021].

²⁶ IMF, 'Press Release: IMF Statement on Greece', Press Release No. 12/395, (17 October 2012) <<http://www.imf.org/external/country/GRC/index.htm>> [accessed 10 September 2021].

²⁷ European Council and European Stability Mechanism, 'Assessment by the European Commission, in Liaison With the ECB, of the Greek Request for Stability Support, 10 July 2015' <<http://www.consilium.europa.eu/en/policies/financial-assistance-eurozone-members/greece-programme/>> [accessed 10 September 2021].

²⁸ Kostas Douzinas, *Philosophy and Resistance in the Crisis. Greece and the Future of Europe* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2013), p. 11.

Figure 2.3
Timeline that traces the developments in politics in Greece and the rise of social movements through the years.
Drawn by the author.

When SYRIZA was elected as a government in January 2015, and more than five years into the crisis, it was more than evident that the recurrent memoranda and implementation laws were not adequate tools to confront the crisis. On the contrary, the reforms and austerity programmes disproportionately targeted urban areas with the dismantling of public services and infrastructures and the shrinkage of public employment.

Probably most striking has been exclusion from the labour market, which has affected an extremely high number of people. In Greece, salaries suffered significant cuts, including a number of benefits (for unemployment, pregnancy, disease, mental health illnesses, and overtime work) and contributed to the reduction in pensions.²⁹ Minimum salaries fell from 751.5€ in 2009 to 586.1€ in 2013 and to 683.76€ in December 2016.³⁰ Infringements are frequently reported, while there is a significant proportion of employed who work without any kind of contract.³¹ This resulted, as ELSTAT highlights, in the emergence of a new category of “working poor” or “new poor”, with 10.7% of those in full-time employment at risk of poverty, while the respective percentage for the precariously employed was 27.0 % in 2016.³² The official unemployment figure reached 23.1% in December 2016, according to ELSTAT, compared to 27.5% in 2013.

Exclusion from basic public services is a direct result of the dismantling of the public sector combined with the rise in poverty, with 23% of the population under the poverty line.³³ Such effects are the result of downsizing of the state, social insurance, and pension systems, along with public health, all levels of public education, and public and municipal services for children, for the elderly, for the disabled, and for the homeless, among others, and problems of basic operation, severe budget cuts, reduction of staff, and dismantling or merging administrative structures.³⁴

Moreover, part of the building stock which housed such services is now empty and deteriorating;³⁵ examples here include merging hospitals and health clinics, closing schools and daycare centres, as well as empty flats and shops. This problem

²⁹ Tassos Giannitsis and Stavros Zografakis, *Greece: Solidarity and Adjustment in Times of Crisis* (Institute für Makroökonomie und Konjunkturforschung, Düsseldorf: Hans-Böckler-Stiftung, 2015), p. 24.

³⁰ ELSTAT (2009) Labour Force Survey, 4th quarter; (2013) Labour Force Survey, 3rd quarter; (2016) Labour Force Survey, 4th quarter <www.statistics.gr> [accessed 10 September 2021].

³¹ INE/GSEE (Institute of Labour of the General Confederation of Trade Unions), ‘Annual Report 2013: The Greek Economy and Employment’ (in Greek) <www.ineg-see.gr> [accessed 10 September 2021].

³² ELSTAT (2016) Labour Force Survey, 4th quarter <www.statistics.gr> [accessed 10 September 2021].

³³ Eurostat, ‘At Risk of Poverty Thresholds’, (Last update 28 March 2017) <http://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/web/products-datasets/-/ilc_li01> [accessed 10 September 2021].

³⁴ David Stuckler and Sanjay Basu, *The Body Economic: Why Austerity Kills. Recession, Budget Battles, and the Politics of Life and Death* (New York: Basic Books, 2013), p. 64.

³⁵ More than 300,000 empty public properties have been registered in the Greek government’s registration systems since 2008. Labs.OpenGov is an open innovations web laboratory that brings together experts from the technological community and institutions and manages information technology projects for the public sector and citizens. Source: <<http://labs.opengov.gr/en>> [accessed 10 September 2021].

³⁶ Sofia Adam and Dora-Dimitra Teloni, *Social Clinics in the Greece of Crisis: The Experience of Providing Health Services When the National Health System Subsides* (in Greek) (Athens: INE/GSEE, 2015), p. 121.

leads to exclusion from public goods that is a direct result of the huge wave of privatisation (of amenities, land, buildings, etc.) that has been central to the restructuring of the state, leaving behind a huge gap in social (re)production.³⁶

In addition, a growing number of people are excluded from public healthcare services, as one third (33.2%) of the population of Greece is without social insurance, to which should also be added the hundreds of thousands of undocumented migrants and refugees.³⁷ These changes have considerably restricted the capacities of public health providers to deliver services at a time when demand for them has risen by 30%, as more people turn to the public health system when incomes shrink.³⁸ On the revenue side, public spending for medicine reimbursement dropped by 56% in 2012 – a development that led to an increase of up to 70% in payment contributions for medicines by patients covered by social security, according to the survey by the Pharmacist Association of Athens in 2015.³⁹

Under such circumstances, extreme cases of poverty, including lack of adequate food, access to electricity, heating and water supply, are a frequent phenomenon. Furthermore, the extreme austerity policies have left hundreds of thousands of people unable to meet their financial commitments. More than 700.000 households requested a payment settlement with DEI – the public electricity company – for overdue bills in 2012.⁴⁰ That resulted in power cuts to 237.806 premises – more than 80% of which were residential – in 2013.⁴¹ Moreover, rising petrol prices due to over taxation has forced eight in ten blocks of flats in Greece to remain without heating, according to the survey by the Consumers Institute in 2014. In the period 2008 to 2013, the burden of private debt increased by 10% according to the EU.⁴² The same proportion of taxpayers, that is, 2.45 million people, became indebted to the tax office between January 2013 and August 2014.⁴³ Non-payment led to a steep rise in instances of deposits being confiscated directly from personal bank accounts. According to data from the Ministry of Finance, between December 2013 and May 2014, more than 586 houses were re-possessed and 160 more were foreclosed by the Greek state.⁴⁴ Furthermore, as the foreclosure ban lifted, allowing banks to confiscate even the primary residence of the mortgaged homeowner, a further 280.000 households were threatened with losing their home.⁴⁵

³⁷ Elena Simou and Eleni Koutsogeorgou, 'Effects of the Financial Crisis on Health and Healthcare in Greece in the Literature from 2009 to 2013: A Systematic Review', *Health Policy*, 115.2-3 (2014), 111-119.

³⁸ Ifanti et al., 'Financial Crisis and Austerity Measures in Greece: Their Impact on Health Promotion Policies and Public Health Care', *Health Policy*, 113 (2013), pp. 8-12.

³⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰ 'Press Release: Interview by Arthouros Zervos, CEO of DEI', (2012) <<https://www.dei.gr/el/i-dei/dimosieuseis>> [accessed 10 September 2021].

⁴¹ Ibid.

⁴² European Commission, 'Report on Greece 2008-2013' <https://ec.europa.eu/info/business-economy-euro/economic-and-fiscal-policy-coordination/eu-financial-assistance-greece-2013_en> [accessed 10 September 2021]

⁴³ Solidarity For All, '2014 - 2015 Report, Building Hope Against Fear and Devastation', (2015).

⁴⁴ Ministry of Finance, 'Statistics 2014, 1st semester' <<http://www.minfin.gr/web/guest/statistika>> [accessed 10 September 2021].

⁴⁵ Bank of Greece, 'Report on Operational Targets for Non Performing Exposures' (7 December 2016) <<http://www.bankofgreece.gr/BogEkdoseis/ReportOperationalTargetsforNonPerformingExposures.pdf>> [accessed 10 September 2021].

⁴⁶ Dimitris Psarras, *The Black Bible of the Golden Dawn* (in Greek) (Athens: Polis, 2012), p. 401. The author captures the rise of the most extreme right-wing organisation that operated in contemporary Greece. It should be noted that in October 2020, the parliamentary members of Golden Dawn were found guilty of running a criminal organisation by the juridical system of the country.

Parallel to these developments, exclusion from many public spaces, in the most material sense, became an everyday reality for many individuals and groups of urban residents who fear aggression and violence from the practices of “Golden Dawn”.⁴⁶ The neo-Nazi extreme right party gained a strong representation in parliament (7% of the vote and 21 deputies in the June 2012 elections – 6.28 % and 17 deputies in both the January 2015 and June 2019 elections) and an even stronger presence in some neighbourhoods of Athens, where it was systematically claiming territoriality and control over space.⁴⁷ The volatile environment was aggravated by everyday aggressions and violent attacks against individuals and groups, leading to a gradual shrinkage of public space and participation.⁴⁸

⁴⁷ Georgios Kandyliis, ‘The Space and Time of Migrants’ Rejection in the Centre of Athens’, in *The centre of Athens as a political stake* (in Greek), ed. by Thomas Maloutas et al. (Athens: National Centre of Social Research, 2013), pp. 53–87.

⁴⁸ Dina Vaiou and Ares Kalandides, ‘Cities of “Others”: Access, Contact and Participation in Everyday Public Spaces’, *Geographica Helvetica*, 64 (2009), pp. 11–20.



Figure 2.4

Mural painting at the School of Architecture in Exarchia, Athens, of anti-fascist rapper Pavlos Fyssas (Killah-P) who was murdered by members of the Greek neo-Nazi extreme right organisation Chrysi Avgi (Golden Dawn) on September 18, 2013.

2.3 The Evolution of the Solidarity Movement Since 2008

The economic crisis in Greece remains the greatest ever to have been faced by a developed country.⁴⁹ While unemployment and poverty skyrocketed, ad hoc and bottom-up solidarity projects by social movements flourished. Although projects of self-organisation existed before 2008, mainly through the anti-globalisation, student, anarchist and squatting movements, which also built momentum in Greece (as in other countries in Europe) during the 80s and 90s inspired by the black bloc tactics and confrontation with the state and the police;⁵⁰ since 2008, the self-organised collective spaces have increased significantly. By 2013, more than 600 of them have been identified.⁵¹ This fact, according to Hara Kouki and Kostis Kornetis, has led to a renewal of the social movement theory, bringing the Greek case ‘from the periphery to the centre’ of the discourse on social movements.⁵²

Angelos Varvarousis and Giorgos Kallis argue that the Greek context is characterised by cycles of social movements based on urban collective mobilisations that have happened since 2008.⁵³ The contemporary history of social movements in Greece begins with the urban uprisings of December 2008, which brought people into the streets of Athens and, in particular, the neighbourhood of Exarcheia. The legacy of this cycle of social unrest and revolt enabled the mass organisation

⁴⁹ Dalakoglou et al., ‘Defining and Classifying Infrastructural Contestation: Towards a Synergy Between Anthropology and Data Science’, *Environmental Software Systems. Data Science in Action*, IFIP Advances in Information and Communication Technology, 2020, p. 4.

⁵⁰ Azzellini and Sitrin, *They Can’t Represent Us*, p. 74. Refer to Chapter 3: ‘Greece’, which details an account of the political momentum that led to collective mobilisations in Greece after the 2008 financial crisis.

⁵¹ The online media hubs (webpages and blogs) of social movements and campaigns, and the online outlets and social media of citizens’ initiatives which engaged in infrastructural dispute, have been a significant source in identifying the number of active solidarity initiatives.

⁵² Kostis Kornetis and Hara Kouki, ‘From the Centre to the Periphery and Back to the Centre: Social Movements Affecting Social Movement Theory in the Case of Greece’, in *Social Movement Studies in Europe: The State of the Art*, ed. by Olivier Fillieule and Guya Accornero (Brooklyn NY: Berghahn Books, 2016), pp. 371–87.

of the anti-austerity protest cycle, best demonstrated through the movement of the squares during 2010-2011. The movement of the squares (Aganaktismenoi, equivalent to the Indignados movement in Spain) is a second cycle, one where people occupied the central squares of Athens and many public spaces across Greece. In the period that followed the movement of the squares, many solidarity projects that were conceived from the collectives of people assembling in the squares became decentralised from their roots and sought more permanent interventions in urban space. Thus, they diffused into the neighbourhoods of the city. For Varvarousis and Kallis, this third –and, for this thesis, ongoing – cycle of social movements in Greece benefited from a condition of unfixed identity that was ‘dominant in the period of the occupied indignant squares, and then blossomed as a rhizome’.⁵⁴ Essentially, what Varvarousis and Kallis argue is that there was a transferability element regarding social movements that led to the diffusion of spatial and organisational protocols in urban space following 2008.

To unpack how the cycles of social movements in Greece transformed, it is important to highlight that in Greece, a social crisis was unravelling in parallel to the debt crisis. The supposed economic miracle of the 2000s was based on credit expansion, cheap migrant labour, the construction of public works, and a real estate bubble linked to the Olympic games of 2004.⁵⁵ Indicatively, Thomas Maloutas, when writing about the social geography of Athens and how this has been manifested on the spatial arrangements of buildings and apartments of the Greek capital, noted that socio-spatial inequalities emerged for the first time with such intensity in the urban centres during that period.⁵⁶

In December 2008, this social crisis came to boiling point in the neighbourhood of Exarcheia in Athens when a policeman killed a high-school student.⁵⁷ A revolt erupted in Athens and across the country, and days of clashes with the police ensued. The increasingly unequal urban space became the site and stakes of the conflict.⁵⁸ It is within this context of crisis and fear cultivated by the media and politicians at the time versus resistance and revolt that new practices of collective actions in Greece were born.⁵⁹

⁵³ Varvarousis and Kallis, ‘Commoning Against the Crisis’, in *Another Economy is Possible: Culture and Economy in a Time of Crisis*, ed. by Manuel Castells (Hoboken, New Jersey: John Wiley & Sons, 2017), pp. 136–140.

⁵⁴ Angelos Varvarousis refers to the notion of the ‘rhizome’ developed by Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari in their book *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, to describe theory and research that allows for multiple, non-hierarchical entry and exit points, like roots. In Angelos Varvarousis, ‘The Rhizomatic Expansion of Commoning Through Social Movements’, *Ecological Economics*, 171 (2020), 106596.

⁵⁵ Costis Hadjimichalis, ‘Uneven Geographical Development and Socio-Spatial Justice and Solidarity: European Regions After the 2009 Financial Crisis’, *European Urban and Regional Studies*, 18.3 (2011), p. 254.

⁵⁶ Thomas Maloutas, *The Social Geography of Athens. Social Groups and the Built Environment of a South European Metropolis* (in Greek) (Athens: Alexandria, 2018), p. 46.

⁵⁷ Urban Anarchy, *Athens, Undefined City: A Spatial Analysis of December 2008* (Athens: Editions for Spatial Conflicts, 2008) (in Greek).

⁵⁸ Stavros Stavrides, ‘Re-inventing Spaces of Commoning: Occupied Squares in Movement’, *Quaderns-e*, 18.2 (2013), pp. 40–52.

⁵⁹ ‘If the Greek battle wasn’t decided, and put down, in the streets the police being visibly outflanked there- it’s because its neutralization was played out elsewhere. There is nothing more draining, nothing more fatal, than this classical politics, with its dried-up rituals, its thinking without thought, its little closed world’, in The Invisible Committee, *The Coming Insurrection* (Www.bnpublishing.com, 2010), p. 11.



Figure 2.5

Photo from the 2007–2009 university protests in France. Source: The Invisible Committee, *The Coming Insurrection*, p. 1.

The Invisible Committee defines December 2008 as a moment of rupture not only for Athens but for Greek society at large, a fact that inspired collective organising and resistance transnationally.⁶⁰ Urban space was reclaimed across Athens, including the conversion of the garage lot where the high-school student was killed into a park and an “urban commons”⁶¹ (the Navarino Park); urban gardens and parks in other parts of the city; the enclosure of Ymittos Mountain was resisted; the National Opera House and the Empros Theatre were reclaimed by collectives of artists through occupation and they hosted a series of performances and political discussions.⁶² Moreover, the political and public spheres were reclaimed, with a catalytic event taking place at the EU Presidency conference Financing Creativity, where the Greek Minister of Culture and Sports, Panos Panagiotopoulos, delivered the opening speech to address models of cultural policy in the coming decades. Not a single artist was invited as a speaker to this, very relevant to them, event, nor was the conference promoted publicly. Given this situation, the Mavili Collective, an initiative of artists, called for artists from different fields of practice to attend the conference. Having been excluded from a dialogue about cultural policies, the artists publicly expressed their feelings regarding the proposed role of culture and, in a synchronised performance, they laughed during the opening speech. This resulted in the resignation of the Minister days later.⁶³ Tiqqun, in the book *Introduction to Civil War*, touched on these moments of rupture that politicise issues and bring them to the public sphere by highlighting that ‘after this, it will come as little surprise that the most successful masterpieces of critique appeared exactly where “citizens” had been most fully deprived of access to the “political sphere”’.⁶⁴

Months later, when the debt levels of Greece were revealed, the December 2008 urban uprising evolved into a confrontational anti-austerity protest movement. Essentially, these struggles and protests developed into a new movement centred around urban commons,⁶⁵ where the role of the movement of the squares that occupied the central squares and public spaces in Athens and other big cities across Greece in 2011 was catalytic. The movement of the occupied squares or the movement of the Aganaktismenoi (Indignants), catalysed the emergence of “commoning” projects across the urban space in Greece.⁶⁶ The diffusion of the movement of the squares was indeed rhizomatic as it was organised primarily through social media and there was no recognisable structure that defined the place, time or form of protests.

⁶⁰ Ibid., p. 9.

⁶¹ The term “urban commons” has recently been used broadly by scholars such as David Harvey exploring urban uprisings. In David Harvey, *Rebel Cities: From the Right to the City to the Urban Revolution* (London: Verso Books, 2012), p. 80.

⁶² Varvarousis and Kallis, ‘Commoning Against the Crisis’, p. 140.

⁶³ See the video documentation of the event that shows the artists’ intervention on YouTube: ‘A Fiasco@Megaro, Athens’ <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=TY-va1Q-u4bk&feature=emb_logo> [accessed 10 September 2021].

⁶⁴ Tiqqun, *Introduction to Civil War*, p.25.

⁶⁵ Stavros Stavrides, *Common Space: The City as Commons* (London: Zed Books, 2016), p. 65.

⁶⁶ Ibid.



Figure 2.6

The occupation of Syntagma square in 2011. Source: Eurokinissi Photopress. Courtesy: Atiana Bolari.

The first mass protest rally was held in Syntagma square and was organised spontaneously through social media as a response to a post placed by the Spanish Indignados on Facebook asking, 'Why are Greeks asleep?', 'We are awake' was the answer; so, around 200,000 people attended, without any central organisation.⁶⁷

Some three million people gathered in the square in the three months that it remained occupied. The most emblematic occupation was that of the Syntagma square, where thousands of people came together and assembled opposite the Greek parliament, marking this as both a symbolic and political act. The time bank in Syntagma square, founded during the occupation, counted 2,000 new members within its first few days.⁶⁸ A self-managed medical centre at the square gave birth to the first protocols that later resulted in the formation of a series of solidarity clinics and pharmacies, spread across the country, for those without access to public healthcare.⁶⁹ Moreover, after an information event held in Syntagma by people experimenting with cooperatives, several workers cooperatives were conceived.⁷⁰

The occupiers of Syntagma did not just protest outside the parliament but established a tent city where protesters slept and a series of self-organisation activities took place, such as a direct democratic popular assembly held every day at 9:00 p.m., a technical support space, centres for translation and administration, for healthcare and food provision, artistic and free expression performances, and transport and postal services.⁷¹ In addition, they set up a cleaning and care team, a time bank for service exchange, a solidarity bazaar, and a citizens' debt audit campaign, with more than 60,000 participants.⁷² These individual groups held assemblies every day at 6:00 p.m. that were open to everyone. The labour that went into these forms of cooperation, defining what is to be shared and how, transformed the square from a public space into a 'temporary commons'.⁷³

According to Massimo De Angelis, it is this commoning process of imagining alternative infrastructures that gives the movement of the squares its specific 'materiality' compared to previous political or protest movements, such as those of the 1960s or the anti-globalisation movement.⁷⁴

⁶⁷ Varvarousis and Kallis, 'Commoning Against the Crisis', p. 136.

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ Ibid.

⁷⁰ Costis Hadjimichalis, 'From Streets and Squares to Radical Political Emancipation? Resistance Lessons from Athens during the Crisis', *Human Geography: A New Radical Journal*, 6 (2013), pp. 116–136.

⁷¹ Some 28 percent of all Greeks gathered in the squares during the protests and occupations. Source: Solidarity For All, '2014 - 2015 Report, Building Hope Against Fear and Devastation', (2015).

⁷² Ibid.

⁷³ Stavrides, 'Re-inventing Spaces of Commoning', pp. 40–52.

⁷⁴ Massimo De Angelis, 'Crises, Commons and Social Movements: Problematizing the Diffusion of Alternatives', paper presented at the conference ISA-San Francisco (2013). A version of this paper was presented by De Angelis at an event during the occupation of the Empros Theatre in the centre of Athens in 2014. Notes by the author.

Thus, while the majority of social movements unfolding in urban space are organised around a set of demands, the movement of the squares reinvented urban space and prefigured alternative forms of production and reproduction. In the months that followed, this evolved into a decentralisation model via neighbourhood assemblies that would gather independently as neighbourhood “solidarity initiatives” and then share their conversations and outcomes in the general assembly of the occupied square. Reciprocally, the outcomes of the general assembly fed back to the next neighbourhood assembly of each solidarity initiative. As the occupation continued, more people and micro-groups joined the square, leaving it with more participants. Deleuze and Guattari describe this process of social movement-building as new ‘nodes’ to be added to the ‘rhizome’.⁷⁵ This precisely has been the case in Greece as new projects were born that span off to neighbourhoods and sectors of the economy. Furthermore, the solidarity projects organically connected with the movement of the squares presented a faster rate of growth and diffusion. The model of the popular assembly, also first practised in the occupied Syntagma square in central Athens, moved to several neighbourhoods, becoming the organisational model of the emerging social movements that consisted of a constellation of solidarity initiatives that targeted different aspects of the crisis.⁷⁶ Therefore, demands, disputes and activities were decentralised into the neighbourhoods. The square was evacuated violently in August 2011, and riot police defended it from occupiers for subsequent months. However, like in Spain, ‘the movement did not disappear; rather it spread out into the social fabric, with neighbourhood assemblies... spreading... alternative economic practices such as consumer cooperatives, ethical banking, exchange networks and many other such forms of living differently so as to live with meaning’.⁷⁷

Of major importance is also the fact that the experience from the movement of the squares helped to deconstruct and destigmatise poverty. People who had lost their income, could not find work, or provide for their dependents, found a space to share and transform their desperation.⁷⁸ Eating in a communal kitchen, getting clothes for free from a solidarity bazaar or medicines for free from a solidarity pharmacy was no longer a shame. Importantly, the projects initiated in the squares were not just symbolic; many people got engaged precisely because these projects addressed concrete needs for food, healthcare, housing, or employment while allowing them to ‘take our lives into our hands’, as the main placard at the square read.

⁷⁵ I use the theoretical concept of the “rhizome” as described in the book *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* by Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, to speak about the diffusion of the social movements in Athens.

⁷⁶ Today the model of the assembly remains the main decision-making protocol of social movements in Greece.

⁷⁷ Manuel Castells, *Networks of Outrage and Hope* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2012), p. 1.

⁷⁸ Solidarity For All, ‘2014 - 2015 Report, Building Hope Against Fear and Devastation’, (2015).

Silvia Federici, in a conversation with Marina Sitrin, remarked that after visiting various solidarity projects that had emerged between the urban uprisings of 2008 and 2015 in Athens, she witnessed firsthand how ‘neither capital nor the state provides any means of reproduction –they exist only as repressive forces, so many have begun to pool their resources and create more collective forms of reproduction as the only guarantee of survival’.⁷⁹ Thus, the solidarity initiatives based around these concrete needs evolved into and were organised around different survival needs and diffused territorially across many neighbourhoods.

⁷⁹ Silvia Federici and Marina Sitrin, ‘Social Reproduction: Between the Wage and the Commons’, *Roarmag*, 2 (2016) <<https://roarmag.org/magazine/social-reproduction-between-the-wage-and-the-commons/>> [accessed 10 September 2021].



Figure 2.7

Figure 2.7
Tents in Syntagma square during its occupation by Aganaktismenoi in 2011. Photo by the author.

Figure 2.8 (next page)
Still image from *Under These Words (Solidarity Athens 2016)* by Robin Vanbesien, 2017. Courtesy of the artist.





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2.4 The Symptoms of Social Movements in Urban Space: Self-organisation, Networking, Spatial Diffusion and Self-management

The prominence of practices of self-organisation emerging during the Aganaktismenoi movement of the squares in Athens has been unprecedented, which in turn facilitated the attribution of common meanings and values and the recognition of similar struggles among dispersed grassroots movements and collectives. To counteract the establishment of a new paradigm for everyday life that was characterised by a greater social, political and financial instability, in many cities, collective initiatives of groups of people emerged as forms of collective action and self-organisation, with varying goals, participants and results. However, what all these initiatives had in common was to confront the exclusions caused by austerity measures and respond to the survival needs of more than one third of the population of Greece by standing in solidarity with each other and with the people.⁸⁰ These solidarity initiatives had as principles the ideas of equality, mutual support and participatory democracy, as well as an open acceptance of the ‘democratic principles’ of anti-fascism and anti-racism.⁸¹

What has been labelled “the solidarity movement” in Greece, includes solidarity initiatives self-organised around food provision such as soup kitchens, groceries, anti-middleman markets,⁸² of healthcare through the creation of solidarity clinics and pharmacies, and housing, education and solidarity networks for refugees and migrants.⁸³ Theodoros Rakopoulos characterises solidarity networks as ‘hidden’ forms of welfare, offering services outside or alongside state-based social support.⁸⁴ Dimitris Dalakoglou and Christos Giannopoulos refer to infrastructural gaps of the state that the solidarity movement proved to provide for.⁸⁵

⁸⁰ Data from Solidarity For All, ‘2014 - 2015 Report, Building Hope Against Fear and Devastation’, (2015).

⁸¹ ‘We won’t allow anyone to face the crisis alone’ has been the main value of the solidarity movement in Greece.

⁸² Theodoros Rakopoulos, ‘Resonance of Solidarity: Anti-Middleman Food Distribution in Austerity Greece’, *Journal of Modern Greek Studies*, 32.2 (2014), p. 96.

⁸³ Varvarousis and Kallis, ‘Commoning Against the Crisis’, p. 139.

⁸⁴ Theodoros Rakopoulos, ‘The Solidarity Economy in the Greek Crisis: Movementality, Economic Democracy and Social Reproduction’, in *Economy for and against Democracy*, ed. by Keith Hart (London: Berghahn, 2015), p. 163.

⁸⁵ Dimitris Dalakoglou et. al., ‘Defining and Classifying Infrastructural Contestation’, p. 2.

Moreover, solidarity initiatives are substantively different from NGOs and non-profits, which also provide extra-state services. NGOs and non-profits are explicitly professionalised, paying staff and employing volunteers through formal internships and practicums.⁸⁶ In contrast, solidarity initiatives are most often averse even to monetary donations and they reject the formalisation of voluntarism.⁸⁷ Along these lines, the solidarity initiatives are based on the solidarity of people and social movements and have no dependence, nor do they accept money from anyone who supports, directly or indirectly, the dismantling of the welfare infrastructure. They accept donations of food, clothes, furniture, Personal Protection Equipment, medical items, medicines, and equipment that their spaces need but do not advertise anyone for any donation, nor do they have sponsors. In addition, they do not allow any party politics to get involved in their operation, nor do they allow the exploitation of their work for the personal promotion or benefit of anyone.⁸⁸ In most of the solidarity initiatives they consider the care-seekers as participants and they give them the possibility of getting involved with the decision-making activities to counteract the practices of charity that perceive care-seekers as the passive beneficiaries of an effort, of aid. Equally important they find the process of informing people who approach them about their rights towards the state and advise them to join the legal support collectives to learn about how to claim their rights and not just getting benefits.

Of crucial importance has also been the formation of the “Solidarity For All” in 2012 as a coordination structure acting at the national level seeking to establish the communication and coordination of the decentralised and dispersed social movements engaged in the solidarity movement for direct provision of goods (food, medicines, legal advice, housing, education, management of public goods) to marginalised groups of people.⁸⁹

An important feature of solidarity initiatives worth observing here is the diversity of participants involved to keep these solidarity projects going. Yet while their political profile most often lies somewhere on the spectrum of the Left, as identified from their individual charters, solidarity networks focus both on political mobilisation by creating a political space and simultaneously on addressing basic, often urgent, survival needs. Producing the first survey of its kind, the Solidarity For All, mapped not only the diverse solidarity initiatives that sprung across Greece but also their participants including people in employment or

⁸⁶ Dean Spade, ‘Solidarity Not Charity: Mutual Aid for Mobilization and Survival’, *Social Text*, Duke University Press, 142.38.1 (2020), p. 141.

⁸⁷ Extract from Point 5 of the Charter of Constitution of Solidarity Clinics and Pharmacies. The meaning of the charter is studied in detail in Chapter 5.2.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹ ‘Solidarity For All’ is a solidarity structure that started with the government of SYRIZA as its main supporter and institutional ally, when their elected members of parliament decided to donate a percentage of their salary to it in order to support a solidarity organisation to act as a coordinator among solidarity initiatives. Impressively, since its conception, the website of Solidarity For All acts as the most updated atlas that provides information about almost every solidarity initiative across Greece. Moreover, Solidarity For All is well connected on a national and international level. For more information visit the website <<https://www.solidarity4all.gr/el/news>> [accessed 10 September 2021].

unemployed, unemployed university graduates, working-class pensioners and middleclass employees in the public sector, among others.⁹⁰ The many people involved include migrants and locals, men and women, all ranging in age. Yet, what was common is the scepticism that can be detected towards political parties and representational party politics, although many participants are members and/or supporters of left-wing parties and radical groups.

This inclusive participation within solidarity initiatives is reflected in their non-hierarchical structure of organisation, which implies a participation scheme open to all participants. Their horizontal organisation uses the process of direct democracy and engages the protocol of assembly to maintain equal participation among the participants and to manage internal disputes and tensions. This is especially relevant since these self-managed spaces fight oppression and enable empowerment for all involved, ensuring all participants have agency within these initiatives.⁹¹

Focusing on Athens, the solidarity initiatives vary widely according to the needs they aim to cover, the networks they develop among their participants, the groups they target, and the way in which they approach issues of redistribution and space configuration.⁹² According to the types of activities and the needs they target the numerous solidarity initiatives are essentially grouped as being part of broader social movements (for food, healthcare, shelter, education and so forth) in order to coordinate and organise their actions.

My argument is that it is precisely this level of networking and organising among them that led to a proliferation of activities that concerned infrastructure such as that of healthcare or housing, and essentially claiming it from its institutional dominance.

In order to understand such an argument regarding the social movements in Athens, it is necessary to understand that aside from responding to immediate needs, these social movements have gradually transformed, creating spaces of active participation, while also initiating other actions elsewhere and creating networks. Some of the social movements are mostly local in scale or started as such, for instance, by undertaking regular activities in a public square such as

⁹⁰ For a comprehensive view regarding the statistics of the profile of participants in social movements in Greece refer to the Solidarity For All, '2014 - 2015 Report, Building Hope Against Fear and Devastation' <http://issuu.com/solidarityforall/docs/report_2014> [accessed 10 September 2021].

⁹¹ MariaKaika and Lazaros Karaliotas, 'The Spatialization of Democratic Politics: Insights from the Indignant Squares', *European Urban and Regional Studies*, 23.4 (2016), p. 556.

⁹² Adam and Teloni, *Social Clinics in the Greece of Crisis*, p. 17.

an initiative for food distribution, or in a building given out, rented or occupied for the purposes of the social movement. Others have been supra-local from the start both in terms of the types of activities and in terms of the participating institutions. For instance, direct contacts of a solidarity grocery with food producers across the country cross the local borders as well as the boundaries of the food distribution system, using intermediaries. There have also been different forms of food distribution, such as solidarity kitchens and “without middlemen” solidarity initiatives. “Without middlemen” solidarity initiatives such as the Markets Without Intermediaries connect food producers directly to consumers through mechanisms such as pre-order. In that respect, the initiatives form a network between agrarian producers and urban consumers and enable people to pursue schemes of scale and integration. In material terms, this distribution mechanism allows cheap food to reach households and guarantees some remuneration for agrarian producers. In a similar vein, solidarity pharmacies and solidarity clinics started as local services and incrementally extended to broader spatial scales. Some of them have established international contacts through appeals and campaigns for medicine and equipment donation.

These networks also provide a framework through which socialisation of production, distribution, and even consumption can be steadily built and scaled up, as the distribution sector can, in urban spaces, accommodate the most radicalised elements of what is called the “Social Solidarity Economy” (SSE) movement.⁹³ In this sense, distribution can become a site for collective projects that imagine and enact, to an extent, the scaling up of these alternative infrastructures and the scaling down of the structural conditions of “the debt crisis” embodied in formal institutions. A second scale of operation regards the networks of social movements with other institutions, such as those of the state as well as other bodies such as trade unions and associations, which also greatly vary. For instance, while all solidarity clinics are self-organised, some are linked with local doctors’ associations and trade unions. More importantly, the solidarity initiatives that are part of social movements are nationally aligned and create nationwide cooperation bodies, such as the Cooperation of Solidarity Clinics and Pharmacies in Greece.

These arguments are demonstrated in more detail in the next chapter that defines the activities of participants in solidarity initiatives through practices of self-organisation in broader networks of action that become part of different types of social movements.

⁹³ Theodoros Rakopoulos, ‘Resonance of Solidarity’, p. 102.

2.5 Mapping the Infrastructural Disputes Between Social Movements and the State

What I identified in the previous chapter is that what has distinguished the activities of social movements from other struggles and mobilisations during the past decade is their relation to thinking and working infrastructurally. Moreover, the symptoms and practices that defined their activities in urban space included self-organisation, self-management, networking, redistribution and spatial re-configuration.

As a second step, I investigate and define the practices by social movements through their different manifestations to document their diversity and scale and to identify the patterns and spatial configurations within such practices that make for different types of infrastructural provisions. It is precisely due to the nature of their activities of welfare provision to attend to the most essential needs of the population that makes the practices of social movements intertwine with existing infrastructures. One of the major arguments of this dissertation is that this interplay results in different types of infrastructural disputes between social movements and the state.

An infrastructural dispute resulting in a collective claim made against an infrastructure has a twofold impact as first, it signifies a process of dismantling and the collapse of an infrastructural system and, second, at the same time, it makes space for reconfiguration, redesign and redistribution of infrastructure systems.⁹⁴

⁹⁴ Nikhil Anand Gupta and Hannah Appel, eds., *The Promise of Infrastructure* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2018), p. 20.

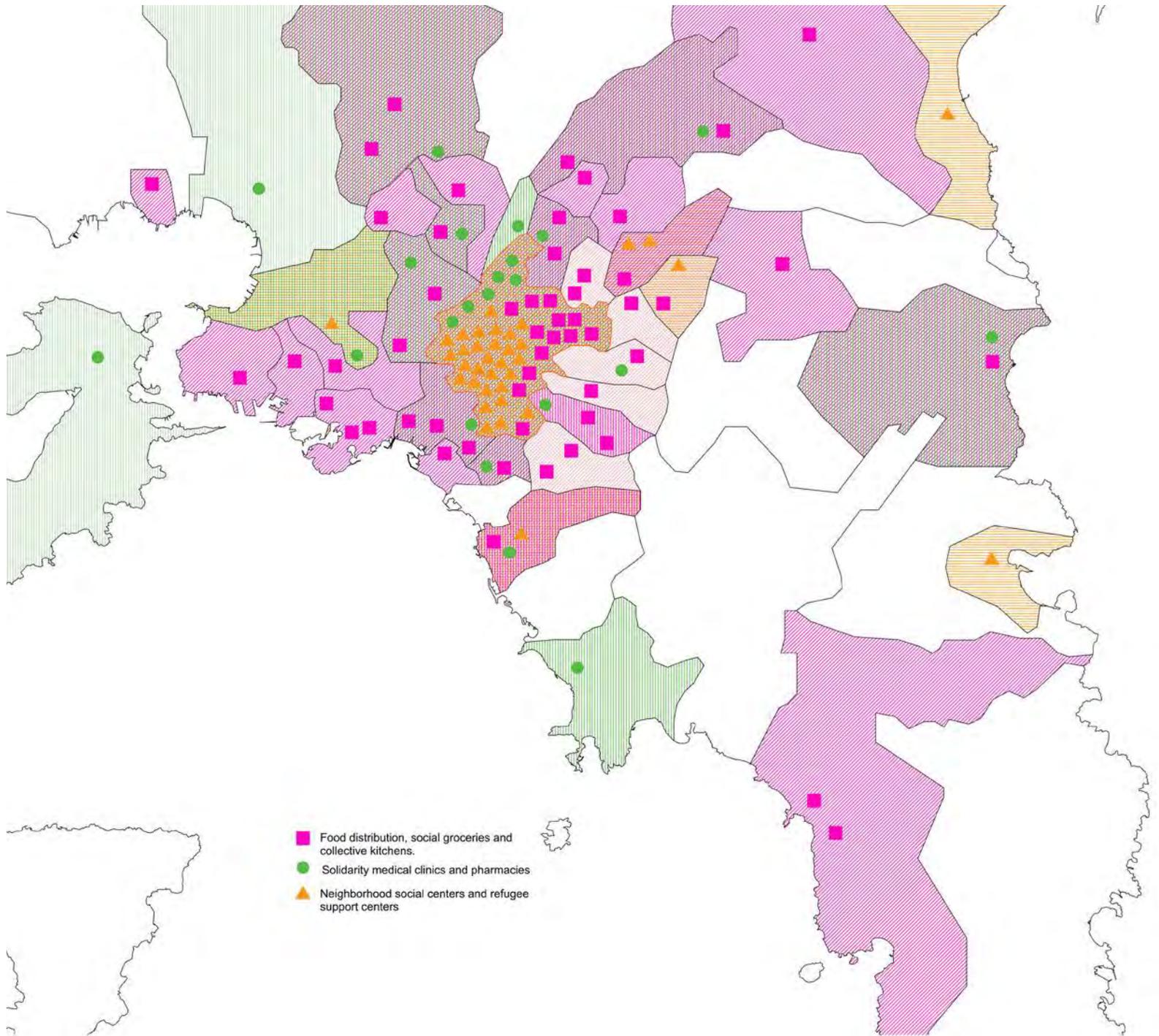


Figure 2.9
Map of solidarity initiatives classified by type and by municipal district as they were identified during the time of the research (2018). Drawn by the author.

To investigate how infrastructural disputes and claims around infrastructures have been framed in Greece over the past decade, datasets of events of grassroots self-organisation and socio-political struggles have been compiled and an understanding of the relationship of those to disputes around infrastructure systems since 2011 sought. 2011 marked a year when solidarity projects started to flourish at the local level beyond the legacy of the movement of the squares. To assess the compiled information, a broad but systematic timeline of socio-political conflicts that took place between 2008 and today has been created (Figure 2.3). This initial timeline operates as a guideline in outlining the major triggering events as well as confirms the large number of conflicts related to infrastructure, drawing away from protest practices of the previous mobilisation periods that started with the December 2008 uprising and then followed during the anti-austerity protests and the movement of the squares (2009-2011).

It is precisely at this point that I identify the infrastructural fields at play. This process is here defined as a type of mapping and taxonomy that, for my research, focuses on the grassroots and bottom-up aspect of infrastructural claims. Thus, I identifies categories of infrastructures that have been contested during the past decade as being related to (1) food provision activities for people and families that cannot afford to buy food or are in debt and/or undergoing a financial struggle, refugees and migrants that have no access to a meal, and other marginalised groups; (2) healthcare offered by the solidarity clinics and pharmacies when providing medical and pharmaceutical care to marginalised groups; (3) housing provided by the occupations and squats of buildings that were reconfigured to accommodate refugees; and (4) those concerning public ownership of waste and energy infrastructures and their self-management. This array of infrastructural spaces occupied by social movements provides an understanding of the significance and wider dynamic of the collective disputes and claims that were at stake during these years.

This mapping and taxonomy exercise have aimed to depict the realm of socio-technological and spatial interventions from social movements, and highlight comparisons between them to explore patterns and draw some preliminary conclusions regarding one of the main research questions:

How do the spaces of social movements relate to infrastructural disputes and claims and at what level do they have the capacity to reconfigure these infrastructures?

In both scholarly and administrative terms, infrastructure has been classified into specific categories. The official definition provided by the Greek Centre for Security Studies of the Ministry of Public Order and Citizen Protection of Greece, according to the EU directive 2008/114/EC about 'European critical infrastructure', has drawn on Infrastructure for the 21st Century: Framework for a Research Agenda by the National Research Council (1987) for the US Committee on Infrastructure Innovation to classify infrastructure in the Greek territory in such a way as to comply with the international code.⁹⁵ Based on this document, the infrastructure type sub-categories include transport and mobility (airways/airports, bridges and canals, public transport, railways, roads, ports/sea transport); energy (gas pipelines, storage, distribution, oil production, power-plants the power-grid); renewable energy power-plants (air, solar, water); water (sewage networks, water supply networks, irrigation networks, dams); waste (solid waste, hazardous waste, landfill sites, recycling plants); communication and information systems (public broadcasting services, telecommunication networks, media), and, finally, welfare infrastructures (healthcare, health, well-being, social security, insurance/pension systems, education, housing, including temporary shelter, recreation, including forests, squares coastlines, public spaces).

One of the main themes of this dissertation is that during the past decade in Greece, besides mobilisations classified as protests, civil disobedience campaigns, community struggles, and institutional and legal interventions, a new type of struggle has appeared, one that centres around the self-management or recuperation of infrastructures through practices of maintenance and repair,⁹⁶ including generative endeavours linked to attempts to create infrastructure by social movements. Of course, such categories and activities are not mutually exclusive, as such a dispute or claim may involve more than one type of action and activity. However, analytically, these classifications based on the means, protocols and tools of action are important because they indicate the connection between types of socio-political and infrastructural disputes and claims. Most significantly, they point to the subjects and processes that are more prone to contest critical infrastructure systems.⁹⁷

⁹⁵ Official Government Gazette FEK 39/2011 of the Hellenic Republic concerning the Greek legislation's adjustment to the relevant EU Directive EC 2008/114 of the European Council regarding the definition of infrastructure (in Greek) (2011) <<http://www.kemea.gr/images/documents/pd39-2011.pdf>> [accessed 10 September 2021].

⁹⁶ Shannon Mattern, 'Maintenance and Care', *Places Journal* (November 2018) <<https://placesjournal.org/article/maintenance-and-care/>> [accessed 10 September 2021].

⁹⁷ Bringing forward an analogy between Italy and Greece regarding the social movement for the institutionalisation of healthcare, Francesco Salvini marks as the ultimate achievement of this process 'to deinstitutionalise infrastructures'. In Francesco Salvini, 'Instituting on the Threshold', in *Monster Municipalisms, Transversal Journal*, (2016) <<http://transversal.at/transversal/0916/salvini/en>> [accessed 10 September 2021].

Therefore, it is important to locate social movements in this context of infrastructural dispute and, especially, in the claiming of infrastructure for re-appropriation by exploring the set of activities that underline their material importance. To do so, I first investigate a subset of detected solidarity projects that are part of the social movements in Greece to comprehend their strategies and, where possible, to survey the efficacy and implementation of these strategies from the perspective of the use of architecture. According to the different ways in which social movements engage with infrastructures, a taxonomy of infrastructural dispute is defined. Central to the definition process has been the degree to which social movements, forms of struggle and demands have 'invaded'⁹⁸ the existing infrastructural paradigm. The aim has been to cover and map, to the greatest possible degree, the categories of social movements that have been engaged in infrastructural dispute and have reconfigured the established infrastructural spatial arrangements. To this end, four exemplary social movements in Greece that indulge in diverse activities, use different actors, target various aspects of the crisis, make different types of infrastructural claims and have different scales of practice are investigated.

⁹⁸ Ibid.

2.6 Types of Social Movements and a Typology of Infrastructural Spaces

My research finds that the emblematic “solidarity movement” in Greece has been framed by diverse solidarity initiatives whose activities and claims have been coordinated by specific social movements, these being the social movement for food provision, the social movement for healthcare, the social movement for housing for all and the social movement for citizen-managed public goods. Their networking and geographical distribution in the metropolitan area of Athens are indicative of these relationships, as the city is home to a series of solidarity projects that address immediate and day-to-day survival, such as solidarity kitchens, solidarity groceries, communal cooking, “no intermediaries” markets, solidarity initiatives for the provision of basic services, solidarity clinics, solidarity pharmacies, collective solidarity support schemes for housing, legal advice and anti-eviction, based on broader political claims and practices of making a living collectively, and cooperative solidarity schemes for citizen-managed public services, such as water, electricity and waste management.

From these preliminary categories of direct action, some explorative observations emerged regarding social movements. In addition, to identify how each of them relates to the city, its equipment, codes and values, networks and spatial configurations, I re-read the four identified types of social movements with a different perspective of investigation, i.e., analysing the infrastructural domain that the activities of social movements challenged and the performativity which was related to the nature of their activities.

2.6.1 The Social Movement for Food Provision: Contesting the Distribution Network

Solidarity initiatives that support families by providing them with food started in mid-2012,⁹⁹ as the problem of poverty became more pressing and visible in urban space, with a fifth of the country's population being unable to meet its food needs. The key aim of this practice is the involvement not only of those able to donate food products, but mainly of those unable to meet their basic needs. Mobilising and including those who approach the social movement for assistance helps them to become agents of solidarity. Indicatively, 15% of the people who receive food solidarity actively take part in the solidarity initiatives.

In March 2014, 103 of food solidarity initiatives held their first nationwide meeting in Athens in an effort to enhance their cooperation and share their experiences and know-how.¹⁰⁰ This social movement accelerated the creation of a denser network of collaboration among solidarity initiatives, encouraged participation of people and institutions, and confirmed the importance of continuation of their main action in urban space, which is the collection of food and its distribution to participants.¹⁰¹ The main source of supplies for the food solidarity structures is the weekly collection of food donations, either from the people outside supermarkets, or from local shops such as groceries, bakery, butchers, and local farmers' markets. This practice has harnessed the power of collective action into the community and the neighbourhood.¹⁰²

Lately, through the alliances of the social movements with municipalities, the provision of agricultural production that remains unwanted by the market and has been offered by farmers' cooperative solidarity initiatives has become an important extra source of supply, extending the solidarity support network to

⁹⁹ Number of households supported by social movements in Athens: 2,169. Data gathered from the data records of Solidarity For All.

¹⁰⁰ The following article refers to the first nationwide meeting of the social movement for food provision in 2014 <<http://tvxs.gr/news/kala-nea/mazi-tha-toys-fame-i-proti-synantisi-trofis-stin-athina>> [accessed 10 September 2021].

¹⁰¹ The increase in numbers of solidarity initiatives for food provision during these years is evident, as from 12 initiatives in September 2012, there are 47 in December 2014, and 53 in November 2016. Data gathered from the records of Solidarity For All.

¹⁰² The number of solidarity parcels distributed fortnightly also increased. In February 2013: 1,987 food parcels were distributed; in March 2014: 3,874; and in September 2016: 5,318. Data gathered from the records of Solidarity For All.

also include municipalities and food producers. Alongside the practices of food distributed in biweekly parcels, there are 20 solidarity kitchens, operating mainly on a weekly basis. These kitchens cook and provide approximately 9.000 portions of food (weekly), with the help of almost 130 participants. Food supplies are donated and the participants maintain the spaces they occupy through self-funding.

My research finds that essentially, this social movement is contesting the distribution network since through its activities it informs a critique of a wider economic and political framework of governance, as in this case the solidarity initiatives for food provision proceeded to the formation of their own proposals for an alternative food distribution infrastructure system such as for the anti-middlemen markets.

Figure 2.10

Collage of photos from the Market without Intermediaries and food redistribution in the district of Hellinikon.



ΕΝΔΕΙΚΤΙΚΟΣ ΚΑΤΑΛΟΓΟΣ 5 ΝΟΕΜΒΡΙΟΥ

	ΠΡΟΪΟΝ	ΤΙΜΗ ΚΙΛΟ/ΛΙΤΡΟ	ΤΙΜΗ - ΒΑΡΟΣ ΣΥΣΚΕΥΑΣΙΑΣ	ΠΡΟΕΛΕΥΣΗ		ΠΡΟΪΟΝ	ΤΙΜΗ ΚΙΛΟ/ΛΙΤΡΟ	ΤΙΜΗ - ΒΑΡΟΣ ΣΥΣΚΕΥΑΣΙΑΣ	ΠΡΟΕΛΕΥΣΗ
1	Αυγά large 63-73gr	0,15 €	10τεμ. 1,5 € ³			Φασόλια μέτρια	2,00 €	2κ. 4 €	»
	»	»	30τεμ. 4,5 €	»		» χάντρες	2,00 €	2κ. 4 €	»
2	Αλεύρι μαλακό	0,70 €	5κ. 3,5 €	Κριεκούκι		Αμυγδαλόψυχα	10,00	επί ζυγίω	»
	» σκληρό	0,76 €	5κ. 3,8 €	»		Ψύχα πεταλούδα	10,00	»	»
	» ολικής	0,80 €	5κ. 4,0 €	»	16	Ρύζι καρολίνα Ο.Δ.	1,30 €	1 κ. 130 €	Μεσολόγγι
	» σικάλεως	1,00 €	3κ. 3 €	»		» » καστανό Ο.Δ.	2,00 €	500gr 1€	»
3	Καραμέλ. ξηροί καρποί	-	-	Αττική		Ρύζι Βίο κίτρινο	1,80 €	500gr. 0,9 €	»
	» Ποπ κορν	7,00	επί ζυγίω	»		» » καστανό	1,80 €	500gr. 0,9 €	»
	» Αμύγδαλο	10,00	»	»		Αλάτι ιωδιούχο	1,00 €	1 κ. 1 €	»
	» Αράπικο	6,00	»	»	17	Γραβιέρα αιγοπρόβεια	9,50 €	επί ζυγίω	Σπάτα
	Πορτοκάλι σκολλάτα	9,50 €	»	»		Κεφαλοτύρι	9,50 €	»	»
4	Ταλιατέλες	4,00	500 gr/50e	Κόρινθος		Φέτα με άλιμη	5,90 €		»
	Λαζάνια	>> €	»	»		Ανθοτυρο	4,00		»
	Χυλοπίτες	>> €	»	»		Γιαούρτι πρόβειο	2,50 €	1κ. 2,5 €	»
	Τραχανάς	>> €	»	»	18	Φακές	1,50 €	3κ. 4,5 €	Φάρσαλα
				»		Ρεβύθια	2,00 €	2κ. 4 €	»
5	Λεμονια	0,75 €		Αργολίδα		Φάβα	2,00 €	2κ. 4 €	»
	Πορτοκαλια	0,40 €		»	19	Χαλβάς σοκολ. - βανίλια	5,60 €	500gr. 2,8 €	Αττική
	Μανταρινια	075 €		»		» αμύγδαλο	5,60 €	900gr. 5 €	»
6	Όσπρια Βίο	3,00 €	1κ. 3 €	Αμφίκλεια		Ταχίνι ολικής	6,85 €	720gr. 5 €	»
	Ρεβύθια »	2,50 €	1κ. 2,5€	»		Φυσίκι αράπικο	4,00 €	1κ. 4 €	Σέρρες
	Ρόδια »	1,50 €	1κ. 1,5€	»	20	Ροδια	1,25 €		Βοιωτίας
	Αλεύρι ολικής Βίο	1,16 €	3κ. 3,50	»		Ελιτες μπουθ	4,00 €		Κυνουρια
	Δικόκκο Βίο	3,00 €	3κ. 9€	»	21	Βότανα αυτοφυεί		100gr. 1 €	Κόρινθος
7	Ελαιόλαδο extra	3,60 €	5L 18,00€	Κορώνη	22	Σταφίδα ξανθιά	4,00 €	500gr. 2 €	Κόρινθος
8	Ελιές Καλαμών	3,00 €	2κ. 6 €	Βόλος		» μαύρη	4,00 €	500gr. 2 €	»
	Ελιές πράσινες	2,50 €	2κ. 5 €	»		Γλυκά κουταλιού	6,00 €	950gr. 6 €	»
	» τσακιστές	2,50 €	2κ. 5 €	»		Πεπημέζι	6,00 €	1κ. 6 €	»
	» Θάσου	5,00 €	1κ. 5 €	»	23	Παξιμάδι κριθινο	-	800gr. 3 €	Κρήτη
9	Χαλβάς Φαρσάλων	9,00 €	επί ζυγίω	Φάρσαλα		» χαρουπιού	-	340gr. 3 €	»
	Φλωρεντίνα	4,50 €	290 gr	»		» λαδορίγανη	-	340gr. 3 €	»
10	Χυλοπίτες			Τρικαλα		Λαδοκούλουρο	-	450gr. 3 €	»
	με τσουκνίδα	2,00	500 γρ	»	24	Ψάρια κατεψυγμένα			Εισαγωγής
	με φρεσά λαδορίγανη	2,00	500 γρ	»		Καλαμάρια ολοκ.	ΠΑΚΕΤΟ	5,60 €	»
	καυτ. πιπερια	1,80	500 γρ	»		Χιταπόδι	8,80 €	1-2κ. επί ζυγίω	»
	με λαχανικα	1,80	500 γρ	»		Βακαλάος ξαλινος	5,50 €	1κ. 5,5 €	»
11	Υγρό πιάτων	-	4L. 2,5 €	Αττική		Μείγμα θαλασσινών	ΠΑΚΕΤΟ	2,50 €	»
	Υγρό παχύρευστο	-	4L. 2,5 €	»	25				
	Σκόνη πλυντηρίου	1,20 €	10κ. 12€	»		Σαλιγκαρια			Ευβοια
12	Κρασί Cabernet Βίο	1,30 €	1.5L 2,80 €	Νεμέα		μικρα	5		»
	» Merlot Βίο	1,70 €	1.5L 2,80 €	»		μεσαια	6 €		»
	» Αγιωργίτικο Βίο	1,30 €	1.5L 2,80€	»	26	Κρεμμύδι	0,50 €	5κ. 2,5 €	Αμαλιάδα
	» Μοσχοφίλερο Βίο	1,80 €	1.5L 2,80 €	»	27	ΑΛΛΑΝΤΙΚΑ			
13	Μέλι θυμαρισιο	8,00	8,00			ΓΑΛΟΠΟΥΛΑ ΒΡ	8,00	295gr 2,36€	
	Μέλι πευκο	7,30	7,30			ΠΑΡΙΖΑ	5,00	305gr 1,53€	
14	Πατάτες μεγάλες	0,40 €	10κ. 4 €	Αχαΐα		ΛΟΥΚΑΝΙΚΑ			
15	Φασόλια Γιγαντες	3,70 €	1,35κ. 5 €	Στυμφαλία		»συμμετεχει με απορρυπαντικα η ΒΙΟΜΕ			

ΕΠΟΜΕΝΕΣ ΔΡΑΣΕΙΣ: 3 ΔΕΚΕΜΒΡΗ — 7 ΓΕΝΑΡΗ

Όλες οι τιμές είναι τελικές. Η πληρωμή θα γίνει απευθείας στους παραγωγούς την ημέρα της παράδοσης

Η διάθεση των προϊόντων θα γίνει το Σάββατο 5 ΝΟΕΜΒΡΗ ώρα 9:00 -14:00

Στη Μαρίνα Φλοίσβου, είσοδο ΤΑΕ KWON DO, σταση τραμ Αγία Σκέπη

Τηλέφωνο επικοινωνίας 211 79 09 271, www.protobouliafalirou.blogspot.gr - e-mail: aplafaliro@gmail.com

Για προϊόντα ελλειψαρή, κακής ποιότητας, τιμή εκτός καταλόγου, μη έκδοση αποδείξεων, επικοινωνήστε στο 211 79 09 271.

Κάθε παρατήρησή σας είναι καλοδεχόμενη και μόνο καλύτερους μας κάνει.

Figure 2.11

Catalogue of agricultural products with prices from the Market without Intermediaries of Paleo Faliro. Personal archive of the author.

2.6.2 The Healthcare Social Movement: New Infrastructural Arrangements

To counteract mass exclusion from the public healthcare system, which increasingly became a problem from 2012 onwards more than one third of the population of Greece was excluded from access to the national healthcare system; doctors, nursing staff and other volunteers started to operate solidarity clinics and solidarity pharmacies. The first solidarity clinic was conceived at the Syntagma square occupation in 2011. In addition, it is worth observing that from only three in September 2012 – in Athens, Thessaloniki and Rethimnon, Crete – today there are more than 40 solidarity clinics and pharmacies functioning all over Greece, from which 16 are based in Athens. Each solidarity clinic is supported by a network of local doctors and unemployed medical staff.¹⁰³ It is estimated that all solidarity clinics in Athens have an average of 2,000 patient visits per month and saw approximately 63,300 patients during the period 2012-2016. A total of 15,780 people had been treated or have taken medication from solidarity clinics in the Attica region until 2016 (last collective census by the Coordination of Collectives of Attica).¹⁰⁴

More importantly, the solidarity clinics are connected with the medical units of public and private hospitals and private medical laboratories willing to treat the most serious health cases for free. As with the rest of the social movements, the solidarity clinics provide moneyless services and everyone works on shifts on a voluntary basis. Similarly, the medicines come from the donations of people that have spare medicines or who donate new ones. Furthermore, many other social movements such as food provision and “without middlemen” solidarity initiatives collect medicines, which they hand in to their local solidarity medical clinic. Specifically, this campaign of medicine collection has become so successful that in quite a few cases the solidarity pharmacies have provided medicine to public hospitals facing shortages, further confirming the importance of the social movements during these years.

Through appeals to the public and the social movements in Greece and abroad, the solidarity clinics have managed to find donated premises for their clinics and equip and furnish them with cardiographers, dentist chairs, and so forth. In other

¹⁰³ Number of volunteers combined in 16 initiatives of the healthcare social movement in Athens: 750 (median 46 per solidarity clinic). Data gathered from the records of KIFA.A (Social Clinic and Pharmacy of Solidarity of Athens).

¹⁰⁴ Data gathered from the data record files of the Coordination of Collectives of Attica.

cases, where this was not possible, the solidarity clinics have pressured the local municipality to provide them with the unused and empty properties it owns. However, in few cases, they have been forced to rent space from private landlords. Moreover, since the healthcare social movement tries to avoid the use of money, there is still a need to cover utility bills and medical products for everyday use. For this reason, solidarity fundraising markets have been created to collect monetary donations and utilise them for the solidarity clinics' needs. Ultimately, although there is no single model of solidarity clinics, as each one is different, they all include and follow the common Charter of Constitution of Solidarity Clinics and Pharmacies,¹⁰⁵ which was adopted in their third nationwide assembly happening at the auditorium of the “Elpis” hospital in November 2013. This assembly also decided upon the creation of the nationwide coordination solidarity body, the Cooperation of Solidarity Clinics and Pharmacies.¹⁰⁶ Moreover, since June 2013, the Coordination of Solidarity Clinics and Pharmacies has also been holding biweekly meetings. Furthermore, since the solidarity clinics have created proposals for universal access to public healthcare services for all people from the very first moment of their existence, they participate in ongoing public debates and attend to meeting with the Ministry.¹⁰⁷

Thus, this social movement formed around healthcare provision includes attempts that create, design or develop alternatives to the dominant paradigm infrastructure –in this case of healthcare– with regard to engagement in acts of creating infrastructure, which means that it does not concern only attempts for more inclusive and equal redistribution of infrastructural provisions. Additionally, it regards the first (proto) trans-formations of infrastructure to accommodate the new modalities that emerge, which aim to organise and facilitate processes of social transformation. In that sense the constitution of solidarity clinics and pharmacies, refers to the action of creating an infrastructure. What this distinction signifies is that the case of the healthcare social movement expands “the right to infrastructure” as a right for spatial claim and organising around it. This notion is departing from perceiving infrastructural disputes as merely a struggle of “access to”, to a concept that claims the right to create infrastructure.¹⁰⁸ Furthermore, I argue that these new infrastructural arrangements this new infrastructural arrangements regarding healthcare provision are designed in the sense that new infrastructural spatialities emerge that respond to various parameters so as to be able to endure through time. Thus, self-organised solidarity clinics and pharmacies open up the notion of infrastructural dispute to participatory experiments of design in a process of democratisation (and of commoning) of infrastructural systems.

¹⁰⁵ Charter of Constitution of Solidarity Clinics and Pharmacies, (2013) (in Greek) <<http://www.solidarity4all.gr/el/support-article/«χάρτα»-κοινωνικών-ιατρείων-φαρμακείων-αλληλεγγύης>> [accessed 10 September 2021]. A more detailed investigation of this charter and the activities of the healthcare social movement is unveiled in Chapter 5 of this thesis.

¹⁰⁶ Fieldwork notes by the author from the discussion with the doctors of the KIFA.A (Social Clinic and Pharmacy of Solidarity of Athens).

¹⁰⁷ See the common public statement of the solidarity clinics and pharmacies during the national consultation period (30/4/2015-11/5/2015) regarding the Healthcare Reform by SYRIZA addressing the operation of the National Healthcare System of Greece (ESY) <<http://www.opengov.gr/yyka/?p=1201#comments>> [accessed 10 September 2021].

¹⁰⁸ This argument is also unpacked from a theoretical viewpoint in more detail in the essay titled ‘The Tools of Counter-Architecture’, in Appendix 4.



Figure 2.12
Entrance and admin area at the Metropolitan Community Clinic of Hellinikon (2017).

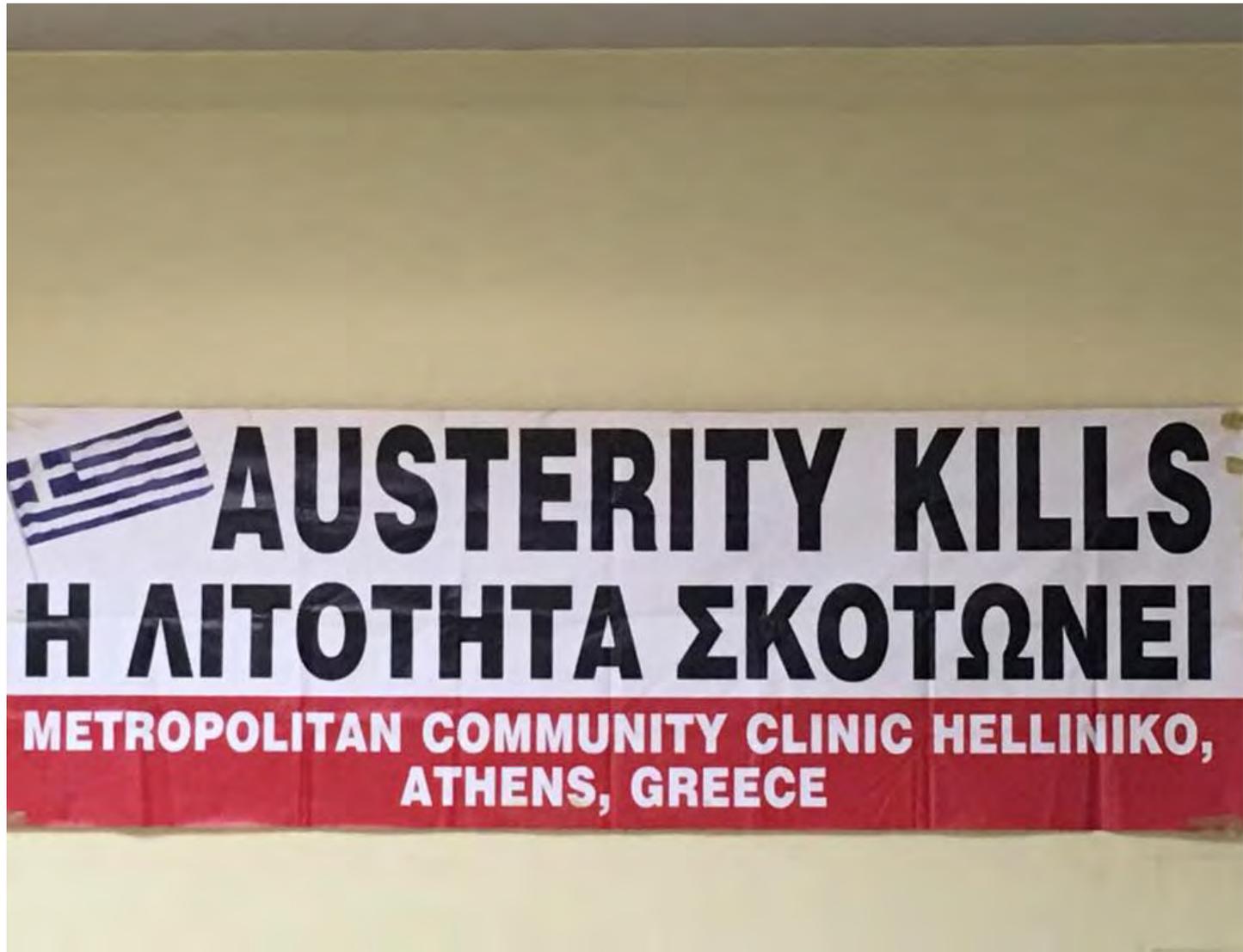


Figure 2.13

The slogan 'Austerity Kills' that appeared for the first time during the occupation of Syntagma Square became one of the main protest slogans for social movements during the years of crisis. Banner hung by the doctors and volunteers of the Metropolitan Community Clinic of Hellinikon on a wall of the conference room of the Ministry of Health when the public discourse regarding the Health Reform by the SYRIZA government was taking place in 2018.

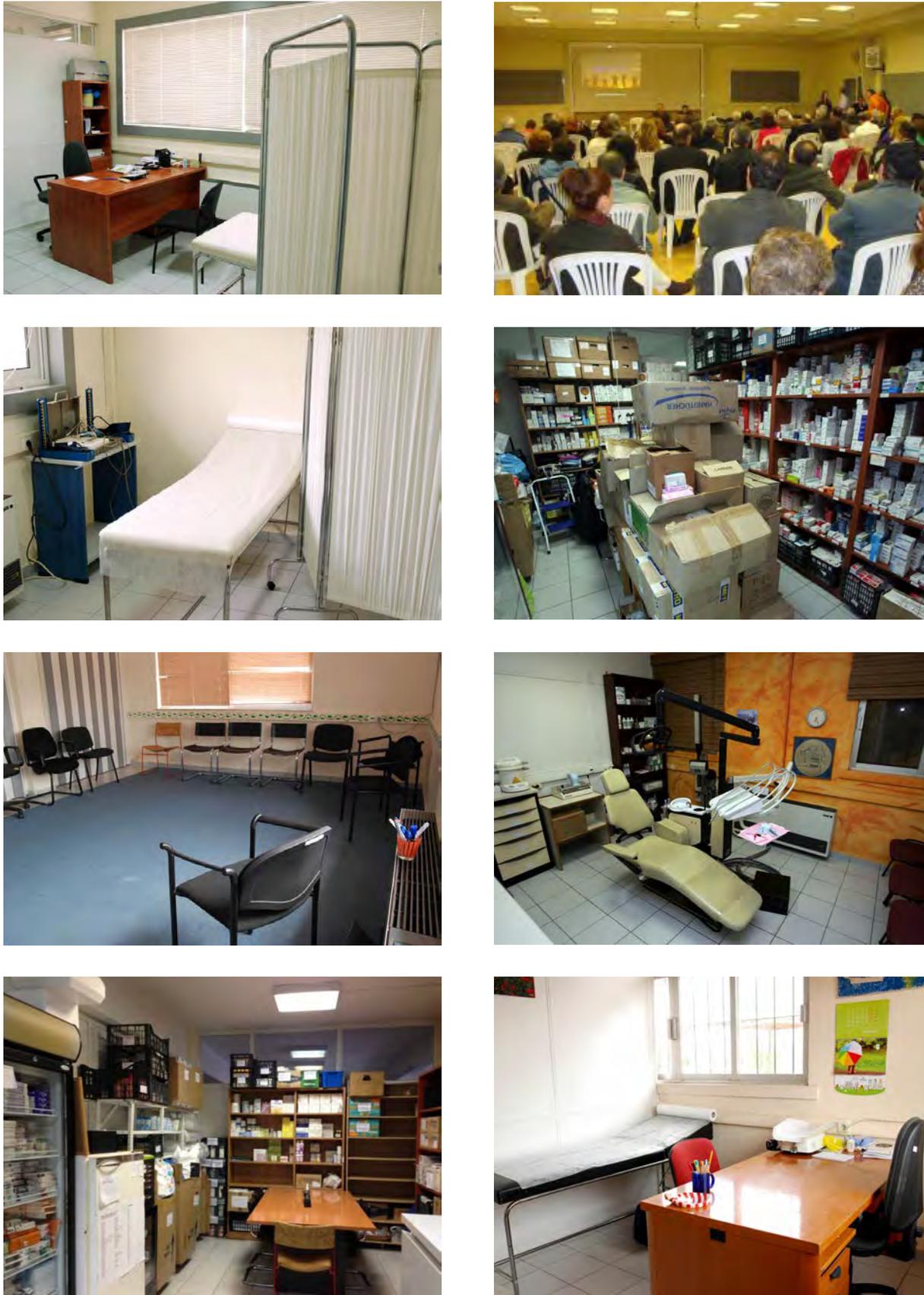


Figure 2.14
Collage of the visual documentation of the activities at the Metropolitan Community Clinic of Hellinikon (2017).

2.6.3 The Housing for All Social Movement: Reconfiguration of Infrastructure

High unemployment and severe austerity programmes rendered an increasing number of Greek households unable to keep up with their debt liabilities. The issue of private debt was greatly exacerbated by the fact that freelancers, small shopkeepers and family-businesses could not afford their tax and social security contributions, with thousands of them having their bank savings, incomes, private belongings and houses confiscated and/or foreclosed by the banks or the state. To counter such dire conditions, a solidarity network was built to counteract such activities, named foreclosures-STOP,¹⁰⁹ to protect the right to housing.

More than 40 solidarity initiatives against foreclosure and debt participated in general assemblies of local solidarity initiatives since 2011,¹¹⁰ by providing information and legal support for settlement of the debt or by organising the blocking of house foreclosures. Regarding the latter, due to changes in the legal framework, the number of house auctions increased considerably since 2014 – with 180,000 foreclosures by banks in 2014 (80% of those being the primary home).¹¹¹ As a result, the practices of solidarity by actively stopping them in the courts was increasing.

This aggressiveness and hostility by the state led to the formation of the social movement for housing for all that built momentum for the first time due to this intentional withdrawal of architectures and tax relief for housing by the state, declaring at their manifesto that this ‘happens at a time that thousands of houses remain closed, empty, unrented and unused, merely remaining a tax-burden for their middleclass owners’.¹¹²

The housing for all social movement evolved even further during the “long summer of migration” in 2015 that found thousands of refugees arriving at the Greek seashores. Thus, alongside the anti-foreclosure solidarity initiatives, there started to operate the solidarity with refugees initiatives. More than a dozen self-organised refugee accommodation squats emerged in the centre of Athens further to the summer of 2015. These collectives aimed to occupy unused and empty buildings –10

¹⁰⁹ Foreclosures-Stop initiative <<http://pleistiriamoistop.blogspot.gr>> [accessed 10 September 2021].

¹¹⁰ Coordination of Collectives in Attica <<http://epitropi3den.blogspot.gr/>> [accessed 10 September 2021].

¹¹¹ Solidarity For All, *Auctions: Affect Us All* (Athens: Legal Support Team Solidarity For All, 2013) <<http://www.solidarity4all.gr/sites/www.solidarity4all.gr/files/odigos-pleistiriamoi.pdf>> [accessed 10 September 2021]

¹¹² Ibid. A detailed study about the transformation of housing in the centre of Athens is presented by Dimitris Emmanuel, who argues how conditions of abandonment of households in the city centre reflect a class division in Greece although urban planning has played a crucial role as well. In Dimitris Emmanuel, “Crisis” in the Centre of Athens and the Housing Market: Re-Considering Hypotheses About “Degradation” and “Abandonment”, in *The Centre of Athens as a Political Stake*, ed. by Thomas Maloutas et al. (Athens: National Centre of Social Research, 2013) (in Greek), p. 77.

of them belonging to the state and two to private bodies— to provide housing to refugees and migrants in the centre of the city. Besides responding to the main need of providing housing, their aim was to ‘allow people to leave freely, go to markets and have a social life without being isolated, in contrast with the “hosting centres”’,¹¹³ which refers to the institutional infrastructure provided by the state. Besides developing the anti-racism movement, the social movement for housing for all consists of a network of solidarity initiatives that provide Greek language classes, legal support and, more recently, increasing emergency medical care provision and medical examinations and certifications for hundreds of refugees that come to Athens, in collaboration with the solidarity clinics and pharmacies.

In an open letter addressing the attempt of their eviction by the private owner of the hotel in 2017, the community of City Plaza Hotel that was occupied in order to accommodate refugees and their families, indicatively describes their role in the reconfiguration of urban space:

The operation of City Plaza Hotel consists not just a counter-example of how the refugee housing issue needs to be addressed by our social movement and the society, but also as an initiative of self-organisation of everyday life and of common struggle for locals and refugees. City Plaza Hotel consists first and foremost a centre of struggle for creating a wide network with unions, schools, hospitals and social spaces, to organise solidarity for the trapped refugees and to carry outward facing actions for claiming the social and political rights of refugees, and as such it has been transmuted into a crucial urban spatial agency.¹¹⁴

Thus, such occupations for housing have established —among other things— new spatial routines and new channels of interaction between locals, former groups of migrants, and the local neighbourhood. In the case study of City Plaza, they achieved that first and foremost, by inaugurating a cycle of everyday commercial activities with the local market.¹¹⁵ The bread, the gas, the laundry, a series of goods necessary for the everyday functioning of the occupation, demanded everyday transactions with the small traders of the area, resulting to a mixed community of refugees, locals, and international solidarity groups embedded in the economic everydayness.

¹¹³ From the public press release of the City Plaza Hotel Refugee Accommodation, published on its Facebook page.

¹¹⁴ For full details on the City Plaza Hotel visit its website <<https://best-hotel-in-europe.eu/>> [accessed 10 September 2021].

¹¹⁵ Loukia Kotronaki, ‘Outside the Doors: Refugee Accommodation Squats and Heterotopy Politics’, *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, 117.3 (2018), pp. 917-18.

I find that this form of dispute regarding numerous collective and widespread everyday uses of infrastructural systems prompts to their remodification. In particular, as seen from the housing for all social movement, it involves cases in which a specific infrastructure is used by the social movement for purposes other than the ones which it was initially designed for. In this way a certain level of reconfiguring and redesigning of the space takes place, as the buildings of former offices, hotels, primary schools and other public buildings were occupied and reconfigured not only to house refugees and people in need, but also to facilitate the recreated conditions for everyday life that these alterations brought about. Most of these cases unfold at the neighbourhood and regional level. Thereby, this type of dispute may also include the social movements' attempts to transform not only the function and use of an infrastructure but also its entire network at the local level.



Figure 2.15
Collective lunch for residents of the neighbourhood and residents of the Refugee Accommodation and Solidarity Space City Plaza (2018). Photo courtesy of the Refugee Accommodation and Solidarity Space City Plaza.



Figure 2.16

The empty City Plaza Hotel was occupied in 2016 by members of the Housing for All social movement in Athens.

2.6.4 The Social Movement for Citizen-managed Public Goods: Access to Infrastructure

This type of solidarity organising concerns collective struggles for a fairer distribution of, and access to, infrastructure networks that are fundamental in sustaining everyday life (water, energy, transport). This mode may interweave with demands for public investment on infrastructure development. It also relates to acts of civil disobedience for access to infrastructure, such as for instance clandestine power connections, or with resisting unfair payments for infrastructural services such as refusal to pay transport fares or road-tolls. Such actions have a very direct result in asserting the right to infrastructural use.

However, a most prominent aspect of this type of infrastructural dispute has to do with modes of ownership and governance that are also among the most contested and timely issues when it comes to infrastructure. Actually, this type of contestation is regarded as one of the timeliest ones. In the introduction of the book *The Promise of Infrastructure*, the editors begin by identifying the fact that although the primarily state funded and run infrastructural model of modernity has been under attack from neoliberal policies and governance for the last 50 years,¹¹⁶ yet the defence of infrastructures as public assets constitutes one of the most prominent types of infrastructural dispute still. Anti-privatisation struggles compose most of such kind of dispute and occurred in most of the large infrastructural systems in Greece (telecommunications, ports, waste, energy). Most of the times they blend with other modes of infrastructural dispute, usually labour strikes or struggles for the re-municipalisation of infrastructural provisions, such as of water. Regarding the latter, the most prominent case has been the self-management of the VIO.ME factory in Thessaloniki, which was occupied by its workers in 2013, contrary to the decision of its management to close the factory without paying the 1.5 million it owed in salaries to the workers.¹¹⁷

The most prominent grassroots initiatives from this social movement are the ones for the waste management in Greece. The core claim of these initiatives is that the management of waste by joint ventures between state and private bodies has been widely ineffective, extremely expensive and ecologically disastrous, leading to fines imposed by the EU on the Greek government.

¹¹⁶ Nikhil Anand, Akhil Gupta, and Hannah Appel, eds., *The Promise of Infrastructure* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2018).

¹¹⁷ For more information about the exemplary self-management of the production of the VIO.ME factory visit its website <<http://www.viome.org/search/label/English>> [accessed 10 September 2021].

As such, in the beginning of 2011, solidarity initiatives organised around a social movement for Citizen-managed Public Goods and joined forces to elaborate on specific proposals for waste management. Through horizontal grassroots processes, the Public Discourse on Waste Management (PROSYNAT) initiative was established, with the aim of fighting for change in dominant policies and to “commonify” waste management.¹¹⁸ Since 2011, PROSYNAT has organised hundreds of open events throughout the country on alternative ecological policies for waste management and constructed an affiliated network of localised initiatives in solidarity with their proposals. In April 2012, PROSYNAT issued an elaborated proposal for a decentralised, cost-effective and ecological waste management at the municipal level and with the engagement of citizens as an immediately applicable way to ‘transcend the dead-end created by the privatisation of waste management in the country’.¹¹⁹

Social mobilisation on the basis of this proposal initially led to citizen discontent against dominant policies on waste management and then to their delay and gradual overturn. Local citizens’ cooperatives and networks managing waste from the grassroots started activities in at least four areas of the country, with 21 more underway. The logic of giving emphasis to household waste management and neighbourhood composting, which was proposed by PROSYNAT as the first phase of waste management, gained institutional ground, after the May 2014 regional elections, when the administration of Athens and wider Attica region changed. After the January 2015 national elections, PROSYNAT’s proposals have emerged at the core of the new state policies for waste management.

Along with PROSYNAT, another significant example is the initiative for water provision, which started in Thessaloniki and Athens. In 2011, the government announced its intention to privatise the Public Water Corporation of Thessaloniki (PWCS), the second-largest city of Greece, along with public water corporations of other cities, including Athens. Immediately after the announcement, the social movement formed an anti-privatisation solidarity alliance called the Initiative 136.¹²⁰ The Initiative 136 operated in Thessaloniki and Athens, gaining the participation of many solidarity initiatives. Very soon, the participants realised that an agenda restricted to mobilisation would not prevent the privatisation and decided to formulate a grassroots proposal for the “commonification” of the water

¹¹⁸ For more information visit the website of the PROSYNAT initiative <<http://prosynat.blogspot.gr/>> [accessed 10 September 2021].

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*

¹²⁰ For more information on the ‘commonification’ proposal of Initiative 136 read the relevant article under the title ‘The Citizens’ Bid to Control Thessaloniki’s Water’ <<http://www.136.gr/article/citizens-bidcontrol-thessalonikis-water>> [accessed 10 September 2021].

services, starting from Thessaloniki. According to the proposal, each municipal district would establish a non-profit water cooperative of users of the service and all the cooperatives would form a second-level non-profit cooperative, which would then participate in the privatisation process, purchase the offered 51% of the shares of the PWCS, and then govern the institution through direct citizen / worker participation and on a non-profit basis.

In 2013, while the privatisation process was pushed forward, the first six water cooperatives to be established formed the second-level Citizens' Union for Water cooperative, having attracted financial aid from social responsibility investors, and registered a formal public offer for purchasing the 51% of the PWCS. When the public offer was rejected on procedural grounds by the Greek agency for the privatisation of the assets of the country (TAIPED), the social movement for water provision organised a massive informal referendum, which took place on 16 May 16, 2014 in 181 electoral centres throughout the city and with a turnout of 218.002 citizens, 98% of which voted against the privatisation of the PWCS.¹²¹ As a result and due to such widespread social dissent, the government was forced to freeze the privatisation process on the horizon of the January 2015 elections.

¹²¹ The total population of the city of Thessaloniki is 325,182 according to the 2011 official nationwide census, which means that two out of three citizens voted in the informal referendum.

Figure 2.17
Collage of photos from the space of the Solidarity Network of Petroupolis. This neighbourhood initiative works towards the self-management of food and waste production in Athens and today it operates under the Koin.Sep cooperative framework.



Although they have different aims and goals, social movements also compare in terms of potential, constraints and dispersal scale, but also regarding the temporality, frequency and complementarity of their activities in urban space. Using the comparative framework from the four different kinds of social movements explored here, my research asks what is the impact of common protocols, values and constitutions in the expansion, centralisation and decentralisations of social movements? What relations can be drawn between them, and how do they relate to other private and public bodies? How has the state apparatus framed the coping mechanisms of social movements and what are the protocols that define their interaction?

Self-organisation protocols of social movements



Figure 2.18
Illustration of the (common) self-organisation protocols of social movements in Greece, which I classified by activity. Drawn by the author.

3.

3. Tracing the Scalar Institutionalisation of Social Movements: A Technical Account of Distributed Protocols



Figure 3.1

The speech of the SYRIZA party leader, Alexis Tsipras, in Omonoia square in Athens before the general election victory of the party in January 2015. Source: AP (Associated Press).

3.1 Introduction to Chapter 3

This chapter focuses on the contemporary context of Greece throughout the years of the financial crisis, from 2010 onwards to the rise of the SYRIZA party to become a government, when new legislation and administrative regulations were introduced to provide an institutional framework to address the activities of social movements and, as a result, the urban welfare infrastructure of Athens. Significantly, here, my research reveals some of the most important findings that add to the contribution to the knowledge and originality of this dissertation. On the one hand, I attempt to form the first detailed account of the mechanisms that capture the interplay between social movements and the state apparatus in Greece. And, on the other, I seek to identify the space where architecture can act as a tool for the intervention of social movements into the mechanisms of the state apparatus to maintain its cultural and political relevance within a complex institutionalisation system.

I investigate the relationships that are being developed between social movements and state institutions in Greece which have cultivated the ground for a series of laws and regulations to be produced on behalf of government institutions to directly address social movements and their activities in urban space. Thus, my study traces the modalities of institutional activity that have captured the activities of social movements for the first time within the Greek legislation system, as well as further administrative norms and regulations, referring to their activities not only in economic but also in spatial terms.

Eventually, the scales of institutionalisation are explored as they unfold at different spatial and administrative levels of municipal, regional and central government. At a local and regional level, I demonstrate the registration systems and templates that make use of the registration, accountability and networking characteristics of social movements that operate in the neighbourhoods of Athens as an administrative system. Moreover, central government strategies under the administration of SYRIZA are explored, first through the legislation related to the social solidarity economy (N.4430/2016) which defined the initiatives and organisations that operate in urban space to deal with the humanitarian and environmental crisis. Second, this law is analysed in tandem with a Ministerial Decree by the Ministry of Labour, Social Insurance and Social Solidarity that proposed, in 2017, a pilot project for the ‘appropriation of buildings for humanitarian and environmental uses’ in Athens to address the spatial manifestation of solidarity but, most importantly, to define the institutional norms through which these spaces are being regulated. Notably, my investigation provides an answer to how this institutionalisation strategy is also based on a building appropriation strategy for the urban development of the city. As a result, I argue for the use of architectural design and, especially, of the architectural drawing as a document to accelerate the implementation of this pilot project instigated by the state.

3.2 Disputes over Institutionalisation as a Mechanism of the State Apparatus

During the years of crisis, social movements inevitably liaised with state institutions –local or central government authorities and institutions– at various scales of intervention as they negotiated their everyday practices.¹²²

Administrative apparatuses, acting as the ‘secondary’ administrative powers to impose governmentality,¹²³ are inherent in institutionalisation as well as in the interaction between state and social movements. It is precisely in this realisation about the means and scales of “power” where relationships formed with state institutions at different governmental scales –municipal, regional or national– are often controversial for both sides. On the one hand, solidarity initiatives are suspicious of ‘regulation of participation’ or to ‘instructed participation in change from above.’¹²⁴ On the other, state institutions find it difficult to come to terms with ‘unauthorised’ actors and ‘uncertified’ practices.¹²⁵

For social movements in Athens, this is a topic of hard debate and conflict among those involved who, in many cases, see such synergies as an unacceptable compromise to the freedom and equality of direct participation and social activities from below.¹²⁶ Often, the different stages of becoming institutionalised structures highlight the predicament of social movements and are the reason for many internal tensions and disputes.¹²⁷ Especially, the processes of becoming institutionalised by

¹²² In the essay ‘Institutionalisation and Protocol’ in Appendix 2, I interrogate what institutionalisation means for social movements and the state apparatus.

¹²³ Thanos Zartaloudis, *Giorgio Agamben: Power, Law and the Uses of Criticism* (London: Routledge, 2011), p. 51.

¹²⁴ Moten and Harney, *The Undercommons* (New York, New York: Minor Compositions, 2013), p. 53.

¹²⁵ Ibid.

¹²⁶ Theodoros Rakopoulos, ‘Resonance of Solidarity’, p. 113.

¹²⁷ Ibid.

gaining legal status are phrased as ‘legislated solidarity’ among many participants in social movements.¹²⁸ For instance, in solidarity clinics, this opposition and suspicion is stated clearly in their common Charter of Constitution: ‘welfare provision cannot be substituted by free will, and equality cannot spill over as a citizens’ duty into a legislated solidarity’.¹²⁹

Yet, the relationship with the state can differ among social movements. In some cases, the local authorities are involved and supportive, while in other cases, they are hostile in both direct and indirect ways. An example regarding institutionalisation of protocols is the anti-middlemen initiatives.¹³⁰ In the national assembly that was held in Pieria, northern Greece, in 2014, the 80 anti-middlemen initiatives put forward and agreed to the collective charter, declaring that their struggle was not only ‘about food’ but also ‘against fascism and austerity’, as well as ‘for a state favourable to grassroots cooperativism’.¹³¹ In essence, their plan was to establish a horizontal organisation among the anti-middlemen solidarity initiatives and, for this reason, they would welcome a state that supported such a Social Solidarity Economy system and endorsed grassroots initiatives in a wider legislative framework.

In a seeming paradox, regarding the Greek context, although the solidarity initiatives form alliances with state authorities, they foster much ‘informal’ activity – i.e. they keep the self-organisation protocols such as the charters and the networks they create. For instance, in the case of the Markets Without Intermediaries by the anti-middlemen initiatives, in many cases they did not possess a written licence from the local municipal authorities for their activities in public spaces such as food distribution, but every time they collaborate with them to schedule the market timetable.

In an interview with Alexandros Kolokotronis in 2016, Christos Giovannopoulos argues that the political practice of solidarity initiatives alters the concept of politics and social policies, highlighting the importance of collective participation and/or a different role of the state – not as a substitute of social action through its representational (political or technocratic) structures, but as a legislative insurer of what society can self-manage.¹³² Such an argument underlines

¹²⁸ Ibid.

¹²⁹ Charter of Constitution of Solidarity Clinics and Pharmacies, (2013).

¹³⁰ Theodoros Rakopoulos, ‘The Solidarity Economy in the Greek Crisis: Movementality, Economic Democracy and Social Reproduction’, in *Economy for and against Democracy*, ed. by Keith Hart (London: Berghahn, 2015), p. 161.

¹³¹ RA.ME anti-middlemen initiative, ‘Charter of Collaboration among Anti-middlemen Initiatives and Producers’ (2014).

¹³² Alexandros Kolokotronis, *Building Alternative Institutions in Greece: An Interview with Christos Giovannopoulos*, (2016) <<https://www.counterpunch.org/2016/03/11/building-alternative-institutions-in-greece-an-interview-with-christos-giovanopoulos/>> [accessed 10 September 2021].

the importance of building material capabilities under the agency of solidary, self-organisation of people and self-management of spaces. This perception coincides with that of Marina Sitrin and Dario Azzellini who claim that in order to create democracy at the local level, the answer is to move from the bottom-up and then build that democracy into configurations that remain democratic, all the way to the top. In their words, 'until we start building a truly democratic society, we will continue to see our good ideas co-opted by capital'.¹³³ Another realisation from this discussion is that collective claims do not have to be only about representational politics but can also challenge existing infrastructural domains and as such the limits of the institutions towards their democratisation.

Amid situations of conflicts and cooptation, the tensions, clashes as well as paradoxes inherent in institutionalisation as well as in the interaction between state and movements need also to be clarified through a robust analysis of what social movement institutionalisation meant in Greece and how this can derive from (and consequently studied through) the construction of legal frameworks onto different administrative levels.

¹³³ Azzellini and Sitrin, *They Can't Represent Us*, p. 17.

3.3 Municipal and Regional Accounts of Registration

The institutionalisation processes that address the activities of solidarity initiatives at a local scale started at the beginning of the crisis in Greece. At this point, it is worth mentioning that I observe the institutionalisation processes at a regional scale as occurring in two periods: the first period is 2011-2014, characterised mainly by alliances between solidarity initiatives and municipalities, while the second commenced after the municipal and regional elections in May 2014, which led to a change in the administration of the Region of Attica that saw the election of the SYRIZA candidate. From this point, institutionalisation frameworks began to address the operation of solidarity initiatives at the regional scale of Athens.¹³⁴ Significantly, this institutionalisation mechanism at the local and regional level was composed of an array of bureaucratic procedures that attempted to manage solidarity initiatives and the participants and care-seekers of their networks.

To provide an understanding of the attempted synergy between social movements and SYRIZA and its implications, I pose the following question: What is the type of relationship SYRIZA fostered with social movements, and what are the reasons behind and the ways in which SYRIZA advanced it to a central item in its agenda?

During the first period of institutional alliances with solidarity initiatives, each municipality¹³⁵ started to have its own “registry” regarding the solidarity initiatives that provided microstructures of support at a local scale in the neighbourhoods of Athens.

¹³⁴ In May 2014, Rena Dourou, the candidate from the SYRIZA party was elected as the Head of the Region of Attica.

¹³⁵ The Region of Attica is administratively divided into 54 municipalities.

Registration Protocols

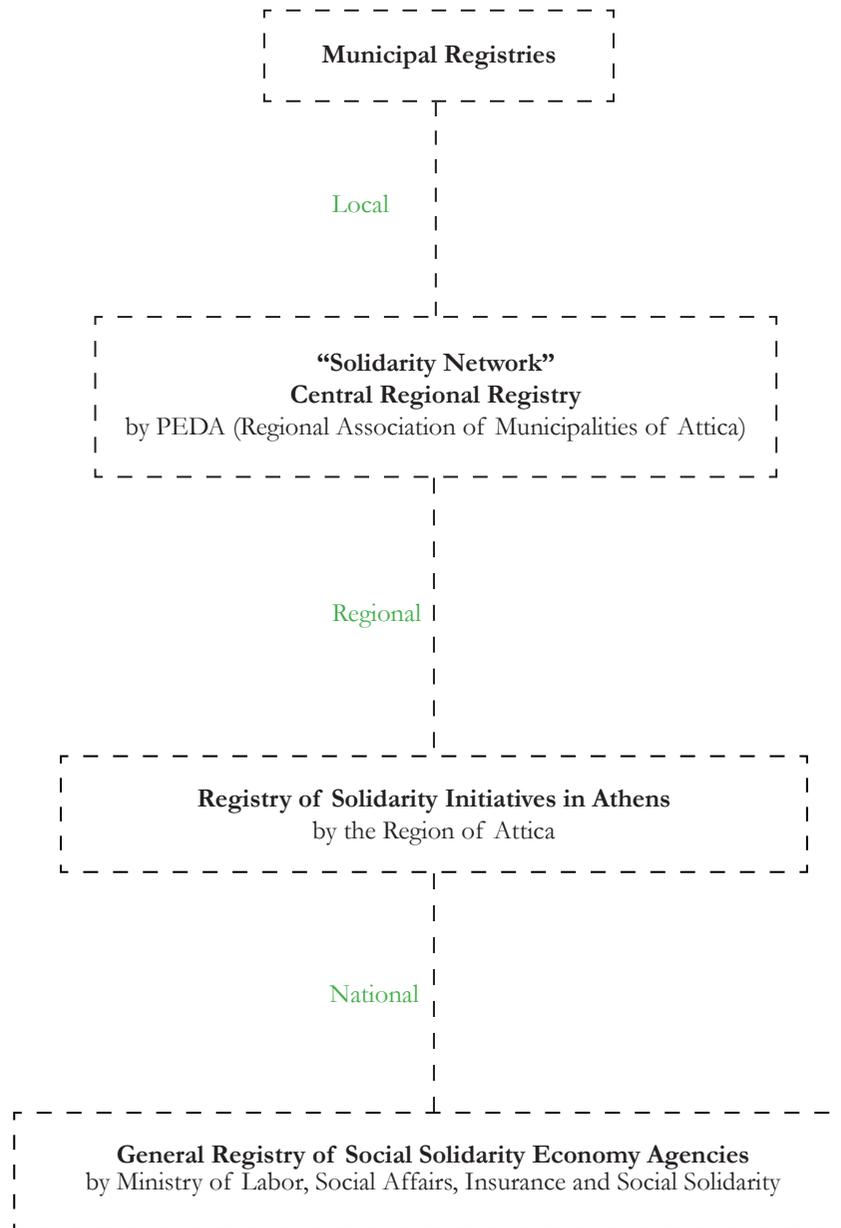


Figure 3.2

Types of registration systems operating in the Attica region as a framework for the registration of solidarity initiatives and Social Solidarity Economy agencies. During these years the identified registration systems spanned all administrative levels, (1) municipal, (2) regional and (3) national. Drawn by author.

The template of the “municipal registry” was standardised in the sense that it was a bureaucratic account of registration, manifested as a listing of collaborative activities and events between solidarity initiatives and municipalities. The aim of the registration was to ensure legality by simply monitoring and mapping the everyday practices of solidarity initiatives in the neighbourhoods of Athens.

It is worth observing that the institutionalisation frameworks that were developed during this period emerged due to a series of activities of solidarity initiatives that were taking place in the built environment of Athens and required, in one way or another, the partial involvement of the local state authorities. This involvement included, for instance, permission for activities to take place in public premises by municipal authorities, provision of domestic infrastructure (water, electricity etc.) to occupied or squatted spaces, joint forces among municipal social centres and solidarity initiatives to support people under impoverishment, and so forth.

The first symptoms identified by this collaboration at a local scale is that the institutionalisation frameworks that captured the alliances formed between local authorities and solidarity initiatives had variations, as each municipality can act independently on issues of its immediate authority. Another symptom of significant importance is that, during this period, both parties, municipal institutions and solidarity initiatives had agreed to officially collaborate – not as state institutions with solidarity initiatives, but as state institutions with ‘the citizens of the Attica municipalities who have been hit by the financial crisis and make use of the infrastructures of solidarity provided by the solidarity initiatives’.¹³⁶ This agreement was reached among those involved for two significant reasons. Firstly, the only reason why the solidarity initiatives that acted within the neighbourhoods of Athens would collaborate with state institutions during that time was in order to join forces for a common cause, i.e. to confront the effects of the austerity measures in people’s livelihoods.¹³⁷ Secondly, the solidarity initiatives were not civic entities, so any kind of official collaboration and normalisation of their activities by the municipalities was outlawed, so claiming that the collaboration was in favour and because of the application of individual participants was a manoeuvre welcomed by both parties.

¹³⁶ See the agreement protocol by PEDAA (Regional Association of Municipalities of Attica) (in Greek) <https://www.epoli.gr/https://www.epoli.gr/diktyo-allileggyis-dimioyrgoyn-dimarxoi-attikis-a-85170.html?category_id=581> [accessed 10 September 2021].

¹³⁷ Interpretation by the author of the wording in the ‘Charter of Coordination of Collectives in Attica’, (2013).

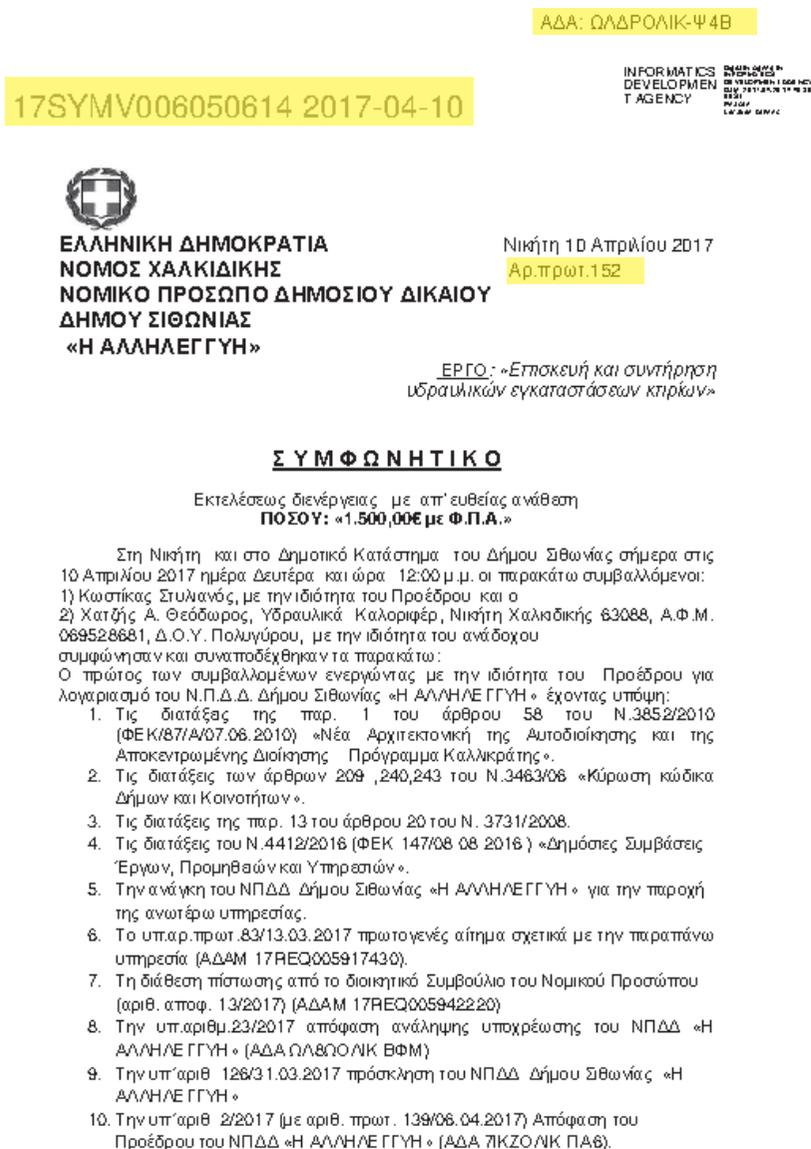


Figure 3.3

ΑΔΑ: ΩΛΔΡΟΛΙΚ-Ψ4Β

Contract of Agreement (10 April 2017) between the Municipal Council of Sithonia in Chalkidiki, in northern Greece, and a local plumbing service company. This agreement confirms that the municipality undertakes to cover the costs for the repair and maintenance works of the plumbing and drainage system of the building occupied by the “Solidarity” Neighbourhood Solidarity Network.

Source: opengov.gr.

Archival research by author.

ΑΔΑ: 7ΞΤΨΟΛΙΚ-7ΡΚ

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INFORMATICS
DEVELOPMENT
AGENCY



ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗ ΔΗΜΟΚΡΑΤΙΑ
ΝΟΜΟΣ ΧΑΛΚΙΔΙΚΗΣ ΔΗΜΟΣ ΣΙΘΩΝΙΑΣ
ΝΟΜΙΚΟ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΟ ΔΗΜΟΣΙΟΥ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ

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Νικήτη 11 Απριλίου 2017
Αριθ. Πρωτ. 157

ΕΡΓΟ: «Προμήθεια καυσίμων»
και λιπαντικών Δήμου
Σιθωνίας έτους 2017»
ΝΟΜΙΚΟ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΟ ΔΗΜΟΣΙΟΥ
ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ «Η ΑΛΛΗΛΕΓΓΥΗ»

Σ Υ Μ Φ Ω Ν Η Τ Ι Κ Ο

Εκτελέσεως του έργου με ανοιχτό διαγωνισμό σύμφωνα με τη
Υ.Α. .11389/93

ΠΟΣΟΥ: «7524,00συν ΦΠΑ 1.805,76»
ΣΥΝΟΛΙΚΟΥ ΠΟΣΟΥ «9.329,76€»

- Στη Νικήτη και στο Δημοτικό Κατάστημα του Δήμου Σιθωνίας σήμερα στις 11/04/2017 ημέρα Τρίτη και ώρα 12.00 π.μ. οι παρακάτω συμβαλλόμενοι:
- 1) Κωστίκας Γεω. Στυλιανός με την ιδιότητα του προέδρου του ΝΠΔΔ και
 - 2) Χατζηφωτάκης Μενέλαος ,Σάρτη ,ΑΦΜ 037544570, Δ.Ο.Υ. Πολυγύρου
- συμφώνησαν και συναποδέχθηκαν τα παρακάτω:
- Ο πρώτος των συμβαλλομένων ενεργώντας με την ιδιότητα του Προέδρου για λογαριασμό του ΝΠΔΔ 'Η ΑΛΛΗΛΕΓΓΥΗ' έχοντας υπόψη:
- 1.Τις διατάξεις 222/2016. Απόφαση Οικονομικής Επιτροπής , όπου καθορίζονται οι όροι διακήρυξης της δημοπρασίας του έργου «Προμήθεια καυσίμων και λιπαντικών Δήμου Σιθωνίας έτους 2017»
 4. Τα από 08 02 2017 και 28 02 2017 πρακτικά διενέργειας ανοιχτού διαγωνισμού
 5. Την υπ. αριθμ. 20/2017 Απόφαση Οικονομικής Επιτροπής με την οποία εγκρίνονται τα πρακτικά
 - 6 .Τις παρακάτω ποσότητες

ΠΕΡΙΓΡΑΦΗ	ΠΟΣΟΤΗΤΑ	Τ.Μ [€]	ΔΑΠΑΝΗ
ΚΑΥΣΙΜΑ			
Πετρέλαιο θέρμανσης	10.000	0,76	7.600,00
Σύνολο			7.600,00
Αφαιρείται η έκπτωση 1%			76,00

Figure 3.4

ΑΔΑ: 7ΞΤΨΟΛΙΚ-7ΡΚ

Contract of Agreement and Payment of Quotation (11 April 2017) between the Municipal Council of Sithonia in Chalkidiki, in northern Greece, and a local gas company. This agreement confirms that the municipality undertakes to cover the costs for the maintenance of the heating system of the building of the 'Solidarity' Neighbourhood Solidarity Network.

Source: opengov.gr.

Archival research by author.

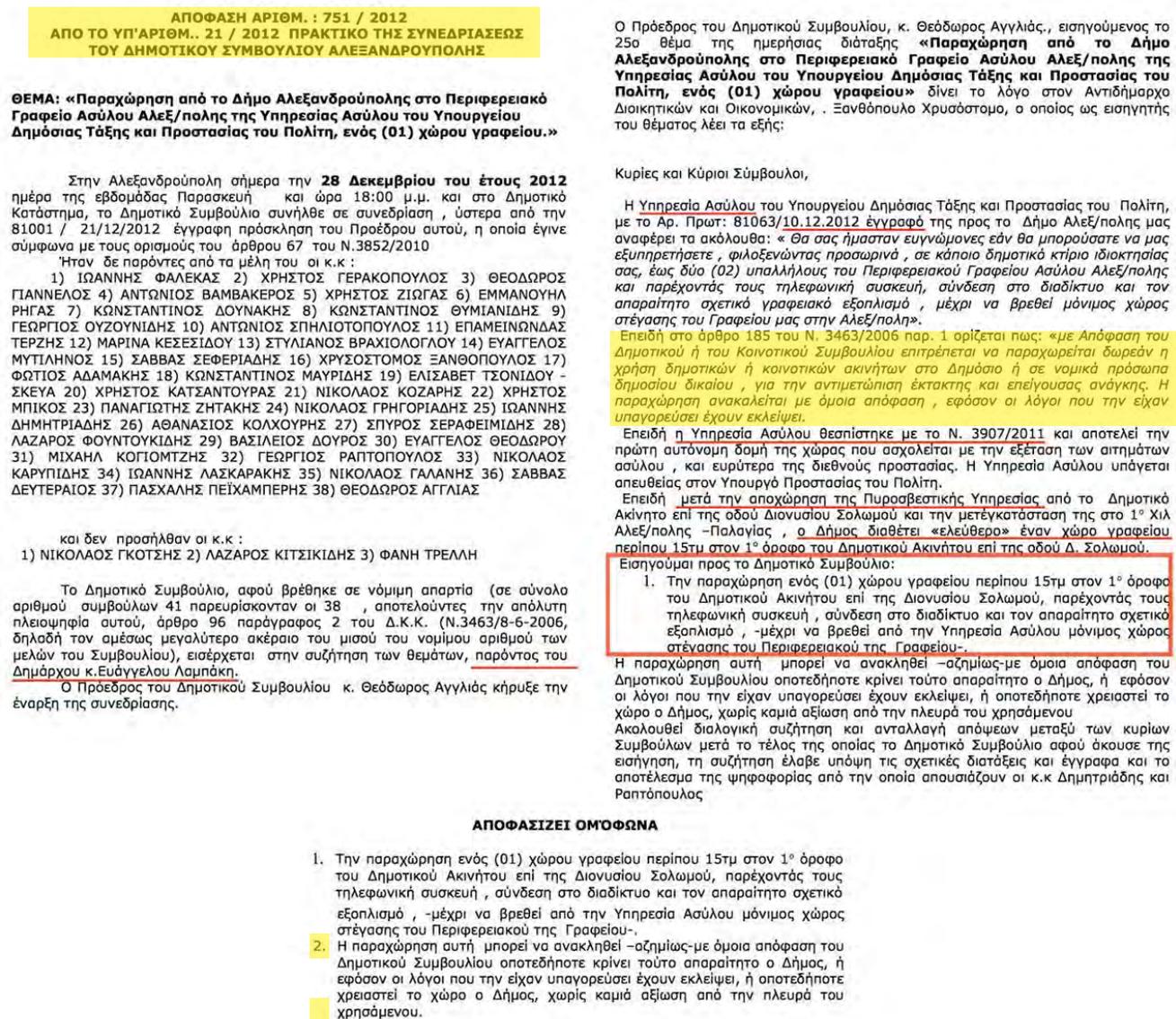


Figure 3.5
 20121229.DS_Thema25.Grafeio.Se_Ypiresia.Asylou_Allilegisy

Decision-making protocol of the Municipal Council of Alexandroupolis, in northern Greece, regarding the concession of office space to the Asylum Social Service of the Regional Office of Alexandroupolis.

Source: opengov.gr. Translation and archival research by the author.

This protocol of concession is exemplary of the form that such agreements had during the first period of crisis (2010-2014). The municipality of Alexandroupolis as many other at the time made use of Article 85 of Law N. 3463/2006, which allowed them as stated in this protocol to make property concessions : “ The Article 85 of Law N. 3463/2006, stipulates that the use of municipal or public property may be granted free of charge to public institutions or legal entities of public law that deal with emergencies and other crises”.

Specifically, the above decision-making protocol decides that:

1. Concession of one (01) office space of 15m² on the 1st floor of a property of the municipality, along with the provision of phone and internet connection and equipment, until a permanent and appropriate space is found to facilitate the Asylum Social Service of the Regional Office of Alexandroupolis.
2. This concession can be revoked, and this decision withdrawn if and when the Municipal Council decides to do so.

Municipal Registry (MR)

Record of Agreements between Solidarity Initiatives and Municipal Councils

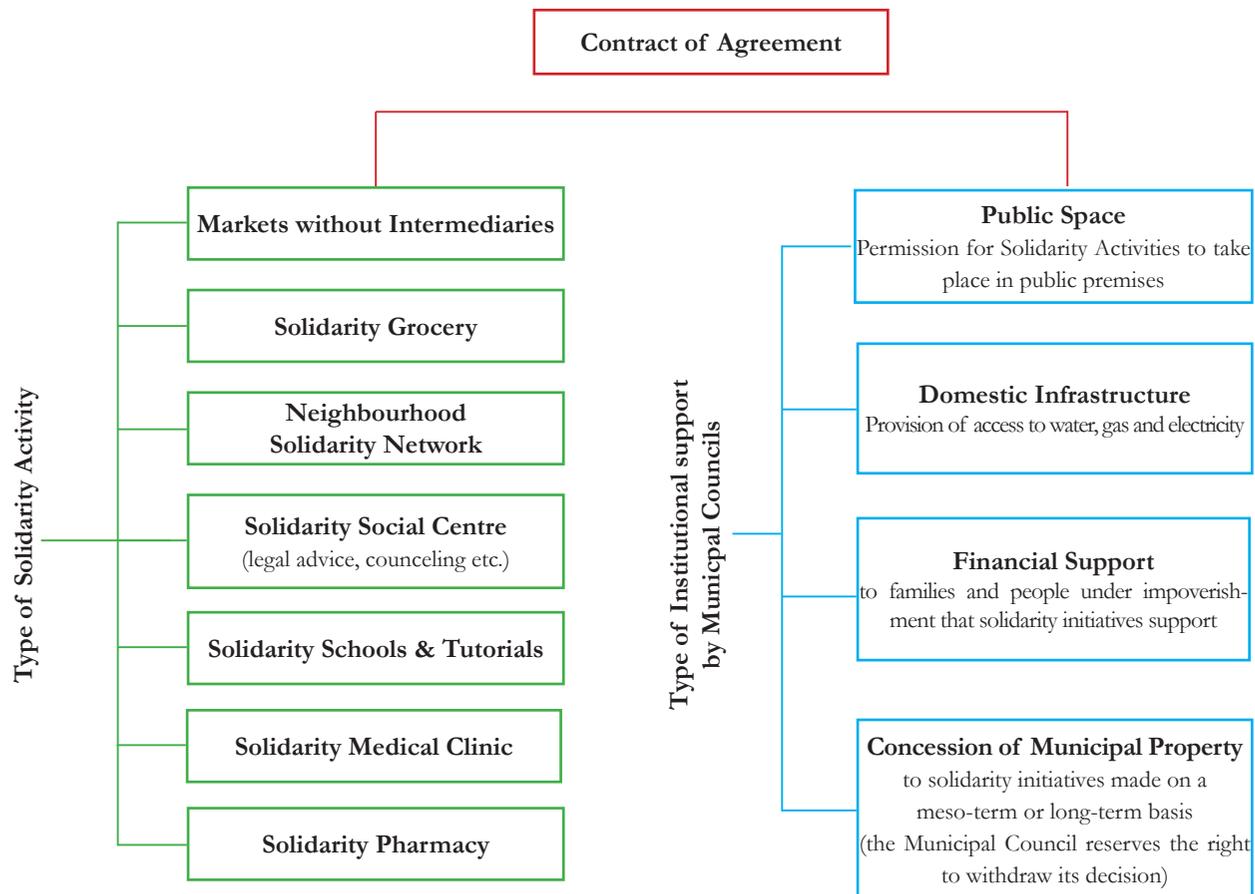


Figure 3.6

Diagram of the Municipal Registry (MR) protocol. The MR is a bureaucratic account of registration that aims to create a listing of the agreements made by municipal councils that dealt with the activities of solidarity initiatives taking place in their districts. An MR acted as a record of the types of institutional “support” that was provided by local authorities to the diverse activities of solidarity initiatives.

Drawn by the author.

Since 2014 onwards, the Region of Attica under the newly elected administration recognised the shift in institutional politics regarding the operation of solidarity initiatives at a municipal level and wanted to create an “umbrella registry database” of all these scattered protocols of alliances at a regional scale. The template of this institutionalisation mechanism, however, was necessarily different.

By creating new institutions to address the humanitarian crisis, such as the Office for Social Care and Solidarity, the Directorate of Public Health and Social Welfare, and the Social Solidarity Economy General Secretariat, the Region of Attica proceeded to create of a totally new mechanism of institutionalisation.¹³⁸ It combined the creation of new, competent institutions – as the existing ones were not sufficient to integrate the self-organisation protocols and practices of solidarity initiatives – with the extended use of the existing municipal registries and accounts of solidarity initiatives in a much larger scale that could cover all administrative sectors. It is beyond doubt that by proceeding to the creation of new institutions and institutional protocols, the regional authorities were directly proceeding not only to the official recognition of the solidarity initiatives and the validation of their “accounts” at a municipal scale, but also to a new period of regional governmentality and a new form of national administration of solidarity initiatives.

The ‘Registry of Solidarity Initiatives across Athens’ is the first official protocol of institutionalisation that was created in Greece.¹³⁹ Notably, it is worth observing that the aim of the Region of Attica at that time was to make use, first of all, of the existing alliances among the solidarity initiatives and the municipalities in Athens and additionally to attract the cooperation of the solidarity initiatives that were active in the region of Athens but were still ‘un-mapped’ in this collaborative venture of ‘social and physical support infrastructures’¹⁴⁰ among state institutions and solidarity initiatives.

The Office for Social Care and Solidarity in Athens made the following statement, which is indicative of the institutionalisation mechanism that aimed to make use of the social and spatial configurations of solidarity initiatives at a regional scale:

¹³⁸ Social Solidarity Networks’ Sub-Group of the Region of Attica, ‘On the Organization of the State Structure for Social Solidarity’(in Greek) <<http://docplayer.gr/7606701-Protasi-diktya-koinonikis-allileggyis-y-po-omada-gia-tin-organo-si-tis-kratikus-domis-gia-tin-koinoniki-allileggyi.html> > [accessed 10 September 2021].

¹³⁹ See the declaration of the representative of the local government regarding the programme for Social Solidarity, Employment and Social Cohesion while he addresses the role of the ‘Registry of Solidarity Initiatives across Athens’ in February 2015 (in Greek) <<http://docplayer.gr/4912315-Oi-the-seis-tis-a-vathmias-topikis-aytodiokisis-gia-tin-koinoniki-allileggyi-tin-apas-holisi-tin-koinoniki-synohi.html>> [accessed 10 September 2021].

¹⁴⁰ Ibid.

‘Legal entities have been created, voluntary informal initiatives, social and physical support infrastructures and solidarity actions, support collectivities and neighbourhood initiatives. All these together constitute today a significant empirical material that feeds the initiatives of the Region of Attica as a whole into the social field. They also contribute to the design of spaces and implementation of social solidarity networks with the cooperation of municipalities, regions and social actors in various social solidarity intervention programmes. At the same time, however, we identify that in areas of the city such as West Attica, the solidarity entities registered in the respective registry system that the municipalities contain regarding initiatives they collaborate with and that have been certified, are very few. This situation is essential to be overturned. Western Attica has a dense network of social solidarity infrastructures that is needed to gain institutional accountability. Even informal collectivities must seriously think about both acquiring legal status and joining the registry or simply by joining the registry’.¹⁴¹

In June 2016, a central regulatory mechanism regarding all solidarity initiatives operating in the Region of Attica was created by PEDA under the title “Solidarity Network”.¹⁴² The argument for the necessity of this institutionalisation mechanism was made at a joint meeting of the Committee on Institutions and the Committee on Social Protection, Health, Solidarity, Equality and Inclusion of PEDA, which are two additional state institutions created to confront the humanitarian crisis through “solidarity”.¹⁴³

It is worth examining the way the Solidarity Network operates, as the SYRIZA government launched an experimental project, the implementation of “Single Common National Basis for Applications and Solidarity Support Structures” registration system for the administration of all relations between social movement agencies and state institutions in Athens. The municipalities needed to be integrated into a single application management system, which comprises all solidarity initiatives that were developed during these years of crisis. Each solidarity initiative has its own record and is able to join more solidarity activities that are manifested at a municipal level.

¹⁴¹ Notes from the meeting of the committee on ‘Social Care and Solidarity in West Attica’ of the Region of Attica (in Greek <http://www.patt.gov.gr/site/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=14528:koinoniki-frontida-kai-allileggyi-sti-dytiki-attiki&catid=287&Itemid=302> [accessed 10 September 2021].

¹⁴² Proposal by PEDA (in Greek) <https://www.epoli.gr/https://www.epoli.gr/diktyo-allileggyis-dimioygoyn-dimarxoi-attikis-a-85170.html?category_id=581> [accessed 10 September 2021].

¹⁴³ Ibid.

Common National Registration System (CNRS) of Solidarity Initiatives Across Athens
 ‘Single Common National Basis for Applications from Solidarity Support Structures’
 by the Region of Attica

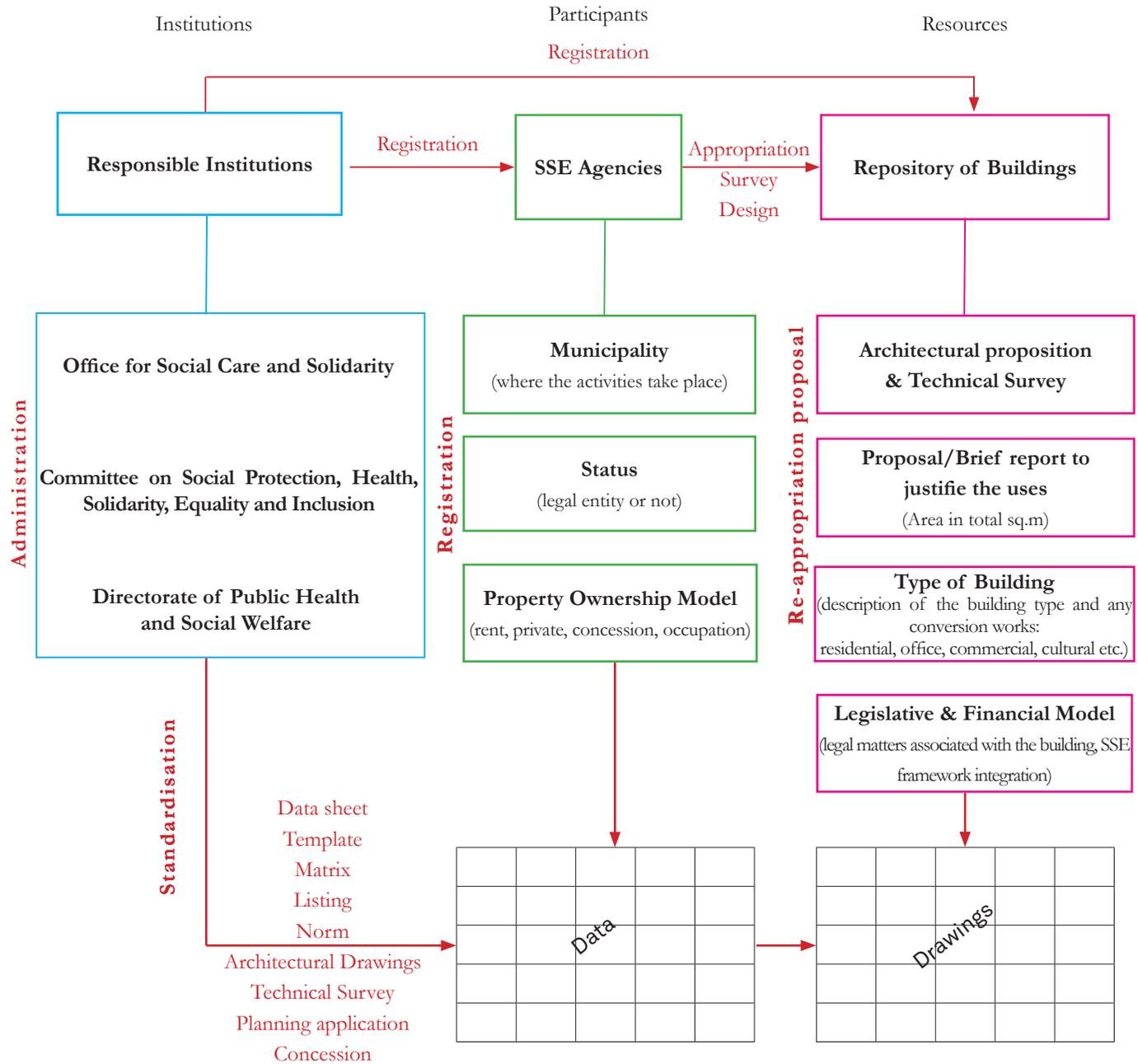


Figure 3.7

Diagram of the Common National Registration System (CNRS) titled ‘Single Common National Basis for Applications from Solidarity Support Structures’. The CNRS compiles different layers of registration, including the registration of solidarity initiatives per region and buildings that are the property of state institutions. The aim of this nationwide database was to create templates of standardisation that could be useful as separate tools, but also to draw a strategy for their use on a larger scale.

Drawn by the author.

Notably, the importance of integrating both the organisational as well as spatial protocols that were developed by solidarity initiatives in Athens is described by PEDDA as follows:

‘Integration to the mechanism (of the Solidarity Network) aims to support both schemes of national solidarity activities (i.e. social and physical), and especially, spatial schemes regarding spaces designed and activities executed locally’.¹⁴⁴

Another function of this registration platform widely used by the Region of Attica, is that it also provides an evaluating system that assess the financial ability of citizens, essentially a calculating algorithm that takes into account the financial information per household such as salary and taxes ‘for the transparent access of citizens to the services provided’.¹⁴⁵

Undoubtedly, these registries function mainly as administrative apparatuses for the processual and gradual appropriation of social movement dynamics, frames and tactics, by the emergent party of SYRIZA.¹⁴⁶ However, more than merely a control system, they became bureaucratic-logistical devices for the creation and maintenance of an institutional interplay between different agencies. Indeed, the bureaucratic infrastructure of the institutionalisation mechanism sought to give overlapping connotations and, in a way, to replace practices of “occupation” of public spaces and buildings by solidarity initiatives with the notion of “management” of their activities and it achieved to do so in the first place through these registration platforms. Starting from the municipal administration and the local level social movement institutionalisation is advanced to the regional and what will follow is the national, which is the richest in empirics in my research. Precisely, I read social movement institutionalisation as divided into three phases. Each phase feeds into the next, and they all correspond to SYRIZA’s attempt to affect institutionalisation on different administrative levels, culminating the synergies between the two through their legal prescription, which had implications onto urban planning –and onto welfare governance and provision.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid.

¹⁴⁵ Words of the former professor of architecture and deputy minister of Social Solidarity under the SYRIZA government, Ms Theano Fotiou in June 2016, during the presentation of the Single Common National Basis for Solidarity system in the Greek Parliament (in Greek) <<http://www.enikonomia.gr/timeliness/103242,-fotiou-tha-syggrotithe-ethniko-eni-aio-systima-allilengyis.html>> [accessed 10 September 2021].

¹⁴⁶ The state here, represented by the government of SYRIZA assumes the structure of the governmental machine that legitimates its apparatuses and proliferates power through them, thus, it serves itself. For a more detailed view on the articulation of the providential machine of the welfare state and state/governmental machine refer to Thanos Zartaloudis, *Giorgio Agamben: Power, Law and the Uses of Criticism* (London: Routledge, 2011), pp. 73-84.

3.4 Legislation and Administrative Protocols by the Central Government

It was within the discussion on the legal status of cooperatives that the first piece of legislation that indirectly addressed the Social Solidarity Economy (SSE) in Greece was drafted as a law to provide the framework for cooperatives to be formulated in the form of Koin.Sep (Social Cooperative Framework of Social and Collective Benefit, Law 4019/2011).¹⁴⁷ However, this first legislative attempt to address the formalisation of initiatives in the form of Koin.Sep cooperatives was immediately faced by the opposition of the Social Solidarity Economy movement that saw this (subject to change) legislation as a step towards the privatisation of vital community social services (libraries, nurseries, elderly care, etc.) and, more importantly, as an assault upon labour rights, with no insurance nor guarantee for the cooperatives of employees.

Within this framework, the government led by SYRIZA took advantage of the long periods of public debates during the previous years and eventually addressed the process of institutionalising the Social Solidarity Economy initiatives through the Law ‘Social and Solidarity Economy and Development of its Agencies and Other Provisions’ (N9295, Government Gazette N.4430/2016 - FEK 205/A/31-10-2016) proposed by the Ministry of Labour, Social Insurance and Social Solidarity in 2016. During the public consultation process, the changes requested by the Social Solidarity Economy movement were negotiated and implemented in Article 15.

¹⁴⁷ Law Social Economy and Social Entrepreneurship and Other Provisions (N6369, Government Gazette N.4019/2011 - FEK 216/A/30-9-2011) (in Greek) <<https://nomoi.info/ΦΕΚ-Α-216-2011-σελ-1.html>> [accessed 10 September 2021].

Legislative Framework



Figure 3.8
Laws that relate to the activities of social movements in Greece.
Drawn by author.

Law 4430/2016
 Social Solidarity Economy and Development of its Agencies and other Provisions
 Ministry of Labour, Social Affairs, Insurance and Social Solidarity

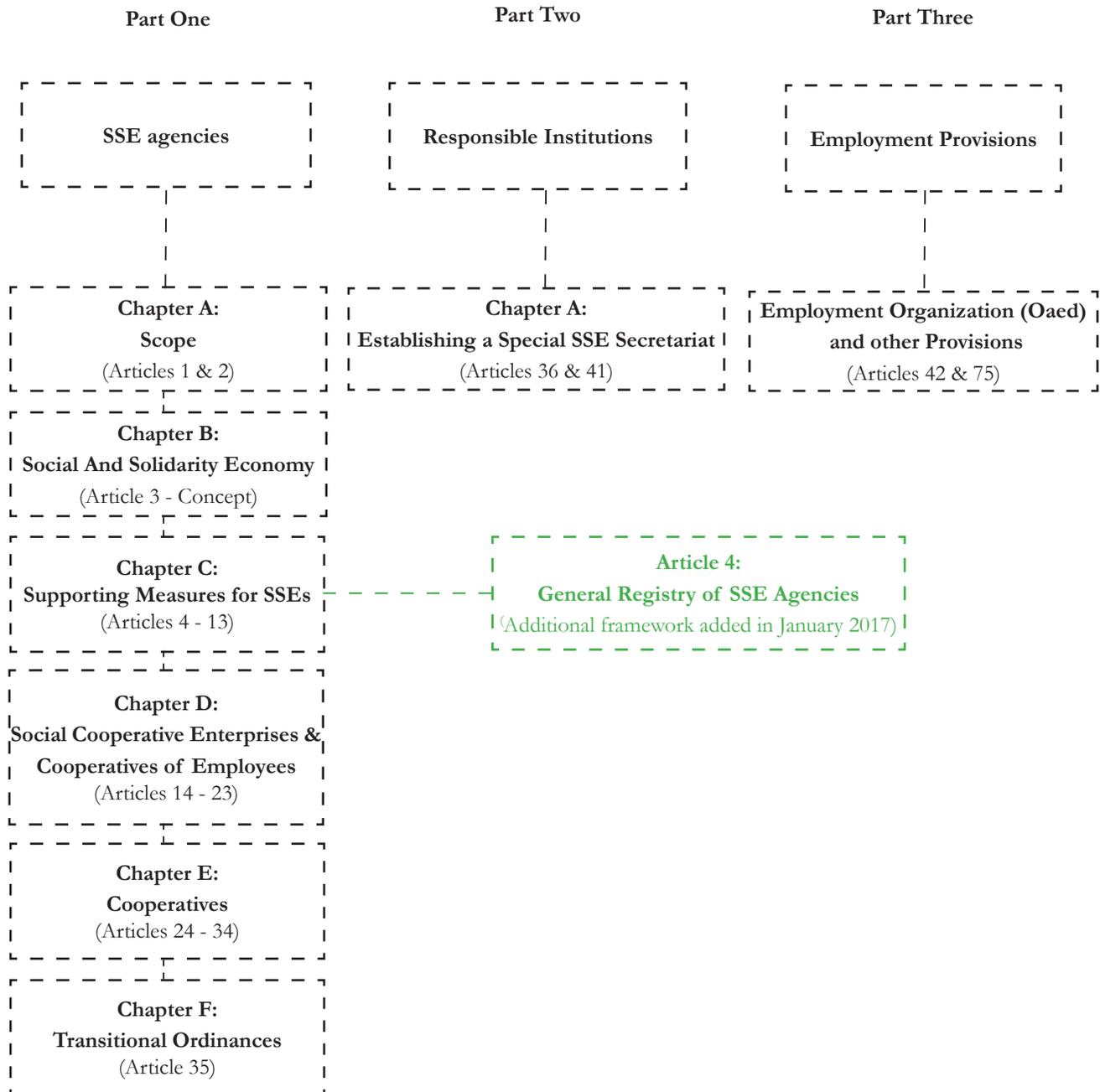


Figure 3.9
 Diagram of the structure of Law 4430/2016 on Social Solidarity Economy.
 Drawn by the author.

What is noticeable about this law is that it provides the broader legislative framework for the operation of Social Solidarity Economy activities and agencies –and, perhaps more importantly, demonstrates for the first time an official discussion about the notion of solidarity in Greece. Indicative is the Explanatory Statement which consists of the introduction paragraph to this law:

In recent years, and especially during the period of financial crisis, solidarity practices and social self-efficacy have become vital in Greece. The creation of cooperative production units, as well as the establishment of social solidarity structures, are social initiatives that go deep in the history of Greek society and, depending on the socio-economic conditions of the time, play an important role in the needs of the population. The activities of social movements are part of an international network and are described as “Social and Solidarity Economy” activities (hereinafter “KAAO” i.e. Social Solidarity Economy Organisations), include cooperative and collaborative forms of production or service provision, which are developed either within the market economy or through networking outside the private market. They also include activities developed by associations of persons locally, which with the voluntary bidding of participants seek to meet the social needs of people who are not satisfied by the state or the private market and thus participate in the aforementioned associations, while claiming increased social participation or the active support of the state to the social needs they seek to cover. So, “KAAO” describes the whole set of economic activities based on a democratic, equitable, solidarity and cooperative organisation form of production, distribution, consumption and reinvestment relationships as they develop with full respect for the environment and have a humanitarian value.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁸ Explanatory statement to support the vitality and importance of the Law 4430/2016 on Social and Solidarity Economy, issued on 6 October 2016 by the Ministry of Labour, Social Insurance and Social Solidarity.

More precisely, as outlined in the articles of this law, terms such as solidarity economy, collective benefit, common benefit, social innovation, legal innovation and social inclusion are being defined for the first time in the Greek legal framework. All these terms have spatial but also content differences, yet they describe a new strategic approach regarding social movements in Greece by binding them with the principles of the Social Solidarity Economy.

3. Tracing the Scalar Institutionalisation of Social Movements

The screenshot shows the TAXHEAVEN website interface. At the top, there is a navigation bar with the TAXHEAVEN logo and several utility icons. Below this, a search bar is visible with the text 'Αναζήτηση'. The main content area is divided into three tabs: 'Κείμενο άρθρου', 'Σημειώσεις', and 'Λοιπά (10)'. The 'Λοιπά (10)' tab is selected, displaying a list of documents. The first document is titled 'Δημοσιεύθηκε στις : [06-10-2016]' and is an 'Αιτιολογική έκθεση - Σχέδιο νόμου Κοινωνική και αλληλέγγυα οικονομία και ανάπτυξη των φορέων της και άλλες διατάξεις (Κοινωνική και αλληλέγγυα οικονομία και ανάπτυξη των φορέων της και άλλες διατάξεις)'. The document is categorized as 'Λοιπά' and is titled 'Αιτιολογική Έκθεση'. The main text of the document is visible, starting with 'Γενικό μέρος' and 'Τα τελευταία χρόνια και ειδικά την περίοδο της οικονομικής κρίσης εμφανίζονται επιτακτικά στην ελληνική επικράτεια πρακτικές αλληλεγγύης και κοινωνικής αυτοεξυπηρέτησης. Η δημιουργία συνεργατικών παραγωγικών μονάδων καθώς και η δημιουργία δομών κοινωνικής αλληλεγγύης, αποτελούν κοινωνικές πρωτοβουλίες, οι οποίες ανάγονται σε βλάβος της ιστορικής διαδρομής της ελληνικής κοινωνίας και αναλόγως των εκάστοτε κοινωνικοοικονομικών συνθηκών, διαδραματίσαν και εξακολουθούν να διαδραματίζουν ένα σημαντικό ρόλο για την κάλυψη παραγωγικών και κοινωνικών αναγκών.

Figure 3.10

An explanatory statement was written in support of the vitality, urgency and importance of Law 4430/2016 on Social Solidarity Economy, which was issued on 6 October 2016 by the Ministry of Labour, Social Insurance and Social Solidarity. Eventually, this explanatory statement acted as the introduction chapter of this legislation.

Source: opengov.gr.

Moreover, the new set of regulations included in this law has introduced strategies focused on processes regarding urban space configuration. Essentially, this study finds that this law is among others a response to the practical problem of property occupation linked with the spaces that social movements use and self-manage. Specifically, in the introduction paragraph of this legislation, the wording emphasises that, for the purposes of Social Solidarity Economy activities, properties and real estate that are used with social and environmental criteria and ultimately help to confront the humanitarian and/or environmental crisis can apply for support to the articles of this specific legislation. Although it does not mention the ownership status of the property, this legislation is intentionally open to interpretation (Public Consultation Debate 2016), as there are claims that, if a Social Solidarity Economy agency is using a space or a property for the aforementioned collective benefit causes, they can make an application to the particular legislation for support in a series of state-owned resources.

However, this legislative framework does become more specific by developing a rigorous definition of specifications regarding the conditions under which the solidarity bodies become institutionalised. In Article 2, Social Solidarity Economy initiatives are defined as consisting of agencies of “Social and Solidarity Economy”. Article 3 then provides a series of support measures addressing the stages that solidarity bodies have to follow in this process.

In this respect, the Law on Social Solidarity Economy has caused two important innovations regarding the agency of social movements in social production and urban space. The first is the introduction of the institution of Employee Cooperatives and the obligation of its members to be insured, which distinguishes it from the Koin.Sep of Law 4019/2011, acting as a guarantor for the self-organisation of participants. The second potential of great importance is the scope, specialisation and spatialisation of the regulations under which state property will be a concession to the agencies of Social and Solidarity Economy and the implications of such regulations on the architectural construct and spatial configurations of the properties.

The General Registry (GR) of Social Solidarity Economy



Signature valid
Digitally signed by
 Δημήτρης Σ. Κωνσταντίνου
 DN: cn=Δημήτρης Σ. Κωνσταντίνου,
 o=Υπουργείο Εργασίας, Κοινωνικής
 Ασφάλισης και Κοινωνικής Αλληλεγγύης,
 c=Ελλάδα

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ΕΦΗΜΕΡΙΔΑ ΤΗΣ ΚΥΒΕΡΝΗΣΕΩΣ

ΤΗΣ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗΣ ΔΗΜΟΚΡΑΤΙΑΣ

18 Ιανουαρίου 2017
ΤΕΥΧΟΣ ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟ
Αρ. Φύλλου 56

ΑΠΟΦΑΣΕΙΣ

Αριθ. 61621/Δ5.2643

Τήρηση και λειτουργία του Γενικού Μητρώου Φορέων Κοινωνικής και Αλληλέγγυας Οικονομίας του ν. 4430/2016 (ΦΕΚ 205/Α/31.10.2016) «Κοινωνική και Αλληλέγγυα Οικονομία και ανάπτυξη των φορέων της και άλλες διατάξεις».

Η ΑΝΑΠΛΗΡΩΤΡΙΑ ΥΠΟΥΡΓΟΣ ΕΡΓΑΣΙΑΣ, ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΚΗΣ ΑΣΦΑΛΙΣΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΚΗΣ ΑΛΛΗΛΕΓΓΥΗΣ

Έχοντας υπόψη:

Α. Τις διατάξεις:

1. Του π.δ. 113/2014 «Οργανισμός Υπουργείου Εργασίας, Κοινωνικής Ασφάλισης και Πρόνοιας» (ΦΕΚ 141/Α/29-08-2014) όπως τροποποιήθηκε και ισχύει.
2. Των άρθρων 54 και 90 του π.δ/τος 63/2005 «Κωδικοποίηση της νομοθεσίας για την Κυβέρνηση και τα Κυβερνητικά Όργανα» (ΦΕΚ 98/Α/22-04-2005).
3. Του π.δ. 24/2015 (ΦΕΚ 20/Α/27-01-2015) «Σύσταση και μετονομασία Υπουργείων, μεταφορά της Γενικής Γραμματείας Κοινωνικών Ασφαλίσεων».
4. Του π.δ. 73/2015 (ΦΕΚ 116/Α/23-9-2015) «Διορισμός Αντιπροέδρου της Κυβέρνησης, Υπουργών, Αναπληρωτών

ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΟ ΠΡΩΤΟ
ΓΕΝΙΚΟ ΜΗΤΡΩΟ ΦΟΡΕΩΝ ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΚΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΛΛΗΛΕΓΓΥΑΣ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΑΣ

Άρθρο 1
 Γενικό Μητρώο Φορέων Κοινωνικής και Αλληλέγγυας Οικονομίας

1. Σύμφωνα με το άρθρο 4 παρ. 2 του ν. 4430/2016 (ΦΕΚ 205/Α/31.10.2016) συνιστάται Γενικό Μητρώο Φορέων Κοινωνικής και Αλληλέγγυας Οικονομίας (εφεξής «Μητρώο»). Το Μητρώο είναι η βάση δεδομένων που τηρείται σε ηλεκτρονική μορφή από το Τμήμα Μητρώου Φορέων Κοινωνικής και Αλληλέγγυας Οικονομίας (εφεξής «Τμήμα Μητρώου») του Υπουργείου Εργασίας, Κοινωνικής Ασφάλισης και Κοινωνικής Αλληλεγγύης (ΥΠΕΚΑΑ) και στην οποία εγγράφονται οι Φορείς Κοινωνικής και Αλληλέγγυας Οικονομίας, όπως ορίζονται στο αρ.3 του ν. 4430/2016.
2. Το Γενικό Μητρώο Κοινωνικής και Αλληλέγγυας Οικονομίας τηρείται σε ηλεκτρονική μορφή. Η πρόσβαση σε αυτό γίνεται ατελώς. Είναι ελεύθερα προσβάσιμο και υπόκειται στους κανόνες της διαφάνειας μέσω της ανάρτησης των εγγραφών του στο αντίστοιχο ιστολόγιο, αλλά και της δυνατότητας πληροφόρησης κάθε ενδιαφερόμενου.
3. Στοιχεία που αφορούν ευαίσθητα προσωπικά δεδομένα των μελών των εγγεγραμμένων φορέων του Μητρώου, τα οποία προκύπτουν από το τμήμα Μητρώου, υπόκεινται

Figure 3.11

The General Registry (GR) of Social Solidarity Economy is an additional Article of the Law 4430/2016 on Social Solidarity Economy. Specifically, the Governmental Gazette states that ‘This General Registry is the data base of the agencies of Social Solidarity Economy in a digital format and is managed by the Registry Secretariat’.

Source: e-nomothesia.

Archival research by the author.

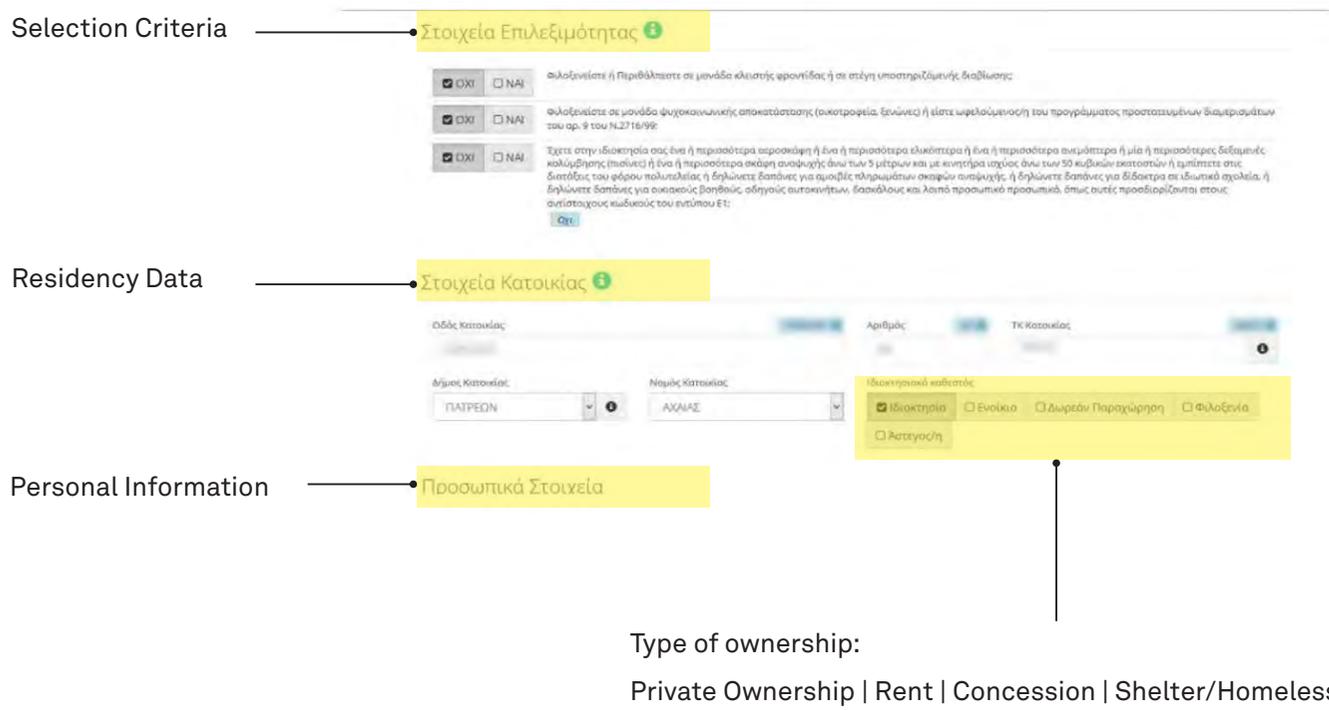


Figure 3.12
Registration platform created to register the types of property occupation including ownership occupation, hospitality, concession, lease and other living arrangements based on the criteria defined by the legislation on Social Solidarity Economy. This platform was widely used during the 2016/2017 tax year and the following years.
Source: gov.gr. Research and illustration by the author.

3. Tracing the Scalar Institutionalisation of Social Movements

ΝΟΜΟΘΕΤΙΚΟ ΕΡΓΟ	Legislative work
<p>Τίτλος Κοινωνική και Αλληλεγγύη Οικονομία και ανάπτυξη των φερών της και άλλες βιώσιμες.</p> <p>Τύπος Νόμος</p> <p>Υπουργείο Εργασίας, Κοινωνικής Ασφάλισης και Κοινωνικής Αλληλεγγύης</p> <p>Επιτροπή Διαρκής Επιτροπή Κοινωνικών Υποθέσεων</p> <p>Αριθμός Φεκ 205 Α/11.10.2016</p> <p>Αριθμός Νόμου 4430</p> <p>Φάση Επεξεργασίας Ολοκλήρωση</p> <p>Ημερ/νια Φάσης επεξεργασίας 31/10/2016</p> <p>Το φωτοτυπημένο α/ν ή π/ν δεν αποτελεί το τελικό κείμενο διότι εκκρεμούν ορθογραφικές και συντακτικές διορθώσεις</p> <p>Απλολογική Έκθεση & Λοιπές Συνοδευτικές Εκθέσεις</p> <p>Ημ. Κατάθεσης 06/10/2016</p> <p>Εισηγητές • Γρηγόριος Στοιγιαννίδης • Σοφία Βουλτεψί</p> <p>Σχετικές Συνεδριάσεις Επιτροπής • 17/10/2016 16:00 • 12/10/2016 10:30 • 12/10/2016 17:00 • 11/10/2016 10:00</p> <p>Πρακτικό Έκθεση της Επιτροπής</p> <p>Έκθεση της Επιστημονικής Υπηρεσίας της Βουλής</p> <p>Σχετικές Συνεδριάσεις Ολομέλειας 12^η ΠΕΡΙΟΔΟΣ (ΠΡΟΕΔΡΕΥΟΜΕΝΗ ΚΟΙΝΟΒΟΥΛΕΥΤΙΚΗ ΔΗΜΟΚΡΑΤΙΑ) Β' Έκτακτος Π' 12^η ΠΕΡΙΟΔΟΣ (ΠΡΟΕΔΡΕΥΟΜΕΝΗ ΚΟΙΝΟΒΟΥΛΕΥΤΙΚΗ ΔΗΜΟΚΡΑΤΙΑ) Β' Έκτακτος Π'</p> <p>Σ/Ν μετά την ψήφιση των άρθρων</p> <p>Φησιόθεν Νομοσχέδιο</p> <p>Ημ. Ψήφισης 20/10/2016</p> <p>Τροπολογίες</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Αρ. Τροπολογία: 702/25 14.10.2016 ΑΠΕΥΘΗ Αρχείο: .pdf Περιγραφή: Επαναπροβλεπόμενος των αρμοδιοτήτων του Γραφείου Συντονισμού, Φοιτητών, Διαβιτών και Ευρωπαϊκών Θεμάτων της Γενικής Γραμματείας της Κυβέρνησης. • Αρ. Τροπολογία: 703/26 14.10.2016 Αρχείο: .pdf Περιγραφή: Απολλύονται και για το 2016 από την καταβολή του Ε.Ν.Φ.Ι.Α. τα δικαιώματα μη των ακινήτων που ανήκουν στον Ε.Ο.Τ.. • Αρ. Τροπολογία: 713/30 17.10.2016 Αρχείο: .pdf Περιγραφή: Παράταση μέχρι τις 30.09.2017 στις συμβάσεις μεταξύ των Κέντρων Κοινωνικής Πρόνοιας και του επικρατικού προσωπικού που έχουν λήξει από 1.8.2016 ή γίνουν από τις 30.9.2016 από τις οριζόμενες προϋποθέσεις. • Αρ. Τροπολογία: 717/34 16.10.2016 Αρχείο: .pdf Περιγραφή: Ρύθμιση του ζητήματος της αποζημίωσης του Εθνικού Κέντρου Άμεσης Βοήθειας (ΕΚΑΒ) για τις δαπάνες των μεταφορών ασθενών με αεροπλάνο ή ηλιό αεροπλάνο. • Αρ. Τροπολογία: 718/35 18.10.2016 Αρχείο: .pdf Περιγραφή: Παράταση μέχρι τις 30 Ιουνίου 2017, της προθεσμίας έκδοσης του π.δ., σχετικά με τους όρους και τις προϋποθέσεις της καταβολής δαπανών μετακίνησης των Ενδόχων Δυνάμεων και των Συμπτών Ασφαλιών (ν. 4336/2015). • Αρ. Τροπολογία: 719/36 18.10.2016 Αρχείο: .pdf Περιγραφή: Παράταση η δυνατότητα σύνταξης σε όλες τις υπηρεσίες του δημόσιου τομέα και στα εποχούμενα από αυτό ν.η.δ.δ. και ν.π.δ.δ.να συνάπτουν ατομικές συμβάσεις εργασίας δικαστικού δικαίου ορισμένου χρόνου για τις ανάγκες κοφθαρμάκιας, επίταξης, πίεσης και φύλαξης κτηνικών και σχετικά ρυθμίσεις αυτών. • Αρ. Τροπολογία: 720/37 19.10.2016 Αρχείο: .pdf Περιγραφή: Ένταξη μακροχρόνιο ανέργων σε προγράμματα απασχόλησης. • Αρ. Τροπολογία: 721/38 19.10.2016 Αρχείο: .pdf Περιγραφή: Μέτρο εξόφλησης δανειακών του τίτλου Ο.Ε.Μ., που καθίστανται άνεργη. • Αρ. Τροπολογία: 722/39 19.10.2016 Αρχείο: .pdf Περιγραφή: Παράταση έως 31.12.2017 της αίτησης που αφορά στο έργο Παραγωγή Υπηρεσιών Συμμετοχικού Επιπέδου (S.L.A.) Υποστηρίξης Παραγωγικής Λειτουργίας των ΟΠΕ-ΙΚΑ των παρεχόμενων ηλεκτρονικών υπηρεσιών μέσω διαδικτύου προς τους πολίτες και φορείς. • Αρ. Τροπολογία: 723/40 19.10.2016 Αρχείο: .pdf Περιγραφή: Σχετικά με τη εκκαθάριση των ληξιπρόθεσμων υποχρεώσεων που Ε.Ο.Π.Υ.Υ. • Αρ. Τροπολογία: 724/41 19.10.2016 Αρχείο: .pdf Περιγραφή: Έκταση της επιχορήγησης καταστημάτων φερών Εθνικού Συστήματος Κοινωνικής Φροντίδας και παράταση προγράμματος Βοήθειας στο Σπίτι. • Αρ. Τροπολογία: 725/42 20.10.2016 Αρχείο: .pdf Περιγραφή: Εξέλιξη των δικαιωμάτων "επιταγής επανένταξης στην αγορά εργασίας" από τα πεδία εφαρμογής του άρθρου 39 παρ. 1 του ν. 3906/2013 • Αρ. Τροπολογία: 726/43 20.10.2016 Αρχείο: .pdf Περιγραφή: α. Υποχρέωση σύνταξης ετήσιων οικονομικών προγραμμάτων και απλοποίηση τεχνολογίας για τα Φορέα Κοινωνικής και Αλληλεγγύης Οικονομίας. β. Φορολογικά αναβαθμισμένο επίπεδο από μεριστή εργαζών και όχι κλειστό από επιχειρηματική δραστηριότητα ποσοστό έως 25% των κερδών προ φόρων. γ. Βελτιστοποιημένο κλειστό τεύχος επιτηδεύματος σε σχέση με τα στοιχεία του άρθρου του ν. 3906/2013 για τις Κοινωνικές Συνεταιριστικές Επιχειρήσεις και τους Συνεταιρισμούς Εργαζομένων. 	<p>Title: Social and Solidarity Economy and development of its initiatives</p> <p>Type: Law</p> <p>Ministry: Labour, Social Insurance and Social Solidarity</p> <p>Committee: Continuous Committee on Social Affairs</p> <p>No FEK: 205 Α/31.10.2016</p> <p>No Law: 4430</p> <p>Processing stage: Completion Date of processing stage: 31/10/2016</p> <p>The photocopied draft law is not the final text because spelling and formatting corrections are pending</p> <p>.pdf.pdf.pdf.pdf.pdf.pdf.pdf.pdf</p> <p>Explanatory Report and Other Accompanying Reports</p> <p>Date of submission 06/10/2016</p> <p>Speakers Gregory Stogiannidou Sofia Voultepsi</p> <p>Related Commission Meetings 17.10.2016 16:00 12.10.2016 10:30 12.10.2016 17:00 11.10.2016 10:00</p> <p>Records of the Commission report .pdf Report of the Scientific Committee of the Parliament .pdf</p> <p>Related Meetings of the Plenary session Q. PERIOD (PROEDREFOMENIS PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY) VSynodos XIII Q. PERIOD (PROEDREFOMENIS PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY) VSynodos XII Law S / N after the voting Articles .pdf Adopted Law .pdf Date of vote 10/20/2016</p> <p>Amendments No. Amendments: 702/25 10.14.2016 Withdrawn File: .pdf Description: Redefinition of the Office for the Coordination of responsibilities, Institutional, International and European Affairs of the General Secretariat of the Government. No. Amendments: 703/26 14/10/2016 File: .pdf Description: exempt and for the year 2016 from the payment of E.N.F.I.A. rights to property belonging to the EOT . No. Amendments: 713/30 17/10/2016 File: .pdf Description: Extension until 30.09.2017 in contracts between Social Welfare Centres and paraprofessionals expired or terminated by 01.08.2016 by 09.30.2016 in the prescribed requirements. No. Amendments: 717/34 18/10/2016 File: .pdf Description: Set up the issue of compensation of the National Centre for Emergency (Ambulance) for the transport costs of patients with air or watercraft. No. Amendments: 718/35 18/10/2016 File: .pdf Description: Extension until June 30, 2017, the PD time-limit, on the terms and conditions of payment of the Armed Forces transportation expenses and Security Forces (n. 4336/2015) . No. Amendments: 719/36 10/18/2016 File: .pdf Description: It is possible to award all public sector services and supervised by those public entities and n.p.i.d.na conclude individual limited private contracts for cleaning needs, catering, and food storage buildings and associated these settings. No. Amendments: 720/37 19/10/2016 File: .pdf Description: Integration of long-term unemployed in employment programs No. Amendments: 721/38 19/10/2016 File: .pdf Description: borrowers relief measures of the former OEK becoming unemployed. No. Amendments: 722/39 19/10/2016 File: .pdf Description: Extension to 31.12.2017 the contract on the project Service Level Agreement (S.L.A.) Support Production Operation OPS-ΙΚΑ the provided electronic services online to citizens and institutions. No. Amendments: 723/40 19/10/2016 File: .pdf Description: On the settlement of overdue liabilities E.O.P.Y.Y . No. Amendments: 724/41 19/10/2016 File: .pdf Description: Extraordinary subsidy certified operators Social Care and extension program National Home Care System.</p>

Figure 3.13

Illustration/ Collage of the legislative procedure since the Bill of Law 4430/2016 on Social Solidarity Economy entered the Greek Parliament. Since October 2016, when the first draft of the Bill was issued, numerous meetings, consultations, amendments and revisions were proposed regarding the content of this legislation, by all political parties, independent commissions as well as from members of the public and the solidarity initiatives that participated in the public discourse. Source: opengov.gr.

Illustration and translation by the author.

A23		Κεφάλαιο Β' Φορείς Κοινωνικής και Αλληλέγγυας Οικονομίας - Άρθρο 3 Φορείς Κοινωνικής και Αλληλέγγυας Οικονομίας										
	A	B	C	D	E	F	G	H	I	J	K	
8	Κεφάλαιο Γ' - Κοινωνικές Συνεταιριστικές Επιχειρήσεις και Συνεταιρισμοί Εργαζομένων - Άρθρο 4. Κοινωνικές Συνεταιριστικές Επιχειρήσ	3156	Φισκικής	2016-07-	Σχετικά με αυτό 5.Μέλος μιας Κοιν.Σ.Επ. δεν μπορεί να είναι μέλος και άλλης							
9	Άρθρο 5. Σύσταση της Κοινωνικής Συνεταιριστικής Επιχείρησης	3157	Φισκικής	2016-07-	Το κόστος εγγραφής στο ΓΕΜΗ θα πρέπει να είναι μηδενικό για τις ΚοινΣΕπ κ							
10	Άρθρο 6. Λειτουργία της Κοιν.Σ.Επ.	3158	Φισκικής	2016-07-	Οι ΚοινΣΕπ εκ φύσεως των βιβλίων που τηρούν απλογραφικά η Β δεν έχουν τ							
11	Άρθρο 8. Σχέσεις Κοιν.Σ.Επ. με εργαζόμενους μη μέλη	3159	Φισκικής	2016-07-	Λάβετε υπόψιν σας ότι όσες ΚοινΣΕπ δημιουργηθούν με το ΕΣΠΑ περί Νεοφυ							
12	Άρθρο 11. Αποθεματικά - διανομή κερδών	3160	Φισκικής	2016-07-	Ζητούμε να είναι αφορολόγητα τα τυχόν κέρδη που θα δημιουργήσει μια Κοι							
13	Άρθρο 12. Λύση και εκκαθάριση	3161	Φισκικής	2016-07-	Ζητούμε Στην περίπτωση που απομένει αδιάθετο ενεργητικό, αυτό να διαιε							
14	Άρθρο 14. Συνεταιρισμοί Εργαζομένων	3162	Φισκικής	2016-07-	Πιο θα είναι το ελάχιστο όριο ιδρυτικών μελών για την δημιουργία Συνεταιρ							
15	Άρθρο 6. Λειτουργία της Κοιν.Σ.Επ.	3163	Φισκικής	2016-07-	Η Απόκτηση προαιρετικών μεριδίων χωρίς δικαίωμα ψήφου δεν πρέπει να κα							
16	Άρθρο 15. Σύσταση Συνεταιρισμού Εργαζομένων	3164	Φισκικής	2016-07-	Το ελάχιστο όσον αφορά τα μέλη και εδώ πρέπει να είναι τουλάχιστον 5 όπω							
17	Άρθρο 16. Λειτουργία Συνεταιρισμού Εργαζομένων	3165	Φισκικής	2016-07-	Η Απόκτηση προαιρετικών μεριδίων χωρίς δικαίωμα ψήφου δεν πρέπει να κα							
18	Άρθρο 21. Αποθεματικά - διανομή κερδών	3166	Φισκικής	2016-07-	Ζητούμε να είναι αφορολόγητα τα τυχόν κέρδη που θα δημιουργήσει μια Κοι							
19	Άρθρο 28. Έλεγχος και κυρώσεις των Φορέων Κοινωνικής και Αλληλέγγυας Οικονομίας	3167	Φισκικής	2016-07-	Θα πρέπει να διευκρινιστεί με πιο έννοια εφαρμόζεται αυτή η δήλωση: Οι μ							
20	Άρθρο 29. Εθνική Επιτροπή για την Κοινωνική και Αλληλέγγυα Οικονομία	3168	Φισκικής	2016-07-	Εδώ θα πρέπει να προστεθεί και η συμμετοχή από ένα μέλος της υπό σύστασ							
21	Άρθρο 30. Κυβερνητική Επιτροπή για την Κοινωνική και Αλληλέγγυα Οικονομία	3169	Φισκικής	2016-07-	Εδώ θα πρέπει να προστεθεί και η συμμετοχή από ένα μέλος της υπό σύστασ							
22	Κεφάλαιο Α' Προοίμιο - Άρθρο 1. Σκοπός	3170	Φισκικής	2016-07-	1. Αναγκαία η υιοθέτηση συστήματος αναγνώρισης, πιστοποίησης και αξιολό							
23	Κεφάλαιο Β' Φορείς Κοινωνικής και Αλληλέγγυας Οικονομίας - Άρθρο 3 Φορείς Κοινωνικής και Αλληλέγγυας Οικονομίας	3171	Αθανασία	2016-07-	Στην παράγραφο 2 του άρθρου 3, δεν διευκρινίζεται ο τρόπος απόκτησης τω							
24	Άρθρο 11. Αποθεματικά - διανομή κερδών	3172	ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ	2016-07-	Πιστεύω πως μετά την αλλαγή στο ασφαλιστικό, και την ασφαλιστική εξομ							
25	Άρθρο 11. Αποθεματικά - διανομή κερδών	3173	ΙΩΑΝΝΗΣ	2016-07-	Άρθρο 11,2γ. "Το διανεμόμενο στους εργαζόμενους ποσό απαλλάσσεται της ε							
26	Άρθρο 29. Εθνική Επιτροπή για την Κοινωνική και Αλληλέγγυα Οικονομία	3174	ΘΕΟΔΟΣΗ	2016-07-	Προταση μου είναι ολη η διαδικασία απο την εγγραφη εως κ την εγκριση...τις							
27	Άρθρο 26. Υποστηρικτικά μέτρα για τους Φορείς Κοινωνικής και Αλληλέγγυας Οικονομίας	3175	Καίσερλη	2016-07-	Στο άρθρο 26 και στην παράγραφο για τις προγραμματικές συμβάσεις με του							
28	Άρθρο 24. Πόροι και οικονομικά κίνητρα για τις Κοιν.Σ.Επ. και τους Συνεταιρισμούς Εργαζομένων	3176	ΗΛΙΑΣ ΓΡΑ	2016-07-	1 ΣΧΕΤΙΚΑ ΜΕ ΤΗΝ ΦΟΡΟΛΟΓΗΗ ΤΩΝ ΚΟΙΝΣΠΕ ΚΑΙ ΚΟΙΝΣΕΠ ΥΠΑΡΧΕΙ ΚΑΠΟΙΑ							
29	Άρθρο 11. Αποθεματικά - διανομή κερδών	3177	Κώστας Λι	2016-07-	Μήπως θα πρέπει να υπάρχει κάποια πρόβλεψη για κάποιο ελάχιστο ποσοστ							
30	Άρθρο 24. Πόροι και οικονομικά κίνητρα για τις Κοιν.Σ.Επ. και τους Συνεταιρισμούς Εργαζομένων	3178	ΒΑΓΕΝΑΣ Ζ	2016-07-	ΔΕΔΟΜΕΝΑ:1. Δημόσιο χρέος: 311 δισ. Ιδιωτικό χρέος: 230.4 δισ. (115 δισ. ι							
31	Άρθρο 5. Σύσταση της Κοινωνικής Συνεταιριστικής Επιχείρησης	3179	Φισκικής	2016-07-	Το μητρώο δεν θα πρέπει να έχει την δυνατότητα μη αποδοχής καταστατικού							
32	Κεφάλαιο Β' Φορείς Κοινωνικής και Αλληλέγγυας Οικονομίας - Άρθρο 3 Φορείς Κοινωνικής και Αλληλέγγυας Οικονομίας	3180	Θεόδωρο	2016-07-	Όσον αφορά τη παράγραφο 2, θεωρώ ότι αυτή η υποχρέωση είναι λανθασμέ							
33	Άρθρο 2. Ορισμοί	3181	Κώστας Λι	2016-07-	ια. Η παραγωγή, μεταποίηση, προώθηση, διατήρηση και ανάδειξη τοπικών πρ							
34	Άρθρο 26. Υποστηρικτικά μέτρα για τους Φορείς Κοινωνικής και Αλληλέγγυας Οικονομίας	3182	Ελένη Μο	2016-07-	Πρέπει να αρθούν τα κωλύματα σχετικά με τις διαγωνιστικές διαδικασίες του							
35	Άρθρο 6. Λειτουργία της Κοιν.Σ.Επ.	3183	ΜΑΓΚΑΡΑ	2016-07-	Οι ΚΟΙΝΣΕΠ που ιδρύονται από τουλάχιστον 4 ανέργους να εξαιρεθούν από τ							
36	Άρθρο 2. Ορισμοί	3184	Δρακάκης	2016-07-	Στο άρθρο 2 παράγραφος γ μετά την φράση "ιση αμοιβή για ίση εργασία" να							
37	Κεφάλαιο Β' Φορείς Κοινωνικής και Αλληλέγγυας Οικονομίας - Άρθρο 3 Φορείς Κοινωνικής και Αλληλέγγυας Οικονομίας	3185	Δρακάκης	2016-07-	Θεωρώ σωστή την απόφαση για μέτρηση του κοινωνικού αντικτύπου και παρ							

Figure 3.14

Document of the commentary and public consultation stage of the Bill on Social Solidarity Economy. More than 300 comments were incorporated within this legislation.

Source: gov.gr. Archival research by the author.

Emerging from a need to respond to the numerous expressions of the social movements in urban space including both welfare and economic activities, what arose from this legislation was a need for an alternative mechanism of collaboration among state institutions and social movements that is able to respond to the scale of operation of these agencies. In short, the protocol of institutionalisation through legislation signifies a direct collaboration between and among the central government and the social movements in Greece.

However, there is an antithetical effect regarding this new set of laws addressing the Social Solidarity Economy movement. Indeed, it is one thing to see them in comparison to the problematic legislation proposed in the previous years, or the existing legislation that indirectly outlaws the activities of solidarity initiatives, or even to the absence of legislation regarding the notion of solidarity in social economy, but a different thing to see them in relation to the economic readjustment policies of austerity that the governments of Greece were subjected to implement. In that respect, while the cooperative and Social Solidarity Economy is conceived by the central government as necessary for accelerating a new mode of socialised production in urban space, the economic conditions move drastically in the opposite direction, undermining such potential. Reflecting this antithetical condition, the terrain of institutionalisation of solidarity initiatives in Greece at all scales but especially at the legislative level remains a field of contestation, which the self-organised and self-managed solidarity initiatives still strive to define. This struggle is of crucial importance as it can determine not only the economic and institutionalisation mechanism of the Social Solidarity Economy movement as a whole but also the spatial expression of its activities in urban space.

3.5 Prototypical Design for a Building Appropriation Strategy

In 2014, government authorities in Athens started a large-scale project of mapping and property registration to discover which property used by the state institutions the Ministry of Labour, Social Insurance and Social Solidarity could lay claim to. Any type of building that used to belong to a state agency and was empty and any building that during the years of crisis became state property by means of a new tax system was declared to be state property and added to the newly established TAIPED and seized by the state.

Empty and inactive state property that existed in various scales, from ‘small property’¹⁴⁹ in apartment buildings to entire buildings, such as residencies, hotels, offices, mainly in the city centre of Athens, was annexed by the Greek state. Some of these properties had been previously described as heritage and were subject to the rules of a preservation law related to the particular nature of the cultural heritage. Thus, the annexation team integrated a listing of relative legislation linked to specific buildings, if any applied.

Thereby, a complex fabric of laws, regulations and state decrees and proposals combined to turn the registration of empty or inactive property in the centre of Athens during the years of financial crisis into a de facto project of annexation.

¹⁴⁹ The term ‘small property’ is used to define the type of property below 100m² that belongs to the state. This is the most common type of property that the municipal councils were granting for use by solidarity initiatives. ‘Small property’ has become an official term frequently used in the programmatic declarations by officials of the Ministry of Labour, Social Insurance and Social Solidarity. See the last interview by the Deputy Minister, Theano Fotiou, on 26 April 2017, who mentioned advancing the concession of the ‘small property’ type of real estate to vulnerable social groups (in Greek) <www.dikaiologitika.gr/eidhseis/ergasiaka/153813/akinita-tou-dimosiou-tha-paraxorithoyn-se-mi-exontes-leei-i-fotiou> [accessed 10 September 2021].

Figure 3.15
Map and plan drawing of the 1st Municipal District of Athens, which is the area of focus of the governmental protocol of the Pilot Project for Athens. This map locates and classifies the 73 properties that came under state supervision and were proposed for re-appropriation. Drawn by the author.

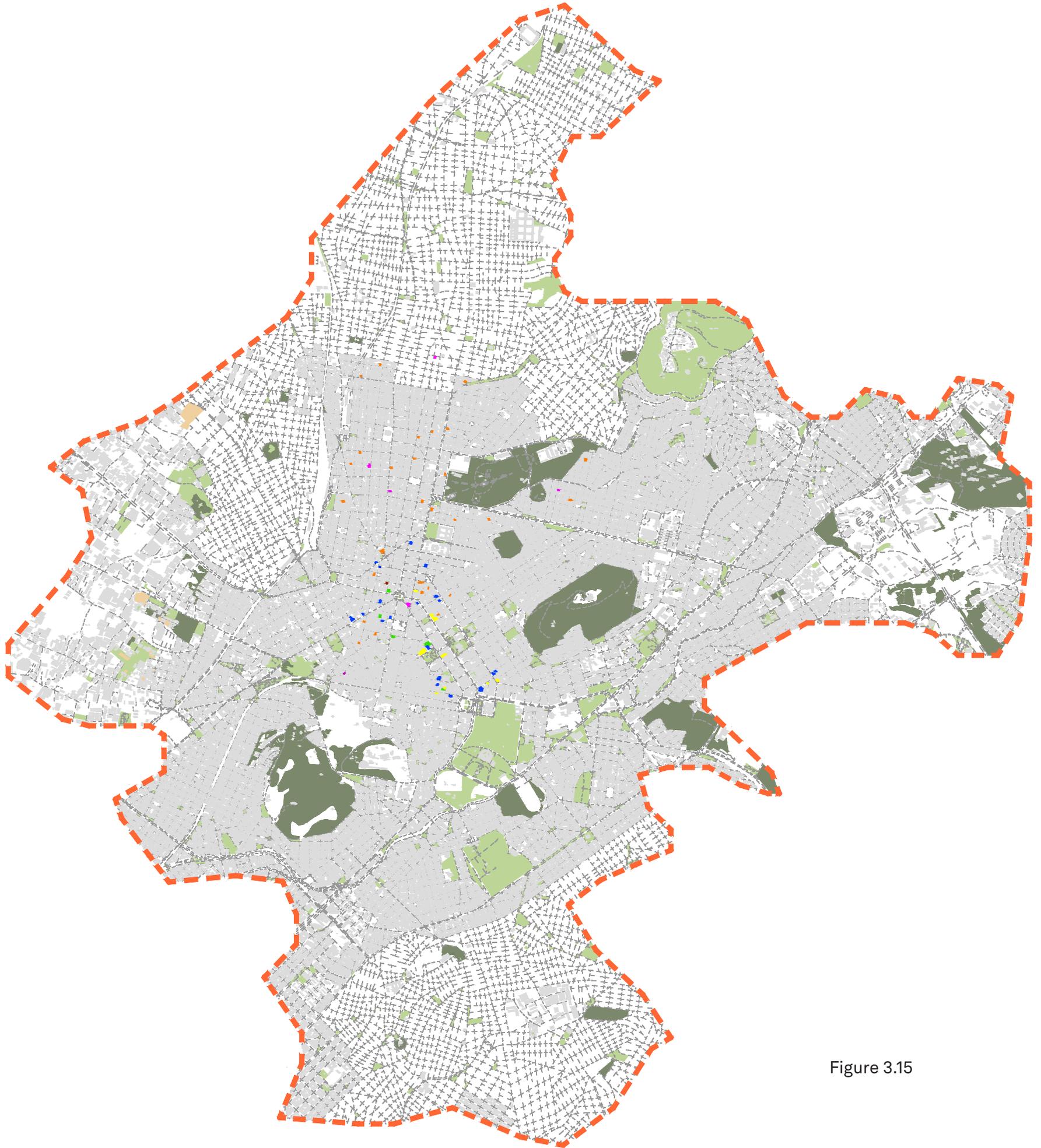


Figure 3.15

As a result, a prototype for a typology of appropriation of a Repository of Buildings that are the property of the Greek state was captured for the first time by the Ministry of Labour, Social Insurance and Social Solidarity in September 2017. A written report of the procedure and an annex with the list of the 73 buildings in the annexed part of the city centre of Athens offered for appropriation was presented to the public, together with a call for proposals to express interest in the appropriation and occupation of the real estate properties located in the Municipality of Athens that belong to the FKA (Social Insurance Bodies) of the Greek state. This call for proposals¹⁵⁰ is part of an extended Ministerial Decree of the government of SYRIZA that aims for the development and appropriation of the real estate assets supervised by the institutions of this Ministry.

Essentially, this institutionalisation protocol by the Ministry of Labour, Social Insurance and Social Solidarity was conceived as a pilot project, titled ‘Retrieval of the Property of the Historic Centre of Athens – Development and Appropriation in Terms of Social Reciprocation and Communal Interchange’.¹⁵¹ The concept of ‘retrieval’ came from the political programme of the SYRIZA government, which aimed to address the unused, ‘inactivated’ and ‘empty’ building stock in the city in the form of ‘taking back’ and re-appropriating the existing building infrastructure.¹⁵²

What is also important is that this governmental protocol has an annex that provides a listing of 73 buildings that have come under state supervision and, after an initial evaluation, were proposed for re-appropriation, occupation and eventually for concession.¹⁵³ In addition, a series of data matrices have registered all the crucial information regarding these state-owned assets that are offered for appropriation, such as the size of the building, previous use, and relevant legislation.

Up until the deadline for the submission of the proposals, the Social Solidarity Economy agencies are not only allowed access to this, but also are invited to visit the buildings and conduct a survey in order to assess the condition of the structure and if would meet the demands of the solidarity body.

¹⁵⁰ This call was made towards the General Government Agencies such as public authorities, governmental services, legal entities of the wider public sector such as OTA (insurance), AEI (education) and so forth, as well as to other legal agencies, bodies or persons of a public benefit or humanitarian nature, including Social Solidarity Economy agencies.

¹⁵¹ This ministerial decree was released by the Minister of Labour, Social Insurance and Social Solidarity in September 2017.

¹⁵² A summary of the political programme of SYRIZA as presented by the leader of the party (and subsequently prime minister of Greece) Alexis Tsipras at the Thessaloniki International Fair in 2015 can be found here (in Greek) <<https://www.tax-heaven.gr/news/news/view/id/20304>> [accessed 10 September 2021].

¹⁵³ For the purposes of this pilot project, 73 buildings were selected among a repository of 1,600 buildings that were registered for foreclosure.

3. Tracing the Scalar Institutionalisation of Social Movements

Δημόσια Περιουσία στο Δήμο Αθηναίων													
Παγκύβια Γραμμάτεια Δημόσιας Περιουσίας (6/2013)													
Φορέας διαχείρισης	Διεύθυνση (Οδοδευκτηριό)	Περιοχή	ΤΚ	Ποσοστό συνολικής ημεσίας	Εμβαδό Γεωτετραγώνου (τ.μ.)	Δομημένη επιφάνεια (τ.μ.)	Δομημένη επιφάνεια (τ.μ.)	Φορέας Ιδιοκτήτης	Νομικό καθεστώς	Πολυδομικό καθεστώς	Είδος ακμής	Εντός ΣΟΑΠ	
4	ΣΥΝΟΛΟ Δ. ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ											2216	
5	ΣΥΝΟΛΟ ΠΕΡΙΟΧΗΣ ΕΡΕΥΝΗΤΙΚΟΥ ΠΡΟΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΟΣ											783	
6	ΠΕΡΙΟΧΗ ΠΑΡΕΜΒΑΣΗΣ ΣΟΑΠ											689	
7	ΠΕΡΙΟΧΗ ΕΙΔΙΚΗΣ ΔΙΕΡΕΥΝΗΣΗΣ 1. ΕΛΛΑΔΙΣΜΟΣ											72	
8	ΠΕΡΙΟΧΗ ΕΙΔΙΚΗΣ ΔΙΕΡΕΥΝΗΣΗΣ 2. ΠΛ. ΑΜΕΡΙΚΗΣ											2	
9	ΠΕΡΙΟΧΗ ΕΙΔΙΚΗΣ ΔΙΕΡΕΥΝΗΣΗΣ 3. ΕΞΑΡΧΕΙΑ											40	
10	ΚΕΔ	ΜΟΝΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΥ 147	ΑΚΑΔΗΜΙΑ ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ	10442	100	3994.55	0	ΠΛΗΡΗΣ ΚΥΡΙΟΤΗΤΑ	ΥΠΟΥΡΓΕΙΟ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΚΩΝ	ΑΓΝΟΣΤΟ	Εντός Σχεδίου	ΠΗ ΜΕ ΚΤΙΣΜΑ	2
11	ΚΕΔ	ΔΡΑΚΟΝΤΟΣ 3	ΑΚΑΔΗΜΙΑ ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ	10442	100	4975.64	0	ΠΛΗΡΗΣ ΚΥΡΙΟΤΗΤΑ	ΥΠΟΥΡΓΕΙΟ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΚΩΝ	ΠΑΡΑΧΩΡΗΜΕΝΟ		ΠΗ	2
12	ΚΕΔ	ΜΟΝΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΥ 144	ΑΚΑΔΗΜΙΑ ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ	10442	100	2747.36	0	ΠΛΗΡΗΣ ΚΥΡΙΟΤΗΤΑ	ΥΠΟΥΡΓΕΙΟ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΚΩΝ	ΠΑΡΑΧΩΡΗΜΕΝΟ		ΠΗ ΜΕ ΚΤΙΣΜΑ	2
13	ΚΕΔ	ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ 46	ΑΚΑΔΗΜΙΑ ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ	10442	100	140	0	ΠΛΗΡΗΣ ΚΥΡΙΟΤΗΤΑ	ΥΠΟΥΡΓΕΙΟ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΚΩΝ	ΠΑΡΑΧΩΡΗΜΕΝΟ	Εντός Σχεδίου	ΠΗ	2
14	ΚΕΔ	ΠΑΤΗΝ Ε. 56	ΒΟΤΑΝΙΚΟΣ	11855	100	5212	0	ΠΛΗΡΗΣ ΚΥΡΙΟΤΗΤΑ	ΥΠΟΥΡΓΕΙΟ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΚΩΝ	ΠΑΡΑΧΩΡΗΜΕΝΟ	Εντός Σχεδίου	ΠΗ ΜΕ ΚΤΙΣΜΑ	2
15	ΚΕΔ	ΜΟΝΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΥ 125	ΑΚΑΔΗΜΙΑ ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ	10442	100	254	0	ΠΛΗΡΗΣ ΚΥΡΙΟΤΗΤΑ	ΥΠΟΥΡΓΕΙΟ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΚΩΝ	ΠΑΡΑΧΩΡΗΜΕΝΟ	Εντός Σχεδίου	ΠΗ ΜΕ ΚΤΙΣΜΑ	2
16	ΚΕΔ	ΚΡΑΤΥΛΟΥ 22	ΑΚΑΔΗΜΙΑ ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ	10442	100	252	0	ΠΛΗΡΗΣ ΚΥΡΙΟΤΗΤΑ	ΥΠΟΥΡΓΕΙΟ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΚΩΝ	ΠΑΡΑΧΩΡΗΜΕΝΟ	Εντός Σχεδίου	ΠΗ ΜΕ ΚΤΙΣΜΑ	2
17	ΚΕΔ	ΜΟΝΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΥ 124	ΑΚΑΔΗΜΙΑ ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ	10442	100	154	0	ΠΛΗΡΗΣ ΚΥΡΙΟΤΗΤΑ	ΥΠΟΥΡΓΕΙΟ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΚΩΝ	ΠΑΡΑΧΩΡΗΜΕΝΟ	Εντός Σχεδίου	ΠΗ	2
18	ΚΕΔ	ΕΥΚΛΕΙΔΟΥ 47	ΑΚΑΔΗΜΙΑ ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ	10442	100	122	0	ΠΛΗΡΗΣ ΚΥΡΙΟΤΗΤΑ	ΥΠΟΥΡΓΕΙΟ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΚΩΝ	ΠΑΡΑΧΩΡΗΜΕΝΟ	Εντός Σχεδίου	ΠΗ	2
19	ΚΕΔ	ΠΡΩΤΟΛΕΪΣ 58	ΑΚΑΔΗΜΙΑ ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ	10442	100	248	0	ΠΛΗΡΗΣ ΚΥΡΙΟΤΗΤΑ	ΥΠΟΥΡΓΕΙΟ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΚΩΝ	ΠΑΡΑΧΩΡΗΜΕΝΟ	Εντός Σχεδίου	ΠΗ	2
20	ΚΕΔ	ΜΑΡΑΘΩΝΟΜΑΧΩΝ 49	ΑΚΑΔΗΜΙΑ ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ	10441	100	762	0	ΠΛΗΡΗΣ ΚΥΡΙΟΤΗΤΑ	ΥΠΟΥΡΓΕΙΟ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΚΩΝ	ΠΑΡΑΧΩΡΗΜΕΝΟ	Εντός Σχεδίου	ΠΗ ΜΕ ΚΤΙΣΜΑ	2
21	ΚΕΔ	ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ 125	ΑΚΑΔΗΜΙΑ ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ	10442	100	168	0	ΠΛΗΡΗΣ ΚΥΡΙΟΤΗΤΑ	ΥΠΟΥΡΓΕΙΟ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΚΩΝ	ΠΑΡΑΧΩΡΗΜΕΝΟ	Εντός Σχεδίου	ΠΗ	2
22	ΚΕΔ	ΜΟΝΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΥ 97	ΑΚΑΔΗΜΙΑ ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ	10442	100	206	0	ΠΛΗΡΗΣ ΚΥΡΙΟΤΗΤΑ	ΥΠΟΥΡΓΕΙΟ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΚΩΝ	ΠΑΡΑΧΩΡΗΜΕΝΟ	Εντός Σχεδίου	ΠΗ	2
23	ΚΕΔ	ΒΗΡΕΩΝ & ΔΡΑΚΟΝΤΟΣ	ΠΡΟΪΗΤΗΣ ΔΑΝΗΛ	0	100	25.65	0	ΠΛΗΡΗΣ ΚΥΡΙΟΤΗΤΑ	ΥΠΟΥΡΓΕΙΟ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΚΩΝ	ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΟ	Εντός Σχεδίου	ΠΗ	2
24	ΚΕΔ	ΒΕΡΒΩΝ & ΑΣΗΝΩΝ ΛΕΩΣ	ΠΡΟΪΗΤΗΣ ΔΑΝΗΛ	0	100	87	0	ΠΛΗΡΗΣ ΚΥΡΙΟΤΗΤΑ	ΥΠΟΥΡΓΕΙΟ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΚΩΝ	ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΟ	Εντός Σχεδίου	ΠΗ	2
25	ΚΕΔ	ΑΜΟΝΟΣ & ΑΣΤΡΟΥΣ	ΚΩΔΩΝΟΣ	0	12.5	415.3	0	ΠΛΗΡΗΣ ΚΥΡΙΟΤΗΤΑ	ΥΠΟΥΡΓΕΙΟ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΚΩΝ	ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΟ	Εντός Σχεδίου	ΠΗ ΜΕ ΚΤΙΣΜΑ	2
26	ΚΕΔ	ΠΡΩΤΟΛΕΪΣ & ΒΑΣΙΛΩΝ	ΑΚΑΔΗΜΙΑ ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ	0	100	143	0	ΠΛΗΡΗΣ ΚΥΡΙΟΤΗΤΑ	ΥΠΟΥΡΓΕΙΟ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΚΩΝ	ΠΑΡΑΧΩΡΗΜΕΝΟ	Εντός Σχεδίου	ΠΗ	2
27	ΚΕΔ	ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ & ΓΑΛΤΟΥΝΗΣ	ΑΚΑΔΗΜΙΑ ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ	0	100	204	0	ΠΛΗΡΗΣ ΚΥΡΙΟΤΗΤΑ	ΥΠΟΥΡΓΕΙΟ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΚΩΝ	ΠΑΡΑΧΩΡΗΜΕΝΟ	Εντός Σχεδίου	ΠΗ	2
28	ΚΕΔ	ΒΗΡΕΩΝ & ΔΡΑΚΟΝΤΟΣ	ΑΚΑΔΗΜΙΑ ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ	0	100	1191.32	0	ΠΛΗΡΗΣ ΚΥΡΙΟΤΗΤΑ	ΥΠΟΥΡΓΕΙΟ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΚΩΝ	ΠΑΡΑΧΩΡΗΜΕΝΟ		ΠΗ	2
29	ΚΕΔ	ΒΗΡΕΩΝ & ΔΡΑΚΟΝΤΟΣ	ΑΚΑΔΗΜΙΑ ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ	0	100	3925.98	0	ΠΛΗΡΗΣ ΚΥΡΙΟΤΗΤΑ	ΥΠΟΥΡΓΕΙΟ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΚΩΝ	ΠΑΡΑΧΩΡΗΜΕΝΟ	Εντός Σχεδίου	ΠΗ	2
30	ΚΕΔ	ΑΡΧΑΓΓΕΛΩΝ ΛΕΩΣ & ΚΡΩΝΕΩΝ	ΒΟΤΑΝΙΚΟΣ	0	100	13	0	ΠΛΗΡΗΣ ΚΥΡΙΟΤΗΤΑ	ΥΠΟΥΡΓΕΙΟ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΚΩΝ	ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΟ	Εντός Σχεδίου	ΠΗ	2
31	ΚΕΔ	ΑΜΒΡΑΣΙΟΥ & ΛΕΩΝΙΜΑΝ	ΒΑΛΠΗΓΟΥΣΤΑΔΙΟ ΚΩΔΩΝ	0	100	9118	18560	ΠΛΗΡΗΣ ΚΥΡΙΟΤΗΤΑ	ΥΠΟΥΡΓΕΙΟ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΚΩΝ	ΜΕΡΚ. ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΟ	Εντός Σχεδίου	ΠΗ ΜΕ ΚΤΙΣΜΑ	2
32	ΚΕΔ	ΒΑΣΙΛΩΝ & ΜΑΡΑΘΩΝΟΜΑΧΩΝ	ΑΚΑΔΗΜΙΑ ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ	0	100	233	0	ΠΛΗΡΗΣ ΚΥΡΙΟΤΗΤΑ	ΥΠΟΥΡΓΕΙΟ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΚΩΝ	ΠΑΡΑΧΩΡΗΜΕΝΟ	Εντός Σχεδίου	ΠΗ	2
33	ΚΕΔ	ΕΡΑ ΟΔΟΣ & ΜΑΡΚΩΝ	ΑΓΙΟΣ ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΣ ΒΟΤΑΝΙΚΟΣ	0	100	122586.3	0	ΠΛΗΡΗΣ ΚΥΡΙΟΤΗΤΑ	ΥΠΟΥΡΓΕΙΟ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΚΩΝ	ΕΙΔΙΚΗ ΦΥΣΗΣ	Εντός Σχεδίου	ΠΗ	2
34	ΚΕΔ	ΒΛΑΧΟΧΩΡΑΦΙΩΝ & ΜΟΝΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΥ	ΑΚΑΔΗΜΙΑ ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ	0	100	191.79	0	ΠΛΗΡΗΣ ΚΥΡΙΟΤΗΤΑ	ΥΠΟΥΡΓΕΙΟ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΚΩΝ	ΠΑΡΑΧΩΡΗΜΕΝΟ	Εντός Σχεδίου	ΠΗ	2
35	ΚΕΔ	ΚΡΑΤΥΛΟΥ & ΜΟΝΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΥ	ΑΚΑΔΗΜΙΑ ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ	0	100	746	0	ΠΛΗΡΗΣ ΚΥΡΙΟΤΗΤΑ	ΥΠΟΥΡΓΕΙΟ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΚΩΝ	ΠΑΡΑΧΩΡΗΜΕΝΟ	Εντός Σχεδίου	ΠΗ ΜΕ ΚΤΙΣΜΑ	2
36	ΚΕΔ	ΑΜΟΥ & ΝΕΥΡΟΚΟΪΟΥ	ΡΟΥΦ ΡΟΥΦ	0	100	100.41	0	ΠΛΗΡΗΣ ΚΥΡΙΟΤΗΤΑ	ΥΠΟΥΡΓΕΙΟ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΚΩΝ	ΚΑΤΕΧΟΜΕΝΟ	Εντός Σχεδίου	ΠΗ	2
37	ΚΕΔ	ΕΥΚΛΕΙΔΟΥ & ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ	ΑΚΑΔΗΜΙΑ ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ	0	100	206.67	0	ΠΛΗΡΗΣ ΚΥΡΙΟΤΗΤΑ	ΥΠΟΥΡΓΕΙΟ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΚΩΝ	ΠΑΡΑΧΩΡΗΜΕΝΟ	Εντός Σχεδίου	ΠΗ	2
38	ΚΕΔ	ΜΟΝΑΣΤΗΡΙΟΥ & ΤΗΛΕΦΑΝΟΥΣ	ΑΚΑΔΗΜΙΑ ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ	0	100	210	0	ΠΛΗΡΗΣ ΚΥΡΙΟΤΗΤΑ	ΥΠΟΥΡΓΕΙΟ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΚΩΝ	ΠΑΡΑΧΩΡΗΜΕΝΟ	Εντός Σχεδίου	ΠΗ	2
39	ΚΕΔ	ΚΡΑΤΥΛΟΥ & ΤΡΙΠΟΛΕΩΣ	ΑΚΑΔΗΜΙΑ ΠΛΑΤΩΝΟΣ	0	100	317	0	ΠΛΗΡΗΣ ΚΥΡΙΟΤΗΤΑ	ΥΠΟΥΡΓΕΙΟ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΚΩΝ	ΠΑΡΑΧΩΡΗΜΕΝΟ	Εντός Σχεδίου	ΠΗ	2
40	ΚΕΔ	ΑΡΧΑΓΓΕΛΩΝ ΛΕΩΣ & ΚΑΛΥΒΩΝΗΣ	ΠΡΟΪΗΤΗΣ ΔΑΝΗΛ	0	100	34.8	0	ΠΛΗΡΗΣ ΚΥΡΙΟΤΗΤΑ	ΥΠΟΥΡΓΕΙΟ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΚΩΝ	ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΟ	Εντός Σχεδίου	ΠΗ	2
41	ΚΕΔ	ΑΓΙΟΥ ΘΩΡΟΣ 18	ΒΟΤΑΝΙΚΟΣ	10447	100	140	0	ΠΛΗΡΗΣ ΚΥΡΙΟΤΗΤΑ	ΥΠΟΥΡΓΕΙΟ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΚΩΝ	ΜΕΡΚ. ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΟ	Εντός Σχεδίου	ΠΗ ΜΕ ΚΤΙΣΜΑ	1
42	ΚΕΔ	ΤΣΑΛΔΑΡΗ Π. 67	ΚΕΡΑΜΕΩΣ	10553	100	316.34	0	ΠΛΗΡΗΣ ΚΥΡΙΟΤΗΤΑ	ΥΠΟΥΡΓΕΙΟ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΚΩΝ	ΠΑΡΑΧΩΡΗΜΕΝΟ	Εντός Σχεδίου	ΠΗ ΜΕ ΚΤΙΣΜΑ	1
43	ΚΕΔ	ΤΣΑΛΔΑΡΗ Π. 85	ΚΕΡΑΜΕΩΣ	10553	100	340.44	0	ΠΛΗΡΗΣ ΚΥΡΙΟΤΗΤΑ	ΥΠΟΥΡΓΕΙΟ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΚΩΝ	ΠΑΡΑΧΩΡΗΜΕΝΟ	Εντός Σχεδίου	ΠΗ ΜΕ ΚΤΙΣΜΑ	1
44	ΚΕΔ	ΣΑΛΑΜΙΝΟΣ 7	ΚΕΡΑΜΕΩΣ	10553	100	149.9	0	ΠΛΗΡΗΣ ΚΥΡΙΟΤΗΤΑ	ΥΠΟΥΡΓΕΙΟ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΚΩΝ	ΠΑΡΑΧΩΡΗΜΕΝΟ	Εντός Σχεδίου	ΠΗ ΜΕ ΚΤΙΣΜΑ	1
45	ΚΕΔ	ΣΑΛΑΜΙΝΟΣ 3	ΚΕΡΑΜΕΩΣ	10553	100	153.63	0	ΠΛΗΡΗΣ ΚΥΡΙΟΤΗΤΑ	ΥΠΟΥΡΓΕΙΟ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΚΩΝ	ΠΑΡΑΧΩΡΗΜΕΝΟ	Εντός Σχεδίου	ΠΗ ΜΕ ΚΤΙΣΜΑ	1
46	ΚΕΔ	ΣΑΛΑΜΙΝΟΣ 10	ΚΕΡΑΜΕΩΣ	10553	100	52.79	0	ΠΛΗΡΗΣ ΚΥΡΙΟΤΗΤΑ	ΥΠΟΥΡΓΕΙΟ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΚΩΝ	ΠΑΡΑΧΩΡΗΜΕΝΟ	Εντός Σχεδίου	ΠΗ ΜΕ ΚΤΙΣΜΑ	1
47	ΚΕΔ	ΤΣΑΛΔΑΡΗ Π. 79	ΚΕΡΑΜΕΩΣ	10553	100	337.75	0	ΠΛΗΡΗΣ ΚΥΡΙΟΤΗΤΑ	ΥΠΟΥΡΓΕΙΟ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΚΩΝ	ΠΑΡΑΧΩΡΗΜΕΝΟ	Εντός Σχεδίου	ΠΗ	1
48	ΚΕΔ	ΤΣΑΛΔΑΡΗ Π. 79	ΚΕΡΑΜΕΩΣ	10553	100	1545.18	0	ΠΛΗΡΗΣ ΚΥΡΙΟΤΗΤΑ	ΥΠΟΥΡΓΕΙΟ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΚΩΝ	ΠΑΡΑΧΩΡΗΜΕΝΟ	Εντός Σχεδίου	ΠΗ ΜΕ ΚΤΙΣΜΑ	1
49	ΚΕΔ	ΣΑΛΑΜΙΝΟΣ 8	ΚΕΡΑΜΕΩΣ	10553	100	123.63	0	ΠΛΗΡΗΣ ΚΥΡΙΟΤΗΤΑ	ΥΠΟΥΡΓΕΙΟ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΚΩΝ	ΠΑΡΑΧΩΡΗΜΕΝΟ	Εντός Σχεδίου	ΠΗ ΜΕ ΚΤΙΣΜΑ	1
50	ΚΕΔ	ΤΣΑΛΔΑΡΗ Π. 75	ΚΕΡΑΜΕΩΣ	10553	100	654.03	0	ΠΛΗΡΗΣ ΚΥΡΙΟΤΗΤΑ	ΥΠΟΥΡΓΕΙΟ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΚΩΝ	ΠΑΡΑΧΩΡΗΜΕΝΟ	Εντός Σχεδίου	ΠΗ ΜΕ ΚΤΙΣΜΑ	1
51	ΚΕΔ	ΣΑΛΑΜΙΝΟΣ 2	ΚΕΡΑΜΕΩΣ	10553	100	343.56	0	ΠΛΗΡΗΣ ΚΥΡΙΟΤΗΤΑ	ΥΠΟΥΡΓΕΙΟ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΚΩΝ	ΠΑΡΑΧΩΡΗΜΕΝΟ	Εντός Σχεδίου	ΠΗ ΜΕ ΚΤΙΣΜΑ	1
52	ΚΕΔ	ΤΣΑΛΔΑΡΗ Π. 73	ΚΕΡΑΜΕΩΣ	10553	100	337.47	0	ΠΛΗΡΗΣ ΚΥΡΙΟΤΗΤΑ	ΥΠΟΥΡΓΕΙΟ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΚΩΝ	ΠΑΡΑΧΩΡΗΜΕΝΟ	Εντός Σχεδίου	ΠΗ ΜΕ ΚΤΙΣΜΑ	1
53	ΚΕΔ	ΜΑΡΟΜΗΛΙΚΟΥ 30	ΚΕΡΑΜΕΩΣ	10553	100	386.43	0	ΠΛΗΡΗΣ ΚΥΡΙΟΤΗΤΑ	ΥΠΟΥΡΓΕΙΟ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΚΩΝ	ΠΑΡΑΧΩΡΗΜΕΝΟ	Εντός Σχεδίου	ΠΗ ΜΕ ΚΤΙΣΜΑ	1
54	ΚΕΔ	ΤΣΑΛΔΑΡΗ Π. 71	ΚΕΡΑΜΕΩΣ	10553	100	218.66	0	ΠΛΗΡΗΣ ΚΥΡΙΟΤΗΤΑ	ΥΠΟΥΡΓΕΙΟ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΚΩΝ	ΠΑΡΑΧΩΡΗΜΕΝΟ	Εντός Σχεδίου	ΠΗ ΜΕ ΚΤΙΣΜΑ	1
55	ΚΕΔ	ΜΑΡΟΜΗΛΙΚΟΥ 33	ΚΕΡΑΜΕΩΣ	10553	100	299.9	0	ΠΛΗΡΗΣ ΚΥΡΙΟΤΗΤΑ	ΥΠΟΥΡΓΕΙΟ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΚΩΝ	ΠΑΡΑΧΩΡΗΜΕΝΟ	Εντός Σχεδίου	ΠΗ ΜΕ ΚΤΙΣΜΑ	1
56	ΚΕΔ	ΜΕΛΙΣΣΩΝ 10	ΚΕΡΑΜΕΩΣ	10553	100	675.46	0	ΠΛΗΡΗΣ ΚΥΡΙΟΤΗΤΑ	ΥΠΟΥΡΓΕΙΟ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΚΩΝ	ΠΑΡΑΧΩΡΗΜΕΝΟ	Εντός Σχεδίου	ΠΗ ΜΕ ΚΤΙΣΜΑ	1
57	ΚΕΔ	ΜΕΛΙΣΣΩΝ 12	ΚΕΡΑΜΕΩΣ	10553	100	394.05	0	ΠΛΗΡΗΣ ΚΥΡΙΟΤΗΤΑ	ΥΠΟΥΡΓΕΙΟ ΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΙΚΩΝ	ΠΑΡΑΧΩΡΗΜΕΝΟ	Εντός Σχεδίου	ΠΗ ΜΕ ΚΤΙΣΜΑ	1

Α	Β	Γ	Δ	Ε	Ζ	Η	Θ	Ι	Κ	Λ	Μ	
Φορέας διαχείρισης	Διεύθυνση (Οδοδευκτηριό)	Περιοχή	ΤΚ	Ποσοστό συνολικής ημεσίας	Εμβαδό Γεωτετραγώνου (τ.μ.)	Δομημένη επιφάνεια (τ.μ.)	Δομημένη επιφάνεια (τ.μ.)	Φορέας Ιδιοκτήτης	Νομικό καθεστώς	Πολυδομικό καθεστώς	Είδος ακμής	Εντός ΣΟΑΠ
1												1616
2	ΣΥΝΟΛΟ Δ. ΑΘΗΝΑΙΩΝ											783
3	ΣΥΝΟΛΟ ΠΕΡΙΟΧΗΣ											689
4	ΠΕΡΙΟΧΗ ΠΑΡΕΜΒΑΣΗΣ											72
5	ΠΕΡΙΟΧΗ ΕΙΔΙΚΗΣ ΔΙΕΡΕΥΝΗΣΗΣ											2
6	ΠΕΡΙΟΧΗ ΕΙΔΙΚΗΣ ΔΙΕΡΕΥΝΗΣΗΣ											40

Figure 3.16
 List of the state-owned (public) properties in the Municipality of Athens. A total of 2,216 properties are available for reappropriation across Athens. 783 of these properties are in the area defined by the Pilot Project.
 Source: Region of Attica.
 Archival research by the author.

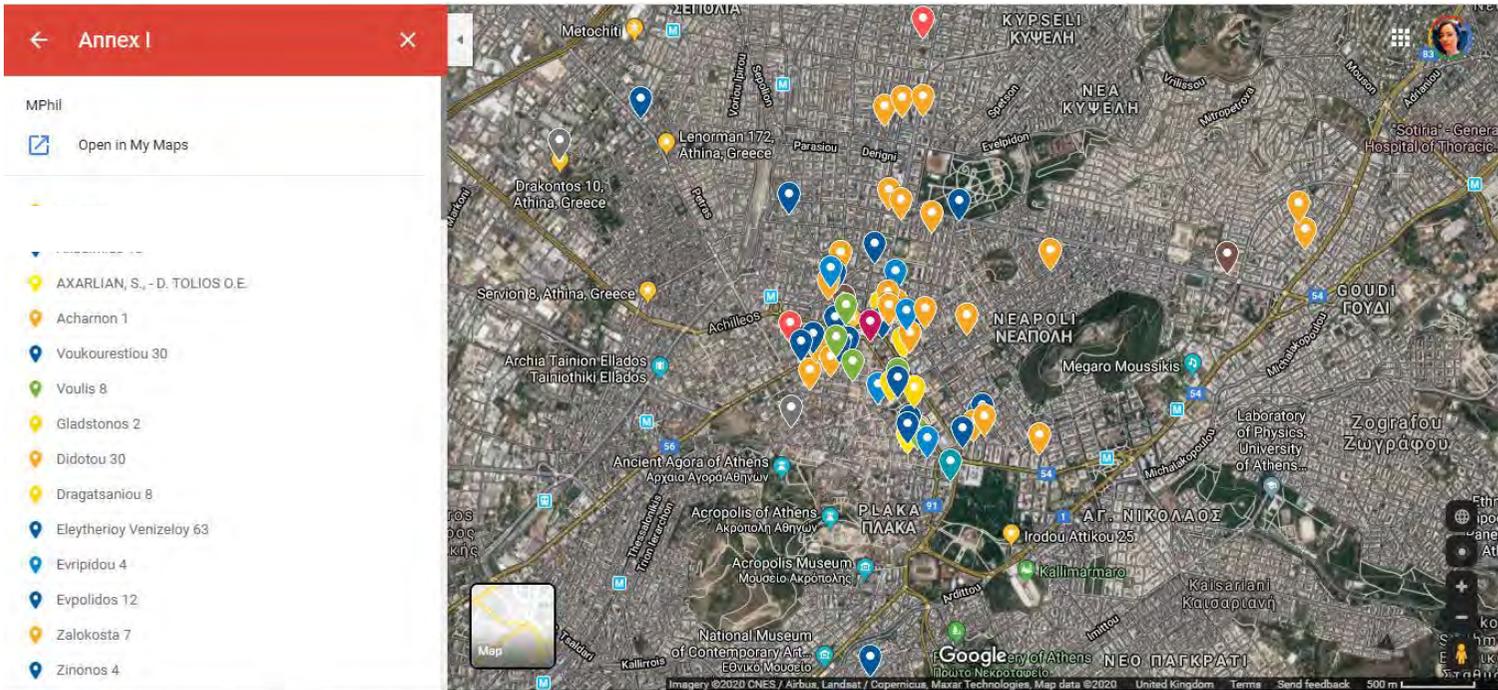


Figure 3.17
The locations in Google maps of the 73 buildings proposed for reappropriation by the government of SYRIZA.
Map by the author.

Moreover, this pilot project is built upon the institutionalisation framework and the provisions of the law on Social and Solidarity Economy implemented a year before, through which the buildings that are owned by the FKA (Social Insurance Bodies) may be granted for concession to a series of agencies, such as public services, legal agencies, bodies or persons governed by public law, private-sector legal agencies, bodies or persons of the wider public sector, as well as to further agencies of a ‘collective benefit’ or ‘humanitarian’ nature in order to use and occupy for public or welfare purposes – and, most importantly, by the Social Solidarity Economy initiatives.¹⁵⁴

Another key legislation that this pilot project makes use of is the Presidential Decree of 1979¹⁵⁵ and recalls the provisions of Article 39, a legislative protocol under which the legal entities defined by public law can proceed to commission, concession, leasing and renting and, in general, the purchase or disposal of public (state-owned) property, along with the necessary execution of construction works. This pilot project precisely recalls this piece of legislation from 1979 in order to link the concession of state-owned property to Social Solidarity Economy initiatives with the ‘necessary execution of construction works’ or any delivery or design works that are required in order for a property to be re-appropriated in order to meet the needs of the occupiers and be compliant with current building regulations.

It is at precisely this moment that architecture becomes the most relevant factor in this interplay between the state and solidarity initiatives, when the proof of architectural drawings is required for the design and delivery of the re-appropriated buildings.

The above argument of this study is also supported by an excerpt from the call for proposals for this pilot project, which indicates a preference for proposals that aim towards the re-appropriation of a specific building or group of buildings, from the suggested Repository of Buildings. These proposals also should proceed to a survey and consultation of the building or buildings in order to confirm that the existing situation of the building/s has been assessed in relation to the needs of the solidarity initiative.

¹⁵⁴ Law on Social Solidarity Economy 4430/2016.

¹⁵⁵ Presidential Decree 715/1979 (Government Gazette A/212).

4. Η δια προτοκόλλου παραλαβή του μισθίου υπό του Ν.Π.Δ.Δ. δεν απαλλάσσει τον εκμισθωτή της εδύσης δι' ελλείψεις ή δια πάσης φύσεως ελαττώματα του μισθίου κατά τας περί μισθώσεως πράγματος διατάξεις του Αστικού Κώδικος.

5. Η μίσθωσις λήγει κατά τόν διά της συμβάσεως ορισθέντα χρόνον. Το Ν.Π.Δ.Δ. υποχρεούται όπως κατά τόν χρόνον τούτον παραδώσῃ τὸ μίσθιον εἰς τὸν εκμισθωτήν εἰσὸς ἂν συμφωνήσῃ ἢ δὲ δύναται νὰ παραδώσῃ τούτο μεταγενεστέρως, οὐχὶ δὲ πάντως πέραν τοῦ διμήνου ἀπὸ τῆς λήξεως τῆς μισθώσεως. ἐπὶ καταβολῇ εἰς τὸν μισθωτὴν τοῦ συμφωνηθέντος μισθώματός.

Ἄρθρον 35.

Χρήσις μισθίου.

1. Διαρκούσης τῆς μισθώσεως τὸ Ν.Π.Δ.Δ. δικαιούται νὰ στεγάσῃ ἐν τῷ μισθίῳ καὶ οἰκηθῆσθε ἑτέραν ὑπηρεσίαν τοῦ, ὑφισταμένου ἢ μὴ, κατὰ τὸν χρόνον τῆς μισθώσεως, χωρὶς νὰ δικαιούται ὁ εκμισθωτὴς νὰ προβῇ ἀξιώσεις ἀποζημιώσεως ἢ προσθέτου μισθώματος.

2. Τὸ Ν.Π.Δ.Δ. εἰς οὐδεμίαν ἀποζημίωσιν ὑπὲρ τοῦ εκμισθωτοῦ ὑπόκειται διὰ τὰς ἐκ τῆς συνήθους χρήσεως ἢ κατὰ τὸν κύριον κατσκευαστὴ καὶ ἐκ τυχαίου γεγονότος ἢ ἀνωτέρας βίας ἐπιγενόμενας βλάβας ἢ ζημίας εἰς τὸ μίσθιον. Ἡ ἔννοια τῆς συνήθους χρήσεως ἐπὶ μισθώσεων τῶν Ν.Π.Δ.Δ. εἶναι εὐρύτερα τῶν κοινῶν μισθώσεων.

3. Ἐὰν τὸ μίσθιον διαρκούσης τῆς μισθώσεως περιέλθῃ κατ' οἰκηθῆσθε νόμιμον τρόπον εἰς τὴν κυριότητα, νομήν, ἐπιχειρήσιν, χρῆσιν κλπ. ἑτέρου προσώπου, ἡ μίσθωσις συνεχίζεται ἀναγκαστικῶς εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦ νέου ἰδιοκτητοῦ, νομέως, ἐπιχειρητοῦ, χρηστοῦ κλπ. τούτου θεωρουμένου ἐφεξῆς ὡς εκμισθωτοῦ. Πρὸς τὸν τελευταῖον τούτων καταβάλλονται ὑπὸ τοῦ Ν.Π.Δ.Δ. τὰ μισθώματα, ἀρ' ἢς ἴθιλε κοινοποιῆθαι νομίμως πρὸς τὸ Ν.Π.Δ.Δ., ὁ οὐκείως νόμιμος τίτλος βίας τοῦ ὁποῦοι κατέστη οὗτος κύριος, νομὴς, ἐπιχειρηστικῆς, χρήσεως κλπ. νομίμως μεταγεγραμμένος, ἐρ' ὅσον οὗτος χρήσις κατὰ νόμον μεταγραφῆς.

Ἄρθρον 36.

Ἑπιμετρήσεις καὶ δικαιώματα τοῦ εκμισθωτοῦ.

Μονομερῆς λύσις τῆς μισθώσεως.

1. Ὁ εκμισθωτὴς ὑποχρεούται, διαρκούσης τῆς μισθώσεως, νὰ ἐνεργῇ ἐν τῷ μισθίῳ τὰς ἀναγκαίας ἐπισκευὰς καὶ νὰ ἐπανορθώσῃ τὰς ἐκ τῆς συνήθους χρήσεως φθορὰς ἐντὸς εὐλόγου προθεσμίας ἀπὸ τῆς σχετικῆς εἰδοποιήσεως τῆς στεγαστικῆς ὑπηρεσίας τοῦ Ν.Π.Δ.Δ.

2. Ἐν περιπτώσει ἀρνήσεως, ἢ μὴ ἐνεργείας ὑπὸ τοῦ εκμισθωτοῦ τῶν ἀνωτέρω ἐργασιῶν τὸ Ν.Π.Δ.Δ., ἔχει τὸ δικαίωμα, ἢ νὰ διακόψῃ τὴν καταβολὴν τῶν μισθωμάτων μέχρις ἐκτελέσεως αὐτῶν, ἢ νὰ προβῇ εἰς τὴν μονομερῆ λύσιν τῆς μισθώσεως καὶ τὴν διὰ διαγωνισμοῦ ἢ ἀπ' εὐθείας μισθωσὶν ἑτέρου ἀναλόγου ἀκινήτου εἰς βέρος τοῦ εκμισθωτοῦ, συμφωνίῳ τῇ παραγράφῳ 3 τοῦ ἄρθρου 33 τοῦ παρόντος, ἢ νὰ ἐνεργῇ ταύτας εἰς βέρος αὐτοῦ καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἐγγεγραμμένης εἰς τὸν προϋπολογισμὸν τοῦ Ν.Π.Δ.Δ. πιστώσεως τῶν μισθωμάτων. Τὸ ποσὸν τῆς γενόμενης δαπάνης παρακρατεῖται ἐκ τῶν πρώτων, μετὰ τὴν ἐπισκευὴν πληρωθῶσιν μισθωμάτων, μετὰ προσηγομένην βεβαίωσιν τῆς τεχνικῆς ὑπηρεσίας τοῦ Νομοῦ Προσώπου ἢ τοῦ Δημοσίου ἢ ἑτέρου Ν.Π.Δ.Δ., ἢ ἂν ταυτῆς δὲν ἔβρῃται ἐπὶ τόπου, Ἐπιτροπῆς, ἐμπειρογνομιόνων, ὀριζομένης ἀπὸ κοινῆς παρὰ τοῦ ἀρμοδίου ὄργανου τοῦ Ν.Π.Δ.Δ. καὶ τοῦ εκμισθωτοῦ ἢ ταύτου καλουμένου ἐγγράφου καὶ ἐπὶ ἀποδείξει καὶ ἀρνούμενου παρὰ τοῦ πρώτου μόνου.

3. Τὸ Ν.Π.Δ.Δ., ὡς μισθωτὴς, δύναται νὰ προβῇ διενεργήσει τῆς μισθώσεως ἄνευ οὐδεμιᾶς ἀποζημιώσεως τοῦ εκμισθωτοῦ, εἰς μονομερῆ λύσιν τῆς μισθώσεως ἐὰν :

α) καταγορῆθῃ τὸ σύνολον ἢ μέρος τῶν στεγαστικῶν εἰς τὸ μίσθιον ὑπηρεσιῶν,

β) μεταφέρῃ στεγαστικὴν ὑπηρεσίαν εἰς ἀκίνητον ἰδιοκτησίας του,

γ) προσπερῆθῃ εἰς αὐτὸ παρὰ τρίτου, ἢ δωρεὰν χρῆσῃ ἐκτακτοῦ ἀκινήτου διὰ τὸν ὑπόλοιπον χρόνον τῆς μισθώσεως,

δ) ἀναδιοργανωθῇ ἡ ὑπηρεσία τοῦ Ν.Π.Δ.Δ. κατὰ τὴν διάρκειαν τῆς μισθώσεως, ὥστε τὸ μίσθιον νὰ μὴ ἐξυπηρετῇ τὰς ἀνάγκας αὐτῆς ἢ νὰ μὴ εἶναι ἀπαραίτητον,

ε) μεταφερῆθῃ εἰς ἄλλον τόπον, ἢ ἐν τῷ μισθίῳ ἐγκαταστήσῃ ὑπηρεσίαν τοῦ Ν.Π.Δ.Δ., ἔστω καὶ προσωρινῶς.

Διὰ τὴν κατὰ τ' ἀνωτέρω λύσιν τῆς μισθώσεως ἀπαρτίζονται ἐγγράφου εἰδοποιήσεις πρὸς τὸν εκμισθωτὴν ἐξήκοντα τοῦλάχιστον ἡμέρας πρὸ τῆς ἐν τῇ σχετικῇ εἰδοποιήσει καθοριζομένης ἡμερομηνίας λύσεως τῆς μισθώσεως, ἀρ' ἢς πέντε καὶ πᾶσα ὑποχρέωσις τοῦ Ν.Π.Δ.Δ. πρὸς καταβολὴν μισθώματος.

Ἄρθρον 37.

Παράτασις μισθώσεως.

Συνεπρὸς ἐκμισθώσεως ἢ παράτασις τῆς μισθώσεως, πέραν τοῦ διὰ τῆς συμβάσεως συμφωνηθέντος χρόνου, δὲν ἐπιτρέπεται, ἀπρωλοσησόμενον τὸν διατάξασιν τῆς παραγράφου 5 τοῦ ἄρθρου 34 τοῦ παρόντος Π. Δ/τος.

ΚΕΦΑΛΑΙΟΝ Β'

Ἐκμισθώσις ἀκινήτων.

Ἄρθρον 38.

Τρόπος καὶ διάρκεια ἐκμισθώσεως.

1. Τὰ εἰς τὸ Ν.Π.Δ.Δ. ἀκίνητα καὶ ἐν γένει αὐτῶν διαχειριζόμενα ἀκίνητα ἐκμισθούνται διὰ δημοσίου πλειοδοτικοῦ διαγωνισμοῦ.

2. Ἡ ἐκμισθώσις τῶν ἀκινήτων ἀποφασίζεται ὑπὸ τοῦ διοικοῦντος τὸ Ν.Π.Δ.Δ. συλλογικοῦ ὄργανου, δὲν δύναται δὲ νὰ συνομολογήσῃ διὰ περίοδον μακροτέρην τῶν πέντε ἐτῶν.

3. Κατ' ἐξαιρήσιν, ἐπὶ ἐκμισθώσεως ἀκινήτων πρὸς ἐπιμετρήσιν συνδυαζομένην μετὰ οὐσιωδῶν δαπανῶν τοῦ μισθωτοῦ, οὗον πρὸς ἀνοικοδόμησιν, ἔθρυσιν ἐργαστασίου, ἐγκαινοποιήσιν ἀγροεπιλῶν κλπ. δύναται, κατόπιν ἀποφάσεως τοῦ διοικοῦντος τὸ Ν.Π.Δ.Δ. συλλογικοῦ ὄργανου, ἐγκρινομένης ὑπὸ τοῦ ἐπιτεθέντος τὸ Ν.Π.Δ.Δ. Ἑπιτροπῆς, νὰ πραγματοποιηθῇ ἡ ἐκμισθώσις καὶ διὰ χρονικῶν διάστημα μεγαλύτερον τῶν πέντε ἐτῶν, ἀλλὰ πάντοτε, κατόπιν δημοσίου διαγωνισμοῦ.

4. Ἡ ἐκμισθώσις τῶν ἐν τῇ ἀλλοδαπῇ μετρήτων ἢ ἀκινήτων τοῦ Ν.Π.Δ.Δ. ἐνεργεῖται διὰ πλειοδοτικοῦ διαγωνισμοῦ, κατὰ τοὺς ἀνάστοτε εἰδικούς ὅρους τῆς διακηρύξεως, ὀριζομένου ὑπὸ τοῦ διοικοῦντος τὸ Ν.Π.Δ.Δ. συλλογικοῦ ὄργανου.

Ἄρθρον 39.

Ἐκμισθώσις ἄνευ διαγωνισμοῦ.

1. Ἡ ἐκμισθώσις ἀκινήτων Ν.Π.Δ.Δ. πρὸς τὸ Διημόσιον ἢ ἑτερον Ν.Π.Δ.Δ. ἢ Ὄργανισμὸν Τοπικῆς Αυτοδιοικήσεως, δύναται νὰ γίνεται ἄνευ διαγωνισμοῦ, ἐρ' ὅσον δι' ἠτοιογενεμένης ἀποφάσεως τοῦ διοικοῦντος τὸ Ν.Π.Δ.Δ. συλλογικοῦ ὄργανου, αὐτὴ κρίνεται συμφέρουσα, ἐπιμετρησμένης τῆς ἰσχύος τῆς παρ.γρ. 3 τοῦ ἄρθρου 38 τοῦ παρόντος.

2. Ἐκμισθώσις ἄνευ διαγωνισμοῦ ἐκμισθώσις ἐνεργεῖται ὑπὸ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἢ νέους ὅρους, ἐὰν ὁ δις διενεργηθεὶς διαγω-

Figure 3.18 PD 715/1979 (FEK 212 A/1979)

The Presidential Decree of 1979 is a legislation that defines the conditions for concessions, grants, sales and rent of public property and land. Among other provisions, Article 39 refers to the conditions under which conversions, public design competitions and construction works regarding a property of the state should take place.

Source: Government Gazette of the Hellenic Republic.

The second step required by this pilot project has to do with the design proposal or design brief that these initiatives have to submit in the form of architectural drawing packages together with the estimated budget of the proposed technical works.

Interestingly, the tools that the state institutions offer in order to assist the interested parties to submit design proposals include the digital registration databases and the digital platform of the National Mapping Agency and Land Use Monitoring of TAIPED,¹⁵⁶ which is an online design/geographical tool that provides information on the selected plot such as building size, year of construction and number of storeys. Essentially, this pilot project of appropriating buildings by the government, in the form of an administrative protocol, required social solidarity economy initiatives, including all types of extra-state organisations, to express interest in appropriating a building and to submit design briefs in the form of a planning application for the designed development of the state-owned properties that were in the city centre. However, the role that the architectural design had in this strategy still remained abstract, and it was only when the phases of the implementation of this pilot project were made public that the involvement of architects was introduced in both the decision-making and design stages. Then, the ultimate aim, as it seems from the engagement of architecture, was not simply to compose a repository of proposals —prototypical designs— that encompassed the appropriation of buildings, but to design these new schemes for welfare provision and administrative infrastructures.

¹⁵⁶ National Mapping Agency and Land Use Monitoring of TAIPED <www.ktimatologio.gr> [accessed 10 September 2021].

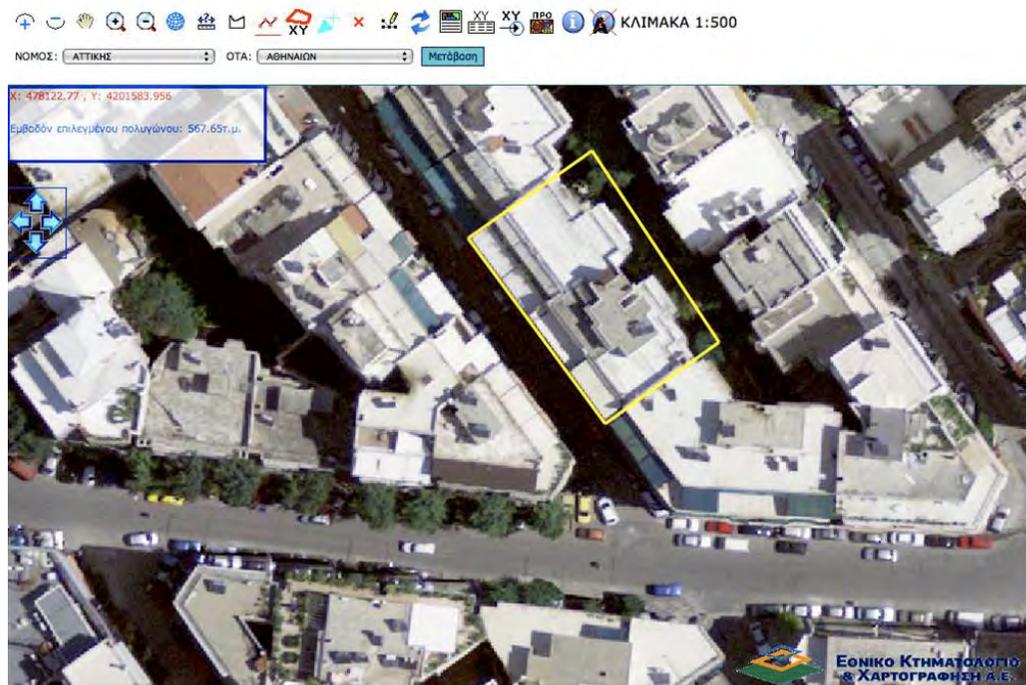


Figure 3.19
Interface of the Digital Platform of the National Mapping Agency, the only design tool available to the public where the user could draw, measure and calculate building information in Greece.
Source: ktimatologio.gr.
Personal archive of the author.

3.6 The Architectural Drawing as an Accelerator for a Prototypical Design Strategy

This Repository of 73 Buildings, offered as a concession by the government to be occupied by solidarity initiatives, contains mainly residential buildings, office buildings and buildings that used to function as hotels or other types of residencies, such as elderly care homes. This registry of buildings has been largely combined by architect and professor, Nikos Belavilas, the head of the Department of Planning at the School of Architecture of the National Technical University of Athens (NTUA) who, alongside a team of architecture students and researchers, has contributed to the registration of buildings and activities and provided an analysis of the planning scheme in collaboration with the Ministry.¹⁵⁷

Of significance are the different phases of this pilot project, which was designed to include the completed first phase, i.e. a public invitation to the public sector bodies in November 2017. A second phase of public invitations to cooperatives, cooperative enterprises, small enterprises of the social economy and all the agencies of the social solidarity economy was also scheduled. Finally, the third phase included the announcement of an architectural competition for ideas related to the recovery of 24 emblematic properties in the historic centre of Athens, in collaboration with the School of Architecture of Athens (NTUA).

¹⁵⁷ For more information about the collaboration between the School of Architecture of the National Technical University of Athens (NTUA) and the Ministry of Labour, Social Insurance and Social Solidarity visit (in Greek) <<http://courses.arch.ntua.gr/belavilas.html>> [accessed 10 September 2021].

No	Title
18	General Arrangement Plan – Ground Floor Level - Medical Units (1:100)
19	General Arrangement Plan – Mezzanine Level - Storage (1:100)
20	General Arrangement Plan – Basement Level - Pharmacy (1:100)
21a	Detail Drawings (a) External (1:20)
21b	Detail Drawings (b) Internal (1:20)
21c	Detail Drawings (c) Windows/Doors (1:20)
	Planning
22	Site Plan (1:500)
23	Façade showing connectivity with the block (1:100)
24	Section demonstrating connectivity with the road (1:100)
25	Section demonstrating the main entrance and connectivity with the road (1:100)
26	Detail Section demonstrating the internal circulation (1:20)
27	Detail Section demonstrating the services (1:20)
	Design and Access Statement
28	Report
29	Performance reports

Figure 3.20

Illustration of the Blueprint Register of the architectural drawings and design reports required for the second stage evaluation of the proposals made under the framework of the Pilot Project for Athens. Drawn by the author based on the document of the Ministry of Labour, Social Insurance and Social Solidarity.

Drawn by the author.

Through the phases of this pilot project, it was possible to imagine the subversion of the entire geography of appropriation in Athens, with each of the evacuated buildings — residential, office, commercial — used for a different purpose for which it had been designed and built. Thus, public institutions, such as those for healthcare, education and so forth, occupying the mundane fabric of building stock in the centre of the city could be envisaged as being reborn as a new type of institution. Moreover, the particular requirement of architectural drawings for the design of the new uses and the re-appropriation of buildings signified an all-encompassing strategy that, through this first pilot project in the centre of Athens, aimed to demonstrate a successful paradigm that could potentially expand and accelerate to other neighbourhoods and cities across the country.

After a couple of months, the Ministry published the first ten accepted proposals for the appropriation of buildings included in this Repository of Buildings. They had been drawn up by organisations of the local authorities, social welfare institutions and NGOs, and they proposed the occupation of residential and mixed-use buildings to utilise the existing structure, spatial configurations and equipment that these buildings already had. An example would be the built structure of Pireos 130,¹⁵⁸ the former office building that was to be assigned to the Red Cross for use as a hospital and medical campus.

At that point, the Ministry was expecting that one-fifth of the proposals would be entirely by solidarity initiatives,¹⁵⁹ regarding single buildings or groups of buildings, having as their core activities healthcare, food distribution and shelter provision on a permanent basis. However, the specificity of the function of different properties is not guaranteed and, in many cases, two adjacent properties might not work together at all, leaving underused spaces or necessitating additional adaptations. As noted by special adviser to the minister and the architect of the working group of this pilot project, Marios Mouzalas, in the symposium organised to inform the invited representatives of the general government authorities, Social Solidarity Economy, and other extra-state agencies of public or humanitarian nature that expressed interest in these assets, the 73 assets that compose the annex of this pilot project needed to offer a variety in scale — from an apartment to a group of buildings — in order to allow half of them to be appropriated by smaller-scale social solidarity bodies, such as solidarity initiatives.

¹⁵⁸ Address of the property in the format 'Name, Number' of the street.

¹⁵⁹ The Ministry of Labour, Social Insurance and Social Solidarity expected to have proposals by solidarity initiatives, bodies related to the asylum procedure of refugees in Greece that are currently facilitated in distributed spaces across Athens or lack spatial amenities, NGOs of a humanitarian and environmental nature already located in Athens, Social Solidarity Economy cooperatives, both new and existing public service institutions that require spatial adjustments, departments of educational public institutions, and many more.

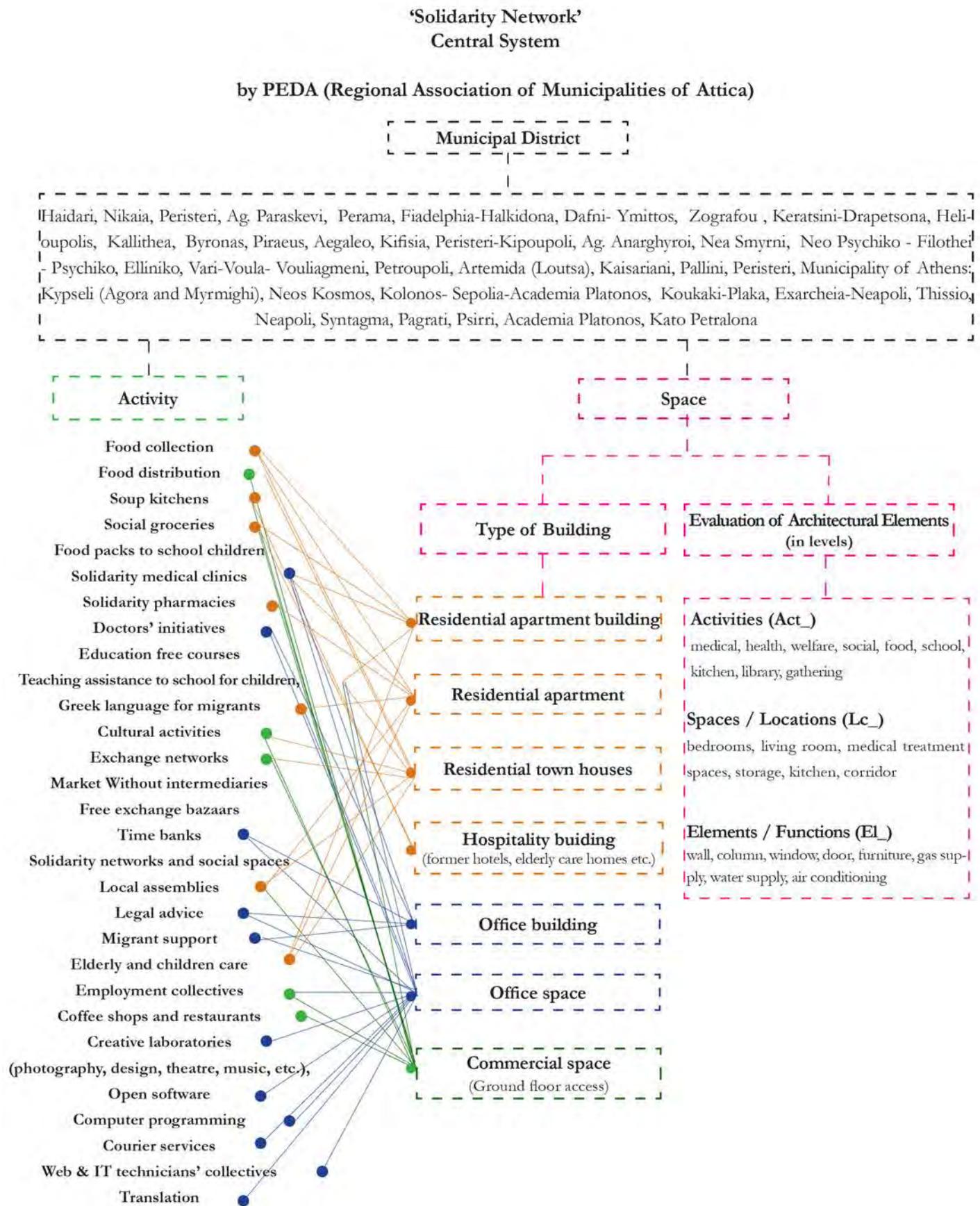


Figure 3.21

Diagram of the Solidarity Network registration system. The Pilot Project worked together with the Solidarity Network registration system, which registered on the local level the types of both solidarity initiatives and the properties they were occupying to anticipate for the typology of properties that would comprise the first selection of 73 properties for reappropriation. Drawn by the author.



ANNEX I – LIST OF BUILDING ASSETS THAT ARE PROPERTY OF STATE INSTITUTIONS							
	MUNICIPALITY	MUNICIPAL DISTRICT	ADDRESS	DESCRIPTION	TOTAL SURFACE AREA (m ²)	LEGISLATION	OBSERVATIONS
1	Athens	1st	Akadimias 18	5 th Floor soace in a an Office Building	407,54	(1) Presidential Decree PD19/1985 & (2) Government Gazette FEK Δ'349/1985 & Δ-440/1985	
2	Athens	1st	Aksarlian 7 (former Lekka)	Two (2) Buildings (3-Storey) – with Basement, Ground Floor, 3 Upper Floors and Terrace	1.476,97 (1,153.22 superstructure & 323,75 underground)		
3	Athens	1st	Acharnon 1-3 & Liosion 2	7-Storey Residential Building with 7 Ground Floor Stores	3.927,59		EMPTY (excluding GF level stores)
4	Athens	1st	Voukourestiou 30	6-storey Office Building	940,26		
5	Athens	1st	Voulis 6	Two (2) Buildings (2-Storey) – Former Residencies – with Basement, Ground Floor, Semi-Floor & 2 Upper Floors	1.822,00 (1.437,50 superstructure & 384,50 underground)	(1) Presidential Decree PD19/1985 (2) Government Gazette FEK Δ'349/1985 & Δ-440/1985 (3) Ministerial Decision by Ministry of Culture MD ΥΠΠΟ/ΔΙΑΑΠ/Τ/3615/61825/1986-FEK B'245/1986	
6	Athens	1st	Voulis 8-10	7-Storey Office Building (Former “Mansion Of Merchants’ Fund”) – including Ground Level-Commercial Stores	2.619,02 (1.793,72 superstore & 825,30 underground)	(1) Presidential Decree PD 19/1985-FEK Δ'349/1985 (2) Government Decision Δ-440/1985 to Declare for Conservation of the Ground Level commercial uses of the stores ‘ARISTON’ & ‘SIDERIS’	
7	Athens	1st	Gladstonos 2	7-Storey Office Building – including Warehouses and 4 Ground Level Stores	2.096,39		EMPTY (excluding GF stores and 1 st Floor office premises)
8	Athens	1st	Didotou 30	5-Storey Residential Building	756,00		
9	Athens	1st	Dragatsaniou 8, Agioi Theodoroi Square	7-Storey Office & Commercial Stores Building with Stoa (covered passageway)	Available: 4.014,00 superstore & 1.592,82 underground		Empty offices & commercial stores (6 offices on upper floors & 2 stores on the ground level).
10	Athens	1st	Eleftheriou Venizelou 63	1st, 2nd & 3rd Floor in an Office Building	396,12		
11	Athens	1st	Evpolidos 12	4rth &5th Floor in an Office Building	553,60		
12	Athens	1st	Evrpidou 4	4-6 Floors in an Office Building	442,85		
13	Athens	1st	Zalokosta 7-9	4-Storey Residential Building with 2 semi-basement commercial stores	1.620,11	Declared as Heritage by the Decision Protocol of the Ministry of Culture ΥΠΠΟ. / ΥΑ ΥΠΠΟ/ΔΝΣΑΚ/85579/2352/28-11-2008	
14	Athens	1st	Zinonos 4-4A	8-Storey Office Building	2.231,06		About the 10% of the offices in the building are rented by the ETE-AEP (State Supplementary Insurance and Single Benefit Fund).
15	Athens	1st	Kaniggos 27 & Kapodistriou	1 st floor in an Office Building	395,21		
16	Athens	1st	Katakouzinou 3	Historical Building (former Residence for conservation)	246,00 (196,00 superstore & 50,00 underground)	(1) Presidential Decree PD2/17.10.1984 (2) Government Gazette FEK Δ'28/1985	
17	Athens	1st	Kerameikou 19	Plot & Building to be demolished	313,50		

Figure 3.22

Illustration (1/4) of the Annex list of the 73 selected buildings, which was part of the governmental protocol *Retrieval of the Property of the Historic Centre of Athens – Development and Appropriation in Terms of Social Reciprocation and Communal Interchange*. Drawn by the author based on the document of the ministry.

3. Tracing the Scalar Institutionalisation of Social Movements

18	Athens	1st	Kolokotroni 4	5-Storey Office Building with Basement (former TSMEDF Mansion)	4,213,73 (3,550,24 superstore & 663,49 underground)		EMPTY from 1 st to 5 th floor
19	Athens	1st	Aleksandras Ave. 34	1-6 Floor Office Building	1,105,00		
20	Athens	1st	Lekka 22	6-Storey Office Building	589,69		
21	Athens	1st	Mammouri 14	5-Storey Office Building	621,00		
22	Athens	1st	Mavrokordatou 4	2-6 Floors in an Office Building	397,00		
23	Athens	1st	Mavromateon 17	6-Storey Residential Building with 16 apartments and Basement	2,661,45 (2,243,95 superstore & 417,51 underground)		
24	Athens	1st	Menandrou 1	1-6 Floors in a Residential Building	781,31		EMPTY (excluding 2 GF commercial stores)
25	Athens	1st	Menandrou 27-29	3-Storey Building former Residential Building	902,42 (662,40 superstore & 240,02 underground)	Ministerial Decree M.D.7863/1383/1997 - FEK Δ'267/1997	
26	Athens	1st	Menandrou 48	7-Storey Office Building with 5 Ground Level Commercial Stores and Stoa (covered passageway)	2,072,00 (1,715,00 superstore & 357,00 underground)		
27	Athens	1st	Neofytou Douka 7	3-Storey Residential Building (former Residence)	529,00	Heritage: Government Gazette FEK 468/AAII/24-1-2008	
28	Athens	1st	Othonos 10	1 st Floor in an Office Building	944,00		
29	Athens	1st	Omiron 12	Multi-Storey Building for Parking with 2 Underground Levels	8,807,78 (6,751,72 superstore & 1,333,36 underground)		
30	Athens	1st	Panepistimiou 4 & Kriezotou	8-Storey Office Building - 2 Basements, Ground Floor, Semi-Floor, 8 Floors & Terrace	13,244,00 (10,561,00 superstore & 2,683,00 underground)		
31	Athens	1st	Panepistimiou 46 & Char. Trikoupi	4-Storey Office Building, Restaurant, Commercial Stores & Cinema	7,945,12	(1) Presidential Decree PD14/1983-FEK Δ'503/1983 (2) The use of the GF restaurant "INTEAL" has been declared for preservation MD by the Ministry of Planning and Development 726/2002-FEK Δ'55/2002	EMPTY (offices, cinema and commercial stores of 2,147,41m ² from 7,945,12m ² total area.)
32	Athens	1st	Patisision 54	7-Storey Residential Building (former Hotel)	2,244,50		
33	Athens	1st	Peireos 26	3-Storey Office Building – including GF commercial store	784,66	Ministerial Decree M.D.60626/4526/1987 - FEK Δ' 1029/1987	EMPTY (excluding one of two GF commercial stores - Pharmacy - that belongs to a private body)
34	Athens	1st	Peireos 40	7-Storey Office Building (former IKA Institute of Social Insurance)	7,934,00		
35	Athens	1st	Pindarou 2	3-Storey Residential Building (former mansion) – with Basement, Ground Floor, Semi-Floor, 3 Upper Floors and Terrace	653,35	Ministerial Decree for the Preservation of uses by the Ministry of Culture (M.D / ΔΙΑΑΙ/Τ/41761/2535/12-11-1987, FEK 633/B/26-11-1987)	
36	Athens	1st	Polytechniou 12	4 th & 5 th Floors in an Office Building	486,80		
37	Athens	1st	Sophokleous 39	2-Storey Residential Building (former mansion) – with Ground Level and 2 Upper Floors	394,82	Ministerial Decree M.D.55882/2507/1992 - FEK Δ'456/1992	EMPTY (excluding GF commercial store)

Figure 3.23
Illustration (2/4) of the Annex list of the 73 selected buildings. Drawn by the author.

	Residential	Heritage	Cultural	Empty Plot				
	Office	Mixed-Use	Residential - Other (Hotel, elderly care)					
38	Athens	1st	Stadiou 29 & Edouardou Lo	Multi-Storey Hotel Building – with independent GF commercial stores and 2 basement levels	12.050,69 (10.428,16 superstore & 1.622,53 underground)	Government Gazette: Declaration as Heritage/Art by the Ministry of Culture FEK 331/B/9-6-1981	EMPTY (excluding the cinema)	
39	Athens	1st	Stadiou 28	5-Storey Office Building – with 2 GF stores and a Cinema	3.596,58			
40	Athens	1st	Stadiou 29	Independent Ground Level commercial stores (part of a multi-storey office building - public service) – with loft and basement connecting with the stoa passageway	Store 1: GF=144,00, Loft = 73,40 & Basement = 136,10 Store 2: GF=80,30, Loft = 48,50 & Basement = 77,70 Store 3: GF = 96,30, Loft = 53,30 & Basement = 92,00			
41	Athens	1st	Stadiou 58	4-Storey Cultural Building	3.470,00	Government Gazette: Declaration as New Heritage FEK 275/B/20-3-1980		
42	Athens	1st	Sokratous 65-67	7-Storey Hotel Building	9.048,80		Former Ambassador Hotel	
43	Athens	1st	Feidiou 3	Residence (Single House) Former National Conservatory and Prokesch Von Osten Mansion	1.886,22 (1.343,52 superstore & 542,70 underground)	Presidential Decree PD 2/17.10.1984 / ΦΕΚ Δ'28/1985	EMPTY (excluding GF commercial stores)	
44	Athens	1st	Chalkokondyli 43	6-Storey Office Building	666,62			
45	Athens	1st	Ogygou 7	4-Storey Commercial Building	678,00			
46	Athens	2nd	Klada 23	Two (2) Independed apartments in a 2-storey Residential Building in a plot	302,19			
47	Athens	4th	Iphigenias 6 & Dimofilou	1-Storey Carpentry and Office Building	1.661,50			
48	Athens	4th	Lenorman 210	2 nd Floor in an Office Building	434,00			
	Athens	6th	Ioulianou 26 & Ainianos	Multi-storey building of a single residence with basement	2.074,60 (1.728,80 superstore & 345,80 underground)	M.D.73030/6236/1987- FEK Δ'1169/1987		
	Athens	6th	Mithymnis 41	Ground Level Residence with loft in a plot (for demolition)	Total Area for demolition: 680,15 Plot Area: 689,75			
51	Athens	7th	Aleksandras Ave. 175	Multi-storey Residential Building for Elderly Care – with 2 GF commercial stores & Basement	2.700,50 (2.335,80 superstore & 364,70 underground)			
52	Athens	7th	Argolidos 9-11	5 th Floor in a Residential Building (Polykatoikia) – with Warehouse	124,00			
53	Athens	1st	Veranzerou 13	7 th Floor in a Residential Building	254,35			
	Athens	1st	Vatazi 26 & Char. Trikoupi 150	2nd Floor Apartment in a Residential Apartment Building (in a 5-storey Building)	55,00			
55	Athens	1st	Veranzerou 51-53	Apartment in a Basement Warehouse	44,00			

Figure 3.24

Illustration (3/4) of the Annex list of the 73 selected buildings. Drawn by the author.

3. Tracing the Scalar Institutionalisation of Social Movements

57	Athens	1st	Dragatsaniou 4	5 th Floor in an Office Building	64,00		
58	Athens	1st	Iktinou 4	5 th Floor in an Office Building	243,00		
59	Athens	1st	Nikitara 2-4 & E. Benaki	7 th Floor in an Office Building	169,00		
60	Athens	1st	Nikis 2	4 th & 6 th Floors in an Office Building	239,38		
61	Athens	1st	Marni 44	5 th Floor in an Office Building	196,30		
62	Athens	1st	Bouboulinas 7	Semi-floor Apartment in a Residential Building	32,60		
63	Athens	1st	Souliou 1 & Zaloggou	1 st Floor and Warehouse in a Residential Building	91,48		
64	Athens	1st	Sofokleous 21	4 th Floor in a Commercial Building	180,00		
65	Athens	1st	Ag. Konstantinou 6 & Sokratous	1 st Floor in a Commercial Building	107,06		
66	Athens	1st	Sokratous 39	6 th Floor in a Commercial Building	120,10		
67	Athens	6 th	3 rd Septemvriou 144	3 rd Floor Apartment (former Office) in a Residential Building	240,00		
68	Athens	6 th	Androu 2 & Patision	5 th Floor Apartment (former Office) in a Residential Building	141,30		
69	Athens	6 th	Aristotelous 134	7 th Floor Apartment in a Residential Building	24,71		
70	Athens	6 th	I. Drosopoulou 111	5 th – 6 th Floor Apartment (Maisonnette) in a Residential Building	93,84		
71	Athens	6 th	Ionias Ave. 126	1 st Floor Apartment in a Residential Building	80,00		
72	Athens	6 th	Promitheos 70 & Acharnon 322 (former 316)	2 nd Floor Apartment in a Residential Building	50,00		
73	Athens	7 th	Velestinou 28	4 th Floor Apartment in a Residential Building – with warehouse in the basement	83,00 (77,00 superstore & 6,00 underground)		

Figure 3.25

Illustration (4/4) of the Annex list of the 73 selected buildings. Drawn by the author.

He continued with the following statement:

Architecture's task in this case is not to simply to accommodate this grassroots dynamic but also to formalise its relationship with state institutions and introduce a new paradigm that would manifest this collective infrastructure, that should find in Athens through this Pilot Project its most recognisable and radical application.¹⁶⁰

Notably, implicit in this statement by Mr Mouzalas is the Greek government's enlisting of its Social Solidarity Economy agencies to act as its agents alongside the agencies of state power, and the fact that the solidarity initiatives' presence is being used to serve the public planning aims for the city centre. Also indicative of the purpose of this governmental protocol were the words by the newly appointed then, Minister of Labour, Social Insurance and Social Solidarity, Efi Achtsioglou, who emphasised the following:

Our overall strategy and actions show a totally different perception of the use of the real estate that is property of our institutions, in relation to what we have known so far. This is a major intervention for the productive, economic and social reconstruction of the urban fabric and especially of its heart, the historical centre of the capital. [...] The idea of recovering this part of building stock in the crisis-hit centre of Athens, has eventually passed into the implementation phase.¹⁶¹

What this declaration shows is that the SYRIZA government intended this system of building appropriation to become general practice and, as such, to provide greater control over the outcomes of the state mechanism regarding the transformation of urban space. At this point, it is important to remember that the methods of strategic intervention regarding urbanisation by the state apparatus have a long history in Greece, a process that, according to Platon Issaias, has allowed for different conceptions of 'formal' and 'informal'.¹⁶² Issaias, argues that the state apparatus acted as a managerial tool to navigate these supposedly converse managerial processes to formulate contemporary urban environments. For the author, whereas the 'formal' echoes the tradition of central decision-making and planning, which implies strong involvement of the state in the management of space, the 'informal' assumes a process whereby government control has been replaced by a type of city development based on seemingly autonomous and impromptu popular practices.¹⁶³

¹⁶⁰ From the presentation by Mr Marios Mouzalas on 31 October 2017 at the symposium that was organised to inform the interested agencies about the criteria for participation in the Pilot Project and especially about the priority given to buildings according to the spatial dispersion, proposed uses, legal status, proposed timetables and sources of funding, and so forth. All these points had to be included in the proposals for appropriations by the Social Solidarity Economy agencies. Available (in Greek) <<https://government.gov.gr/anaktisi-ton-akini-ton-tou-istorikou-kentrou-tis-athinas-axiopiisi-me-orous-kinonikis-antapodosis/>> [accessed 10 September 2021].

¹⁶¹ Ibid. From the presentation by the Minister of Labour, Social Insurance and Social Solidarity, Efi Achtsioglou, at the same event on 31 October 2017.

¹⁶² Platon Issaias, 'On Conflict, Generic and the Informal: The Greek Case', *Very, Vary Veri, Harvard GSD*, 2 (2015).

¹⁶³ Ibid.



Figure 3.26

Photograph from the symposium and press conference organised by the Ministry of Labour, Social Insurance and Social Solidarity to lay out the strategy of the government regarding the reappropriation of public property in Athens (31 October 2017). Source: gov.gr.

In this view, in Greece, what appears to be a spontaneous and unplanned urban typology is rather the result of a meticulously detailed regulatory structure that evolved strategically through time. Although, in the end, there was nothing there to reuse or appropriate as a response to the change of administration in 2019, this pilot project was paused and parts of it were cancelled. I argue that this pilot project consisted of a mechanism designed not only to evaluate or register the state-owned building stock in the centre of Athens but also to survey the architectural condition of these buildings, aiming to redesign a part of them in phases.

But the SYRIZA government lived only a few more months to present the new regulations for building appropriation in the form of this pilot project as ‘evidence of its commitment to collective values of a state-supported welfare system’, which it compared to the ‘aggressive privatisation logic of previous governments and the European Troika’.¹⁶⁴

Yet, there is ambivalence regarding this institutionalisation strategy in the form of making available a series of buildings for appropriation by the state which needs to be addressed. Essentially, this pilot project begins with an application for the appropriation (i.e. occupation and redesign) of certain buildings through solidarity initiatives. The ambivalence lies in the fact that at the end of the day, it consists of an application for planning permission to redesign, with “social, environmental and humanitarian criteria”, the buildings and former domestic sites hit by the effects of the same financial crisis that led to them ending up as empty and available.¹⁶⁵

In this discussion, the response from the side of the solidarity initiatives has been indicative as some participants at the panhellenic assembly of solidarity initiatives in November 2017 warned that following these patterns of institutionally guided reuse, the adaptation of the evacuated building stock in Athens, might reproduce something of the alienation, hostility and violence of austerity by turning it into luxury or gentrified areas.¹⁶⁶ They feared that the system of registries, monitoring, and surveillance technologies related to these buildings would accelerate their transformation into shelters, similar to those temporary

¹⁶⁴ From the presentation by the Minister of Labour, Social Insurance and Social Solidarity, Efi Achitsioglou, at the event on 31 October 2017. The ‘European Troika’ is a term used, especially in the media, to refer to the tripartite decision group formed by the European Commission, the European Central Bank and the International Monetary Fund.

¹⁶⁵ According to the public debate held at the Ministry of Finance in March 2017, the year 2016 saw an increase of property foreclosures, and inheritance disclaiming reached 73%. In 2016 numerous property disclaimers and property concessions were made by private owners to the state, due to private household debts. As a result, the Greek State received 10,500 properties, compared to 6,079 properties in 2013.

¹⁶⁶ 5th Panhellenic Assembly of solidarity initiatives across Greece. Notes by the author.

ones provided by NGOs or by the government in countries such as the UK, who re-appropriate buildings to turn them into temporary homeless shelters.¹⁶⁷ This view, though, was soon to be contested by example as, in the same month of November 2017, the City Plaza Hotel refugee accommodation and Notara 26 Squat for refugee housing published their self-organisational structure along with a visual documentation of the spatial reconfigurations made to the buildings that both occupied, which were properties of a private landlord and the state, respectively.¹⁶⁸ The re-appropriation of their buildings was based on the common principles and values of the solidarity movement in Greece, directly linked to the local economy and the neighbourhood, drawing away from the codification of labour and services or from distinctions between “benefactors” and “beneficiaries”; instead, they were allowing for the self-management and the participation of everyone involved in the general assemblies.

What is also significant is that, within the framework of this pilot project, the survey and architectural design of these selected buildings simultaneously qualify as a sort of humanitarian aid and as investigative —architectural, among others— research. This is essential as when promising to make use of building stock to provide shelter and welfare provision to those who need it through infrastructural provisions and designs by solidarity initiatives, architects need to be involved in re-designing them according to their new uses. This form of provocative intervention places research in a position to carve out possible spaces of agency within a powerful system of apparent impossibilities, bureaucracy and administrative institutionalisation.

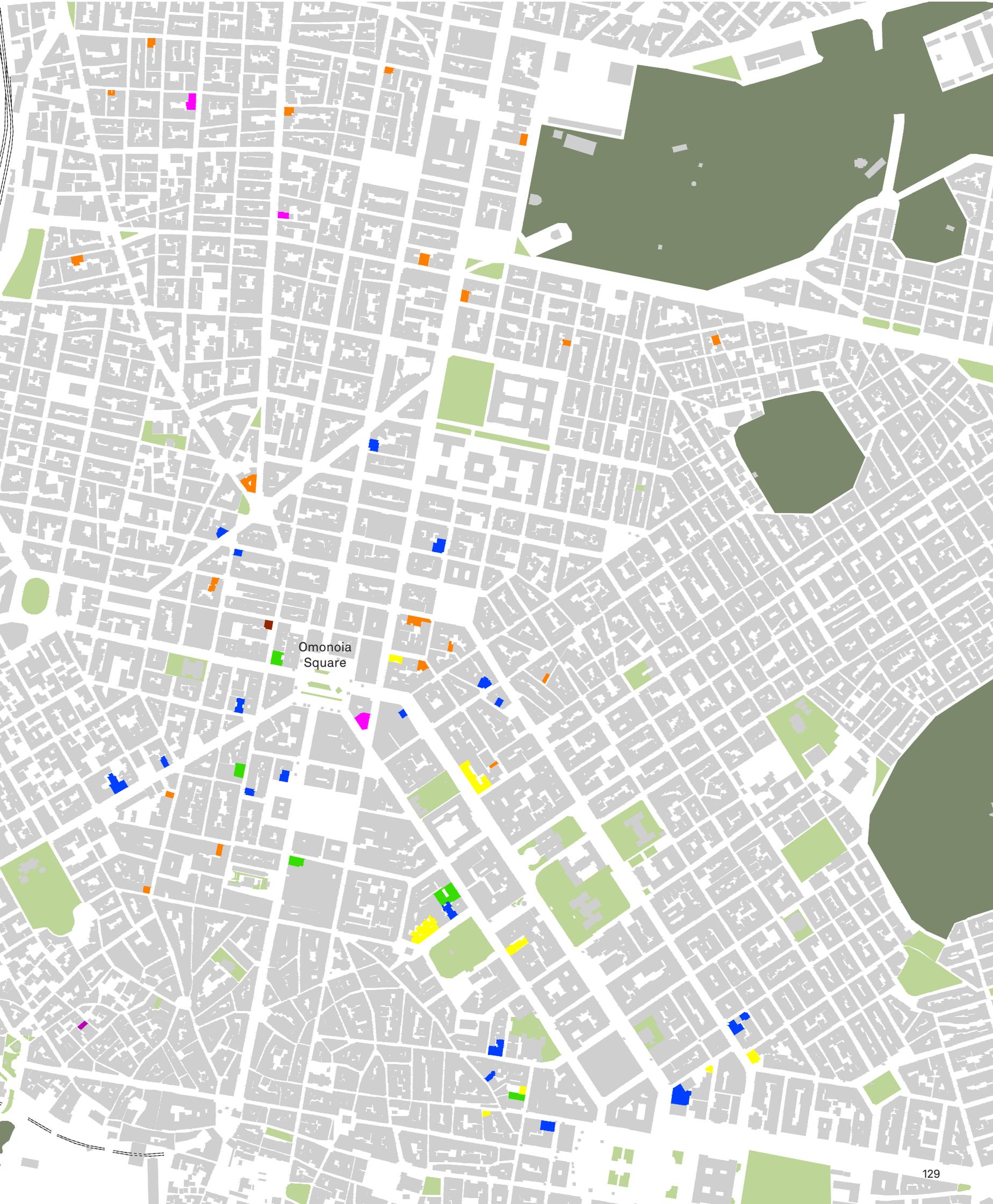
If anything, it seems that the aim of the SYRIZA government has been to articulate the (scalar) institutionalisation of social movements, through the legal prescription of the synergies between the two. In so doing, the scalar aspect of this process can be approached as a ‘spatial’ transference of frameworks from local, to regional, to national institutions and regulations and their increasing rigidity as implied in the introduction of new institutions, bodies and administrative authorities. Such is the case of the ‘prototypical design for building appropriation’; it serves as a great example for this process and provides the causal mechanisms in which it acts as a catalyst for its intensification.

¹⁶⁷ Ibid.

¹⁶⁸ The City Plaza Hotel and 26 Notara Street Squat are two emblematic refugee accommodation projects that made public their self-organisation and self-management protocols as their members participated in a series of public discourses at the time. In addition, they became very active in publishing material on their websites and social media pages.

Figure 3.27 (next page)
Drawing of the 73 buildings and their uses. Drawn by the author.





Omonoa
Square

4.

4. Decentralised Interiorities: The Architectures of Social Movements in Athens



Figure 4.1

The Solidarity Pharmacy of the Vyronas district in Athens occupies a 66m² flat in a typical block of flats. Vyronas is a middle-class neighbourhood of Athens. The property belonged to a private landlord, however instead of paying rent, the volunteers of the solidarity pharmacy agreed to pay the bills and property tax and were responsible for the maintenance of the flat. Fieldwork by the author, 2018.

4.1 Introduction to Chapter 4

This chapter investigates the spatial configurations of the activities of social movements by focusing on Athens. In particular, I investigate the types of spaces and properties that social movements occupy to create infrastructures of solidarity support, highlighting an urban environment in which strategies and tactics emerge spontaneously and ad hoc. By doing so, I provide an understanding of the spatiality of these ad hoc infrastructures by exploring the interiors of the spaces and interrogating the ways that they have been shaped by social movements during the past decade. Essentially, Chapter 4 reveals some of the most important findings of this thesis regarding the spatial expression of social movements in Athens and, coupled with Chapter 3, comprises a methodology of investigation to unveil how these ad hoc activities that are diffused in urban space are transforming the architectural and urban syntax of the city and creating and recreating conditions for everyday life.

Here, I embark from the realisation that this ad hoc infrastructure is based on the self-management of space and the self-organisation of participants in social movements seeking to address emerging issues, such as the ownership of buildings and the reconfiguration of domestic space, among others. Thus, I demonstrate types of existing spaces that accommodate the microstructures of social movements.



Figure 4.2

Photograph from the event 'Spain: The Movement of the Squares Four Years Later', which took place at the Neighbourhood Solidarity Initiative of Gkizi on January 4, 2016.

4.2 Neighbourhood Vernacular and the Self-Managed Spaces of Social Movements

Because of their embeddedness in physical space, several factors are related to this rise of social movements and their ability to occupy spaces and create infrastructures of solidarity, support and care across Athens. In this respect, certain spatial and discursive characteristics of social movements have also influenced a wider mobilisation by structuring the flow of information, material resources and political discourses.

Indeed, an important symptom identified in Athens is the geographic concentration of social movements in urban space, as exemplified by their dispersed but networked activities in Athens.¹⁶⁹ Specifically, in Athens, this concentration of social movements at the scale of neighbourhood positively affects their ability to mobilise quickly in response to social and political challenges and other, unpredictable changes.¹⁷⁰ This is because information, organisational protocols and spatial configuration mechanisms distributed through the dense network of these spaces in the urban environment reach a large number of support structures, resulting in the reproduction of social movements in terms of resources and space.

¹⁶⁹ Hadjimichalis, 'Uneven Geographical Development and Socio-Spatial Justice and Solidarity', p. 260.

¹⁷⁰ Ares Kalandides and Dina Vaiou, "'Ethnic' Neighbourhoods? Practices of Belonging and Claims to the City', *European Urban and Regional Studies*, 19.2 (2012), pp. 254–266.

Although the neighbourhood commonly emerges as the space of action, the linkages among spatial scales are quite intricate and a much broader common space is constituted through interconnections and networking.¹⁷¹ The neighbourhood, however, ‘is a privileged place of the everyday and an arena for claims to the city—a set of resources through which people lead their lives’.¹⁷² Collective practices of solidarity depend on these resources, as the ability to access, draw upon and protect them relies on the outcome of these practices both in the short and the long term. Such reconfigurations may have their specific loci, but as already mentioned, they connect the latter with actions at many different (not only geographical) scales.¹⁷³

For Silvia Federici, the whole rethinking of the neighbourhood (and the community) should be based on rethinking social reproduction, that consists the entry point ‘to a politics weaving together our desires, our possibilities, our crisis, and then mapping courses of action’.¹⁷⁴

The neighbourhood also fosters a cultural matrix in which verbal and visual communication are the primary means of information exchange, directly affecting the configuration of space. Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari argue that there is an increased sense of commitment through the development of insider linguistic codes and dense social ties that constitute the social movements’ collective equipment.¹⁷⁵ This also speaks about the vernacular of social movements, as this verbal, self-referential infrastructure makes the social movements physically and virtually visible to those who regularly frequent the spaces of social movements or who participate in their networks.¹⁷⁶ In addition, most of this information is publicly available on the websites of social movements, such as posters, events and activities, as well as in newspapers and radio stations that some of the social movements create. Notably, the importance of the self-managed archives lies in the social movements’ willingness and ability to make their activities and documents and protocols more accessible, as the participants themselves have written, documented and preserved the social movements’ history, charters, operation protocols and documents through a variety of media, including printed documents, self-published books, documentations of important events, and selectively informing their websites.

¹⁷¹ Santos, *Democratizing Democracy*, p. x.

¹⁷² Kalandides and Vaiou, “‘Ethnic’ Neighbourhoods?’, p. 263.

¹⁷³ Jon Goodbun, Jeremy Till, and Deljana Iossifova (eds), *Scarcity: Architecture in an Age of Depleting Resources* (Chichester: Wiley, 2012), p. 8.

¹⁷⁴ Federici and Sitrin, ‘Social Reproduction: Between the Wage and the Commons’, *Roarmag*, (2016).

¹⁷⁵ Deleuze and Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus*, p. 75.

¹⁷⁶ Darcy Leach and Sebastian Haunss, ‘Scenes and Social Movements’, in *Culture, Social Movements, and Protest*, ed. by Hank Johnston (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009), pp. 255-276.

4. Decentralised Interiorities

2016



2015



2014



2013



2012



2011



2010



Figure 4.3

Collage of posters and banners from the activities of the Agros solidarity and cultural centre of Athens during the years 2010-2016. Research and collage by the author.

Indeed, Guattari and Deleuze¹⁷⁷ claim that the organisation of groups is entangled and dependent on a series of types of ‘collective equipment’, particularised at the level of each group, used to in the facilitation of space the ‘desire’ of the group, its social outline, the form of its internal relations and its politics. All these structures are gathered under the collective praxis and activities of the group.¹⁷⁸ Yet collective equipment points to a further network of connections, including interpersonal relations, economic relations (labour, production etc.) and formations of social and political power. Collective equipment is at the root of ‘modern’ processes of urbanisation, so besides their evolving utility, modelling, architecture, linkage to one another and current distribution in urban space, they ought to be considered as machines that produce through their particular function the conditions for the reorganisation of power.¹⁷⁹ In order for this to happen, the collective should ‘take of the floor’ at all levels – economic, social, political and spatial – i.e. occupy the space and have their political choice manifested at all these levels and not to be ‘abandoned’ to any preexisting territorial arrangements.¹⁸⁰ Under this frame, Guattari argues that collective equipment has as its mission the re-appropriation of the ‘desire’ of the group from territories that are subjected to capitalist flows and instead manifest it in its new space by fixing new aims for it and adapting it to hierarchies and systems of collective praxis.¹⁸¹

More importantly, this collective praxis comes together with a basic political choice that precedes every manifestation in space of the activities of a group and, consequently, of an institution and an equipment.

¹⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 150.

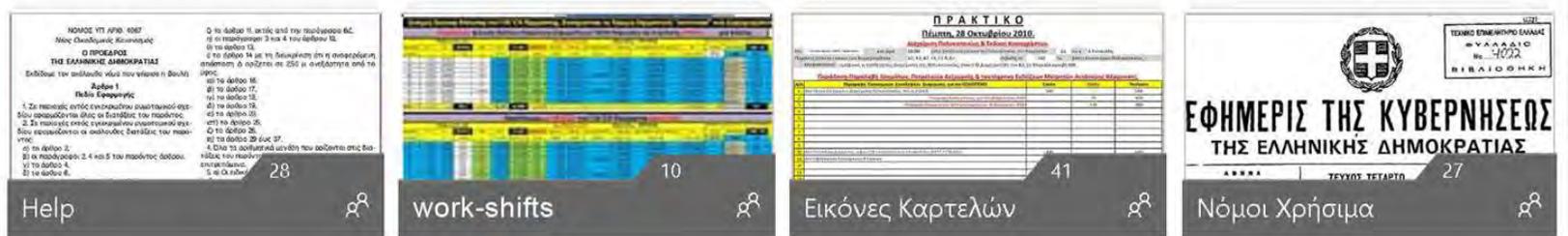
¹⁷⁸ Felix Guattari, *Lines of Flight: For Another World of Possibilities* (London: Bloomsbury, 2016), p. 35; pp. 44-62.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

¹⁸⁰ Ibid.

¹⁸¹ Ibid.

4. Decentralised Interiorities



Help 28 Work Shifts and Tasks 10 Forms and Protocols 41 Useful Legislation 27

Figure 4.4

Illustration/collage of the digital archive of the Solidarity Pharmacy of Neos Kosmos (2017). Personal archive of the author.

Πρωτοβουλία Αλληλεγγύης Πολιτών Φυλίας

Η Πρωτοβουλία αυτή, με τον Άλληλο, συνιστά ένα πρωτοβουλιακό δίκτυο SOLIDARITY FOR ALL (Αλληλεγγύη για όλους)...

Η δικτυακή αυτή αλληλεγγύη δεν αποτελεί καμιά πρωτοβουλία αλλά συλλογική υποστήριξη μεταξύ πολιτών από τα δική τους και δημιουργία από αλληλούς πρωτοβουλιών σε άλλες περιοχές με πρωτοβουλίες τους Πολίτες της Πύλης που οδηγούν σε πρόταση προς ΕΠΙΣΤΗΜΟΝΟΛΟΓΙΑ (προσέγγιση να δημιουργήσουν ένα δίκτυο που αφορά τη Πύλη) και ΚΕΡΑΤΟΣ, με τη βοήθεια των ΕΚΑ ΚΑΛΑΜΑΤΑΣ (αποτελείται από τους ιδρυτές και τον πρόεδρο) στην περιοχή της Πύλης και από τα δική τους και από τα δική τους ΚΕΡΑΤΟΣ (στην περιοχή της Πύλης) στην περιοχή της Πύλης...

αδ 12, Άνω Λιόσσια, διαδίδει κοινωνική αλληλεγγύη, φαρμακείο, γύρο

Προϊόντα Χωρίς Μεσάζοντες - Σάββατο 01/10/2016

ΠΡΩΤΟΒΟΥΛΙΑ ΑΛΛΗΛΕΓΓΥΗΣ ΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ ΦΥΛΙΑΣ

Α/Α	ΠΡΟΪΟΝΤΑ	ΤΙΜΗ ΚΙΛΟΥ	ΣΥΣΚΕΥΑΣΙΑ	ΑΔΙΑ	ΠΑΡΑΓΕΤΑΙΑ
1	ΠΑΤΑΤΕΣ ΝΕΥΡΟΚΟΡΟΥ	0,40 €	10kg	4,00 €	
2	ΡΥΖΙ ΜΙΝΟΥΣΙ	0,90 €	3,750gr	3,375 €	
3	ΡΥΖΙ ΠΑΛΙΣ	0,90 €	3kg	2,700 €	
4	ΦΑΣΟΛΑ ΜΕΤΡΙΑ	2,00 €	1,250gr	2,500 €	
5	ΦΑΣΟΛΑ ΚΑΡΔΑΜΩΝ	1,30 €	2,300gr	2,990 €	
6	ΦΑΣΟΛΑ ΕΥΒΟΑΣ	1,80 €	1,500gr	2,700 €	
7	ΦΑΣΟΛΑ ΓΙΓΑΝΤΕΣ ΝΕΥΡΟΚΟΡΟΥ	4,00 €	1kg	4,00 €	
8	ΦΑΣΟΛΑ ΜΕΤΡΙΑ	2,00 €	2,500gr	5,00 €	
9	ΦΑΣΟΛΑ ΜΑΥΡΟΜΑΤΙΚΑ	2,00 €	1,250gr	2,500 €	
10	ΡΕΒΥΘΙΑ ΚΑΡΔΑΜΩΝ	1,85 €	2,700gr	5,00 €	
11	ΧΥΜΟΣ ΤΡΕΣ ΛΑΖΑΝΙΑ ημεροβιόσκια	2,90 €	1kg	2,90 €	
12	ΤΡΑΧΑΝΙΑ ΤΥΠΟΣ 2903	2,80 €	1kg	2,80 €	
13	ΑΝΕΥΡΥΟΝΟΣ ΑΛΕΙΣΙΣ	0,85 €	10kg	8,50 €	
14	ΑΝΕΥΡΥΟΝΟΣ ΑΛΕΙΣΙΣ	0,80 €	10kg	8,00 €	
15	ΚΑΛΑΜΠΟΥΚΟΛΕΥΡΟ	1,00 €	5kg	5,00 €	
16	ΤΡΕΦΛΑΝ ΨΙΔΟ	1,10 €	5kg	5,50 €	
17	ΠΑΡΜΕΣΟ	0,80 €	5kg	4,00 €	
18	ΠΑΡΜΕΣΟ ΕΚΑΘΗΜΕΡΟ ΜΕΣΟΜΕΛΑ	3,60 €	8kg	18,00 €	
19	ΠΕΥΚΟΜΕΛΟ ΦΑΣΙΟΥ	0,20 €	1kg	0,20 €	

Προϊόντα Χωρίς Μεσάζοντες - Σάββατο 04/06/2016

ΠΡΩΤΟΒΟΥΛΙΑ ΑΛΛΗΛΕΓΓΥΗΣ ΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ ΦΥΛΙΑΣ

Α/Α	ΠΡΟΪΟΝΤΑ	ΤΙΜΗ ΚΙΛΟΥ	ΣΥΣΚΕΥΑΣΙΑ	ΑΔΙΑ	ΠΑΡΑΓΕΤΑΙΑ
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18	ΠΕΥΚΟΜΕΛΟ ΦΑΣΙΟΥ	0,20 €	1kg	0,20 €	

Προϊόντα Χωρίς Μεσάζοντες - Σάββατο 02/04/2016

ΠΡΩΤΟΒΟΥΛΙΑ ΑΛΛΗΛΕΓΓΥΗΣ ΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ ΦΥΛΙΑΣ

Α/Α	ΠΡΟΪΟΝΤΑ	ΤΙΜΗ ΚΙΛΟΥ	ΣΥΣΚΕΥΑΣΙΑ	ΑΔΙΑ	ΠΑΡΑΓΕΤΑΙΑ
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15	ΤΡΕΦΛΑΝ ΨΙΔΟ	1,10 €	5kg	5,50 €	
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18	ΠΕΥΚΟΜΕΛΟ ΦΑΣΙΟΥ	0,20 €	1kg	0,20 €	

This solidarity initiative, in Ano Liossia, is part of the network "SOLIDARITY FOR ALL" <http://www.solidarity4all.gr/>.

Social care and solidarity pharmacies, time banks, solidarity schools (local ELMEs) and other structures that do not seek to substitute the welfare state (that is being dissolved by the MEMORANDUMS of subordination) but to reconstruct it with the democratic participation of all the employed, unemployed, retired, self-employed who, instead of waiting for charity or speculative private initiatives, take their lives in their hands by creating a political space in the light of local needs, solidarity with the neighbour, participation!

Food distribution without intermediaries is not a party initiative but a project of self-organisation of solidarity participants from Ano Liossia, inspired by similar initiatives in other areas (with the leading solidarity movement of Pieria in Greece who are distributing their products without intermediaries), we decided to create a network without the logic of PROFIT, but instead sets the basis for an alternative consumption model and economy (with as many weaknesses and deficiencies as it may have). In many areas of the country and especially in Attica (already under way in the municipality of Agioi Anargiri - Kamatero) similar networks are expanding successfully.

Figure 4.5 Illustration/collage of the website page of the Neighbourhood Solidarity Network of the Residents of Fylis in the Ano Liossia district of Athens. This website acts as a self-organisation and self-management protocol as it contains information about the activities of the solidarity initiative. Source: papdf.blogspot.com

The mission statement of the initiative has been translated into English by the author.

4.3 The Types of Spaces that Social Movements Occupy



Figure 4.6

The Solidarity Clinic of Rethymno in Crete was formed with the support of the municipal authorities.

Source: www.goodnet.gr/news-item/se-nea-fasi-pernaei-to-iatreio-koinonikis-allilegguis.html

Social movements work to create sustainable non-hierarchical forms of self-organisation, characterised by democratic decision-making processes and non-oppressive models of social interaction.¹⁸² For this reason, social movements seek out spaces that are free of any preexisting rules in terms of organising or managing a space and are flexible in accommodating the contradictions and dynamics of different agencies and changing domestic needs, economic demands and legal requirements, such as those entangled with them.

¹⁸² Santos, *Democratizing Democracy*, p. ix.

The examples of spaces that social movements occupy in Athens vary from apartments and ground floors in *polykatoikias* (apartment buildings in Greek) to detached houses and entire building complexes. When located in building blocks, they are intimately linked to the neighbourhood.

As identified in Athens, the non-legal status of the social movements has resulted in a plethora of mechanisms developed to respond to the issue of ownership of the properties they occupy. From the city centre to the suburbs of Athens, abandoned buildings and domestic sites have been reutilised and converted into spaces for solidarity activities. It is useful to bear in mind that the activities of social movements are small neighbourhood operations. As such, they are often based in the rooms of an apartment that used to be someone's home or in the spaces of a former local shop at the ground level of a building. Equally, they occupy different types of properties, such as empty premises of the state that were granted to them on a meso-term or longer-term basis. For instance, the neighbourhood solidarity centre of Koukaki- Thisio-Petralona is located in an abandoned public building, which had previously offered healthcare services to the municipality but was then transformed into a solidarity clinic and kindergarten.

Otherwise, they occupy private buildings or apartments that are either granted to them or for which they pay rent to private landlords. In some cases, to avoid paying rent, they negotiate to pay the utility bills and undertake any maintenance work. In many cases, the private owners of properties were allowing the solidarity initiative to occupy their empty properties as they did not want to pay tax and bills for those that remained empty and that they could not rent out. Therefore, private landlords gave over ownership of these spaces to solidarity initiatives through an exchange in the form of payment of the property tax and utility bills. Moreover, either the landlord or the collective running the space, depending on the agreement, from 2016 onwards was able to apply for tax relief as an act of reciprocity by the state. This allowed this practice of property re-appropriation to be widely adopted during the years of financial crisis and it led to many buildings, as well as domestic and commercial spaces, ending up as available and empty.

Two phases that characterise the system of occupation in this form of property re-appropriation, conversion and reutilisation can be identified. During the first period of the crisis (before 2014), because of the absence of specific planning requirements in the existing regulatory structure and building regulations that addressed the spatial configuration of these spaces, it was precisely this blurring of the lines between autonomy and control that became a feature of the spatial configuration of the architecture of social movements, resulting in a spatial expression where the social movements that occupied the urban space became more present than ever before.

However, gradually, social movements started to occupy public property in large numbers. It can be seen that the most common type of property that was granted, during the years of crisis, by municipal authorities to social initiatives and other solidarity agencies was that characterised by state authorities as *small property of the state*.³¹⁶ These types of properties varied from empty flats to small buildings that were declared unused or empty. These properties were state-owned buildings spread across Athens, the exact numbers of which are unknown as their registration by the state authorities is still in process.



Figure 4.7

Announcement on the website of the Solidarity Network of Vironas in Athens. This is a call for solidarity towards anyone who can provide a space of about 100m2 without rent (translated into English).

Source: <<http://diktioallvirona.gr/mia-kainourg-ia-stegi-gia-to-diktio-allleggiis-virona/>> [accessed 16 February 2021].

Illustration and translation into English by the author.

‘A NEW HOUSE FOR THE SOLIDARITY NETWORK IN VIRONAS’

EXTREMELY URGENT

Dear fellow solidarity supporters, the Solidarity Network of Vironas has been housed during the past years in a building that needs to be vacated and returned to its private owner within the next two months.

We appeal to anyone who could provide a space WITHOUT RENT, preferably on the ground floor or a semi-basement, in a relatively central location in Vironas to make it easier for our beneficiaries and their families (700 families) to access our grocery, food distribution and social centre. Here we must stress that the majority of our beneficiaries are elderly people.

Also, the space should be around 80-100 m2 as our spatial needs have increased (redistribution of food, clothes, books, toys, an assembly space etc.). We operate daily and often on Saturdays.

Please contact us if you have a space that covers these needs or you can suggest one.

The need is immediate and imperative.

Thank you in advance for your help and interest.

ASSEMBLY OF THE VYRONAS SOLIDARITY NETWORK



Figure 4.8, 4.9 & 4.10

Across Greece, the local solidarity clinics and pharmacies of Patras, Herakleion (Crete), and Larisa, respectively, were all formed in collaboration with the municipal and regional authorities who granted them a space to operate.

Figure 4.8
Solidarity clinic of Patras.
Source: solidarity4all.gr



Figure 4.9
Solidarity clinic of Herakleion, Crete.
Source: koinoniaher.gr



Figure 4.10
Solidarity clinic of Larisa.
Source: koinwnikoiatreiolarisas.blogspot.com

The SYRIZA government had declared the registration of state-owned property that remained unused (abandoned) and empty as a national aim; however, during a four-year period, it only registered about 50%-60% of it what comprised an annex of listed buildings.¹⁸³

The rationale behind this provision of the *small property of the state* to social movements was to give them a cloak of legitimacy. However, during the years of the crisis, it simply became a tactical tool for regulating the property in the annexed part of the empty building stock in the centre of Athens.

Essentially, these administrative mechanisms regarding ownership status and managing of properties used by the participants in social movements are instrumentalising an existing environment, in which strategies and tactics emerge spontaneously through interaction, then later require a political decision.¹⁸⁴ In line with this, the current legislation on Social Solidarity Economy (N.4430/2016) conceived of these mechanisms as experiments in ownership forms with new economic and political paradigms operating cooperatively. In essence, this relatively recent law aimed to address the prevailing issues associated with the operation of spaces that facilitate solidarity activities, such as ownership and legal status, access to domestic infrastructures (gas, water and electricity among others) and the enduring problem of financial sustainability of such initiatives and their relationship with the financial system, like payment of taxes and tax relief policies. Legislated by the SYRIZA government, the concession of public property that is characterised as non-functional or inactive to the agencies of social movements in order for them to reconfigure it for ‘social and environmental benefits and innovation’,¹⁸⁵ provided precisely these principles. Through the idea of ‘social benefit zones and collective benefit uses’¹⁸⁶ these principles were materialised in the spaces of social movements and became the solution to the lack of strategies for regulating the activities of social movements operating in public premises even though they were not authorised to do so. In essence, it is not only the users, but also the planning process and eventually the architectural construct of spaces of social movements that are defined by this legislation.

¹⁸³ The term “small property” is used to define property below 100m².

¹⁸⁴ An analysis regarding the use of this building stock is discussed in this article titled ‘A State Company is Founded by SYRIZA’ published in *To Vima Newspaper* (in Greek) <<https://www.tovima.gr/2018/02/02/society/kratiki-etaireia-gia-tin-athina-idryei-o-syriza/>> [accessed 10 September 2021].

¹⁸⁵ Law on Social Solidarity Economy (N.4430/2016).

¹⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

4. Decentralised Interiorities

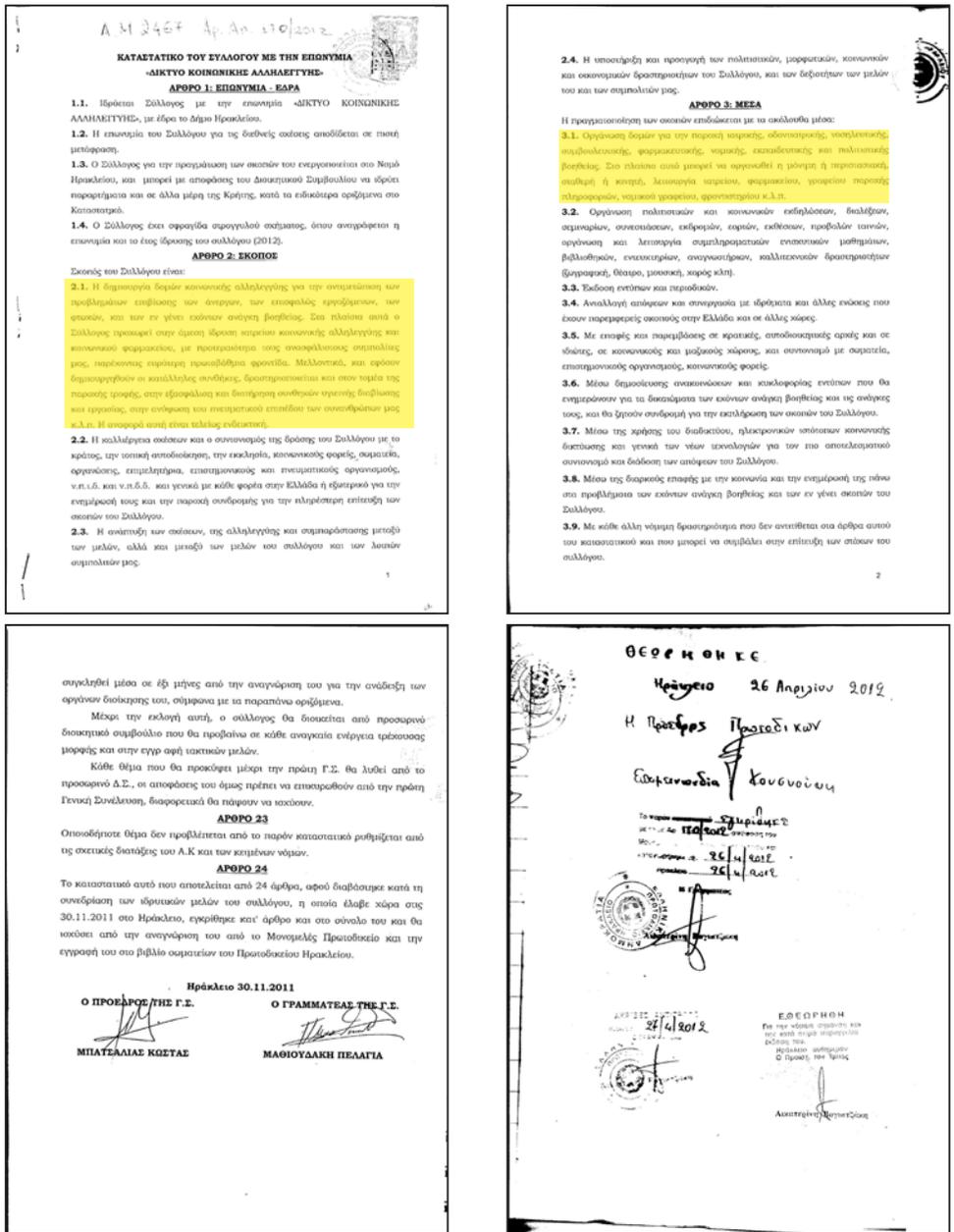


Figure 4.11

A.M 2467 No.Pro 178/2012

Copy of the document that consists of the Charter of Constitution of the “Network of Social Solidarity” of the Neo Iraklio neighbourhood in Athens, which took the legal form of the association in 2012. This constitution protocol consisted of an exemplary document that several neighbourhood solidarity networks followed in order to gain the status of an “association” so as to be able to interact with local institutions. Translation and archival research by the author.

Article 2: Aim

The purpose of the Association is:
 2.1. To create social solidarity structures to tackle the survival problems of the unemployed, the working poor, the poor, and those in need of help. In this context, the Association is immediately establishing a solidarity clinic and pharmacy, with priority for our uninsured fellow citizens, providing wider primary care. In the future, and if the right conditions arise, it will also be active in the food supply, ensuring and maintaining healthy living and working conditions, etc. This plan is entirely indicative.

Article 3: Resources (Spatial and Communication)

- 3.1 Spatial infrastructure (permanent or temporary) to provide solidarity support in medical care, social care, food provision, advise and legal support, free tutorials.
- 3.2 Cultural and social activities such as seminars, lectures, exhibitions, reading groups, and so on.
- 3.3. Publications
- 3.4. Archive
- 3.5. Correspondence
- 3.6. Protests
- 3.7. Media and digital presence

The latter can be exemplified, by the fact that the regional authorities advanced property concessions to social movements by linking their spatial needs to specific architectural and regulatory criteria. The aim of this was to evaluate if the state-owned building was adequate regarding the needs of social movements. In essence, the building was assigned by the municipal authorities to social grocery stores, social clinics and educational centres, among others, in accordance with the evaluation of the architectural elements of the space, such as for instance having one or dual entrance, floor-to-ceiling height, exterior amenity space etc. that the building regulations require as necessary.¹⁸⁷

This new stage regarding the architecture of the spatial configuration of social movements seems to have established a new set of relationships between state institutions and social movements. Yet, the institutional projects making use of the architectural construct of the spaces that have been converted to host the activities of social movements are bound to have, and also refer to, the relevant normative and regulative aspects of this conversion tactic that is taking place. This is why the institutionalisation processes are negotiating the regulatory structure of the alliances formed among state institutions and social movements – i.e., to bring to the foreground how the administrative protocols of state institutions regarding the operation of social movements talk about and articulate the notion of solidarity. They also look at restrictions imposed by a set of laws that, in reality, even though they advocate for solidarity activities, run the risk of controlling them through a proliferation of regulations.¹⁸⁸ On the other hand, for social movements, this tactic of converting small-scale and local sites is a tool of intervention and intrusion that can essentially claim a more inclusive planning of architecture and administrative infrastructures.

¹⁸⁷ Refer to the Building Regulation statute (GOK N.1587/1985 N; .2831/9-13-06-2000) regarding the use of small properties belonging to the public sector. See the Public Properties Company website for more information on the classification of architectural elements (in Greek) <<http://www.etasa.gr/page.aspx?itemID=SPG339>> [accessed 10 September 2021].

¹⁸⁸ Gerald Raunig, *A Thousand Machines: A Concise Philosophy of the Machine as Social Movement* Semiotext(e) / Intervention Series (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2010) pp. 52-53.

Στην Αγγλική - English

PIRAEUS SOLIDARITY CLINIC

Tel: 00302104960790

Daily 9.30 am - 8.30 pm

Xenofontos 5 & Pelopida Memou
Square, Koridallos

ANNOUNCEMENT

Active citizens and health workers have joined together to form the Piraeus solidarity Clinic because the economic crisis, the poverty and the unemployment excluded many fellow citizens from the public health services.

The Piraeus Solidarity Clinic offers primary medical and dental treatment, medicine, speech therapy, physiotherapy as well as social and psychological support to uninsured people in a specially designated area provided by the Koridallos Local Authority.

Uninsured people, people in need frequenting our area, who need the above services should call the Piraeus Solidarity Clinic Secretariat at 210 4960790. Volunteers who are interested in collecting medicines are also invited to call on the above number.

Solidarity is our Resistance —
Overturn is our goal

No one alone in the crisis

Figure 4.12

Website announcement of the Piraeus-Korydallos Solidarity Clinic.

Source: kifapirea.gr

This announcement emphasises the fact that the solidarity clinic is based on a space that is a 'specially designated area' provided by the local authority of Piraeus - Koridallos. The local authorities of the area reconfigured and redesigned an entire building where the Social Services of the municipality used to be housed, to facilitate not only the solidarity clinic but also the solidarity grocery and the neighbourhood solidarity network centre.

An article from *To Vima* newspaper covering the event says:

'The Solidarity Clinic of Piraeus starts its operation in the building of the Social Services of the Municipality of Korydallos to offer from Monday, February 4, 2013, its services free of charge to uninsured citizens of the region of Piraeus. The municipal council approved for this purpose a proposal of an initiative working in the field of health, after a suggestion by the mayor, Mr. Stavros Kasimatis'. Source: <<https://www.tovima.gr/2013/02/01/afieromata/ksekina-to-allileggyo-iatreio-peiraia-ston-korydallos/>> [accessed 10 September 2021].



Figure 4.13

Solidarity Grocery of Piraeus, 2017. The solidarity initiative redesigned the premises of the solidarity grocery based on the building regulations and following the planning guidelines of the Municipality of Piraeus to be granted permanent ownership of the property that belongs to the municipal authorities.

4.4 System-building as a Practice to Scale up

A major hypothesis is that, in essence, this institutional pilot project involving the Athenian built environment requires the social movements as entities to trace the technical history of these buildings. This is precisely the reason why the introduction of this pilot project is intended not just to regulate the use of the repository of chartered buildings, nor the use of the solidarity medical care provision, for instance, but to make use of, and eventually scale up, this kind of grassroots infrastructure.

In this context, this new infrastructural system is designed to have, as actors, the participants in social movements who will be responsible for self-monitoring their actions, surveying the space they provide for solidarity activities and engaging in such practices as calculating building areas or maintenance costs, identifying portals of civic participation, compiling data sheets of areas and space, quantifying and managing resources, and so forth.

However, this process of institutionalisation runs the risk of falling into what Fred Moten and Stefano Harney warned us about: that participation in these terms does not just regulate welfare provision, but also ‘reveals a strategy where governance becomes the management of self-management’,¹⁸⁹ a fact

¹⁸⁹ Moten and Harney, *The Undercommons*, p. 70.

that ultimately produces what Nikhil Anand defines as a ‘calculating subject’¹⁹⁰ who surveys, monitors and delivers materials, technics in the sense of technical terms and details, protocols and buildings. Stephen Collier adds to this literature by organising his analysis of infrastructures entirely around the question of the biopolitical.¹⁹¹ Infrastructures, for Collier, are a mixture of political rationality, administrative techniques and material systems, and his interest is not in infrastructure per se but in what it tells us about practices of government.¹⁹² The key question is how you expand your autonomy, how you build new relations of solidarity, how you re-appropriate some of the wealth you have collectively produced with others without exchanging it for more exploitation or more control by the state over our lives. A given fact you have to bear in mind is that to create a system, a level of standardisation of protocols is required to allow for replication.¹⁹³ This fact however, reveals according to Thanos Zartaloudis the controlling logic behind repetition, as precisely the control of repetition has been the ultimate aim (and dream) of all sovereigns, however when repetition is enacted by protocols, he argues that ‘is a para-cognition, a means of reflecting upon the becoming of repetition as such, in an affirmative manner. This, in a sense, can also be a definition of power as a potentiality that lies in common’.¹⁹⁴

For the protocols of social movements, repetition has indeed an emancipatory dimension. With this in mind, I define an infrastructure of “solidarity and care” as a kind of mentality, performativity and way of collective living at this time. As a way of collective living, it undeniably requires the development, expansion and transferability of spatial elements, routines, protocols and even semiotics.¹⁹⁵

Moreover, a major insight that emerges from this analysis is of central importance to architecture and places a focus on the system-building mechanism undertaken by social movements during the past ten years. In this view and looking at the pilot project proposed by the government in Greece,¹⁹⁶ which requires a network of buildings to be spatially reconfigured based on the specific activities that emerge from social movements, the question of scaling up infrastructures that started as small in scale emerges. This is because social movements, as has been already mentioned, are based on situated needs and, as such, they may originate in one place, growing in response to a particular welfare, ecological, legal, political or financial dispute/ claim/ need native to that area; however, as

¹⁹⁰ Nikhil Anand, ‘Municipal Disconnect: On Abject Water and Its Urban Infrastructures’, *Ethnography*, 13.4 (2012), pp. 487–509.

¹⁹¹ For a theory on biopolitics, refer to the book by Michel Foucault, *The Birth of Biopolitics: Lectures at the Collège de France, 1978–1979* (New York: Picador, 2010).

¹⁹² Stephen Collier S and A. Lakoff, ‘The Vulnerability of Vital Systems: How ‘Critical Infrastructure’ Became a Security Problem’, in *The Politics of Securing the Homeland: Critical Infrastructure, Risk and Securitisation*, ed. by Myriam Dunn Cavelty, and Kristian Sjøby Kristensen (New York: Routledge, 2008), pp. 40–62.

¹⁹³ This argument unfolds in detail in the essay ‘Institutionalisation and Protocol’ in Appendix 4.

¹⁹⁴ Thanos Zartaloudis and Aristide Antonas, ‘Protocols for the Life of the Ordinary’, *e-flux* (June 2018) <<https://www.e-flux.com/architecture/positions/204038/protocols-for-a-life-of-the-ordinary/>> [accessed 10 September 2021].

¹⁹⁵ This is based on the argument developed in the previous chapter about the vernacular of social movements and draws on the theory of Deleuze and Guattari and their book *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia*, (1988).

¹⁹⁶ The Pilot Project 2018 was an administrative protocol by the Ministry of Labour, Social Insurance and Social Solidarity of the SYRIZA government.



In the difficult days we live it is essential more than ever to strengthen solidarity among us and to establish social networks in every neighbourhood. The Piraeus Social Clinic and Pharmacy is a new solidarity structure whose aim is to provide FREE OF CHARGE primary medical healthcare and medicine to all those Greeks and immigrants who are uninsured and who as a result of the crisis have lost their access to the public health.

Our aim is to create a place of contact and communication for the rights of the patients and the possibilities of their access to the public health levels/services. We are inspired by the characteristics of mobilization of people and a new way of organisation of other solidarity networks all around Greece, which in the last few years have become areas of emancipation, of collective procedures and social demands. We aim to join workers of other health areas in our district for common actions and initiatives for the defence of the public health.

The Piraeus Social Clinic and Pharmacy is established in the centre of Piraeus (Zosimadon 44 first floor), in a space which was made available by the Piraeus District Administration. It is a collective activity, autonomous, self-organised and relies on the solidarity of everyone without any kind of financial dependence on sponsors.

Our aim, at the Social Clinic, is not to substitute the health services provided by the state and without harbouring the illusion that we could achieve it. We do not want to create antagonistic relationships with those employed in private health. We are building a social security network so that people should not feel alone while at the same time we carry out a continuous daily social, democratic and political struggle to demand from the state to assume its responsibilities. We are not offering charity, nor do we desire to educate our fellow citizens in the logic of compassion and supplication but instead to struggle collectively for our rights to public health and to demand free access to medical health for everyone without exceptions.

We are inviting you to support this initiative any way you can.

The Piraeus Social Clinic and Pharmacy has a need for the following:

- doctors and nurses-
- medicines you do not use anymore-
- solidarity people-

kifapirea@gmail.com

Figure 4.14

Document of the constitution of the Piraeus Solidarity Clinic and Pharmacy. The system-building protocol that the solidarity clinic has followed is evident in the statement it released at the time. The document stresses that the initiative was established in a space that was made available by the administration of the Piraeus district, while the initiative managed to maintain its grassroots constitution of a social movement of healthcare workers and volunteers that got together for the defence of public health. Research by the author.

the activities grow into a networked infrastructure, they must move or travel to other places with differing conditions (spatial and socio-political), technical standards and legal regulations, elaborating on their techniques of self-organisation and adaptation.¹⁹⁷ This concept places focus on their practices of routinisation, adaptation of space that includes their architecture and, finally, of standardisation of protocol systems into a type of digital record, as a process inherent to system-building.¹⁹⁸

The main realisation coming from this is that it is difficult to separate an analysis of infrastructures of solidarity from this system-building approach that makes them transferable. For some time now, scholars in urban studies and architecture have analysed how infrastructures mediate exchange over distance, bringing different people, objects and spaces into interaction and forming the base on which to operate modern economic and social systems. Stephen Graham and Simon Marvin¹⁹⁹ have written a series of influential texts examining how new systems of social organisation are reconfiguring urban space and how infrastructures bundle together buildings, energy, people and streets into a series of networks. Expanding on this, Brian Larkin argues that infrastructures as machines typically begin as a series of small, independent technologies with widely varying technical standards.²⁰⁰ They essentially become infrastructures when either one technological system comes to dominate over others or when independent systems converge into a network.²⁰¹

In line with this theory, I argue that, during the years of crisis in Athens, the coping and provisional infrastructures of social movements began to support and in some cases even to dominate the state-run ones, such as in the case where solidarity clinics were providing medicines to the public hospitals facing shortages. In addition, and as it has been already mentioned, the convergence of the activities of social movements into a network is a key characteristic of their self-organisation and as Alexander Galloway and Eugene Thacker argue ‘there is no single subject or group that absolutely controls a network as human subjects constitute and construct networks, but always in a highly distributed and unequal fashion’.²⁰²

¹⁹⁷ Daniel A. Barber, *Modern Architecture and Climate: Design Before Air Conditioning* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2020), p. 35.

¹⁹⁸ Brian Larkin, ‘The Politics and Poetics of Infrastructure’, *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 42 (2013), pp. 327-43.

¹⁹⁹ Stephen Graham and Simon Marvin, *Splintering Urbanism: Networked Infrastructures, Technological Mobilities and the Urban Condition* (London: Routledge, 2001), p. 180.

²⁰⁰ Brian Larkin, ‘Pirate Infrastructures’, in *Structures of Participation in Digital Culture*, ed. by Joe Karaganis (New York: Social Science Research Council, 2007), pp. 75-84.

²⁰¹ Ibid.

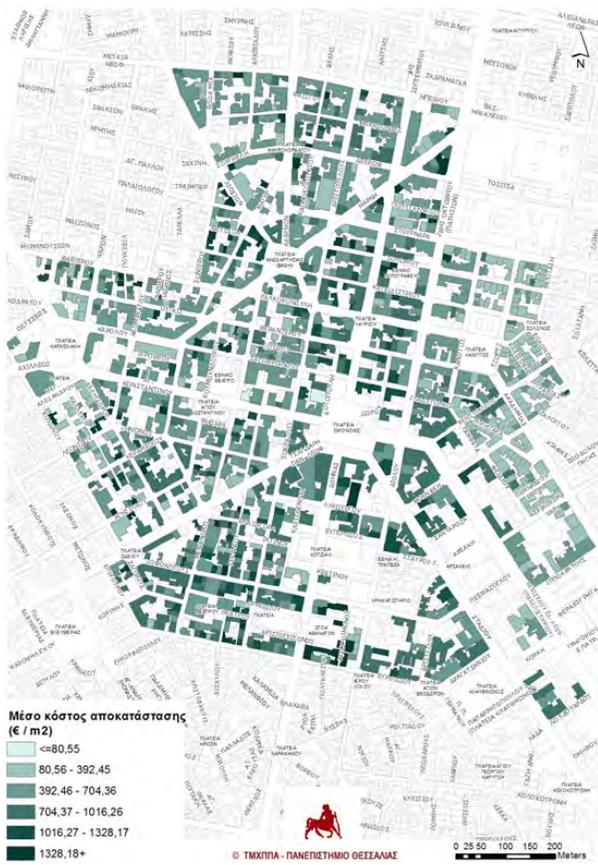
²⁰² Alexander R. Galloway and Eugene Thacker, *The Exploit: A Theory of Networks* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007), p. 5.

Figure 4.15

Urban research conducted by the University of Thessaly mapping the buildings in the centre of Athens. The 73 available buildings that the Pilot Projects of Athens proposed for reappropriation by solidarity agencies are among the buildings that this research analysed.

Courtesy of the University of Thessaly. Source: Municipality of Athens, Mayor’s office.

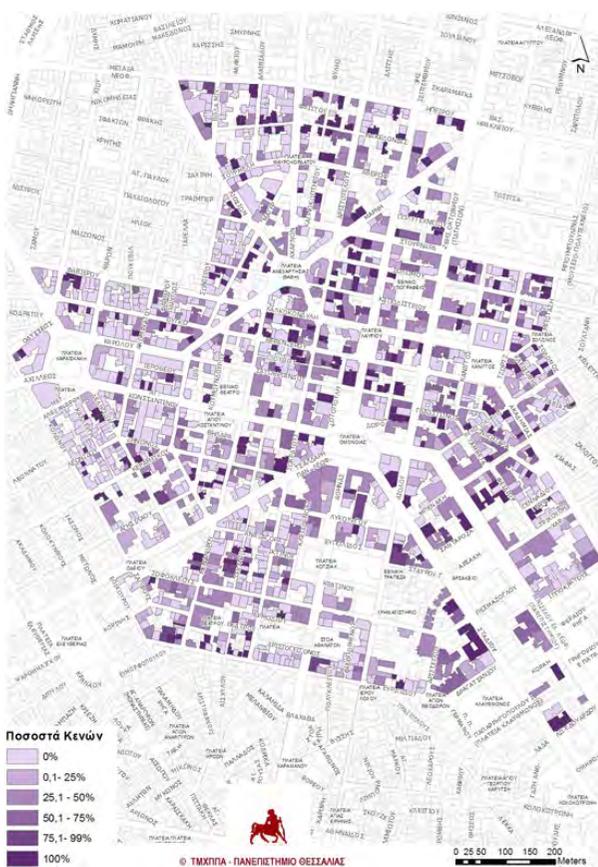
4. Decentralised Interiorities



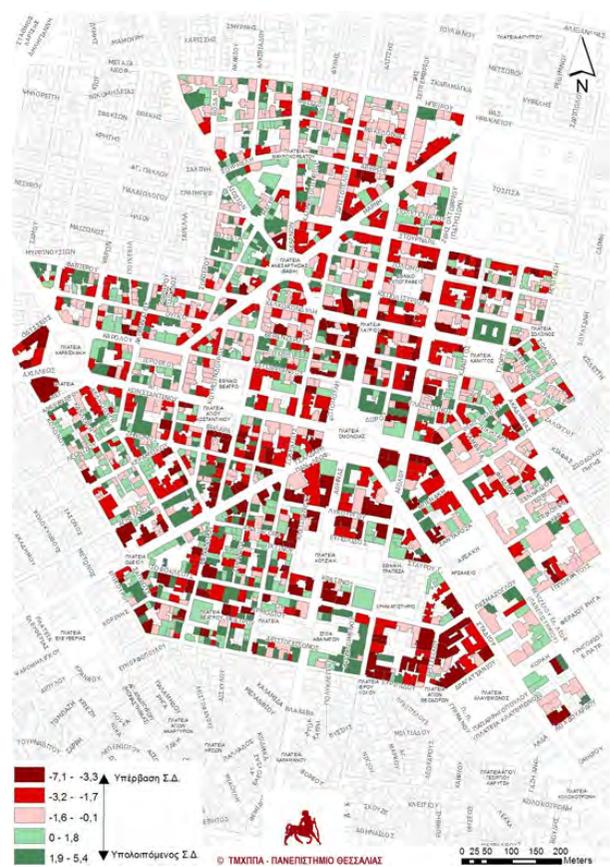
1. Cost of renovation (€ / m²)



2. Period of construction



3. Percentage of “empty” spaces inside each building



4. Building conditions (Building coverage ratio)

In this view, the invention of microstructure of the solidarity clinic and pharmacy, for instance, simultaneously involved the invention of an independent donation network of friends of the social healthcare movement that supported them with medical equipment or medicines and the invention of the open-source digital record of medical treatment, where the data and information of visits, shifts and care-seekers was uploaded. Moreover, the healthcare social movement's ethnography draws together participants, doctors, nurses, activists, supporters, dwellers in these buildings, politicians and bureaucrats into a single system through the technical operation of medical examination happening in a solidarity clinic. In addition, it operates at a scale much larger than the actual space in which it takes place, as it engages institutions, people, technologies and territories that extend beyond the usually small-scale buildings of the solidarity medical clinics. Thus, it redesigned the (re)distribution instruments and management structures necessary to accommodate a rapidly expanding network of solidarity clinics across Athens.

Precisely, this paradigm of a solidarity clinic brings together these three different conceptions of infrastructure – not, in the final instance, to analyse medical care provision or medicine supply, but to reveal the production of what my research terms as “infrastructure of solidarity and care”, a form of belonging to the city enabled by social solidarity and material claims made to the city's welfare infrastructure that has the capacity to transform, redistribute, reconfigure and/or redesign infrastructural arrangements by constituting a system of collective activities and protocols.²⁰³ Contextualising these interactions, also places the question of spatiality at the scale that these activities happen in the first place, -from the building, to the block and then into the neighbourhood. Thus, to reveal the materiality of the spaces that comprise this infrastructural system set forth by social movements becomes important.

²⁰³ This study of infrastructural systems, as almost any study of infrastructure, repeats Susan Leigh Star's assertion that infrastructures are 'by definition invisible', and as such taken for granted, and that they only 'become visible on breakdown'. Susan Leigh Star, 'The Ethnography of Infrastructure', *American Behavioral Scientist*, 43.3 (1999), p. 380.

4.5 The Interiors of Solidarity



Figure 4.16

Room keys at the Refugee Accommodation and Solidarity Space City Plaza. Photo courtesy of Refugee Accommodation and Solidarity Space City Plaza (by Olga Lafazani).

The study only on the design of the spaces of social movements marks the beginning of a process that aims to turn the interior of the dwelling from an informal product to a machine. Yet, Deleuze²⁰⁴ argues – not unlike Mumford²⁰⁵ – that types of machines can be matched to types of societies and types of infrastructure can be matched to types of power. In their book *Undercommons*, Fred Moten and Stefano Harney argue that the spaces of grassroots movements function as self-sufficient clusters organised around their activities and this is a type of planning.²⁰⁶ Boaventura de Sousa Santos also notes that such organisation of domestic space of a home reflects the flexibility of social movements historically and their only defining limit was the conception of their space as private property.²⁰⁷ In line with this interpretation, Tiqqun²⁰⁸ highlight that it is possible to associate the making of the rooms in buildings – predominantly of social centres of movements– distributed in urban blocks, such as rooms for food preparation and dining, care provision, archive storages and coffee stores among others, with the establishment of a political and economic realm autonomous of that state or corporate agencies. Tiqqun go on to argue that each space conquered from Empire must correspond to our capacity to fill it, to configure it, to inhabit it: ‘nothing is worse than an empty layout’.²⁰⁹

In Athens, at the local level, there are apartments, neighbourhood services, and mechanisms that contribute to the integration of social movements into urban life. Anthropologist Heath Cabot, during her ethnographical research on Greece in 2015, has noted that the care-seekers crossing the entrance of a solidarity clinic, or any other solidarity infrastructure were fully aware not only of its network but, most importantly, of its architecture.²¹⁰ Moreover, the architectures of the social movement are designed to make visible to habitants and the city their network of mutual aid. This incorporates within the scale of a building the principle of medical care that dictates the redistribution of labour, items and designs from one space to another.

The configuration of the spaces of social movements is based on the principle of relating specific activities with rooms in order to separate the spaces dedicated to activities of welfare provision from those for self-organisation and participation – and also those for storage and management of resources. As it can be seen in their spatial arrangements, the average former domestic space that has been converted into a space to host the activities of a social movement in Athens, is

²⁰⁴ Gilles Deleuze, ‘Postscript on the Societies of Control’, *Surveillance, Crime and Social Control*, (2017), pp. 35–39.

²⁰⁵ Lewis Mumford, *Technics and Civilization* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2010), p. 284.

²⁰⁶ Moten and Harney, *The Undercommons*, p. 102.

²⁰⁷ Santos, *Toward a New Common Sense*, p. 201.

²⁰⁸ Tiqqun, *This Is Not a Program*, p. 84.

²⁰⁹ Tiqqun refers to the concept of Empire developed by Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, who argue that nation-state-based systems of power are rapidly unravelling under the onslaught of world capitalism. In Tiqqun, *This Is Not a Program*, p. 84. Also, in the books by Michael Hardt and Antonio Negri, *Commonwealth* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2009), and *Empire* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 2000).

²¹⁰ Heath Cabot, ‘The Chronicities of Crisis in Athens’s Social Solidarity Clinics’, *Society for Cultural Anthropology* (2016) <<https://culanth.org/fieldsights/the-chronicities-of-crisis-in-athens-social-solidarity-clinics>> [accessed 10 September 2021].

articulated into three functionally defined spaces: the space in which the main provisional activity of the social movement is being delivered (such spaces include, for instance, the medical units, the pharmacy, the collective dining room, the teaching room, the equipped kitchen, and so on); the “public” space, which is used for activities such as assemblies, gatherings, hospitality and decision-making activities; and the storage spaces. The interdependency of these three categories of spaces – provision, participation and storage – is reflected in the way the interiors of these spaces were configured.

In the apartment that the Solidarity Pharmacy of Vyronas district in Athens occupies, the representational space of the social movement occupies the central room and thus defines two separate parts of domestic space: the provisional spaces for processing the received donations of medicine, pharmacy / pharmaceutical care and educational activities and the participation spaces for assemblies and public gatherings, along with the spaces for storing medical items and administering the solidarity initiative’s space. This arrangement is facilitated essentially in the functionally specific rooms of former residential apartments such as the living room, master bedroom, one or two smaller bedrooms, kitchen, bathroom and storage closet, where each room has a different size and equipment in order to meet the new functions. In this configuration of the interior, the larger space in terms of area is the assembly space or reception space, which is a place that reflects the elements essential for participation, most commonly featuring a reception desk, a table, a set of chairs and a projector, for instance. The assembly space is the “entry point” to the organisation of social movements in terms of layout, providing access to all of the spaces or rooms that comprise the domestic unit of a space occupied by the social movement. Thus, in this case study, the assembly room is the core of the provision and participation spaces, as it is used for organising the distribution and functioning of activities. In addition, because of the plethora of activities and spatial restrictions, it can be identified as often having intermediary spaces, such as corridors that also facilitate specific functions. Essentially, in this organisation layout, the rooms are defined by both the use and the architectural elements of the space, thus each individual room gains a typological specificity according to the function facilitated in it.

In this spatial configuration diagram, the rooms are defined by both the use and the architectural elements of the space; thus, each room gains a typological specificity according to the function facilitated in it.



Figure 4.17

The former living room of a residential flat located on the ground floor of a block of flats was transformed to house the Solidarity Pharmacy of Vyronas district.



Figure 4.18

Block of flats where the Solidarity Pharmacy of Vyronas was located between 2014 and 2016. The pharmacy occupied a 66m² flat on the ground floor. Vyronas is a middle-class neighbourhood of Athens. The solidarity initiative was given permission to occupy the property that belonged to a private landlord. In return, they agreed to pay the bills and property tax, and also to take care of the maintenance of the empty flat.



Figure 4.19

The initiative of pharmacists and volunteers of the Solidarity Pharmacy of Vyronas transformed the interior of the ground floor flat to provide pharmaceutical care and redistribute medicines. Thus, the former living room and the large bedroom connecting to it with a sliding door became the main spaces of the solidarity pharmacy, while the small bedroom acted as a storage space. The flat also had a kitchen and a bathroom.

In addition, in the occupation of the 26 Notara street squat for refugee accommodation, where a former office building property of the regional authority of Attica was transformed into housing and shelter for refugees arriving there, we can see that former office rooms were transformed into bedrooms and the bookshelves into wardrobes; also, the open office area had been turned into the dining room and its common areas and meeting rooms were to be adapted as an in-house clinic, classroom, library and storage facilities. The reconfiguration of the interior space of buildings that used to function as residences, offices, hotels or other types of residencies, such as housing for elderly care, has been a common practice of the social movements in Greece during the years of crisis as, due to the shrinkage of public services and the increase of private debt, the building stock that housed these uses is now empty and deteriorating; examples here include merging hospitals and health clinics, closing schools and daycare centres, as well as empty flats, offices, hotels and shops.



ΛΙΣΤΑ ΑΝΑΓΚΩΝ / LIST OF NEEDS

Οδοντόκρεμες /Tooth paste - Ξυραφάκια/Razors - Σαπούνια Χεριών/Soaps - Σαμπουάν/Shampoo - Σερβιέτες/Sanitary napkins - Μωρουδιακές πάνες (Νούμερο 1-5)/Baby diapers (Number 1-5) - Απορρυπαντικό ρούχων σε σκόνη/Washing powder for clothes - Απορρυπαντικό πιάτων/Dishwashing liquid - Καθαριστικό πατώματος/Floor cleaner liquid

Ρύζι/Rice - Γάλα Εβαπορέ/ Evaporated Milk - Ελαιόλαδο και Ηλιέλαιο/Olive Oil and Sun Oil - Φασόλια/Beans - Ζάχαρη/Sugar - Αλάτι /Salt - Τσάι/Tea - Μακαρόνια/Spaghetti - Μπισκότα / Biscuits - Πράσινες Φακές/Green Lentils - Τόνο/Tuna - Αλεύρι/Flour - Καφές/Coffee - Πατάτες / Potatoes - Λαχανικά/Vegetables - Ρεβίθια/Chickpeas - Κρεμμύδια/Onions - Μέλι/Honey - Αυγά/ Eggs - Συμπυκνωμένη Σάλτσα Ντομάτας/Concentrated Tomato Sauce

Figure 4.20
Public announcement listing the needs of the 26 Notara Street Squat for Refugee Accommodation in Exarchia. Source: <<https://radar.squat.net/el/athens/notara-26-notara-26>> [accessed 16 February 2021].



Figure 4.21
Photograph of the building where the Ministry of Labour used to be. Since 2015 the building has been squatted by members of the social movement for housing for all, who transformed it to provide housing for refugees and migrants arriving in Athens. Source: <<https://radar.squat.net/el/athens/notara-26-notara-26>>.

26 Notara Street Squat for Refugee Accommodation in Exarcheia, Athens

This empty former office building used to house the Ministry of Labour and is the property of the public insurance fund ETEA. It was occupied in 2015 and has the capacity to house 39 refugees and their families. In November 2019 the building was evacuated by a state order and its residents were evicted. However, it was occupied again after a month. The assembly of the building describes it as a “self-managed and in transit housing” where people can live for free and have access to food, supplies, medical care and everything that consists of a shelter designed under “direct democracy” protocols.

Fieldwork research by the author, 2017.



Figure 4.22 & 4.23 The façade .

1. Participation: Collective Dining Room



Figure 4.24

The former open office area has been converted into a collective dining room. Photo by Angelos Barai.

2. Provision: Equipped kitchen



Figure 4.25
Collective kitchen. Photo by Angelos Barai.

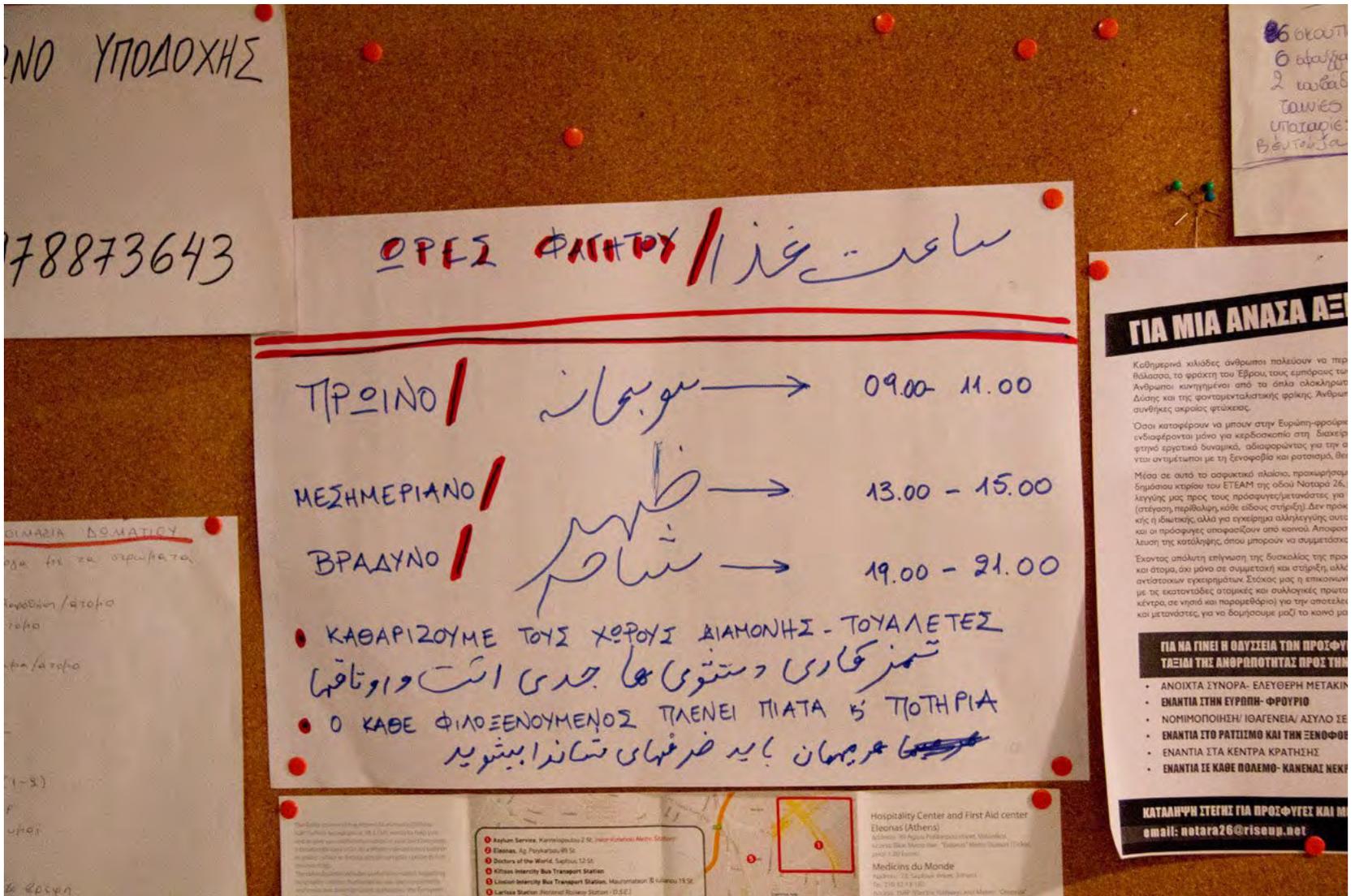


Figure 4.26
Cooking schedule and mealtimes. Photo by Angelos Barai.

3. Provision: Medical and Pharmaceutical Care



Figure 4.27
Medical examination room (former meeting room).



Figure 4.28
Medical unit including medical and pharmaceutical care.



Figure 4.29
Pharmaceutical module.

4. Provision: Shelter



Figure 4.30

The former office spaces have been converted into bedrooms. Photo by Angelos Barai.

5. Participation: General assembly



Figure 4.31 Decision-making. Photo by Angelos Barai.

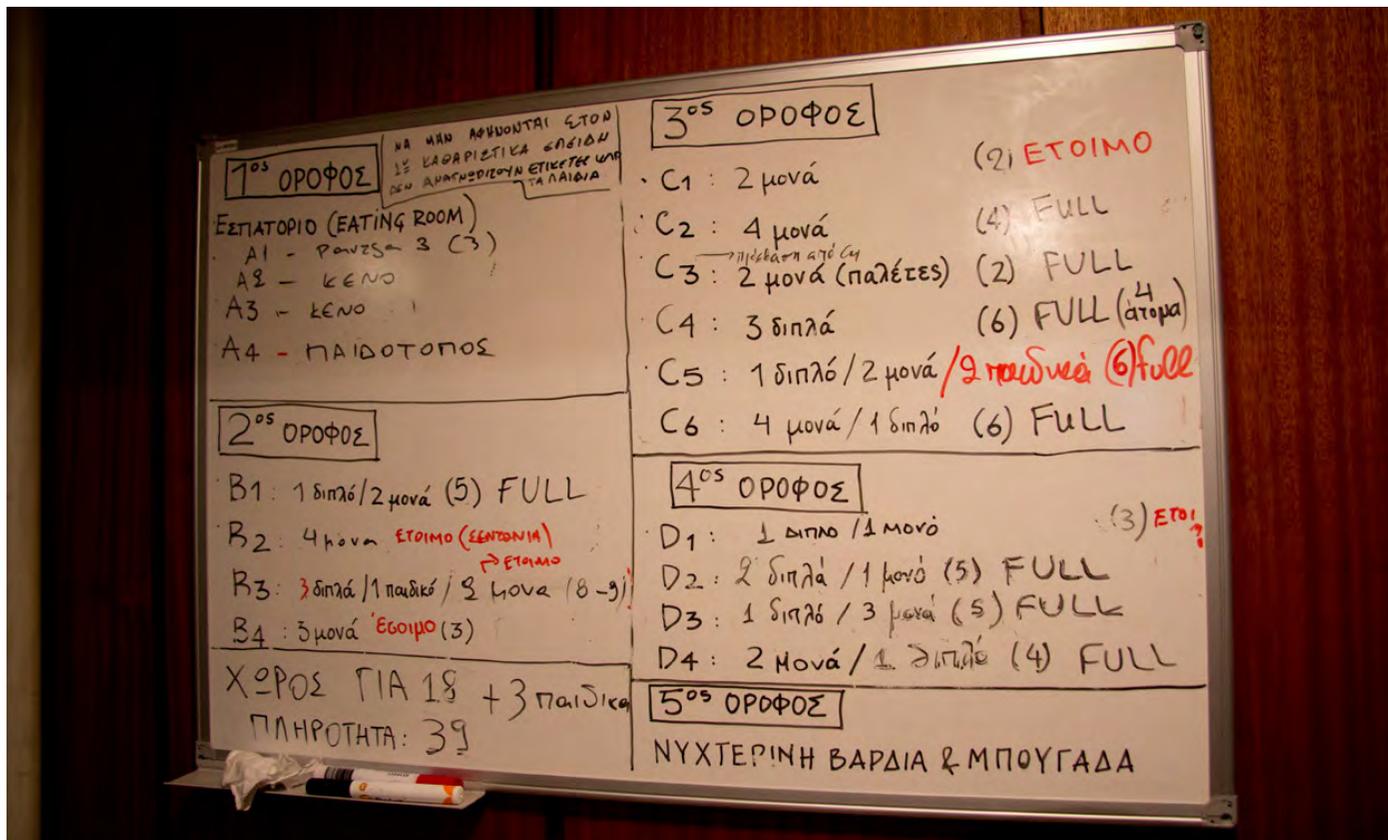


Figure 4.32 Board detailing the programme for distribution per floor and per room.

6. Storage and Management of Resources



Figure 4.33
Food supply storage.



Figure 4.34
Storage for cleaning products and equipment.

In a similar manner, the choice of occupation of the building of City Plaza hotel that was empty at the time was based on two main parameters, the first was its typology as a hotel, and the second parameter of importance was the neighbourhood in which it was located.²¹¹

Very consciously, the assembly of the initiative decided on rejecting public buildings that used to function as offices or schools, which required a high level of intervention to reconfigure them to offer privacy to people that would inhabit them.²¹² In the case of City Plaza, the hotel structure could offer a more appropriate housing typology: with rooms that had a private entrance, a bathroom, a wardrobe, a small balcony, essentially all the architectural elements of home and shelter. Moreover, City Plaza is an eight-story building with 126 rooms, so about 100 of these rooms were transformed into independent “houses” for refugee families or shared by either single men or women. About 20 rooms were shared between people from the solidarity initiative, mainly those coming from abroad to support the project and also some locals. The remaining rooms were transformed into classrooms, storages and a women’s space. At each period around 350-400 refugees and 30-40 solidarity activists would share the rooms of City Plaza, transforming the space not into a shelter for migrants but into a space of co-habitation and sharing.²¹³ Furthermore, the typology of the hotel also included common spaces. On the ground floor there was the reception and some smaller office spaces that were converted into a clinic, a room with computers, meeting spaces, and a room that was used ad hoc as a makeshift barber shop, dentist clinic, clothes bazaar, ping pong room or space for meetings of thematic groups. There was also a small yard that was used as a children space, where bicycle workshops took place and which served as a meeting space. On the first floor there was a bar, a former conference room that was transformed into a playing room for children, a kitchen that the food was cooked three times per day, and a dining room, which was also used as a space for the assemblies and as a space for celebrations and parties. In the 39 months that City Plaza was open and active, it hosted more than 2.500 refugees.²¹⁴

The City Plaza squat also served to familiarise refugee-residents and Athens locals through everyday transactions in the local markets, and as a hub for radical activity, including mobilisations to integrate refugee children into existing education and healthcare institutions.²¹⁵ With the counter-example of the squat itself, City Plaza contested the narrative that there is no alternative to refugee camps. It also demanded rights for its residents while also producing these rights in the everyday life of the occupation.

²¹¹ Olga Lafazani, ‘The Multiple Spatialities of City Plaza: From the Body to the Globe’, *New Alphabet School, HKW* (June 2021), <<https://newalphabetschool.hkw.de/the-multiple-spatialities-of-city-plaza-from-the-body-to-the-globe/>> [accessed 10 September 2021].

²¹² Ibid.

²¹³ The number of residents at the time of the visit was approximately 300 (2018).

²¹⁴ Lafazani, ‘The Multiple Spatialities of City Plaza’.

²¹⁵ Loukia Kotronaki, ‘Outside the Doors: Refugee Accommodation Squats and Heterotopy Politics’, *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, 117.3 (2018), 917-18.

City Paza Hotel Refugee Accomodation

The City Plaza Hotel on 78 Acharnon Street is located between the neighbourhoods of Exarchia, Aghios Panteleimonas and Victoria Square, Athens. The hotel closed in 2010 as a result of the financial crisis and remained empty until it was occupied as a squat for refugees on 22 April 2016. A coalition of migrant solidarity activists called The Solidarity Initiative for Economic and Political Refugees and other solidarity initiatives that came together in solidarity with the thousands of refugees arriving in Greece in 2015 demanding “housing for all” contributed to opening the squat. It was located in the Aghios Panteleimonas neighbourhood, where the far-right Golden Dawn party was formed and claimed territoriality. Activists and refugees coordinated to organise and maintain the hotel as an alternative to state-run camps, focused on promoting the autonomy and political agency of the residents. Fieldwork research by the author, 2018.



Figure 4.35 Photo courtesy of Refugee Accommodation and Solidarity Space City Plaza (by Olga Lafazani).

1. Participation: General assembly



Figure 4.36
The dining hall was treated as a multipurpose space, where also the biweekly assembly took place.

2. Participation: Collective Dining Hall



Figure 4.37 Photo courtesy of Refugee Accommodation and Solidarity Space City Plaza (by Mara Scampoli).

3. Participation: Kids Play Area

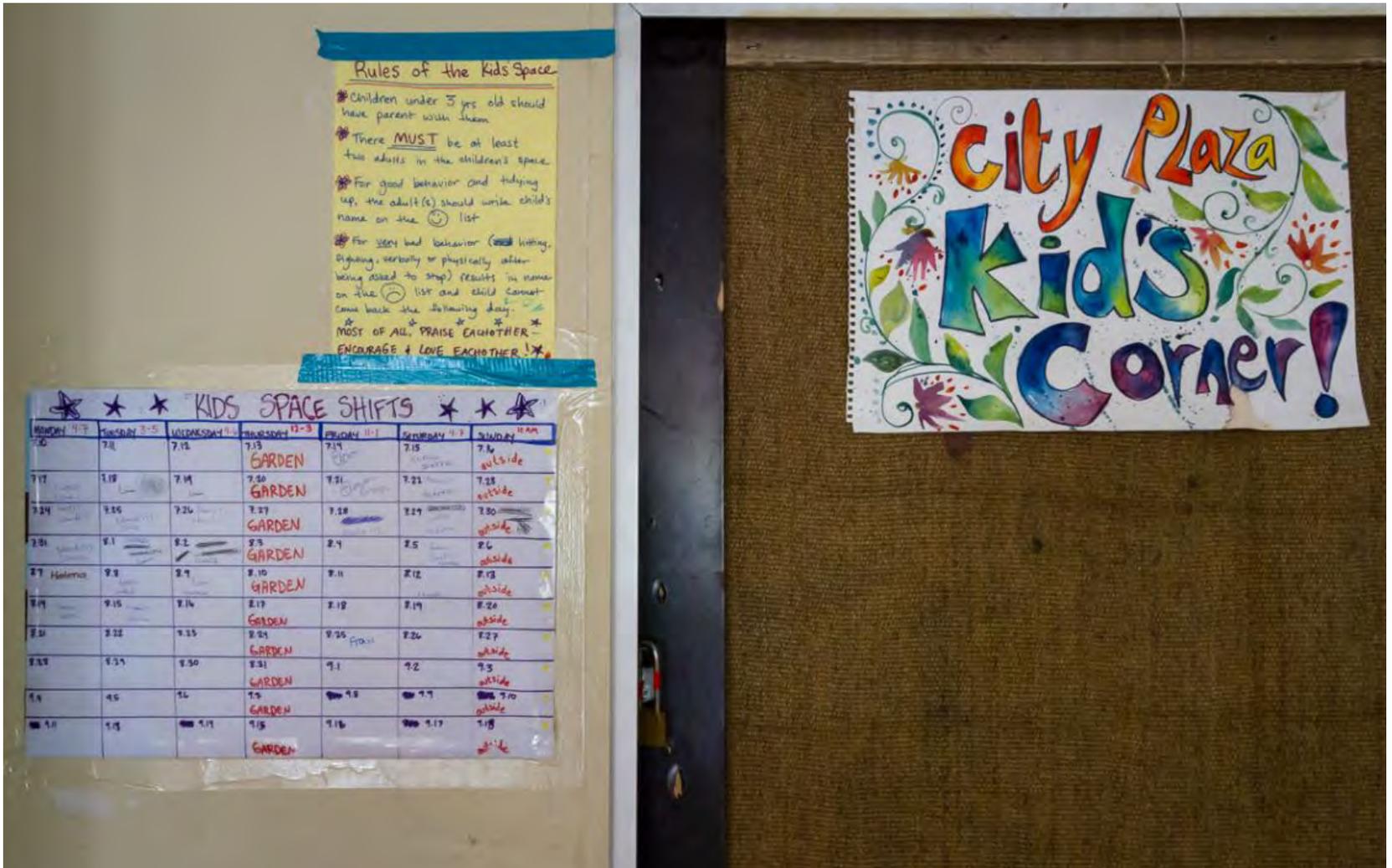


Figure 4.38

The former glass partition rooms for events were converted to kids spaces for play.

Photo courtesy of Refugee Accommodation and Solidarity Space City Plaza (by Mattia Aluni).

4. Participation: Workshop Space



Figure 4.39

The backyard of the building acted as a space for hosting workshops and urban furniture making. Photo courtesy of Refugee Accommodation and Solidarity Space City Plaza (by Olga Lafazani).

5. Provision: Equipped Kitchen



Figure 4.40
The collective kitchen was among the main spaces of the housing.
Photo courtesy of Refugee Accommodation and Solidarity Space City Plaza.

CLEANING (stairs, entrance, reception, dining room, living room) تمیز کاری: (راه بلها ورودی راهروییها سالن غذا خوری و هال) (التنظيف: (الدرج.. المدخل.. الاستقبال.. غرفة الطعام.. الصالون)	KITCEN (Preparing food, cooking, serving, washing dishes, collecting garbage) آتیزخاه: (آماده نمودن غذا آتیزی توضیح غذا تسین ضرفیها و بیرون آنداختن اشغال) (المطبخ.. تحضير الطعام.. طبخ.. تقديم.. غسل الصحون.. نقل القمامة..)			
	After Lunch (15:00)/ After Dinner (22:00) بعد از نهار ساعت ۳ و بعد از تمام ساعت ۱۰ بعد الغداء (3) بعد العشاء (10)	Breakfast 8:00 صبحانه ساعت ۸ الفطور 8:00	Lunch 11:00 نهار ساعت ۱۱ الغداء 11:00	Dinner 17:00 تمام ساعت ۵ العشاء 5:00
SATURDAY شنبه السبت	206(1), 208(1), 227(2), 307(1)	201(3)	207(2), 209(1), 215(1), 217(2), 303(2),	202(2), 203(1), 205(1), 213(3), 225(1),
SUNDAY یکشنبه الأحد	229(2), 301(1), 302(2),	212(1), 219(1), 305(2)	309(2), 311(3), 312(3)	224(2), 226(2), 317(3),
MONDAY دوشنبه الاثنين	304(1), 306(1), 313(1), 412(1)	308(1), 402(1), 406(1)	404(1), 409(1), 413(1), 429(3), 502(2)	326(2), 327(2), 415(3), 417(1),
TUESDAY سه شنبه الثلاثاء	324(1), 407(1), 411(2), 424(1)	419(2), 505(1)	427(1), 513(2), 517(2), 524(1),	425(5) , 426(3)
WEDNESDAY چهارشنبه الأربعاء	428(2), 503(2), 504(1)	523(2), 529(1)	526(2), 509(1), 517(2), 527(2)	602(5) , 627(3)
THURSDAY پنجشنبه الخميس	506(1), 508(2), 512(1)	601(1), 612(1), 617(2)	605(2), 613(3), 624(2)	525(2), 625(2), 708(3)
FRIDAY جمعه الجمعة	621(1), 626(3), 717(1)	628(2), 705 (3)	702(6), 707(1)	701(6-), 711(, 712(1)

Figure 4.41

Cleaning and cooking timetable and room rota. Photo courtesy of Refugee Accommodation and Solidarity Space City Plaza (by Olga Lafazani).

6. Provision: Shelter



Figure 4.42

Hotel rooms were treated as “small homes” following the principles of cooperative housing (private living and common areas for cooking and recreation).

7. Provision: Education



Figure 4.43
The former conference rooms were used as spaces for language classes and a library.



Figure 4.44
The Library.



کتابخانه
سیتی پلازا

City Plaza

MY BODY
MY CHOICE

today!
really 121

German
class 703
beginner + advanced!
adults only
Monday 7-8:30
Tuesday 6-7:30
Wednesday 6-7:30



If you have any
books you don't
need please add to
the library. Thank you

Good choices
If you would like
to donate books to our library
please bring them to us and we
will be happy to accept them.





Figure 4.46
Blackboard next to lobby listing the daily schedule of classes.

8. Provision: Medical and Pharmaceutical Care



Figure 4.47

A medical examination space and a pharmacy were set up on the ground floor of the building for internal use only.

9. Participation: Terrace (Gatherings)

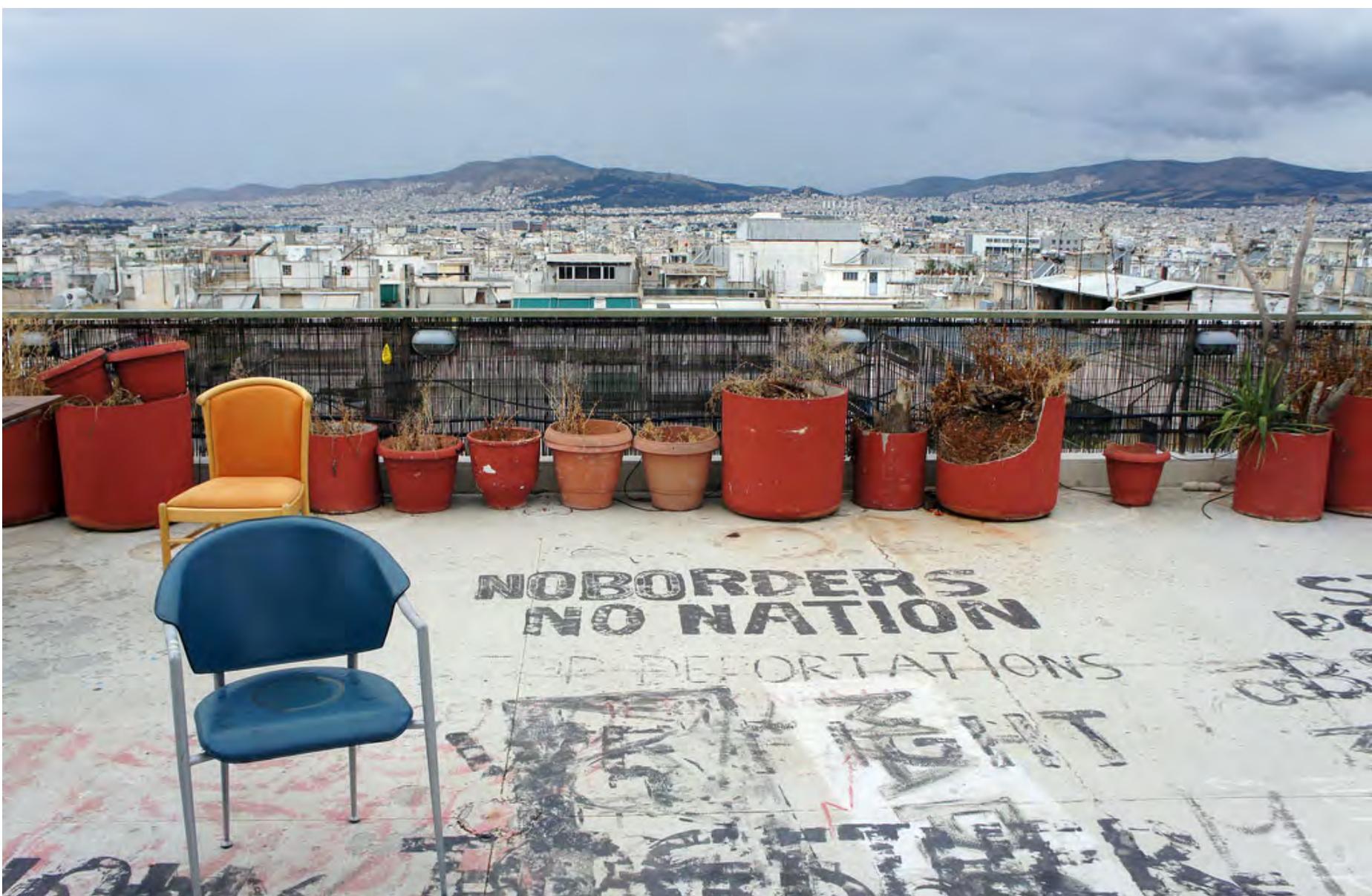


Figure 4.48

The terrace acted as a space for gatherings and events. Photo courtesy of Refugee Accommodation and Solidarity Space City Plaza.



Figure 4.49 Photo courtesy of Refugee Accommodation and Solidarity Space City Plaza (by Mattia Alunni)

Notably, through this infrastructure of care imposed by the social movements, what comes forward is the spatial reconfiguration that was happening at the scale of the interior space that was converted to accommodate various uses. While the housing for all social movement chose to intervene to entire buildings, the rest of the social movements such as these for healthcare and food provision were making interventions at the domestic scale. This was largely the case for solidarity clinics and pharmacies, where former domestic sites across Athens were converted to shared spaces for healthcare provision. In this case, former household spaces such as the space of the living room was converted to host an admin area or a waiting room, the bedrooms into medical examination rooms or into spaces for storing pharmaceuticals. An important note is that while the regulations imposed by the Pharmacists' Association of Greece allow for pharmacies to function only on a ground floor and street level and prohibit the operation of pharmaceutical services on the upper floor levels of buildings, most of the solidarity clinics and pharmacies in Athens had a space for storing the pharmaceuticals they were collecting and which they were declaring as a "storage". The pharmaceutical storage functioned as a space for the collection and sorting out of donated pharmaceuticals and medicine which they were consequently distributing to the solidarity pharmacies of the healthcare social movement and from them to the care-seekers.

For solidarity clinics and pharmacies, it was not the given order of space that governed the spatial configuration of care, but the care protocols per se that produced space around them. Precisely, the spatial functions and medical services of a solidarity clinic were dictated by the donated medical equipment they acquired. So having a cardiograph, ultrasound equipment, dentist equipment, eye care testing tools and so forth, was essential for a solidarity clinic in order to provide a range of medical services. As a result, medical care took place within half-emptied living rooms, bedrooms and corridors. Moving through domestic interiors, this care-giving practice directly related to institutions turned inside to outside and private domains to public spheres. Most importantly, this reconfiguration of domestic boundaries and interiors to host commoning projects such as for healthcare provision must be understood as manifesting of repression caused by austerity. This reinterpreted and recomposed the architectural and urban syntax of Athens and created and recreated conditions for everyday life.

Solidarity Clinic and Pharmacy of Nea Filadelfia, Nea Halkidona and Nea Ionia



Figures 4.50 & 4.51

Reconfiguration of the property that used to operate as a cafeteria on the ground floor of a block of flats. In 2014 construction work took place to convert the space to a solidarity pharmacy to provide for the care-seekers of Nea Filadelfia, Nea Halkidona and Nea Ionia, three neighbouring districts of Athens.

Since the beginning, its participants sought to find a ground floor space, as most of them were pharmacists so their aim was to operate only as a solidarity pharmacy. The reason for this was to comply with the building regulations and the standards set by the Pharmacists' Association of Greece in 2018 requiring all 'social pharmacies' to have ground level access. Gradually as the initiative received donations of medical equipment, they managed to reconfigure the space to introduce two fully equipped medical examination units.





Figure 4.52
Donated ultrasound equipment.



Figure 4.53 Cardiograph.



Figure 4.54 Spirometer



Figure 4.55
Medical examination room 1.

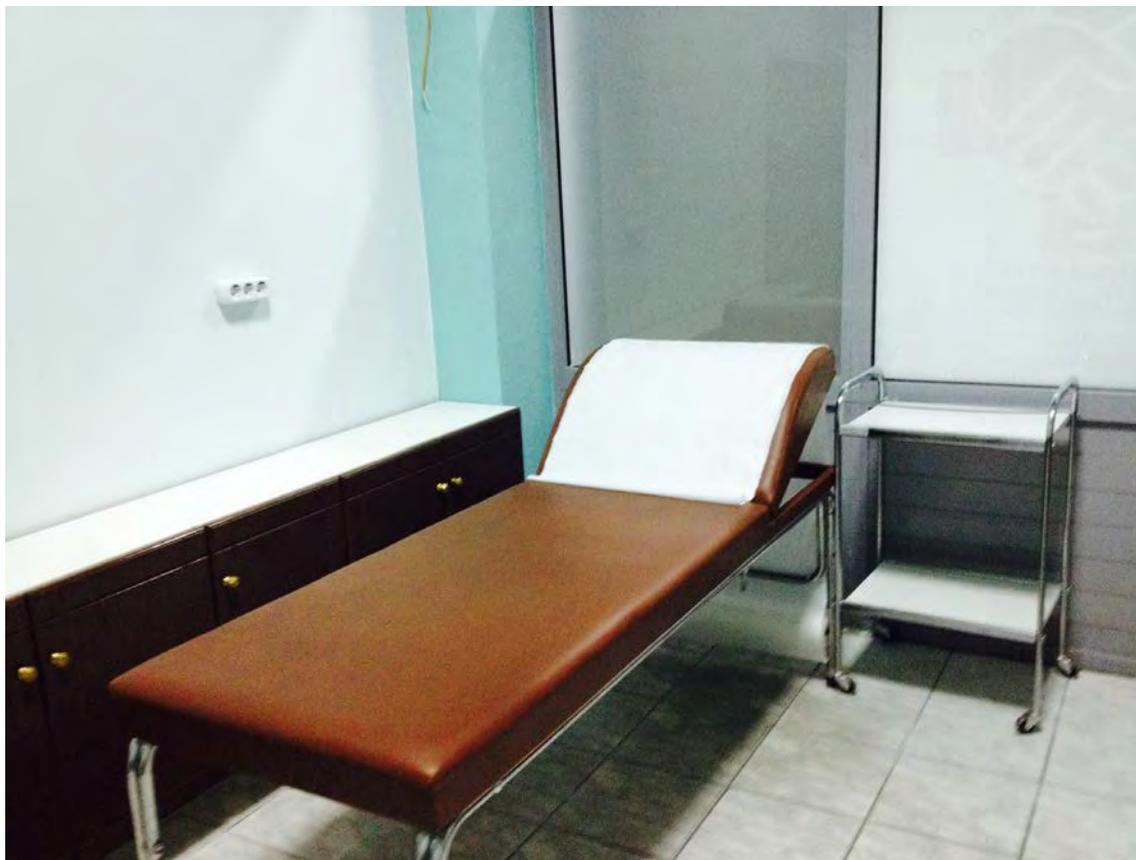


Figure 4.56
Medical examination room 2.

Moreover, the relationship between the domestic space of a residential building where a solidarity clinic provides medical care and the equivalent state-run welfare institution – in this case of the hospital – has been reconfigured over this last decade. On the one hand, although medical care is delivered in a former domestic space and thus influences the functioning of the residential building, it is part of a social health-care network that claims its presence in the healthcare infrastructure of the city and affects the efficiency of healthcare provision activities. This duality not only demands a reconsideration of the functional architectural elements at the residential scale that has been transformed into a socio-political space that also accommodates a very specific activity such as healthcare provision, but also its spatial design and performance within the apartment building, the neighbourhood and the city. On the other hand, the merging of solidarity self-organisation activities and welfare procedures is influencing everyday experiences of the neighbourhood, developing new notions on participation and privacy and foregrounding the importance of rethinking spatial articulations and architectural elements within the home and the building block.

The complexity of the organisation of solidarity support networks within the home and the building environment captures a multi-scalar condition, where the accommodation of different participants such as activists, volunteers, care-seekers, professionals, specific amenities, self-management protocols, regional administration, state institutions, social workers and further support teams not only requires spatial design principles around the design of domestic space and institutional space, but also the organisation of local economies through the appropriation of space and managing of shared amenities, services and infrastructures. Therefore, the technical know-how invented by social movements, together with the adaptation of administrative protocols of self-organisation and the distribution rules based on the concept of Social Solidarity Economy, define a different type of infrastructure of solidarity and care provision. Moreover, the types of provisional infrastructures that have emerged from social movements have all the essential elements to produce an infrastructural system.

This symptom can be clarified by investigating solidarity clinics and pharmacies, which acting as a system have advanced the practice of document exchange such as medical certification documents including a series of prescriptions and medical examination testimonies. Moreover, these certification documents are functional beyond the solidarity networks themselves i.e. can be effective in other institutions. This possibility raises questions about the extent to which social movements proceed to various documentary practices and subsequently the creation of protocols and documentations for the interaction of the institutions with these objects.

4.6 A Counter-Infrastructure: Architectures and Protocols by Social Movements

To fully understand the system of solidarity healthcare provision, it is important to detect that there is also an infrastructural diversity among these spaces. There are solidarity clinics, solidarity pharmacies, or architectures that combine the two, thus solidarity clinics and pharmacies.

In this system, the medical examination certificate provided by doctors in solidarity clinics has various stages: from the site of its production – the solidarity clinic – followed by its circulation in the solidarity network’s practices, such as the solidarity pharmacy in the case that medications are prescribed, to the document’s final disappearance at the end of the medical process– or otherwise to its circulation in institutions outside of the solidarity network. The concern is that if in many cases the documents produced by social movements acquire diverse uses – through the engagements of both further solidarity initiatives and state authorities such as social workers and hospitals – then the design-and-make protocols of documentation being fostered by both institutions and social movements are still subject to institutionalisation procedures.

Precisely, my research has identified that these material objects are valid and functional among the solidarity networks themselves, as they are part of their organisational protocols. Yet there are cases that the same

documents are functional among various other institutions, including the state and NGOs.

In support of this argument, it is worth describing the operational protocol of healthcare social movements through the process of medical examination at a solidarity clinic. The protocol has two stages. The first stage is the initial assessment of the ‘care-seeker’, as well as ensuring that people who go to the solidarity healthcare clinic are excluded from the national health insurance system. By establishing a spatial experience through the process of discussion with volunteer social workers that have the experience to understand peoples’ needs, the social movements are able to understand their needs.²¹⁶ It is worth observing that they never ask the participants to provide proof of documentation and have not put in place any financial criterion. The basic criteria are for someone to be either marginalised from public healthcare through poverty or being an asylum seeker, migrant, homeless or excluded from the national health insurance system. However, if someone has the right to obtain national health insurance, they inform them and from this perspective they try to orientate them to gain their welfare rights.²¹⁷ In the above protocol of assessment, the discussion between the social workers with the care-seekers and the space in which this takes place are considered by the solidarity clinics as profound protocols of self-organisation that establish the first link between care-seekers with the medical care provided by the solidarity clinics.

When a medical examination takes place in a solidarity clinic, the care-seeker is given a doctor’s certificate or a prescription of medicine. In the case that pharmaceuticals are prescribed, then the care-seeker can visit any solidarity pharmacy of the network to seek for the prescribed medication. However, the network of solidarity healthcare has expanded to include public hospitals or private healthcare centres, willing to treat care-seekers without healthcare insurance free-of-charge.²¹⁸ Doctors from the solidarity clinics refer to the medical units of hospitals the most serious health cases from the care-seekers of the clinics (e.g. dealing with cancer, HIV infections and so forth). As such, the solidarity clinics liaise with hospitals to refer care-seekers in need of hospitalisation.

²¹⁶ Notes by the author from the discussion with the volunteer and social anthropologist Maria Giannisopoulou of KIFA.A (Social Clinic and Pharmacy of Solidarity of Athens).

²¹⁷ Ibid.

²¹⁸ KIFA.A (Social Clinic and Pharmacy of Solidarity of Athens), ‘Social Solidarity Clinics: Their Role Today, Yesterday and Tomorrow’, published on 11 October 2017 <<https://www.kifa-athina.gr/>> [accessed 10 September 2021].

**ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΟ ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΚΟ
ΙΑΤΡΕΙΟ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΟΥ**
Με τη συνεργασία και στήριξη του Δήμου Ελληνικού - Αργυρούπολης

ΠΡΩΤΟΚΟΛΟ ΠΑΡΑΔΟΣΗΣ - ΠΑΡΑΛΑΒΗΣ

Ο/Η υπογραφέας/ες: Ε. Π. Π. 2015 και όροι: σε μέρος του Φαρμακείου του Μητροπολιτικού Κοινωνικού Ιατρείου Ελληνικού στο Κέντρο Αμειρωπαικής Σύγχρονης Ιατρικής παρέδωκε την παρακάτω αναφερόμενη ποσότητα φαρμάκων:

Α/Α	ΟΝΟΜΑΣΙΑ ΣΚΕΥΑΣΜΑΤΟΣ	ΣΥΓΚΕΝΤΡΩΣΗ	ΠΟΣΟΤΗΤΑ	ΗΜΕΡΑ ΛΗΞΗΣ
1	Symochron Depot		6/3	3/17
2				
3				
4				
5				
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19				

Υπογραφή & Επώνυμο Εδωστή: _____ Για την παραλαβή: _____

ΩΡΕΣ ΛΕΙΤΟΥΡΓΙΑΣ
(ΔΕΥΤΕΡΑ-ΠΑΡΑΣΚΕΥΗ 10:00-20:00) (ΣΑΒΒΑΤΟ 10:00-14:00)
ΤΗΛΕΦΩΝΟ ΕΠΙΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΑΣ: 210 5331450
ΔΙΕΥΘΥΝΣΗ ΙΑΤΡΕΙΟΥ: εντός της πρώην Αμερικής, Σύγχρονη στο Πολιτιστικό Κέντρο Ελληνικού, 200 μέτρα από την Τροχιά Ελληνικού
www.mkiellinikou.org . Email: mkiellinikou@gmail.com

**ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΤΙΚΟ ΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΚΟ
ΙΑΤΡΕΙΟ ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΟΥ**
Με τη συνεργασία και στήριξη του Δήμου Ελληνικού - Αργυρούπολης

ΠΡΩΤΟΚΟΛΟ ΠΑΡΑΔΟΣΗΣ - ΠΑΡΑΛΑΒΗΣ

Ο/Η υπογραφέας/ες: Ε. Π. Π. 2015 και όροι: σε μέρος του Φαρμακείου του Μητροπολιτικού Κοινωνικού Ιατρείου Ελληνικού στο Κέντρο Αμειρωπαικής Σύγχρονης Ιατρικής παρέδωκε την παρακάτω αναφερόμενη ποσότητα φαρμάκων:

Α/Α	ΟΝΟΜΑΣΙΑ ΣΚΕΥΑΣΜΑΤΟΣ	ΣΥΓΚΕΝΤΡΩΣΗ	ΠΟΣΟΤΗΤΑ	ΗΜΕΡΑ ΛΗΞΗΣ
1	Zimodel +b	500mg	bt4 10/16	3/17 - 2/12
2	Mitazon		6+4 628	10/16 - 2/17
3	Zipren	10mg	6/3 50/6	7/16 - 8/17
4	Xozal	5mg	61.9 20/6	7/16 - 8/17
5	Aerius	5mg	6/3 60/6	10/16 - 11/16
6	Liltazon	50mg	6/3 82/6	8/17 - 7/20
7	Xozal	5mg	bt6 1/3	8/12 - 7/12
8				
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Υπογραφή & Επώνυμο Εδωστή: _____ Για την παραλαβή: _____

ΩΡΕΣ ΛΕΙΤΟΥΡΓΙΑΣ
(ΔΕΥΤΕΡΑ-ΠΑΡΑΣΚΕΥΗ 10:00-20:00) (ΣΑΒΒΑΤΟ 10:00-14:00)
ΤΗΛΕΦΩΝΟ ΕΠΙΚΟΙΝΩΝΙΑΣ: 210 5331450
ΔΙΕΥΘΥΝΣΗ ΙΑΤΡΕΙΟΥ: εντός της πρώην Αμερικής, Σύγχρονη στο Πολιτιστικό Κέντρο Ελληνικού, 200 μέτρα από την Τροχιά Ελληνικού
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Figure 4.57

Protocol of Delivery and Receipt of Medicine provided by the Metropolitan Community Clinic of Hellinikon. Archival research by the author.

Thereby, solidarity clinics and pharmacies, besides referring care-seekers from one solidarity structure to the other, are also referring them to hospitals with whom they have established a relationship with.²¹⁹ Notably, this practice of referral of care-seekers, has been witnessed to also apply extensively the other way around. Uninsured patients, visiting the doctors of hospitals seeking for a medical examination and pharmaceuticals, are given written prescriptions of medicines addressed specifically to ‘Solidarity Clinics and Pharmacies’ that can provide these pharmaceuticals for free.

²¹⁹ Ibid.

These practices of circulation of care-seekers, distribution of medicines and communication between doctors and volunteers, have been commonly adapted, between all structures involved (institutional or ad hoc). Especially for solidarity pharmacies, since their volunteers are not required to have a background in the medical field as long as they have been trained by a pharmacist, this practice of direct referral of care-seekers by doctors from this extended solidarity network that includes both solidarity clinics and hospitals, has been more than welcomed.

Regarding the first case, the doctors of solidarity clinics and pharmacies had established relationships with private doctors, doctors working in public and private hospitals, and local healthcare centres, to whom they were referring care-seekers. However, when they had to meet the medical needs of refugees or asylum seekers, the institutional structure that was the host organisation of the refugees usually approached the solidarity clinic asking for a medical appointment on behalf of the refugee. Solidarity clinics such as the KIFA.A (Social Clinic and Pharmacy of Solidarity of Athens), which is based in the centre of Athens, were approached by the institutional representatives of a host of refugee camps, such as those at Galatsi, Eleonas, Helliniko, Schistos, Skaramagkas and Elefsina, and even migrant detention centres such as Petrou Ralli and Amygdaleza. Because refugees had no right to healthcare insurance and therefore no access to the public healthcare system, the solidarity clinic of KIFA.

A was booking medical appointments for the treatment of refugees and migrants in need of medical treatment.²²⁰ At the time, another category of care-seekers for the solidarity clinics had been that of prisoners without healthcare insurance, the medical visits of whom had been commonplace especially during the years between 2011 and 2015. What is striking is that the care-seekers from migrant detention centres or prisons were arriving at the medical appointments accompanied by a police guard who was waiting in the waiting area of the solidarity clinic.

All these are indicative of the great need for healthcare provision during these years in Greece. The infrastructural gap in healthcare was immense before the provision of access to the national healthcare system to every person living in Greece. This healthcare reform happened in 2016 through a change in policy and legislation advanced by the government of SYRIZA that resulted in the provision of a national insurance number to every individual living in Greece, making them eligible to access the national healthcare services. In 2013, almost half of the population of the country (almost 40%) was excluded from access to public medical care. This exclusion was felt more by the disenfranchised communities such as refugees and patients with severe illnesses who were unable to afford their medicines, but also by the most vulnerable people such as women and children, who visited solidarity clinics in vast numbers. Crucially, this change in healthcare policy was of major importance and acted as key for the transformation of issues of access and inclusion regarding healthcare services in Greece by breaking the longstanding link between healthcare insurance and “active employment” status. This also resulted in ending the co-dependence of family members on the “employed” individual of the family, usually the father, and, as such, of the wife to the husband and of children to their parents. In addition, it provided a temporary national insurance number to every refugee and migrant living in Greece, regardless of their asylum application status.

²²⁰ Notes by the author from the discussion with the volunteers Maria Giannispoulou and Kostis Kokossis of KIFA.A (Social Clinic and Pharmacy of Solidarity of Athens).

4. Decentralised Interiorities

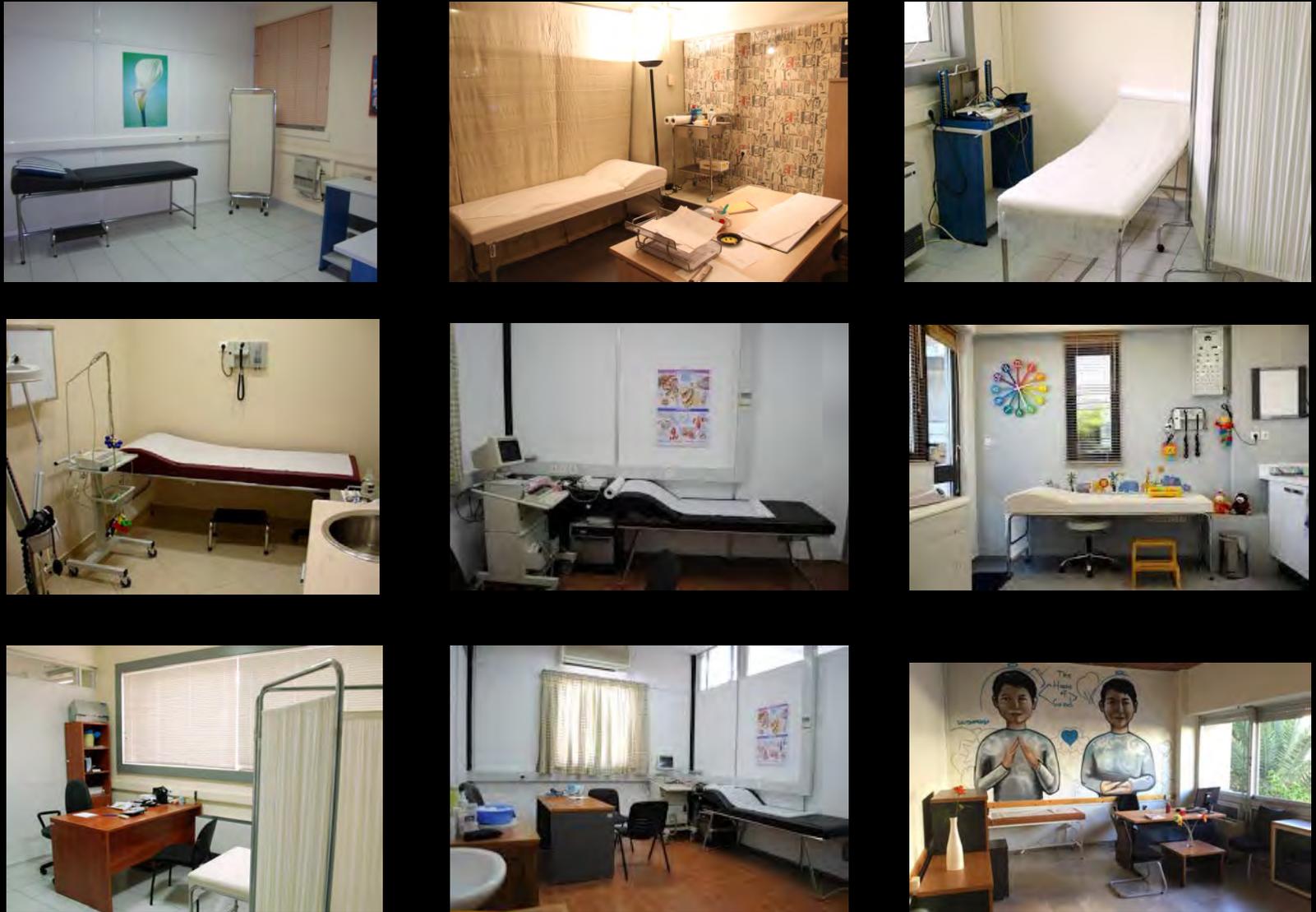


Figure 4.58

Various medical examination rooms from solidarity clinics across Athens.
Fieldwork by the author, 2019.



Figure 4.59

Waiting room configurations in solidarity clinics (pre-COVID-19).
Fieldwork by author, 2019.



Figure 4.60

Various spaces for pharmaceutical care from solidarity pharmacies in Athens.
Fieldwork by the author, 2019.

Τεγρετόλ 400
 Αιολόφ 60
 ΔΕΥΤΕΡΟ ΚΑΤΑΡΤΙΣΜΟΣ
 ΓΙΑ ΤΗΝ ΑΥΤΗΚΗΣ
 ΨΥΧΙΑΤΡΙΚΟ ΝΟΣΟΚΟΜΕΙΟ ΑΘΗΝΩΝ
 «ΔΡΟΜΟΚΑΙΤΕΙΟ» Ν.Η.Α.Α.
 ...ΨΥΧΙΑΤΡΙΚΟ ΤΜΗΜΑ
 ΔΙΕΥΘΥΝΤΗΣ ΙΑΤΡΟΣ

Ηρετον
 Geodon 80 = 56tb
 Deprenix 150 = 28tb
 Sargol 300 = 30tb
 Χαβάρα 12/09/2014

F: 20 Υπερωτεία ουροχολίνης - Αρρυθμία Συσταόλη
 ΑΑΤ: ΑΕ
 ΑΜΚΑ: 010

- Ρο/Α)tb. Arineton 2mg Bt: NrII (έως) S: 1-1-1
- 2) tb. Geodon 80mg Bt: NrI (έως) S: 1-0-1
- ~~3) tb. Deprenix 150mg Bt: NrI (έως) S: 0-1-0~~
- 4) tb. Tegretol CR 400mg Bt: NrII (έως) S: 1/2-0-1
- 5) tb. Stedon 10mg Bt: NrIII (έως) S: 1-1-1
- 6) tb. Stilnox 10mg Bt: NrI (έως) S: 0-0-1
- 7) tb. Quetiapine/Generics 300mg Bt: NrI (έως) S: 0-0-1

Η παρούσα χορηγείται για τριμήνιο
 ιατρού και έχει ισχύ.



Figure 4.61 No_1 kifaa_dromokaiteio

Protocol of Delivery and Receipt of Medicine by a doctor of the Dromokaitio Psychiatric Hospital of Athens to be used by the KIFA.A (Solidarity Clinic and Pharmacy of Athens). In this handwritten protocol it is written "This prescription is provided for a solidarity clinic and has a three-month duration".

This referral protocol is an example of a common protocol of medical treatment among doctors operating in public hospitals and doctors in social movements.

Archival research by the author.

ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΗ ΔΗΜΟΚΡΑΤΙΑ
ΥΠΟΥΡΓΕΙΟ ΥΓΕΙΑΣ & Κ.Α.
1^η ΥΓΕΙΟΝΟΜΙΚΗ ΠΕΡΙΦΕΡΕΙΑ ΑΤΤΙΚΗΣ
Γ.Ο.Ν.Κ. «ΟΙ ΑΓΙΟΙ ΑΝΑΡΓΥΡΟΙ»
ΜΟΝΑΔΑ ΕΙΔΙΚΩΝ ΛΟΙΜΩΞΕΩΝ
ΥΠΕΥΘΥΝΟΣ: ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΣ ΜΠΟΥΛΑΜΕΤΗΣ
Τηλ.: 210-3501446, Fax: 210-3501431

Κηφισιά, 25-11-2014

ΠΡΟΣ: Κοινωνικό Φαρμακείο

ΙΑΤΡΙΚΟ ΣΗΜΕΙΩΜΑ

Η κα. ... πάσχει από έντονη μυκτή δυσλιπιδαιμία, υπέρταση, γαστρίτιδα σε έδαφος ΓΟΠ και γενικευμένα οστικά άλγη σε έδαφος οστεοπόρωσης.

Όλη η παραπάνω συμπτωματολογία βρίσκεται επί εδάφους HIV λοίμωξης, υπό αντιρετροϊκή αγωγή.

Παράλληλα με την αντιρετροϊκή αγωγή, λαμβάνει:

- Tabs Inegy 10/20, 1x1
- Tabs Olartan plus 20/12,5, 1x1
- Tabs Lyrica 75, 1x2
- Tabs Pariet 20, 1x1

Ο ΥΠΕΥΘΥΝΟΣ ΤΗΣ Μ.Ε.Α.

ΓΕΩΡΓΙΟΣ ΜΠΟΥΛΑΜΕΤΗΣ
ΠΑΘΟΛΟΓΟΣ - ΥΠΕΥΘΥΝΤΗΣ
Β' ΠΑΘΟΛΟΓΙΚΗΣ ΚΛΙΝΙΚΗΣ
ΥΠΕΥΘΥΝΟΣ ΜΟΝΑΔΑΣ ΕΙΔΙΚΩΝ ΛΟΙΜΩΞΕΩΝ
ΑΜΚΑ: 15046003719-ΑΜΕΤΑ: 68778
Γ.Ο.Ν.Κ.: "ΑΓΙΟΙ ΑΝΑΡΓΥΡΟΙ"

Figure 4.62 No_2 kifaa_aganargyroi

Protocol of Medical Report as it was written by a doctor at the Special Infections Units of the Aghioi Anargyroi Hospital of Athens that undertook the medical examination of an HIV patient of the KIFA.A (Solidarity Clinic and Pharmacy of Athens) and prescribed medication that the care-seeker could get at the solidarity pharmacy.

Specifically, it is written: 'TOWARDS: Solidarity Pharmacy'.

Archival research by the author.

Furthermore, especially during the first years of the financial crisis protocols and documents of interaction between different organisations and institutions had to be invented and adopted in a short period of time as this practice of referral of care-seekers among healthcare structures was commonplace making the solidarity clinic the default infrastructure for healthcare provision to the marginalised people. Significantly though, the process of referral of care-seekers was handled and coordinated by the solidarity clinic that was the connecting node between solidarity clinics and pharmacies, institutions, care-seekers and doctors. The solidarity clinic was and continues to be the microstructure responsible for the redistribution of labour, tools, and care-seekers from one structure to another. Even today, the solidarity clinic is responsible for booking medical appointments, and its protocols of medical examination have to be followed by all organisations and participants involved.

In addition, the solidarity clinics have maintained a medical file for each care-seeker that has entered their space, using their own archiving and codification systems to archive medical prescriptions, certificates of medical examination, and medical diagnoses.

These types of medical documents produced by the solidarity clinics and pharmacies, especially before 2015 were not entirely standardised. Medical certificates were produced by more than 40 grassroots healthcare infrastructures in Greece.²²¹ When the need for solidarity healthcare provision had just emerged, the solidarity clinics had not yet established their protocol.²²² In essence, at the beginning each of the doctors of the solidarity clinics responded as best as she or he could, combining the canons of medical certification – standard expressions, careful description and cautious interpretation – with a sense of just wording – faithful transcription of the account of the patient, highlighting of important details and potential personal engagement in the conclusion/suggestion. The research analysis of a series of medical certificates written during this period shows a diverse array of documents, as can be expected when solidarity support infrastructures are using their own devices.

²²¹ Archival research by the author.

²²² Adam & Teloni, *Social Clinics in the Greece of Crisis*, p. 35.

4. Decentralised Interiorities

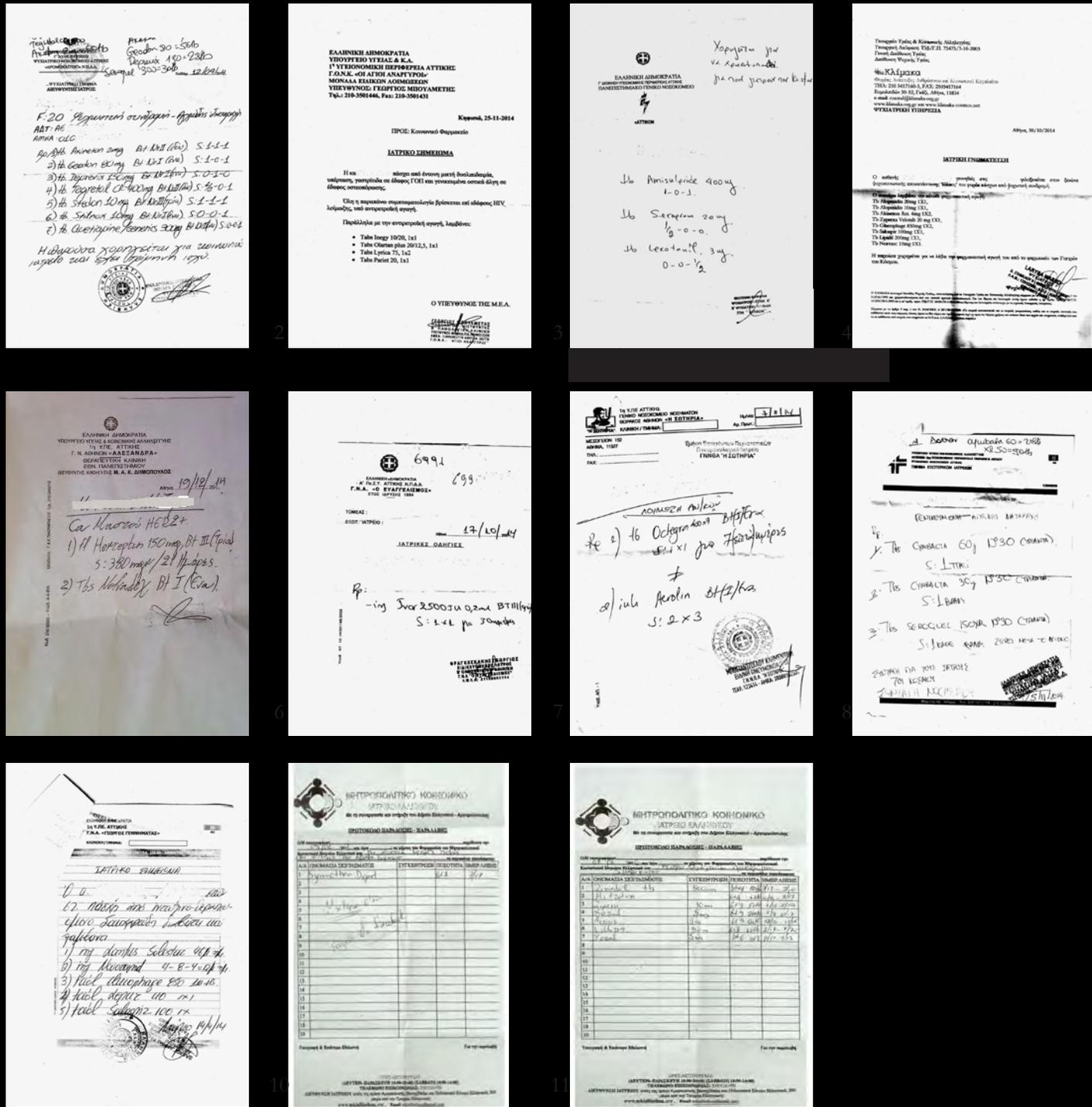


Figure 4.63

Types of Protocols of Medical Certificates (Delivery and Receipt of Medicine, Medical Examination Report, Doctor’s Statement) provided in collaboration between different solidarity clinics and pharmacies and the doctors of public hospitals in Athens. Archival research by the author.

The archival naming of these certificates is as follows:

1. No_1 kifaa_dromokaiteio
2. No_2 kifaa_aganargyroi
3. No_3 attikon_giatroi_kosmou
4. No_4 klimaka_giatroi_kosmou
5. No_6 alexandra_ca_mastou_mcch

6. No_7 evaggelismos_mcch
7. No_8 kifaa_swthria
8. No_9 kifaa_psych_nos_ex_iatreia
9. No_10 gna_g_gennhmatas_mcch
10. health syntagografisi_1_mcch
11. health syntagografisi_2_mcch

It is precisely the individual practices of each solidarity clinic that was the topic of discussion during the third general national assembly of solidarity clinics in 2013 that happened in the amphitheatre of the “Elpis” hospital at a time that its medical staff was having a strike demanding for the hospital to not close. Consequently, after a series of public nationwide assemblies of the healthcare social movement, standards regarding the typology of medical documentation were established, first published in internal documentation of protocols of solidarity clinics in November 2015.²²³

²²³ Ibid., p. 38.

In this perspective, the medical certificate within this framework does not develop from an unfolding of elements internal to the technology itself –an assemblage of paper, medical record and even the doctor’s signature – as some theories of technics would have it. Rather, as an infrastructure, it is a combination of technical, administrative and redistribution techniques. Essentially, what differentiates a medical certificate produced in a solidarity clinic from one provided by a public hospital is the non-hierarchical system and network of solidarity from which it obtains its characteristics.

At this point it is important to stress the inclusive holism of the solidarity clinic and pharmacy as an infrastructure as it essentially creates an infrastructural system. The infrastructure of solidarity clinics and pharmacies consists of a system of reproduction, redistribution and transmission of medical and pharmaceutical care based on their networking and territorial presence. Therefore, it is important for care-seekers crossing the physical or digital space of a solidarity clinic to be fully aware, not only of its network but most importantly of its architectures, although these spaces may be distributed in urban space. Moreover, the architecture of the solidarity clinic is designed to make visible to habitants and the city its network of mutual aid. This incorporates within the scale of a building the principle of medical care that dictates the redistribution of labour, resources and documents from one clinic to another.

Moreover, besides connecting with other healthcare structures, very soon the doctors in solidarity clinics realised that they had to create a network of care involving other solidarity initiatives operating in the same neighbourhood and especially those for housing and food provision where they could refer the care-seekers who needed medical treatment and medication. This is because a large number of care-seekers did not have access to cover their basic needs such as that of a meal in order to take the medications prescribed by the doctors of the solidarity clinics.²²⁴ This speaks for the inclusive participation of the solidarity projects in Greece, and as such the solidarity clinics and pharmacies constitute first and foremost a radical experimentation of participation. Participation in this case is perceived not as a premeditated practice only to claim what the state must do, but as a practice that performs new ways for caring based on situated needs and activist struggle for access and inclusion to healthcare services and at the same time to create a political space.

This definition of participation is also what distinguishes the network formed by solidarity clinics and pharmacies in comparison to the way that protocols of participation were being handled by public hospitals and state institutions. The first difference that I identify between a solidarity clinic and an institutional one is that there is no hierarchical distinction between professionals, patients and workers in the former, as the healthcare social movement sees as participants the social workers, psychiatrists and psychologists responsible for interviews with participants. Moreover, patients both receive medical care and may also be part of the general assemblies and self-organisation of the healthcare social movement.

A second finding is that solidarity clinics such as the KIFA.A (Social Clinic and Pharmacy of Solidarity of Athens) and the Metropolitan Community Clinic of Hellinikon — which are among the most important nodes in the healthcare infrastructure of the city due to their networking, outreach and critical urban location — record their practices and this self-documentation practice not only includes data for archival reasons (and for many other secondary uses), but also to coordinate with each other

²²⁴ Notes by the author from the discussion with Petros Mpotas, a volunteer pharmacist and representative of the media team at the Metropolitan Community Clinic of Hellinikon (MKIE).

(i.e. other social movements and solidarity clinics), as there are continuous shifts in available resources that this type of healthcare provision enables and entails. Such coordination allows solidarity clinics to articulate the resources among the solidarity clinics and pharmacies on the same network, for instance to share information on a medical treatment or a spatial configuration that contributed to the medical treatment. This is also exemplified by the fact that all doctors from all medical disciplines of a solidarity clinic have access to the medical files of all care-seekers regardless of the medical discipline i.e. physicians, cardiologist, dentist and so forth. This practice allowed for the doctors of solidarity clinics to keep track of the health of care-seekers amid a constantly changing environment, different levels of participation and a large number of medical appointments, all of which add a level of non-predictability.

Moreover, keeping their own data and then circulating it within the networks they participate can contribute to making visible these kinds of efforts of healthcare work and healthcare provision at the scale of the neighbourhood and the region. It can also allow for aligning their aims with further solidarity initiatives and coordinating resources and labour.

Precisely, due to its inclusive holism, the infrastructure of the solidarity clinic and pharmacy, is explored in-depth in the next part of this thesis, to interrogate its expression as a counter-architecture for healthcare provision and to investigate the operation of the healthcare social movement as a system.

PART III

ARCHITECTURES OF COUNTER-POWER:
THE SOLIDARITY CLINIC AND PHARMACY

5.

5. Commoning Healthcare in Solidarity Clinics and Pharmacies

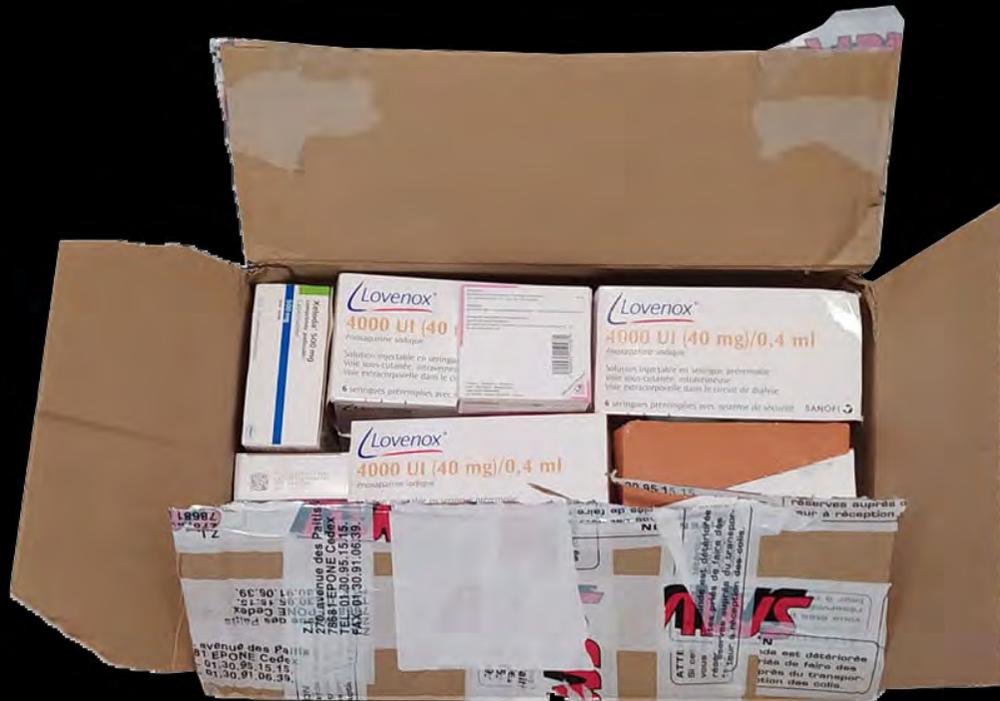


Figure 5.1

Package of donated medicine arriving at the KIFA.A (Solidarity Clinic and Pharmacy of Athens) from France.

5.1 The Concealed Document: A Trajectory of Punishment, Displacement and Endurance

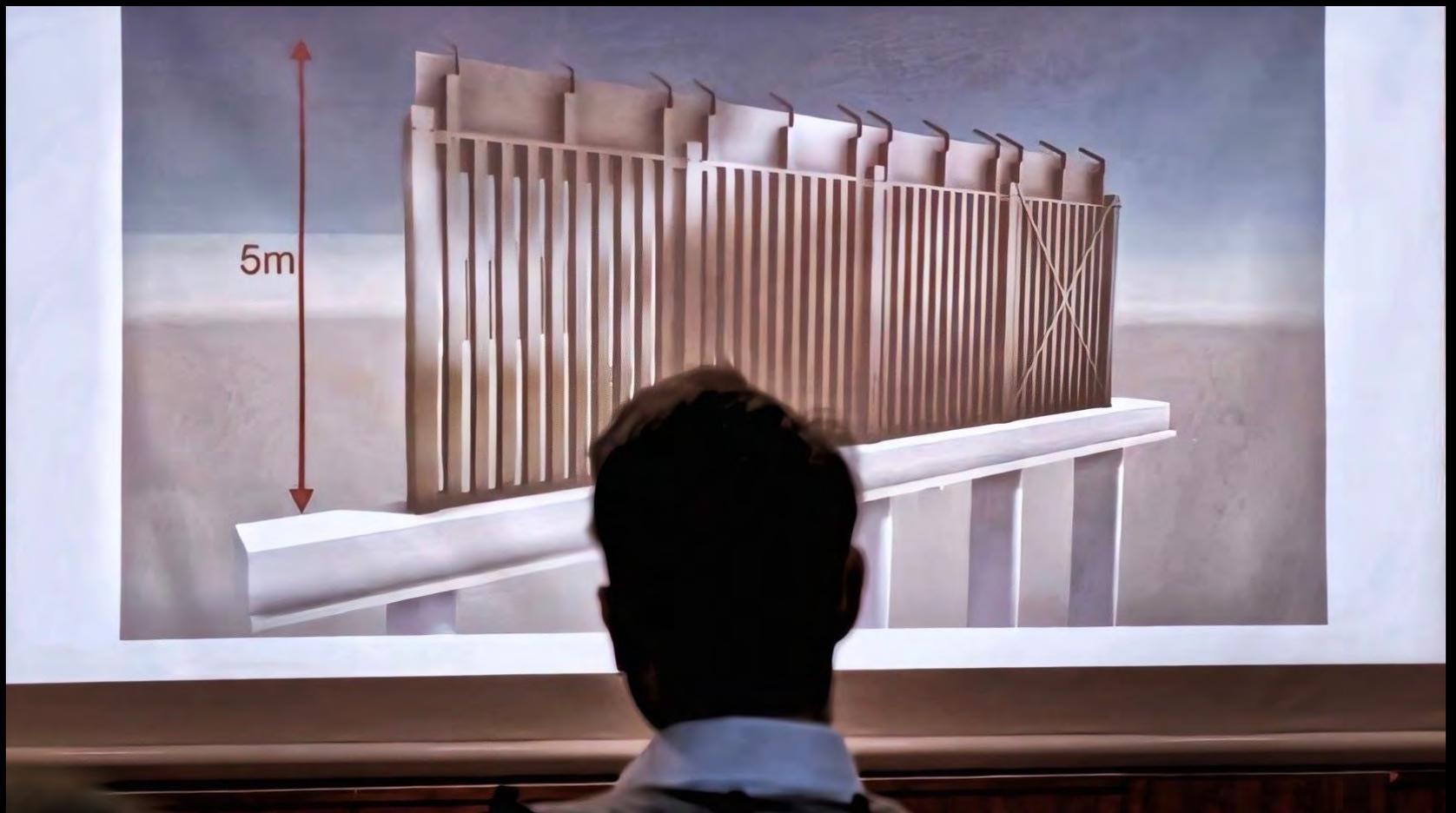


Figure 5.2

Greece's Prime Minister Kyriakos Mitsotakis attends a presentation of the construction of a new section of the fence that is being built along the border with Turkey in Alexandroupolis, northern Greece on Saturday (17 October2020). Photo by Dimitris Papamitsos. Source: Greek Prime Minister's Office via AP (Associated Press).

On the 1st of July 2019, a document found by the military border police in Evros Greece was used as evidence to justify the annihilation of the solidarity movement and to adhere to hostile policies introduced by the state. This document was used to justify practices of legal harassment and the use of state violence towards social movements.

The summer of 2019 marked exactly four years after the long “summer of migration”, the period which began in July 2015 when, under pressure from approximately one million people, the European borders opened, and ended with the EU-Turkey deal signed on 18th of March 2016 to restrict the movement of refugees to Europe.²²⁵ Blaming the EU for not providing the agreed support to Turkey to deal with the refugee crisis, four years later, in June 2019, thousands of asylum seekers were coerced to gather on the Turkish side of the border with Greece, hoping to enter Europe. This tactic has, since then, continued unabated. To make things worse, June 2019 was marked by a series of violent pushbacks and military violence at the Greek-Turkey border that resulted in attacks by the police on refugees, arrests, capture, detention and the deadly shooting of a refugee by the Greek military forces. This document is supposed to have been collected precisely amid this situation from the pocket of a refugee (unidentified) and was photographed by the border police in Evros.

The document consisted of a collection of badly torn pages, but within which the reader could still interpret its contents. As can be seen from the photograph depicting it, the paper was damaged, most likely during the migration, and it definitely had been dried at least once as it was evident that water had erased part of the text and visuals from it. However, it was just legible enough that the crucial contents could be read, but only by its owner.

²²⁵ At the time, the European authorities named it a “refugee crisis”, while for the refugees themselves and also for the anti-racist movements all over Europe it was the “summer of migration”. See Olga Lafazani ‘1.5 years of City Plaza: A Project on the Antipodes of Bordering and Control Policies.’ *AntipodeOnline.org* <<https://antipodeonline.org/2017/11/13/intervention-city-plaza/>> [accessed 10 September 2021].

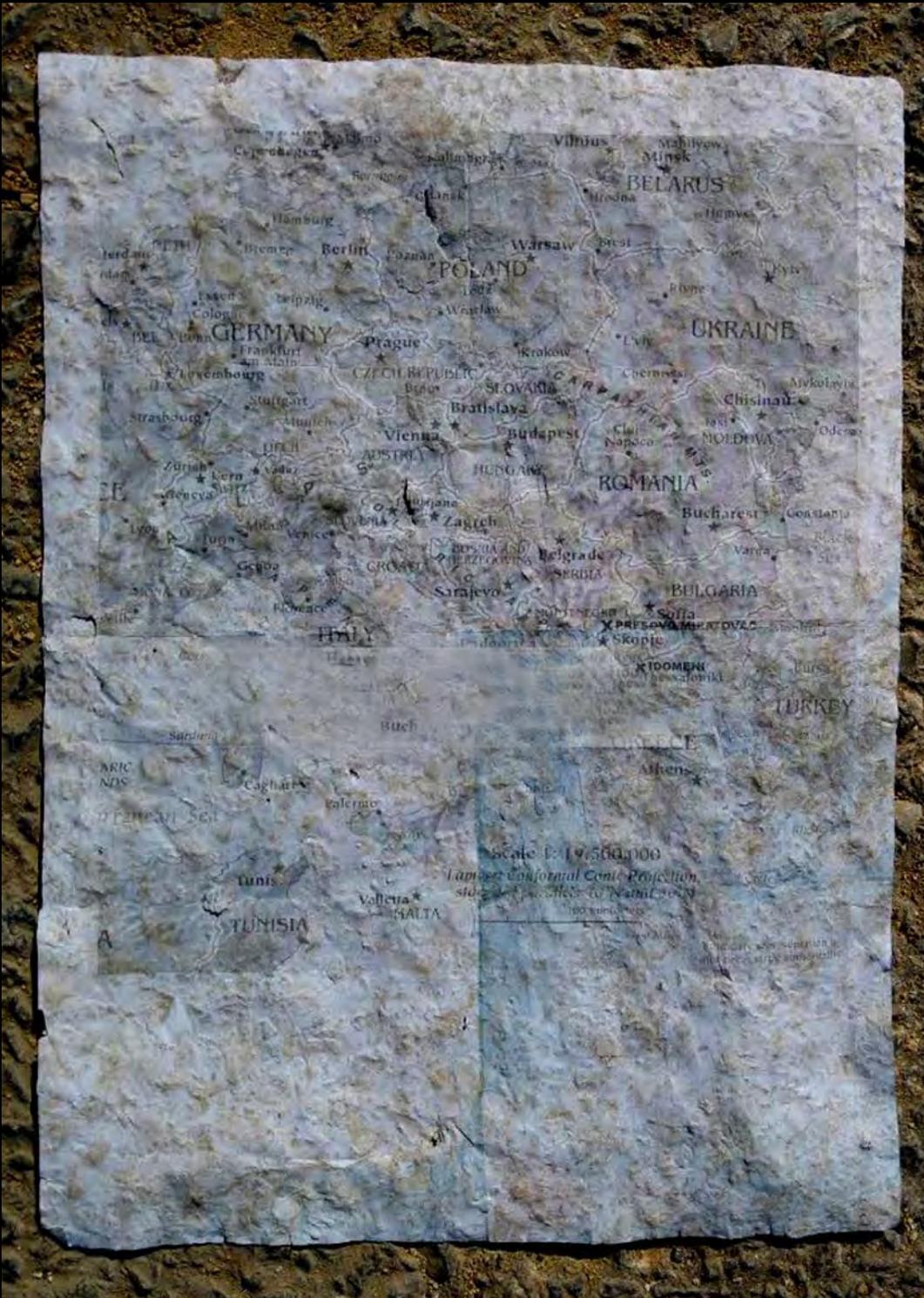


Figure 5.3

Photograph (1 of 2) of the document.

Source of primary information: 'Document with instructions sends refugees to Exarcheia and Thessaloniki', *I Efimerida*, <www.iefimerida.gr/news/252597/apokleistiko-hartia-me-odigies-stel-noyn-toys-prosfyges-sta-exarhe-ia-kai-sti-thessaloniki>

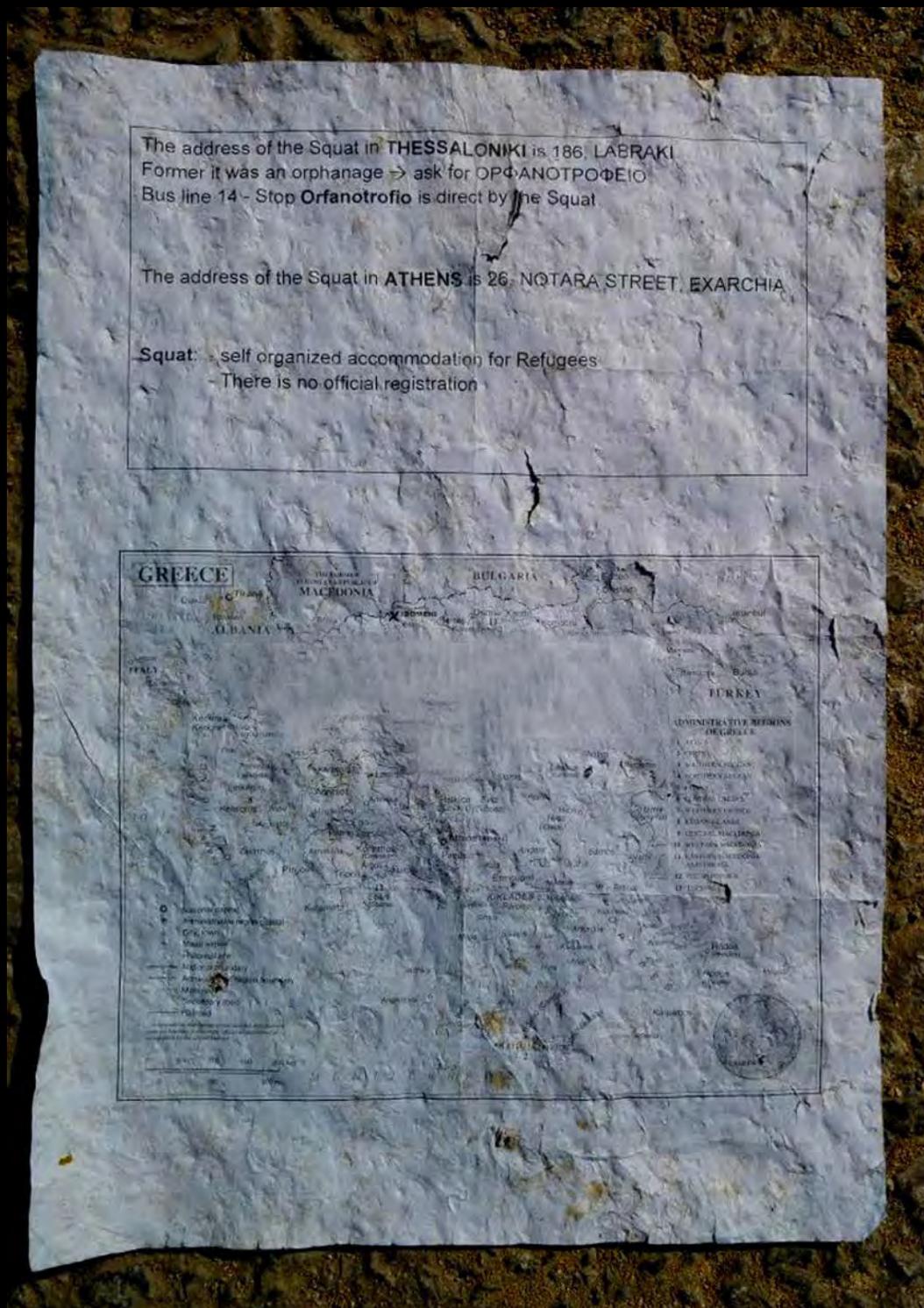


Figure 5.4

Photograph (2of 2) of the document.

On one side of the document, there is a map of Greece, with Eidomeni and other critical points marked with an “X”. Two addresses of self-managed housing for refugees are also indicated. The first is in Thessaloniki at ‘186 Lampraki Street’ that used to be an orphanage. Since 2016 this building has been occupied and transformed into accommodation for refugees.

The main claim by the government authorities was that the document’s purpose was to provide instructions to the refugees on how to move and where to turn for help in Greece, encouraging them to remain on the mainland. The claim was based on the fact that the document advises to ‘Ask where the orphanage is and take bus line 14. The ‘Orphanage’ stop is right in front of the property’. The refugee accommodation in Athens mentioned in the document is 26 Notara Street in Exarchia.

Source of primary information: ‘Document with instructions sends refugees to Exarcheia and Thessaloniki’, *I Efimerida*, <www.iefimerida.gr/news/252597/apokleistiko-hartia-me-odigies-stel-noyn-toys-prosfyges-sta-exarhe-ia-kai-sti-thessaloniki>

By falling into the hands of the Greek police, it provided them with the excuse for a chain of fast-tracked events to develop in the days and months that followed, which set the scene for the new institutional environment that social movements in Greece had to deal with.

Printed on A4 paper, the front page of this document showed a map of Europe and the key locations that refugees would find on their journey. At the bottom of the back page, there was a map of the administrative districts of Greece and the cities where there was an infrastructure of refugee accommodation — public spaces transformed into temporary shelters, squats of buildings by the housing for all social movement and other solidarity initiatives were highlighted. On the upper half page of this document, there was written advice in English that the refugees and migrants should visit two of the existing autonomous and self-organised squats for refugee accommodation — the one in the city of Thessaloniki in northern Greece and the Notara 26 Squat in Athens — to seek support. Specifically, this document provided the addresses and instructions on how to locate two of the most functional squats that were providing refugee accommodation in Greece. Thus, the new administration had found the evidence needed to punish solidarity, and target both the asylum procedure of refugees and the solidarity movement in Greece.

In a matter of days, the state apparatus was put into motion and placed immense pressure on the solidarity movement by attacking first the housing provision and then the refugee accommodation. It is indicative of the political call at the time that only days later, the newly elected prime minister, Kyriakos Mitsotakis, signed an agreement for the design of a new border wall between Greece and Turkey.²²⁶ Moreover, the found document was presented to the prosecutor's office as sufficient evidence to form a legal suit on behalf of the government and to support the claim of the Ministry of Citizen Protection and Public Order for the issuing of an eviction notice against the long-lasting squat of Notara 26 in the neighbourhood of Exarchia in Athens, which was occupying an empty building that was the property of the Region of Attica.

²²⁶ 'Greece Finalizes Plan to Build Wall on Border with Turkey', *EKathimerini* (19 October 2020) <<https://www.ekathimerini.com/news/258237/greece-finalizes-plan-to-build-wall-on-border-with-turkey/>> [accessed 10 September 2021].



Figure 5.5

Security police evacuate the building at 26 Notara Street in Exarchia, which was occupied to house families of migrants and refugees from Iraq, Afghanistan, Syria and Turkey. Source: Kathimerini.

Additionally, the existence of the document was distributed to specific press outlets to reorient the hostile rhetoric regarding refugee arrivals and migration policies, directing it towards the operation of the squats and building occupations in Athens, thus putting massive pressure on other occupations, such as the City Plaza Hotel squat. Daily, parliamentarians of the New Democracy party, among others, were specifically blaming the squats as complicit in the aggression happening at the border with Turkey, and this brought the issue to the attention of the Greek parliament.

In the wake of these events, on the 10th of July, the assembly of City Plaza released a public statement titled *39 Months City Plaza: The End of an Era, the Beginning of a New One*²²⁷, announcing that the keys of the squatted City Plaza Hotel had been handed back to the former (and fired) employees of the hotel, to whom the mobile equipment in the building belonged, and assuring everyone that ‘all refugees living at City Plaza has been moved to safe housing within the city’.²²⁸ It was made clear by this statement that the decision for the “voluntary evacuation” of City Plaza had been incited by the targeted attacks and hostility towards its participants and residents. The attack this time not only directly threatened the asylum procedure of the refugees living in City Plaza, but also opened a legal battle against the occupation and, as such, the contestation was transferred from the scale of an infrastructural dispute to an entirely different forum, that of the country’s juridical system.

It is important to bear in mind that the squats of the housing for all social movement happened at a time when the housing issue was very pressing in Greece and in Athens, in particular. In 2015, after the EU-Turkey deal had turned the islands of the Aegean into a sort of prison for migrants and asylum seekers, and mainland Greece into a trap for over 60,000 people, the Greek government chose to implement a policy of control, deterrence and discouragement of migration in agreement with the EU policy of annihilation, using Frontex and NATO to patrol the Aegean and the Mediterranean, creating detention centres, such as Moria, on the islands, leaving camps as the only policy and infrastructure for housing refugees on the mainland, and withdrawing any type of welfare provision and access to healthcare or education infrastructure, with both domestic

²²⁷ Public statement published on the website and Facebook page of the City Plaza Hotel <<https://best-hotel-in-europe.eu/>> [accessed 10 September 2021]. The City Plaza collective also collaborated for the public statement *Cross-border Common Statement Against Racism and War* that was published at the time to address the issue <<https://crossborder-solidarity.com/>> [accessed 10 September 2021].

²²⁸ Ibid.

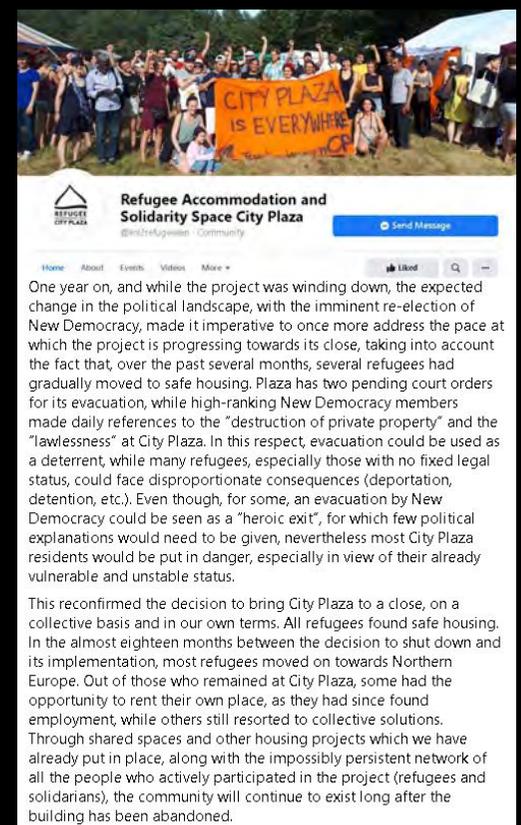


Figure 5.6

Excerpt from the public statement following the closure of City Plaza Hotel as it was published on the Facebook page of the Refugee Accommodation and Solidarity Space City Plaza. Source: Facebook.

and international institutions additionally embarking on a strategy of punishing solidarity for the struggle of refugees. All this took place at a time when the refugees who had arrived in Athens were either homeless or were being housed in the refugee camps of Hellinikon, Malakasa, or the port of Piraeus, and while hundreds of people were sleeping in tents or cardboard boxes in city streets and squares. Precisely, this transit movement was transforming different public urban spaces into informal and temporary shelters, so the assembly of the housing for all social movement decided not to focus only on occupying buildings but to extend the solidarity throughout the city by joining a network of existing solidarity initiatives to provide food, basic items like tents, blankets and clothes, but also medical care to those in need.

Figure 5.7
Banner “The Struggle continues. City Plaza 2016-2019”. Courtesy: Refugee Accommodation and Solidarity Space City Plaza.





Figure 5.8
Banner hanging from the façade of the empty hotel (2019).



Figure 5.9
Homeless refugees occupying Victoria Square in Athens after their eviction from the housing squats in Exarchia.
Courtesy: Alexandros Katsis.

The photographs that circulated in the global media in the aftermath of the evictions of the refugee accommodations in July 2019 precisely resembled those from the summer of 2015 when all the central squares across the neighbourhoods of Athens were occupied with families of refugees and migrants, all of whom were homeless.

The authorship of this document and map has been contested and remains under contestation still. What was made clear, though, is that the origins of this map and any instructions it offered was something that should remain concealed. The following months of 2019 found all extra-state organisations in Greece, including both those operating across the spectrum of volunteerism/NGOs and those that were part of social movements, under attack, resulting in the dissolution of a large number of them.

In the case of NGOs, the legal tools that the state used worked as a form of legal harassment. To achieve this, the Greek state proceeded to make changes in the legislation regarding NGOs responding to the refugee crisis operating in Greece. The aim was to limit their actions by making it difficult, and for many, impossible, to register on the online platform created by the state. This registration system not only consisted of a complex apparatus but also applied a strict timeframe for the submission of documentation, resulting in the granting of permission to initially only 40 NGOs to continue to enter migration centres; meanwhile, 70 more were evicted through a fast-track national procedure.²²⁹ In a statement in June 2020, the Minister for Immigration and Asylum announced that only 18 of the 40 organisations working in camps were ‘advanced enough in the registration process to maintain access’.²³⁰ Most importantly though, this legislation erased the testimonial power of NGOs operating in Greece by limiting and reversing their ability to testify, intervene and raise concerns regarding the migrant infrastructures. This has eventually led to only seven NGOs being registered on the state platform today. This organised structural and infrastructural abandonment was catalysed last summer with the complete burning of the much-criticised refugee camp of Moria (Registration and Identification Centre of Moria) on the island of Lesbos.

²²⁹ ‘Greek NGO Registration: Our Statement’, *Choose Love*, (2020) <<https://helprefugees.org/news/statement-greek-ngo-registration/>> [accessed 10 September 2021].

²³⁰ *Ibid.*

Timeline of changes in NGO legislation in Greece

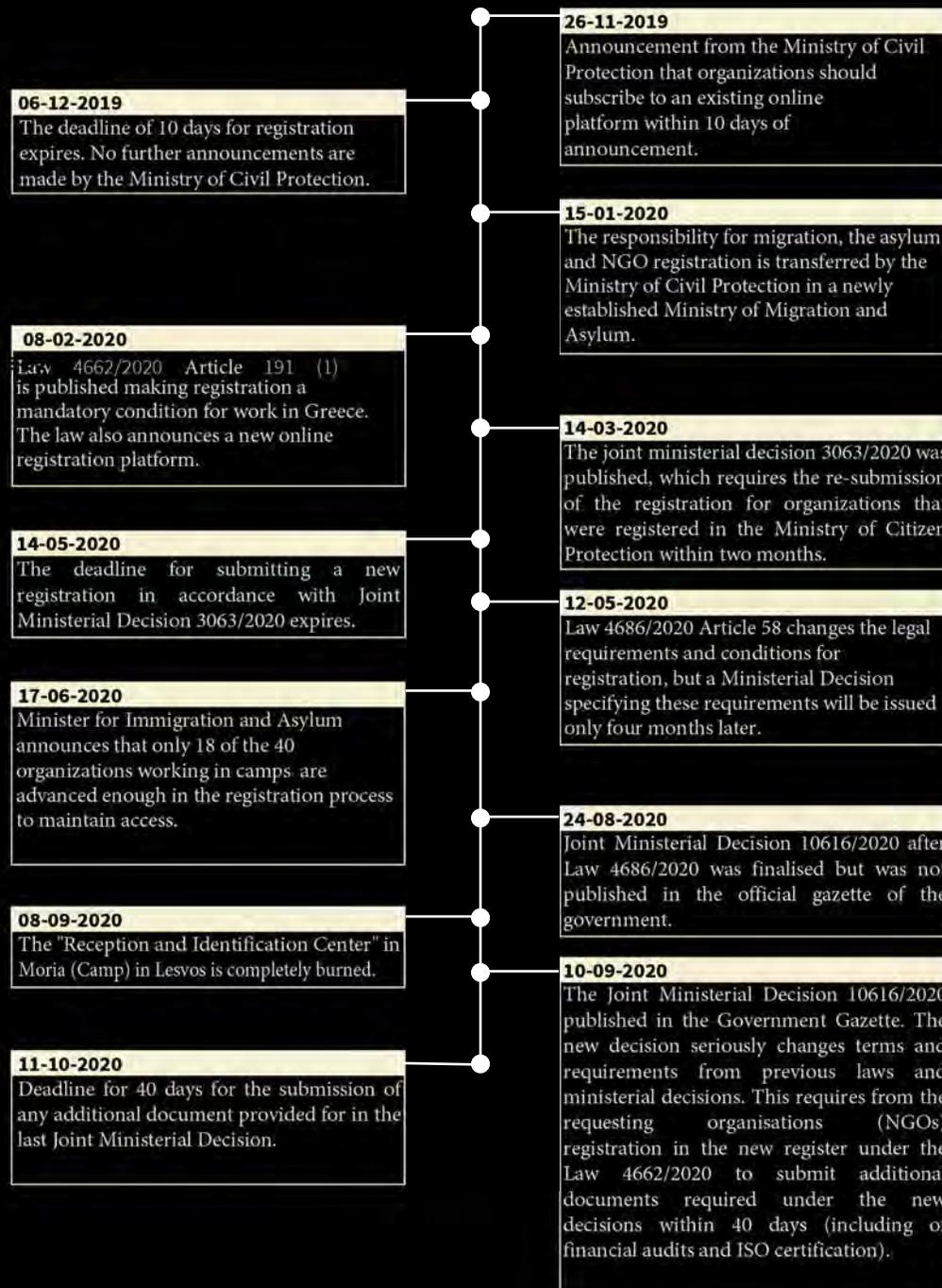


Figure 5.10

This timeline follows the hostile legal environment and its effects on the operation of NGOs and NGO-supported refugee services in Greece. Source: helprefugees.org. Recreated by author based on information from the report by Coose Love and Help Refugees.

In January 2020, the exact same practices of punishment were extended from housing to the healthcare infrastructure, targeting the remaining and still operational architectures of the solidarity clinics and pharmacies. The eviction process of the Metropolitan Community Clinic of Hellinikon was accelerated to within a week. By doing this, the state made it impossible for the solidarity clinic to respond to the needs of the adjacent refugee camp of Hellinikon, which was evacuated in the same month to make space for the development plans for the area that aimed at transforming the region into the so-called Athens Riviera, with luxurious hotels and casinos.

On 21st February 2020, the Metropolitan Community Clinic of Hellinikon wrote a letter to the Greek government, addressing not only the Greek parliament but also the United Nations and the European parliament. This was a final attempt to prevent its forced displacement from the space it had had occupied for almost a decade, since 2011, having initially occupied it and then being granted it by the local municipality in 2015:

‘This letter is written for you to fully understand the consequences of the threatened eviction and closure of the Metropolitan Community Clinic of Hellinikon (MCCH). [...] MCCH is a self-organised solidarity organisation. Since 2011, we have offered health services, medicines and medical supplies, baby formulas, milk and other services to our fellow citizens in need. At the height of the financial crisis, with three million uninsured people in 2014 and 2015, we offered primary health services and pharmaceutical services at an average of 1,500 cases per month. Overall, we have helped 8,000 individuals with over 72,000 visits.’²³¹

The battle over its forced displacement started in May 2018 when the Hellinikon A.E development company threatened the clinic of Hellinikon with eviction from its building to proceed with the development plans for the area.²³² However, as explained in this letter, this strategy of displacement was not an isolated incident but it was structured and organised at a time when healthcare infrastructures are needed the most as they were the main pillars of solidarity following the dissolution of the housing movement. In the same month of February, the solidarity clinics of Thermi and N.Filadelfeia/ N.Chalkidona/ N.Ionia were also threatened with eviction.²³³

²³¹ Metropolitan Community Clinic of Hellinikon, ‘Letter to the Greek Government’ <<https://www.mkiellinikou.org/en/2020/02/26/letter-government/>> [accessed 10 September 2021]. A copy of this letter can be found in the Annex part of this thesis.

²³² The first eviction letter was sent to the clinic on 30 May 2018. For more details, see the public announcement: Metropolitan Community Clinic of Hellinikon, ‘Sudden Death for Metropolitan Community Clinic of Hellinikon: We say NO and “We Will Not Go Quietly Into the Night...”’ <<https://www.mkiHellinikonu.org/en/2018/06/01/sudden-death-for-metropolitan-community-clinic-at-Hellinikon/>> [accessed 10 September 2021].

²³³ Ibid., ‘Solidarity to the Social Clinic of Thermi, Social Solidarity Clinic-Pharmacy of N.Filadelfeia, N.Chalkidona, N.Ionia’ <<https://www.mkiHellinikonu.org/blog/2020/07/14/support/>> [accessed 10 September 2021].

The press release by the Metropolitan Community Clinic of Hellinikon in October 2020 titled *Solidarity to the Social Solidarity Clinic of Thermi* articulated the state violence against the healthcare social movement by stating:²³⁴

²³⁴ Ibid.

We stand shoulder to shoulder with the Social Solidarity Clinic of Thermi; we sign the petition demanding its rescue and we require an immediate solution. The voluntary and self-organised solidarity infrastructures are beacons of life and hope in our times and societies. We call each collective and citizen to sign the petition to deter the clinic's eviction or for another sustainable and in gratis solution to be found. This shouldn't be treated as an isolated phenomenon but as an organised attack against solidarity.



Figure 5.11

The first official letter demanding the 'relocation of services' away from the area of the "Metropolitan Centre of Hellinikon" within a month was sent to the Metropolitan Community Clinic of Hellinikon by the Elliniko A.E. company on 30 May 2018. Archival research by the author.



ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΟ ΑΕ

Έδρα: Πρώην Αεροδρόμιο Ελληνικό, 16777, Γαλλικό | Τ +30 210 9820214 | Φ +30 210 8820215 | W www.elliniko.gr
Γραφείο: Χρήστου Λαδά 1, 10661, Αθήνα

Αθήνα, 05.06.20

Αρ. Πρωτ.: 433

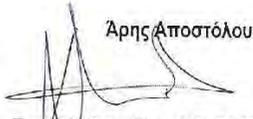
Προς: Μητροπολιτικό Κοινωνικό Ιατρείο Ελληνικού

Θέμα: Μετεγκατάσταση Μητροπολιτικού Κοινωνικού Ιατρείου Ελληνικού από την έκταση του Μητροπολιτικού Πόλου Ελληνικού - Αγίου Κοσμά

Σχετ.: 1. Η από 14.02.20 υπ' αριθμόν Πρωτ. 112 επιστολή της ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΟ ΑΕ
2. Η από 30.05.18 υπ' αριθμόν Πρωτ. 383 επιστολή της ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΟ ΑΕ

Σε συνέχεια των ως άνω σχετικών επιστολών καθώς και των συνεννοήσεων που έχουν προηγηθεί, σας καλούμε να μας ενημερώσετε για το χρονοδιάγραμμα αποχώρησης των υπηρεσιών σας από τους χώρους τους οποίους κάνετε χρήση εντός του Μητροπολιτικού Πόλου, επισημαίνοντας σας το γεγονός ότι αναμένεται να ξεκινήσουν οι οικοδομοτεχνικές εργασίες υλοποίησης του Έργου.

Παραμένουμε στη διάθεσή σας για σχετικές διευκρινίσεις.


Αρης Αποστόλου
Εντεταλμένο μέλος Δ.Σ. ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΟ Α.Ε.


Σουλτάνα Σπυροπούλου
Πρόεδρος και Διευθύνουσα Σύμβουλος
ΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΟ ΑΕ

Κοιν.:

1. Γραφείο Υπουργού Ανάπτυξης και Επενδύσεων, κ. Α. Γεωργιάδη
2. Γραφείο Υφυπουργού Βιομηχανίας και Εμπορίου, κ. Ν. Παπαθανάση
3. ΤΑΙΠΕΔ.

Figure 5.12

The third and last letter was sent by the Elliniko A.E company on 5 June 2020 requiring 'a timeline of relocation' to be provided to them by the Metropolitan Community Clinic of Hellinikon. Archival research by author.

In May 2020, the local municipality of Hellinikon advanced the eviction of the Metropolitan Community Clinic of Hellinikon from its premises, although it was made aware of the letter that the clinic had issued to the Greek parliament. However, because of the infrastructural and organisational system of solidarity that was in place, the clinic managed to survive and to continue its operations, albeit displaced. The solidarity clinic's contribution to the healthcare infrastructure of the city was recognised by its three neighbouring municipalities, all of which offered space.

This is precisely the subject matter of this chapter. Although displacement was a fact of life for solidarity initiatives, as were the other forms of legal harassment that made up the hostile environment that surrounded their activity during this new phase of administrative infrastructures, they continued to endure through time by intervening in urban space. I trace the tools of counter-power that became common expressions in the interplay between solidarity initiatives and the Greek state from the beginning of the crisis. The architectures of abandonment by the state have, since then, been contested by the network of solidarity projects that navigates through the existing state violence and infrastructural disputes by using a combination of tools, including practices of routinisation, concealment, visibility and replication, according to the aims and goals of the solidarity network. I investigate the tools and practices that define the microstructure of solidarity projects through the exploration of the solidarity clinic and pharmacy, which managed to replicate on a profound level, and continues to do so in the present. Through the constitution of the solidarity clinic and pharmacy, I demonstrate how the healthcare social movement operates as a system.

Hence, I focus on issues of health and care, having in mind the assuredness by Tiqqun that to invert biopolitics into a politics of radical singularity, 'we have to reinvent the field of health, and invent a political medicine based on forms of life'.²³⁵ *Form of life* is the process through which everything is revealed to be practice, 'that is, to take place within its own limits, within its own immanent signification'.²³⁶

²³⁵ Tiqqun, *Introduction to Civil War*, p. 67.

This thesis studies the concept of the 'form-of-life' in more detail through the scholarship of Giorgio Agamben. In Giorgio Agamben, *The Omnibus Homo Sacer* (Stanford University Press, 2017).

²³⁶ This means that each act, conduct, and statement endowed with sense — act, conduct and statement as event — spontaneously manifests its own metaphysics, its own community, its own party, 'simply means the world is practice, and life is, in its smallest details, heroic'. In Tiqqun, *Introduction to Civil War*, p. 67.



Figure 5.13

Banner “Open Borders - Open Buildings” created during the assembly of the social movement for housing for all in Athens hosted at the City Plaza Hotel. Photo courtesy of Refugee Accommodation and Solidarity Space City Plaza.

5.2 Codes, Values and Constitutions in Healthcare Solidarity



Figure 5.14

Photograph from the first assembly of solidarity clinics and pharmacies of Attica that took place in the outdoor space of the Metropolitan Community Clinic of Hellinikon in July 2013. The major outcome of this first coordinating assembly was that a nationwide assembly needed to follow, to decide on a universal code of action. Courtesy: Metropolitan Community Clinic of Hellinikon.

'We create solidarity clinics, solidarity pharmacies, and these are our codes and values:'

Extract from the 10-point Charter of Constitution of Solidarity Clinics and Pharmacies in Greece that defines the principles and values of the healthcare social movement.²³⁷

The third panhellenic assembly of solidarity clinics and pharmacies came together in November 2013. Representatives and participants from all over the country gathered outside the “Elpis” hospital in Athens to protest for the dire condition of the healthcare system and later the same day they convened at the auditorium of the hospital to decide on a strategy of action at a national level. Notably, this was the constitutive event during which the 10-Point Charter of Constitution of Solidarity Clinics and Pharmacies outlining their main codes and values was discussed and voted on. Acting as a strategy document, the Charter of Constitution, declared that the clinics and pharmacies should weave a ‘network of social protection’²³⁸ against the crisis and its effects to battle any form of structural and infrastructural violence. Most importantly, their charter defined what distinguishes a clinic and pharmacy that is part of the healthcare social movement in Greece from other extra-state organisations that also provide healthcare. This definition enjoys pride of place as the charter’s first point. Here the collective identity of the solidarity clinics is defined as ‘autonomous, independent, self-organised and self-managed’.²³⁹

²³⁷ Extract from the Introduction of the Charter of Constitution of Solidarity Clinics and Pharmacies. A version of the charter can be found here (in Greek) <<https://www.koinoniaher.gr/2013/11/15/charta-allilengiis-kinonikon-iatrion-farmakion-allilengiis/>> [accessed 10 September 2021].

²³⁸ Ibid.

²³⁹ Ibid.

Charter of Constitution of Solidarity Clinics and Pharmacies in Greece

Common ground, values and principles:

For the last 4 years we have been experiencing a policy that has had a tragic effect on our lives. The economic crisis has revealed a more profound crisis of values and institutions. The dismantling of public healthcare structures and the transformation of health from a public good and a human right into a mechanism of exclusion is one of the many, and for us the worst, consequences of the implementation of the harshest fiscal austerity policies by a government in the recent years. Public health expenditures have been reduced by more than 40% while at the same time more than 3 million people are un-insured, excluded from any public health structure, with an immediate and long-term negative impact on all health indicators of the population. At a time when the memorandum policies that are being implemented by all our governments and the “Troika” are dismantling the national healthcare system and public health services across the country, suspending EOPYY primary health care facilities, shutting down hospitals, merging clinics, laying off doctors, nurses and care workers. We call for all people who participate in our networks as participants, volunteers, donors, researchers, activists, to always have in mind that we are all witnesses and organisers. At this time of ongoing dismantling of social care, when primary care for illness prevention and examination and mental health services should become a priority but instead what we witness is an unprecedented dissolution of these spaces and infrastructures, we as active participants of the healthcare social movement and in every way we can, are documenting this unprecedented moment where our movement is being formed and, are organising our struggle to address larger political questions of care and access right now. We organise our daily lives, creating infrastructures of solidarity to support all those in need. We are creating archives of resistance against the dissolution of the welfare state imposed by the austerity policies. We fight this struggle alongside the society that has embraced us to dismantle these austerity policies instead of the public health services, for a free public, and universal national healthcare system that serves the health needs, from prevention to rehabilitation, of all people without any form of exclusion but that also envisions a promise for a healthcare infrastructure that is horizontal, emancipatory and open to all.

We create solidarity clinics, solidarity pharmacies, and these are our values:

1. The solidarity clinics and solidarity pharmacies or otherwise the solidarity clinics and pharmacies (KIFA) are autonomous, independent, self-organised and self-managed collectives of people who provide voluntary and completely free of charge, primary medical and pharmaceutical care services to uninsured, impoverished and unemployed patients, without racial discrimination, and regardless of religion, nationality, sexual orientation, gender and age. Simultaneously with specific actions, acts and public calls, they demand the access of the uninsured patients to the national healthcare system and the public health services, and the abolition in practice of this mechanism of exclusion from healthcare.
2. Unemployed and uninsured, as well as employed and insured participants, volunteers, doctors, dentists, psychologists, social workers, and pharmacists, as well as citizens, researchers, activists, workers who support the operation of clinics as a claim to the country’s healthcare infrastructure, participate in the KIFA together and equally. Together with health workers we are fighting to defend public healthcare structures that are being dissolved one after another. Our action is driven by the need of the people and not by volunteering as self-determination. The main characteristics of all those involved are the belief in solidarity as a way of life that creates social cohesion, cooperation, equal relations, mutual respect, mutual aid practices and the belief that health is the highest social good and for as a human right.
3. The KIFA consist of an infrastructure supported by a network of struggle and resistance that produce primary material, protocols, practices and documents that have as an aim the contributing to the restructuring of the social fabric by a set of material claims to the country’s healthcare system. KIFA are open spaces of direct action that are trying to: activate as many people as possible and bring them into this network of the healthcare social movement; promote the joint participation of participants, patients and society; operate as open collectives that are part of both the solidarity movement and in particular of the healthcare social movement; self-organise having as principles the direct participatory democracy and on the basis of equality of all members, without hierarchical organization and with horizontal decision-making. All decisions regarding their operation

Figure 5.15

10-point Charter of Constitution of Solidarity Clinics and Pharmacies in Greece. Document drawn up in English by the author.

and aims are taken at the open general assembly, which can be attended by all.

4. As KIFA we have no intention, nor is there any illusion about the possibility of substituting the state that is withdrawing from the responsibility of taking care of the health of the population. Instead, we are building a social protection network to support the people and at the same time, through an ongoing quotidian democratic, social and political struggle, we are demanding that the state assume its responsibilities. We do not offer charity work, nor do we want to educate our participants in the logic of compassion and supplication, but together we must fight collectively for our right to healthcare and demand access to healthcare services for all people without exception.

5. KIFA as an infrastructural system is based on the solidarity of peoples and has no dependence, nor does it accept money from anyone who supports the dismantling of public health services and the national healthcare system, directly or indirectly. They accept offers and donations of items, medicines, and equipment the clinics need but do not advertise anyone for any donation, nor do they have sponsors. They do not allow any party politics to get involved in their operation, nor do they allow the exploitation of their work for the personal promotion or benefit of anyone.

6. KIFA's infrastructure of healthcare organises the nationwide networking for the coordination of joint actions and initiatives in claiming the right to healthcare for all, based on their common characteristics and principles. They do not interfere in the operation of fellow KIFA clinics nor of the healthcare social movement they are part of and respect the operating protocols of each. They promote equal participation and solidarity between them and work towards the expansion of this nationwide network.

7. KIFA clinics oppose any kind of exclusion, national, economic, racial, while it supports, promotes and participates in actions and struggles against these exclusions by joining calls for action of fellow movements and their international counterparts as they are part of the broader anti-austerity, anti-racism, decolonization and environmental movements that they view as interlinked for the joint struggle against exclusion of peoples and their histories. We participate in broader self-organised social movements and solidarity networks and seek cooperation between movements and collectives aimed at combating pov-

erty, exclusion, racism, and the marginalisation of vulnerable social groups. We endorse and join the calls for action of our network and contribute by providing access to our archives and share our mutual-aid practices, organisational protocols and spatial configurations, in addition to the medical and legal aid to people who need it when public goods are affected and infrastructural gaps are evident, in cooperation with the solidarity movement and other social movements.

8. We coordinate actions across the infrastructure of solidarity care and in doing so we both give and get support from solidarity kitchens, groceries, bazaars, time banks and cooperatives and generally any self-organised initiative that is part of the solidarity movement and the broader network of social movements we create.

9. We support protocols and systems for the development of new spaces to join this infrastructure of healthcare/solidarity care and seek the exchange of experiences, protocols, patterns and routines in order to diffuse our actions across the country. In doing so we save and document our history and manage our own archives and spaces that reflect our protocols and experiences.

10. We participate in or organise workshops on issues of social solidarity and the humanitarian crisis. We set up information networks, participate in meetings of scientific bodies and other specialties, publish information and other materials, collaborate with researchers and activists. We introduce an empirical approach to everything we say and do, as the participants in our networks are the witnesses of the evolution of our KIFA infrastructure and contribute to our protocols and spatial configurations.

Moreover, the distinction between initiatives of charity, exemplified by NGOs or the church, and initiatives of solidarity, is defined in Points 2, 4 and 5 of the charter. These points clarify that the solidarity clinic's activities are driven 'by the need of the people and not by volunteering as self-determination'.²⁴⁰ I argue that the network of solidarity clinics and pharmacies exhibited elements of a healthcare social movement because of its potential to 'challenge medical politics, policies and practices'.²⁴¹ This is because the solidarity clinics addressed issues such as equal access to the healthcare infrastructure regardless of racial, national, gender, class and/or sexual identity; the universalisation of quality healthcare through the improvement of the national healthcare system and the development of primary healthcare at a local scale; as well as the reversal of medical authority as the par excellence management system of hierarchical divisions and experimentation with more holistic and communitarian paradigms of health and well-being.²⁴²

²⁴⁰ Ibid.

²⁴¹ Adam and Teloni, *Social Clinics in the Greece of Crisis*, pp. 27-32.

²⁴² Ibid.



Figure 5.16
Photograph from the 1st Panhellenic
Assembly of solidarity clinics and
pharmacies (2015).

To map the network of solidarity clinics and pharmacies, 56 solidarity clinics and pharmacies, in operation between 2016 and 2018, were recorded and classified based on the identity of the actor and synergies that established them: social movements (solidarity initiatives) (43); regional authorities (5); the third sector (NGOs) (4); doctors' trade union (1); the municipality (1); a group of health professionals (1); the church (1).²⁴³

Among those, my research aims to distinguish between social movements and institutions that, despite the existence of disputes within the network, have more pronounced differences between them, mostly in terms of role, scope, organisation, culture and orientation. Considering the Charter of Constitution of the Solidarity Clinics and Pharmacies in Greece, it is found that solidarity clinics and pharmacies had a clearly politicised profile, with obvious connections to broader social movements and emancipation struggles. Crucially, in the charter, it is clearly stated that the solidarity clinics and pharmacies operate as a social movement.²⁴⁴ Nevertheless, it is important to operationalise the use of "social movement" for the sake of conceptual and analytical clarity. This research conceives as initiatives of the Greek healthcare social movement, of solidarity clinics and pharmacies, those that are characterised by prominent 'networks of informal interactions between a plurality of individuals, groups and/or organisations engaged in political or cultural conflicts on the basis of shared collective identities'.²⁴⁵

Their interventions aim to be more active, engaging in direct action and challenging the austerity policies and most importantly collectively refusing to function as a substitute to the Greek National Health System.²⁴⁶ When it comes to the relationship with institutions, they find themselves in a position to negotiate practices of institutionalisation and resist requests for direct collaboration with governmental authorities.²⁴⁷ Notably, the charter works to draw boundaries vis-à-vis institutional and political bodies. For instance, the fourth point makes clear the clinics 'have no intention, nor is there any illusion about the possibility of substituting the state that is withdrawing from the responsibility of taking care of the health of the population'.²⁴⁸ This is a significant point. It highlights

²⁴³ To identify the population of solidarity clinics and pharmacies in Athens and subsequently to confirm their ongoing operation this thesis did so by accessing their online websites and using forms of contact via either a note sent via email explaining the aim and procedure of the research, and/or by phone communication to detect them. Some solidarity clinics and pharmacies developed by more radical groups asked for the presentation of the aims and methods of this research within their general assemblies to decide upon their inclusion in this thesis.

²⁴⁴ Extract from the Introduction of the 'Charter of Constitutions of Solidarity Clinics and Pharmacies', (2013).

²⁴⁵ Mario Diani, 'The Concept of Social Movement', *The Sociological Review*, 40.1 (1992), p. 1.

²⁴⁶ Extract of the 'Charter of Constitutions of Solidarity Clinics and Pharmacies', (2013).

²⁴⁷ Ibid.

that at this crucial juncture defined by socio-political contingencies, the state failed to provide support. It instead advanced strategies of abandonment as it dismantled welfare architectures, such as those for housing and healthcare, by intentionally withdrawing from its responsibility to maintain them. Elizabeth Povinelli unveiled the importance of the ‘present tense’ action in order to deal with governmental strategies of abandonment that aim to achieve the exclusion of marginalised populations and to prohibit the existence of alternative forms of life.²⁴⁹ Drawing away from the imposed liberal conceptions that the present suffering will lead to the betterment of conditions in the future when it comes to the relationship with institutions, solidarity clinics find themselves in a position to resist requests for direct collaboration with government authorities and to demand immediate solutions to their problems.

Furthermore, two major triggering events have been identified as explaining this remarkable politicisation of healthcare and which laid the groundwork for the interplay between the healthcare social movement and state institutions. One was the radicalisation of the meaning of solidarity in the wake of the creation of the solidarity clinic of Thessaloniki in 2011. The solidarity clinic of Thessaloniki consisted of an initiative of doctors, with biographical affinities to the anti-austerity protest organisation operating since 2008, who mobilised in support of the 300 migrants-hunger strikers struggling for the recognition of their social rights, including access to healthcare (January – March 2011). Almost a year later, joining the same struggle but from the healthcare workers’ standpoint, on 20 February 2012, the general public hospital in Kilkis in northern Greece was declared a self-managed hospital by the assembly of doctors and medical staff there, whose struggle for the self-determination of medical labour and against the ‘catastrophic effects of the austerity policies’ on the operation of the healthcare infrastructure that was facing huge gaps, attracted the attention of the entire nation to the dismantling of the most essential welfare provision regarding the public health institution - the country’s hospitals.²⁵⁰

²⁴⁸ Ibid.

²⁴⁹ Elizabeth A. Povinelli, *Economies of Abandonment: Social Belonging and Endurance in Late Liberalism* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2011), p. 32.

²⁵⁰ Some articles that give a comprehensive view of the claims of the doctors and medical staff can be found in the following articles from the Greek press (in Greek) titled ‘Occupation and Self-management from the Workers of the General Hospital of Kilkis’ <<https://tvxs.gr/news/user-post/katalipsi-kai-aytodiaxeirisi-apo-toys-ergazomenoys-toy-no-sokomeioy-kilkis>> (2012) [accessed 10 September 2021].

Figure 5.17 (below)
Newspaper articles covering the emergence of the Solidarity Clinic of Thessaloniki in April 2011. Sources: Enet/Eleftherotyria & TVXS.





Figure 5.18

Photograph from the occupation of the General Hospital of Kilkis in northern Greece by its medical staff in February 2012. Courtesy: Assembly of the General Public Hospital of Kilkis.

Μήνυμα από το Νοσοκομείο Κιλκίς

Ελλάδα / Τουρκία / Κύπρος | Εργατικοί Αγώνες | Νέα | Thursday March 01, 2012 06:28 | by Από το Κιλκίς | enosi.kilkis.at yahoo dot gr

Μήνυμα μέλους της γενικής συνέλευσης εργαζομένων, του κατελημμένου Νοσοκομείου Κιλκίς
 Στο διεθνές ενδιαφέρον για το συνεχιζόμενο αγώνα και την αυτοδιαχείριση στο απάντησε μία συμμετέχουσα στη γενική συνέλευση εργαζομένων, υποβάλλοντας σχόλιο στην αγγλική σελίδα του Contra Info στις 26 Φλεβάρη. Ζητήθηκε και κρίθηκε σκόπιμο να υπάρχει η τοποθέτηση αυτή και στα ελληνικά, καθώς διαμοιράστηκε ήδη σε άλλες γλώσσες...

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 Δήλωση Αθήνα... Nov 30 19 by International Confederation of Labour

Figure 5.19

Newspaper articles covering the occupation of the General Public Hospital in Kilkis, Greece, in 2012. TVXS news platform described the occupation as 'a publicised act of symbolic and political importance'.



Στο διεθνές ενδιαφέρον για το συνεχιζόμενο αγώνα και την αυτοδιαχείριση στο απάντησε μία συμμετέχουσα στη γενική συνέλευση εργαζομένων, υποβάλλοντας σχόλιο στην αγγλική σελίδα του Contra Info στις 26 Φλεβάρη. Ζητήθηκε και κρίθηκε σκόπιμο να υπάρχει η τοποθέτηση αυτή και στα ελληνικά, καθώς διαμοιράστηκε ήδη σε άλλες γλώσσες...

Οι εργαζόμενοι αντιμετωπίζουν με τη δύσκολη και ανασταχτική κατάσταση...

Της Κ.Β.
 Το νοσοκομείο του Κιλκίς είναι ένα από τα νοσοκομεία που έγιναν γνωστά το τελευταίο διάστημα για τις δυναμικές κινητοποιήσεις των εργαζομένων του, που διήρκεσαν περίπου έναν μήνα. Παρά τη μεγάλη επίθεση που έχει ξεκινήσει η κυβέρνηση στο δικαίωμα του λαού στη δωρεάν υγεία και τις τραγικές μειώσεις μισθών που έχουν υποστεί οι εργαζόμενοι στα νοσοκομεία, οι αντιδράσεις που εκδηλώθηκαν τους τελευταίους μήνες ήταν αποσπασματικές και ανοργάνωτες. Ευθύνη βέβαια γι' αυτό έχουν οι συνδικαλιστικές ηγεσίες των αμοσπονητών (ΠΟΕΔΗΗ και ΟΙΕΓΕ). Εξάρτηση σε αυτό το τοπίο αποτέλεσαν κυρίως κάποια νοσοκομεία της επαρχίας (Ρέθυμνο, Κιλκίς, Κάρυστος κ.ά.) και κάποια νοσηλευτικά ιδρύματα με αντικείμενο την ψυχική υγεία που ομολογουμένως έχει μπει ιδιαίτερα στο στόχαστρο των τροϊκανών και της κυβέρνησης.
 Τι κοινό είχαν αυτά τα νοσοκομεία; Πρώτον, πρόκειται για νοσοκομεία που πήγαιναν για κλείσιμο και αυτό κινητοποιεί όχι μόνο τους εργαζόμενους, αλλά και τον νέομο πληθυσμό, κυρίως στο Ρέθυμνο. Δεύτερον, η πολιτική της αδιαφορίας σε συνδυασμό με τις συνταξιοδοτικές εντατικοποιήσεις σε τέτοιον βαθμό τη δουλειά και δημιουργούσε ένα εκρηκτικό κλίμα. Στο νοσοκομείο του Κιλκίς οι εργαζόμενοι έχοντας ξεκινήσει επίσημα εργασία (300 και πλέον από τους 650 συνολικά) από τις αρχές Φλεβάρη προκήρυσαν σε κατάληψη της διοίκησης του νοσοκομείου στις 26 Φλεβάρη, η οποία διήρκεσε τρεις εβδομάδες. Η κατάληψη, που δεν ήταν συμβολική αλλά συνεκτική και ουσιαστική, είχε αποτέλεσμα το πάγωμα αρκετών διαδικασιών του νοσοκομείου. Λύθηκε μόνο όταν η διοίκηση του νοσοκομείου αποφάσισε να ποινικοποιήσει τους αγώνες στοχοποιώντας συγκεκριμένους εργαζόμενους - «πρωτεργάτες» - μέσω ΕΔΕ ή αποσπάσεων (αναισθησιολόγος αποσπάστηκε για τρεις μήνες στο «Παπανικολάου» της Θεσσαλονίκης).
 Οι εργαζόμενοι όλο αυτό το διάστημα εξυπηρετούσαν τον λαό του Κιλκίς δωρεάν, μπλόκαραν να ταμεία έτσι ώστε ο κόσμος να μην πληρώνει τα 5 ευρώ που έχουν καθιερωθεί για οποιαδήποτε εξέταση και προέβησαν σε κινητοποιήσεις από κοινού με τους κατοίκους (πραγματοποιήσαν πορεία στην πόλη). Στο όλο εγχείρημα συμμετείχαν αρκετοί γιατροί (τουλάχιστον αρκετοί που ζουν από τον μισθό τους) και μεγάλα κομμάτι των εργαζομένων. Οι εργαζόμενοι έκαναν συνελεύσεις πολύ τακτικά και αποφάσιζαν για τη συνέχιση του αγώνα τους.



At this juncture, I argue that the space of the solidarity clinic became the reference point for direct action against the dismantlement of the public health institutions in their most material sense, through the evacuation and closure of hospitals, for instance, by constituting an open and accessible medical infrastructure as part of the healthcare social movement, alongside a decentralised and local network of combined solidarity care established simultaneously.²⁵¹ Thus, taking into account the constitution of cooperatives, the development of time banks and mechanisms of economic support, and the establishment of rights for spatial claims and building appropriation, as well as in the legislative production of a set of legislations and decrees, it is clear that the dismantling of the total public health institution has been material, not symbolic.

Through both case studies, the solidarity clinic of Thessaloniki and the public hospital of Kilkis, the conception of the institutional transformation and the politicisation of the healthcare institution as we know it is, in the first place, a practice of re-appropriation by those to whom healthcare provision was denied through mechanisms of exclusion, demonstrates their ability to act and shows the responsibility of their action through the creation of not a different institution but of a new infrastructural system ‘together with the workers, the nurses, the patients, the city’.²⁵² Unemployed and uninsured, as well as employed and insured participants, volunteers, doctors, dentists, psychologists, social workers, and pharmacists, as well as citizens, researchers, activists, workers who support the operation of clinics ‘participate in the general assembly of the solidarity clinics and pharmacies together and equally’.²⁵³ Thus, one of the distinguishing elements of the spatial practices of care in a solidarity clinic is its openness and accessibility as a space where the codification of provision is unpicked and this is best demonstrated through the horizontal participation of all concerned groups, including care-seekers, in the assemblies. Together with healthcare workers they are ‘fighting to defend the healthcare infrastructure and the spaces that consist of it that are being dissolved one after another’.²⁵⁴ Finally, as Points 5 to 10 of the charter explain, solidarity clinics have established a broad and heterogenous network ranging from links with doctors’ associations and trade unions, to NGOs and international movements.

²⁵¹ Francesco Salvini, ‘Instituting on the threshold’, in *Monster Municipalisms*, *Transversal journal*, (2016).

²⁵² Ibid. Francesco Salvini reiterates the words of Franco Basaglia that ‘the destruction of the place is the limit to be inhabited in order to produce another place together’. Indeed, on this limit between dismantling and direct action, the existence of the solidarity clinic as a place poses the question of change in a series of political and ethical relationships that are directly urban, because destroying the institution is not enough if another invention does not inhabit and compose a new place, where the former has been de-instituted.

²⁵³ Extract of the ‘Charter of Constitutions of Solidarity Clinics and Pharmacies’, (2013).

²⁵⁴ Ibid.



Figure 5.20
Photograph from the visit of Ada Colau with members of Barcelona en Comú at the Metropolitan Community Clinic of Hellinikon in 2017.
Courtesy: Metropolitan Community Clinic of Hellinikon.

The ultimate aim has been to build what is described in the introduction of the charter as ‘an archive of resistance’. This is forming through a testimonial and activism intent on registering what is taking place during this period of time in the country:

We call for all people who participate in our networks as participants, volunteers, donors, researchers, activists, to always have in mind that we are all witnesses and organisers at the same time. At this time of ongoing dismantling of social care and welfare services, instead of the prioritisation of the primary health-care provision for illness prevention and examination, and attendance to mental health conditions, what we are witnessing instead is an unprecedented dissolution of these spaces and infrastructures. Thus, as active participants of the healthcare social movement and in every way we can, we should be documenting this unprecedented moment that our social movement is being formed and, at the same time, organise our struggle to address larger political questions of care and access right now.²⁵⁵

²⁵⁵ Ibid.

Acts of witnessing can be undertaken as unmediated visual testimony, registering what members see as taking place, or as medical testimony from the specialised perspective of professional expertise and medical knowledge. Of immense importance here is that witnessing and documenting as a testimonial act is directly linked with the constitution of the solidarity clinics that became the spaces where injustice and hardships are politicised. Eyal Weizman, in his book *Hollow Land*, observed a significant aspect about the utilisation of the code of practice of certain professions, such as the medical one, in contexts that require participation in contentious zones and how, by doing this, politicisation of institutions can be achieved.²⁵⁶ By referencing the work of *Medecins sans Frontieres* (MSF), in the words of one of its founder members, Rony Brauman, Weizman articulates how MSF’s Code of practice insists that humanitarian organisations, which sometimes gain access to environments and information to which others, including journalists, have no access, must be prepared not only to perform their professional tasks but also ‘to bear witness to the truth of injustice and to insist on political responsibility’.²⁵⁷ Referencing Brauman, Weizman argues that medical experts ‘go into the field with a medical kit and return to bear witness’.²⁵⁸

²⁵⁶ Eyal Weizman, *Hollow Land: Israel’s Architecture of Occupation* (London: Verso Books, 2012), pp. 259-60.

²⁵⁷ Ibid.

²⁵⁸ Ibid.

Thus, in drawing up its code, MSF politicised a medical profession that had previously been committed to Hippocratic neutrality. To bring this back to architecture, and drawing an analogy with the medical practice exercised in conflict and war zones, Eyal Weizman argues that architectural practice can also bear professional witness to those struggles when conducted through the transformation of the built environment.²⁵⁹ In a similar argument, Didier Fassin argues that regarding participation and research in contested zones, the method is simple but innovative: in doubling-up the role of the participants/researchers/experts with that of those who bear testimony, researchers can work with the paradoxes present in contexts of crisis rather than surrender to them.²⁶⁰ Thus, these practices of witnessing, building, performing professional duties, and organising protocols, are creating “archives of resistance” against the dissolution of the welfare infrastructure imposed by the austerity policies. Moreover, the healthcare social movement is fighting this struggle in the public sphere alongside the society that has embraced them ‘to dismantle these austerity policies instead of the public healthcare services, for a free public, and universal national healthcare system that serves the health needs, from prevention to rehabilitation, of all people without any form of exclusion but that also envisions a promise for a healthcare infrastructure that is horizontal, emancipatory and open to all’.²⁶¹

However, it is important to unpick that politicising medicine and building archives of resistance is not solely concerning issues of access and inclusion to healthcare provision services, but speaks more about a collective struggle to annihilate any form of debilitation intended towards bodies and healthcare infrastructure, as this is what makes the existence of solidarity clinics and pharmacies a counter-architecture, not only as a counter-power to address issues of exclusion, but more as a relational nexus that links questions of spatial expression to matters of subjectivity, space, (bio)power and governance.

²⁵⁹ Ibid.

²⁶⁰ For Didier Fassin the conflation of the roles of a specialised expert and that of witness should be undertaken in a way that does not leave the two aspects distinct from each other, but that rather allows them to work together in a mutually supporting way. See *If Truth Be Told: The Politics of Public Ethnography*, ed. by Didier Fassin (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2017), p. 117.

²⁶¹ Extract of the ‘Charter of Constitutions of Solidarity Clinics and Pharmacies’, (2013).



Figure 5.21
Medical examination at Metropolitan Community Clinic of Hellinikon (2017).



Figure 5.22
Dentist appointment at KIFA.A solidarity clinic and pharmacy of Athens (2017).

5.3 Debilitated Bodies

The work of solidarity clinics and pharmacies is undeniably crucial, at a moment when ongoing commodification and dismantling of the healthcare sector has restricted access to care along class lines, and when austerity politics have placed growing numbers of people and families in positions where they cannot realise or sustain bodily health.²⁶²

The solidarity clinics and pharmacies entail grassroots efforts to reconfigure the relationship between individual, social and political-economic bodies and most importantly to reconfigure the spatial relationship of these bodies with practices of care. Nancy Scheper-Hughes and Margaret Lock denote three scales through which the body might consist of a unit of analysis: first, the individual body or self; second, the social body; and finally, the body politic, which they define as the methods through which groups regulate and protect their participants and populations.²⁶³ What is important, is that they argue that such links are most clearly visible in times of crisis, when notions of broader social health are refracted and enforced through the health and productivity of individual bodies.

According to Michel Foucault medicine assumed a sudden importance in the 18th century. Moreover, he finds its roots in the intertwining of a new 'analytical' economy of health care and the emergence of a general health 'policy'. In this

²⁶² Economou, Charalampos, 'Impacts of the Financial Crisis on Access to Healthcare Services in Greece with a Focus on the Vulnerable Groups of the Population', *Social Cohesion and Development*, 9.2 (2014), pp. 99–115.

²⁶³ Nancy Scheper-Hughes and Margaret M. Lock, 'The Mindful Body: A Prolegomenon to Future Work in Medical Anthropology', *Medical Anthropology Quarterly*, 1.1 (1987), pp. 6-41.

way, the new nosopolitics inscribes the diseases of the poor within the general of health of populations. That is to say, that the biological traits of a population thus become pertinent elements for economic management, being necessary to organise, in turn, those mechanisms that ensure their subjection and a constant increase in their usefulness. And these mechanisms, are not only medical, but also expressly legal-political.²⁶⁴

Greece's conception of healthcare has always included a complex economic, institutional and architectural apparatus, conceived in order to manage the access to healthcare, circulation of medicines and distribution of labour. Dating back to 1983 and the voting of the single most important healthcare reform in the country Law 1397/1983 introduced the Greek National Healthcare System (ESY) based on free, universal and equal access to healthcare services.²⁶⁵

Since then, the Greek -public- national healthcare system has been criticised as suffering from two major weaknesses:²⁶⁶First and foremost, the existence of multiple social insurance funds that complicated the financing of the ESY adversely affecting its capacity to provide adequate coverage, and secondly, the disjointed and weakling primary health care sector.²⁶⁷ Due to these two structural characteristics, ESY represents a perfect hybrid system between the models of Social Health Insurance (SHI) and National Health System (NHS) in terms of financing and of organisation.²⁶⁸

More specifically, and with regards to the first unsettled characteristic of the ESY, people's health insurance was financed partly via general taxation, in accordance with the original NHS financing model, and partly by the employee, in the form of direct deductions from her/his wage, making health insurance directly linked to employment. This fact, played a catalytic role during the years of the financial crisis for the exclusion of the majority of the population from access to the healthcare system as unemployment records skyrocketed, with 2013 marking a bleak year where unemployment percentages reached to 27.5%; a fact that translated to the exclusion of 30% of the population from healthcare provision that same year.²⁶⁹

²⁶⁴ Michel Foucault, *The Birth of the Clinic: An Archaeology of Medical Perception* (Abingdon: Taylor and Francis e-Library, 2003), p. 24.

²⁶⁵ Charalampos Economou, 'Greece: Health system review', *Health Systems in Transition*, 12.7 (2010), p. 21.

²⁶⁶ Charalampos Economou characterises the Greek National Healthcare System (ESY) itself as a 'chronically ill' patient, while the 'Greek case' has been interpreted either as a 'weak' case or as an unstable type of the Southern welfare model, by the Troika. In Charalampos Economou, 'The Performance of the Greek Healthcare System and the Economic Adjustment Programme: Financial Crisis Versus System-specific Deficits Driven Reform', *Social Theory*, 2.2 (2012), pp. 33–69.

²⁶⁷ Ibid.

²⁶⁸ Charalampos Economou, 'Greece: Health System Review', p. 21.

²⁶⁹ Hellenic Statistical Authority. System of Health Accounts (SHA) of year 2013.



Figure 5.23
Collection point for medicine placed by the Solidarity Pharmacy of Neos Kosmos inside the Local Healthcare Service of Neos Kosmos (KY of Neos Kosmos) (2021). The Solidarity Pharmacy of Neos Kosmos was formed due to the increasing inability of the residents of the neighbourhoods of the area (including these of Kallithea, Nea Smyrni and Dafni) to purchase their medication, while some of them were facing chronic illnesses.



Figure 5.24

Makeshift outdoor redistribution points of medicine set up by the Solidarity Pharmacy of Neos Kosmos (2021). This temporary measure was put in place because of the social distancing rules imposed by the COVID-19 pandemic in Athens. To this day, solidarity clinics and pharmacies must invent a new mechanism of redistribution due to the long queues of care seekers.

These unprecedented levels of unemployment in combination with structural, organisational and technological differences between the three providers (public, private and insurance funds) of the primary healthcare had as a result the deterioration of the ESY in unprecedented levels, suspending primary healthcare facilities, shutting down hospitals, merging clinics, laying off doctors, nurses and care workers in unprecedented levels.²⁷⁰ A few factors shaping the current context, include the growth of the private healthcare sector; an increase in informal labour and precarious work; waning institutional support for workers' and citizens' rights; deterioration or total closure of hospitals and healthcare centres.

All the above had profound and protracted effects on peoples' health status. Commonly cited indicators of what the healthcare social movement in Greece framed as a 'humanitarian crisis', was the dramatic increase of infant mortality rates, the 16-fold rocketing of HIV infections, and the rising of tuberculosis and malaria cases to record levels.²⁷¹ Last but not least, reports on the impact of the economic crisis on mental health showed a 62.3% increase in suicides between 2007 and 2011.²⁷² Almost half of those committing suicide in 2012 were financially inactive.²⁷³ Cases of major clinical depression increased 248% between 2009 and 2011.

Medical anthropologists have shown that with the dismantling of state welfare systems, neoliberalism has introduced new regimes of regulation and (self) discipline into the realm of healthcare, giving rise to newly constituted bodies, relations and forms of subjectivity, and of care.²⁷⁴ However, neoliberalism's focus on the "body economic"²⁷⁵ –the discourses and politics surrounding the "health" of markets– most often distracts from the problems of life and death embedded in austerity. Nevertheless, Jasbir Puar argues that as even the most liberal and progressive state expands its care for the 'injured' or 'disabled', it increasingly advances 'through disproportionate force' practices of bodily as well as infrastructural debilitation.²⁷⁶ In her work *maiming* –the process of deliberately keeping bodies and infrastructures as injured and debilitated enough so as not to kill or dissolve them, respectively– becomes a primary vector through which biopolitical control is deployed in space (of the most marginalised), and hence not easily demarcated as "necro" – as it is mapped in Achille Mbembe's reworking of biopolitics.

²⁷⁰ Charalampos Economou, 'Impacts of the Financial Crisis on Access to Healthcare Services in Greece with a Focus on the Vulnerable Groups of the Population', *Social Cohesion and Development*, 9.2 (2014), pp. 99–115.

²⁷¹ Metropolitan Community Clinic of Hellinikon, 'Austerity Kills – these are the results' (4 October 2018) <<https://www.mkiellinikou.org/en/2018/10/04/austerity-kills-these-are-the-results-austerity-kills-there-is-proof/>> [accessed 10 September 2021].

²⁷² Hellenic Statistical Authority. System of Health Accounts (SHA) of year 2012.

²⁷³ Hellenic League for Human Rights, 'Downgrading Rights: The Cost of Austerity in Greece', *International Federation for Human Rights*, 646a (2014), p. 55.

²⁷⁴ Francisco Tirado Maureira et al., 'The Epidemiological Factor: A Genealogy of the Link between Medicine and Politics - Marco, 2018' *International Journal of Cultural Studies*, 21.5 (2018), pp. 505–519.

²⁷⁵ Stuckler & Basu, *The Body Economic*, p. 22.

²⁷⁶ Jasbir Puar terms this form of biopolitical control by the state as the 'right to maim'. For the author 'the right to maim' supplements if not replaces 'the right to kill'. Maiming as an intentional practice expands biopolitics 'beyond simply the question of right of death and power over life'. In Jasbir K. Puar, *The Right to Maim* (Durham, North Carolina: Duke University Press, 2017), p. 136.

In *Necropolitics*, Mbembe writes of the asymmetric war against infrastructure, or the ‘war on life support’, as he calls it: the war on life itself, on the state capacity to preserve and nourish life.²⁷⁷

Thus, not only bodies but also crucial infrastructures are being held in permanent crisis. Still, these “life and death” questions are powerfully evident for anyone doing research in Greece today. The existence of bodies in conditions of debilitation becomes evident from the witnessing of everyone involved in the networks of solidarity clinics and pharmacies, ‘including us as researchers’,²⁷⁸ as the indicators of austerity include the rise in suicides,²⁷⁹ visible homelessness, increasing mental health problems and growing issues of addiction, the bodies of asylum seekers and pregnant migrant women,²⁸⁰ rise on infant mortality and so forth.²⁸¹ Yet effects of austerity are perhaps even more widely felt in the increasing incapacity of residents to deal with relatively manageable, often chronic, illnesses.²⁸²

Practices and forms of care, thus, have played a profound role at encompassing the growing numbers of people unable to access the national healthcare system. The solidarity clinics and pharmacies are new paradigms of infrastructures for the care of individual bodies and groups, which do not fit easily within more established structures of belonging in Greece, such as the nuclear family or the nation-state; and they strive explicitly to undermine the marginalising, violent work of an increasingly austerity-driven Eurozone. Yet, the question that emerges is: In what ways solidarity clinics and pharmacies present alternative approaches to social and individual bodies, and address not just individual somatic needs but also social and economic relationships by reconfiguring the distribution of labour, care and medicines?

²⁷⁷ Achille Mbembe, ‘Necropolitics’, trans. by Libby Meintjes, *Public Culture* 15.1 (2003), pp. 11–40.

²⁷⁸ Heath Cabot, ‘The Chronicities of Crisis in Athens’s Social Solidarity Clinics’, *Society for Cultural Anthropology* (2016) <<https://culanth.org/fieldsights/the-chronicities-of-crisis-in-athenss-social-solidarity-clinics>> [accessed 10 September 2021]

²⁷⁹ Ibid.

²⁸⁰ Vanessa Grotti et al., ‘Pregnant Crossings: A Political Economy of Care on Europe’s External Borders’, in *Women and Borders: Refugees, Migrants and Communities*, ed. by Seema Shekhawat and Emanuela C. Del Re (London: I. B. Tauris International Library of Migration Studies, 2018), pp. 63–86.

²⁸¹ Hellenic League for Human Rights, ‘Downgrading Rights: The Cost of Austerity in Greece’, International Federation for Human Rights, 646a (2014).

5.4 Solidarity Healthcare Architecture: From City Squares to Residential Spaces

In Greece, the infrastructural gap in healthcare was contested for the first time through the formation of solidarity clinics and pharmacies that emerged as a response to the exclusion of more than one third of the population from the national healthcare system and other welfare services further to the global financial crisis of 2008. Notably, 2011 marked a year when a rise in “commoning”²⁸³ projects in urban space was catalysed by the occupation of public space, especially the central squares of Athens and other big cities across Greece during the Aganaktismenoi movement. The collective aim of these occupations was to bring people together under the principles of self-organisation, horizontal participation and democratic becoming. The first solidarity clinic was conceived as a solidarity project by the popular assembly of the Syntagma square in Athens –just opposite the parliament of Greece. In the years that followed, decentralised from the squares and diffused into the neighbourhoods, seeking for more permanent interventions in urban space, solidarity clinics and pharmacies flourished throughout the country.

From the city centre to the suburbs of Athens, abandoned buildings and domestic sites have been reutilised and converted into spaces for healthcare. These are small neighbourhood operations often based in the rooms of an apartment that used to be someone’s home or in the spaces of a former local shop at the ground

²⁸³ Stavros Stavrides, *Common Space: The City as Commons* (London: Zed Books, 2016), p. 241.

level of a building. In addition, solidarity clinics and pharmacies are occupying different types of properties, such as empty premises of the state that were granted to them on a meso-term or longer-term basis as in the case of the Metropolitan Community Clinic of Hellinikon. Otherwise, they occupy private buildings or apartments that are either granted to the healthcare providers, or for which they pay rent to private landlords. In some cases, to avoid paying rent, they negotiated to pay the utility bills and to undertake any maintenance work. Moreover, either the landlord or the collective of the solidarity clinic, depending on the agreement, would be able to apply for tax relief denoting an act of reciprocity by the state.²⁸⁴ This fact allowed for this practice of property re-appropriation to be widely adopted during the years of financial crisis that led to many buildings, as well as domestic and commercial spaces, ending up as available and empty.

²⁸⁴ This policy was activated during the period when SYRIZA was in power.

The solidarity clinic has very specific spatial and technical requirements as it provides almost every primary care examination. Moreover, some of the larger ones like the Metropolitan Community Clinic of Hellinikon have a fully equipped surgery room for minor surgeries. As a result, medical care takes place within half-emptied living rooms, bedrooms, and corridors. Moving through domestic interiors, this care-giving practice turned inside to outside and private domains to public sphere. Most importantly, this reconfiguration of domestic boundaries and interiors to host solidarity projects such as for healthcare provision must be understood as the manifestation of repression caused by austerity. This fact reinterpreted and recomposed the architectural and urban syntax of Athens and created and recreated conditions for everyday life.

While at the local level there are apartments, neighbourhood services, and mechanisms that contribute to the integration of the solidarity clinics into urban life, on the other hand, at the level of the national healthcare system, a series of services of local care and public health have resulted in the diffusion of the solidarity clinics and pharmacies into practices of medical and pharmaceutical care, partly based on their proximity to Athenian hospitals and clinics, partly on their connection with the medical units of public and private hospitals and private medical laboratories.

To fully understand the system of solidarity healthcare provision, it is important to note that there is also an infrastructural diversity among these spaces. There are solidarity clinics, solidarity pharmacies, or architectures that combine the two to form solidarity clinics and pharmacies. When a medical examination takes place in a solidarity clinic, the care-seeker is given a doctor's certificate or a prescription for medicine. When pharmaceuticals are prescribed, then the care-seeker can visit any solidarity pharmacy in the network to collect the medication. However, the network of solidarity healthcare has lately expanded to include public hospitals or private healthcare centres willing to treat care-seekers without healthcare insurance free-of-charge. Doctors from the solidarity clinics refer the most serious health cases of the care-seekers of the clinics (e.g. dealing with cancer, HIV infections and so forth) to the medical units of hospitals. As such, the solidarity clinics liaise with hospitals to refer care-seekers in need of hospitalisation.

Thereby, solidarity clinics and pharmacies, besides referring care-seekers from one solidarity structure to the other, are also referring them to hospitals with whom they have established a relationship. Notably, this practice of referral of care-seekers has been seen to apply extensively the other way around. Uninsured patients, visiting the doctors of hospitals for a medical examination and pharmaceuticals, are given written prescriptions addressed specifically to Solidarity Clinics and Pharmacies that can provide the medication for free.²⁸⁵

Regarding the spatial needs of solidarity pharmacies specifically, the National Association of Pharmacists in Greece requires for pharmacies to operate on the ground floor level and to operate under the supervision of at least one professional and licensed pharmacist.²⁸⁶ As not all solidarity pharmacies managed to find a space on the ground floor of a building, the rest of them contain a "storage" space to store the collected pharmaceuticals that they eventually distribute to the rest of the solidarity pharmacies of the network.²⁸⁷ This has been precisely the case of the pharmacy of the KIFA.A solidarity clinic of Athens, which during the first couple of years that it was initially housed on a ground floor apartment of an apartment building in the centre of Athens, it managed to also operate as a solidarity pharmacy and distribute pharmaceuticals to the care-seekers.

²⁸⁵ Notes from the fieldwork and archival research by the author.

²⁸⁶ Notes from a fieldwork visit and discussion with volunteers at KIFA.A (Social Clinic and Pharmacy of Solidarity of Athens) and the Metropolitan Community Clinic of Hellinikon.

²⁸⁷ Ibid.

However, since 2015 that it has been based on the third floor of a former office building, it ceased operating a functional pharmacy space, and instead KIFA.A redistributes the collected medicines to a host of organisations in need of them.

The KIFA.A (Social Clinic and Pharmacy of Solidarity of Athens) located in the city centre. Founded in 2012, the space it occupies is bright and clinical, and doctors conduct examinations and even some outpatient surgeries there. In 2013, there were over 80 volunteer doctors, nurses, pharmacists and an admin working overlapping shifts. During clinic hours, which were every weekday morning up to mid-day, dentists, doctors and mental health professionals did medical examinations on an appointment-only basis. Initially, they were housed on two different apartments in the same apartment building in Athens, so their pharmacy operating on the ground floor was open three days a week for two hours at a time, and only certified pharmacists distributed medicines. Due to the very specific spatial and technical requirements of the clinic, i.e., providing almost every primary care examination, including minor surgeries, it had a fully equipped surgery room. Because of this, the clinic's assembly made the decision, in 2014, to look for a more permanent option as the solidarity pharmacy was located on the ground floor interior of an apartment, and the solidarity clinic on a first floor apartment, both belonging to a private landlord who was also a doctor of the movement. This spatial division was causing a series of issues that had to do with maintenance, communication and distribution of labour and resources. Until now they have been operating on the third floor of a former office building in the centre of the city granted by the Region of Attica.

Case Study:

KIFA. A (Solidarity Clinic of Athens)
Address: Iktinou 2, Athens (3rd floor)

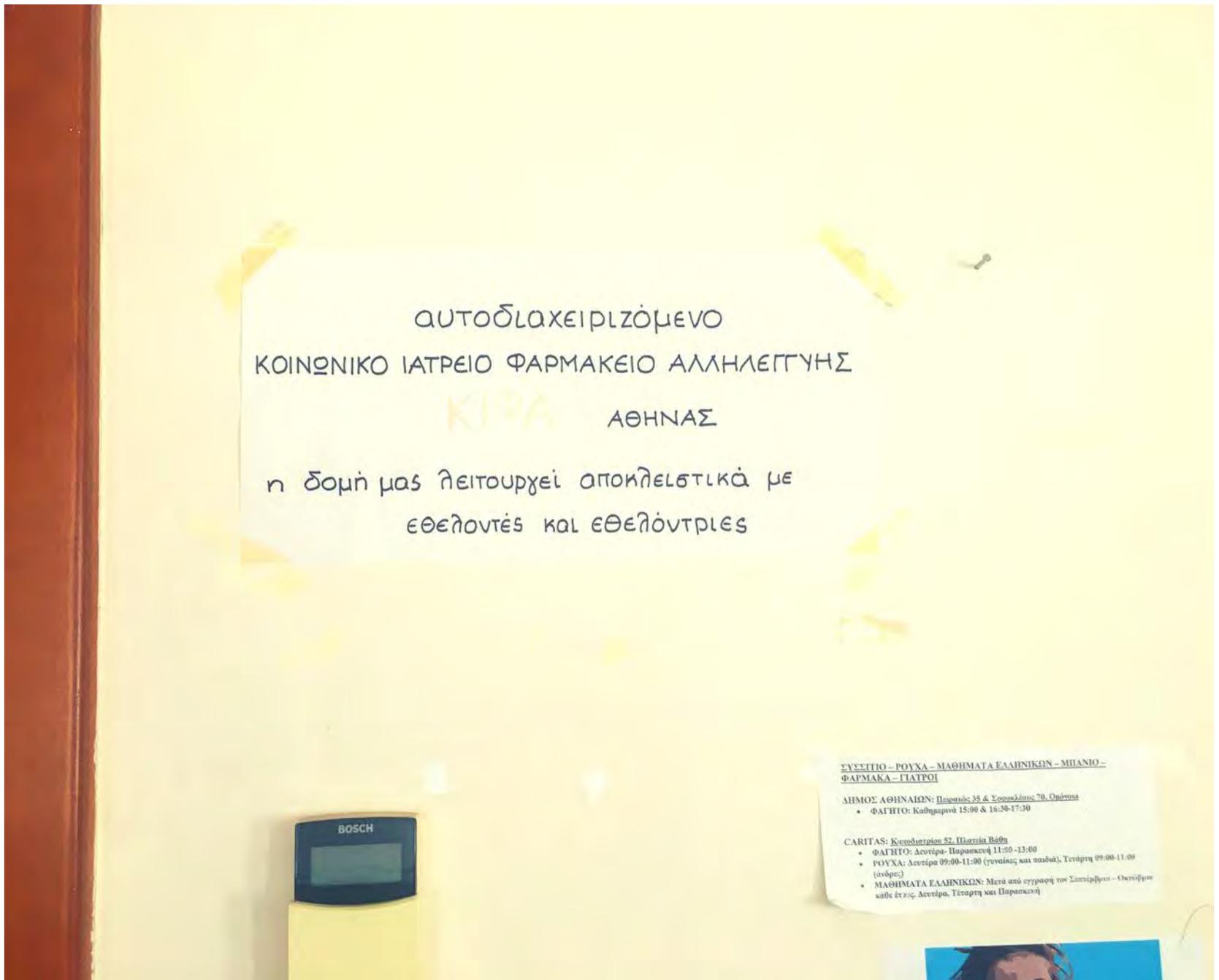


Figure 5.25

Since February 2020 KIFA.A operates only as a solidarity clinic without a functioning pharmacy, in the legal form of a non-profit company under the “Open City” non-profit cooperative framework. Since 2018 it is located in a rented office space in the centre of Athens.

Next to the entrance door, there is a handwritten sign:

“Self-managed solidarity clinic and pharmacy -- KIFA Athens. Our (solidarity) organisation is run exclusively by volunteers”.

1. Admin area and waiting room

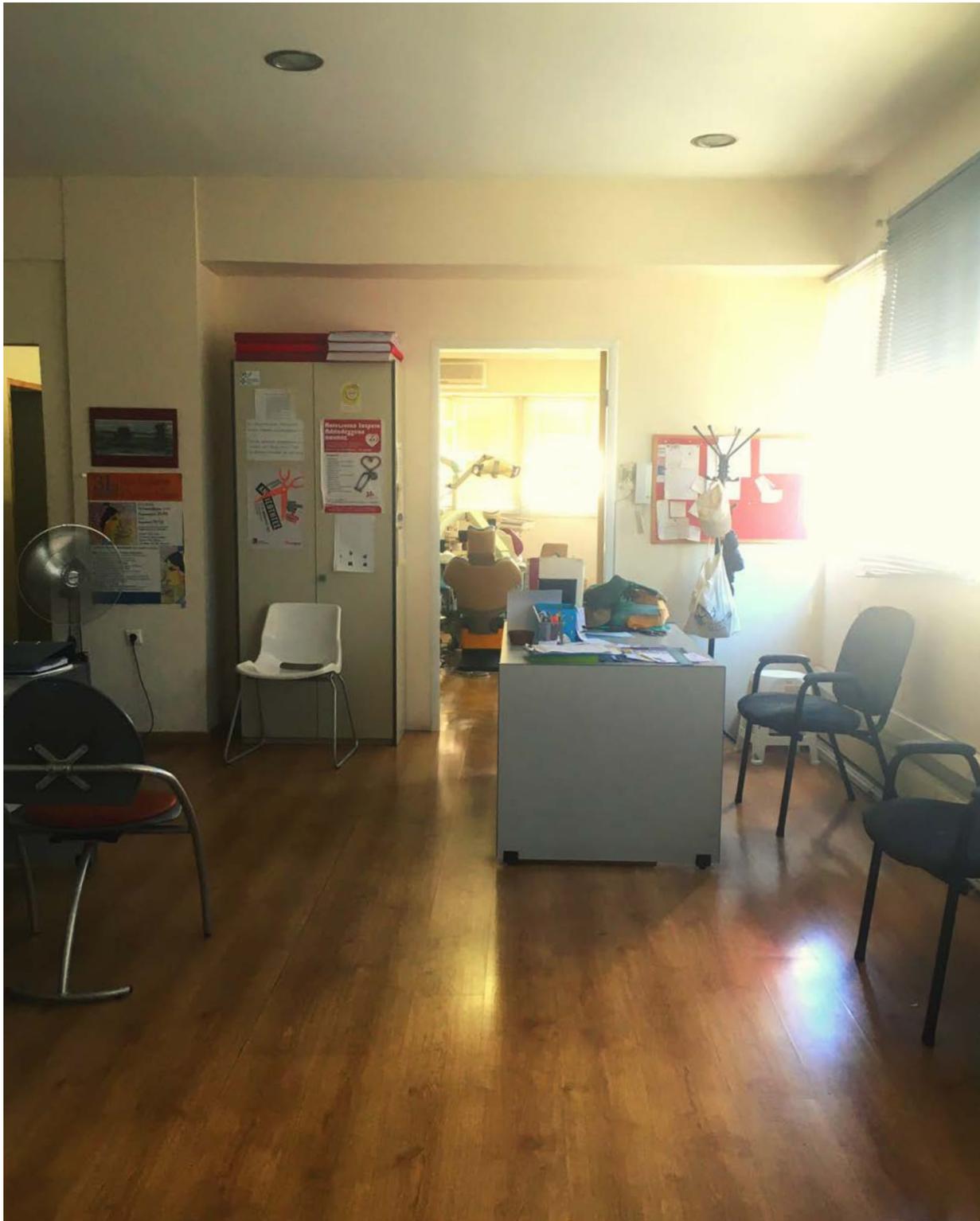


Figure 5.26

2. Secretariat

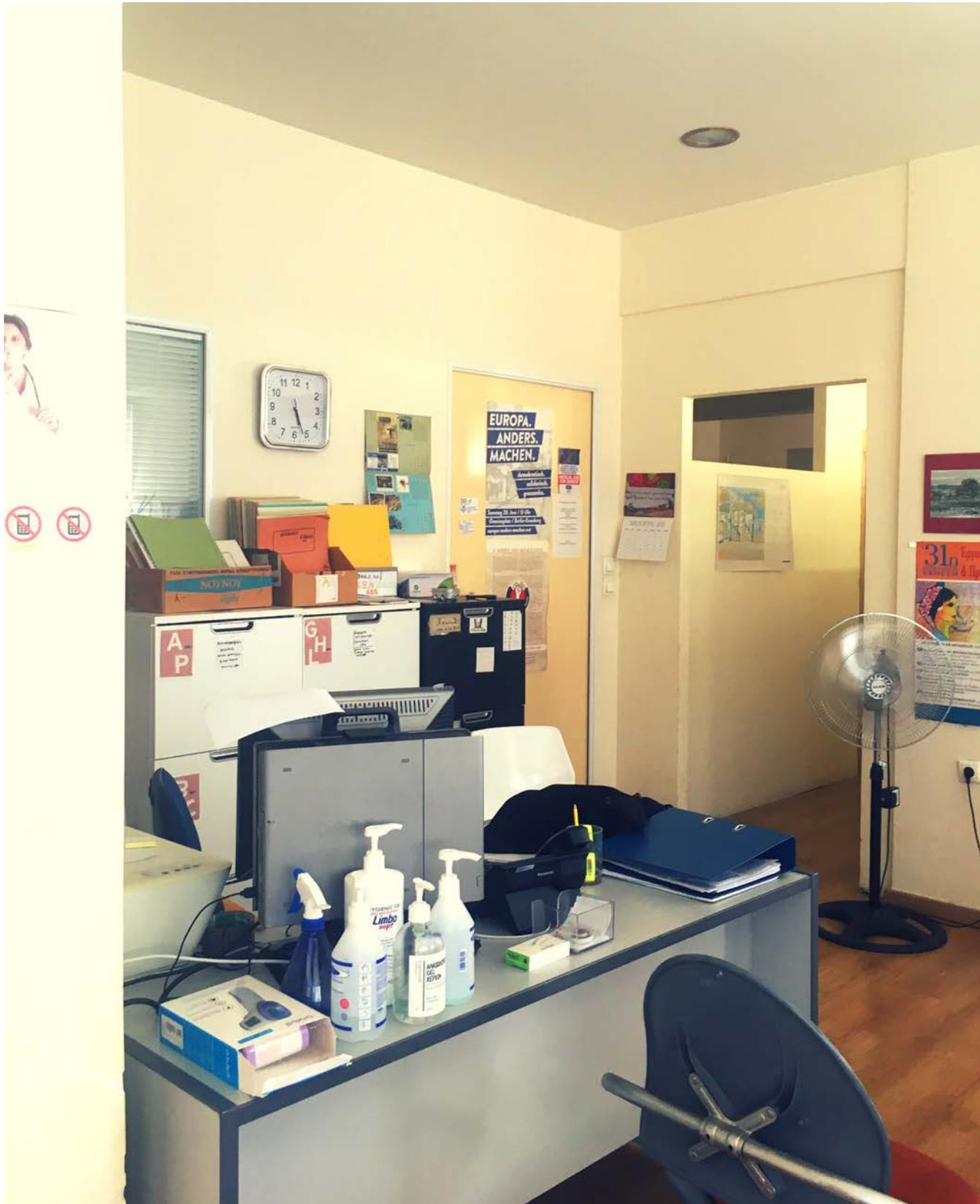


Figure 5.27

Medical Records Cabinet



Figure 5.28

Corridor and partition walls between medical units



Figure 5.29

Corridor space designed to be divided through partition walls for the following uses: three medical examination rooms, one dental surgery, one changing room, storage space, storage space for pharmaceuticals, kitchen, bathroom.

3. Medical examination room 1



Figure 5.30

4. Medical examination room 2



Figure 5.31

5. Dental exam room / operator

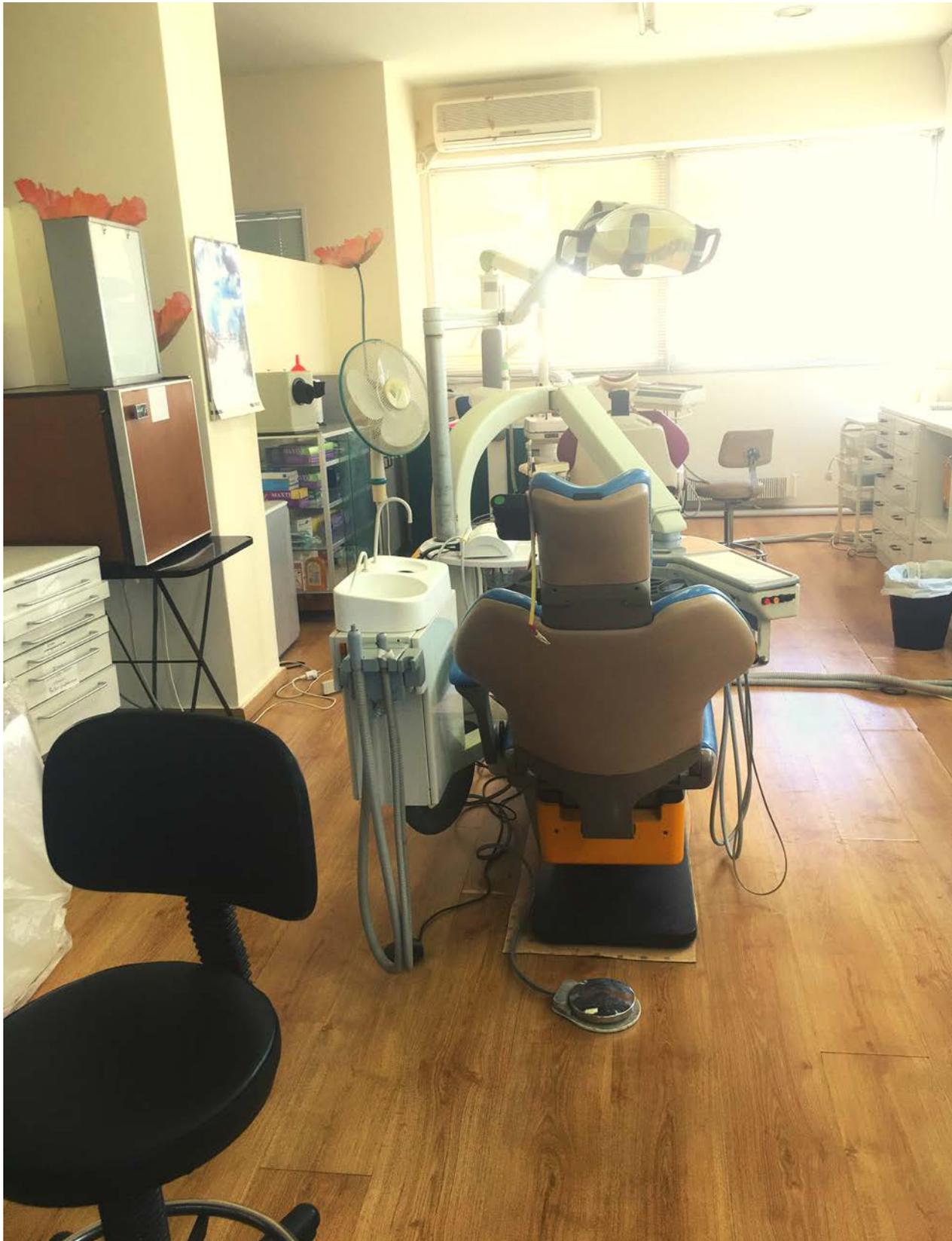


Figure 5.32

6. Storage of medicine – room temperature



Figure 5.33

Donated medicines are examined, stored temporarily and redistributed through the network of the solidarity clinics and pharmacies. KIFA.A stores most medications at room temperature but some are refrigerated.

Storage of medicine – cold conditions



Figure 5.34

A range of medicines needs to be refrigerated. These include insulin, liquid antibiotics, injections, eye drops and more. These medicines must be stored between 2°C and 8°C. Solidarity clinics follow a protocol that describes how to manage medicines that need to be in the “cold chain” and are stored within “domiciliary care” sites that make use of ordinary refrigerators and domiciliary appliances.

Storage of pharmaceuticals – Checking of medicines and selection table



Figure 5.35

In the middle of the storage room, there is a table where all the donated medicines are checked in case they have expired, and then stored as per the solidarity clinic's protocols.

Another exemplary case of a solidarity pharmacy that has been investigated as a case study to comprehend the infrastructural diversity among solidarity clinics and pharmacies is the Solidarity Pharmacy of Vyronas. It was founded by a group of local residents and acquaintances, most of them pensioners, in response to the evident need in the neighbourhood, and grew to around 25 active participants in 2019. The Solidarity Pharmacy of Vyronas started to operate in the provisional space of a ground-floor apartment. In the beginning, none of the founding members had backgrounds in medical care, yet the pharmacy was open every weekday, distributing medicines to care-seekers with prescriptions, and providing referrals, under the guidance of a volunteer pharmacist. What this research observed is that although they did not do in-house medical examinations of patients, so, technically, this solidarity pharmacy did not provide medical care, they collaborated with doctors in the area who offered appointments and examinations free-of-charge. All the volunteers distributed medicines directly to patients, accompanied by ongoing training and oversight. Moreover, what the pharmacy of Vyronas managed to achieve over the years was to be the pioneer of forming a network of solidarity pharmaceutical care at the local (neighbourhood) scale that eventually resulted in the definition of what a local pharmaceutical care infrastructure means for the healthcare social movement. The solidarity pharmacy has faced multiple relocations from one apartment to another in the same neighbourhood of Athens as the apartments were the property of private landlords who granted them to the pharmacy collective on a yearly contract, with the only condition being they had to pay the bills and to be in charge of any maintenance requirements. However, if the annual tenancy agreement was not renewed, they had to move to a different property.

Thus, what is observed is that on the one hand, although medical care is delivered in an interior space and thus influences the functioning of the building, it is part of a solidarity healthcare network that claims its presence in the healthcare infrastructure of the city and affects the efficiency of healthcare provision activities. This duality not only demands a reconsideration of the functional architectural elements at the scale of the unit that has been transformed into a socio-political space that also accommodates a very specific activity such as healthcare provision, but also its spatial design and performance within the residential, commercial or office site that it takes place, the neighbourhood and the city. On the other

hand, the merging of solidarity self-organisation activities and welfare procedures is influencing everyday experiences of the neighbourhood, developing new notions on participation and privacy, and foregrounding the importance of re-thinking spatial articulations and architectural elements within the unit and the building block.

As a result, over the years, solidarity clinics and pharmacies, despite their heterogeneous architectures, have become the main infrastructure of the healthcare social movement and, as such, they have created links with almost every social movement and solidarity project in Athens. Because of its humanitarian nature regarding first aid response and the provision of medical care to marginalised groups and the extra-state organisations that support these causes, the solidarity clinic and pharmacy manage to get access to a wide variety of spaces, in contrast to an institutional body, for instance, that would be required to follow a set of time-consuming bureaucratic protocols to attend to the medical needs of ‘non-authorised actors’.²⁸⁸

Thus, in any neighbourhood of Athens —especially those vulnerable urban areas in the city centre or middleclass neighbourhoods— one can find a set of solidarity projects in which healthcare infrastructures, social solidarity centres and housing provision are intertwined. An emblematic paradigm to understand this intersection of activities that consists of the infrastructure of solidarity and care in Athens is having, as an entry point, the social movement for housing provision that aims to accommodate refugees arriving in Athens by squatting empty buildings such as former hotels and state property. In this case, the doctors and medics from the solidarity clinics had been asked to set up their medical examination rooms and pharmacy units in all these buildings to be able to schedule weekly or biweekly visits to attend to the call for medical assistance by these communities.²⁸⁹ In time, they managed to include almost all organisations and social movements within the network of support for solidarity clinics and pharmacies. Their practices included visits by doctors, the setting up of medical examination rooms in the spaces of various social movements, as well as the referral of refugees and care-seekers living in these buildings to the wider network of the healthcare social movement so as for the most serious clinical cases to be able to get efficient medical treatment.

²⁸⁸ ‘Greek NGO Registration: Our Statement’, *Choose Love*, 2020 <<https://helprefugees.org/news/state-ment-greek-ngo-registration/>> [accessed 10 September 2021].

²⁸⁹ One such case was the medical unit that was set up at the 26 Notara Street Squat for Refugee Accommodation in Exarchia in Athens.

Moreover, the practice of creating an in-house space for medical examination at the spaces of the social movement for housing provision has been proved as one of the most valuable protocols of self-organisation during the COVID-19 lockdown phase. Furthermore, all these practices have proved to be transferrable and, as such, they have been replicated extensively across solidarity projects especially where the spatial and organisational intentions have allowed for it.

Practices of redistribution and re-appropriation like these are common among solidarity clinics. As with the Solidarity Pharmacy of Vyronas and the KIFA.A (Social Clinic and Pharmacy of Solidarity of Athens), many of them have documented their activities, resources, alliances, spatial configurations and maintenance protocols to share these with the entire network of solidarity in Greece. It is worth mentioning that the history and evolution of the healthcare social movement have been documented as much as possible by many solidarity clinics and pharmacies through their websites and social media, while important paperwork and documents have been collected either for the collective archive or have been preserved through some of the doctors' personal archives. More recently, there has been an attempt to create an oral history archive of testimonies and structured interviews regarding more than one solidarity clinic.²⁹⁰ In particular, the Metropolitan Community Clinic at Hellinikon has made public a number of the interviews that comprise their oral history archive in an announcement which was followed this public statement:²⁹¹

'A team at Metropolitan Community Clinic at Hellinikon has been compiling an oral history. Talking with patients and volunteers, they are collecting experiences and incidents lived and witnessed here. The goal of this collection is not only to document what we have done but also to help chart the future direction of MCCH, as well as other solidarity-based organisations. We want to highlight the good times and bad, the successes and failures. So far, the team has collected 18 interviews. We intend to use extracts to produce two- or three-minute videos on a variety of topics, including solidarity, self-organisation and its difficulties, democratic progress, the emergence of a different model of medicine and many other subjects'

Besides the physical space, the archive of the solidarity clinics and pharmacies usually consists of folders of documents that range from bills, cost templates, shift schedules, medicine catalogues, inventories of equipment, to sketches of

²⁹⁰ Ibid.

²⁹¹ Metropolitan Community Clinic of Hellinikon, 'Going Deep, Exploring Our History' <https://www.mkiHellinikonu.org/en/2020/02/04/exploring_our_history/> [accessed 10 September 2021].

spatial layouts and diagrams, architectural drawings of the property and photographs. Importantly, these archives do not perform as just a collection of documents and among them of architectural drawings, but as the very medium of care. The archive of the solidarity clinic provides a set of resources through which solidarity projects can endure through time and marginalised people can lead their lives. Practices of solidarity depend on these resources of the solidarity clinics, as the ability to access, draw upon and protect them defines the durability of these initiatives in the short and the long term.

An important question that emerges then with regards to this dialectic between the archive and architecture is if this interrelation between the two has the potential to add a generative modality to the microstructure of the solidarity clinic and pharmacy. The answer is most definitely yes, as the solidarity clinic feeds off and shapes the urban experience of care during times of crisis by expanding the range of protocols available for healing, maintenance, procurement and spatial configuration. The clinic also ensures the accessibility of the network in which these services circulate.

Through its network the solidarity clinic redistributes healthcare activities, including medical care provision, as well as the redistribution of all the objects and technology linked with this alternative healthcare infrastructure. This includes an economy of furniture, sophisticated medical equipment, manuals for the maintenance, repair or to building your own medical items (e.g. disposal bins). It is the diffused nature of the solidarity clinics, and the fact that knowledge, skills and protocols are transferred within and between the initiatives that are part of the solidarity network, that substantially increases their visibility and replicability tools in urban space. However, what remains to be further examined is the dispersal scale regarding spatiality, networking and resources of solidarity clinics and explore how this sits with the local community, institutions as well with other solidarity projects. Drawing on the emblematic case study of the Metropolitan Community Clinic of Hellinikon, I seek to answer these questions.

5.5 Solidarity in Healthcare at the Metropolitan Community Clinic of Hellinikon



Figure 5.36

In collaboration with the Municipality of Hellinikon-Arghiroupolis the Metropolitan Community Clinic of Hellinikon was permitted to occupy an empty building within the “Metropolitan Centre” of Hellinikon, the former Athens airport. The solidarity clinic had occupied the building from its inception in December 2011 until its eviction in June 2020. The property of approximately 300m² used to be an ancillary building for the former American base of the US Air Force, and is located next to the community centre of Hellinikon that was also located there. Courtesy: Metropolitan Community Clinic of Hellinikon.

5.5.1 Forced Displacement and Spatial Claims

The Metropolitan Community Clinic of Hellinikon is situated in a seaside suburb of Athens where the former airport of Athens and the US Air Force were located until 2001. The entire area was eventually sold to a development company managed today by Hellinikon A.E., who intended to build the Hellinikon Metropolitan Park. The premises of the former airport were used to host a makeshift refugee camp that operated from 2015. Once the intentions regarding the development and selling of the urban area were made public, the refugee camp was closed, and the area was removed from the social benefit zone, meaning that all collective and community proposals for the area had to stop. Local collectives strongly opposed these plans both because the property was auctioned and, as such, the decision for its regeneration was based on profit, and because of the development company's plans for the area to be transformed into an investment zone, including luxury hotels and casinos.²⁹²

When the solidarity clinic was established in December of 2011, its participants decided to operate the clinic in the zone of the metropolitan park as both a symbolic and political act pointing to the possibilities of novel appropriations of public space as an urban common as well as a means of direct action vis-à-vis the development plans for the area. Moreover, as the solidarity clinic of

²⁹² Information retrieved from the report on the Metropolitan Park of Hellinikon by Dr Nikos Belavilas, Head of the Urban Environment Laboratory School of Architecture (in Greek).

Hellinikon had a pronounced public profile, both in Greece and abroad, it called in demonstrations and protests, either in coordination with the Coordination of Solidarity Clinics and Pharmacies of Attica or with local collectives, in defence of the park as a space of urban commons. The combination of the militant and activist background of its doctors and participants with the contentious spatial memory of the secluded suburb not only shaped but also encouraged the flourishing of the solidarity clinic, which succeeded in becoming the largest and most prominent solidarity clinic and pharmacy in the country.

As a doctor narrated during an interview that is part of the oral history archive that the clinic initiated,²⁹³ ‘At the clinic’s zenith, there were over 300, 340 of us participants, more or less. All the specialities, the pharmacy, the reception, remaining open six days a week [...]’.²⁹⁴

In the aftermath of the memorandum on austerity policies, the solidarity clinic of Hellinikon put pressure on government institutions for the urgent need for access to and inclusion in healthcare for all people and, at the same time, for the quantitative and qualitative upgrade of the national health system (ESY). This dual claim has been the backbone of the healthcare social movement in Greece till today.

What is exemplary is that over the years, the Metropolitan Community Clinic of Hellinikon has tried, through establishing a set of protocols of self-organisation, to respond to the primary healthcare and medical needs of a mass population in need, uninsured, unemployed, low-paid, and semi-retired. Today the need for the existence of the clinic remains undiminished, as confirmed by the growing number of people and organisations participating in their spaces and networks daily as the issues of access to healthcare provision and the treatment of excluded patients persists. Through public announcements accompanied by the continuous appeals made by the clinic for an increase in the funding and hiring of permanent staff to the ESY, the clinic continues its struggle and presence in the city.²⁹⁵ It should also be noted that according to the new announcements of the clinic, the pandemic crisis has aggravated the consequences of a deteriorating public healthcare system on people’s health.²⁹⁶

²⁹³ The Oral History Archive is the latest initiative voted on by the clinic’s assembly to record its history through narrations by its members. The videos are uploaded on the channel of the ‘Metropolitan Community Clinic of Hellinikon (MCCH)’ on YouTube <<https://www.youtube.com/user/MKIHELLINIKONU/videos>> [accessed 10 September 2021].

²⁹⁴ Ibid.

²⁹⁵ Metropolitan Community Clinic of Hellinikon, ‘The Greek NHS on the Verge of Collapse’ <<https://www.mkiHellinikonu.org/en/2020/12/14/greek-nhs/>> [accessed 10 September 2021].

²⁹⁶ The English version of the website of MCCH (Metropolitan Community Clinic of Hellinikon) contains a large amount of online content regarding its activities during the last couple of years <<https://www.mkiHellinikonu.org/en/>> [accessed 10 September 2021].



Figure 5.37

The former airport of Athens. Photo retrieved from the blog page 'Blog der Professur Philip Ursprung'.
Source: <https://blogs.ethz.ch/ursprung/page/2/>



Figure 5.38

The self-managed urban garden of Hellinikon. The vision of the local collectives for the area of the former airport was to be transformed into a metropolitan park and a space of urban commons.

Photo retrieved from the blog page 'Blog der Professur Philip Ursprung'. Source: <https://blogs.ethz.ch/ursprung/page/2/>

The clinic's protocol of public announcements has become a masterful strategic tool to communicate the continuation of their struggle for accessible and universal healthcare, although their interplay with state institutions still operated with varying stages of engagement. The main intention of the clinic has been the formation of a common approach among solidarity clinics and pharmacies so that they are not left to negotiate their relationship with government institutions around different issues individually.

Yet, for the Metropolitan Community Clinic of Hellinikon, as for most solidarity clinics and pharmacies, a key and constant aspect of negotiation between them and the state institutions was, and continues to be, the process of institutionalisation through spatial appropriation protocols. This thesis has revealed that spatial claim as a right for social movements to re-appropriate and redesign the spaces they occupy continues to be the common ground that allows for the interplay between the state and social movements in Greece.

Even for the Metropolitan Community Clinic of Hellinikon, its struggle to distance its actions and stand against a state policy on healthcare such as the health reform has been distinguished, from the beginning, from its struggle for the spatial expression of its activities, condemning displacement as a strategy. From its beginning in 2011, the Metropolitan Community Clinic of Hellinikon has operated in a space granted by the Municipality of Hellinikon-Argyroupolis within the area where the new development is about to take place. In 2018, the clinic was faced with its first eviction call, which led it to make a 'call for solidarity' to the network of solidarity clinics and pharmacies, the local community, and the public to demand the state accept its responsibility and recognise the clinic as an essential node of the city's healthcare infrastructure.²⁹⁷ For solidarity clinics, their struggle against displacement goes in tandem with establishing spatial claim as a right for the healthcare social movement to operate and provide the necessary infrastructure of care. This was and, in essence, continues to be what is shaping this relational nexus between the healthcare social movement and public institutions and the state. In this way, the infrastructural spatiality of the solidarity clinic acted as the system for the administration of all relations between social movements and state institutions in Athens.

²⁹⁷ Metropolitan Community Clinic of Hellinikon, 'Solidarity Is the Strongest Weapon' <<https://www.mkiHellinikonu.org/en/2018/06/21/solidarity-is-the-strongest-weapon/>> [accessed 10 September 2021].

5.5.2 Relocation of Clinical and Pharmaceutical Spaces

The Metropolitan Community Clinic of Hellinikon started as a grassroots clinic with only two doctor's examination rooms and 20 volunteers, without formal government authorisation, in 2011, but with the active support of the local municipality of Hellinikon-Argyroupoli, it was granted a space on its premises for the clinic to occupy and from which to operate. In November 2019, and after more than eight years of operating in the area of the former airport in Hellinikon in Athens, the clinic was forced to evacuate its premises since the entire area, instead of being allocated as a site for the public common good as a metropolitan park, for which the clinic fought and supported through the adoption of its name, was 'going to be converted into a private exploitation area in all directions, even for casinos within a residential area'.²⁹⁸

When the official plans for the area of Hellinikon were made public, and the development company managing the estate asked for the clinic to evacuate or otherwise be evicted, the network of the solidarity clinic mobilised to support its claims for continued operation and expressed their solidarity in many ways, thus emphasising the need of the clinic to endure by joining the struggle for its continuation.

What followed was a long period of negotiations and disputes between the Metropolitan Community Clinic of Hellinikon and the local Municipality of Hellinikon-Argyroupolis, including multiple appeals to the Ministry of Health to intervene to provide a solution regarding the space that, for almost a decade, had functioned as a solidarity clinic and pharmacy. It is worth mentioning that, officially, there was no response from the government of Nea Dimokratia and the office of the Minister of Health.²⁹⁹ Also of note is the complete absence of

²⁹⁸ Ibid. 'Second Attempt to Evict the Metropolitan Community Clinic Hellinikon in Athens, Greece' <<https://www.mkiHellinikonu.org/en/2020/02/20/second-attempt-to-evict-the-metropolitan-community-clinic-Hellinikon-in-athens-greece/>> [accessed 10 September 2021].

²⁹⁹ However, the Metropolitan Community Clinic of Hellinikon tried to raise the issue at the national level by writing an open letter addressed to the president of Greece, party leaders and members of the Greek Parliament, and included in the recipients' list figures such as the United Nations, the Council of Europe, the president and members of the European Parliament. A version of the 'Letter to the Greek Government' in English can be found here: <<https://www.mkiHellinikonu.org/en/2020/02/26/letter-government/>> [accessed 10 September 2021].

proposals from the municipal authority of Hellinikon-Argyroupolis and the complete lack of dialogue with them about the issue of dispossession of an essential node in the district's healthcare infrastructure, one that was well-connected at a national and international level through a profound network of healthcare provision activities.

Eventually, the clinic became permanently ruptured from the local authorities. At this point, it is important to remind ourselves about the power that local administrations have and how, as such, they can play a crucial role regarding the expansion and intensification of solidarity initiatives as most of them are tied to their neighbourhoods. Institutions of the local administration, in the main, act on the basis of political representation, electoral politics and local power, and their policies can vary from district to district: this is also the case for Athens. Thus, in contrast to the response by the Municipality of Hellinikon-Argyroupolis, the Metropolitan Community Clinic of Hellinikon found support in the three neighbouring municipalities, those of Glyfada, Alimos and Ilioupoli, all of which recognised, in practice, the clinic's contribution to the healthcare infrastructure of the region of South Attica by offering to grant a space to be re-appropriated by the clinic.

I argue that this struggle for this clinic's right to make a claim to occupy, relocate, replicate, and exploit its design in a new space signifies a struggle of great potential for social movements, where architecture can carve out the most significant role.

This request by the solidarity clinic was evaluated by the municipal authorities as being a request made for re-appropriation; consequently, they referred to the policy expounded by the law on social solidarity economy. This legislation was set into motion, along with the registration systems of solidarity activities, at a regional level, all of which contributed to both the selection process and the legal aspect of granting permission to a solidarity clinic of the healthcare social movement for the appropriation of a building that was the property of the state authorities. This also included an array of legal and bureaucratic procedures which need to be followed to register the clinic's spatial relocation. To a large

extent, this process was directly linked with the institutionalisation protocols regarding the provision of space set by the previous administration, and which were technically still in place.

In response to the relocation claim by the Metropolitan Community Clinic of Hellinikon, the municipalities of Glyfada, Ilioupoli and Alimos presented a range of spaces available in their building stock. The first selection of buildings to be suggested as appropriate for the solidarity clinic to occupy was based on the criteria set by the building regulations regarding the operation of a medical facility. After visits, together with the representative participants and volunteers of the clinic, to the premises of these municipalities, in the presence of their mayors, and following extensive internal discussions at the assembly of the Metropolitan Community Clinic of Hellinikon, the space in the Municipality of Glyfada was declared more suitable than those of the other two, although it was deemed being as subject to specific expansion work and redesign. It is telling that the clinic's assembly voted to be housed in the space provided by the Municipality of Glyfada on the basis of 'the high-quality level of cooperation it has shown, with respect for our operating principles and spatial protocols and, most importantly, to our independence'.³⁰⁰ The decision-making process took place within a tight timeframe and, for reasons of transparency, was communicated to the solidarity network through public announcements. Another significant aspect to be considered is that from the initial visits and survey of the new space, together with the doctors and participants of the Metropolitan Community Clinic of Hellinikon, the new space was evaluated as inferior regarding its area size in comparison to the one in which the clinic had operated before. However, as discussed in the assembly, only the idea of being faced with complete closure and the impact this could have on the continuation of its network of solidarity made the participants negotiate the redesign of the space. After a presentation made at the assembly of the clinic, the assembly of the clinic collectively proposed the redesign of the space belonging to the Municipality of Glyfada to incorporate the spatial configuration diagrams and protocols that the clinic used to operate in the previous space it had.

The design of the new space of the clinic was something to be pursued in more detail than it actually was as this process had to stop for several months as the

³⁰⁰ Metropolitan Community Clinic of Hellinikon, 'The Metropolitan Community Clinic of Hellinikon Is Moving' <<https://www.mkiHellinikonu.org/en/2020/12/18/moving/>> [accessed 10 September 2021].

discussions, presentations and visits occurred in February 2020 but by early March, the country was under the coronavirus lockdown; consequently, the situation with COVID-19 halted all discussions and scheduled design workshops. The move of the Metropolitan Community Clinic of Hellinikon into the new space became of secondary importance as the need for medical and pharmaceutical care provision to the care-seekers of the clinic was paramount during the months that followed. From March 2020, the clinic became an integral part of the healthcare infrastructure of the city and continued functioning on a quotidian basis ‘as every hour and moment is crucial when it comes to care’.³⁰¹

³⁰¹ Ibid.

Nevertheless, the new space granted by the municipality was meant to set a new architectural modality for the infrastructure of solidarity in Athens. During this process of relocation, and although displaced, the replication mechanisms regarding spatiality were invented as the solidarity clinic used tools such as public announcements, architectural drawings, inventories of medical equipment, catalogues of medicine and documents to transfer its spatiality. Moreover, this set of tools that comprised the archive of resistance of the space of the Metropolitan Community Clinic of Hellinikon acted as a sort of urban mapping, not in the sense of a mere geographical tool but as a tool that captured all types of redistribution protocols and space-subject relations. The aim was for these tools to be used for advocacy action in support of solidarity clinic claims for spatial occupation before state institutions, the Greek government and private agents, such as publicly funded developers, in this case. Furthermore, this mapping and documentation process as a form of living archive has helped extend the political understanding of the contention and struggle to a become physical, spatial reality. Based on these experiences, I argue for the production of a wide range of repositories regarding solidarity clinics that can be compiled and/or drawn up to be distributed by a multiplicity of social solidarity groups and organisations of the solidarity network. Adding to this, in future similar situations faced by other activists and organisations, such repositories could help to spread solidarity projects and, in this way, they could acquire something of the nature of a dynamic “open-source” process.

5.5.3 COVID-19 Pandemic:

Spatial Rearrangement, Replication of Designs and Redistribution of Resources

At the time of writing in 2021, another global crisis – COVID-19 – requires local nodes of care provision and mutual aid. Years of underfunding meant the healthcare system was not well placed to face these challenges.³⁰² Long before the pandemic, doctors and nursing staff in Greece lacked essential Personal Protective Equipment such as gloves and masks, shortages on medical equipment, including that required for Intensive Care Units, and shortages of medicine.³⁰³

Since March 2020, COVID-19 has crippled the national healthcare system of Greece and continues unabated.³⁰⁴ The same month, the panhellenic network of the 56 solidarity clinics and pharmacies that currently operate in Greece held an emergency assembly. In this digital meeting, decisions were taken regarding their operation during the COVID-19 pandemic.³⁰⁵ First steps included the reduction of hours and days per week the clinics would operate. Additionally, medical appointments such as those of psychologists, mental health advisors or social workers, which account today of the 30% of the patients of the solidarity clinics were moved out of the built environment and into the digital world, most commonly of Skype, Viber and WhatsApp.³⁰⁶ Moreover, a combination of online booking for appointments together with weekly phone banks by the volunteers towards the care-seekers and participants especially to the elderly and more vulnerable ones, were used.

Anticipating the continuation of lockdown measures and the exacerbation of the pandemic crisis, the general assembly of solidarity clinics, called by the KIFA.A (Social Clinic and Pharmacy of Solidarity of Athens) in March 2020, decided for an online platform to be designed to deal with the medical treatment of care-seekers in need.³⁰⁷ Recognising the increasing need of care-seekers not

³⁰² Charalampos Economou, 'The Performance of the Greek Healthcare System and the Economic Adjustment Programme: Financial Crisis Versus System-specific Deficits Driven Reform', *Social Theory*, 2.2 (2012), 33–69.

³⁰³ COVID-19 Health System Response Monitor, Greece, 28/02/2021: Update on Planning Services by Charalampos Economou, Daphne Kaitelidou, Olympia Konstantakopoulou, and Lilian Venetia Vildiridi.

³⁰⁴ Metropolitan Community Clinic of Hellinikon, 'We Go On Because the Need is Still Great' <https://www.mkiHellinikonu.org/en/2019/12/24/we_go_on/> [accessed 10 September 2021].

³⁰⁵ Ibid., 'On the Pandemic Crisis' <<https://www.mkiHellinikonu.org/en/2020/12/18/pandemic/>> [accessed 10 September 2021].

³⁰⁶ Ibid., 'Instructions for Patients' <<https://www.mkiHellinikonu.org/en/directions-for-patients/>> [accessed 10 September 2021].

³⁰⁷ Notes by the author from the discussion with Kostas Kokossis and Maria Giannisopoulou, two volunteers of the secretary and administration team of KIFA.A (Social Clinic and Pharmacy of Solidarity of Athens).

only for psychological support but also to consult specific doctors due to the emergence of the COVID-19 pandemic such as pneumonologists, pathologists, and infectionologists among others, the common assembly of the solidarity clinics realised that it had to rearrange the modus operandi of the solidarity healthcare infrastructure. Upon voting for the design of this online platform, the assembly agreed on the main principles of its operation. Thereafter, KIFA.A made a call for donations to fund the design of this collective tool.³⁰⁸ As a result, a team of web designers and developers was commissioned to design the online platform as this was envisioned by the solidarity clinics. The online platform is managed by KIFA.A and coordinated by its administration team, however it also includes and supports the solidarity clinics of Chalandri, Piraeus and Hellinikon along with their care-seekers. In essence, the requests for medical appointments are recorded in this online platform that also has listed all the doctors of the solidarity clinics and their available appointment schedule. Also, the platform has registered all care-seekers along with a copy of their medical file. When the time of the appointment comes, on a real time the volunteer administrator of KIFA.A calls first the care-seeker, who is then linked through the same phone call with the doctor. The call between the care-seeker and the doctor of the solidarity clinic is recorded in order a copy of it to be saved into the medical file of the care-seeker for future reference by the same or a different doctor of the solidarity network. Thus, as witnessed happening at KIFA.A, since the beginning of the pandemic crisis, the volunteer administrator on a daily shift from 15.00-20.00pm, was first responsible to coordinate the medical appointments requiring a physical visit to the solidarity clinic such as those of care-seekers in need of dentists happening between 15.00-17.00, and from 17.00-20.00 was coordinating the ones happening through the online platform of the solidarity clinics. The space of the waiting room that usually hosted on average 15-20 care-seekers waiting for their medical appointment was in this case allowing for social distancing rules to apply.³⁰⁹

All these practices helped monitoring the well-being and needs of the clinics' community to navigate an unprecedented situation for public health. At the same time the solidarity pharmacies put forward a mechanism of medicine order, distribution and collection that did not require visits to the premises of the clinic or interaction between participants. This is particularly important, as the reason that

³⁰⁸ Ibid. A large donation was made to KIFA.A (Social Clinic and Pharmacy of Solidarity of Athens) from solidarians in Germany to fund the design of this online platform, while the online platform was designed within three months.

³⁰⁹ Ibid. Notes by the author.

this mechanism was effective in the first place was due to the local character of the clinics and pharmacies that allowed for the network of volunteers to strengthen during this difficult time in order to perform visits to the homes of the people in need and leave their medicine out of the door. Furthermore, the Metropolitan Community Clinic of Hellinikon took a coordinating role regarding pharmaceutical care as it operates the largest solidarity pharmacy of the area but also due to its networking, outreach and critical urban location, qualities that make it an important node in the healthcare infrastructure of the city.³¹⁰

During the month of June 2020, and while the lockdown measures were still in place, the Metropolitan Community Clinic of Hellinikon documented 246 patient visits; offered medicines to 160 care-seekers; provided psychiatric, neurological and psychological support to 21; diapers, milk, and baby creams to 64; and prescription glasses to 3, among other services.

Moreover, the clinic's pharmacy received donations of medicines and healthcare items from 97 people. Another significant donation came in the form of medicines and Personal Protective Equipment (PPE) from three other solidarity pharmacies in the solidarity network. Moreover, donations of medicine were also arriving through the GIVMED platform.³¹¹ Additionally, two international organisations and three workers' associations sent healthcare items to the clinic. It is a common practice for all donated items and equipment to be stored at the clinic's storage space and then checked, evaluated and classified as per the clinic's protocols. This ensures these resources are effectively utilised, with some being redistributed in keeping with requests from other clinics around the country.³¹²

At this point it is important to stress the inclusive holism of this solidarity project as it essentially creates an infrastructural system. The infrastructure of solidarity clinics and pharmacies is first and foremost a system of reproduction and transmission of medical and pharmaceutical care based on their networking and territorial presence. This is why it is important for care-seekers crossing the physical or digital space of a solidarity clinic to be fully aware, not only of its network but most importantly of its architectures, although these spaces may be dispersed

³¹⁰ Notes by the author from the discussion with Petros Mpoteas, a volunteer pharmacist and representative of the media team of the Metropolitan Community Clinic of Hellinikon.

³¹¹ 'Donate the Medicines You No Longer Need | GIVMED', *Share Medicine Share Life GIVMED platform* <<https://givmed.org/en/>> [accessed 10 September 2021].

³¹² Notes by the author from the discussion with Petros Mpoteas, a volunteer pharmacist and representative of the Media team of the Metropolitan Community Clinic of Hellinikon (MKIE).

in urban space. Moreover, the architecture of the solidarity clinic is designed to make visible to habitants and the city its network of mutual aid. This incorporates within the scale of a building the principle of medical care that dictates the redistribution of labour, items and designs from one clinic to another. It is precisely this fact that has made the solidarity clinic the default infrastructure through which nearly all extra-state organisations providing access to healthcare, flow.

This latter point is best exhibited from the host of organisations that the solidarity clinic of Hellinikon interacted with in June 2020. The clinic managed to respond and provide medicines and sanitary items to support a remarkable scope of requests: the solidarity pharmacies of Vyronas and Nafpaktos; the refugee accommodations of Lavrio and Schisto; the Piraeus nursing home for elderly people; the organisation of the Pharmacists of the World – even the Embassy of Lebanon. The clinic also supports the Agioi Anargyroi Hospital; the Greek Red Cross; the ‘KYADA’ homeless shelter of the Municipality of Athens; the SOS villages for children; the ‘Solidarity Help’ structure of the Municipality of Athens; the Hellenic Council for Refugees organisation; the Safe Zone structure of Malakasa, the International Organisation for Migration, and the NGOs ‘Praksis’, ‘Nostos’ and ‘Solidarity Now’.³¹³

In addition to supporting extra-state organisations, the Metropolitan Community Clinic of Hellinikon also shouldered immense responsibility in response to the unprecedented conditions marked by the rise of COVID-19 cases. The clinic provides support to public hospitals and institutional structures. Responding to the ‘state of emergency’ declared by the government due to the spread of coronavirus, the clinic decided to make available to the Ministry of Health and ‘our struggling doctors and nurses of any healthcare unit of the national healthcare system in need’,³¹⁴ a series of respiratory medications. Due to its broad network, the clinic managed to quickly collect the much-needed medicines. It also had stores of respiratory medications, as these have been among the most essential medicines for the first aid treatment of refugees arriving in Athens from the islands. Furthermore, the clinic provided medical equipment to different hospitals across Greece that acted as centres for the treatment of COVID-19 medical cases.³¹⁵

³¹³ Metropolitan Community Clinic of Hellinikon, ‘June 2020 Newsletter’ (in Greek) <https://www.mkiHellinikonu.org/blog/2020/07/17/newsletter_june_2020/> [accessed 10 September 2021].

³¹⁴ Ibid.

³¹⁵ Ibid. These resources included test beds, screens, cardiographs, ultrasounds, Copd-6 spirometers with tubes, oxygen cylinders, stethoscopes, laryngoscopes, aerosol devices, and tracheostomy materials (tubes, filters).

In addition, with two large-scale missions, the Metropolitan Community Clinic of Hellinikon strengthened the organisational and spatial operation of the healthcare centre of the refugee accommodation at Malakasa in Athens by setting up the medical equipment and a pharmaceutical module.³¹⁶ Setting up the medical space for refugee accommodations has been a common practice for the doctors of the Metropolitan Community Clinic of Hellinikon as they did this for the first time for the Hellinikon refugee camp that started to operate some hundreds of metres away from the solidarity clinic in 2015. The architecture of the healthcare schemes that was needed at the refugee camps had to combine temporary shelter and primary medical care.

³¹⁶ Ibid.

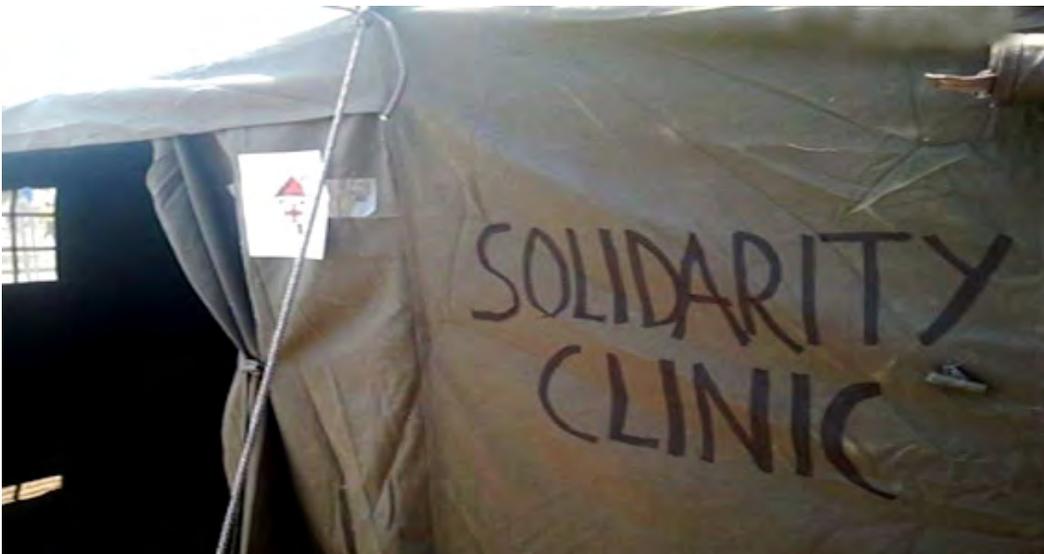


Figure 5.39
Solidarity clinic tent in the Gerakini Refugee Camp in the Malakasa region of Attica. Source of information: Internal report by the Metropolitan Community Clinic of Hellinikon. Research by the author.

Following the same logic of visiting the space and assisting in setting up a solidarity clinic, the solidarity clinics of Piraeus and Chalandri were created. The intention was to intervene by putting into effect the solidarity clinic's protocols for a desired and functional spatial configuration alongside self-organisation practices for self-sufficiency based on the principle of horizontality for the management of a primary healthcare space. The inventory of architectural elements in this case was utilised through the repetition of a small variety of spatial diagrams and spatial designs. Through this practice of transferring spatial designs, organisational protocols, medical items and equipment from clinic to clinic, the solidarity clinics were reproducing many of the clinic's urban and architectural elements and were responding to the need for the accessibility and inclusion of the care-seekers.

Importantly, the archival files about the practices of maintenance, including the schedules and scenarios of routinisation saved in the digital archive of the Metropolitan Community Clinic of Hellinikon, were shared with the medics and volunteers at Schisto, Chalandri and Piraeus, enabling them to utilise, repair and maintain the spaces of the clinics and their medical equipment after their design/establishment. Thus, the practice of provision of medical equipment, such as a large modern ultrasound that was transported to Chalandri on a wheelchair, two cardiographs with a corresponding placement table, an examination bed, an examination floor magnifying glass, paediatric office equipment, and other sanitary material, by the Metropolitan Community Clinic of Hellinikon became part of the reproduction and system-building practice of the clinic and did not comprise of merely an exchange and donation, as happens in different contexts of voluntarism and charity.

When thinking about medical examination rooms there is a tendency to think of a stable set of objects with very specific functions, but according to Jacques Rancière (2009),³¹⁷ more useful would be to switch *our* attention from the objects (medical equipment, items, manuscripts) to the performative and political moments in which this act of configuring and placing an object takes place. While form correlates with more static qualities, performativity correlates with objects that are dynamic, responsive, non-static and changes through time. This non-static element is also what best describes the socio-political scene in Athens since the beginning of the financial crisis.

In this light, the solidarity clinic not only generated the *political moment*³¹⁸ for redistributing its collected equipment, donated medicines, second-hand medical equipment, blank examination certificates given from hospitals, but also provided the complex organisational system on which infrastructural claims made by social movements could depend. In this way, solidarity clinics could challenge existing infrastructural domains and arrangements and by doing so the limits of the institution as we know it.

³¹⁷ Jacques Rancière, *Aesthetics and Its Discontents* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2009), p. 4.

³¹⁸ For Jacques Rancière every political moment involves the incalculable leap of those who decide to demonstrate their equality and organise their refusal against the injustices that promote the status quo. In Jacques Rancière, *Dissensus: On Politics and Aesthetics* (London: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2015), p. 9.

Case Study:

Metropolitan Community Clinic of Hellinikon (MCCH)

New address: Karaiskaki 34, Glifada (ground floor)

Activity taking place during the visit: medicine redistribution from 16:00 - 19.00 (local time)



Figure 5.40

Since June 2020 the Metropolitan Community Clinic of Hellinikon (MCCH) operates in a new space granted by the Municipality of Glyfada as a result of its eviction from the premises it used to occupy inside the area of the “Metropolitan Pole” where the former airport of Athens used to be. Unlike the Municipality of Hellinikon, which rejected all the suggestions made by the MCCH for a solution to be provided, the municipal authorities of Glyfada provided considerable help to set up the new space.

Main Entrance from the side of the building



Figure 5.41

The last fieldwork visit took place when COVID-19 restrictions such as social distancing were still in place, so a makeshift waiting area was created outside the solidarity clinic and pharmacy. Therefore, the medical appointments were made through the digital platform set up by KIFA.A (Solidarity Clinic and Pharmacy of Athens), which connected the volunteer doctors with care seekers, while the solidarity pharmacy at the Metropolitan Community Clinic of Hellinikon was still fully operational.

Makeshift outdoor waiting area



Figure 5.42

Queue of care-seekers



Figure 5.43

Care-seekers handing over their medicine prescriptions to the volunteer pharmacists. All care-seekers also carry the document that lists the unique protocol number that the Metropolitan Community Clinic of Hellinikon assigned to them.

1. The Physical Archive



Figure 5.44

The admin area and secretariat of the clinic are located at ground level. The inventory of furniture consists of two office desks, six chairs, several filing cabinets, a bookcase, a chest of drawers, and office supplies which make up the physical archive of the Metropolitan Community Clinic of Hellinikon. The archive is used by the volunteers of the secretariat but also by every pharmacist and doctor of the solidarity clinic and pharmacy.

Archive – Archival filing system of documents and protocols created by the solidarity clinic



Figure 5.45

Archive – Archival filing system of different protocols



Figure 5.46

Protocol – Application Form

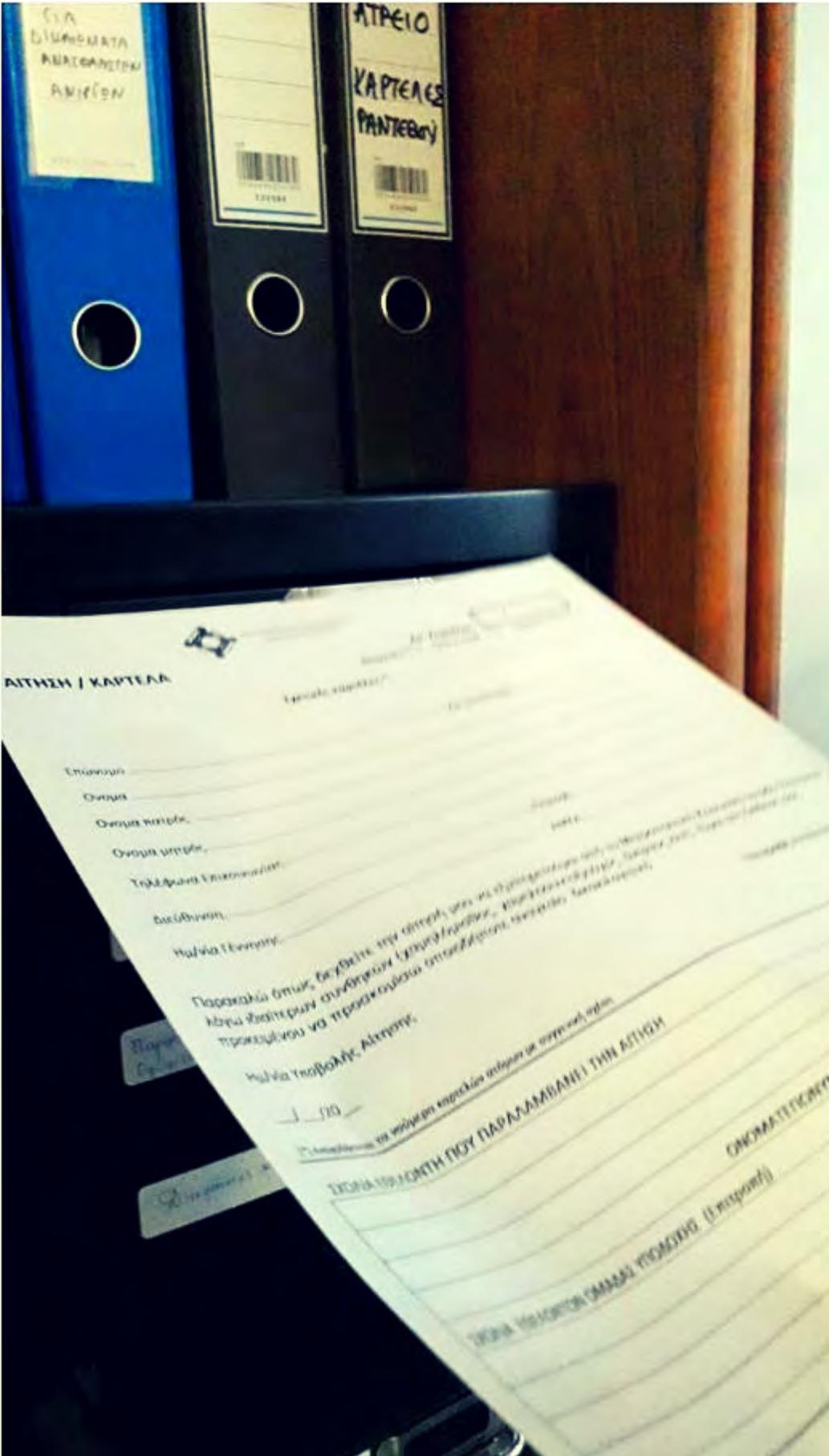


Figure 5.47
The application form is the first step for the care seeker to get a protocol number from the solidarity clinic and as such it lists the details of the care-seeker but also of the volunteer who received the application.

Protocol – Referral Form for Medical Examination (according to medical specialty)

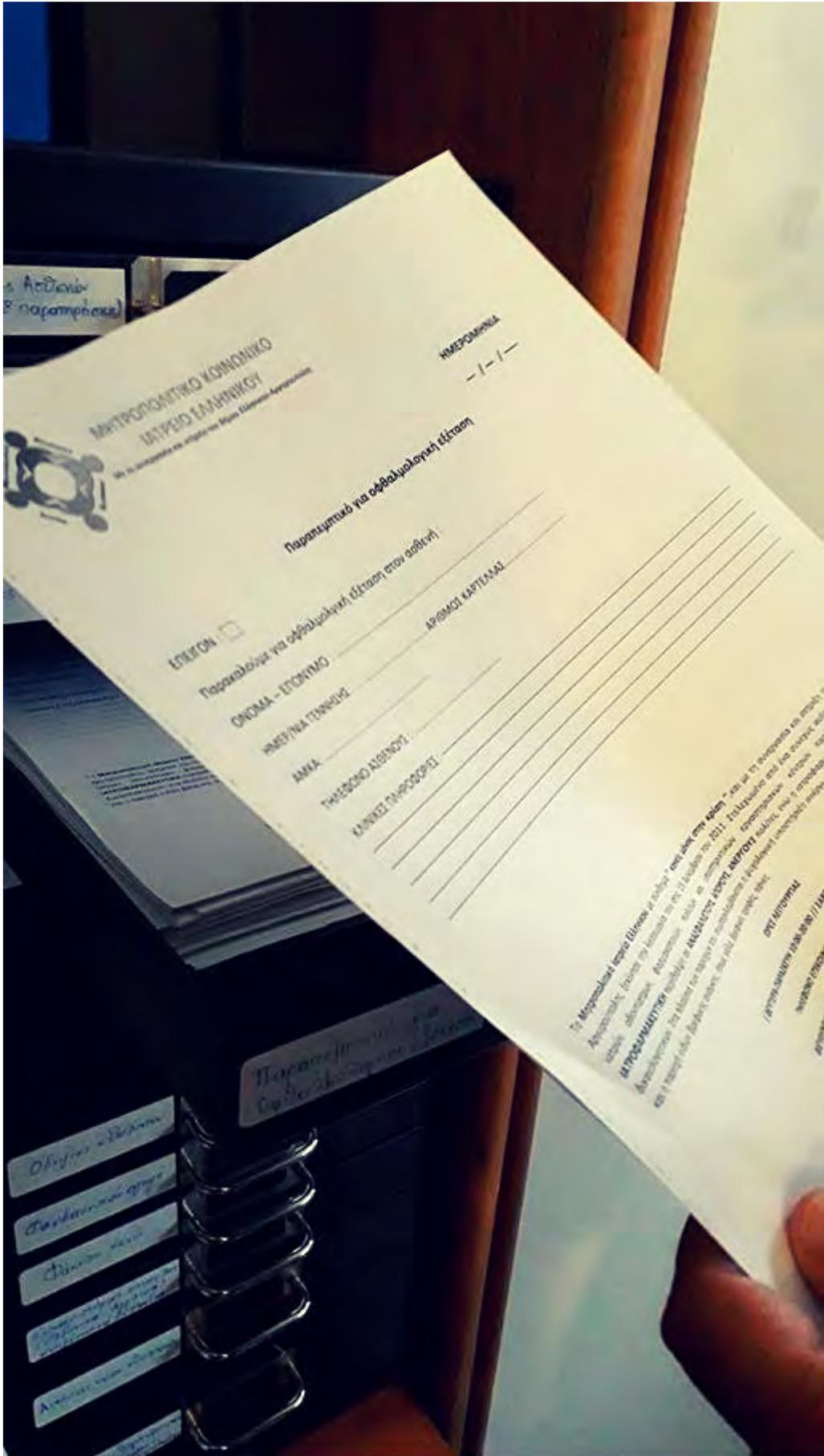


Figure 5.48

The referral form aims to evaluate the medical needs of the care seeker. Thus, besides listing the details of the care seeker, there is a box to tick if the medical examination is urgent. Then the volunteer doctors can assess whether the medical treatment can be covered at the solidarity clinic, or this is a more serious health case. In the case of the latter, they refer the care seeker to doctors or hospitals that are part of the solidarity network and have agreed to treat them free of charge.

Archive – Medical File and Records of Care-Seekers



Figure 5.49

Alphabetical arrangement of the medical folders of care seekers (Greek or Latin alphabet depending on the name). Each care seeker has a protocol number and a medical folder.



Archive – Medical File of Care-Seeker

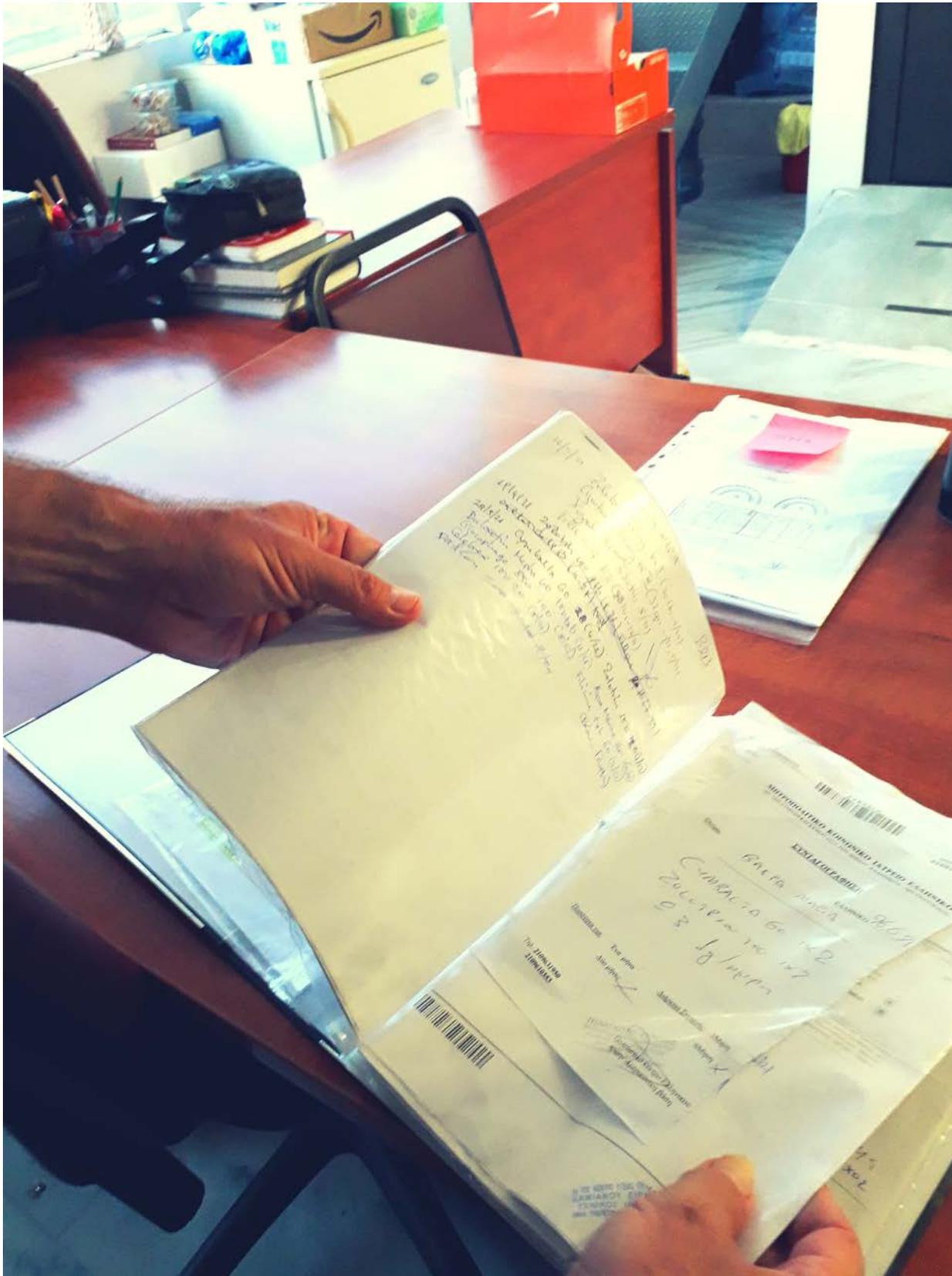


Figure 5.50

Archive – Record of doctors' documentation (according to medical specialty)



Figure 5.51

The medical records of care-seekers kept by the volunteer doctors include listings of care-seekers, appointments, notes, instructions, referrals, diagnoses and so forth, and are arranged in the archive according to medical specialty. However, doctors from all the medical specialties of the solidarity clinic have access to every medical file and record.

Archive – Reception book listing the daily visits of care-seekers



Figure 5.53

Archive – Reception book

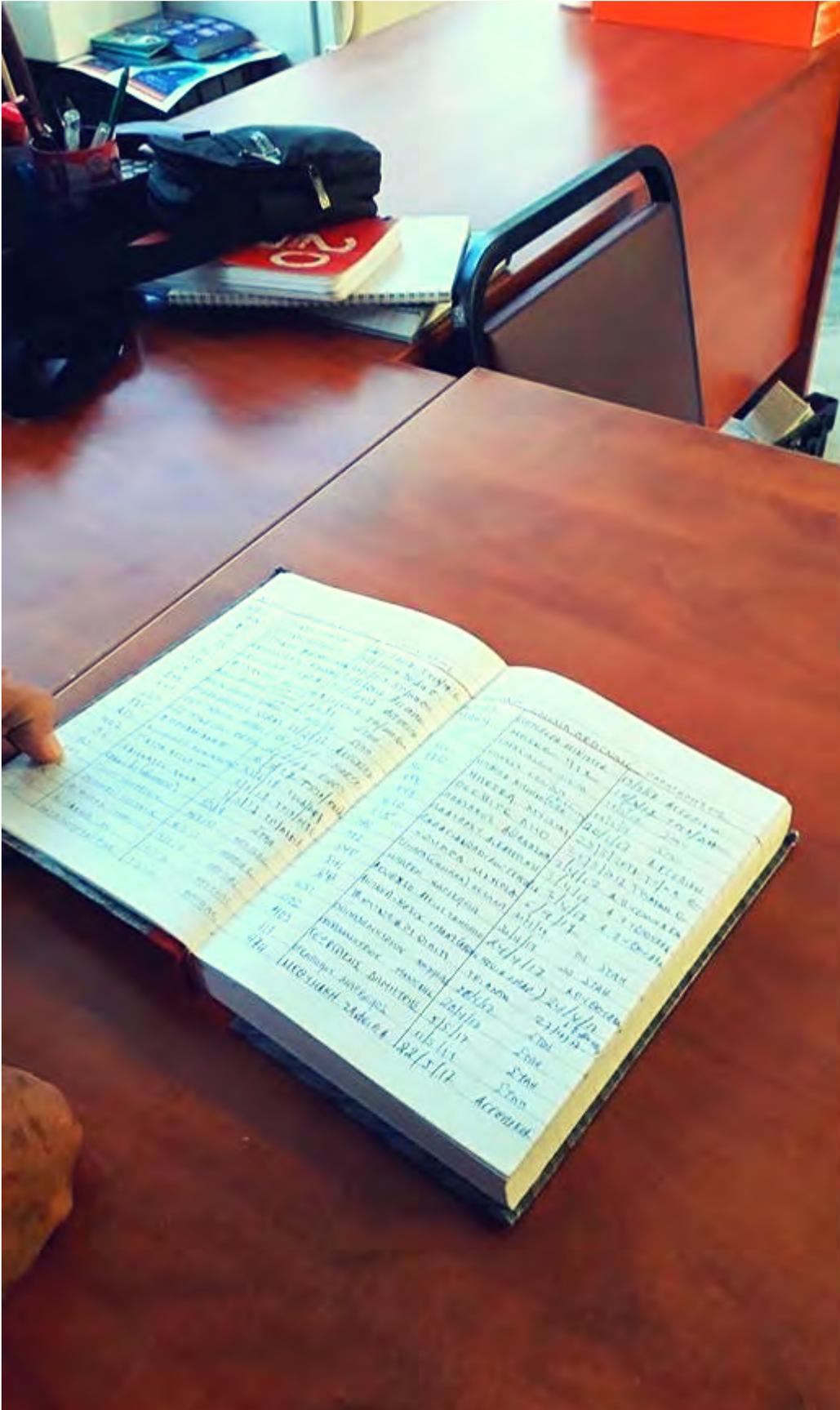


Figure 5.54

Archive – Reception book listing the visits of donors (does not include other solidarity clinics and pharmacies)

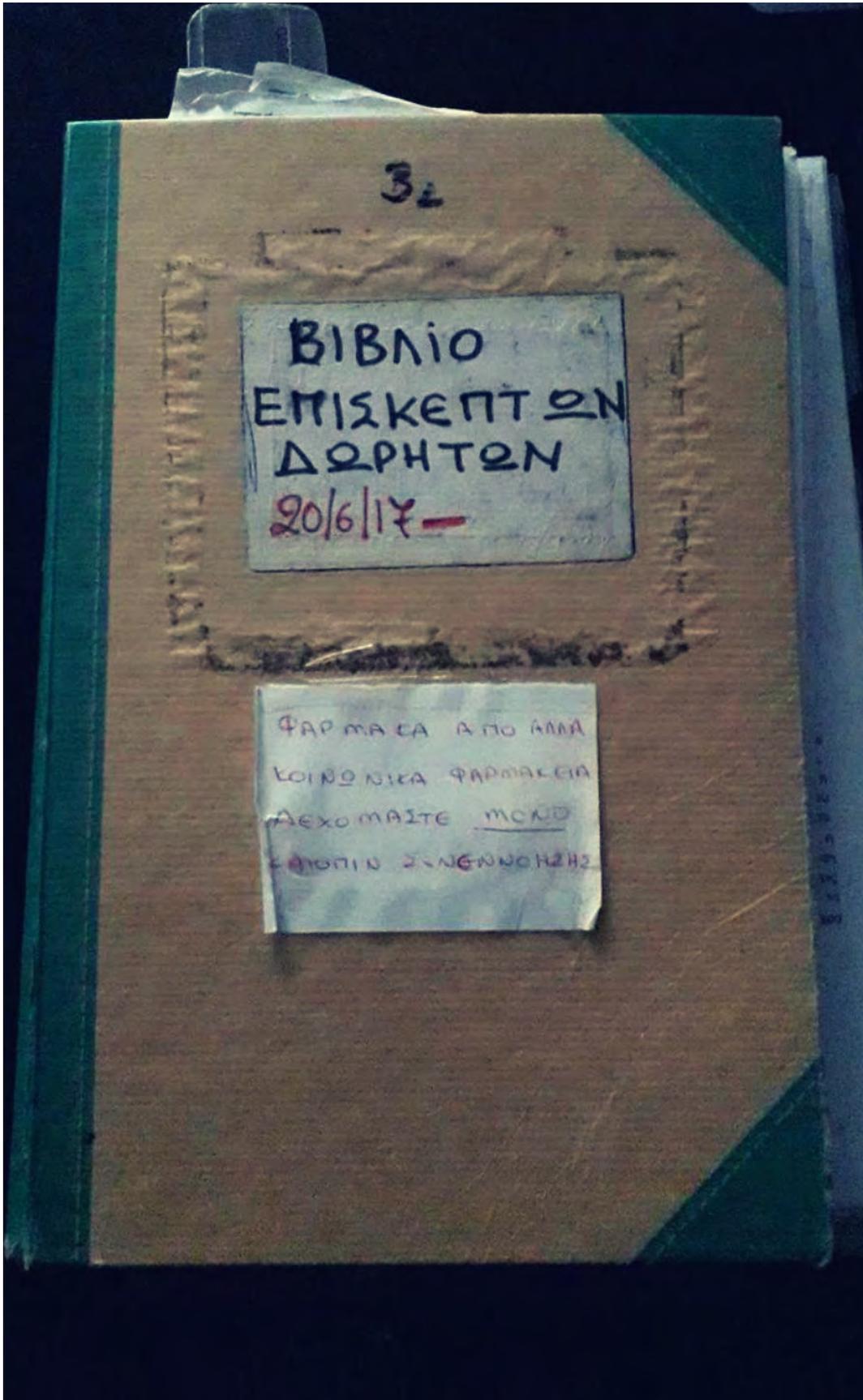


Figure 5.55

The book of donors lists only the “external” donors, i.e. not members of the solidarity clinic and pharmacy or donations made by other solidarity clinics and pharmacies. When a donation arrives from another solidarity pharmacy there is a different procedure to be followed, as these medicines have already been checked to comply with the solidarity clinics’ protocols.

Protocol – Form listing the daily deliveries/receipts of donated medicines (from and to the MCCH)

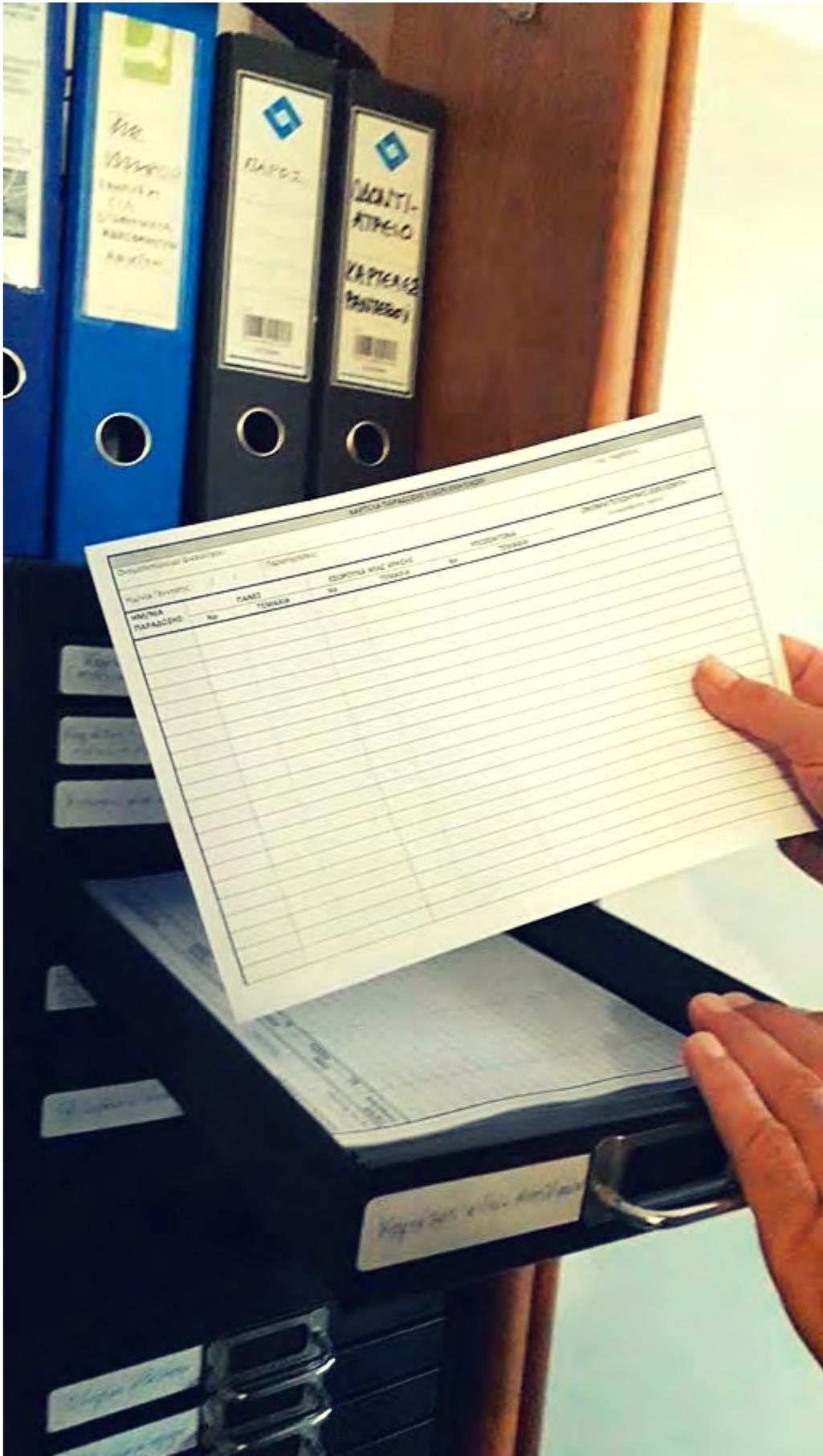


Figure 5.56

This form lists the date and time of delivery, name of recipient organisation, name of donor organisation, name of the volunteer pharmacist of MCCH involved in the exchange, names and numbers of items that were redistributed.

Through this protocol the solidarity clinics manage to keep track of the medicines that were donated to them but also of the ones they redistributed to other organisations.

Protocol of Receipt/Delivery of medicines

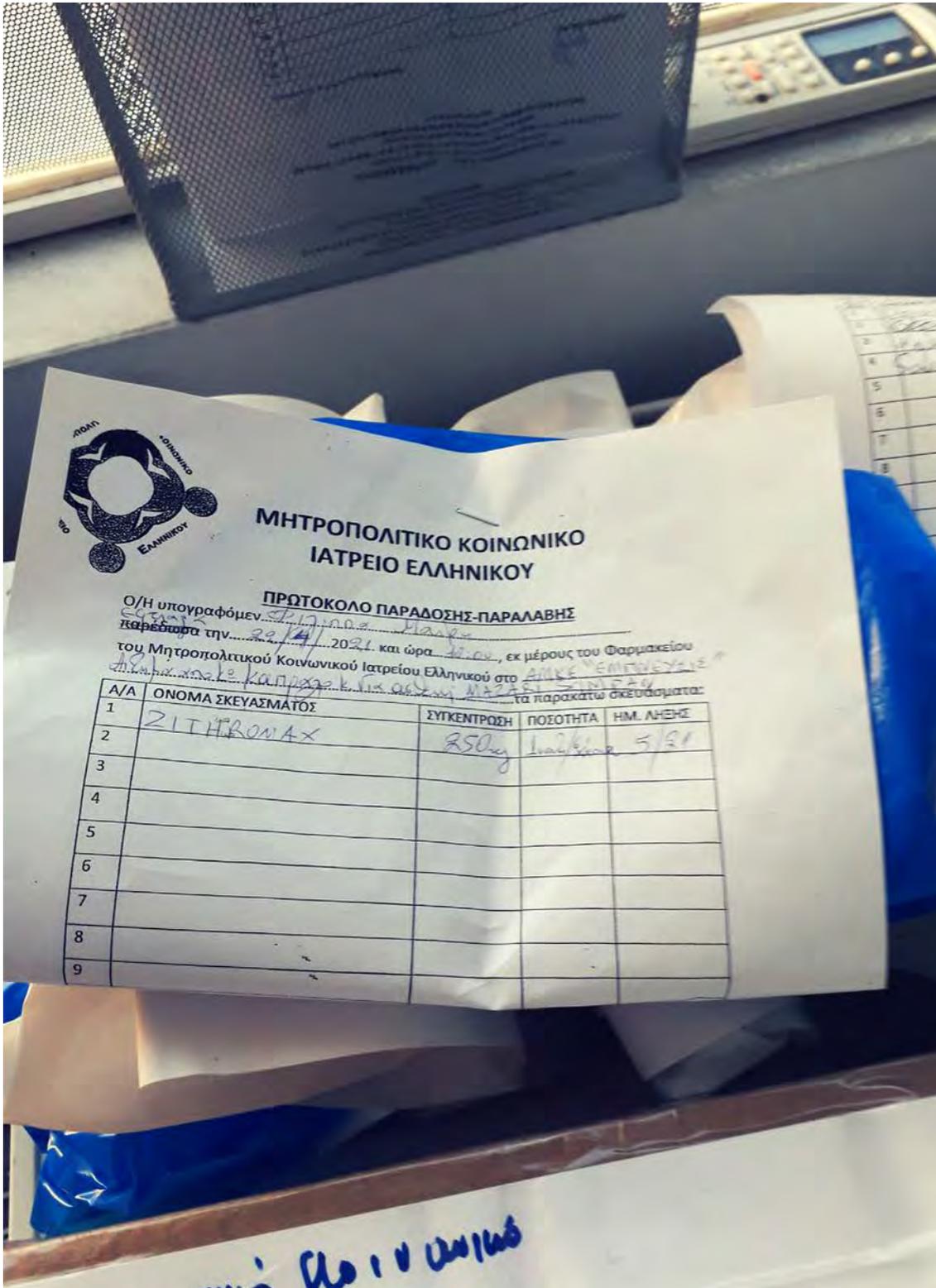


Figure 5.57
The protocol of RoD of medicine from the Metropolitan Community Clinic of Hellinikon to the “AMKE Empnefsis”, a voluntary social support structure for social and mental empowerment following a request for medication made by the organisation on behalf of an individual patient.

Archive - Medicine Shortages List

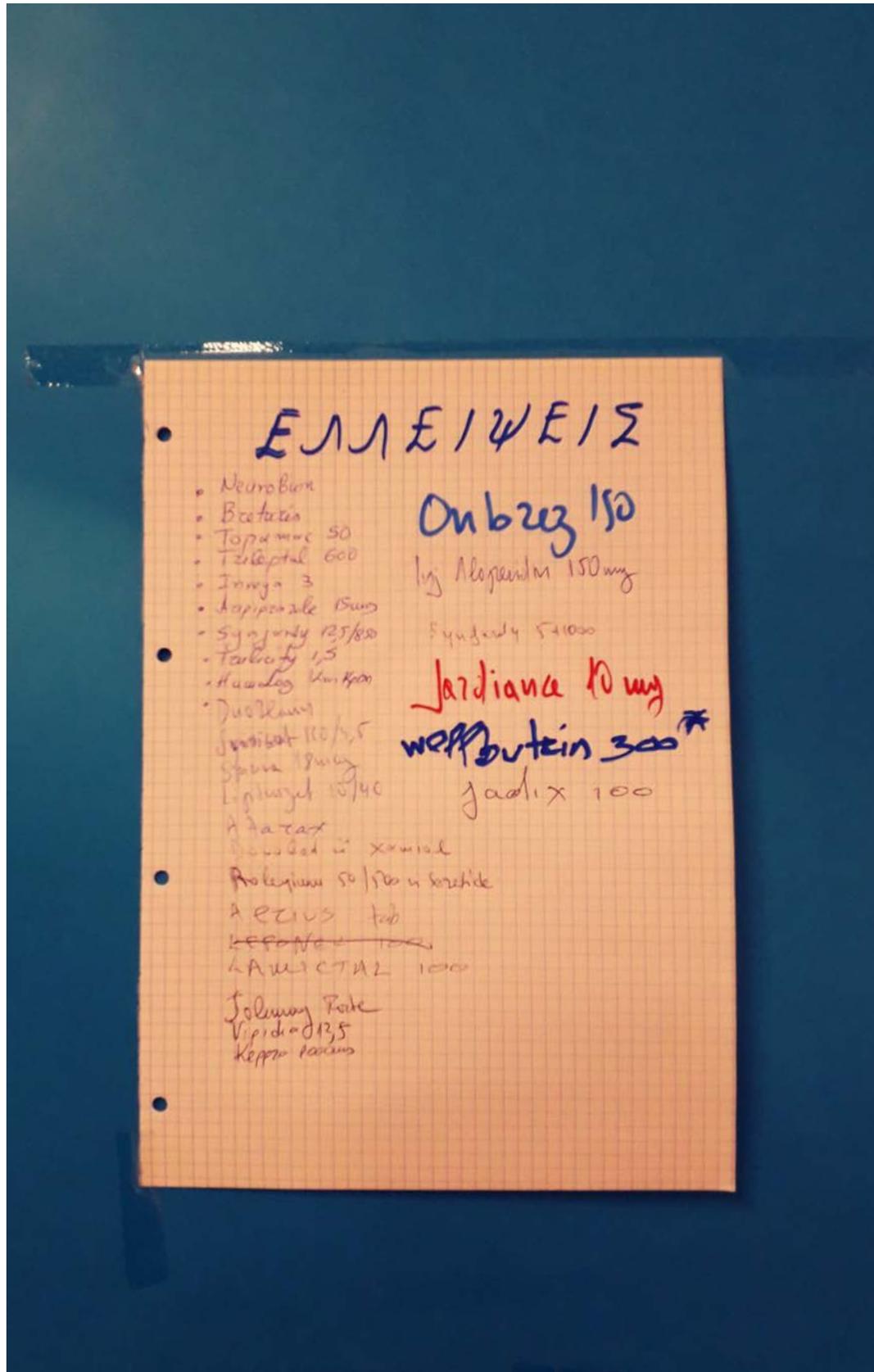


Figure 5.59

A handwritten list of shortages of medicines is pinned on the wall next to the selection table for the volunteer pharmacists to update.

Public Statement Protocol

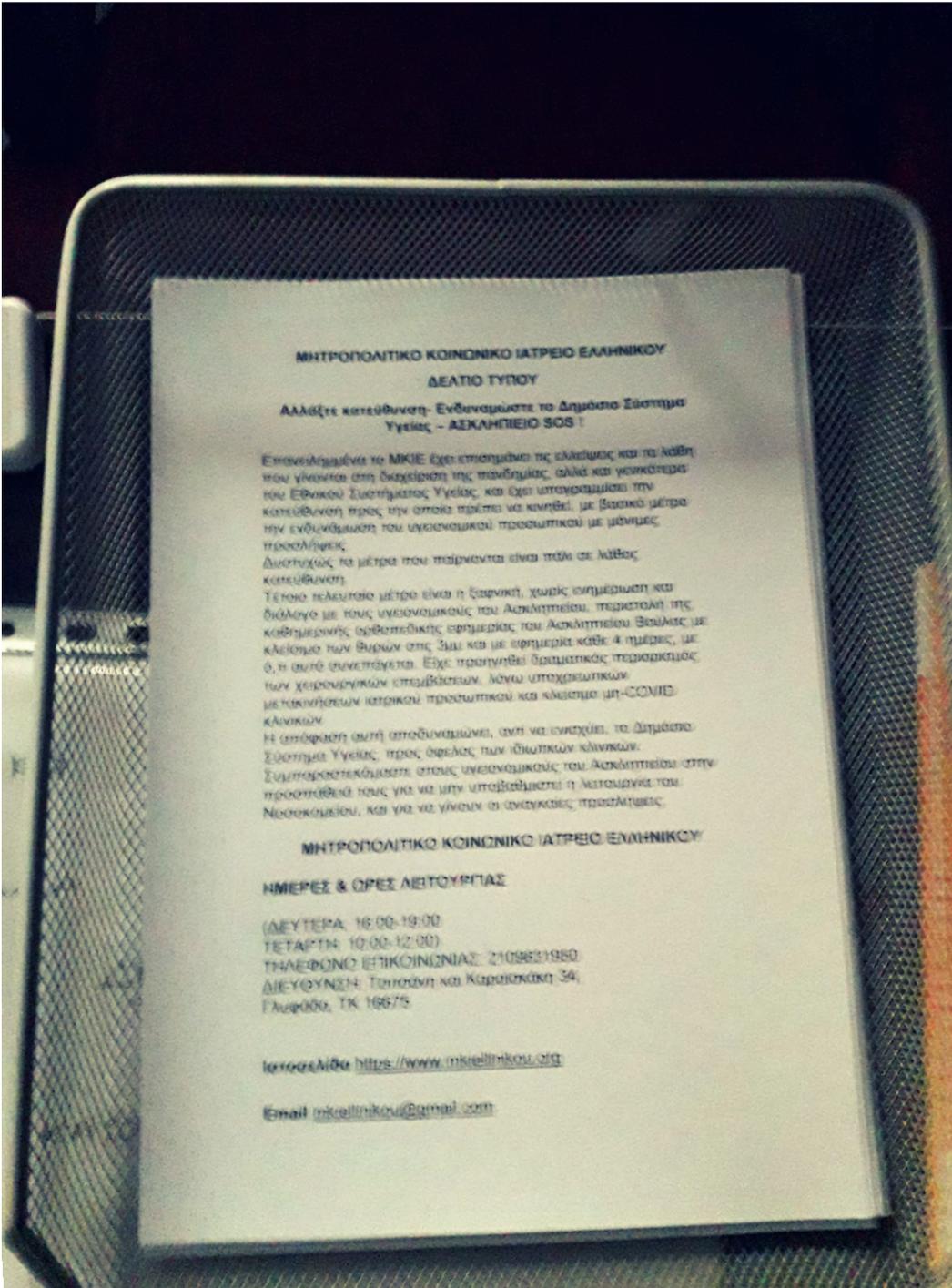


Figure 5.60

Flyer of the most recent public statement distributed to the visitors.

Announcement board



Figure 5.61 Information that is useful for care seekers is pinned on the announcement board. This includes details of where to seek legal advice, where to find other solidarity initiatives that offer free food, meals and so forth.

2. The Pharmacy



Figure 5.62

The pharmacy is located on the mezzanine floor of the property and consists of the following spaces: 1) a collection space where the donated medicines that arrive are placed temporarily, 2) a selection table where the pharmacists check and sort out the donated medicines prior to storing them, 3) storage of medications at room temperatures, 4) storage of medications at cold temperatures, usually inside refrigerators, 5) recycling bins for expired medications.

Collection space of donated medicines that need to be checked



Figure 5.63

Protocol procedure for the checking of medicine – selection table



Figure 5.64

The volunteer pharmacists at the clinic follow a standard protocol for checking medicine expiry dates and then a procedure for storing them based on the protocol of the solidarity clinics and pharmacies. When medicines are a donation from fellow solidarity pharmacies they have a different operating protocol and the only procedure they follow is the final stage to relabel some of the medications and to register them in the online database.

Final stage of the protocol for the checking of medicine:
relabelling and registration of medicine

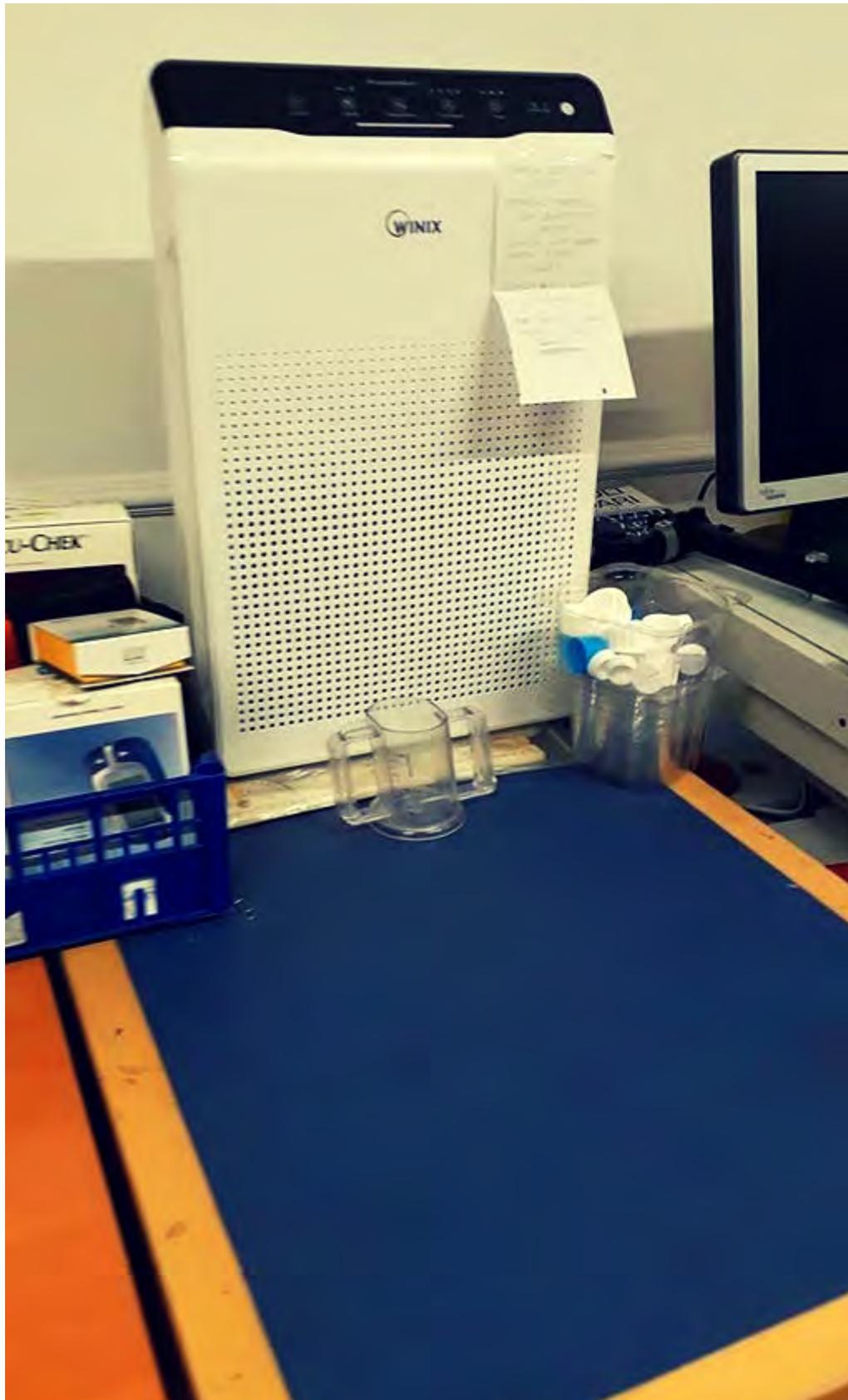


Figure 5.65

Storage of personal protective equipment and other first-aid items



Figure 5.66

Storage of medicine at room temperatures



Figure 5.67

Two rows of medicines on shelves and preparation table for prescriptions



Figure 5.68

Storage of medicine in refrigerators



Figure 5.69

Recycling bin for expired medicines



Figure 5.70

3. Doctor's medical examination unit



Figure 5.71

At the time of the visit, all medical examination appointments were taking place only via a phone call coordinated through the digital platform created in collaboration with KIFA.A (Solidarity Clinic and Pharmacy of Athens).

Medical screens separating the different medical examination units



Figure 5.72

5.6 Rejecting Predictability: Proposals for a Radical Primary Healthcare System

During the pandemic, what was made clear is that even the most predictable spaces, the interiors of buildings (homes, hospitals, schools, offices and so forth) had to be readjusted to respond to new uses. In April 2020, at the peak of the pandemic, every healthcare structure, including hospitals, had –by using their own means– to provide an immediate response regarding the spatial reorganisation of their spaces and the shortages they were facing in Personal Protective Equipment and medicine, in the context of major delays from the state’s response.³¹⁹ On a national scale, during the pandemic, the healthcare social movement, through the organising outreach of the Metropolitan Community Clinic of Hellinikon, sought to intervene in the institutional system of public healthcare by drafting a proposal that was based on all the knowledge, experience, tools and archival resources of the clinic amassed over the past decade. In the press release of April 2020 titled *On the Pandemic Crisis*, the clinic pointed out the urgent priorities required for dealing with the pandemic crisis in the difficult period that followed the first wave of the virus and the stay home/lockdown stage.

Significantly, this proposal by the Metropolitan Community Clinic of Hellinikon was based on the collective view of the solidarity clinics and pharmacies that the pandemic was a public health crisis exacerbated by the financial crisis and years of austerity policies and, as such, required the urgent development and reconceptualisation of the national healthcare system.

³¹⁹ Jilly Traganou, ‘Space, Supplies, Solidarity in an Intensive Treatment Unit during the COVID-19 pandemic. Interview with Effie Galiatsou, ITU Doctor in a London Hospital’, *Design and Culture*, 13.1 (2021), pp. 2–3. The author demonstrates in this interview how the medical staff of this hospital in London had to provide solutions even to spatial issues as there was no plan on a national level. So, medics found themselves with shortages of Personal Protective Equipment, among others, and reaching spatial capacity in the space as it was.

³²⁰ Metropolitan Community Clinic of Hellinikon, ‘On the Pandemic Crisis’ <<https://www.mkiHellinikonu.org/en/2020/12/18/pandemic/>> [accessed 10 September 2021].

Although representing a spectrum of different locations, protocols and periods for social movements, it still was ‘the repressive power of the capitalist city that should be subverted’.³²⁰ This is what the financial crisis followed by the pandemic crisis made even clearer for the healthcare social movement.

A new clinic typology had to be conceived, so, through a new report and proposal titled *Proposal by the Metropolitan Community Clinic of Hellinikon (MCCH) for the Pandemic Crisis and the Rational Functioning of Primary Health Care System*,³²¹ the Metropolitan Community Clinic of Hellinikon diagrammed some guidelines on the organisation of the healthcare infrastructure—a type of spatial and organisational diagram—that, on the one hand, instructed healthcare organisations, units, institutions and, foremost, the state to devise a compact and dense layout in terms of the geographical location where clinics should be located (no more than a municipality apart) and varied in scale and operation. On the other hand, their proposal drew on the organisational and spatial protocols of the decade-long operation of the solidarity clinics.

During these years, the solidarity clinic as an infrastructure had been providing primary medical care to disenfranchised groups and, in doing so, they had utilised and tested new ways of organising a primary care unit, elaborated on their protocols of medical examination and based their activities on the networks of the social solidarity economy. As a result of this, the architecture of the solidarity clinic in the context of this report and proposal is perceived under new spatial practices and arrangements. Essentially, the flow of people and resources were channelled and rechannelled through space and conditions were created and recreated for everyday life. According to the logic of the solidarity clinic and its spatial and organisational protocols, only a constantly reconfigured environment is a safe environment.³²² The logic of safety in this context of healthcare conceives of the solidarity clinic and healthcare units not as mere medical units but as nodes in a system of solidarity care, as spaces from which medical observation and direct action together can be generated through the circulation of people, protocols and equipment. But to do so, any conception about predictability and comfort must be challenged as it is usually challenged during situations of crisis and contingency when even the most predictable space, that of domestic interiors, needs to be reconfigured.

³²¹ Metropolitan Community Clinic of Hellinikon, ‘Proposal by the Metropolitan Community Clinic of Hellinikon (MCCH) for the Pandemic Crisis and the Rational Functioning of Primary Health Care System’ <<https://www.mkiHellinikonu.org/blog/2020/04/30/covid19-public-health-sector/>> [accessed 10 September 2021].

³²² Ibid.



Figure 5.74
Covid-19 unit zone demarcation at the Alexandra General Public Hospital of Athens, where part of the Pathology unit was converted to treat patients with Covid-19. Photo by the author.

This design logic regarding the infrastructural spatiality by social movements was reflected in this proposal. Yet, although their proposal is based on the four standards for medicine provision, namely the (a) reception of emergencies, (b) their evaluation, (c) preventive measures and (d) further treatment when required, the primary healthcare infrastructure of solidarity care, as declared in this collective proposal, should be centred around the establishment of an organisational and spatial protocol of holistic healthcare based on mutual aid networks that include both medical and psychological support for the care-seeker with mental health and culturally appropriate practices of care provision included.

The creation of standards for medicine provision can be traced through reference to the timely scholarship of Michel Foucault who, at a conference held in 1974 at the Institute of Social Medicine of the University of Rio de Janeiro, entitled 'Crisis of Medicine or Crisis of Anti-Medicine?',³²³ presented four key proposals regarding this. According to his analysis, from the 18th century, medicine began to consider other different patient fields, widening the scope of the medical machine, using the following means: (1) the appearance of a medical authority, which is not restricted to the authority of knowledge. Medical authority is a social authority that can make decisions concerning a town, a district, an institution, or a regulation; (2) the appearance of a medical field of intervention distinct from diseases: air, water, construction, terrains, sewerage, etc. In the eighteenth century, all this became the object of medicine; (3) the introduction of a site of collective medicalisation: namely, the hospital. Before the eighteenth century, the hospital was not an institution of medicalisation but of aid to the poor awaiting death; (4) the introduction of mechanisms of medical administration: the recording of data, collection, and comparison of statistics.

Further to the analysis of Foucault, it is possible to say that from the 18th century, medicine acquired a new statute and spatial expression in that it was constituted in a vector that enabled it to politically manage a territory explicitly and directly. And that management was carried out by a reconfiguration of the mechanisms within medicine itself, such as the transformation of the hospital as an institution, as well as in strictly political instances through the consolidation of the nation-state model.

³²³ Michel Foucault, 'The Crisis of Medicine or the Crisis of Antimedicine?', *Foucault Studies*, 1(2004), p. 13.

Today, for the healthcare social movement in Greece, addressing all the four purposes to stay in accordance with the universal medical standards became a secondary priority as their main goal had been to advance their core value that spoke for the inclusive holism of the infrastructure of solidarity. This value had been diagrammed in their proposal for the radicalisation of the primary healthcare infrastructure and, in achieving this, the ability to occupy and re-appropriate a space and to establish interconnectedness among their decentralised architectures became the most critical ones. The four components that alternately or simultaneously comprised a clinic had also been devised and sequenced, albeit in an ad hoc fashion, by the Metropolitan Community Clinic of Hellinikon, which had applied this spatial co-location to its premises in Hellinikon.³²⁴ According to the guideline of the proposal and following the architectures that were, in a way, tested by the Metropolitan Community Clinic of Hellinikon itself, the layout of a solidarity clinic typically follows a principle of spatial configuration around solidarity activities and medical equipment; thus, in a way, the protocol of medical examination defines itself as a space.

Then, the crucial question that emerges is: How can we support, strengthen and enrich the social autonomous reproduction of a city for it to be able to heal and care for everyone in need?

The project of the solidarity clinic and pharmacy does not seek to answer the question from the scope of solidarity in the sense of bringing together “allied” participants, projects, social movements, in the hope to contribute to the solidarity movement-building, though as my research insists, this has been crucial from the outset. Rather, I am motivated to think of emancipatory organising practices such as solidarity clinics and pharmacies collectively as a social movement itself, reconfiguring, redistributing and re-appropriating space and systems demanding an end to so many conditions of precarisation that debilitate the bodies and infrastructures of many populations. In its way, the solidarity clinic was from the lived experience of its participants, the prototypical model of solidarity care expressing the political economy of its time, bringing together participants in a social movement. Yet, in the course of its existence, the solidarity clinic became coterminous with the rise of social solidarity economy practices and institutionalisation frameworks, and represented the spatial embodiment

³²⁴ The Metropolitan Community Clinic of Hellinikon claims that the results have been spectacular in reducing morbidity and medication, as well as in providing mental health support.

of new economic and redistribution networks of a healthcare system. More than a mere solution to a specific planning and/or political problem, the architecture of the healthcare infrastructure in Greece during the past decade has been a diagram of the new power relations articulated through the infrastructural disputes and institutionalisation processes of this period (2010-2020). Embodied in the architecture of the solidarity clinic were the militant direct action activities of medical care provision, the political call of inclusive healthcare for all and the economic logic of the social solidarity economy process, coupled with practices of solidarity and mutual aid.

Overall, as new models of the healthcare infrastructure, the solidarity clinic provided new relationships between subjects, collective equipment and the city, and gave rise to different forms of reproduction, sociability and care. By expanding the range of protocols available for the procurement, maintenance, location and spatial organisation of the healthcare system, ranging from the distribution of medical equipment to architectural drawings, and safeguarding the accessibility of the network through which they circulated, the space of the solidarity clinic had also expanded the possibility for the cultural imagining of care.

Arriving at this understanding is important because it allows us to raise the question about the existence of different modes of affect that accompany care in different contexts of social movements, and the new aesthetic forms that emerged out of them. I interrogate this question in detail in the next part of the thesis through the exploration of different social movements from the international experience.

PART IV

INTERNATIONAL EXPERIENCE

6.



Mercado de la Cebada

50 años a tu servicio

TRADER MIBSE





MITAD Y MITAD

TEATRO LA LATINA

RENTA

GRATIA

LM

6. Towards an International Infrastructural Movement



Figure 6.2

The statue of Edward Colston was toppled at a BLM protest in Bristol, UK, on 7 June 2020. The Colston statue was rolled into Bristol Harbour by protesters, while placards were left at the site where Colston's statue stood. Source: Bristol City Council.

6.1 Introduction to Chapter 6: The Decolonisation of the Imaginary

This chapter traces the spatial manifestation of the activities of some of the most emblematic social movements that have sprung up in recent years in Southern Europe, as well as in the US, amid anti-austerity, anti-colonial and protest movements. In particular, I investigate the different dimensions of an infrastructural project from below, through the micro-histories of two very important social movements which occurred in Spain (Madrid, Barcelona) and the US (Standing Rock Sioux reservation in North Dakota), where the changing political and economic ambitions of both the Spanish and US governments, in the aftermath of the eruption of the global financial crisis in 2008, provided a complex context for this infrastructural elaboration.

Following from the empirical investigation of the solidarity clinic as an infrastructure in Greece, I move to explore the protocols and design prototypes of three emblematic contexts, beginning with the atlas of urban prototypes that emerged in Madrid from grassroots architectural collectives in 2012. Then, the phases of evolution of the Can Batlló cooperative project in Barcelona, established in 2012, and its major expansion under the umbrella of the New Municipalism agenda since 2014, are also unpacked. Finally, the architecture of the encampments of the water protectors in the Standing Rock Sioux reservation in North Dakota are explored through the infrastructure of medical care provision.

Figure 6.1 (pp. 321-322)
El Campo de la Cebada in Madrid (2010).
Courtesy: Zuloark Collective.

6.1.1 Selection of Case Studies: From Barcelona to North Dakota

At the end of 2020, and in the midst of a pandemic, the US experienced the largest Black uprising since its inception. Black Lives Matter responds to police violence, racism, and structural inequality by seizing back the thread of their African American ancestors' struggle against slavery and colonialism. Only a few years ago, in the US again, the indigenous-led #NoDPL anti-pipeline movement in the Standing Rock Sioux reservation made visible worldwide the struggle of indigenous populations to protect water and, essentially, their land, culture, environment and health. Moreover, during the past decade, in the Mediterranean, the rescuers with the slogan Refugee Lives Matter highlight the sea as an important field of a state death policy, but also of political solidarity and resistance.³²⁵

The crisis of democracy, participatory and representative, has given impetus to the emergence of new political imaginaries and forms of political participation, as seen in the more intense experiences in countries hard hit by the crisis, with the most striking paradigm being Greece and the countries of the European South, as well as those of populations excluded from the official narrative, such as indigenous populations struggling against settler colonialism. Thus, this part of the thesis uses historical, activist, anthropological, and architectural approaches, alongside the technical and design documentation of their spatial configurations, to shed light on different aspects and practices based on the infrastructural spatiality and diversity of social movements.

Following the extensive investigation of the rise of the healthcare social movement in Athens in the aftermath of the financial crisis amid a fluctuating administrative environment, links are created between (1) the evolution of the New Municipalism platform in Spain, which led to an interplay between state institutions, projects of urban commons and the cooperative movement, and (2) the indigenous-led movement of water protectors in the Standing Rock Sioux reservation on the

³²⁵ 'Black Lives Matter' and 'Refugee Lives Matter' became the slogans of protests during the spring and summer 2020 protests across many countries as protests in support of refugee and asylum rights were joined by anti-racist activists, including many young activists who are involved in the Black Lives Matter movement.

US-Canada border which battled against the construction of the Dakota Access Pipeline that was fast-tracked by the administration of Donald Trump and, in this way, it reconfigured practices of collective care and healing drawing from the history and experiences of the indigenous populations. In this way, too, the solidarity clinics (Athens), the small-scale urban prototypes established by the grassroots architecture collectives (Madrid), the cooperative living schemes (Barcelona), and the clinics of the water protector camp (Standing Rock Sioux), for instance, become the microstructures of care provision to investigate the basis of transnation rights and an infrastructural movement as a system. It is precisely through the work of these social movements that my research renders visible other kinds of infrastructure by rendering possible the networked direct action that has reproduced the large communities who gathered on site, established self-organisation protocols, and reconfigured welfare and care protocols as prototypes that can travel across spaces and territories to provide, protest and protect, and they did so by establishing social and ecological interdependence and connections across borders.

Figure 6.3
Protesters toppling the Edward Colston statue. Photos by Marton Gosztonyi.



6.2 The Spanish Context During the Crisis: The Case Studies of Los Madriles and Can Batlló



Figure 6.4
The Indignados occupation in Puerta del Sol in Madrid, Spain. 19 May 2011. Source: takethesquare.net.

In Spain, the financial crisis was compounded with the bursting of the real estate bubble, causing some 500,000 evictions between 2008 and 2011, and an unemployment rate of 22%, with 47% among youngsters, in 2013.³²⁶ At-risk-of-poverty rates for the population grew from 19.8% in 2010 to 22.1% in 2015.³²⁷ In Barcelona, the socio-economic data were appalling, with an unemployment rate of 18%, peaking at 40%-45% for youngsters, and more than 3,000 families evicted yearly during the crisis years (data of 2013).³²⁸ In Madrid, evictions and unemployment hit a record 21% in 2013, and more than 50,000 families were evicted in 2016.³²⁹ Indicatively, in 2013, 11% of Spanish households declared that they were unable to have an adequate temperature in their homes during winter because they could not afford to pay their bills. Simultaneously, according to the Spanish census of 2011, almost 3.5 million dwellings were empty, while social housing in Spain accounted for only 2% of the housing market.³³⁰

Since 2008 radical reforms have taken place in the pension and labour market policies. Further, all other policy fields have been severely affected by the budgetary cuts which started in 2011. Since the beginning of the financial crisis in 2008, the Spanish government has reduced the public budget dedicated to housing by 63%. Sub-national governments were the most hit by these dramatic cuts in resources, having been transferred to them by the central government.³³¹ Combined with corruption scandals and the loss of trust in political institutions, this set the scene for the emergence of a new wave of protest.

In May 2011, the anti-austerity movement of the Indignados (or 15-M), the manifestation of the movement of the squares in the Spanish context, arose following a massive demonstration with the slogan “Real Democracy Now. We are not merchandise in the hands of politicians and bankers”, which occupied the main squares of more than 70 Spanish cities, and involved mass deliberations in general assemblies and many thematic committees.³³²

This was accompanied by the powerful surge of the housing movement in support of evicted people, and of anti-austerity movements in defence of public services accessible to all groups of the population. In addition, the Indignados movement interwove with many social movements and claims, from the squatting to the autonomous neighbourhood initiatives, and the environmental justice movements declaring a climate emergency.

³²⁶ Specifically, Madrid hit a historic record of 20.45 % unemployment rate during the fourth quarter of 2013. See ‘Spain: Unemployment Rate in Madrid 2013-2020’, *Statista* <<https://www.statista.com/statistics/456195/unemployment-rate-in-madrid/>> [accessed 10 September 2021].

³²⁷ *Ibid.*

³²⁸ PAH Barcelona, ‘Mortgage-Affected-Citizens Platform (PAH) report 2011-2021’ <<https://pahbarcelona.files.wordpress.com/2018/02/housing-data-inform.pdf>> [accessed 10 September 2021].

³²⁹ *Ibid.*

³³⁰ *Ibid.*

³³¹ Ana M. Guillén and Emmanuele Pavolini, ‘Spain and Italy: Regaining the Confidence and Legitimacy to Advance Social Policy, After Austerity’, in *After Austerity: Welfare State Transformation in Europe After the Great Recession*, ed. by Peter Taylor-Gooby et al. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017), p. 87.

³³² Alberto Corsín Jiménez and Adolfo Estalella, ‘The Atmospheric Person: Value, Experiment, and “Making Neighbors” in Madrid’s Popular Assemblies’, *HAU: Journal of Ethnographic Theory*, 3.2 (2013), pp. 119–39.

Amidst this network of collective direct action, and great importance to architecture, has been the establishment of the New Municipalism network for protocol exchange, including a network of urban microstructures by collective initiatives in Madrid, and the recently applied regulative urban planning for neighbourhoods in Barcelona, led by solidarity activists and Mayor Ada Colau, which gave agency to a novel social movement set up to claim and design welfare provision activities.

In Madrid, the collective project of the 'Los Madriles' (2011-2015) and 'Los Madriles Infancia' (2018) have been identified as infrastructural projects for the formation and design of the first urban commons projects in the country. Los Madriles demonstrated many of the institutionalisation protocols that have been identified during the investigation of social movements in Athens as an interplay was established between the Regional Federation of Neighbourhood Associations of Madrid (FRAVM), a historical confederation of neighbourhood organisations, the new collective initiatives that emerged in urban areas after 2011, and the Municipality of Madrid. A similar case study to this can also be found in Barcelona, where the Can Batlló urban and social infrastructure became the most powerful large-scale project for the design and expansion of self-managed welfare provision activities and housing by a social and solidarity economy platform in the city. Both case studies from the Spanish context were initiated and supported by a heterogeneous coalition of social movements and collective initiatives and both engaged with state institutions through complex relationships.

What distinguishes the Spanish paradigms from the ones in Greece is that in both Los Madriles and Can Batlló, the role of the architectural collectives was central in the decision-making processes and the designing of the spaces of this new infrastructure. It is through this realisation that the small-scale urban prototypes in Madrid and the cooperative housing scheme in Barcelona came to propose a new type of infrastructure that was absent in urban space. This explains the selection of Spain as a context for this study as it provides a means of exploring the infrastructural crisis based on the absence of collective infrastructures designed by and for the community.



Figure 6.5
Photo showing the activities, which took place at El Campo. Courtesy: El Campo de Cebada.

6.3 Los Madriles Case Study: Mapping the Rise of an Infrastructural Movement

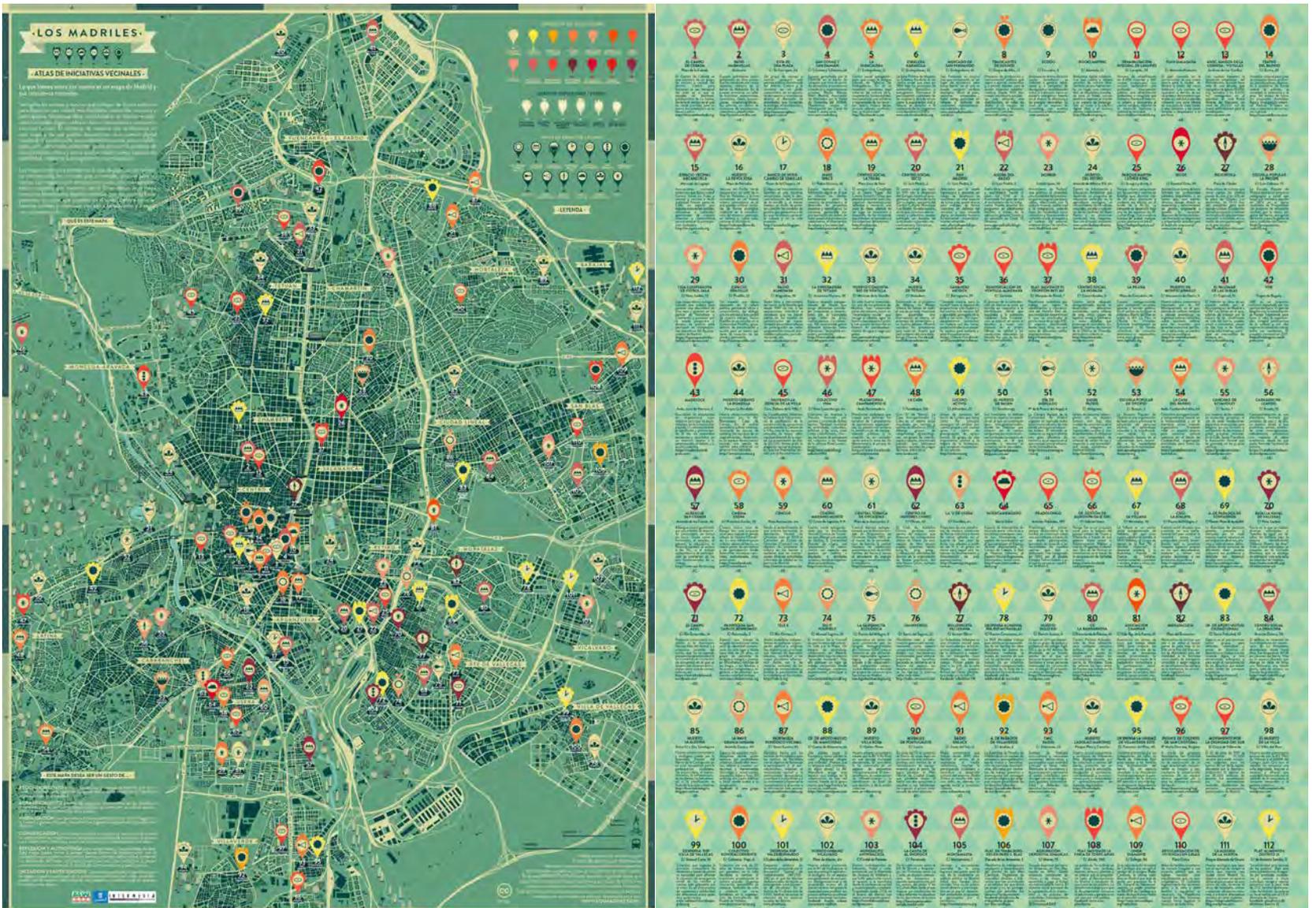


Figure 6.6
Los Madriles: Atlas de iniciativas vecinales (Los Madriles: Atlas of neighborhood initiatives).
Source: losmadriles.org

6.3.1 An Atlas of Grassroots Infrastructures in Urban Space

Los Madriles Infancia, was the second phase of the Los Madriles collective mapping project, which started in 2011 as an initiative to make visible Madrid's newly emerged collective initiatives that had started at the local scale of the neighbourhood. The "Infancia" version included collective projects for child-care and urban playgrounds was presented in June 2018 at Intermediae Matadero Madrid,³³³ the city's most important contemporary arts centre for projects of urban commons and collective participation. Described as an "Atlas", the hundred additional spaces that were registered on the initial map of Los Madriles since 2011, and those which may be in the digital version, demonstrated the existence of a multitude of collective initiatives that created new spaces (physical or virtual) and, through self-management and participation, intended to make accessible and inclusive a number of welfare services at the urban scale. Most importantly, in this process, the architectural drawings and design played a central role.

The case of decentralised small-scale urban design projects by social movements in Madrid, as a form of microstructures, offers a point of entry for exploring the combination of protocol systems and prototypical designs. Los Madriles reflects the diversity of the constellation of social movements, solidarity bodies, collectives, as well as local institutions involved in all these initiatives mapped out in this atlas through a platform /map that goes beyond the necessary placement of information of spatial characteristics of real estate properties on a conventional map. Instead, it captures the qualitative data related to social and solidarity economy bodies, such as social movements and the collectives formed around them, with their provisional functions, and the protocol interactions between the latter and other social agents or political bodies, such as local authorities and state institutions.

³³³ Intermediae Matadero Madrid or Matadero Madrid is a former slaughterhouse in the Arganzuela district of Madrid, which has been converted to an arts centre and a hub for participatory artistic training and dialogue between artists. Matadero Madrid is also a project promoted by the Madrid City Council's Department of the Arts and managed by the Directorate-General for Cultural Projects through Matadero Madrid's coordination team, in collaboration with other public and private organisations. For more information see the website <<https://www.intermediae.es/en>> [accessed 10 September 2021].

The desire to do this mapping of autonomous activities that were the result of collective organising among the dispersed collective initiatives of Madrid emerged from the need to make visible and add value to the series of collective and common spaces built as a result of grassroots and ad hoc organising during that period. The power of the mapped projects, the richness of a collection of spaces, eventually generated a map as an encounter of protocol and as a prototypical design tool. Besides the local neighbourhood initiatives diffused across the city, Los Madriles incorporated other agencies and urban collective projects. These included the Intermediae Matadero, which acted as a hub for cultural activities centred around urban commons, the Regional Federation of Neighbourhood Associations of Madrid (FRAVM), and the Zuloark design collective, which is a multidisciplinary platform focused on sharing open-source designs and drawings of what they call *urban prototypes*, and which functioned as an umbrella operation for a variety of grassroots architectural collectives, some of which were more organised in structure, such as Vivero de Iniciativas Ciudadanas [VIC], Paisaje Transversal Todo por la Praxis, and Zoohaus, while others tended towards guerrilla action as they became parts of specific squats, occupations and projects of the commons.³³⁴

This type of collaboration and interplay between architecture collectives, social and solidarity economy bodies and local institutions was consolidated into an actual urban design project when, in 2012, the collective running the Intermediae Matadero commissioned Zoohaus to turn its online repository of worldwide open-source architectural prototypes, called Inteligencias Colectivas (Collective Intelligences), into an actual, three-dimensional construction, the first of its type. This construction served the purpose of an item of urban furniture that was able to facilitate a public assembly located on the exterior of the building complex of Intermediae Matadero. Through this interplay, they suddenly infrastructured both the prototypes for these conceived microstructures and their material and constructive needs.³³⁵

In the Spanish context, and through the case of Los Madriles, the political ecology of infrastructures of solidarity and care were redrawn and repopulated with novel urban artefacts, collective bodies and socio-technical relations.

³³⁴ The international network of these collectives of architects has been captured in a diagram made by Zoohaus, whose project Inteligencias Colectivas (Collective Intelligences) has developed fieldwork research and prototyping projects in 15 countries, in collaboration with universities, cultural institutions and local collectives. See the individual websites of each collective (in Spanish): IC, Collective Intelligences <www.inteligenciascolectivas.org>, Zuloark <<http://zuloark.com/es/home-es/>>, Vivero de Iniciativas Ciudadanas [VIC] <<https://vivo-vivero.net/>>, Paisaje Transversal Todo por la Praxis <<https://paisajetransversal.com/>> [accessed 10 September 2021].

³³⁵ Such prototypes include the Offfficina urban furniture at Matadero Madrid designed by the Zoohaus Collective within the Inteligencias Colectivas framework. Source: <<https://www.lysvillalba.net/filter/research/Offfficina-at-Matadero-Madrid>> [accessed 10 September 2021].



Figure 6.7

The Offfficina urban furniture at Matadero Madrid (2011). The project was developed within the Zoohaus Collective / Inteligencias Colectivas platforms. Photos courtesy of IC and Lys Villalba.

The description of the project by the collective:

Inteligencias Colectivas prototype. Six-month research project, design and construction of a working space at El Ranchito, Matadero Madrid, Spain. The Offfficina is a prototype that integrates several intelligent solutions found all over the world (from materials to construction methods or technologies), mixing them with local materials and techniques.

6.3.2 El Campo: How Does an Open-Source Architecture Platform Work to Design and Distribute the Prototypes that Are Used by Social Movements?

The most emblematic project of the Los Madriles that incorporated this prototypical and protocol design framework of interaction between neighbourhood initiatives, architectural collectives and state institutions, has been El Campo de la Cebada.

Established in 2011, in the city centre in La Latina neighbourhood, just walking distance from Puerta del Sol, an assembly of local neighbours and activists was constituted and invested with decision-making powers over the management of the occupied space of the former public sports centre, which was renamed El Campo de la Cebada to indicate its new public and common character.

It can be argued that El Campo essentially acted as an experimental site for grassroots, auto-constructive projects. This is because the amalgamation of collectives of El Campo, alongside the organisation of a number of cultural and direct action activities in support of other social movements and neighbourhood initiatives, designed the structures, urban furniture and equipment for their activities to take place, setting a precedent for the design and construction of microstructures as a result of institutionalisation interplay and open-source design tools.



Figure 6.9
Bird's eye view of El Campo de Cebada.
El Campo is located within walking distance of Puerta del Sol.

To understand this argument, it is important to understand that spaces that have been occupied to be transformed to urban commons, such as El Campo, are managed and designed following the decisions of the general assembly and the relevant committees. Thus, in terms of organisation, for El Campo, the General Assembly is the sovereign decision-making body, but various autonomous committees, such as the Space Design, Strategy and Negotiation, Activities, Economics and Coordination Committees make decisions on specific matters. All the projects' collectives are also meant to participate in the wider El Campo project, at least by taking part in the general assembly and the Coordination Committee. Therefore, regarding the design-and-make of objects, artefacts and microstructures to equip these spaces, the Committee for Space Design takes over and liaises directly with the design collectives comprising architects and designers that are part of the architectural collectives such as Zuloark, Vivero de Iniciativas Ciudadanas [VIC], Paisaje Transversal Todo por la Praxis, and Inteligencias Colectivas/ Zoohaus.

This type of collaboration between the grassroots architectural collectives and the autonomous committees of projects of urban commons, such as El Campo, became extremely important for the Los Madriles project to be realised in a novel way, away from institutional politics. By introducing the format of the workshop, as a way of spatial surveying done by the collectives themselves instead of the neighbourhood associations of each district in Madrid, which is usually the case, Los Madriles managed to map out the collective initiatives across all the neighbourhoods, and to distinguish itself from being a mere chart displaying geographical location. Moreover, in the wave of all the collective initiatives that intervened in urban space during that period, the aim of a workshop was to have participants survey and document makeshift, retrofitted, and collective architectural designs and constructive techniques in their local neighbourhoods. Essentially, participants in social movements, and especially those recognised as organising around design and architecture, were required to produce design and technical specifications for such objects and artefacts. The documentation for these designs included photographs, 3D renderings, architectural sketches and diagrams, textual descriptions, and video recordings.³³⁶

³³⁶ Based on the findings from research conducted on the online platforms and archives of these architectural collectives.



Figure 6.10

Theatrical performance at El Campo de Cebada (2013). The urban furniture was designed and built to spatially transform El Campo de Cebada according to the needs and activities that were taking place. Courtesy: El Campo de Cebada.

Consequently, the Atlas of Los Madriles, of which El Campo became a part, emerged as a result of a series of workshops registering such collective initiatives as urban and architectural design projects across the city at that time. This process of registration and surveying led to the conception of each intervention at the scale of the neighbourhood as a type of innovation that was registered through a set of architectural media as a prototype. By exploring the online platform of these architectural collectives, decisions could affect not only the registers in which an intervention as a component was described (a photograph, an architectural drawing or a 3D rendering) but also their formats (image quality, file extension), language of description, even the systems required to read/process any of the above, questioning, for example, if one should use Autodesk, a proprietary software, for making 3D architectural renderings.

Every documentary registry was intended to be copyrighted with a creative commons licence in the event that someone, somewhere, would want to reproduce the prototype. Moreover, using a prototype's documentary and design registry to extend its original capabilities could also allow for diverse contextual applications: the prototype was allowed to travel/replicate as both open technology and as a context-specific solution. It is precisely here, where the knowledge of drawings and code by the design collectives, such as the ones that set up the Zuloark platform, came into play. Consequently, and over the years, the crucial design challenge that these grassroots design collectives encountered was to agree on how to stabilise a prototype's "technical description",³³⁷ as they realised that different designs call for different descriptive standards.

Another important fact comes from Matthew Fuller and Usman Haque, who argue that in this context, i.e., architecture with respect to opening up the urban design/construction process and encouraging the reuse and repurposing of architectural artefacts, it is important to ensure that such structures and systems are released in a 'pre-broken condition'.³³⁸ In other words, open-source infrastructures are always already broken, and it is precisely this pre-broken status that lends them their durability and sustainability.³³⁹ This notion of broken infrastructures also borrows from Susan Leigh Starr, who has developed a set of characteristics of infrastructures, one of them being that infrastructure becomes visible upon breakdown as 'the invisibility of infrastructure fades away when it breaks, such as the server is down, the bridge washes out, there is a power blackout. Even when there are backup mechanisms or procedures, their existence further highlights the now visible infrastructure'.³⁴⁰

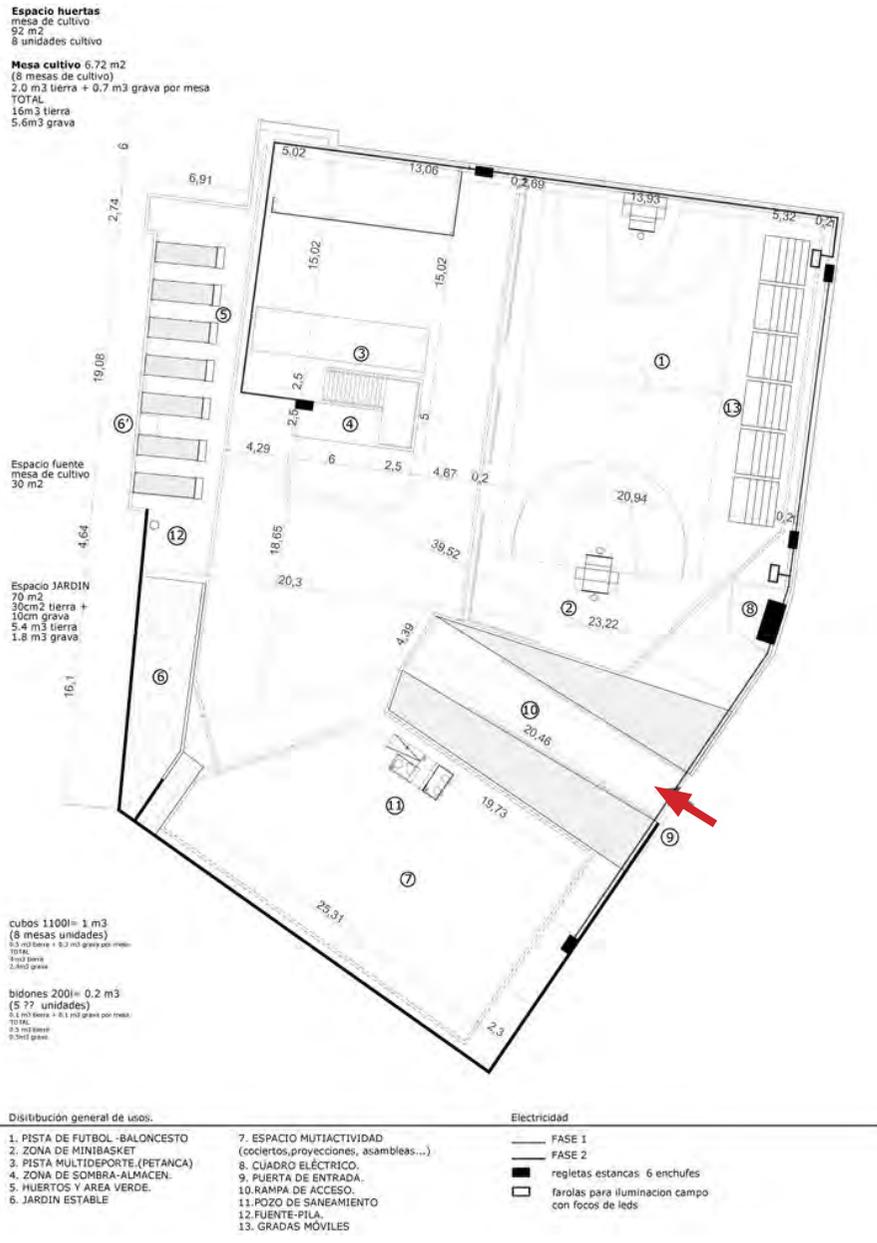
³³⁷ Alberto Corsín Jiménez, 'The Right to Infrastructure: A Prototype for Open Source Urbanism', *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 32.2 (2014), pp. 342–62.

³³⁸ Matthew Fuller and Usman Haque, *Urban Versioning System 1.0* (New York: The Architectural League of New York Situated Pamphlet Series, 2008), p. 30.

³³⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 48.

³⁴⁰ Susan Leigh Starr, 'The Ethnography of Infrastructure', pp. 381–82.

6. Towards an International Infrastructural Movement



Legend

1. football & basketball court
2. minibasket zone
3. multisport & games zone
4. shaded area & cafe
5. vegetables garden & "green" area
6. (permanent) urban garden
7. multipurpose zone for activities
8. electrical panel
9. entrance door
10. access ramp
11. WC & sanitation zone
12. power supply
13. mobile stands/ steps (seats)

Figure 6.11

Figure 6.11 & 6.12

Plan and axonometric view drawings that display the spatial configuration of El Campo. Courtesy: El Campo de Cebada.

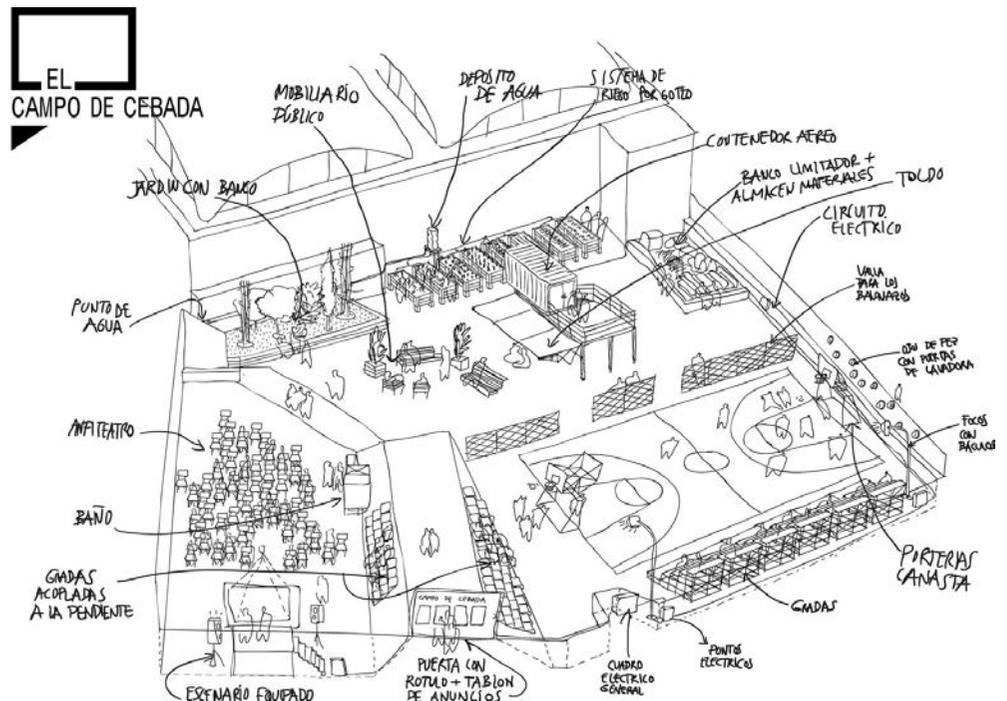


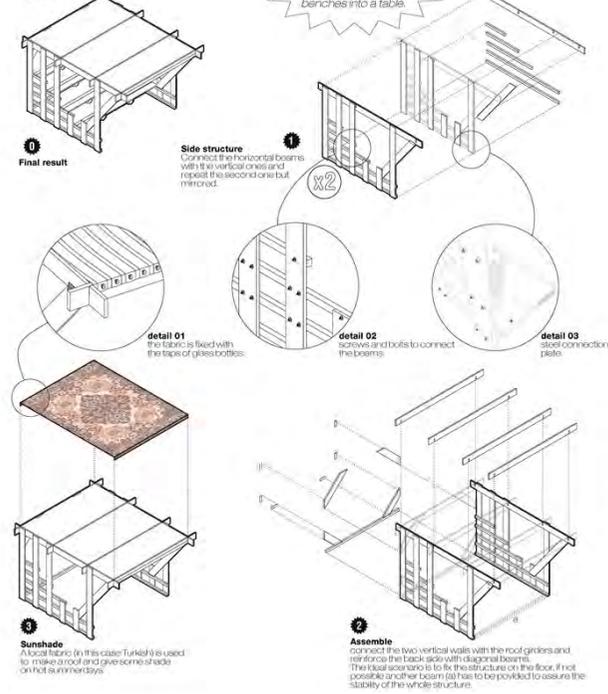
Figure 6.12

"VERSATILE" grandstand

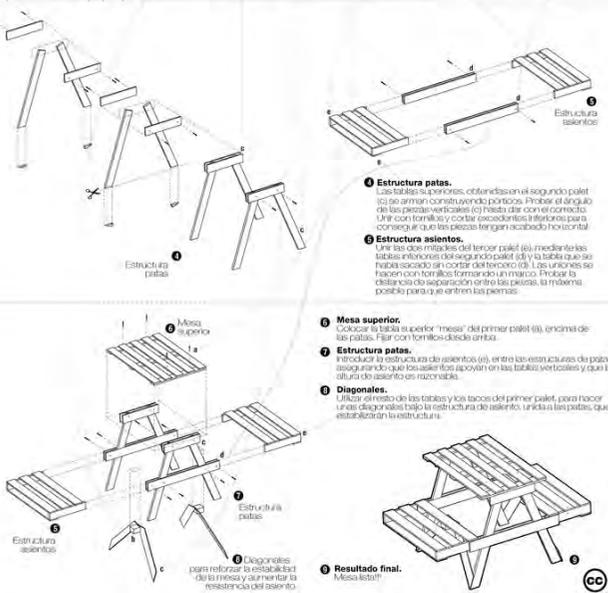
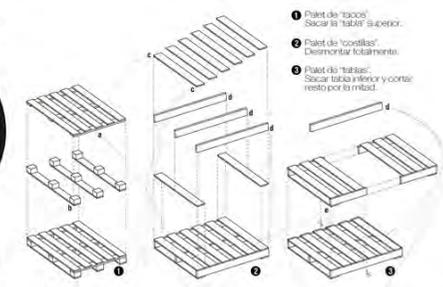
This is a prototype design and built by the La Latina neighbors and Zúlcark during the Mobile Grandstands workshop organized by PKMN, TXP, Taller de Casquería, Basurama, Páaseje Transversal, Zúlcark and other architects and collectives from the neighborhood for Campo de Cebada urban space.



Under the canopy of the special mobile grandstand, you can watch shows in the traditional way or meet your friends by just switching the benches into a table.



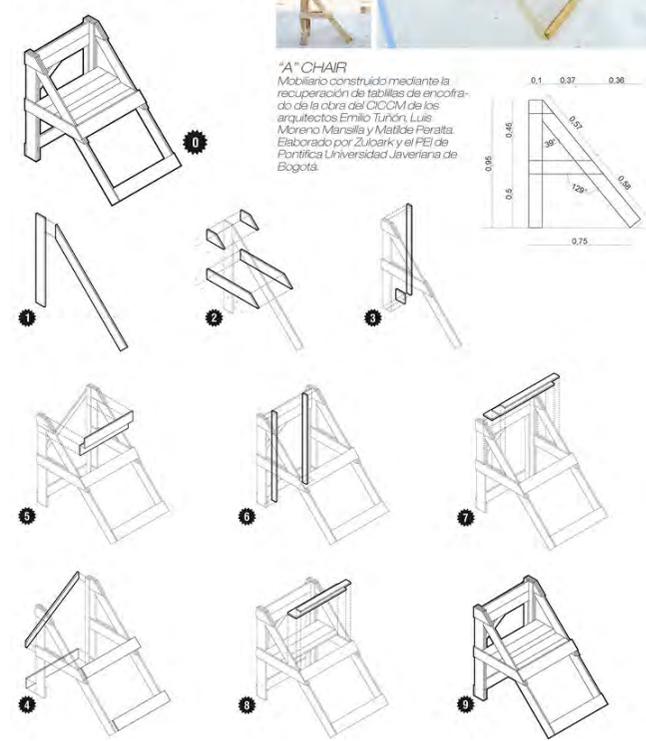
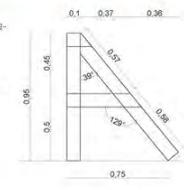
Mesa de palets



made urbanismo El Campo de Cebada



"A" CHAIR
Mobiliario construido mediante la recuperación de tablas de encofrado de la obra del CICOM de los arquitectos Emilio Tuñón, Luis Moreno Mansilla y Matilde Peratta. Elaborado por Zúlcark y el PEI de Pontifica Universidad Javeriana de Bogotá.



Silla palet

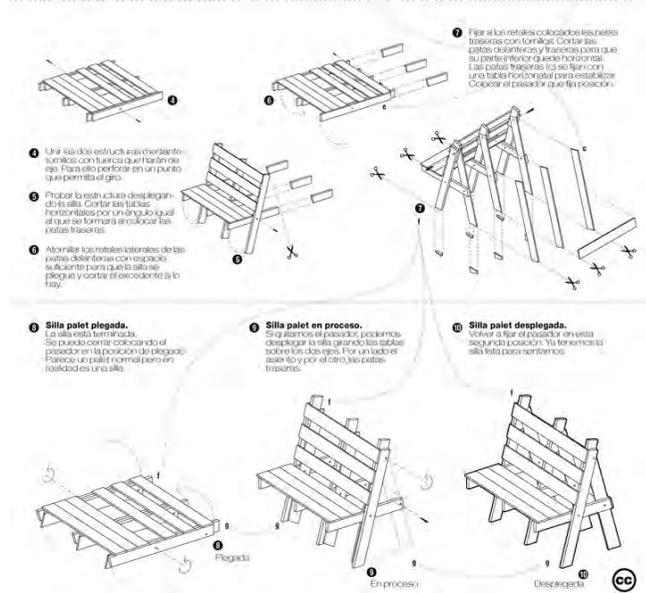
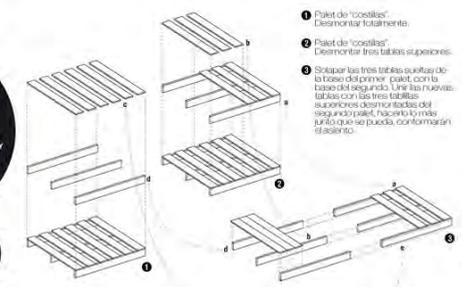


Figure 6.13

Four drawing sets of the prototypes designed for El Campo. The prototypes contain a Creative Commons licence and were designed following the open-source protocol where contributors could add "steps" to the "design and built" stages of each prototype. Available for download and redesign. Courtesy: El Campo de Cebada and Inteligencias Colectivas.



Figure 6.14
Some of the prototypes as they were being built at El Campo. Courtesy: El Campo de Cebada.

An outcome of the architectural solutions coming from these configurations may be thought of as replicas and replicated interfaces for their designs are often developed to merge with a specific situation or environment. Different prototypes require different media technologies: while some prototypes demand exhaustive diagrammatic analyses, others are faithfully rendered in little more than one photograph. Thus, documenting and a prototype, calls forth a reinvention of how each technology is described, diagrammatised and signified – how it is (proto) typed and codified into a set of ‘formal’ or ‘informal’ protocols and standards, of sorts.³⁴¹ ‘The architectural force’, Fuller and Haque have noted, ‘can be a style, a system, a compositional dynamic, a generative sequence, and/or someone with a good idea or engagement with the learning of a craft. The architect becomes a diagramming force’.³⁴²

Therefore, in a sense, the working with infrastructures had, as a precondition, the creation of its own infra-semiotics: a creation of artefacts and microstructures of cultural meanings in one and the same activity. John Tresch (2007), and later Alberto Corsín Jiménez (2014), use the term of infra-semiotics to describe, as Tresch notes, ‘the choreography of signifiers – material, inscriptive, iconic – that are drawn together in lending meaning to a “thing”’.³⁴³ Yet, in this context, these initial microstructures, which had parts of them designed as open-source prototypes with their own semiotics, have the capacity to re-source the city. That is, they open the infrastructural matrix of the city to novel and emerging materials, places and resources – resources that are now re-sourced openly - and, in the process, reconfigure the infrastructural geography of the city.

Moreover, these urban microstructures have also travelled locally and, as the participants and users of El Campo put it, were capable of “infrastructuring” other activities and events, such as temporary urban gardens, flea market stalls, assembly furniture, mobile kitchens, mobile clinics, and so forth, elsewhere. In the beginning, it was possible to identify these microstructures from the neighbourhood they originated but, gradually, they were diffused across the city, creating an infrastructural movement that shared many common principles, characteristics and tools.³⁴⁴

³⁴¹ Geoffrey C. Bowker and Susan Leigh Star, *Sorting Things Out: Classification and Its Consequences* (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2000), p. 51

³⁴² Fuller and Haque, *Urban Versioning System 1.0*, p. 48.

³⁴³ John Tresch, ‘Technological World-Pictures: Cosmic Things and Cosmograms’, *Isis*, 98.1 (2007), pp. 84–99.

³⁴⁴ The designs for all these microstructures followed the open-source conventions of the original *Inteligencias Colectivas* project and were made available for download and consultation at the website of *Inteligencias Colectivas* <www.inteligenciascolectivas.org>.



Figure 6.15
Collective kitchen and construction works at El campo. Courtesy: El Campo de Cebada.

6.3.3 The Institutionalisation of Los Madriles at a Regional Scale



Figure 6.18

Newly equipped social medical centre for the primary care of school students set up in collaboration with the same institutional authorities of La Mesa that collaborated with El Campo de Cebada: Vecinos de La Latina, Activadores de Espacios Públicos, Ciudadanos de Madrid, FRAVM, AVECLA, La Corrala, Concejalía Distrito Centro de Madrid Área de Participación Ciudadana del Ayuntamiento de Madrid. Courtesy: Federación Regional de Asociaciones Vecinales de Madrid (FRAVM).

The way in which the participants of El Campo have learned to infrastructure their own neighbourhood (schools, clinics, gardens, markets) points to an important recent development that speaks of a wider transformation of urban welfare provision infrastructures in Madrid. The local authority and community centre of the La Latina neighbourhood, called La Mesa in an act of recognition of the contribution of El Campo to the district's public services and its welfare infrastructure, agreed to the formation of different types of municipal agreements and protocols of collaboration with the activities of El Campo. Welfare, education and cultural activities were the focus of this institutionalisation interplay. Moreover, in less than nine months, La Mesa's novel treatment of spatial politics as the outcome of an institutionalisation strategy between the infrastructural movement, comprising all these collective initiatives that were intervening in the urban space of the neighbourhood and the state institutions, led to a series of infrastructural developments centred on the collective appropriation of space. This created a precedent in institutional politics in relation to urban governance in Madrid.

Indicatively, by the end of 2012, City Hall expressed interest in setting up official interlocution between some of its technical staff and La Mesa. This move challenged almost 30 years of urban politics in Madrid, where City Hall had long prevented all citizen claims that were not channelled through local neighbourhood associations. Over the years, the neighbourhood associations had monopolised the terms of political engagement and the representation at local community levels, eliminating any potential of participation in and openness to public engagement. We have found that it was precisely this restructuring of institutionalisation politics, achieved by the activities of this novel and ad hoc infrastructural movement, that provided both the protocol systems and design tools that paved the way for the diffusion of this infrastructural movement across the country. In the months and years to follow, these protocols of institutionalisation led to the formation of the New Municipalism movement that was catalysed by the election of Ada Colau as the Mayor of Barcelona in June 2015, and the establishment of urban politics by the Barcelona en Comú (Barcelona in Common) citizen platform, which had, as a goal, the wish to Win Back the City.³⁴⁶

³⁴⁶ In May 2015, the citizen's platform Barcelona en Comú (Barcelona in Common) catapulted Ada Colau into power as the city's first female mayor. Within ten months the group gathered as Barcelona en Comú (Catalan for 'Barcelona in Common') to compose a citizen's platform that launched in June 2014. The group gathered around a policy agenda that includes defending social justice and community rights, promoting participatory democracy, introducing mechanisms to tackle corruption, and developing a new model of housing and tourism for Barcelona.

catalog

Organized compilation of the collective intelligences discovered and uploaded from all over the world on to the online platform

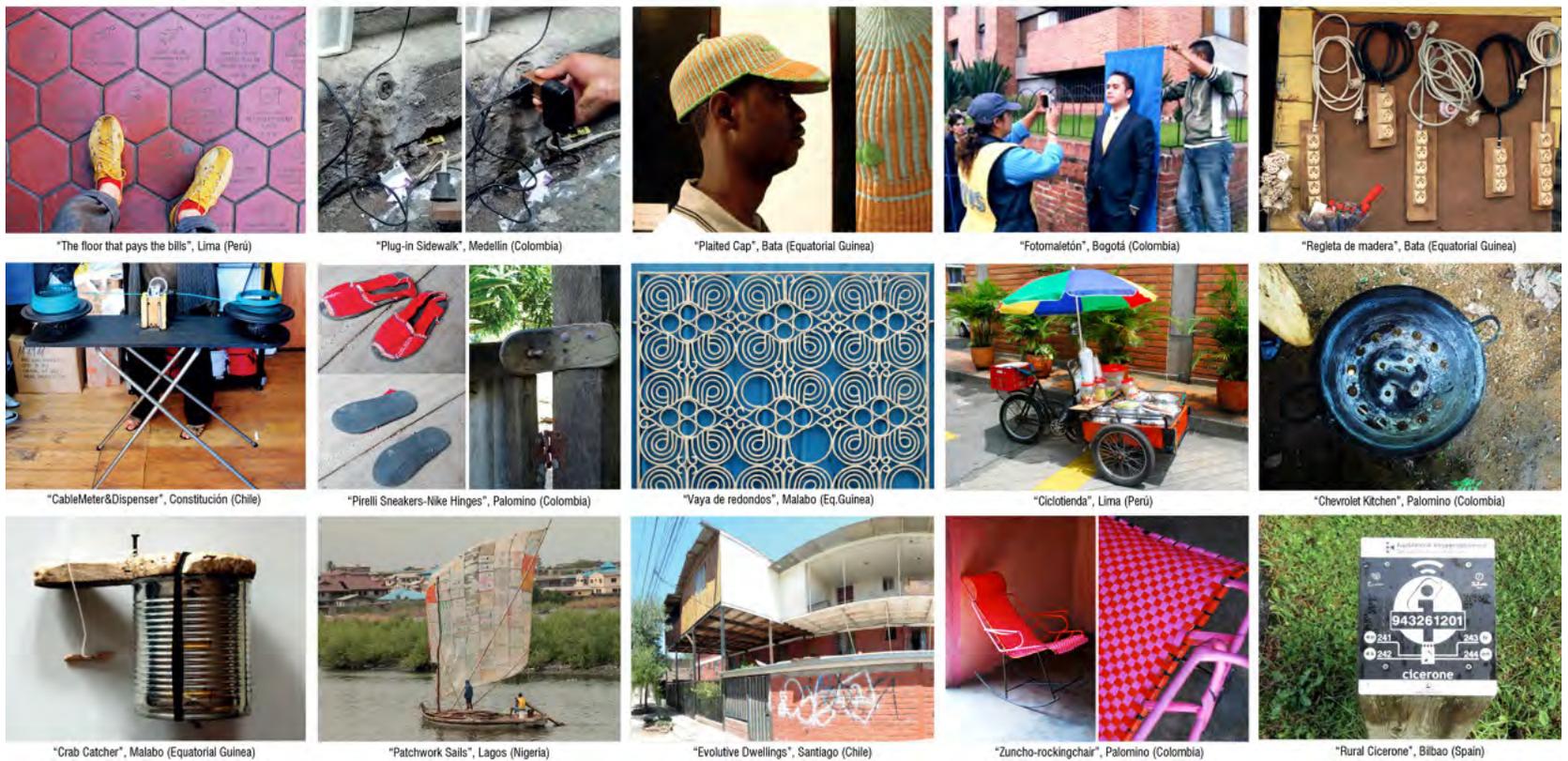


Figure 6.19
Catalogue of "collective intelligences" from a network of initiatives that used the open-source platform.
Courtesy: Intelligencias Colectivas.

In addition, the fact that La Mesa may indeed be institutionalising local politics in novel ways is perhaps best indicated by Madrid's Federation of Neighbourhood Associations' very own invitation to La Mesa, in June 2013, to discuss common interests and develop joint political agendas. Notably, by 2012, El Campo de la Cebada had already become a reference for self-managed and collectively designed spaces all over Spain. In that year, it was shortlisted for the European Prize for Urban Public Space as the first entry of this kind, a fact that recognised the architectural aspect of the initiative and once again proved its substance as an infrastructural movement for urban commons and the inclusivity of public services.

The activities programmed in El Campo were limited spatio-temporal events, a fact that does not take away from their ability to be transferred in space and in time.³⁴⁷ However, such activities naturally exposed their own fragility and precariousness as infrastructural objects. Thus, these can hardly be spoken of anymore as robust structures for every stratum shows its internal tensions and deep recursions, its fractures and lines of flight.³⁴⁸ This is because they were also iconographic, diagrammatic and, more generally, symbolic infrastructures in the sense that they were proposing a novel way of welfare provision and of coming together as a collective in space, and that were travelling in a variety of forms, styles and registers due to the open-source character of the prototypical design tools that the collectives were using. The artefacts made at a handmade urbanism workshop, for instance, were being transferred as open-source design documents and technical specifications, which were then shared widely on the websites of the grassroots architectural collectives and related digital platforms. But perhaps most importantly, they travel also as infrastructures themselves: they contribute towards the furnishing and equipment of nearby neighbourhoods, but they also, notably, "infrastructure" the possibilities for novel political, economic and social relations, with local schools, community clinics, market vendors, as well as the local 15M (Indignados) assembly and the neighbourhood association of the district.³⁴⁹

³⁴⁷ Jiménez, 'The Right to Infrastructure', p. 360.

³⁴⁸ Felix Guattari, *Lines of Flight: For Another World of Possibilities* (London: Bloomsbury, 2016), p. 6.

³⁴⁹ Evidently, the urban furniture designed and constructed at El Campo was replicated, also featuring at the occupation of Puerta del Sol, as well as many other neighbourhood assemblies across Madrid. In Jiménez and Estalella, 'The Atmospheric Person', p. 119.

In El Campo, the participants of this infrastructural movement, alongside the residents of La Latina, are expressing and voicing a right to infrastructure: a political will and a material claim to contribute to the city’s welfare and cultural infrastructures. This right to infrastructure was manifested in its most design-oriented sense, where “infrastructure” reads as a verb, not a noun, and wherein the architectural drawing acted as an open-source document for prototypical design. That is, when the process of infrastructuring makes visible and legible the languages, media, drawings, inscriptions, artefacts, devices and relations – the protocols – through which political and social bodies are endowed with any expressive capacity. In this light, El Campo would not so much act as a prototype for an urban common but more as a prototype for itself: an urban system of prototypes of micro-structures created on the verge of a social movement ready to be transferred and replicated in space.

Figure 6.20
Map of the Fearless Cities network ‘an informal global movement of activists, organisations, councillors and mayors that are working to radicalise democracy, feminise politics and drive the transition to an economy that cares for people and our environment’. The first Fearless Cities event was organ-ised by Barcelona en Comú in 2017 and was attended by over 700 people representing over 100 municipalist organisations from every continent. The urban infrastructures of Los Madriles, El Campo and Can Batlló were all represented. Source: fearlesscities.com.



Figure 6.20

6.4 Can Batlló Case Study:

The Framework of the New Municipalism Movement in Spain



Figure 6.21
Assembly of La Borda cooperative housing. Courtesy: La Borda.

6.4.1 ‘Can Batlló is for the Neighbourhood’³⁵⁰

Analysing the case of Can Batlló in Barcelona, a 14-hectare former textile factory, claimed by collective initiatives since 2011 and transformed into an infrastructure of social innovation, including more than 30 different projects and involving a constellation of social movements and more than 350 activists, this chapter traces the evolution of the project from its nascent stage to the process of institutionalisation through a nexus of relationships with municipal authorities and the state.

Since 1973, the former textile factory of Can Batlló had been claimed for public use in an intense mobilisation campaign steered by the Sants Social Centre, leading to the 1976 Metropolitan General Urban, foreseeing in it a green space and several public facilities. Given the failure to start the implementation of these plans, in 2009, a collective action was established based on the platform “Can Batlló is for the neighbourhood”. This collective was first composed of participants of the neighbourhood, various squatting and cooperative movements, a group of architecture students, subsequently organised as LaCol cooperative, and, later, Indignados activists. Using this platform, they started a mobilisation campaign with a public countdown, threatening to occupy the site if the works did not start by June 2011.

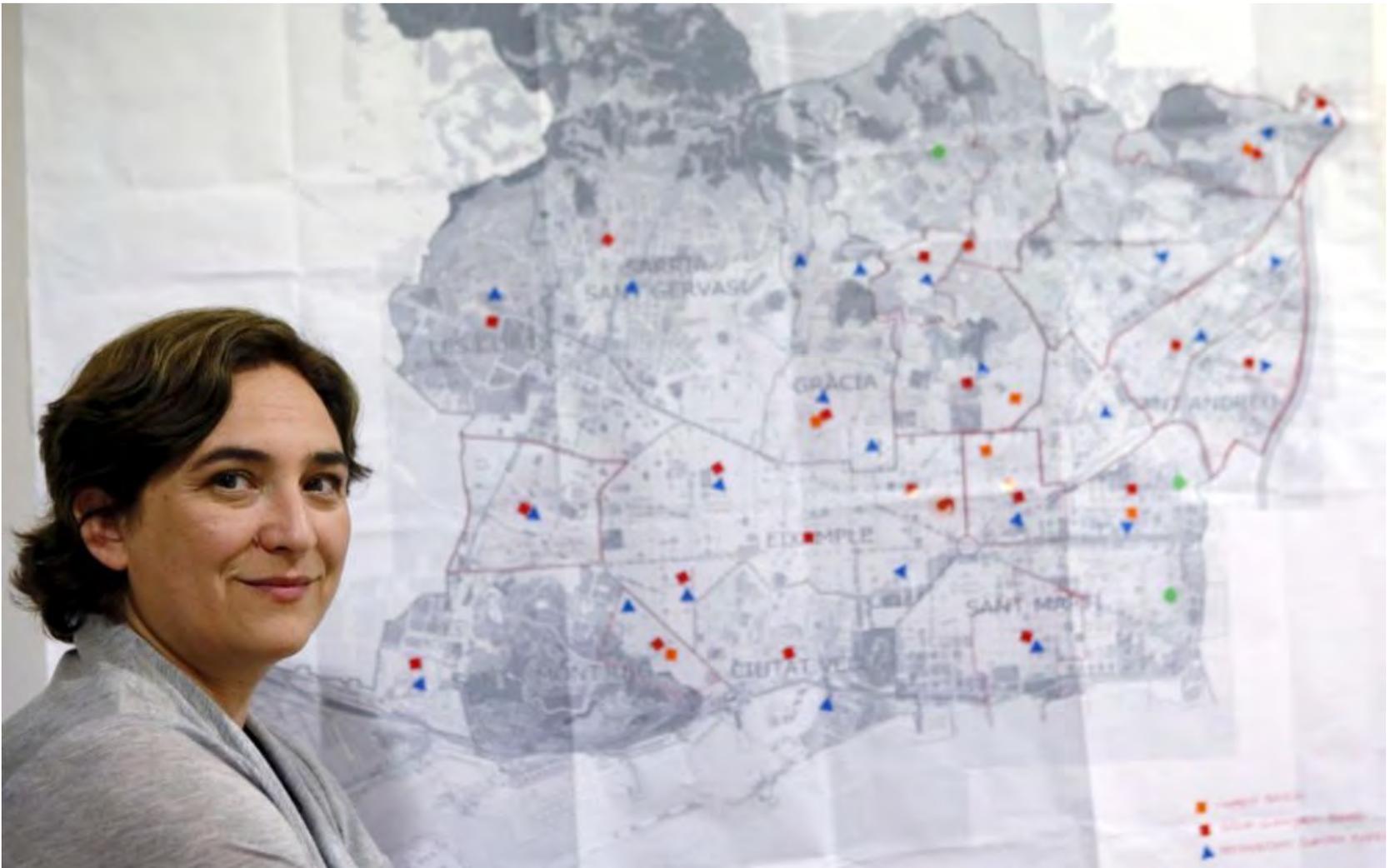


Figure 6.22
Portrait of Barcelona Mayor Ada Colau (then mayoral candidate) and leader of Barcelona en Comú next to a city map depicting the future cooperative housing projects and their relation to existing cultural squats and collective initiatives of the city (2015).
Courtesy: Reuters/Albert Gea. Source: CityLab.

What is significant about this case is that regarding Can Batlló and its reconfiguration, institutionalisation was on the table from the start of the collective direct action mobilisation. Only a few days before the declared day of entry to the site by the collective, one of the blocks was ceded to the Can Batlló movement by the municipality through a non-legally binding contract, rendering the squatting unnecessary. Interestingly, this form of municipal agreement, which shared characteristics with equivalent agreements emerging in Greece at the same time, established this type of interplay as a form of regional institutionalisation mechanism since the early stages of the formation of the movement centred on the future of Can Batlló as a project of the urban commons.

Thus, this spatial appropriation success was based on the establishment of this protocol between the municipality and the social movement at Can Batlló, although at that time, it was non-legally binding. Its establishment was accompanied by a strong media campaign, a change in the municipal government, the climate of turmoil created by the burst of the Indignados movement, instilling fear in the newly elected city council, and, most important of all, the spread of the infrastructural appropriation and design prototypes 'to neighbourhoods across Spain, including Barcelona, to claim urban space as a space for participation and reconfiguration by the newly emerged infrastructural movement.³⁵¹ Evidently, the right to infrastructure was manifested equally but through different practices in Barcelona, paving the way to the evolution of the New Municipalism movement in the years to come.

I explore how Can Batlló's social movement dimension and rootedness in the neighbourhood ensured the decentralisation and planned diffusion of the protocols and designs that started emerging at the local site and reached an urban scale that had not been seen before. I argue that this expansion was helped by the fact that Can Batlló was essentially manifested as a social and solidarity economy platform, taking place in the Spanish context, based on a combination of the humanitarian and environmental goals of the state and an alternative economy concept that required a spatial manifestation to fill the gap for an infrastructure around cooperatives that was absent.

6.4.2 Expansion as a Spatial Appropriation Strategy for Can Batlló



Figure 6.23
These abandoned factory buildings were claimed by the collective organised under 'Can Batlló belongs to the neighbourhood'.
Courtesy: Can Batlló.

In the Spanish context and, more precisely, in the Catalan context, there is a historical lesson worth reviewing here regarding the proprietorial and sociological frameworks and traditions that such institutionalisation politics, based on a sort of participatory design, horizontal decision-making, open-source tools and digital platforms, has contributed to exposing.

Since the beginning, the seizure of the 1,500 square metre Block 11 unit was conceived as a pilot project by the Can Batlló collectives to enable expansion to other units. The expansion into many other industrial units and blocks was realised in the months to follow, together with an increase in participants. In terms of organisation, for the Can Batlló, the general assembly is the decision-making body, but various autonomous committees such as the Space Design, Strategy and Negotiation, Activities, Economics and Coordination Committees make decisions on specific matters. All the project collectives are meant to participate and get involved in the wider Can Batlló project, at least by taking part in the General Assembly and the Coordination Committee. Of crucial importance is the fact that Can Batlló is responsible for the design and content of the space, and it assumes the expenses linked to ordinary management.

It should be noted that all the costs linked to the refurbishment, bills, maintenance of the building, and construction of some spaces, such as the auditorium, were covered by the municipality through a series of municipal agreements between the committees of Can Batlló and the municipal bodies. Thus, it is fair to say that the same municipal agreement diagram that can be said to reflect the protocol of institutionalisation at the municipal scale in Athens can be found to apply in the case of Barcelona, proved by the case study of Can Batlló, which constitutes a major finding of this thesis.

For the social movement of Can Batlló, this framework gave them the possibility to intervene from a political and socio-economic point of view, as there was the opportunity to go further than the 'typical social centre or neighbourhood claim for public space'³⁵² to involve broader political issues linked to housing, work, consumption, education, health, and the economy.³⁵³



Figure 6.24

BlocOnze, Can Batlló. On 11 June 2011, the Barcelona Municipal Government ceded the use of BlocOnze (Block Eleven), one of the factory buildings, to the collective that organised under the slogan 'Can Batlló belongs to the neighbourhood'. Courtesy: Can Batlló.

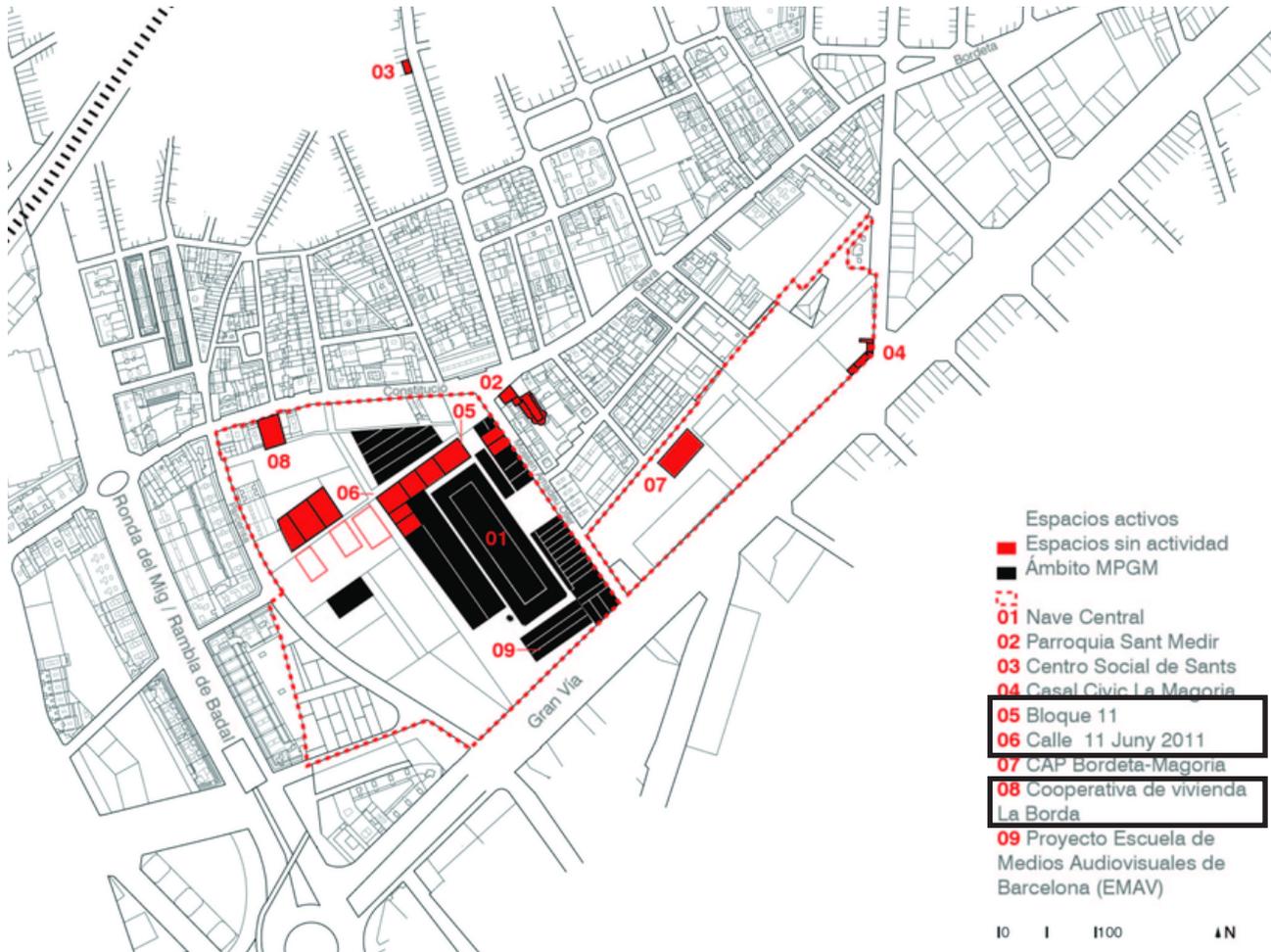


Figure 6.25
 Site Plan of the interventions taking place inside the area of the former factory buildings in Can Batlló. La Borda (no.08) and BlocOnze (no.05) are in the north-west side. Source: ECAB.

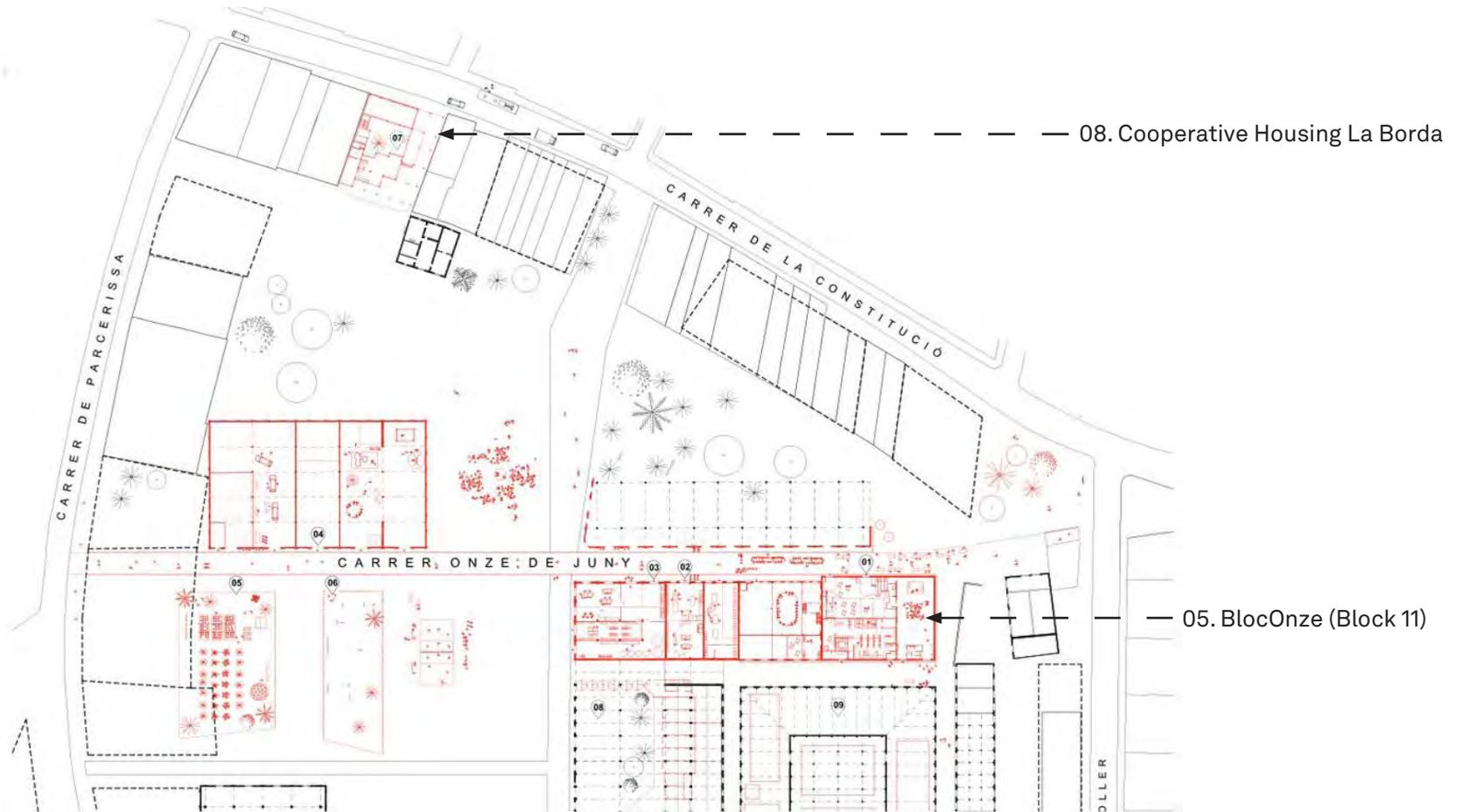


Figure 6.26
 Site Plan of La Borda and BlocOnze. Courtesy: LaCol.

The bulk of the first projects implemented and designed were mostly related to the cultural and recreational spheres and included: the healthcare centre; the first public library of the neighbourhood, a 15,000-book self-managed library; the bar; the auditorium; sports recreational and artistic spaces; and carpentry and infrastructure/construction works projects. At the same time, a set of public services for the broader Can Batlló project and neighbourhood started to be implemented, including education and care spaces for the children. Workshops, assistance and other available resources were created for the elderly, unemployed and marginalised, held on a weekly basis. Activities ranged from vehicle repair assistance to refurbishment works regenerating the industrial estate, language courses and opportunities for children's shared care and recreation.

Over time, Can Batlló gradually expanded to other blocks through a collective refurbishment process led by the Infrastructure Committee, which was established in 2012, scaling up the responsibilities of the Space Design Committee from those concerning artefacts and furniture to those of the building and the block, and, eventually, to those of the neighbourhood. By taking advantage of the modifications of the Metropolitan General Plan pushed by the Strategy and Negotiation Committee, since 2012, the following projects have materialised:



Figure 6.27
The bar space of Can Batlló inside BlocOnze. Courtesy: Can Batlló.

a community urban garden, mostly for use of migrants of a nearby church association and of a group of disabled people; a food bank; a community healthcare centre; the printing collective, a sub-collective devoted to renovating, innovating and educating composition typography; an ecological brewery collective (mostly for the use of the bar); a social movement documentation centre; and spaces for theatre rehearsals and vehicle (self)repair, that could also function as a general workshop space. Since 2013-2014, several additional projects have followed, such as the Descontrol Publishing Cooperative, responsible for publishing various book collections; the Mobility project, which focuses on vehicle repair assistance and DIY; the La Fondona feminist and LGBTIQ+ collective, which have organised a library documentary collection and cultural activities; the Coopnet ecological cleaning cooperative, and the Sants Cooperative Impulse Association, which brings together all the workers' cooperatives and solidarity and community economy initiatives in the Sants district.

Also, during this time, two wide-reaching autonomous projects, the social and solidarity economy incubator Coòpolis, and the ecological grant-of-use (co-) housing cooperative La Borda, have been implemented, seeing their culmination and actualisation following the rise of Barcelona en Comú and the election of Ada Colau as the city mayor.

The political ecology of infrastructures of solidarity and care has, thus, been redrawn and repopulated with novel urban artefacts, collective bodies and socio-technical relations that can travel and expand in space and time. In this sense, the prototype never quite reaches closure,³⁵⁴ yet it keeps diffusing and enabling new extensions of itself and, in this way, it is always more than its own self-scaling, and more than many forms of itself. What is less documented, however, is the shape that urban and architectural projects driven by social movements take when they are networked and designed from the bottom-up as prototypical designs being implemented in pilot projects.

6. Towards an International Infrastructural Movement

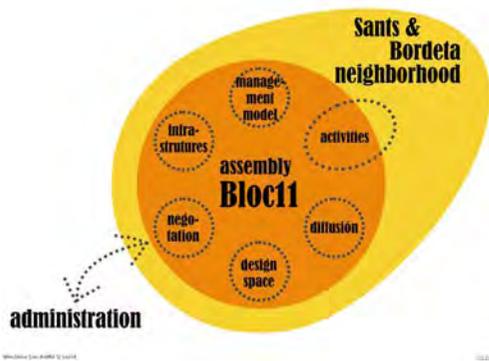
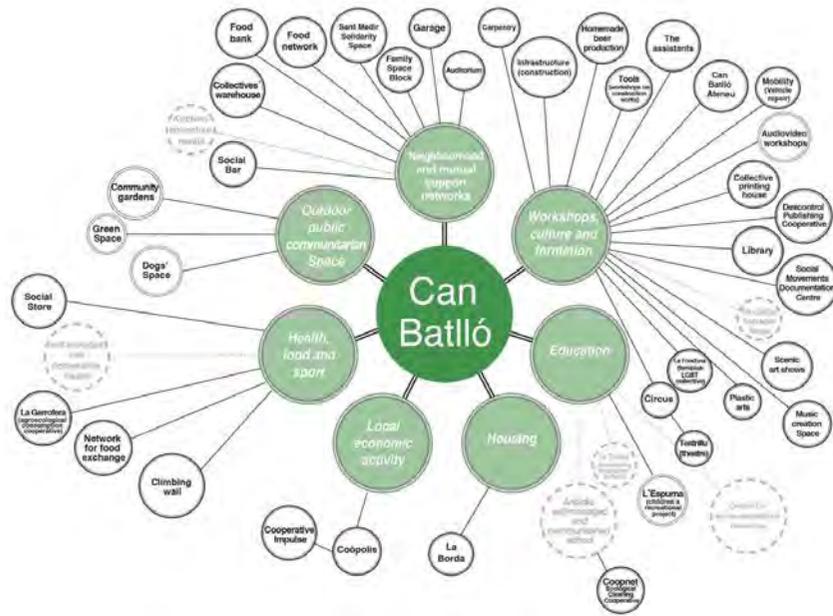


Figure 6.28 Collage of photos from the self-construction project of BlocOnze that LaCol collective of architects carried out in the first months of 2013. These photos and diagrams by the collective show the philosophy behind the variety of projects spanning the site of Can Batlló, such as cooperative housing, urban farming, printmaking workshop, self-construction workshop and so forth. Courtesy: Can Batlló.



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6.4.3 La Borda Cooperative Housing:

A Pilot Project Between Architecture and Contractual Institutionalisation

Acting as an emblematic case of the New Municipalism movement supported by the Barcelona en Comú, the project of La Borda comprises a pilot project where the institutionalisation mechanisms reached a more elaborate degree, which led to the design of an entire cooperative housing scheme, where the role of architecture and of architectural drawings has played the most crucial part. In Athens, we can see -although to a lesser degree - the same institutionalisation mechanisms being applied to the design of the new spaces created for the solidarity movement, such as in the case of the Metropolitan Community Clinic of Hellinikon. The clinic was actualised into an existing building, but this only allowed for the social movements operating in the Greek context to experience the scale of re-appropriation in terms of redesign and not that of the inception of a brand new building using the participatory tools established by the open-source designs of the infrastructural movement of Madrid and Barcelona. To this day, this has only been emblematically exemplified in the design and construction of the La Borda cooperative housing project, designed by the LaCol architecture cooperative.

La Borda lies on public land devoted to affordable housing for lower-income citizens, and it comprises 28 family units living in a 75-year cession of use tenancy regime inspired by the Danish Andel model.³⁵⁵ The largest project of its kind in Catalonia, cooperative housing under a use lease scheme is a non-speculative model of housing according to use-value. The ownership of the newly constructed building belongs to the not-for-profit housing cooperative La Borda, which grants the right to use each dwelling to each family unit through a cession of use contract in exchange for an entry quota (to be returned upon vacating the property) and monthly fee, which serve to cover the cost of the debt incurred when constructing the building and for its future maintenance.³⁵⁶

Figure 6.29 (previous page)
La Borda cooperative housing.
Courtesy: LaCol.



Figure 6.30

Photo from the public ceremony for the official lease of the vacant plot of La Borda to Can Batlló by the municipal authorities. Courtesy: Barcelona en Comú.



Figure 6.31 Final construction phase of La Borda cooperative housing. Courtesy: LaCol.

In the case of La Borda, the state participated in this scheme by providing the plot of land, and by ensuring the housing affordability requirements, and the targeting of a lower-income population. The six-floor wooden, low-environmental impact building was designed using an assembly-based participatory process for architectural design with technical expertise from the LaCol architecture cooperative. Assembly decision-making processes continue to characterise its communal life, fostered by shared common facilities and spaces.

The funding of the scheme was based on ‘ethical finance’³⁵⁷ and, only at a later stage, a subsidy from the Spanish government of half a million euros. As claimed by the councillor of Housing and Renovation of the City of Barcelona during the inauguration ceremony, La Borda is ‘is making history’ and promotes ‘a new way of community living’, while the head of the General Directorate of Social Economy, Third Sector, Cooperatives and Self-Employment noted that La Borda sets ‘a paradigm shift’ for social and cooperative housing policies in the city, as similar programmes have been initiated with the new government.³⁵⁸

LaCol, the cooperative of architects that designed La Borda housing cooperative, wished it to act as a building self-organised by its users to access decent, non-speculative housing that places its use-value at its heart through a collective structure of spatial configuration and organisation. In addition, user participation sits at the heart of the spatial configuration. Self-promotion and subsequent collective management imply that the participation of future users in the process (design, construction and use) is the most important and differential variable of the project, generating an opportunity for LaCol to meet and project with them and attend to their specific needs. During the design stage, the participation was articulated through the architecture commission, which was the link between the technical team and the general assembly, and which was in charge of preparing the architectural workshops. Using the tool of the workshop to survey the site, together with users, LaCol altered slightly the format of the workshop and conducted an “imaginary workshop” to identify the programme, project strategies, environmental strategies, typology, and sessions for the validation of the preliminary project.



Figure 6.32
Workshop with the residents of La Borda. Courtesy: LaCol.



For this cooperative, which was set up by the architects and which is, on its own, an initiative acting on the principles of the social and solidarity economy, there were three fundamental and cross-sectional principles. The first was to redefine the collective housing programme. The building programme proposed 28 units (40, 60 and 75m²) and community spaces that allowed for aspects of daily life to be extended from the private to the public space to enhance the collective and community life. These spaces were a kitchen-dining room, laundry, multipurpose space, a space for guests, a health and care space, storage in each plant, and exterior and semi-exterior spaces, such as the patio and roofs. All of them were articulated around a central courtyard, a large relationship space reminiscent of the *corralas*, a type of popular housing in central and southern parts of Spain. In addition, La Borda demonstrated a paradigm of sustainability as it was built with the lowest environmental impact possible, both in the construction work and during its life. Above all, the objective was to achieve comfort in homes with minimum consumption, to reduce the overall costs of access to housing and eliminate the possibility of energy poverty among its users. LaCol started from the conviction that the best strategy was to reduce the initial demand of all the environmental vectors of the building (energy, water, materials and waste), especially at the energy level, where they prioritised passive strategies to achieve maximum use of existing resources.³⁵⁹

Alongside La Borda, cooperative housing was developed in the second wide-reaching project of Coòpolis, the Barcelona Cooperative Centre, working to promote the social and solidary economy as a tool to reduce inequalities, strengthen the local socio-economic tissue and generate a different economy that gave priority to ‘people’s real needs’, the environment, and the local territory.³⁶⁰ The original study prepared by La Ciutat Invisible and LaCol, commissioned for a small grant from the municipality, later inspired the very definition of the Catalan policy, which would fund it two years later. Indeed, Coòpolis is part of the Catalan programme known as the Network of Cooperative Centres comprised of 14 centres spread across Catalonia, and is responsible for the Barcelona section. In the Barcelona Plan for the social and solidarity economy (2016-2019), Coòpolis is defined as ‘an emblematic city project, a reference and inspiration’.³⁶¹ To reach its goals, Coòpolis worked closely with the city neighbourhoods, the social and solidarity economy local networks, the Workers’ Cooperatives Federation, ethical finance initiatives, and the state administration.³⁶²

Figure 6.33 (*previous page*)
Interior atrium of La Borda cooperative housing. Courtesy: LaCol.

³⁵⁹ For an extensive view on La Borda refer also to the website of LaCol <<http://www.lacol.coop/projectes/laborda/>> [accessed 16 February 2021].

³⁶⁰ For more refer to the website of the collective Coòpolis Ateneu Cooperatiu de Barcelona <<https://www.bcn.coop/>> [accessed 10 September 2021].

³⁶¹ Barcelona Municipality (2016), ‘Pla d’ Impuls de l’Economia Social i Solidària (2016-2019)’. Original text in Catalan language.

³⁶² In 2018, the needs of about 1,750 participants were taken care of, while 60 cooperatives were supported, and 54 new job placements were created. In addition, from 2016 to 2018 more than 50 new cooperatives were born as a result of Coòpolis’ work. Source Coòpolis (2019). For more information refer to the website of the collective Coòpolis Ateneu Cooperatiu de Barcelona <<https://www.bcn.coop/>> [accessed 10 September 2021].



Figure 6.34
Common areas for play, laundry and assembling in La Borda cooperative housing. Courtesy: LaCol.

However, as pointed out by one of its representatives, the state authorities participated not as a protagonist of the project but as entities that had to give support to an initiative emerging from the territory and the cooperative base.³⁶³

Undoubtedly, the institutionalisation level of Can Batlló has reached a high scale for a platform based on an amalgamation of social movements, and this has been a matter for internal discussion and disputes over the years. Key examples are the decisions to turn the Can Batlló platform into a legal association - a legal requirement for the concession of use – or to open job posts for carrying out administrative work, or to start generating economic, remunerative activities. In 2019, Can Batlló acquired the legal status of an Association, and in March of the same year, it was finally granted the 50-year (30+10+10) concession of use of a 13,000 square metre space in the industrial area owned by the city council. What is interesting in this case is that to be able to receive such an exceptionally long-use lease, Can Batlló calculated all the gratis working time invested in the manifold activities and showed the quality and extent of its public services in a special report: in 2017, a total of almost 70,000 voluntary hours were estimated to have been carried out by 370 activists, organising more than 2,000 activities, and involving almost 50,000 users.³⁶⁴ The 50-year concession of use of the 13,000 square metre industrial area site is the foremost example of the forcing and adaptation of the boundaries of institutionalisation politics as it captures in its institutionalisation framework the legal status of a part of the social movement through the housing and welfare infrastructures of Can Batlló.

However, these internal tensions never escalated into a ‘real conflict’.³⁶⁵ Instead, this tension was calibrated between and within the social movements because, essentially, dialogue with the institutions had been ingrained in the Can Batlló project from the very beginning, while the division of labour inside Can Batlló (e.g., the Negotiation and Strategy Committees were responsible for negotiating with political authorities) and the internal consensus-seeking democracy structure led to the decentralisation of their self-organisation and helped to keep friction at a low level. These two organisational characteristics that distinguished Can Batlló from other projects of social movements provided a unique number of protocol systems that defined the institutionalisation mechanism, in tandem with a spatial and architectural expression.³⁶⁶

³⁶³ Ibid. During an interview to Viviana Asara, a member of the cooperative clearly describes how ‘This was the challenge for us, we don’t want to be the office of Barcelona Activa (i.e. the municipal agency for local economic development specialised in social economy), so to say, instead it is something different, this is something where the protagonists are the territory and the social economy sector and it receives support from the administrations. The two things are not the same’. See Viviana Asara, ‘The Redefinition and Co-Production of Public Services by Urban Movements. The Can Batlló Social Innovation in Barcelona’, *Partecipazione e Conflitto*, 12.2 (2019), pp. 539-65.

³⁶⁴ Ibid.

³⁶⁵ Ibid.

³⁶⁶ While Can Batlló was actually developed throughout two ideologically different municipality government mandates, negotiations with the current, more supportive, leftist municipal authority showed that institutions do have an impact on the strengthening and consolidation of social innovations.



Figure 6.35

Coòpolis cooperative of Barcelona is part of a network of cooperatives that operate under the same protocols.



Figure 6.36
Conversion of another empty old factory building of Can Batlló to accommodate the Coòpolis cooperative of Barcelona.
Courtesy: LaCol.

Can Batlló's significant contribution to the design history of social movements lies in the fact that it did not just reclaim the vast vacant space that had been promised for public use almost 40 years earlier, but it appropriated it, designed and actualised not what the state had been incapable of providing but what had been absent, that which the community, the collectives and the groups excluded from agency and public services envisioned for the area. This was achieved by following a network of protocols, design innovations through emblematic pilot projects and institutionalisation mechanisms.

In a sense, what distinguishes the Spanish paradigms from the ones in Greece is that in both Los Madriles and Can Batlló projects, the role of the architectural collectives was central in the decision-making processes and the design of the spaces that comprised the new infrastructure they envisioned for their cities. In this way, the small-scale urban prototypes in Madrid and the cooperative community schemes of La Borda in Barcelona came not only to propose but also to finally design a new type of infrastructure, having its foundations in social criteria that were absent in the urban space. As such, the projects in the Spanish context provided a view of the infrastructural crisis that was based on its absence instead of its failure to operate and dismantling.

In this view, these infrastructures were the basis for the development of participatory design protocols that resulted in various urban prototype projects in the neighbourhoods of Madrid and Barcelona. Yet, what remains to be addressed is the shape that direct action interventions by social movements take when the struggle is not centred on occupation and re-appropriation of space as a form of reclaim. I redirect analysis upstream to focus on land and space in the context of decolonisation. Forced displacement, evacuation and land grabbing, generate spatial conditions in which marginalised groups find themselves and are the result of strategies of the settler colonial state.³⁶⁷ Contrary to what we have seen so far from the cases explored in my research, another aspect of infrastructural contestation by social movements derives from the forced implementation of infrastructural projects, which also can accelerate conditions of exclusion, debilitation of bodies and land in the most material sense. I move on to explore the indigenous-led anti-pipeline movement in Standing Rock in 2016—2017 by looking at how it compares materially in terms of potential, constraints, limits, scale, organisation and spatial expression to the other social movements.

³⁶⁷ Addressing this gap in social movement studies becomes crucial as it has been not only settlers' neo-colonial regimes but also social movements that, in their own struggles to 'reclaim the street', fail to address the stolen status of the land and the indigenous condition. For scholars drawing on the work of Franz Fanon, there is a deep 'incommensurability between "re/occupy" and "decolonize" as political agendas'. In Jilly Traganou, 'Learning from the Standing Rock as a Site for Transformative Intercultural Pedagogy', in *Cultural Spaces and Design. Prospects of Design Education*, ed. by Regine Halter and Catherine Walthard (Basel: Librum Publishers&Editors, 2019), p. 86.

Figure: 6.37 (next page)
Water protectors marching on the motorway bridge connecting the camps with the construction site in Standing Rock Sioux (2016). Source: Democracy Now!



WATER IS
LIFE

6.5 Standing with Standing Rock: The Struggle of Water Protectors

I am motivated to investigate the healthcare infrastructure of the Standing Rock Sioux reservation as an international case study of a different type of direct action that emerged from the protest movements that bloomed in many countries at that period. The Standing with Standing Rock or #NoDAPL (No Dakota Access Pipeline) social movement falls within the second quinquennium (2015-2020), the years that my research focuses on the most. Exploring the infrastructural aspect of #NoDAPL movement has also been important as, in this case, the infrastructural dispute manifested itself as a resistance to the implementation of a certain infrastructural model — oil pipelines— as a proposed form of economic and collective life, in comparison to the failure of the state healthcare system or absence of cooperative community projects that were explored in the case of Greece and Spain, respectively. Moreover, the relations between subjects and space that emerged from the social movement in Standing Rock are fed from a long history of settler colonial state power imposed upon the same land that the occupations took place in 2016/2017.

Referred to as the Black Snake, the Dakota Access Pipeline (DAPL) is a \$3.8 billion, 1,722-mile pipeline that transports half a million barrels of oil a day across four states (North Dakota, South Dakota, Iowa and Illinois), thus jeopardising the drinking water ‘of millions of human souls and countless other-than-humans who depend on the river for life’.³⁶⁸ Today, the Sioux³⁶⁹ tribes of the western and mid-western United States live on a small fraction of their ancestral land and are spread across 25 reservations and reserves,³⁷⁰ remote communities in the

³⁶⁸ Nick Estes and Jaskiran Dhillon (eds.), *Standing with Standing Rock: Voices from the #NoDAPL Movement*, (Minneapolis, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2019), pp. 1-2.

³⁶⁹ The Sioux or Ojibwa are groups of Native American tribes and First Nations peoples in North America. The modern Sioux consist of two major divisions based on language divisions, namely the Dakota and Lakota, which collectively are known as the Očhéthi Šakówiŋ (Seven Council Fires).

³⁷⁰ An Indian reservation is a legal designation for an area of land managed by a federally recognised Native American tribe under the US Bureau of Indian Affairs rather than the state governments of the United States wherein they are physically located. Each of the 326 Indian reservations in the United States is associated with a particular Native American nation (not all the country’s 574 federally recognised tribes have a reservation). The term ‘Great Sioux Nation’ is also sometimes applied to the region of the western and midwestern US which, while not a legal designation, includes many recognised Indian reservations, including the Standing Rock reservation.

US and Canada respectively, that are rife with poor housing and health problems.⁴⁹⁴ The nearly 1,200-mile pipeline, owned by a Texas oil company named Energy Transfer Partners, was planned to “snake” across indigenous treaty and sacred lands.

Just a half-mile from the Standing Rock reservation boundary,⁴⁹⁵ the proposed route crosses the Missouri River, which provides drinking water for millions of Americans and irrigation water for thousands of acres of farming and ranching land.⁴⁹⁶ From 2014, the Sioux tribes have come together to oppose this project, which was approved by the state of North Dakota and the US Army Corps of Engineers. Although federal law requires the Corps of Engineers to consult with the tribes about their sovereign interests, permits for the project were approved and construction began without meaningful consultation.⁴⁹⁷ The US government also institutionalised the message as the Interior Department is the

⁴⁹⁶ In an interview by Jaskiran Dhillon, the 15-year-old youth organiser of the #NoDAPL, Zaysha Grinnell, indicatively stated ‘When this pipeline breaks, it would not only affect us, as people, but the animals and aquatic life would be impacted too. Basically, everything that my people value and care for is at great risk of being harmed. [...] bring with them (i.e. the construction companies) the man camps and with that comes violence and sex trafficking’. See: Jaskiran Dhillon, “‘This Fight has Become My Life, and it’s Not Over’”, An Interview with Zaysha Grinnell’, in *Standing with Standing Rock*, pp. 21-23.

⁴⁹⁷ David Archambault II, ‘Taking a Stand at Standing Rock’, in *Standing with Standing Rock*, pp. 37-39.

⁴⁹⁸ Edward Valandra, ‘Mni Wiconi, Water is [More Than] Life’, in *Standing with Standing Rock*, pp. 71-102.



Figure 6.38

The Dakota Access Pipeline is routed for 1.172 miles (approx. 2km) through four Western and Midwestern states of North America (North Dakota, South Dakota, Iowa and Illinois). Drone view of the construction of the Dakota Access Pipeline in the Standing Rock Sioux reservation, 2017. Film still. Source: US Army Corps of Engineers.

site for Americans to negotiate their relationships with indigenous populations. Thus, in a sense, the Interior Department is responsible for the stewardship of trees, streams, lakes, wildlife, minerals, land, and other natural wonders— ‘the nonhuman presences to whom indigenous populations across America have proposed acknowledging personhood and standing’.³⁷¹

Like the rest of the uprisings by social movements investigated in this thesis, the revolutionary moment of an emblematic indigenous social movement in the making was organised when several critical de-institutionalisation and politicisation events triggered the mass organisation of collective groups and individuals and led to the constitution of it as a social movement. Specifically, in 2016, activists organising around the ‘cataclysmic human-caused climate change’ seemed to be beaten on every occasion by Obama’s successor, Donald J Trump, who was elected as president of the United States of America in November 2016.³⁷² An open racist and misogynist, running on the slogans Build the Wall! and Make America Great Again, was elected president, and his administration took over the implementation of the strategic Dakota Access Pipeline (DAPL). At the time, industry and the government were proclaiming the economic benefits of the infrastructure itself, with infrastructure expansion, including pipelines, forming a central part of Trump’s agenda. Empowered by the new administration’s rhetoric, Nazis and white supremacists openly marched in major US cities and strong-armed their way onto college campuses, meeting little opposition from authorities and meeting frequent resistance from organised antifascists. In addition, many progressive reforms and gains for indigenous and marginalised people were challenged, threatened and, eventually, were gradually reversed following Trump’s election.

In 2016 though, no one could have predicted the social movement would spread to such unprecedented levels, moving millions to rise, speak out, and take action, under the slogan Standing (in solidarity) with Standing Rock, while the hashtag #NoDAPL, used on social media platforms, gave its name to the social movement. The #NoDAPL was organised primarily through social media as protesters were first organised through anonymous communication and pages on social media. Photographs circulated via social media depicted a spectacular sight as thousands of Indians camped on the banks of the Cannon Ball River, on the edge of the Standing Rock Sioux Reservation in North Dakota.

³⁷¹ Edward Valandra, ‘Mni Wiconi, Water is [More Than] Life’, in *Standing with Standing Rock: Voices from the #NoDAPL Movement*, pp. 71-102.

³⁷² For a detailed view of how climate change burst onto the US political stage due to the organisation of activists see Daniel Aldana Cohen, Kate Aronoff, Alyssa Battistoni and Thea Riofrancos, *A Planet to Win: Why We Need a Green New Deal* (Verso Books, 2019), p. 6. In 2014, President Barack Obama visited the Standing Rock Sioux Nation as part of an official visit to ‘Indian Country’, and promised to help them in their time of need (i.e. to halt the construction of DAPL). However, two years later, this same community found itself in the middle of a battle against the multi-billion-dollar project called the Dakota Access Pipeline. In 2019, Senator Alexandra Ocasio-Cortez reportedly admitted that her politicisation started when she joined the protest camps in Standing Rock. See Rebecca Solnit, ‘Standing Rock Inspired Ocasio-Cortez to Run. That’s the Power of Protest’, *The Guardian*, (2019) <<http://www.theguardian.com/commentisfree/2019/jan/14/standing-rock-ocasio-cortez-protest-climate-activism>> [accessed 10 September 2021].

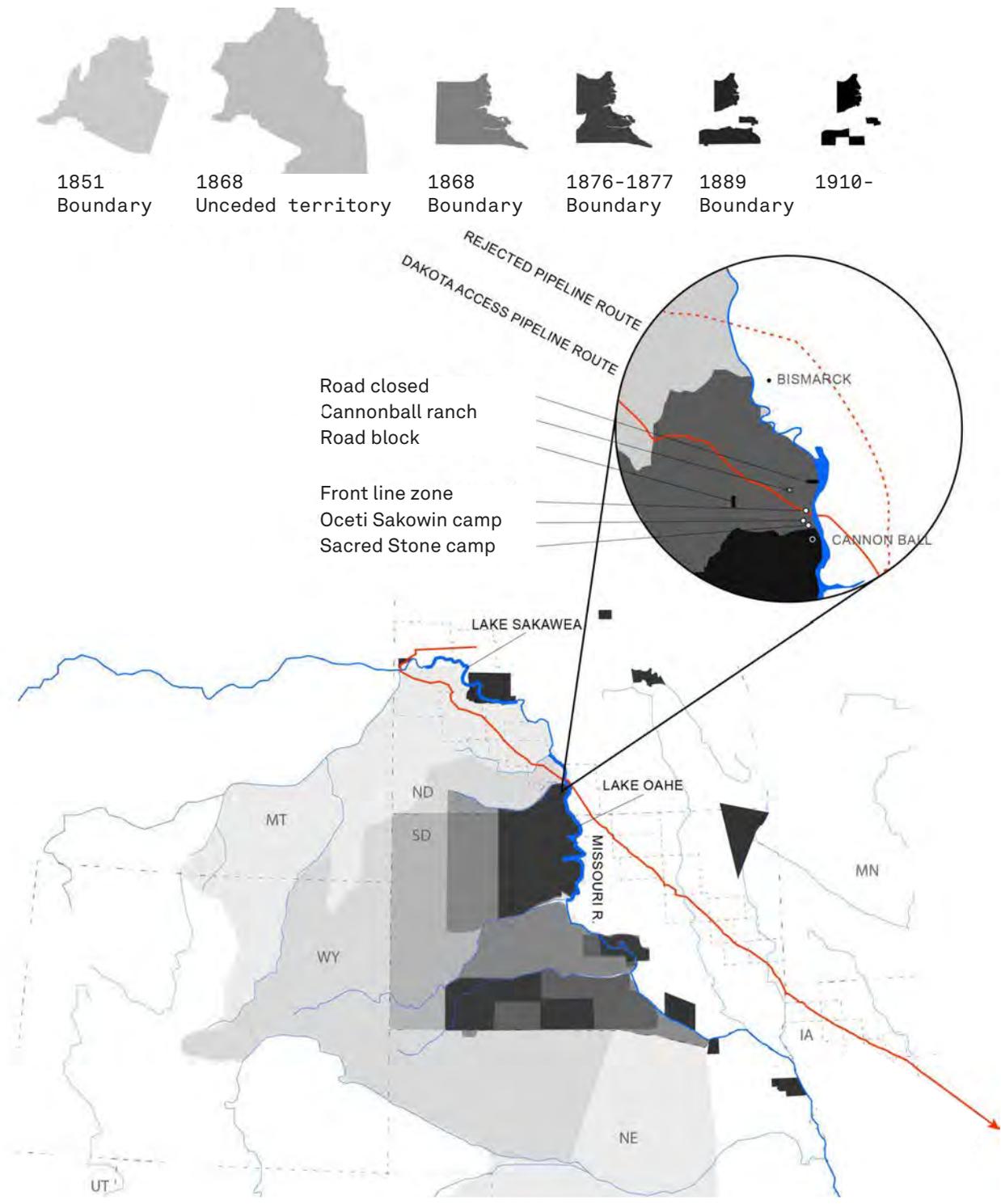


Figure 6.39
Oceti Sakowin Oyate Territory and Treaty Boundaries. Redrawn based on the information from the #StandingRockSyllabus and the maps by Elsa Hoover (2016). An initiative by the NYC Stands for Standing Rock committee of Indigenous scholars and activists, and settler/ POC supporters. Source: nycstandswithstandingrock.wordpress.com



Figure 6.40
Oceti Sakowin camp. Courtesy: NoDAPL Archive (nodaplarchive.com).

The Standing Rock protest camp of water protectors, which became one of the largest indigenous uprisings in recent history, had been carefully brought into existence and nurtured to save the water but also to speak about indigenous rights, the degradation of their land and the violence it brought about.³⁷³ It started with the self-organisation of the youth and it eventually diffused across collectives and groups that joined together to call for direct action.³⁷⁴ More than three hundred native nations planted their flags in solidarity at Oceti Sakowin camp, the largest of several camps.³⁷⁵ Meanwhile, countless allied movements across the American continent, as well as from all over the world, either descended on one of the three major encampments of water protectors or tracked them on social media. Besides social media, the website of the Standing Rock movement was created to coordinate, map out and document its network and activities. The first post on the website highlighted the international solidarity with Standing Rock: ‘We’re actually seeing through Standing Rock that we are all related. People in Washington State are standing up, people in Mexico, Nicaragua, El Salvador, Chile, Bolivia, Columbia, Spain, Greece, Palestine, India, the Samis, Norway, Sweden. Everybody is standing up. History, spirituality, and your way of life are important.’³⁷⁶



Figure 6.41
“Flag Avenue” at Oceti Sakowin camp. Source: *Standing with Standing Rock: Voices from the #NoDAPL Movement*. Courtesy: Nick Estes.

³⁷³ In an interview by Jaskiran Dhillon, the 15-year-old youth organiser of the #NoDAPL, Zaysha Grinnell, indicatively stated ‘When this pipeline breaks, it would not only affect us, as people, but the animals and aquatic life would be impacted too. Basically, everything that my people value and care for is at great risk of being harmed. ... [the construction companies] bring with them the man camps and with that comes violence and sex trafficking’. See Jaskiran Dhillon, “‘This Fight has Become My Life, and it’s Not Over’”, An Interview with Zaysha Grinnell’, in *Standing with Standing Rock: Voices from the #NoDAPL Movement*, ed. by Nick Estes and Jaskiran Dhillon (Minneapolis, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2019), pp. 21-23.

³⁷⁴ In May 2016 the youth group called the Modern-Day Warriors was created, alongside the Oceti Sakowin youth runners and runners from ReZpect Our Water, all of which aimed to raise awareness about the pipeline and spread information through social media against DAPL. Moreover, the Standing Rock International Youth Council helped a great deal within the camp.

³⁷⁵ The larger camp of Oceti Sakowin in Standing Rock had the camp horn to show the reunification of Indigenous nations. In an interview with Nick Estes, Lewis Grassrope explains the significance of uniting or reuniting the nations, stressing that the last time that the Oceti Sakowin were together was before and during the encroachment of white people or Europeans onto their lands. After hundreds of years, they reunited during the Standing Rock movement. In Nick Estes, ‘Traditional Leadership and the Oceti Sakowin, An Interview with Lewis Grassrope’, in *Standing with Standing Rock: Voices from the #NoDAPL Movement*, pp. 24-36.

³⁷⁶ For more information about the alliances of the Standing Rock movement and the evolution of #NoDAPL visit <<https://standwithstandingrock.net/oceti-sakowin/>> [accessed 10 September 2021].



Samakuu
@erynwisegamgee

The Int'l Indigenous Youth Council on the banks of the Cannonball River, Sicangu Camp side, fighting for your right to clean agua. #NoDAPL

12:24 AM - Nov 7, 2016



Figure 6.42
Social media platforms of activists connecting the tempo of the camps with the world.
Courtesy: @erynwisegamgee

Figure 6.43
Usage of #NODAPL hashtags in support of the movement across the globe. Source: Twitter analytics.



Figure 6.44
Protest march in Berlin in solidarity with the water protectors (2016). Source: NoDAPL Archive.

6.6 Decolonising Care: The Architecture of Healthcare in the Standing Rock Movement



Figure 6.45
Assembly at the Sacred Stone camp, July 2016. Source: NoDAPL Archive.

6.6.1 Indigenous Self-organisation and the Infrastructure of the Camps of Water Protectors

In the introductory chapter of *Standing with Standing Rock*, Nick Estes claims that indigenous nations will have to unite with non-indigenous allies, and it will be these alliances that will comprise the basis for the constitution of revolutionary moments. It is only within those moments that social movements come into being.³⁷⁷ According to a number of different voices discussed in this book, which he and Jaskiran Dhillon edited together, it seems that what should be clear is that #NoDAPL was not so much a departure from as it was a continuation of long traditions of indigenous resistance, deeply grounded in place and history. Moreover, like the #IdleNoMore movement in Canada which began in December 2012 and which connected First Nations' sovereignty to the protection of the environment,³⁷⁸ the #NoDAPL emerged as an indigenous movement led primarily by women.³⁷⁹

Leanne Betasamosake Simpson believes that those histories and struggles have their genealogy in, but are not limited to, Alcatraz 1969, the Trail of Broken Treaties 1972, Wounded Knee 1973, the so-called Oka Crisis of 1990, #IdleNoMore 2013, and Unist'ot'en.³⁸⁰ In her book *As we've always done*, Leanne Simpson argues that organising around issues of poverty and social conditions like housing, healthcare and clean drinking water in urban and reservation communities as the critical core of the project of indigenous peoples' resurgence, as a political issue, breaks the cycle of settler colonialism as it has the potential to build collectives of individuals taking on the responsibilities of the nation while aligning themselves with those who face the greatest struggle and carry the greatest burden of such colonialism.³⁸¹ Moreover, she claims that the division between reservation and city is an artificial and colonial division. Conversely, strengthening reserve-urban relationships strengthens nations, and creates the potential to build a social movement.³⁸²

³⁷⁷ Estes and Dhillon, *Standing with Standing Rock: Voices from the #NoDAPL Movement*, pp. 1-7.

³⁷⁸ During Idle No More, small collectives of people came together to organise around a particular issue and/or to hold Indigenous presence that in some way was disruptive to settler colonialism. Idle No More, was characterised by a decentralised leadership model. This allowed for a diversity of tactics, politics, and localised actions that produced high levels of engagement. For a critical analysis of the contribution of this movement to the Indigenous Resurgence see Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, *As We Have Always Done: Indigenous Freedom through Radical Resistance* (Minneapolis, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2017), pp. 36-54.

³⁷⁹ Ibid. The author describes how women's role in movements such as those of Indigenous women and 2SQ people, who have particularly long histories of activism in North American cities because of the expulsive heteropatriarchal policies of the Indian Act. They have a network in cities including Friendship Centres, shelters, theatres, healthcare programmes, organisations that support the families of missing and murdered Indigenous women and girls, and schools, not to mention the decades of 2SQ movement building and organising that has taken place in urban environments, and this unfortunately too often goes unseen.

³⁸⁰ Simpson, *As We Have Always Done*, pp. 36-54.

³⁸¹ Ibid., p. 81.

³⁸² Ibid., pp. 83-94.



MNI WICO
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767

So far, in America, indigenous resurgent organising might look like a network of indigenous intellectuals giving talks in the prison system in a coordinated, nation-based way; it might look like a network of urban breakfast programmes highlighting indigenous food systems and alliances between reservations and cities within indigenous nations; it might look like a network of land-based freedom schools for all ages; it might look like co-ops, trade agreements, and economies that prioritise indigenous models of production and sharing; it might look like a series of coordinating, rotating blockades and camps across Turtle Island in the Standing Rock reservation to challenge not only the extractivism but also create alternative practices for welfare and provision with spaces for clinics, education, food and shelter. According to Leanne Simpson, resurgent organising takes place within ‘grounded normativity’ and, as such, it is necessarily place-based and local, as well as being necessarily networked and global.³⁸³

It is precisely this indigenous peoples’ resistance history and cultural genealogy that distinguishes this social movement from the ones studied in the Southern European context, as it makes it a deeply intergenerational struggle, with grandparents organising alongside grandchildren and, sometimes, great-grandchildren. The presence of the youth in Standing Rock has been catalytic and the constellation of youth movements created in support of Standing Rock has been significant, making it a fight for future generations.³⁸⁴

The #NoDAPL movement did not only unfold in a conquered space but it produced new, common space, and claimed water as a right for future generations. All the water protectors’ camps north of the Standing Rock reservation, including the three major camps of the Oceti Sakowin camp, Sacred Stone camp, and Spirit camp, and the smaller camps surrounding them, like the Red Warrior and the Sicangu-Rosebud, were open-access spaces for the network of the social movement to flow ‘refusing to replicate transphobia and racism and other exclusion protocols in our territories’.³⁸⁵

³⁸³ Ibid., pp. 36-54. One such example is the Oneman Collective, regularly hosting language immersion houses, building canoes and snowshoes, making maple syrup, and fund-raising to buy land for a permanent cultural camp. Each collective and group that joined the struggle in Standing Rock in 2016 drew from centuries of Indigenous resistance that did not necessarily begin or end at Standing Rock, but was connected to it in profound ways.

³⁸⁴ In May 2016 the youth group called the Modern Day Warriors in opposition to the Dakota Access Pipeline was created. Alongside the Oceti Sakowin youth runners and runners from Respect Our Water to raise awareness about the pipeline and spread information through social media against DAPL. Moreover, the Standing Rock International Youth Council helped a lot within the camp. Each drew from centuries of Indigenous resistance that did not necessarily begin or end at Standing Rock but connected to it in profound ways.

³⁸⁵ From the ‘manifesto’ retrieved from the website of the Oceti Sakowin camp of Standing Rock <<https://standwith-standingrock.net/oceti-sakowin/>> [accessed 10 September 2021].

Figure 6.46

Water protector tent city infrastructure could be found across Cannon Ball as a demonstration of solidarity with the three major camps. In this photo tents and teepees occupy the powwow grounds of Eagle Butte, S.D. inside the Cheyenne River Reservation. Courtesy: Evan Frost / MPR News.



Figure 6.47
General assembly at Sacred Fire area of the Oceti Sakowin camp, July 2016. Courtesy: NoDAPL Archive.

**WE WILL NOT ALLOW THIS PIPELINE TO CROSS
OUR LAND, WATER, AND SACRED SITES.**

We will not allow Dakota Access to trespass on our treaty territory and destroy our medicines and our culture. From the horse ride that established the Camp of the Sacred Stones, to the 500-mile Run for Our Lives relay that delivered our recommendations to the Army Corps of Engineers, with the hundreds of community members who met with Army Corps Colonel Henderson on April 29, and the ongoing vigilance of our prayers, we are committed to stopping the Dakota Access Pipeline.

"The place where pipeline will cross on the Cannonball is the place where the Mandan came into the world after the great flood, it is also a place where the Mandan had their Okipa, or Sundance. Later this is where Wisespirit and Tatanka Ohitika held sundances. There are numerous old Mandan, Cheyenne, and Arikara villages located in this area and burial sites. This is also where the sacred medicine rock [is located], which tells the future."
LaDonna Bravebull Allard (Lakota, Dakota)

"The dangers imposed by the greed of big oil on the people who live along the Missouri river is astounding. When this proposed pipeline breaks, as the vast majority of pipelines do, over half of the drinking water in South Dakota will be affected. How can rubber-stamping this project be good for the people, agriculture, and livestock? It must be stopped. The people of the four bands of Cheyenne River stand with our sister nation in this fight as we are calling on all the Oceti Sakowin or Seven Council Fires to do so with our allies, both native and non native in opposing this pipeline."
Joye Braun (Cheyenne River)



DAPL Violates Numerous Federal Laws

FORT LARAMIE TREATY OF APRIL 29, 1868

The DAPL violates Article 2 of the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty which guarantees that the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe shall enjoy the "undisturbed use and occupation" of our permanent homeland, the Standing Rock Indian Reservation. The U.S. Constitution states that treaties are the supreme law of the land.

EXECUTIVE ORDER 12898 ON ENVIRONMENTAL JUSTICE

All agencies must determine if proposed project disproportionately impacts Tribal community or other minority community. The DAPL was original routed to cross the Missouri River north of Bismarck. The crossing was moved to "avoid populated areas", so instead of crossing upriver of the state's capital, it crosses the aquifer of the Great Sioux Reservation.

PIPELINE SAFETY ACT AND CLEAN WATER ACT

DAPL has not publicly identified the Missouri River crossing as high consequence. The Ogallala Aquifer must be considered a "high consequence area", since the pipeline would cross critical drinking water and intakes for those water systems. The emergency plan must estimate the maximum possible spill (49 CFR §195.452(h)(iv)(i)). DAPL refuses to release this information to the tribe.

NATIONAL ENVIRONMENTAL POLICY ACT (NEPA)

A detailed Environmental Impact Statement (EIS) must be completed for major actions that affect the environment. Also, the Army Corps of Engineers must comply w/ NEPA for the permit for the Missouri River crossing. The way agencies get around this is to provide a lesser study, a brief Environmental Assessment (which Dakota Access has done). A full EIS would be an interdisciplinary approach for the integrated use of natural and social sciences to determine direct and indirect effects of the project and "possible conflicts...with Indian land use plans and policies (and) cultural resources" 40 CFR §1502.16

EXECUTIVE ORDER 13007 ON PROTECTION OF SACRED SITES

"In managing federal lands, each executive branch agency shall avoid adversely affecting the physical integrity of such sites." There are historical ceremony sites and burial grounds in the immediate vicinity of the Missouri River crossing. The Corps must deny the DAPL permit to protect these sites in compliance with EO 13007.

**EXCERPTS FROM STANDING ROCK SIOUX TRIBE
RESOLUTION NO. 406-15 - SEP 2, 2015**

WHEREAS, the Standing Rock Indian Reservation was established as a permanent homeland for the Hunkpapa, Yanktonai, Cuthead and Blackfoot bands of the Great Sioux Nation; and
WHEREAS, the Dakota Access Pipeline threatens public health and welfare on the Standing Rock Indian Reservation; and
WHEREAS, the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe relies on the waters of the life-giving Missouri River for our continued existence, and the Dakota Access Pipeline poses a serious risk to Mni Sose and to the very survival of our Tribe; and
WHEREAS, the horizontal direction drilling in the construction of the pipeline would destroy valuable cultural resources of the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe; and
WHEREAS, the Dakota Access Pipeline violates Article 2 of the 1868 Fort Laramie Treaty which guarantees that the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe shall enjoy the "undisturbed use and occupation" of our permanent homeland, the Standing Rock Indian Reservation;

NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, that the Standing Rock Sioux Tribal Council hereby strongly opposes the Dakota Access Pipeline; and
BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that the Standing Rock Sioux Tribal Council call upon the Army Corps of Engineers to reject the river crossing permit for the Dakota Access Pipeline...



Figure 6.48

Pamphlet of the manifesto of the No Dakota Access Pipeline movement, 2016.

Most importantly, the occupiers of the Standing Rock camp did not just protest against the government institutions and the oil company but established a tent city where water protectors slept and a direct democracy assembly was held every day. Thus, the model of the general assembly, first practised in occupied squares, moved across regions and even borders to several collectives, becoming the organisational model for infrastructural projects by social movements across countries. Moreover, there was a technical support space, clinics to treat the injured, emergency shelters and warming stations, a school and a cultural space for artistic and free expression, a communal kitchen and a storage space to store food, clothes, medicine and so forth. Furthermore, they set up a petition to stop the pipeline that gathered thousands of signatures.³⁸⁶ The labour that went into these forms of cooperation and provision, defining what is to be shared and how, transformed the occupied land from what the Trump administration claimed to be a private space (on occupied land) into a public sphere.

It is this infrastructural aspect that gives the #NoDAPL movement its specific “materiality” compared to previous political or protest movements,³⁸⁷ through spatiality as intervention and as a mechanism through which to maintain their dignity and self-sufficiency as indigenous people. Aboriginal scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith reminds us about the connection between policy, people, and the mapping of space: ‘Imperialism and colonialism brought complete disorder to colonised peoples, disconnecting them from their histories, their landscapes, their languages, their social relations and their own ways of thinking, feeling, and interacting with the world.’³⁸⁷ Mishuana Goeman uses the concept of (re)mapping, drawing on Gerald Vizenor, to ‘connote the fact that in (re)mapping, native women employ traditional and new tribal stories as a means of continuation’.³⁸⁸ The relationships among native peoples and between others begins to be ordered along gender, sexual, and racial regimes that exert power and bring into being sets of social, political, and economic relationships. (Re)mapping, as Mishuana Goeman defines it in her book *Mark My Words: Native Women Mapping Our Nations*, is the labour native authors and the communities they write both in and about undertake, in the simultaneously metaphoric and material capacities of map-making, the generation of new possibilities. Essentially, the framing of “re” with parentheses connotes the fact that in (re)mapping, native women employ traditional and new tribal stories as a means of survival.

³⁸⁶ Ibid.

³⁸⁷ Massimo De Angelis, *Omnia Sunt Communia: On the Commons and the Transformation to Postcapitalism* (London: Zed Books, 2017), p. 27.

³⁸⁸ Linda Tuhiwai Smith, *Decolonizing Methodologies: Research and Indigenous Peoples* (London: Zed Books, 2013), p. 28.



Figure 6.49 Direct action workshop at Oceti Sakowin camp, 2016. Courtesy: NoDAPL Archive.

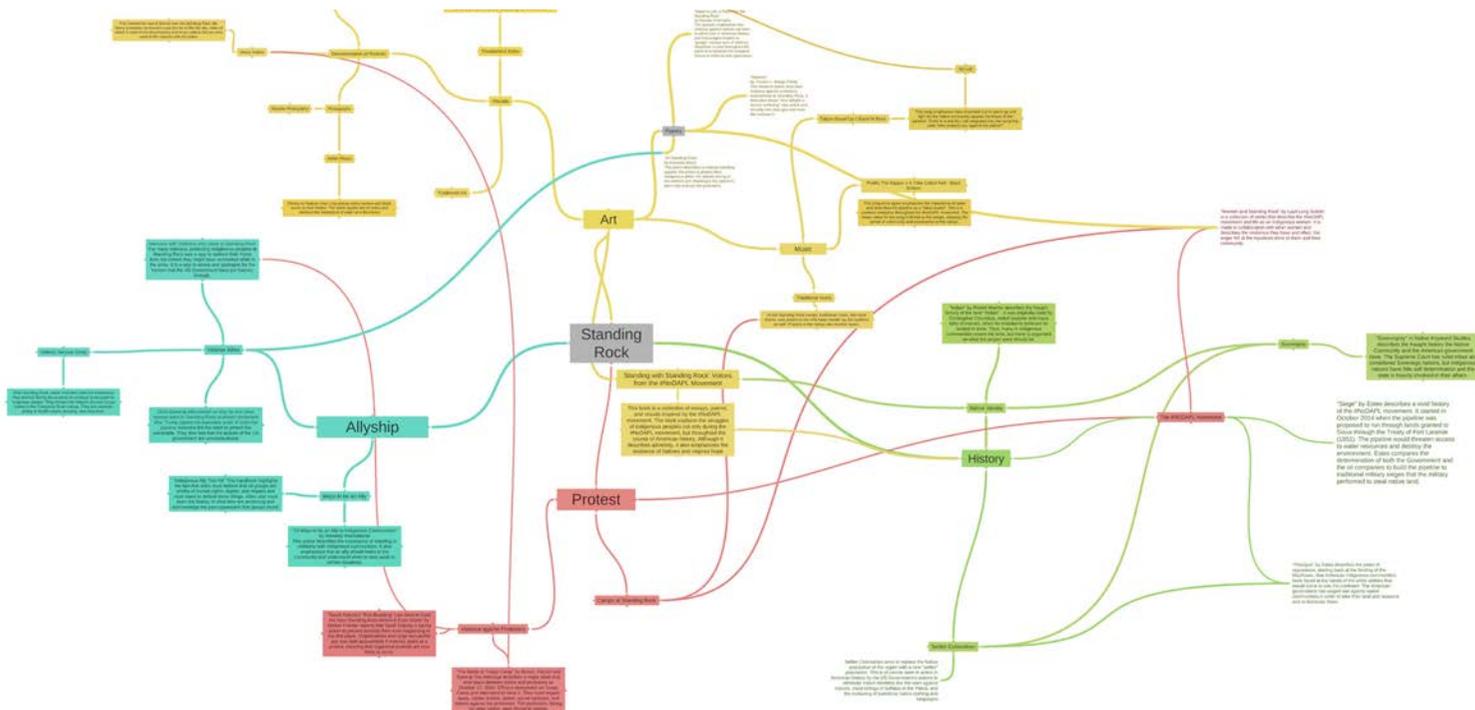


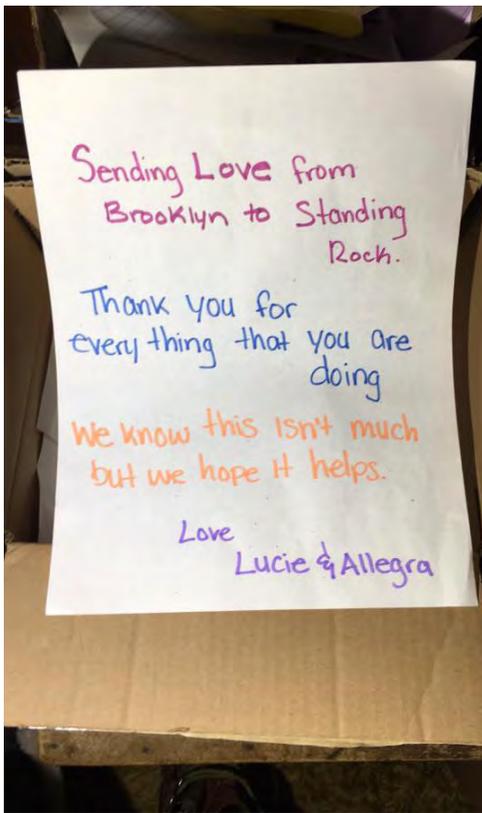
Figure 6.50 Illustration of the working groups operating in the camps. Recreated by author having as a reference the working groups listed in the NoDAPL Archive (nodaplarchive.com).



Figure 6.51
School at Oceti Sakowin camp, 2016. Courtesy: NoDAPL Archive.



Figure 6.52
Infrastructure group meeting at Sacred Stone camp, 2016. Courtesy: NoDAPL Archive.



The camp has plenty of water, school supplies, toilet paper, medical supplies and clothes but really needs...

NEED:

- Tents
- Tent stakes
- Ropes
- Blankets
- Sleeping bags
- Socks, coats, gloves and hats for men, women and kids
- Tarps
- Chairs

Please send to:
 Standing Rock Sioux Tribe
 N. Standing Rock Ave, Bldg. 1
 Fort Yates ND 58538
 Attention: Johnelle Leingang

Sacred Stone Camp Needs:

- Camping Gear (tents, s. bags, shade canopies)
- Tables and Chairs
- Med Kits (with epi pens)
- Life Vests
- Gas Cards / Prepaid Debit Cards
- Mobile Solar Charging Pads
- Canvas and ext. latex paint (red, blue, yellow, white, black)
- Tools (Axes, shovels, saws, etc)
- Cooking Gear (wares, utensils)

Mailed Donations:
 Po box 1011 Fort Yates ND 58538
Physical Drop-off:
 The Camp near Cannon Ball, ND



Figure 6.53

Collage of photos from the activities taking place in the encampments including redistribution of resources, self-construction workshops, collective kitchen, cultural activities, play and so forth. Courtesy: NoDAPL Archive, #NoDAPL social media pages.





Figure 6.54

Diagram of the Oceti Sakowin camp infrastructure, 2016. Drawn by the author based on the information from the NoDAPL Archive.

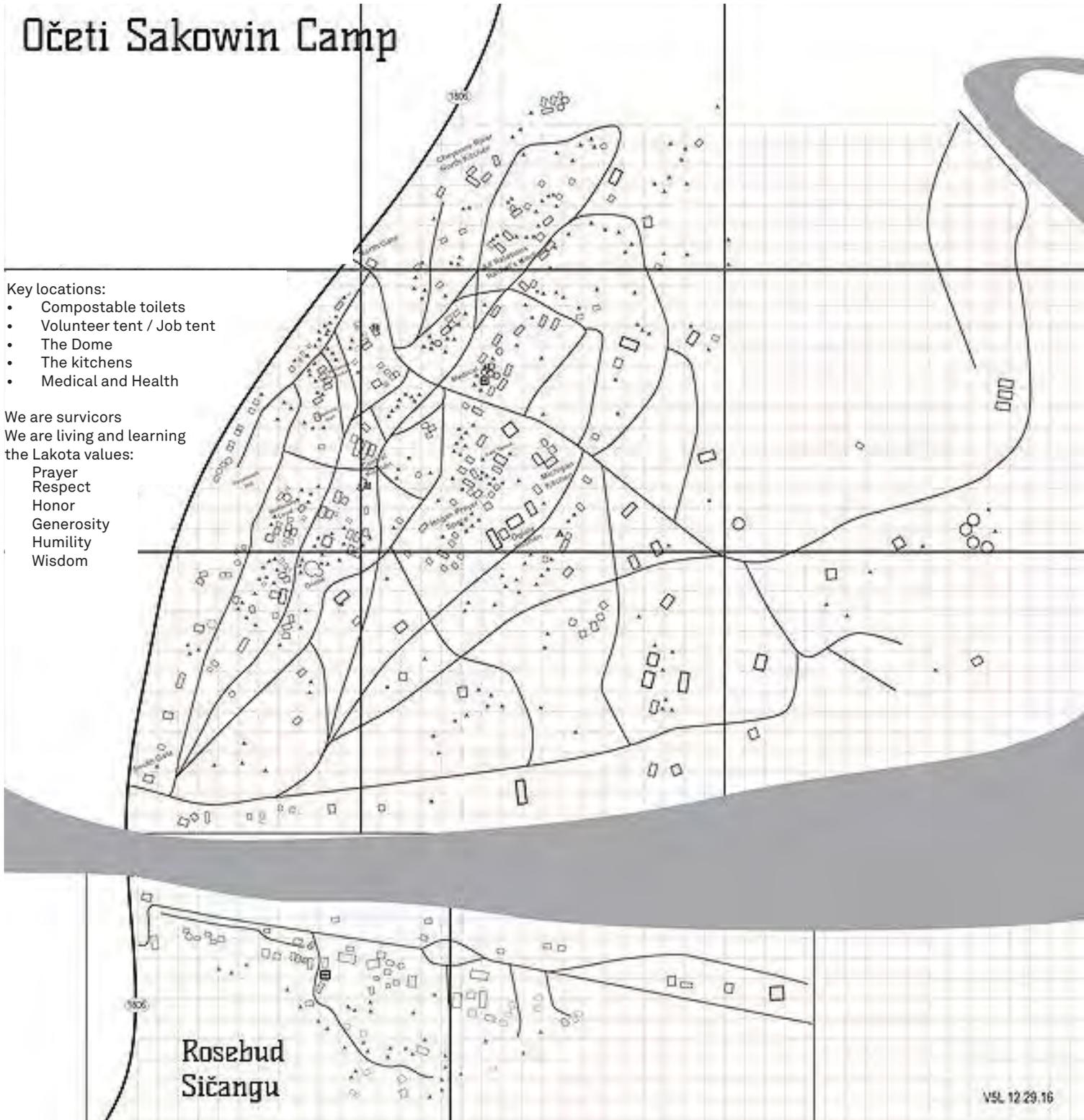


Figure 6.55

Site plan of the encampments in Standing Rock (based on an aerial image in December 2016). Courtesy: NoDAPL Archive.

This objective, to chart native populations' – in this case women's – efforts to define themselves and their communities by interrogating the possibilities of spatial interventions, such as those found in literary mappings, reflects a belief that power is inherent in our stories. Similarly, the infrastructural process taking place in the Standing Rock camps created new relationships with subjects, space, institutions and the city, and by doing so, it added to the continuation and self-sufficiency of indigenous communities.

In this view, the organisation of the legal groups of the #NoDAPL against the funding provided to the local police department or to the construction of the pipeline itself was exemplary.³⁸⁹ Indigenous women of the Standing Rock movement organised internationally to trace the roots of the construction of the pipeline and attended meetings with the banks and financial institutions that were about to fund the construction of a series of pipeline projects in Northern America, to present to them their findings and engage in practices of shaping legal change and advancing indigenous human rights globally.³⁹⁰ Specifically, they created an international platform to bring attention to the human rights abuses at Standing Rock by confronting and educating representatives of DNB and the GPF, as well as public officials.³⁹¹ The importance of this line of action was twofold: first, to communicate their rights and historical background to all parties involved by making use of a long tradition of the negotiation tools of their tribes, and second, to create a network with other social movements in Northern America that struggle for the abolition of policing.³⁹²

It is this link with infrastructure that created the international aspect of this struggle. Essentially, the water protectors, by challenging a particular piece of pipeline, the Dakota Access Pipeline (DAPL), also challenged mainstream conceptions of infrastructure by enacting alternatives and temporal spatialities on their land. Standing Rock exposes how problems of infrastructure are more than merely technical; they are at the heart of the making of (in)justice, and the stakes of infrastructure are more than just the bottom line.



Figure 6.56

Posts with banners such as the one depicted in this image could be found across the Standing Rock reservation to mark the area as part of the infrastructure of the encampments. Source: *Standing with Standing Rock*.

³⁸⁹ Mishuana Goeman, *Mark My Words: Native Women Mapping Our Nations* (Minneapolis, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2013), p. 63.

³⁹⁰ Michelle L. Cook, 'Striking at the Heart of Capital: International Financial Institutions and Indigenous Peoples' Human Rights', in *Standing with Standing Rock: Voices from the #NoDAPL Movement*, pp. 103-169.

³⁹¹ *Ibid.*, p.139. The women argued that maintaining these banking relationships violated the fund's ethical guidelines with respect to human rights and international law, specifically Section 3 of those guidelines, 'criteria for conduct-based observation and exclusion of companies', which warns against their investment portfolio.

³⁹² Dean Spade, 'Solidarity Not Charity: Mutual Aid for Mobilization and Survival', *Social Text*, Duke University Press, 142.38. 1 (2020), pp. 131-151.

³⁹³ Simpson, *As We've Always Done*, pp. 95-118.

In the activities of the water protectors, other kinds of infrastructure were also visible — alternative or fugitive forms that sustained not only a transnational solidarity movement (although the government reduced it to a solely domestic matter) but also an international solidarity movement, bringing the fight of indigenous people and their way of life as a cause for struggle and solidarity organising. In addition, these reproduced large communities, who gathered on site, established self-organisation protocols, and reconfigured welfare and care protocols did so by establishing knowledge exchange with other social movements in their networks.

Water Protector Legal Collective

On-the-ground legal support for the Dakota Access Pipeline resistance at Standing Rock



Water Protector Legal Collective
P.O. Box 578
Mandan, ND 58554
(701) 566-9108
waterprotectorlegal@protonmail.com

Judge Merrick finds two Water Protectors guilty for first amendment activity.

Mary Redway and Alexander Simon are the first two Water Protectors to receive a sentence of jail time for any protest-related misdemeanor conviction. This happened after the State's Attorney recommended no jail time. The initial charges the two faced were dismissed before the State of North Dakota re-charged them with new criminal charges.

The vast majority of the approximate 140 people arrested on the same day as these two, October 22, 2016, saw all charges dismissed before going to trial for lack of evidence. Others arrested on 10/22 who have already gone to trial have been acquitted of all charges. Others were convicted at trial and the judge did not find jail time to be appropriate. There is no logic or consistency to the different outcomes people received on these same charges. Judge Merrick's decision to sentence them to jail demonstrates disparate treatment. The Judge was made aware that Alexander Simon, 27, a teacher living in New Mexico would lose his job if forced to spend 18 days in jail. Mary Redway is 64 years old, and a retired environmental biologist from Rhode Island.

This is a clear indication of bias on the part of Judge Thomas Merrick, who, just months ago signed a petition trying to change the law that temporarily allows out-of-state attorneys (pro hac vice) to represent Water Protectors on the noDAPL cases. That effort failed. We see this decision as his attempt to send a message; that people will face harsh sentences regardless of innocence or guilt as a means to put pressure on others with pending charges to take pleas and forgo trial.

The prosecutorial discretion and conviction of some and not others has been arbitrary and targets what police and State's Attorneys call agitators. This is an encroachment on the right of people to engage in lawful, constitutionally protected conduct. The Judge gave no reason for the sentence other than "don't break the law." But the question remains, what law? What he meant perhaps was to not disobey police regardless of whether they issue lawful or unlawful orders. Police must comply with the law too. The police do not have the power to suppress speech protected by first amendment or the rights of sovereign indigenous communities simply because they are inconvenienced as was testified by law enforcement. Evidence of first amendment activity according to the statute must be excluded as a letter of law. When asked why people were arrested prior to any damage occurring a law enforcement officer at trial stated: "we didn't want to chase them around all day."

Moreover, no representatives from Dakota Access Pipeline LLC or the myriad of different private security companies hired onsite that day were brought forward as a witness so that the defendants would confront their accusers. Additionally, no officer who testified offered any memory or evidence of either individual engaging in any specific conduct.

Please write and visit these political prisoners:

Alex Simon and Mary Redway both at:
4000 Apple Creek Rd, Bismarck, ND 58504

Figure 6.57

Document released by the Water Protector Legal Collective in support of protectors facing legal prosecution. The legal collective was one of the most active initiatives formed within the Standing Rock movement to battle any injustices that water protectors faced but most importantly to raise awareness around the law violations taking place. Document retrieved from the self-managed online archive of the Water Protector Legal Collective. Source: waterprotectorlegal.org.

6.6.2 The Clinic of Water Protectors as an Infrastructure of Care at the Encampments

Indigenous collectives have always been networked, and there is certainly regional diversity within this social movement, which emerged in Standing Rock. This movement-building step is critical in all social movements. What Leanne Betasamosake Simpson identifies is that to eliminate an indigenous political system and/or collective organising, you have to attack the nodes of the network and, in particular, the nodes of the network that continually regenerate the network itself: the indigenous bodies.³⁹³

For Achille Mbembe, this attack on the body to annihilate the formation of a resistant network is directly linked with the principle of separation in the most material terms that lies at the root of the colonial project at large.³⁹⁴ He argues that colonialism has, to a large extent, relied on a constant effort to separate, highlighting this dichotomy as being between ‘on one side, my living body; on the other, all those “body-things” surrounding it – with my human flesh as the fundamental locus through which all other exterior “flesh-things” and “flesh-meats” exist for me’.³⁹⁵ On one side, therefore, is the body of the repressed – the basic nexus and source of orientation in the world – while, on the other, are all the others with whom, due to practices of separation, he can never completely fuse or genuinely engage with in relations of reciprocity or mutual implication.

³⁹⁴ Achille Mbembe, ‘The Society of Enmity’, *Radical Philosophy*, (2016) <<https://www.radicalphilosophy.com/article/the-society-of-enmity>> [accessed 10 September 2021].

³⁹⁵ Ibid.

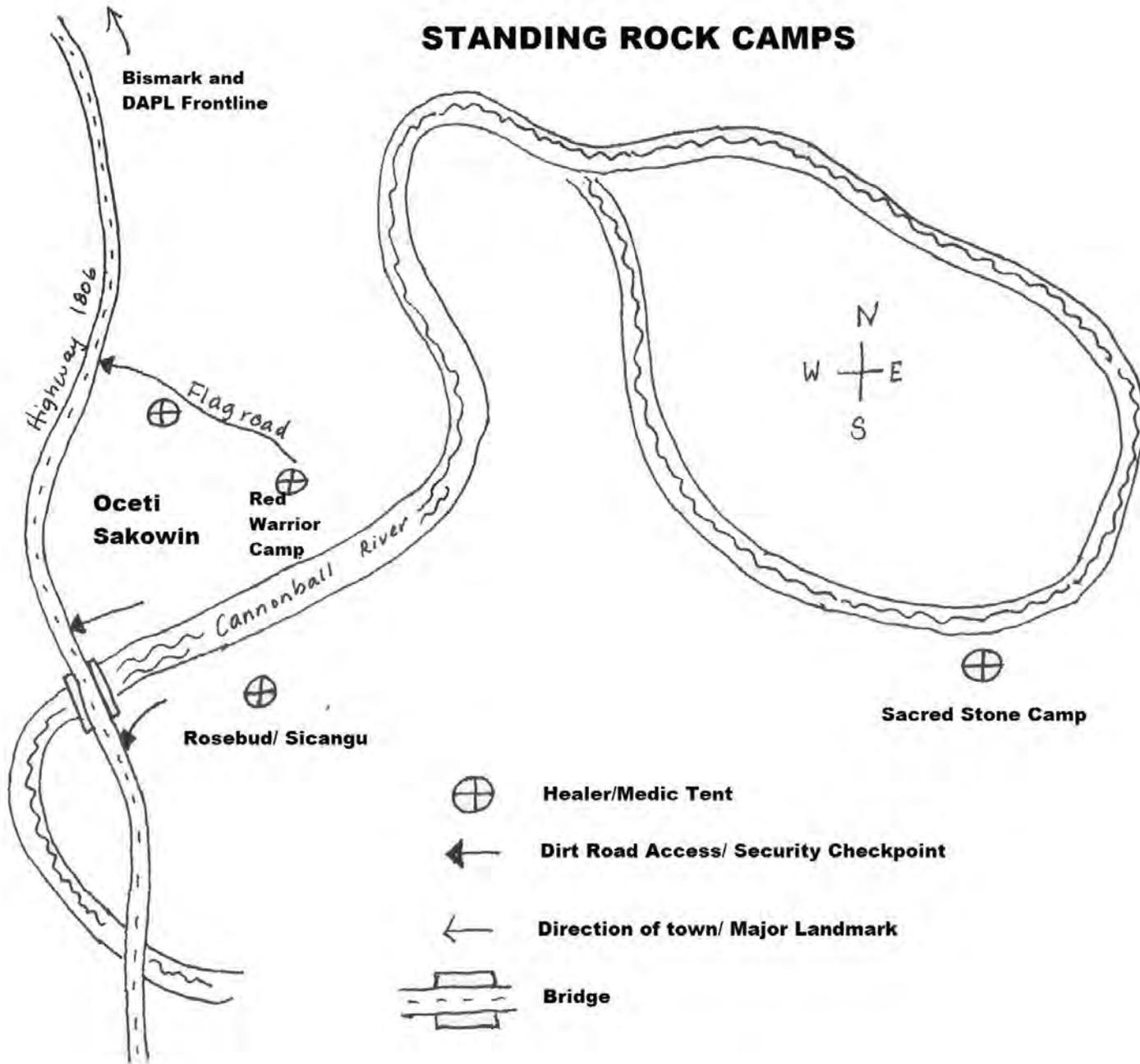


Figure 6.58

Sketch of the routes leading to the “Healer/ Medic Tent” infrastructure of the camps. Courtesy: NoDAPL Archive (nodaplarchive.com).

In a colonial context, this constant effort to separate (and thus to differentiate) was partly a consequence of an anxiety of annihilation (of difference) felt by the colonisers themselves.³⁹⁶

³⁹⁶ Ibid.

The architecture of repression and separation against the Standing Rock water protector camps consisted of chokepoints, armed checkpoints, concrete barricades, armoured personnel carriers, and miles and miles of concertina wire that aimed to annihilate, separate and attack. Because of this intensification of police and military, more than eight hundred water protectors were arrested. This volatile and hostile environment strongly influenced the types of infrastructural projects and the main activities taking place in the water protector camps, making clinics to treat the protectors and activists who faced police violence the core infrastructure of care for this indigenous social movement.

Figure 6.59
Roadblock and DAPL frontline.
Source: The Nation.



From April 2016 onwards, a patchwork of medical clinics appeared, and the Standing Rock Medic and Healer Council was formed to direct and coordinate the medical care infrastructure for the water protectors. The Standing Rock and Medic Healer's Council (SRMHC) was staffed by traditional indigenous healers, physicians, nurses, paramedics, midwives, medics and other volunteers, who provided continuous medical care at the Standing Rock encampments from July 2016 'in response to poor healthcare access and escalating use of violence by Morton County Sheriff's department and Dakota Access Pipeline security upon unarmed people who are peacefully assembled to protest a pipeline going through the source of drinking water for 16 million people'.³⁹⁷ The medics of the clinics that emerged at the camps were themselves protesting against the proposed pipeline that would threaten the Missouri River, their primary source of clean water, as well as sacred tribal grounds, directly posing a healthcare and environmental threat.

As medics and volunteers of the grassroots clinics of the #NoDAPL movement, they witnessed firsthand all the conditions at the camps that resulted in an overflow of care-seekers. At the peak of its operation, the Standing Rock Medic and Healer Council released a document addressing the public on the 28th of November 2016. This document aimed to publicise the reasons behind the formation of the indigenous healthcare movement at Standing Rock and it also acted as a charter of constitution. Through this charter, the clinics identified that the hostility by the government institutions towards the water protectors and the population of the reservation at large, the effect of police violence on the health of care-seekers and, most importantly, the longstanding detrimental conditions of the indigenous local healthcare system as the key symptoms that had led to the infrastructural gap of medical care provision for indigenous peoples, and in Standing Rock reservation, in particular.

As a land occupation of this sort, size, and duration had never happened before in North America, the clinics of the encampments, were set up as a constellation of tents accommodating specific activities related to the needs, grouped to be part of the medical and healing practice of the healthcare infrastructure. Each camp had a set of tents which comprised its medical structure. They were run by a collective of medics, indigenous healers, physicians, herbalists and nurses

³⁹⁷ On 28 November 2016, the Standing Rock Medic and Healer Council (SRMHC) held a press release and published a document titled 'For Immediate Release on Behalf of the Standing Rock Medic and Healer Council (SRMHC)'. In the collective press release that was held at the entrance of the Oceti Sakowin camp, the medics and healers made public the dire conditions and violence that the water protectors were facing. A copy of the press release can be found here <<https://teora.maori.nz/media-release-on-behalf-of-the-standing-rock-medic-healers-council-srmhc/>> [accessed 10 September 2021].



Figure 6.60
Use of chemicals against the water protectors. Film still. Source: YouTube channel "Medic Healer Council".

with medical training. Those who did not have any medical training were supposed to assist the medics or help with organisational and/or administrative work. New volunteers and medics who signed up at the medic and healer council were ordered to assist at the clinics of the camps, had to follow the medical care protocols agreed by the council and, went through the process decided by the assembly that included not practising medicine at the camps during the first seven days. During this week-long process, volunteers observed the protocol of medical care provision and could ask questions and get feedback regarding any concerns they had before they decided to practice as a medic or volunteer, as part of the indigenous healthcare movement.

The predominant activity was that of treating and curing care-seekers who had been exposed to riot police attacks or who were taking shifts to protect the camps and, as such, were exposed to cold weather, injuries and so forth. Treating patients being exposed to mace and hypothermia defined the main line of activities of the water protectors' clinic, and its requirements regarding medicines and equipment. Another important part of the medical clinic was that of tending to mental health, well-being, and emotional support so that protectors who were struggling with the stress of the environment or who had been traumatised by confrontations with police could talk about their mental health concerns.



Figure 6.61 & 6.62

Film stills from the video footage of the Standing Rock Medic and Healer Council's press release event to address the police violence and the medical emergency conditions of water protectors in Standing Rock, November 2016.

Sources: YouTube channel & NoDAPL Archive.

MEDIA RELEASE – ON BEHALF OF THE STANDING ROCK MEDIC HEALER’S COUNCIL (SRMHC)

November 28th, 2016

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE ON BEHALF OF THE STANDING ROCK MEDIC HEALER’S COUNCIL (SRMHC)

RE: Urgent request for Lieutenant General Todd Semonite (US Army Corps of Engineers), Secretary Robert A. McDonald (US Department of Veteran Affairs) and Secretary Sylvia Mathews Burwell (US Department of Health and Human Services) to immediately rescind the December 5th, 2016 eviction notice given to the Oceti Sakowin camp by the Army Corps of Engineers as well as a removal of the blockade on Highway 1806 in order to prevent unnecessary further morbidity and mortality

The Standing Rock Medic Healer’s Council (SRMHC) is a council of traditional Indigenous healers, physicians, nurses, paramedics, midwives, and medics who have provided continuous medical care at the camp since August, in response to poor healthcare access and escalating use of violence by Morton County Sheriff’s department and Dakota Access Pipeline security upon unarmed people who are peacefully assembled to protest a pipeline going through the source of drinking water for 16 million people.

We have been active in assessing the health needs and have been keeping people safe in what US veterans have described as “war-like conditions”—with surveillance aircraft, police checkpoints and the constant threat of violence from local law enforcement. We have also been providing daily no-cost care for acute and chronic conditions to thousands of people assembled peacefully to exercise their first amendment rights.

The vast majority of cases we have witnessed and treated — in patients ranging from the young to elderly — have been the direct result of the following:

- Blunt force trauma, including but not limited to near amputation, retinal detachment, and multiple fractures, concussions, lacerations, and contusions as a result of rubber bullets, battery with batons, and concussion grenades,
- Bites from attack dogs
- Exposure to chemical weapons.
- Hypothermia as a result of water cannons power blasting individuals in freezing temperatures.

Since October, the Morton County Sheriff’s department has blocked the northbound highway 1806, currently with razor wire, military vehicles and concrete blocks. This is in violation of the Geneva Convention, Article 18, first paragraph, of the 1949 Geneva Convention II which provides that “[a]fter each engagement, Parties to the conflict shall, without delay, take all possible measures ... to ensure ... adequate care” of the shipwrecked, wounded and sick.” The blockade makes quick and expeditious travel by emergency services to the nearest level two trauma center in Bismarck impossible. What should be a 35 minute ambulance ride in an emergency becomes over an hour due to this blockade and checkpoints. This has been and continues to be a major threat to public health that has been not been addressed by local health agencies. We urge you to address it immediately.

Of greatest concern is the previously mentioned December 5th eviction notice by the Army Corps of Engineers upon the Oceti Sakowin camp. Based upon all evidence to date we have good reason to believe that excessive, violent force will be used against unarmed people in winter conditions that threaten life simply through hypothermia. In our professional opinion, the Oceti Sakowin community composed of several thousand women (many of whom are pregnant) men, children, elderly, are firmly committed to remaining upon the land that was clearly outlined by Treaty laws belonging to the Lakota and Dakota peoples. We affirm that during the entire term of our service we have never seen any evidence of weapons, whether in the form of firearms or incendiary devices. Given the urgency and immediacy of the care we provide, such evidence would be impossible to conceal. If the goal is to protect health and well being, that purpose will best be served by allowing the Oceti Sakowin to remain, unmolested, in full exercise of their constitutionally protected First Amendment rights.

We want to make clear that the SRMHC is committed to fulfilling the spirit of the Geneva Convention by providing medical services to Oceti Sakowin regardless of the decisions and conditions imposed by state agencies. This decision occurs despite clear observations that designated and labeled medics are being unethically and illegally targeted by law enforcement — once again in violation of the Geneva Conventions (Rule 25. Medical personnel exclusively assigned to medical duties must be respected and protected in all circumstances).

We urge your respective agencies to prevent the alarming threat to loss of life and limb on December 5th. From our assessment as the medical team on the ground, the violence from law enforcement has been the largest threat to public safety.

Respectfully,
Standing Rock Medic Healer Council

Figure 6.63

Copy of the Media Release statement published by the Standing Rock Medic and Healer Council on November 28, 2016.

Document recreated by the author.



Home

Greetings relations,

We greet you with heavy hearts, yet with our heads held high. As we all move forward from the destruction of the camps, the Medic and Healer Council is looking forward, and we see much to be hopeful about.

Over the last year of the **#NODAPL** resistance camps and in the face of historic police violence, our medics and the huge community supporting us has had the humble honor of serving as a safety net for the tens of thousands of people from the hundreds of nations who came to the banks of Mni Sose to pray and lay their bodies and freedom on the line for the water and future generations.

With the evictions of the Oceti, Sicangu, Sacred Stone and Seventh Generation camps, our most acute reasons for existing have come to an end. We continue to muster resources in the four directions to try and help our protectors through efforts such as the **"Healing the Waters Within"** project.

We also are working to redistribute our remaining supplies to provide support for ongoing indigenous lead resistances and earnest fights to protect the waters across Turtle Island. We will also be investing in the creation of the Mni Wiconi Clinic in Fort Yates to focus on providing integrated care that strives to decolonize medical care as well as provide care with dignity. **You can continue to support that project with your donations** to ensure that access to decolonized healthcare remains in place for the Standing Rock Reservation community, just as it was provided during the Dakota Access Pipeline resistance encampment by our council.

We thank you for your support and want to assure that as we return to the four directions, we will continue to find our ways to the frontlines to lend our care and support.

#MniWiconi #BlackSnakeKillers #WaterProtectors #FrontlinesAreEverywhere

DONATE +++ VOLUNTEER

Figure 6.64

The website statement of the Standing Rock Medic and Healer Council. Source: medichealercouncil.wordpress.com.

There were four medical centres at the Standing Rock encampments: one in each of the three major camps and a combined medical facility operating for the two smaller ones. These provided healthcare services based on the medical care protocol that had been decided upon by the assembly of the Standing Rock Medic and Healer Council. Each medical area was divided into three different zones: (1) the medical treatment zone; this was a medic/healer station mainly staffed by medics, physicians and herbalists; (2) the decontamination zone, where chemical contaminants were being removed; and (3) the emergency zone which included shelters and warming stations. The clinical treatment zone offered primary care and first aid treatment to water protectors who had been maced and needed to be doused with saline solution or a mixture of water and milk of magnesia by the medics and physicians. The emergency shelter and warming stations were used in situations of rescue. The volunteers and medics of the clinics had to be able to get out of the wind and the cold, and to warm up after transporting patients overland getting them to the appropriate clinic, trying to keep them warm, and rehydrating them. In the emergency shelters and warming stations, the protectors were saved from going into severe hypothermia by receiving hot food and liquids having propane heaters to warm them. In between these two zones was the decontamination area where the inbound patients suffering from mace spray injuries and other exposure to chemicals were directed to remove the contaminants and chemicals they had been exposed to. Some of them had to be completely undressed, re-dressed in dry clothes, wrapped in blankets, warmed by the fire, or held by their friends for body warmth.

Undeniably, a new clinic type was conceived at the camps of Standing Rock in 2016. The components that alternately or simultaneously comprised the clinic were devised and sequenced by the medics and healers of the camps that had applied this spatial co-location to this healthcare infrastructure established by the Standing with Standing Rock movement.

1. Medical treatment zone



Figure 6.65

Clinic of the Rosebud camp. Courtesy: NoDAPL Archive.

Interior of the medical tent



Figure 6.66

A medic/healer station's interior. Courtesy: NoDAPL Archive.

2. Emergency tent with warming stations and decontamination area



Figure 6.67

The emergency and wellness tent acted as a first-aid shelter with warming stations. Courtesy: NoDAPL Archive.



Figure 6.68

A hypothermia kit was set up inside the emergency medical tent at the Rosebud camp. Photo from 5 December 2016, by Joel Angel Ju.

Figure 6.69

Medical supplies are organised inside a medical tent at the Rosebud camp during winter (5th December 2016). Photo courtesy of Joel Angel Ju. All rights reserved (permission to reproduce obtained by the author).



Tape/Scissors

Antibiotic Ointment
Wound gel

Saline washes
Wound cleanses

Non Stick Dressing

Sm. Band-aids

Lg. Tissue



Baby Wipe 1/2 lb
and 1/2 lbs

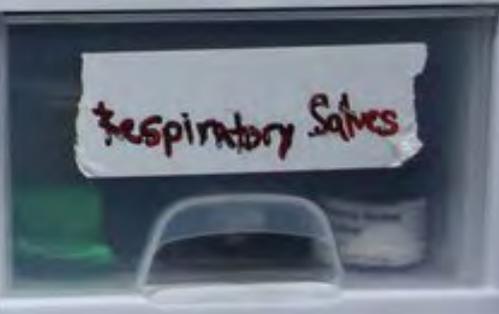
Misc. Saline
Solutions
Powders



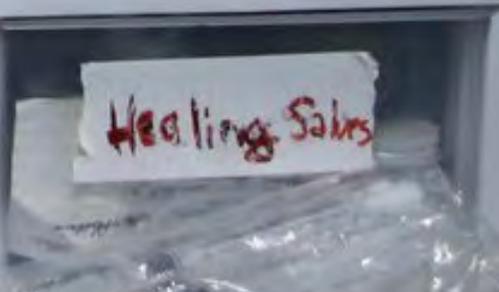
PAIN SALVES



Respiratory Salves



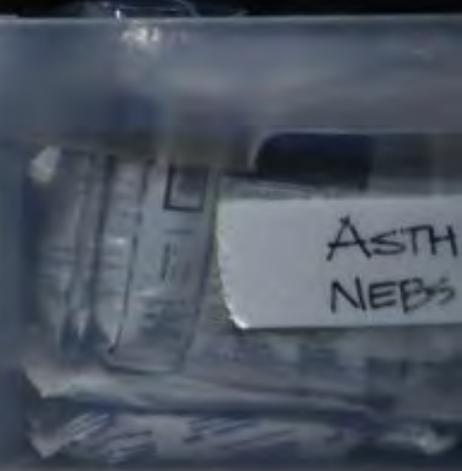
Healing Salves



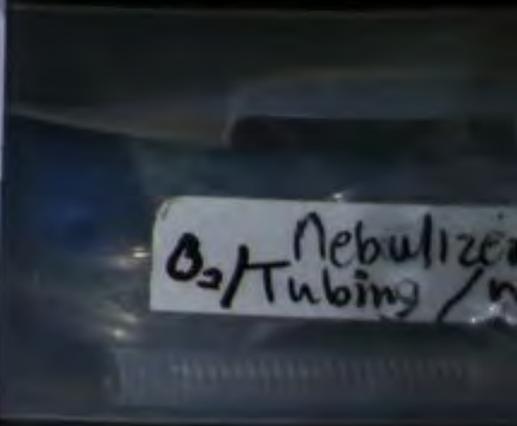
COUGH
Cold and Flu



ASTHMA
NEBULIZERS



O₂ Nebulizer
Tubing / mask



Doctor visits to the tents of the water protectors were performed for the care-seekers that needed a follow-up, so a check-in system run by the mobile medic team was in place. Moreover, the doctors set up a system to identify which patients in which structures across the camp needed follow-up healthcare treatment and check-in by tying “Caution” tape on tent poles, tent tie-downs, and so forth. This occurred until a systemised registration system for the patients was set up on the website of the Oceti Sakowin camp by the media director of the movement. Registration was via a plug-in information system related to the medical condition of the care-seekers and the mapping of their location.³⁹⁸ Communication was established through radio stations, and walkie-talkies were distributed across the healthcare infrastructure. Security used channels 8, 11, 12 and the main medical channel was transmitted on the radio of the clinics.³⁹⁹

During the months of August to December 2016, Oceti Sakowin camp saw more than 200 care-seekers per day, while smaller camps like Sicangu/Rosebud attended to less than 50 patients a day.⁴⁰⁰ Oceti Sakowin camp had a much higher volume of care-seekers with serious injuries and potentially life-threatening conditions.⁴⁰¹ When the volume of patients came close to exceeding the capacity to treat them, the care-seekers were transferred to the clinics of the nearby camps. For instance, the medical group of the Sicangu/Rosebud camp, called the Zaniyan Wellness Centre, had very few mace victims because it was almost three miles from where the protest actions were happening. Thus, the Oceti Sakowin medical group treated most of those cases. As the clinics of the other smaller camps were always prepared to take any overflow, they had to set up spare tents and be ready to treat victims. The organisational group of the Standing Rock Medic and Healer Council visited the clinics of each camp every day to organise the growing number of medical tents and check resources and requirements.

³⁹⁸ The general assembly of October made decisions about disaster management that included the introduction of a tab on the camps’ website for medical issues and of a plugin for national weather service emergency alerts. Information retrieved from archival research by the author from the self-managed online archive of ‘#NoDAPL Archive – Standing Rock Water Protectors’ <<https://www.nodaplarchive.com/announcements.html>> [accessed 10 September 2021].

³⁹⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁰ Ibid.

⁴⁰¹ Ibid.

The design of the tents varied in size, durability of structure and capacity. Expedition/ teepee tents were the most common structure for assembly and shelter purposes, while the main clinics were set up in strong yurt tents; bigger army tents were set up to house the storage of food, medicine and clothing. In particular, the yurt structures and the training of yurt-makers proved to be important for the camps regarding operating through the winter. The expedition/tipi (teepee) tents could easily be crushed by 50-60 mph winds, whereas a yurt structure could survive the bad weather conditions.⁴⁰²

Each clinic was in proximity to and directly linked with the kitchen and the storage/warehouse space. Having a central kitchen and warehouse that redistributed food and supplies to the micro-groups contributed to the better management of resources as well as to the spatial configuration of the encampments as before this, activities and resources were not properly coordinated, prioritised and distributed.⁴⁰³ Based on data from late September 2016, the Oceti Sakowin camp was receiving large amounts of food donations, clothing and blankets, cleaning products, as well as furniture like chairs and tables.⁴⁰⁴ The supply storage of the medic system included equipment like stoves, medical equipment, respiratory medicines, Personal Protective Equipment for the medics, boxes of medicine like Band-Aids and so forth, which had been collected and which were then stored and redistributed to the clinics. In addition, any surplus medicine and equipment was distributed to solidarity bodies outside the camps covering a local and international network, including The Syrian Medical Council that had made a call for the donation of medicine and medical equipment.⁴⁰⁵ To make the supply system effective, transparent, documentable and accountable, volunteers started to train people to oversee, organise and protect supplies. Moreover, they had volunteers document supplies arriving, and then document where they were distributed.

⁴⁰² Oceti Sakowin camp, had a workshop that was making yurts on demand for all encampments.

⁴⁰³ Otherwise, they would need additional support, four to five times the size of the medic/healer volunteering group, just to itemise the inbound supplies in medicines for instance. Information retrieved from <<https://www.nodaplarchive.com/announcements.html>> [accessed 10 September 2021].

⁴⁰⁴ Ibid.

⁴⁰⁵ Information retrieved from a post on the 'Medic and Healer Council' Facebook page.



Figure 6.70
Documentation of the (international) arrival of medicine donations at the Oceti Sakowin camp in September 2016.
Source: NoDAPL Archive.

Thus, the architecture of the clinic was designed to make visible to the indigenous population and the city the spectrum of mechanisms of care and mutual aid. Here, as in the other examples of clinics examined by my research, care needed to be visible and its mutual aid network verifiable. On top of this, this mutual aid network was not only verifiable but had international links with other social movements dealing with healthcare issues. By tracing the routes and redistribution of resources and supplies of medical items, equipment and medicines between NGOs, social clinics, and the local medic and healer council, it can be seen that solidarity healthcare was networked not only on a local scale but also on a transnational scale. Indigenous intelligence⁴⁰⁶ – as Leanne Betasamosake Simpson calls the historical and cultural knowledge of native communities – and sharing it among the groups and participants of the Standing Rock encampments, including non-indigenous allies, had been very important. This approach does not neglect the scepticism that indigenous movements develop around the motivation of their white, non-indigenous supporters, fearing that the logic of the settler is often inherent in their practices.⁴⁰⁷ Precisely, this topic has been a source of constant internal discussions between the volunteers of the Standing Rock Medic and Healer Council, when non-indigenous practices of treating illness and trauma had to be negotiated to take place at the camps. But, by acknowledging the fact that years of trauma, debilitation and displacement are embedded in the bodies and infrastructures of indigenous communities and have shaped indigenous intelligence brings in the interconnectedness needed for the endurance of these projects and makes an argument for their potential to decolonise infrastructural arrangements.

By investigating the clinic as infrastructure for the indigenous movement, it can be seen that it coordinated the distribution of medical and healer supplies, human resources, and other types of medical/healing aid between the following groups: all the camps of the Standing Rock #NoDAPL movement (Oceti Sakowin, Sacred Stone, Red Warrior, Sicangu-Rosebud, and others), the Standing Rock Emergency Services, the Indian Health Services, the Standing Rock Tribal Council, the Mni Wiconi Integrative Health Clinic, and the greater allopathic and healer community. However, the impact of interconnectedness with institutions on the spatial expression of the infrastructure of water protectors in the aftermath of the encampments has been determined as undoubtedly, the district institutions of the indigenous tribes had to be involved at various phases.

⁴⁰⁶ Simpson, *As We Have Always Done*, pp. 95-118.

⁴⁰⁷ In Jilly Traganou, 'Learning from the Standing Rock as a Site for Transformative Intercultural Pedagogy', pp. 86-87. The author argues precisely about the fact of cooptation of the "intelligence" of specific tools and practices developed by different groups that have many times antithetical goals and aims: 'Looking back to the formal history of the camp as a typology that several political struggles (from indigenous to anti-authoritarian) have adhered to, it is possible to observe a disconnected line, from early US settlers and squatter groups to sit-in and protest camps activism. [...] The self-built, informal communities of the squatters spoke to a kind of independent life, makeshift and precarious on the one hand, resilient and resourceful on the other, while indigenous communities were at the same time deprived of their own lands. The romantic image of the pioneer settler clashes with that of the indigene, even though their practices might have formal similarities'.



6.6.3 Decolonising the Healthcare System: Tracing Protocols and Technical Standards

The infrastructure emerging from the Standing Rock anti-pipeline movement also manifested itself as a material claim made to the healthcare system as a struggle towards indigenous public health and the decolonisation of medical care provision. Moreover, this movement developed the protocols to pave the way for this decolonised healthcare to take place in space informed by indigenous perspectives based on indigenous healthcare and intelligence. A profound aim has been, and continues to be, to decolonise healthcare infrastructure.

Decolonised healthcare requires recognising the effect that generations of trauma caused by colonial expansion, genocide and cultural assimilation can have on the health of native populations and their use of a more holistic approach to healing. In particular, amidst the divisive political environment that the US is currently experiencing, the issue of how to best provide care in situations of planned protests, crises, and other situations in need of emergency healthcare provision is becoming increasingly common, as is the politicisation of the clinic as an infrastructure that is accessible to and inclusive of marginalised groups. Therefore, it will become even more important for this type of emergency and grassroots healthcare infrastructure to focus on the goal of establishing common practices, codes and protocols to deal with apolitical tendencies as well as with state institutions as the health of communities is undoubtedly affected by legislation and administrative protocols.

Figure 6.71 (previous page)
Photo of the Oceti Sakowin camp in February 2017. Water protectors agreed to the emergency evacuation of the encampments. Source: therednation.org.

Therefore, one main question is: How can the medical care protocol established at the Standing Rock camps during the #NoDAPL movement enter into and be diffused in local organisations and neighbourhoods to address the indigenous healthcare system as an entity?

An important fact to be highlighted is that during the anti-pipeline protests, the medical services at the camps filled in gaps for the entire community of the Standing Rock Sioux reservation. This is because the facilities of the Indian Health Services (IHS) in the town of Cannon Ball, North Dakota, were only open one day a week, so tribal members visited the camps for medical care.⁴⁰⁸ The district's IHS was a small medical facility for 8,200 people scattered across hundreds of miles. It lacked technical equipment; for example, it had no intensive care unit and no ultrasound machines. This meant that pregnant women often needed to seek care elsewhere. The results of this shortcoming, due to a lack of resources of all kinds, have become clearer during the pandemic, which affected indigenous populations at higher rates and led to the IHS being unable to provide healthcare support via ICU treatment.⁴⁰⁹

Moreover, in the camps, people felt like they were receiving care that was much more culturally appropriate. In this case, it is important to highlight that the aim of these clinics was not to supplement the care provided by the IHS but to develop a healthcare infrastructure that was accessible to all and was based on the principles of decommodification of care. The charter of the Standing Rock Medic and Healer Council claims that the medics and volunteers of the clinics 'are working with local Lakota physicians and tribal healers to develop a curriculum of decolonised healthcare, a place where indigenous perspectives on health and indigenous practices will be at the forefront'.⁴¹⁰

What is demonstrated in Standing Rock is that the institutional recognition of the medical care in Standing Rock and the affirmation of its role in providing emergency healthcare treatment to the water protectors came through a series of agreements and protocols established between the tribe's representatives, the district authorities and the medics of the Standing Rock Medic and Healer Council.

⁴⁰⁸ Standing Rock Medic and Healer Council <<https://medichealercouncil.wordpress.com/>> [accessed 10 September 2021].

⁴⁰⁹ This fact led to the new motion put forward in Congress for 2021/2022, demanding funding and healthcare reform regarding the operation of the Indian Health Service (IHS). Archival research by the author.

⁴¹⁰ Refer to the Charter of Indigenous Healthcare here <<https://medichealercouncil.wordpress.com/>> [accessed 10 September 2021].



Figure 6.72

Sit-in protest outside the Canon Ball County courthouse, requesting not only that no legal action should be taken against water protectors following the cleanout operation of the camps in February 2017, but also that the local authority should recognise the impact of the social movement and support the afterlife of the infrastructure of the camps. Source: Water Protector Legal Collective (waterprotectorlegal.org).

Moreover, the clinic of the camps acted as an infrastructure that challenged, for the first time in practice, the longstanding issues of conflict between indigenous populations and institutions, including leadership, medical staffing and credentialing. Many clinical standards of care that were based on western norms seemed to be on the table and under negotiation for the indigenous healthcare movement that emerged in tandem with the #NoDAPL.

Institutionalisation protocols were drafted, negotiated, agreed upon and issued by the representatives of the indigenous tribes, the representatives of the Standing Rock healthcare movement and institutions, while the Standing Rock camps were still in place, to pave the way for the continuation of the healthcare infrastructure set up by the clinics of the camps. This type of interplay and the alliances formed during that period acted as recognition of the contribution of the clinics of the encampments to the healthcare infrastructure of the Standing Rock Sioux tribe, as well as to the larger mission of decolonising the healthcare infrastructure of the indigenous population.

My research has identified that this was achieved through two subsequent protocols agreed upon between the representatives of the indigenous tribe, the representatives of the Standing Rock healthcare movement and the district institutions, and these were authorised by and entitled the novel medical care provision spaces that sprung up with the right to function.

The first protocol was agreed between the two parties in anticipation of the evacuation of the encampments, which was for two reasons: first, due to the strength of opposition of the government and the use of police violence that escalated in late December of 2016, leading to the movement's dissolution in February 2017, and second, due to the very low winter temperatures that made the conditions at the camps impossible to endure. For these reasons, the Standing Rock healthcare movement decided to negotiate with the tribal and institutional representatives of the district to safeguard the transition of the clinics of the camps to the neighbourhoods and into the community facilities, using as justification the emergency and shelter character of the clinics.

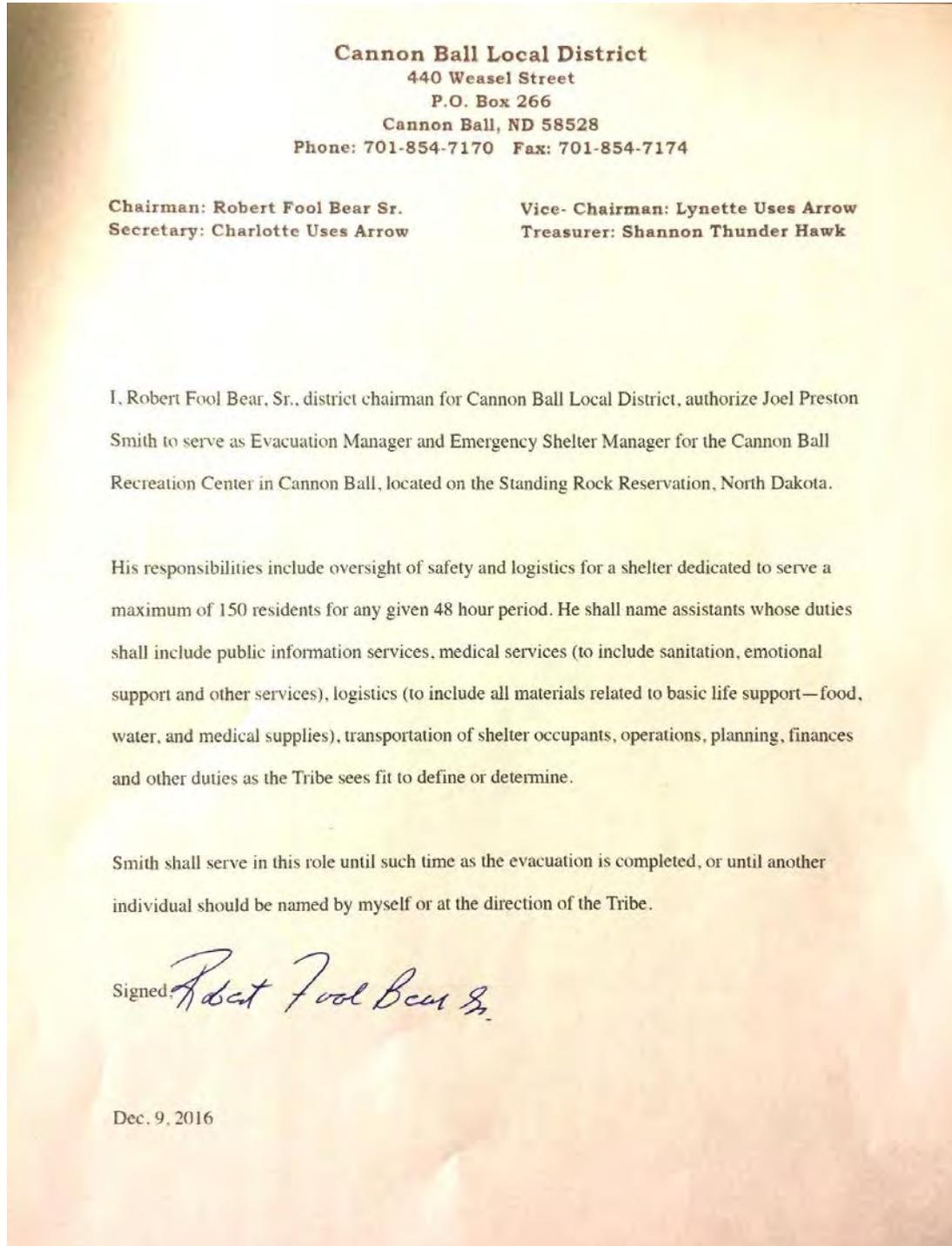


Figure 6.73

Copy of document signed on 9 December 2016, between the district chairman representing the tribe, Robert Fool Bear, Sr., and Joel Preston Smith, a representative from the side of the Standing Rock Medic and Healer Council allowing the operation of infrastructures set-up as medic/healer stations in situations of emergency.

Source: NoDAPL Archive.

Archival research by the author.

must_be_credentialed_standing_rock.jpg

Page 1 of 1

Cannon Ball Local District
440 Weasel Street
P.O. Box 266
Cannon Ball, ND 58528
Phone: 701-854-7170 Fax: 701-854-7174

Chairman: Robert Fool Bear Sr.
Secretary: Charlotte Uses Arrow

Vice-Chairman: Lynette Uses Arrow
Treasurer: Shannon Thunder Hawk

Dec. 14, 2016

Be It Known:

Any individual who intends to provide care, or attempts to provide medical care or healer care, or influence the nature of that care as it is provided by others (including medics or healers already vetted in the Cannon Ball Emergency Shelter) is required to present valid I.D. and credentials that document the provider's licensure and/or certification to provide that care.

This action is taken pursuant to Title XX, Ordinance No. 304-08 of the Standing Rock Sioux Tribal Code of Justice, to protect the community from improper care, and protect the District and the Standing Rock Tribe from civil or criminal liability pursuant to allowing uncredentialed/unlicensed persons to direct medical services or intervene or influence those services in the Cannon Ball Emergency Shelter or District grounds.

Failure to comply with these regulations may result in said individual being requested, by the Shelter Manager or that individual's designee, to leave the facility and associated District grounds, and to immediately cease representing himself or herself as a healthcare provider within Standing Rock Tribal property.

Signed, 

Robert Fool Bear, Sr., District Chairman

Signed, 

Lynette Uses Arrow, District Vice-Chairman

Figure 6.74

Copy of document signed on 14 December 2016 in an attempt to regulate the medical care provision of the Standing Rock reservation.

Source: Water Protector Legal Collective (waterprotectorlegal.org).

Archival research by the author.

On 9th of December 2016, an administrative protocol signed between the district chairman representing the tribe, Robert Fool Bear, Sr., and Joel Preston Smith, a prominent medic of the clinic at the Rosebud camp, who served as the authorised representative from the side of the Standing Rock Medic and Healer Council,⁴¹¹ recognised the need for the operation of these clinics as spaces to provide medical care during situations of emergency, and gave them permission to self-organise and self-manage their resources and spaces. According to this document/agreement, the medic and healer council's responsibilities included oversight of safety and logistics for a shelter dedicated to serve a maximum of 150 residents for any given 48-hour period. Furthermore, it was agreed that the clinic would name assistants whose duties would include public information services, medical services (to include sanitation, emotional support and other services), logistics (to include all materials related to basic life support such as food, water, and medical supplies), the transportation of shelter occupants, planning, finances and other duties as the tribe saw fit to define or determine.

Essentially, the result of this first protocol was the replication and diffusion of the healthcare infrastructure into the communities and Indian encampments on the Cannonball River.

A second protocol followed a few days later, aimed at defining the universal code of this indigenous healthcare infrastructure. In the form of an ordinance and under the Standing Rock Sioux Code of Justice, for the first time in the history of this environmental and racial-justice movement, there was a standard of care that, by Tribal Law, must be adhered to, with its foundation based on the experience and activities of medical care provision expended during the organising of the water protectors as part of the #NoDAPL movement. Another important function of this protocol was that it displayed a will and a promise from the Tribal District to recognise the importance that the medical profession played in providing healthcare and, thus, protecting indigenous peoples from inadequate health care services care.⁴¹²

⁴¹¹ As the Standing Rock Medic and Healer Council is not a legal entity, in this case, in a similar manner to the ones examined in the other case studies of solidarity initiatives in this thesis, a member of the collective acted as the representative of the SRMHC. From the wording of this protocol, he was appointed as the 'Evacuation Manager and Emergency Shelter Manager for the Cannon Ball Recreation Center in Cannon Ball, located on the Standing Rock reservation, North Dakota'. Archival research by the author.

⁴¹² Besides referring to the inadequacy of the Indian Health Service of the area due to its poor condition, another outcome of this has been that many healthcare providers have fought to establish a credentialing system that would offer a measure of protection against fraudulent 'providers' that were neither allowed nor prohibited to practise medicine under tribal law until then. Information retrieved from archival research by the author on the self-managed online archive of the Standing with Standing Rock #NoDAPL movement 'Water Protector Legal Collective' <<https://waterprotectorlegal.org/>> [accessed 10 September 2021].

Such a standard that binds medical care with the cultural background of care-seekers had not been enacted before. This was the result of the collective action, organising and decision-making happening at the assemblies of the #NoDAPL movement. Thus, this novel indigenous healthcare movement being formed at the encampments of Standing Rock directed the issue of decolonising healthcare into the institutions as a negotiation between indigenous medical care, healing practices and medical standards. More precisely, the longstanding argument that required negotiation and had to be addressed had been that mandated standards of care were colonial and, as such, the system that currently existed in the emergency shelter and the Cannon Ball District resisted incorporating such medical care provision standards into their welfare infrastructure. During the negotiation process between the Tribal District representatives — Robert Fool Bear Sr., Lynette Uses Arrow, Charlotte Uses Arrow and Shannon Thunder Hawk — and the Standing Rock Medic and Healer Council, they collectively worked out the language necessary to diagram a guideline of welfare provision for everyone who would access this novel healthcare infrastructure that had sprung up in association with the anti-DAPL protests. This had led to a combination of healing and/or medical care provision by a patchwork of care providers backed by tribal and institutional law, a fact that resulted in a medical care protocol of this type and level being formed for the first time.

The council and the medical group assembly decided on the creation of an integrative medical clinic that would last after the camps ended. They envisioned a place for the community of Cannon Ball to be treated using a combination of medical care and traditional Lakota ways, along with acupuncture, massage, and other non-western healing modalities, while treating elders and people experiencing mental health issues obtained a special focus. To bring this vision to life, the medic and healer council began working with medics and physicians from the University of California, San Francisco.⁴¹³ They wanted to build a traditional native American longhouse for their new clinic, but in the meantime the assembly of the medic and healer council decided to share the IHS facility as it was only in use one day per week, so the district's authority allowed for this to happen. While there was no date set for the opening of the new space of the clinic, the medic and healer council worked with the collective of indigenous lawyers to write up the clinic's mission statement.

⁴¹³ The 'Do No Harm Coalition' of the Medical School at the University of California, San Francisco, partnered with the Lakota health care group backing the institutionalisation of part of the medical care protocols established by the water protectors and the construction of the reservation's new medical clinic. Their first goal was to raise donations. For more information refer to the presentation by Rupa Marya, a key representative of the Standing Rock Medic and Healer Council, titled 'Health and Justice: The Path of Liberation through Medicine' at the 2018 Bioneers Conference <<https://bioneers.org/rupa-marya-decolonizing-medicine-for-healthcare-that-serves-all-zt-vz1809/>> [accessed 10 September 2021].

Shown Here:
Referred in Senate (09/30/2020)

116TH CONGRESS
2D SESSION

H. R. 7948

IN THE SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES

SEPTEMBER 30 (legislative day, SEPTEMBER 29), 2020

Received, read twice and referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs

AN ACT

To amend the Public Health Service Act with respect to the collection and availability of health data with respect to Indian Tribes, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled.

SECTION 1. SHORT TITLE.

This Act may be cited as the “Tribal Health Data Improvement Act of 2020”.

SEC. 2. COLLECTION AND AVAILABILITY OF HEALTH DATA WITH RESPECT TO INDIAN TRIBES.

(a) **DATA COLLECTION.**—Section 3101(a)(1) of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 300kk(a)(1)) is amended—

- (1) by striking “, by not later than 2 years after the date of enactment of this title,”; and
- (2) in subparagraph (B), by inserting “Tribal,” after “State.”

(b) **DATA REPORTING AND DISSEMINATION.**—Section 3101(c) of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 300kk(c)) is amended—

- (1) by amending subparagraph (F) of paragraph (1) to read as follows:

“(F) the Indian Health Service, Indian Tribes, Tribal organizations, and epidemiology centers authorized under the Indian Health Care Improvement Act;” and
- (2) in paragraph (3), by inserting “Indian Tribes, Tribal organizations, and epidemiology centers,” after “Federal agencies.”

(c) **PROTECTION AND SHARING OF DATA.**—Section 3101(e) of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C. 300kk(e)) is amended by adding at the end the following new paragraphs:

“(3) **DATA SHARING STRATEGY.**—With respect to data access for Tribal epidemiology centers and Tribes, the Secretary shall create a data sharing strategy that takes into consideration recommendations by the Secretary’s Tribal Advisory Committee for—

- “(A) ensuring that Tribal epidemiology centers and Indian Tribes have access to the data sources necessary to accomplish their public health responsibilities; and
- “(B) protecting the privacy and security of such data.

“(4) **TRIBAL PUBLIC HEALTH AUTHORITY.**—

“(A) **AVAILABILITY.**—Beginning not later than 180 days after the date of the enactment of the Tribal Health Data Improvement Act of 2020, the Secretary shall make available to the entities listed in subparagraph (B) all data that is collected pursuant to this title with respect to health care and public health surveillance programs and activities, including such programs and activities that are federally supported or conducted, so long as—

- “(i) such entities request the data pursuant to statute; and
- “(ii) the data is requested for use—
 - “(I) consistent with Federal law and obligations; and

Figure 6.73

H.R 7948 legislative act proposed to the US Senate based on data that demonstrate poor tribal health indicators. The proposal of the 2021/2022 Improvement Act of the Indian Health Services specifically defines that public health service should include, besides the Federal Indian Health Services, also the Indian tribes, organisations and further epidemiology centres.

Source: US Senate Congressional Research Service (crsreports.congress.gov) Archival research by the author.

6. Towards an International Infrastructural Movement

Committee Activity

Committees may hold hearings on policy issues and on specific bill proposals, consider and further develop bill proposals through a markup process, and report legislation and recommended changes to the full chamber.

Refined by: 115 (2017-2018) — 117 (2021-2022) X

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 - 112 (2011-2012) (152)
 - 111 (2009-2010) (147)
 - 110 (2007-2008) (155)
 - 109 (2005-2006) (152)
 - 108 (2003-2004) (207)
 - 107 (2001-2002) (180)
 - 106 (1999-2000) (159)
 - 105 (1997-1998) (125)
 - 104 (1995-1996) (103)

BILL

1. S. 144 — 117th Congress (2021-2022)

A bill to authorize the Secretary of Health and Human Services, acting through the Director of the Indian Health Service, to acquire private land to facilitate access to the Desert Sage Youth Wellness Center in Hemet, California, and for other purposes.

Sponsor: Sen. Feinstein, Dianne [D-CA] (Introduced 02/01/2021) **Cosponsors:** (1)

Committees: Senate - Indian Affairs

Latest Action: 02/01/2021 Read twice and referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs. (Sponsor introductory remarks on measure: CR S213) (All Actions)

Tracker: Introduced Passed Senate Passed House To President Became Law

BILL

2. S. 112 — 117th Congress (2021-2022)

A bill to require the Secretary of Health and Human Services to award additional funding through the Sanitation Facilities Construction Program of the Indian Health Service, and for other purposes.

Sponsor: Sen. Sinema, Kyrsten [D-AZ] (Introduced 01/28/2021) **Cosponsors:** (1)

Committees: Senate - Indian Affairs

Latest Action: Senate - 01/28/2021 Read twice and referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs. (All Actions)

Tracker: Introduced Passed Senate Passed House To President Became Law

BILL

3. S. 108 — 117th Congress (2021-2022)

A bill to authorize the Seminole Tribe of Florida to lease or transfer certain land, and for other purposes.

Sponsor: Sen. Rubio, Marco [R-FL] (Introduced 01/28/2021) **Cosponsors:** (1)

Committees: Senate - Indian Affairs

Latest Action: Senate - 01/28/2021 Read twice and referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs. (All Actions)

Tracker: Introduced Passed Senate Passed House To President Became Law

BILL

4. H.R. 7948 — 116th Congress (2019-2020)

Tribal Health Data Improvement Act of 2020

Sponsor: Rep. Gohmert, Greg [R-MT-Al Larc] (Introduced 08/07/2020) **Cosponsors:** (6)

Committees: House - Energy and Commerce | Senate - Indian Affairs

Committee Report: H. Rept. 116-546

Figure 6.74

Set of legislative acts proposed to the US Senate based on data that demonstrate poor tribal health indicators. All of them work on the basis of the main H.R. 7948 - Tribal Health Data Improvement Act of 2020 and propose additions regarding access to medical data, standards and facilities.

Source: US Senate Congressional Research Service (crsreports.congress.gov). Archival research by the author.

Home > Legislation > 116th Congress > H.R. 7948

4 OF 379 RESULTS

H.R. 7948 - Tribal Health Data Improvement Act of 2020

116th Congress (2019-2020)

BILL Hide Overview X

Sponsor: Rep. Gohmert, Greg [R-MT-Al Larc] (Introduced 08/07/2020)

Committees: House - Energy and Commerce | Senate - Indian Affairs

Committee Reports: H. Rept. 116-546

Latest Action: Senate - 09/30/2020 Received in the Senate and Read twice and referred to the Committee on Indian Affairs. (All Actions)

Tracker: Introduced Passed House

More on This Bill: Constitutional Authority Statement CBO Cost Estimates (0)

Subject — Policy Area: Native Americans View Subjects >>

Summary (2) Text (4) Actions (12) Titles (4) Amendments (0) Cosponsors (6) Committees (2) Related Bills (2)

Summary: H.R. 7948 — 116th Congress (2019-2020)

All Information (Except Text)

Listen to this page

There are 2 summaries for H.R. 7948. Passed House (09/29/2020) Bill summaries are authored by CRS.

Shown Here:

Passed House (09/29/2020)

Tribal Health Data Improvement Act of 2020

This bill expands tribal access to public health care data and public health surveillance programs. It also reauthorizes through FY2025 the National Center for Health Statistics, which is part of the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), and requires the CDC to take certain actions to address the collection and availability of health data for American Indians and Alaska Natives.

Specifically, the Department of Health and Human Services must: (1) establish a strategy for providing data access to Indian tribes and tribal epidemiology centers; and (2) make available all requested data related to health care and public health surveillance programs and activities to the Indian Health Service, tribes, tribal organizations, and tribal epidemiology centers.

Next, the CDC must make grants to and enter into contracts with tribes, tribal organizations, and tribal epidemiology centers for data collection and related activities.

Among other requirements, the CDC must: (1) develop guidelines for state and local health agencies to improve birth and death record data for American Indians and Alaska Natives; (2) enter into cooperative agreements with tribes, tribal organizations, urban Indian organizations, and tribal epidemiology centers to address certain inaccuracies related to records for American Indians and Alaska Natives; and (3) encourage states to enter into data sharing agreements with tribes, tribal organizations, and tribal epidemiology centers to improve the quality and accuracy of public health data.

The prototype for this first of its kind clinic —the clinic of water protectors— located on the land of the Standing Rock Sioux, aims to create a space for indigenous people to get medical care under a protocol of holistic medicine that focuses not only on the body but also on the emotional side of health and the cultural background of the care-seeker.⁴¹⁴ It is this common vision of the healthcare movement that has crossed borders and made those protocols and prototypes replicable among the social movements. In its way, this clinic has also acted as the prototype of solidarity and care, expressing a combination of medical needs arising from the indigenous struggle of its time, bringing together participants into an indigenous movement where healthcare issues took a different dimension. In addition, the clinic, as an infrastructure of the water protectors, created the links between the Standing Rock Emergency Medical System, the Morton County Emergency Medical System, law enforcement, public health, and local organisations in a highly politically charged environment.

⁴¹⁴ Ibid. ‘The hope is to leave the reservation and the people there with greater access to healthcare that is culturally appropriate’, Rupa Marya said, and continued ‘We are working with local Lakota physicians and tribal healers to develop a curriculum of decolonized medicine, a place where indigenous perspectives on health and indigenous practices and indigenous practitioners will be at the forefront’.

POSTSCRIPT

Prototypical Designs and Architectures of Solidarity

The political ecology of infrastructures created around solidarity and care is redrawn and repopulated with novel urban artefacts, reuse of buildings, collective bodies and socio-technical relations that can travel and expand in space and in time. In this sense, the prototype never quite reaches closure,⁴¹⁵ yet it keeps diffusing and enabling new extensions of itself and this way it is always more than its own self-scaling.

Their design and deployment as nodes that are part of the infrastructural movement lays them open, out and across neighbourhoods of capacities that are at once structurally deep and topological extensive. In addition, open-source designs and collective design processes such as the ones used by the infrastructural movement in Spain for instance, aim not so much for closure as for proliferation – Fernando Dominguez Rubio and Uriel Fogué describe the prototype as a mode of ‘compossibility’.⁴¹⁶

An infrastructural movement is a social movement that creates, works and thinks through infrastructures. The solidarity projects in Athens, the cases of Los Madriles and El Campo de la Cebada, Can Batlló and La Borda, solidarity structures and solidarity clinics, camps of water protectors and the emergency medical provision centres, are illustrative social movements whose coping

⁴¹⁵ Jiménez & Estalella, ‘Assembling Neighbours’, p. 160.

⁴¹⁶ Fernando Dominguez Rubio and Uriel Fogué, ‘Technifying Public Space and Publicizing Infrastructures: Exploring New Urban Political Ecologies through the Square of General Vara Del Rey’, *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 37 (2013).

mechanisms also create infrastructures. These projects have made visible novel systems of (urban) prototypes. They have quite literally equipped the city with novel conceptual and architectural (material /hard) microstructures and at the same time transformed the institutions that were responsible for the agency of (soft) service infrastructure, including technical designs as well as actual material interventions. These designs are the result of acts of survival, responding to immediate needs, thus their proto-trans-formations in the territory they (proto) emerge entail indeed a mode of compossibility, which also defines their materiality and durability.⁴¹⁷

Objects, spaces and devices, as examined in my research, press and enact material emergencies around social relations. A prototype related to the right to infrastructure, here is collected somewhat differently though a combination of empirical, archival and mapping process, as I explored documents and media that range from drawings, bulletins, appendixes, charts, diagrams, technical images and visuals registering this interplay between architecture and institutionalisation through the ecology of infrastructures (of solidarity and care) it identifies.⁴¹⁸ I identified the micro-histories of dispersed solidarity infrastructures such as the clinic, the assembly space of urban commons, the cooperative structure that generates work and shelter, the indigenous medic and healer care network. I did so by tracing, unpacking and compiling the repositories of these diverse solidarity projects as a means to interrogate the interrelations with institutions but also to speak for this agency of architecture when attempting to create infrastructure from below.

Interestingly, this paradoxical relationship between institutions that favour normativity and standards, and the ad hoc spatial configuration as a mode of living beyond survival —or as I noted throughout my research a ‘form of life’— for social movements is captured by institutions by engaging architecture in a prototypical design scheme and a social solidarity economy framework, which encompasses: 1) the documentary record of the design process embedded within them, always along with, the design of the protocols of its organisational mode, 2) the spatial reconfigurations and zones that accommodate the provisional mechanisms of social movements that deal with unpredictability, and 3) the power relations that emerge between different subjects, objects, activities and the city.

⁴¹⁷ However, such durability is as much an accomplishment of the material affordances of devices as is of the work invested in their standardisation, classification and stabilisation. In Geoffrey C. Bowker and Susan Leigh Star, *Sorting Things Out: Classification and Its Consequences*, p. 10.

⁴¹⁸ My research uses mapping and archival methodologies from the viewpoint of grassroots and collective activities, though acknowledging the fact that both mapping and archival practices have been almost exclusively associated with the mechanisms of colonial power. In this discussion, I bring in scholarship from the fields of social movements, urban commons and Indigenous resistance.

A Repository of Protocols and Prototypes

*Quod non est in actis, non est in mundo. (What is not on file is not in the world).*⁴¹⁹

Every infrastructural project by social movements, has the process of design described, documented and sometimes published. Essentially, step by step such documentary repository suggests a methodology of design and also a different type of mapping. This type of spatial documentation includes for example architectural drawings, diagrammatic layouts, photographs and/or descriptive texts. In addition, this type of repository for design and research tools is essentially allowing the redistribution and circulation of design documents, while at the same time is mapping the organisation of the network that created it, indexing the material qualities of space, creating inventories of furniture and equipment, classifying information based on formats and layers of information (photographs, sketches, text), and the registration of the methods of description and documentation. Although this process does not necessarily imply the involvement of architects, becomes architecture in the most material sense.

This way, spatial configuration is not the outcome/output of a design process, but the very design process itself.

Moreover, through the compilation of their repositories, a prototype as it has been defined in the projects by social movements, calls forth a particular socio-technical arrangement for carrying out infrastructural projects in the city. It summons operational frameworks where the infrastructural system is not conceived as a technical or urban system to be added into the urban syntax, as theory on modern infrastructure would have it. Nor is it conceived as an infrastructure whose 'experimental' status shows the extent to which the built environment of the city is held together by constant upkeep and repair work.⁴²⁰ Rather, prototypes of social movements are always up to re-assembling, travelling and expanding.⁴²¹ One of the mediums to achieve this has been the repository, the other medium has been the space itself and especially the interior with all the elements that define it. It is also in this sense - and especially in the context of a pilot project that they work as 'imaginaries of common living',⁴²² instantiations of an infrastructural movement.

⁴¹⁹ Cornelia Vismann, *Files: Law and Media Technology* (Palo Alto, California: Stanford University Press, 2008), p. 13.

⁴²⁰ For a detailed view on how maintenance and repair manifest on different scales and their relation to architecture and infrastructure today refer to the text by Shannon Mattern, 'Maintenance and Care', *Places Journal* (November 2018) <<https://placesjournal.org/article/maintenance-and-care/>> [accessed 10 September 2021].

⁴²¹ Fuller and Haque, *Urban Versioning System 1.0*, p. 48.

⁴²² Massimo De Angelis, *Omnia Sunt Communia: On the Commons and the Transformation to Postcapitalism* (London: Zed Books, 2017), p. 199.

The Travelling Interior

There is a reconfiguration of the architectural and urban syntax resulting from the reconceptualisation of infrastructures and institutions when social movements raise their claims toward a city's material infrastructure such as energy, housing, healthcare, and so forth.

In this process the interior has been used as a device to intervene in the built environment, especially in an urban context that requires the reconfiguration of what already exists. On top of this, solidarity projects that reconfigured the elements of the interior, created a decentralised network that enabled them to diffuse more easily in urban space: from the scale of the neighbourhood to that of the city, the nation and even transnationally.

Thus, the interior becomes a political object available for manipulation on these terms —or, better, a spatio-cultural device that generates not only new desires but also opens a new space for politics, available for elaboration as a different kind of lived environment.⁴²³

⁴²³ Daniel A. Barber, *Modern Architecture and Climate: Design Before Air Conditioning* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 2020), p. 99.

To capture the scales of this interplay amid an international network of cities and territories that participate in the networks of social movements, the 'interior'

emerges as a space designed with local criteria but that acts as a means to build patterns across borders and that travels across territories, displaying characteristics different from that of a module, and instead it is acting more like a transferable know-how and a combination of protocols and architectural design and research tools. An interesting analogy comes from the book by Daniel Barber *Modern Architecture and Climate*, as he develops the concept of the ‘planetary interior’, where the planetary focuses on the local as a means to also understand how specific sites are integrated in heterogeneous global patterns.⁴²⁴ However, he stresses that at the same time this architectural apparatus needs caution as it reflects a tendency of transferring hegemonic and colonial practices of the West because this concept of the ‘planetary interior that travels’ derives from the era of modernism in architecture when design solutions and typologies of the West were transferred and tested in countries of the global south bringing the design configurations and standards of the West with different climate or energy consumption levels for example into totally different socio-economic and cultural environments.⁴²⁵

⁴²⁴ Ibid., p. 270.

⁴²⁵ Ibid., p. 96.

To explain how this concept of transferable knowledge, including spatial configurations, becomes anticapitalistic and draws away from repeating practices of settler colonialism, Leanne Simpson defines that what differentiates the two are the sites and the process that the knowledge and practice was coded. Leanne Simpson’s interpretation aligns with the definition of protocol by Alexander Galloway that protocol takes its characteristics from the network that created it.⁴²⁶ In her view, the interiorities emerging from the needs of the struggle (i.e. Indigenous struggle) become ‘constellations of coresistance’ that are part of the network of ‘Nishnaabeg Internationalism’, grounded on resurgent practice and coded disruption.⁴²⁷

⁴²⁶ Simpson, *As We Have Always Done*, p. 211.

⁴²⁷ Ibid.

⁴²⁸ Barber, *Modern Architecture and Climate*, p. 99.

Thus, in this view, the interior of a solidarity project becomes from a wildly abstract to a remarkably potent site for the production of alternatives, and for speculation on different socio-economic conditions.⁴²⁸ Essentially, this narrative resists conclusion — it is an account of a historical collective process that is still ongoing, though transformed.

The Diagram

Through all the case studies of solidarity projects examined, my research has identified that state institutions, articulated a very specific form of bureaucratized governmental activity focused on the conceptualisation of collective initiatives and social movements as a body of social agency, yet to be optimised. Forms of registration, legislative activity, public consultations, and new institutions framed a new approach to social movements, alongside techniques, media, and processing systems. Cornelia Vismann in her book *Files: Law and Media Technology* argued about how the making of law advances as archival, documentary and registrar forms, which are variously formatted and preset for circulation and retrieval.⁴²⁹

⁴²⁹ Vismann, *Files*, p. 32.

In all contexts examined, the infrastructural claims of social movements became also the site for intervention of state power. At the same time this interaction framed as an institutionalisation process, created the conditions for spatial appropriation and creating infrastructure from the side of social movements. Through tests and pilots –like the project of appropriation of the 73-selected buildings in the centre of Athens, the relocation of the Metropolitan Community Clinic of Hellinikon in the premises of a different municipality, the urban expansion of the Can Batlló project in Barcelona, the design of urban prototypes in El Campo de la Cebada, the provision of the healthcare infrastructure of the Indian Health Centre for reconfiguration in Canon Ball district of the Standing Rock reservation – the state apparatus created the system for the social movements to inform these material conditions and also to inform concepts of intervention through research and design in architecture.

In each case, albeit unevenly, the design brief was read to include attention to how architecture alongside the activities of social movements, can instigate

a ‘social good’ amid often conflicting political and economic ambitions and to manipulate the spatial elements and legal frameworks and regulations, as a means of a “hacker” tool that carves out the way for agency to be gained.⁴³⁰ These projects simultaneously test the material ways that strategies for the built environment can reconfigure living conditions. In addition, these projects, tests and pilots made of prototypical designs, changed the geography of appropriation in areas that range from rural to urban, but that share the same imaginary regarding infrastructural claims.

⁴³⁰ Galloway, *Protocol*, p. 124.

Undoubtedly architecture has a lot to say in this direction. The cultural and political relevance of architecture was also subject to being tested, especially at a moment, during which the system capturing the appropriation strategy was in the making by the state institutions and until that moment participants (in social movements) and inhabitants (in these areas) had little influence in this process.

I was motivated to read this specific institutionalisation process as a diagram. Remaining at the schematic level, the diagram of institutionalisation protocols helps to outline a number of parameters and conditions to consider in order to arrive at the (best) site/ space for the solidarity body and the state institution — it is an indicator of refined and clarified qualitative information about what is the operational system in place. Essentially, the diagram operates as an instrument, but more broadly attempting to influence new socio-economic patterns— it does not restrict itself to architecture. Indeed, it implicitly repositions architecture within a complex system that it identifies.

The network of case studies of microstructures investigated by my thesis does not attempt to be a history as such even if they are accompanied by indication of dates, locations and although the organisation of the examples is not self-evident, the examples stand as a multivalent collection of the present or recent past— not a history, again, but a reflection on possibilities for the future informed by a survey and investigation from the scope of architecture research (or architecture as research) of what the documentation (and sometimes archival) material of these projects would be in order to add to their replication, recreation, travel and novel design as a recognition of their contribution to infrastructural provision and as such through architecture to add to their durability.

Conclusion

7. Conclusion

7.1 Introduction

I explored the social movements that emerged during the years of crisis in Athens, Greece, beginning with the 2008 financial crisis, their relationships with government institutions, the spatial transformations of urban space resulting from this interplay between different agencies, and the international experience in similar contexts.

The research aims and a methodology to frame the inquiries of this dissertation have been discussed in Chapter 1. In Chapter 2, literature and primary data demonstrating the extent of the financial crisis in Greece has been reviewed. My research also relied on a wide range of archival material to investigate the institutionalisation frameworks of protocols of social movements, and this was provided in Chapter 3. An interrogation of their spatial configurations as infrastructures of solidarity that offer support and care was presented in Chapter 4. Chapter 5 focused on the microstructure of the solidarity clinic and pharmacy to interrogate the infrastructural spatiality, reconfiguration and redistribution mechanisms of the healthcare social movement as a system that creates different subject-city relations. Finally, related paradigms that demonstrate how infrastructures and space have been claimed and (re)designed have been retrieved from the international experience and interrogated in Chapter 6 to define an international network of knowledge and method exchange between social movements.

To conclude, the introduction of this chapter discusses the symptoms pertaining to the activities of social movements to contribute to the understanding of their operation in urban space. Essentially, some of the major findings in my research have identified and classified the relationships and practices of social movements regarding to their modus operandi.

To attain this, I considered:

- the different types of social movements in Greece based on the different solidarity activities and welfare provisions they aimed to address;
- the locations of social movements and their geographical distribution in Athens;
- the networks of the social movements and the scale of their operation (neighbourhood, regional, nationwide);
- the architecture of solidarity support in Athens (interiority, architectural elements, spatial configurations);
- the types of the institutionalisation frameworks that addressed the protocols of social movements in Athens (municipal, regional, nationwide);
- the proliferation in institutionalisation mechanisms by state authorities as a symptom to address the activities of social movements;
- the requirement of architectural drawings as a precondition for social movements in Athens to engage with state institutions in order to occupy the properties that belong to them;
- similar socio-political mobilisations in Spain and United States and the wide array of aims, direct action, community solidarity, reciprocity, agency practices and their intersections, which contested infrastructure systems and designs during the same period.

The first and second parts of this dissertation worked to situate the different modalities of solidarity architectures within a context of extreme contingency and crisis. In Chapter 2, the literature review evidenced the extent to which the financial crisis and austerity measures contributed to (1) severe cuts in funding for social services, causing a collateral impact on welfare budgets. These cuts, in turn, resulted in the closure of public services, including a number of hospitals, or resulted in their functioning inadequately. In addition, part of the building stock that housed such services remained empty and deteriorating,

including closed schools and day care centres, as well as empty domestic and commercial sites, flats and shops. There was also (2) a profound rise in unemployment, resulting in large numbers of people experiencing a lack of public health insurance; (3) an increase in household debt, which led to extreme cases of poverty and the lack of adequate food, access to electricity, heating and a water supply and the precariousness of the family residence, and (4) a rise in extreme right-wing politics.

My research has also identified how participants in social movements self-organised to confront the crisis and exclusions caused by the austerity measures, while simultaneously responding to a larger universal political call for self-management, democratisation of institutions and self-determination. This was manifested in various movement cycles in Greece, namely the December 2008 urban uprisings, the movement of the occupied squares, which defined the characteristics of democratic assembling and self-organisation, and the decentralisation of this movement to more permanent solidarity initiatives centred on infrastructural disputes and spatial claims. The predominant types of social movements I identified are (1) the social movement for food provision; (2) the healthcare social movement; (3) the housing for all social movement; and (4) the social movement for citizen-managed public goods and de-privatisation.

In Chapter 3 I reveal that there are three administrative scales on which the institutionalisation frameworks of the state operate regarding social movements including (1) municipal accounts of registration, (2) regional registration systems, and (3) legislation and further administrative protocols by the central government. Conversely, Chapter 3 begins by admitting some of the tensions that accompanied the emergence of the activities of social movements at the scale of the neighbourhood in Athens, not least the internal disputes about practices of institutionalisation that may be favourable for one social movement such as the markets without middlemen initiatives but are opposed by the social movement for healthcare or for housing for all. These issues allowed the thesis to trace the diverse concepts of institutionalisation frameworks in Athens.

Chapter 4 drew attention to the self-organisation and spatial configurations of social movements that it found to be linked to the vernacular of the neighbourhood. The primary data collected during the fieldwork and the archival material pertaining to social movements testify to the fact that social movements begin their action at the scale of the neighbourhood. In so doing they demonstrate the characteristics of (1) geographic concentration, (2) dense network of solidarity and support, (3) dense social ties and verbal communication, (4) virtual presence and use of media, (5) self-managed (physical and digital) archives to document their activities; and (6) common protocols of self-organisation such as charters of coordination that are assessed during public assemblies and nationwide meetings between participants.

Most importantly, I argued that for the past decade abandoned domestic sites and buildings have been converted into spaces for welfare provision by social movements. Following the identification of the characteristics and symptoms that defined the rise of social movements in Chapter 2, and the framing of an ecology of institutionalisation practices in Chapter 3; Chapter 4 worked to unveil the spatiality of solidarity. Essentially, the second part of this thesis unpacked the fact that infrastructures of solidarity share some common architectural modalities regarding their infrastructural spatiality including:

- Public spaces for self-organisation and participation used for activities such as assemblies, gatherings, hospitality and decision-making activities.
- Private spaces dedicated to activities of welfare provision; such spaces include, for instance, the medical units, the pharmacy, the collective dining room, the teaching room and the equipped kitchen.
- Equipment that is transferable. This equipment varies according to the type of provision. In the case of solidarity clinics, for instance, it consists of cardiographers, dentist chairs, and so forth.
- Replication points of their architectures for cases where an activity undertaken by a social movement is performed in a similar way to another social movement. These elements correspond to the need for spaces that are repeated across the social movements, such as those that are used for storage – mainly of food and clothes to be distributed – or organisational purposes such as meetings, or for a specific activity such as a medical examination room.

Despite appearing makeshift, on the contrary the dwellings that social movements occupy are in most of the cases lasting interventions in urban space and the research reveals the following types:

- Private apartments in floors in *polykatoikias* (apartment building in Greece) that are either granted or for which they pay rent.
- Properties owned by a private and/or public governing body and to whom in some cases they pay rent. In any other case, the building is a concession on a meso-term basis.
- Premises of public property. This research identified that the most common type of property that was granted during the years of crisis by municipal councils to solidarity initiatives is that characterised by state authorities as the "small" property of the state, below 100m². These types of properties vary from empty flats to small buildings that were declared empty.

The research, therefore, demonstrates the extent to which architectures of solidarity initiatives started to flourish and materialise in urban space vis-à-vis a seeming withdrawal of institutional architectures that manifested itself as a strategy of abandonment of infrastructures which, among other negative consequences, led to many buildings and spaces being available and empty.

The approach of Chapters 5 and 6 focused mainly on the exploration of the infrastructure of solidarity as a means of expanding the possibility of the cultural imagining of care, and to investigate the site-specific modalities of affect that accompany care, and the new aesthetic forms that emerge out of them. This is significant, not least in relation to the transnational framework in which eventually my research became situated, but also to draw links between different contexts. The question raised in the last part of this dissertation was actually one investigating what an urban and interior space is made up of and by whom when its collective equipment, architectures and infrastructural systems are designed and used as prototypes by social movements. As a result, the expression of the "right to infrastructure" was identified as a direct action and political claim in the shaping and composition of urban space as it was manifested through the infrastructures of solidarity and care.

7.2 Findings

At the time of writing in 2021, another global crisis, the COVID-19 –pandemic, brought the healthcare social movement to the fore. At the same time, as I discussed, eviction and displacement remain a fact of life for solidarity structures, as are other forms of legal harassment that compose the hostile environment that surrounds their activity. This represents a timely issue that social movements have to deal with; however, as I discussed, practices of withdrawal of architectures, intentional infrastructural debilitation and repression by the state although they accelerate under conservative governments, substituting any attempts of institutionalisation, have been a timely approach of even liberal and progressive governments. I traced in Chapter 5, how, in an attempt to outlaw solidarity, government institutions withdrew the legal permission that had been granted during the previous years to solidarity initiatives and applied voluntary or forced eviction. This ambivalence describing the environment that social movements needed to navigate was also addressed by interrogating events that unfolded in the encampments of the Standing Rock anti-pipeline movement in the US in 2016 when water protectors faced attacks that aimed to displace them from their territories.

In spite of these organised attacks against their constitution, spaces of solidarity continued to flourish looking to counteract the increasing mass exclusion of people from the welfare system in a time when it was needed the most. As revealed from their charters, solidarity initiatives constitute, first and foremost, a radical experimentation of participation. Participation, in this case, was perceived not as a premeditated practice only to claim what the state was required to do, but as a practice that performed new ways of caring based on situated needs and activist struggle for a holistic understanding of care and for building a social movement around it.

Therefore, I demonstrate some crucial findings regarding the self-management tools of social movements that operated in the past decade. Acting as new models of the welfare infrastructure to manifest alternative forms of life, I found that social movements not only invented the means to survive but they provided new tools to form relationships between subjects, collective equipment and the city, which gave rise to different forms of effectivity, accessibility, sociability, and care during situations of extreme contingency and crisis.

7.2.1 Tools of Architectural Intervention

A major part of my research has worked to interrogate how the institutionalisation strategies were intertwined with the architectures of social movements. As I have shown in Chapter 3, government institutions in Greece, especially during the 2014-2018 period when the regional administration of the Attica region was under a local government led by SYRIZA, produced a sophisticated multi-scalar institutional framework that employed a process of subjectification; it framed forms of life, corresponding practices, and conditions of occupation regarding social movements. Simultaneously, I revealed how this also consisted of a method of producing architecture that composed a characteristic economic, material, and spatial entity around the framework of the social solidarity economy.

This was achieved by a strategy of prototypical design put forward through a pilot project for the spatial reconfiguration of welfare services. In situating institutionalisation practices within a building appropriation strategy for the urban development of the city, I addressed the positionality of architecture amid such projects. I sought to provide a thorough understanding of how the use of architectural design, especially in the form of architectural drawings, was conceived as a means of accelerating the implementation of this pilot project by the state. However, by revealing the tensions arising as a result of the ambivalence that is inherent in this pilot project, i.e. requiring from social movements to re-appropriate a set of buildings made available as a result of the financial crisis, this has also allowed for the re-conception of this building stock based on the infrastructural diversity of solidarity projects, on the condition that the architectural tools are used for/ by social movements.

In an institutionalisation context with insidious forms of power at play, I observed that for social movements, this tool was leveraged in their attempt to scale up their micro-structures of care provision. Used as a “hacking tool” in the system that created it, in identifying, through this pilot project, a series of former domestic and commercial sites and buildings in the city and converting them to spaces for welfare to house projects of “commoning”, social movements (such as those for healthcare or housing) were effectively legitimised to include in their network one more space. This is of crucial importance as it concerns the system-building capacity of social movements that can use the prototypical design aspect of this institutional framework to densify their

geographical concentration and increase their spatial expansion in the most material way possible. Furthermore, this becomes important for architecture, as acting from the side of social movements, it can advance their microstructures through the production of architectural drawings that capture their needs and scope of action, by designing the prototypes of solidarity projects for clinics, shelters, groceries, assembly halls, pharmacies, classrooms, and so forth. Moreover, in this view, these prototypical designs in the hands of social movements comprise self-managed repositories: an infrastructure of solidarity care that can be re-used during periods of crisis by replicating microstructures and the spatial configurations that made the space of a similar solidarity initiative in the same network functional.

7.2.2 Architectures and Archives of Solidarity

My research made clear that the architecture of any solidarity initiative is designed to make visible to inhabitants and the city its network of mutual aid. This does not necessarily refer to the space that the solidarity initiative occupies, as this is sometimes designed to remain concealed, but its redistribution network is created to provide different forms of solidarity to everyone who needs it. Through the investigation of the architecture of the solidarity clinic and pharmacy I detected how its participants incorporated, within the scale of a building, the principle of medical care that dictates the redistribution of labour, items and designs from one solidarity space to another. To achieve interconnectedness most of the solidarity clinics and pharmacies created archives that document their protocols of self-organisation and in many cases also their spatial configurations. Importantly, this direct relationship between the architecture and archive contributes to the durability of practices of care. Arriving at this understanding has been really important as it signifies the creation of spaces where the process of care stops being about the dialectical relationship between the care-giver and the care-seeker, and starts to be an assemblage of media, equipment, practices and affects: the site of the medical practices but also the site of movement-building and as such the site that highlights the limits of the institution.

7.2.3 (Proto)Types of Alternative Infrastructures

Chapter 4 debated how the technical know-how invented by social movements, together with the adaptation of administrative protocols of self-organisation and the financial rules based on the concept of social solidarity economy, define a different type of infrastructure. This type of infrastructure, which emerged from social movements, has been found to have all the essential elements for producing an infrastructural system. This conclusion is based on the realisation that the institutionalisation attempts of the Greek government to regulate the spatial organisation of solidarity support networks through the social solidarity economy framework have resulted in a series of design effects. Equally, the organisation of the current institutionalisation frameworks is found to be tied to an understanding of ownership in terms of cooperative entities, making the self-organisation of infrastructures of solidarity support available to new models of economy that have emerged from the social solidarity economy framework.

The prospective success of the social movements' networks has encouraged alternative models in the financing of solidarity projects, linking social movements, local initiatives and professionals as participants, support organisations, municipalities and individuals to an economy based on the prioritisation of humanitarian and environmental criteria. As a consequence, welfare provision based on these two major priorities has become central in the re-appropriation of the built environment that has been "inactivated" and is state-owned, in which the dwellings that host solidarity initiatives link welfare provision activities, such as medical work, self-management, institutional administration and the distribution of welfare services, with the wider neighbourhood.

This strategy for defining new modalities of infrastructures has been found to take place during the same period, not only in Greece but also in Spain, where the institutionalisation framework set forth by the municipal government in Barcelona and other major cities, operated under the same framework defined by social solidarity economy, cooperative schemes and the collective re-appropriation of urban space.

7.2.4 Transnation Solidarity

A common characteristic shared by Spain and Greece is that the projects of Los Madriles and Can Batlló expressed a political will and a material claim to contribute to the city's welfare and cultural infrastructures. In Spain however, this process of creating infrastructure was manifested in its most design-oriented sense, and wherein the architectural drawing acted as an open-source document for prototypical design. In this way, the process of creating infrastructure makes visible and legible the languages, media, drawings, inscriptions, artefacts, devices and relations – the protocols – through which political and social bodies are endowed with any expressive capacity. Thus, Los Madriles and Can Batlló did not so much act as prototypes for urban commons but more as prototypes for themselves: an urban system of many prototypes created on the verge of a social movement ready to be transferred and replicated elsewhere.

Yet, the inclusive holism of a solidarity project has been best demonstrated through the investigation of the microstructures emerging from the Standing Rock indigenous movement that manifested itself as an intergenerational struggle for future generations. Besides the universality of the political claim of the indigenous movement, to protect the earth and water, and to not annihilate different forms of life from their land, it also made very specific material claims to the healthcare infrastructure, leading the struggle for socialised healthcare in the United States. Emphasis was made though on how this social movement developed the protocols to pave the way for a decolonised healthcare provision to take place informed by indigenous perspectives and based on indigenous — healthcare — intelligence. Profoundly, the medical care protocol established at the Standing Rock camps during the #NoDAPL movement was diffused into local organisations and neighbourhoods, and it addressed the deterioration of the indigenous healthcare system at all levels: local, regional, national and international. As in the other two contexts, the activities of the social movement were intertwined with all administrative levels and crossed territorial scales.

Through the investigation of both the local and the international experience, the aim was to contribute to an understanding of infrastructural crisis in all its manifestations. Through the case studies in Athens, Barcelona, Madrid and Standing Rock, I revealed that the crisis of infrastructure lies in its failure (healthcare/solidarity clinic), absence (self-sufficiency/public space, cooperative housing) and in its presence — as the Dakota Access Pipeline suggests.

Furthermore, institutionalisation protocols are based on heterogeneous contexts, they also display many similarities, such as the protocol of municipal agreement identified as effective both in Athens and in Barcelona at the same period of time. A similar version to this type of protocol of institutionalisation has been used for the protocols of agreement taking place between the indigenous movement in Standing Rock, the tribal leaders and the district council as a means of safeguarding the transition of the microstructure of healthcare of the camps to the community of Cannon Ball.

Thus, depending on the goals and local needs, the social movements that emerged in the wake of the movement of the squares and its aftermath display a series of common values and codes of conduct based on the legacy of self-organisation, planning and horizontal decision-making. However, the heterogeneity of these case studies demonstrates that it is impossible for a single social movement and a project related to it to demonstrate every single one of the common values and tools that has been identified as being used by social movements during this period and, if adopted, with the same intensity. In Greece, the social movements displayed the characteristic of networking on a local level more strongly as its self-organisation and diffusion mechanisms were rendered paramount in the neighbourhoods of Athens. The movement in Spain was more design-oriented and its institutionalisation was negotiated from the very beginning. On the other hand, the #NoDAPL movement in Standing Rock, although it had a more spatio-temporal identity, was largely international and it dealt with issues that made it universal.

Finally, the internal disputes that characterise social movements may vary depending on the context. This is best demonstrated by examining the social movements focused on healthcare. The internal disputes that challenged the healthcare social movement in Greece were closely related to the degree of institutionalisation and cooptation surrounding the health reform suggested by the SYRIZA government. However, the healthcare social movement that was created in Standing Rock was found to deal with internal disputes that were related to the limits of what is used to comprise the standards of medical care provision. From the perspective of the indigenous movement, the existing medical standards were mainly defined within the scope of western institutions, which excluded indigenous practices of care and healing. Thus, medics and healers should engage themselves in decolonising attempts to make medical standards inclusive to indigenous perspectives about health and healing.

7.2.5 Protocols of Endurance

The transnational network of cities, territories and social movements has highlighted the need and capacity for transferability, adaptability and maintenance. In the different contexts explored extensively by my dissertation, systems of redistribution and re-appropriation have been already invented, and the protocols and spatial elements that created them have been documented and saved through the oral history and self-managed archives, repositories and documentation tools of social movements.

This type of decentralisation and deterritorialisation of the solidarity network that has traversed the welfare system during the past decade poses a crucial question for our present, one that echoes the main question of this thesis reiterated here:

How can social movements contribute to establishing new possibilities for social life and public health in the current crisis?

And also, if it is not a matter of defining the welfare state through norms, then could intervening in the reconfiguration of infrastructures and establishing a new set of social interactions, within and through institutions, at different levels but connected among themselves, be an answer?

A way to think about this question is to consider that also at stake here are the procedures and protocols that can maintain the space of the institution open to allow a permanent redistribution and reconfiguration of its forms and spaces. Drawing from the social movements examined in my research, to achieve a positive answer to this question includes the realisation that the struggle today is not only concerned with producing, for instance, a new healthcare reform law related to the improvement of the healthcare infrastructure and, at the local level, a regional law that reflects a social understanding of care and health, determining obligations in the definition of budgets, and a profound reorganisation of the healthcare system in general. This is profoundly a struggle over protocols and mechanisms to integrate and intertwine social and healthcare spaces with social practices, local networks, community dynamics, and all the contradictions these practices bring to maintain the infrastructural diversity that social movements, over the past ten years, have shaped as an alternative spatiality. The interventions by social movements are not linear, as in the case of intervening in the state through norms and, from there, into society, which involves a more direct approach.

What the social movements have done is to link their radical practice of direct action to a material operativity in a way that can produce prototypes that can decentralise the structural constitution of the public institution—including both the state ones as well as those considered to be public, such as health and education.

7.3 The Implications of the Thesis

The orientation of this dissertation, its aspirations and outcomes, are marked by its architectural focus and approach to the subject as it offered an examination from a spatial perspective, developed a methodology of tools for unpacking a very complex system of interrelations and identified the space for architectural research to be culturally and politically relevant. In this way the findings of my research can work as a basis for (1) understanding the structural role of spatial design in participatory forms of social action and processes of institutionalisation, and (2) developing alternative forms of architectural design practices in tandem with social solidarity economy protocols and economic models: that is to say, a different idea about the architectural profession with an emphasis on architectural research.

After more than a decade and seeing that the need for infrastructures of solidarity remains, especially at a time when the financial crisis became coupled with a public health crisis, this thesis emphasises that a spatial analysis of the spaces of social movements is important to articulate their spatial expression starting from the interior space and architectural transformations. In the first place, this is essential because the space produced by social movements, which is the central part of a new generation of institutionalisation projects established by the Greek government, has not been charted or monitored at this level before. Most importantly, it has been understood that both concentrated – located in the city centre – and distributed solidarity projects predominantly rely upon the spaces in which they are located, mainly in terms of benefiting from accessibility, routinisation and exposure. Finally, I have found that what is less documented is the shape that urban and architectural projects, driven by social movements, take when they are networked and designed since their start from the bottom-up as prototypical designs being implemented in pilot projects. A project like this will have major consequences for a more inclusive planning of architecture and

administrative infrastructures, which my research could only address through an early speculation, but to monitor the implementation of changes in this regard, especially in Greece, will remain to be done in my long term research. Nevertheless, arguing for the agency of projects of solidarity provides architecture and architectural research with the tools and agency to carve out ways of intervening in a system seemingly impossible to do so, which is full of norms, bureaucracy and administrative institutionalisation, in the process of becoming a form of a radical and critical practice.

However, this phenomenon is far more complex and, as such, architectural tools alone may not be able to offer a solution to these current issues. Thus, a more multifaceted approach might be helpful. This issue could be further examined through design-led research focused on the micro-scale of each of the infrastructural spatialities revealed here to speculate on the diversity investigated in this research. Moreover, as crisis, austerity and their implications on welfare and healthcare are not an isolated Greek or European phenomenon, further research could also draw from the comparative studies investigated here and propose a knowledge exchange platform that explores in detail the micro-histories of other marginalised groups and build further on queer, black and indigenous studies. It may also be interesting to assess this theme in parallel with studies of societies in crisis completed by researchers of other disciplines to compare the differences in approach and conclusions. Adding to this, in future, this thesis envisions to contribute to similar practices by other activists and organisations helping to diffuse the project and, in this way, sharing something of the dynamic open-source process that has been investigated here. This would allow for the exchange of experiences, protocols, patterns and routines to diffuse solidarity actions and spaces and add to their movement-building capacity on an international scale.

Appendices

A Glossary of Terms

My research has led to the discovering of a rich lexicon of terms. The main terms that frame the theses of this dissertation are also demonstrated in its title ‘Infrastructures of Solidarity and Care in Athens (2010-2020): Social Movements, Protocol Systems, and Prototypical Designs’” Hence, the (abridged) glossary that derives from the terms used in the title is presented below as an introduction to the key terms of the research, while an extended version of the theoretical interrogations of my research are presented as Essays (1, 2 & 3) that intend to address the tensions that derive between them. In addition, at the end of the Appendices there is a Lexicon of the key terms that run throughout the thesis.

Athens (2010-2020), Greece, is a city defined by the prevailing adjustment reforms and austerity policies, structural violence in the form of exclusion and marginalisation of the population living and/or arriving in the city (among other conditions that pose direct threats to the bodily and mental health of people), so the activities of social movements are triggered by these continuous sources of unrest. However, although Athens is a city that has faced the harshest austerity policies in the past decade, is not an isolated phenomenon and remains among a network of territories where conditions of contingency have accelerated urban transformations.

social movements, in my project are tied to the “solidarity movement”, which developed in Greece during the years of crisis to provide coping mechanisms for survival and solidarity, and has been framed by diverse solidarity initiatives whose activities and claims have been coordinated by specific social movements, these being the social movement for food provision, the social movement for healthcare, the social movement for housing for all and the social movement for citizen-managed public goods. However, projects that share the same or similar values and protocols (with the solidarity movement) are capable of consisting a social movement, and are demonstrated as such, and this fact allows the project to create links between different social movements on a local and transnational level.

protocol, is a form/diagram that captures the way of doing something and the activities of different forms of life. Protocol is perceived as requiring common adoption in the systems

and networks it operates. In my work, protocols define the common codes and values of a social movement, which lead to its operation as a system. This need for universal adoption of protocol for it to endure in different networks is precisely what creates the tensions between social movements and the state apparatus. The ambivalence that defines institutionalisation as a process to standardise protocol, lies precisely in the fact that in order to advance openness and decentralisation, protocol needs to be partly (at least) standardised, and here is that the interplay between institutional bodies and solidarity bodies is identified and interrogated.

prototypical design, refers to the process of describing and formalising (capturing) for the first time the transformation of a space-subject relation that a social movement has agency over, with spatial terms by writing, documenting, designing and even code, so that it can be replicated/transferred (to maintain the conditions of openness and decentralisation). However, prototypes “designed” by social movements reveal best the troubling tension between how the state might rely on them for care and adopt a strategy of recognition, but also is not equipped or motivated to sustain them and as such is advancing their debilitation by using various strategies (such as cooptation, demobilisation, criminalisation, nonviolence and so forth). What is implicit in a process of prototypical design is the involvement of architectural (practice or research) tools when a strategy of replication and expansion is desired —by the social movement— to take place, so institutionalisation of some sort comes into the picture. Hence prototypical design is also explored in tandem with the reconfiguration of the architectural profession.

infrastructures of solidarity and care, demonstrate an infrastructural system created by social movements (one or more) where the spatial/political/institutional ecology of infrastructures for welfare provision has been redrawn and repopulated with novel urban artefacts, collective bodies and socio-technical relations between social movements with different subjects and space. This intervention takes the form of a material contestation, which spans beyond actions of protest, occupation and reclaim by social movements to speak about a form of belonging to the city/land that enables solidarity across social movements and has the capacity to transform, redistribute, reconfigure and/or redesign infrastructural arrangements by constituting a practice for decolonised care. Hence, projects centred around care and solidarity make for a crucial aspect of social movements looking to fight settler colonial practices, but also result in many internal disputes, as these projects run the highest risk of institutionalisation and cooptation by the state.

Essay 1: Institutionalisation and Protocol

‘We define mechanism, not policy’¹

—Tim Berners-Lee, *Weaving the Web*

Didier Fassin in his book *At the Heart of the State: The Moral World of Institutions* stresses the urgency for any analysis of the state to not ignore power relations, ideological evolutions, electoral outcomes, or the singularity of each national context. Far from being a readily essentialised entity that exists in a sort of permanence, the state is at any given moment a product of its time.² To study the state within a specific historical period is therefore to present what the agents do when working for it and to consider the policies which it implements.³ A common representation of the state —particularly in Greece or Spain, given the role that it has historically played and the centralism which characterises its structure— is that public policies derive from decisions made by the government and laws passed by legislators while civil servants simply implement them. This top-down reading according to Didier Fassin does not allow for a complete understanding of the functioning of the state. But the bottom-up interpretation is no less reductive as he argues that ‘it considers that grassroots organisations or service deliverers are the real producers of policies— the former through their mobilisation,

¹ Excerpt from Chapter IV titled ‘Institutionalization’ of the book by Alexander R. Galloway, *Protocol: How Control Exists after Decentralization* (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2006), p. 118. The author quotes the book by Tim Berners-Lee and Mark Fischetti, *Weaving the Web: the Original Design and Ultimate Destiny of the World Wide Web by Its Inventor* (New York, NY: Harper Business, 2011).

² Fassin, Didier et al., *At the Heart of the State: The Moral World of Institutions*, ed. by Vered Amit and Christina Garsten (London: Pluto Press, 2015), p. 4.

³ *Ibid.*, 4. For Didier Fassin, the state reveals itself through the activities of the professionals (police, psychiatrists, magistrates etc.) as they simultaneously implement and introduce public action.

the latter through their discretion'.⁴ He continues by stating that 'the approach that we develop could instead be regarded as a dialectical one, which is all the more justified considering that the state governs precarious populations'.⁵

Fred Moten and Stefano Harney argue against the concept of policy, which they identify as synonymous with instructing participation in change from above. Instead of policy, in their book *The Undercommons: Fugitive Planning and Black Study* they stress that grassroots initiatives should embrace planning and self-sufficiency, but not policy.⁶ However, they are not against state per se and interestingly, they question why 'nobody writes about the state any more, because governance is too clever for that, governance invites us to laugh at the state, to look back at it, its political immaturity in the face of governmentality by all, its dangerous behaviour, its laziness, its blackness'.⁷

Therefore, one broader approach to institutionalisation regarding grassroots initiatives and social movements is to investigate interactions between social movements and institutions like regulatory bodies, regional authorities, municipal councils, governmental bodies and, in some cases, international organisations.⁸ During institutionalisation processes, social movements have to deal with state intervention and respond to that intervention.⁹ In essence, state interventions may include the passing of laws that address social movements, or compel them to cooperate on institutional reforms, for example, that make social movements reconfigure the space they occupy as well as their protocols of organisation.¹⁰

In line with this, Tiqqun argues that 'the logic of the modern State is a logic of the Law and the Institution'.¹¹ In fact Tiqqun, claims that institutions and the law are deterritorialised and, in principle, abstract, and say an official history of the state in which the state seems to be the one and only actor. However, Tiqqun argues that this leads to the organisation of a counter-history and continues that 'this counter-history reveals a political monopoly that is constantly threatened by the recomposition of autonomous worlds, of non-state collectivities'.¹² As such the political appears to be in dispute. However, this dispute comes to be administered by a reticular proliferation of norms and apparatuses. Tiqqun describes that every time the state intervenes, it leaves behind norms and apparatuses that allow the crisis site to be managed as a transparent space of circulation.¹³

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ Ibid., p. 5.

⁶ Fred Moten and Stefano Harney, *The Undercommons: Fugitive Planning and Black Study* (New York, NY: Minor Compositions, 2013), p. 53.

⁷ Ibid., p. 77.

⁸ Boaventura de Sousa Santos, *Toward a New Common Sense: Law, Science and Politics in the Paradigmatic Transition* (London: Routledge, 1995), p. 400.

⁹ Francesco Salvini, 'Instituting on the Threshold'.

¹⁰ Dimitris Papadopoulos and Niamh Stephenson, 'Outside Politics / Continuous Experience', *Ephemera Theory and Politics in Organization*, 6 (2006), 433–53.

¹¹ Tiqqun, *Introduction to Civil War*, p. 49

¹² Ibid., p. 33.

Like apparatuses, norms are local, they function, empirically and this is precisely what makes possible for each node of a network to be a center, and in this way making possible to draw away from the practice of totalisation that takes place through the articulation of apparatuses, through the continuity of the circulation between them. Thus, under the regime of the norm, law becomes but one instrument among many for retroactively acting on society, an instrument that can be as easily customised.¹⁴ This act of movement and circulation that is attributed to law becomes specific in local contexts where tensions and disputes have to be negotiated. Referring to it as a verb and not as a noun, law has been used as an apparatus to indicate the act of distribution-sharing of resources among participants in antiquity, ‘a particular “movement” in doing things’.¹⁵ Describing law in the form of “nomos” that preceded the Law or State of the modern state, there were norms and protocols that were negotiated to reach an agreement about ‘a way of doing something, a living-rule, a certain ordering’, which manifested in the act of distributing, sharing, allotting or arranging.¹⁶

A combination of law and norms can speak for practices of institutionalisation of social movements that can mean that they gain a formal structure, i.e. obtain a legal status and become civic entities such as associations or cooperatives.¹⁷ When this is not possible other means of institutionalisation frameworks make their appearance. For Giorgio Agamben, amid this proliferation of legislative tools, there is also the ‘state of exception’ that appears as the legal form of what cannot have legal form.¹⁸ In the context of this thesis this also corresponds to the idea that through the invention of specific instruments of the state apparatus the organisational protocols of social movements are captured and find wide application in institutional frameworks.¹⁹

Even though most of social movements do not obtain a legal form, their protocols can be consequently standardised in the sense that they operate within administrative frameworks of state institutions and organisations.

In *Protocol, How Control Exists after Decentralization*, in chapter IV titled ‘Institutionalization: The Failure of Protocol’, Alexander Galloway argues for the institutionalisation of protocol procedures. His finding believes that only through the standardisation –or common adaption – of certain protocols can openness and independence be achieved.²⁰ He states that protocol requires common adoption.²¹

¹³ Ibid., p. 49.

¹⁴ Ibid.

¹⁵ Thanos Zartaloudis, *The Birth of Nomos* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2018), p. xl.

¹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁷ Within the institutionalisation process lies what de Sousa Santos describes as the tension between the regulation and ‘emancipation’. He particularly argues for devices within the law through which emancipation gets absorbed into regulation. In Boaventura de Sousa Santos, *Toward a New Common Sense*, pp. 400-1.

¹⁸ Agamben, Giorgio, *State of Exception* (University of Chicago Press, 2008), p. 2.

¹⁹ Cornelius Castoriadis, *Political and Social Writings*, trans. by David Ames Curtis (Minneapolis, MIN: University of Minnesota Press, 1998), p. 57.

²⁰ Alexander R. Galloway, *Protocol: How Control Exists after Decentralization* (Cambridge, MA: MIT, 2006), pp. 119-120.

²¹ Ibid.

One of the most significant aims of this thesis is to understand the spatially and organisationally distributed apparatus of protocol. The argument by Galloway is that bureaucratic and institutional forces (as well as proprietary interests) are together the inverse of protocol's control logic.²² This is why he avoids defining protocol's power in terms of either commercial control, organisational control, juridical control, state control or anything of the like. In his theory, protocol gains its authority from another place – from technology itself and how people organise it in the networks they establish.²³ Galloway's argument has been explored by many scholars although in different contexts (Guattari, 2016; Tiqqun, 2011; Lazzarato, 2014; Moten, Harney, 2013; Kampouri, Hatzopoulos, 2014; Larkin, 2008; Terranova, 2014; Ranciere, 2006; Bennett, 2010; Edwards, 2003; Graham, 2001; Weizman, 2012; and many others) all of whom argue in their theories that, in short, protocol is a type of controlling logic that seemingly operates outside institutional, governmental and corporate power, although it has important ties to all three.

For Galloway, a protocol product, thus a protocol, is in a way a management diagram. His research covers how protocol has emerged historically within a context of bureaucratic and institutional interests, a reality that would seem to contradict protocol.²⁴ In order to support his argument, he uses a case study of the protocol organisation of the Usenet – an Internet protocol – to show how protocol has succeeded as a dominant principle of organisation for distributed networks.²⁵ To date, most of the literature relating to this topic has looked at protocol in law, governance, corporate control, and so on. Cornelius Castoriadis is an important thinker in this capacity.²⁶

Paul Edwards argues that it is not only computers that experience standardisation and mass adoption of protocols but over the years, many types of protocols relating to infrastructures have followed the same trajectory. For Edwards this standardisation phase happens following 'a diffusion stage, when variations on the original concept emerge'.²⁷ In this phase, 'some particular version of the system acquires a critical mass of users [...] at this point, standards emerge that limit the possible configurations [...] and eventually, networks must convert to these standards, find ad hoc ways to connect nonstandard equipment with them, or else die out'.²⁸ The process of standards creation is, in many ways, simply the recognition of technologies, protocols, elements and components that have experienced success in the network that adopts them and allows for spatial and organisational distribution (i.e. decentralisation) in the same network.

²² Ibid., p. 122.

²³ Ibid.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 121.

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Cornelius Castoriadis, *The Imaginary Institution of Society*, trans. by Kathleen Blamey (Massachusetts: MIT Press, 1998).

²⁷ Paul N. Edwards, 'Infrastructure and Modernity: Force, Time, and Social Organization in the History of Sociotechnical Systems', in *Modernity and Technology*, ed. by Thomas J. Misa and Philip Brey (Cambridge, Massachusetts: MIT Press, 2003), p. 198.

²⁸ Ibid., p. 199.

Although this is not exactly the case with the institutionalisation of the protocols of organisation that social movements have, the analogy is useful, nevertheless.

Similar to the standardisation institutions that Galloway describes in his book, the Registry of Solidarity Initiatives across Athens – a key institutionalisation framework that is studied in Chapter 3 of this thesis – is responsible for aggregating and coordinating the standards creation process regarding the social movements in Athens as it operates at a regional scale. The Registry of Solidarity Initiatives across Athens also articulates a national standards strategy for Athens.

It is precisely this system of identification and articulation of standards that makes many believe that bureaucratic organisations of state authorities, such as the Registry of Solidarity Initiatives across Athens, are synonymous with protocol because they regulate and control the frameworks that replicate such technology and appear to constitute a type of protocol, or a broad technical standard. For instance, in the Single Common National Basis for Applications and Solidarity Support Structures developed by the Committee on Social Protection, Health, Solidarity, Equality and Inclusion of PEDDA (the Regional Association of Municipalities of Attica), technical protocols and standards are established by a patchwork of many professional bodies, working groups, committees and subcommittees, but also protocols can be found in independent networks that are established by autonomous groups, initiatives and social movements – a hypothesis that unfolds in Chapter 3 of this thesis.

There is also the adoption of protocol standards by institutions at a national scale. Active within the former Greek government of SYRIZA was the Committee on Institutions and Solidarity Network, which essentially is a federal agency institution that develops and promotes institutionalisation frameworks in the form of registries, online portals and participation listings. This institution was created precisely to establish certain types of templates and standards to monitor the protocol behaviour of social movements. It is also non-regulatory, meaning that it does not enforce laws or establish mandatory standards that must be adopted by social movements or their participants. This institutionalisation framework is also investigated in detail in Chapter 3 of this thesis.

Moreover, the classification tool, which helps organise the process of standardisation into distinct areas of activity, is relied on heavily by those creating data for the appropriation of buildings and management of built resources and can be seen in, for instance, the administrative protocol by the Ministry of Labour, Social Insurance and Social Solidarity, *Pilot Project for the Retrieval of the Property of the Historic Center of Athens – Development/Appropriation in terms of social reciprocity/ interchange*. Most importantly, the protocol of the pilot project introduces for the first time a prototypical design strategy for the survey, design and delivery of state-owned buildings by a multiplicity of social agencies.

Ironically, then, and as Galloway highlights, ‘the protocols that help engender a distributed system of self-organisation are themselves underpinned by a distributed, bureaucratic institutions’²⁹—be they entities like Committee on Institutions and Solidarity Network or technologies like the Registry of Solidarity Initiatives across Athens. Moreover, in accordance with Tiquun’s argument on the non-hierarchical organisation of social movements, Galloway also argues that protocols exist on the networks that adopt them with no centralised administration or control, ‘But as I have pointed out, it should not be inferred that a lack of centralised control means a lack of control as such.’³⁰

Raunig also proceeds to an analysis of institutionalisation of a machine using the analogy of theater, and terminology that we can find in the works of many scholars studied in this thesis, from Deleuze and Guattari to Tiquun and Lazzarato.³¹ He describes how, from a harshly utilitarian perspective, the theatrical plays were fragmented into small units of time and the audience’s reactions were charted according to twenty standard reactions.³² From silence all the way to throwing things onto the stage, those responsible registered everything, down to the smallest detail. ‘This method of real-time evaluation was intended to supply insights for new productions, but it led instead to more of a state apparatus of the theater.’³³ Through the notation not only of audience reactions, but also of all aspects of production (from the actors and stage personnel to the bookkeeping), ‘it was possible to immediately monitor and chart protocols and standardise those that were more useful in order to apply them again’. The fetish of ‘scientific calculation’, as he calls it, developed into a comprehensive institutionalisation system. In his words, ‘Internal rationality, joining the parts into the whole, panoptic survey: all the components of the ideal of the purely technical machine formed the ideal state apparatus’.³⁴

²⁹ *ibid.*, p. 138.

³⁰ *Ibid.*

³¹ An important study has been the book by Maurizio Lazzarato, *Signs and Machines: Capitalism and the Production of Subjectivity*, trans. by Joshua David Jordan, Semiotext(e) / Intervention Series (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2014).

³² Gerald Raunig, *A Thousand Machines: A Concise Philosophy of the Machine as Social Movement* Semiotext(e) / Intervention Series (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2010), pp. 52-3.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ *Ibid.*

In some of Lazzarato's³⁵ texts, it also appears at first as though the linear progression from the political goal of the activities of social movements to societal effect dominates – to such an extent that one could speak here of an overcoding of the machines by the state apparatus – and the point of this was the experimental build-up of spatial elements, or the organisation of the social arrangement into self-organisation.

Unlike a dismantling of this idea of government and a reconceptualising of self-management and participation, Stephen Collier redirects analysis upstream, away from the social effects of institutionalisation at the scale of the machine toward the scale of infrastructure and toward practices of conceptualisation that come before the construction of the systems themselves and which are engineered into them.³⁶ Brian Larkin³⁷ interprets Collier's interest in infrastructure, i.e. the institutionalisation of protocols into infrastructures in urban space, as a way that, in the end, allows him to track the transfer and operationalisation of economic theories that emerged in American neoliberal thought and which were imported into Russia in the wake of the post-Soviet transition. What Collier suggests is that infrastructures become the material evidence of this transfer.³⁸

Many infrastructural projects are copies with standardised materials and protocol systems so that they can be transferred. Following Collier's study of modernity and Biopolitics, Dimitris Dalakoglou also studied nation states that funded and constructed infrastructures so that cities or nations can take part in a contemporary modernity by repeating infrastructural projects from elsewhere and thus participate in a common visual and conceptual paradigm of what it means to be modern.³⁹ Dalakoglou refers to this process as infrastructural fetishism, writing of Albania, where miles of empty roads were built even though the socialist state largely prevented ownership of cars. Nelli Kampouri and Pavlos Hatzopoulos make a similar argument about replicated logistical infrastructures of Chinese investment in three different territorial domains: the Ports of Piraeus in Greece, in Kolkata in India and Sydney.⁴⁰ However, their argument is that although all three ports use variations of the same protocols, technology and systems of logistical operations that form the e-waste industries and the political economy

³⁵ Maurizio Lazzarato, *Signs and Machines: Capitalism and the Production of Subjectivity*, trans. by Joshua David Jordan, Semiotext(e) / Intervention Series (Cambridge, Massachusetts: The MIT Press, 2014).

³⁶ Stephen J. Collier, *Post-Soviet Social: Neoliberalism, Social Modernity, Biopolitics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011), p. 40.

³⁷ Larkin, 'The Politics and Poetics of Infrastructure', pp. 327-43.

³⁸ Collier, *Post-Soviet Social*, p. 65.

³⁹ Dalakoglou, Dimitris, "'The Road from Capitalism to Capitalism': Infrastructures of (Post)Socialism in Albania', *Mobilities*, 7 (2012), pp. 571-86.

⁴⁰ Pavlos Hatzopoulos and Nelli Kampouri, 'The Logistical City from Above', *Logistical Worlds: Infrastructure, Software, Labour*, (2014) < <https://logisticalworlds.org/blog/logistical-city-from-above> > [accessed 10 September 2021].

of standards in printed circuit board manufacturing in China along with variations of the same protocol of rental ownership system of port territories granted by the state, what essentially differentiates such infrastructure projects today is the scale of distribution of networks, spatial standards requirements and informal circuits of labour that encourage heterogeneity and non-predictability of protocol systems and make for distributed spatial infrastructures contrary to the replicated, compact and centralised ones that emerged based on protocols of modernity.

Thus, contrary to this concept of institutionalisation during modernity studied by scholars relying on the theoretical work on institutions by Foucault, Galloway and his contemporaries argue that the design philosophies driving protocols of all types promote a distributed (their word is “decentralised”) architecture, they promote interoperability in and among different protocols and different systems, and so on.

As this survey of protocol institutionalisation shows, the primary source materials for any protocol analysis of any organisation or initiative are the networks it creates, the spaces in which they exist and the documents (physical or digital) that show their development and transformation in space and time. Some of these networks of organisation manifest distributed architectures, while others are more concentrated. Nevertheless, they all create the conditions for protocol appropriation and replication based on techniques of standardisation and self-organisation. Galloway describes this as follows: ‘It is a peculiar type of anti-federalism through universalism – strange as it sounds – whereby common techniques are levied in such a way as ultimately to revert much decision making back to the local level’.⁴¹

⁴¹ Galloway, *Protocol*, pp. 140-141.

⁴² *Ibid.*

But during this process (of institutionalisation), many local differences are elided in favour of common consistencies.⁴² This thesis claims that this is how the system-building of the infrastructures created by social movements manifests when they attempt to scale up the spatial and organisational systems that originated in one place, response to particular needs and are based on specific ecological, legal, political and institutional contexts. As they grow into a networked infrastructure and must transfer to other places with differing conditions, norms and institutional

regulations. It is precisely through this symptom of system-building that the activities, protocols and spatial configurations of social movements become visible and replicate through protocols, agreement, self-organised transferability, broad (sometimes common) adoption of values and participation. Thus, protocol is based on a contradiction between two opposing machines: one machine radically distributes control into autonomous locales and the other focuses control into rigidly defined hierarchies (of institutions).⁴³

⁴³ Ibid., p.142

The generative contradiction that lies at the very heart of protocol is that in order to be politically progressive, protocol must be partially reactionary.⁴⁴ To put it another way, in order for protocol to enable radically distributed communications between autonomous entities, it must employ a strategy of “commonisation” and of homogeneity. It must promote standardisation in order to enable openness. As autonomy pioneer Cornelius Castoriadis puts it, ‘There are several vital kinds of heterogeneity. That is to say, one sector can be standardised while another is heterogeneous’.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ Moten & Harney, *The Undercommons*, p. 100.

⁴⁵ Castoriadis, *The Imaginary Institution of Society*, pp. 100-102. Conversely to heterogeneity that entails a notion of autonomy, Castoriadis also refers to heteronomy that is legislation and regulation by ‘another’ (i.e. the institution, state), in order to define the opposite of autonomy, that is self-regulation or self-legislation.

Essay 2:

Mutual Aid, Solidarity and Care in Social Movements

My exploration of the trajectory of mutual aid projects, solidarity-making and care work in social movement theory and action begins with the realisation that the activities of social movements also raise questions about the overlap between invention and imitation, of property and of occupation, of the commons and of appropriation. Gerald Raunig identifies that the forms of action used by social movements are usually situated on the boundary between legality and illegality, between play and militant action, between autonomy and provision, purposely blurring this boundary.¹ Furthermore, for Raunig, several protocols of the state apparatus are often actualised on the margins and within the framework of social movements, not only constituting but sometimes also problematising them and their organisational forms. Eventually this leads to the problematising of their own structuralisation and state-apparatisation.² These realisations raise the question of how then social movements can assess whether a tactic is liberatory? Do the activities of social movements allow people to practice new ways of being, such as practicing solidarity across social movements, collectively meeting their needs rather than relying on (mostly harmful to social movements) institutions? Do the tactics of social movements allow participants to make decisions by consensus rather than by following authority, or sharing things and redistribute material resources, rather than hoard and protect private property?³

¹Gerald Raunig, *A Thousand Machines: A Concise Philosophy of the Machine as Social Movement* Semiotext(e) / Intervention Series (Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2010), p. 72.

² Ibid.

³ Peter Gelderloos, refers to the necessity for a diversity of tactics needed in the struggles of social movements to be effective so as to spread awareness, survive repression, and also allowing a diverse range of protest methods to inhabit the same space in a spirit of solidarity, excepting that method which tries to dictate how everyone else may or may not participate. Building on a theory of nonviolence/ violence as narratives supported by the media and state apparatuses to annihilate social movement action, the author argues about a host of other terms such as 'illegal', "combative", "conflictive", or "forceful" that consist of this "diversity of tactics". Having in mind an array of diverse tactics, makes it easier to ask the right questions about what tactic is liberatory. In Peter Gelderloos, *The Failure of Nonviolence*, (Seattle, Washington: Left Bank Books, 2015), p. 5.

In their book *They Can't Represent Us*, Dario Azzellini and Marina Sitrin claim that a succession of crises has plagued the economies of the West since 2008. By investigating urban uprisings as they developed further to the 2008 financial crisis, the editors ask, 'for whom are these crises?'.⁴ The common realisation for all the authors contributing to this issue was that the crisis simply provided an opportunity to assemble even more wealth in fewer hands, and at the expense of those who are the most vulnerable. The movement of the squares that emerged in 2011 under the thrust of the global financial crisis represented the climax of this contestation; it was a massive cycle of protest sweeping the squares and streets of diverse countries from Tunisia to Iceland, to Spain and Greece, incarnated as the Indignados and Aganaktismenoi movements respectively, then spreading as the Occupy movement from the US to the UK, and continuing in the following years in different countries such as Mexico and Turkey.

What is remarkable is that during and after the square occupations, in Southern European countries especially, the movement of the squares intermeshed with and contaminated social movements with longer historical trajectories, from the squatters and anarchist movements to the alter-globalisation, anti-colonial, neighbourhood and environmental movements.⁵ This broad appeal of the tools and values of the movement of the squares should not be perceived though as a smooth transition and transformation of participants in social movements but as a result of internal assessments, discussions and disputes over the pertinent ideological and political spectrum that social movements operate.

Grassroots conflicts under crisis generate practices of solidarity-making, mutual aid practices and new forms of self-organisation against marginalisation, austerity and crisis.⁶ These collective initiatives have a long history of bottom-up alternative and autonomous community building. In the past decade, works following activism, which offer an alternative participatory economy perspective, have linked values of solidarity, diversity, equity, with self-management ideology as partly an expression of a post-capitalist/post-foundational perspective, and partly a demonstration of the theoretical basis of anarchism.⁷ The emphasis is placed on the everyday practices of autonomous activism, thus problematising political activism beyond the idea of the militant subject towards the establishment of "autonomous geographies".⁸ Interestingly enough, Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, recalls her introduction

⁴ Dario Azzellini and Marina Sitrin, *They Can't Represent Us, Re-inventing Democracy from Greece to Occupy*, (London: Verso, 2014), p. 7.

⁵ Angelos Varvarousis, 'The Rhizomatic Expansion of Commoning through Social Movements', *Ecological Economics*, 171 (2020), 106596.

⁶ Azzellini & Sitrin, *They Can't Represent Us*, p. 74. Refer to Chapter 3 of the book entitled 'Greece', which details an account of the political momentum that led to collective mobilisations in Greece and their links to the left and the anarchist movement.

⁷ George Caffentzis and Silvia Federici, 'Commons against and beyond Capitalism', *Community Development Journal*, 49.S1 (2014), pp. i92 – i105.

⁸ Paul Chatterton and Jenny Pickerill, 'Everyday Activism and Transitions Towards Post-Capitalist Worlds', *Transactions of The Institute of British Geographers*, 35 (2010).

to the book *Shock Doctrine* by Naomi Klein as a defining moment for her to identify the indigenous resurgence and uprisings as projects that are inherently against capitalism.⁹

Alternative agro-food networks are also inspired by critical, anarchist, and ecological thinking.¹⁰ Similarly, activists inspired by the same thinking are involved in popular social movements, neighbourhood committees, or rank-and-file union organising.¹¹ Moreover, anarchist thought has also influenced the squatting phenomenon as a practice of alternative economic and socio-spatial relations.¹² Finally, the tactic of collective expropriation as an action of resistance towards crisis policies is an anarchist expression with connotations of redistribution and state power derogation.¹³ Work to create an alternative infrastructure based in values of democracy, participation, care, and solidarity includes many of the prior activities, which establish community connections and also put in place structures for meeting needs. However, it might also include activities like creating food, energy, and waste systems that are sustainable and locally controlled, building methods of dealing with conflict and harm that do not involve the police or prisons, and building health, education, and childcare infrastructure controlled by the people who use it.¹⁴

I argue that social movements always include elements of creating projects for mutual aid and care. Although, mutual aid is an often-devalued iteration of radical collective care due to its links with welfare provision and the welfare state, it provides a transformative alternative to the demobilising frameworks of reforms and policymaking for understanding social change, and it makes for the self-sufficiency and self-management of social movements in history. Yet care work has been until recently mostly invisible and undervalued in mainstream and left narratives about social movement resistance, despite its significance as a tool for opposing systems of domination.¹⁵

Despite this marginalisation of care as a radical practice of resistance and struggle, the framework of solidarity by creating projects of care provision has been prominent in the context of social movements resisting capitalist and settler colonial domination, in which wealth and resources are extracted and concentrated and most people can survive only by participating in various extractive relationships that state reforms, policy, and governance advance.

⁹ Leanne Betasamosake Simpson, *As We Have Always Done: Indigenous Freedom through Radical Resistance* (Minneapolis, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2017), p. 71. Also, Naomi Klein, *The Shock Doctrine: The Rise of Disaster Capitalism* (London: Penguin, 2014).

¹⁰ These practices have evolved in the spectrum of Degrowth (*decroissance*), which has been mainly a 21st century initiative towards a more radical economy that confronts dominant economic paradigms with grassroots strategies centering on building autonomous collective alternatives outside of mainstream economic institutions, especially at the local level. The Post-growth approach is also similar to Degrowth and prioritises people and the planet over capitalism with a focus on emerging forms of collective ownership by ecological and social. For more information on Degrowth/Post-growth theory refer to the work by Serge Latouche: Serge Latouche, 'Degrowth: A Slogan for a New Ecological Democracy', Interview by Federico Paolini, *Global Environment 2* (2008), pp. 222–227.

¹¹ Maria Kousis, 'Alternative Forms of Resilience Confronting Hard Economic Times. A South European Perspective', *Partecipazione e Conflitto*, 10.1 (2017), pp. 119-135.

¹² Claudio Cattaneo and Marc Gavalda, 'The Experience of Rurban Squats in Collserola, Barcelona: What Kind of Degrowth?' *Journal of Cleaner Production*, 18 (2010), p. 582

¹³ Hartwig Pautz and Margarita Komninou, 'Reacting to "Austerity Politics": The Tactic of Collective Expropriation in Greece', *Social Movement Studies*, 12.1 (2013), pp. 103-110.

¹⁴ Dean Spade, 'Solidarity Not Charity: Mutual Aid for Mobilization and Survival', *Social Text*, *Duke University Press*, 142.38.1 (2020), p. 135.

A famous example that bridges militancy with autonomy and mutual aid was the Black Panther Party's survival programmes in the United States, including the free breakfast programme, the free ambulance programme, free medical clinics, a program offering rides to elderly people doing errands, and a school aimed at providing a liberating and rigorous curriculum to children. The Black Panthers' programmes mobilised people by creating spaces where they could access basic needs and build shared analysis about the conditions they were facing. In this case precisely the co-optation of the programme, with the US Department of Agriculture (USDA) starting a federal free breakfast program that still feeds millions of children today, is evidence of the significance of this radical care practice.¹⁶

Cooptation and demobilisation are two major threats emerging from the interplay between the state apparatus and social movements. It is precisely due to the risk of social movement dissolution that mutual aid projects have been critiqued as advancing state cooptation and leading to the demobilisation of participants, a result that favours the implementation of state reforms instead of motivating people to direct action. The provisional/mutual aid aspect of the activities by social movements is precisely where this argument is based on, as de facto a mutual aid project emerges because public services are exclusive, insufficient, or exacerbate state violence. In this perspective, indeed there is an ambivalence that lays behind the emergence of mutual aid projects as responses to the failure of public services. By directly linking them to the infrastructural gaps of the state, mutual aid projects may appear to fill in the gaps of the state and even worse to overlap with neoliberalism in that their participants critique certain social service models and believe in voluntary participation in care and crisis work.¹⁷ However, the critiques of public safety nets made by participants in social movements are not the same as those of neoliberals. In fact neoliberals take aim at public services in order to further concentrate wealth and in doing so exacerbate material inequality and violence. The difference is visible comparing the increased tendency of privatisation of welfare services.

Boaventura de Sousa Santos argues that social movements have developed criteria for evaluating state policy and reforms because of awareness of how they can be inadequate, harmful, and demobilising.¹⁸ Feminist, abolitionist and antiracist movements building solidarity projects that have a provisional welfare aspect

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 131.

¹⁶ Shani Ealey, 'Black Panthers' Oakland Community School: A Model for Liberation', Black Organizing Project <<https://blackorganizingproject.org/black-panthers-oakland-community-school-a-model-for-liberation/>> [accessed 10 September 2021].

¹⁷ For Athina Arampatzi contesting neoliberal crises (i.e. crises that are the result of neoliberal policies) 'from below' has been the result 'of enhanced solidarity-making and practices of contestation on the ground, enacted in multiple material embodied ways'. Athina Arampatzi, 'The Spatiality of Counter-austerity Politics in Athens, Greece: Emergent "Urban Solidarity Spaces"', *Urban Studies*, 54.9 (2017), p. 2157.

¹⁸ Boaventura de Sousa Santos, *Democratizing Democracy: Beyond the Liberal Democratic Canon* (London: Verso, 2005), p. x.

¹⁹ Angela Y. Davis, *Are Prisons Obsolete?*, (New York, New York: Seven Stories, 2003).

have disseminated insights gleaned from this work about how co-optation of mutual aid projects, solidarity support structures and care work happens and what practices might help resist it.¹⁹ In the written resources produced by participants in solidarity projects by social movements, as well as at assemblies where they share their work and make decisions, there is always the discussion of the necessity of maintaining the self-management of such projects and the dangers of accepting funding that limits activities or eligibility.

Projects that encompass solidarity, mutual aid and care practices are central to social movements, and as living conditions worsen, these practices are becoming an even more essential strategy for supporting survival, building new infrastructure and solidarity across social movements, providing new ways of accessing infrastructure and mobilising large numbers of people to work and fight through infrastructure for a new world by creating the materialities that comprise it. Hence to protect projects of care that stem from social movements becomes even more crucial as conditions of institutionalisation point at another direction, that of proliferation of reforms and policies about welfare services, a fact that demonstrates that the state institutions are not equipped or motivated to sustain the self-managed projects social movements. Politicisation rather than marginalisation of care as a radical practice of social movements makes for effective social-movement building and fights against demobilisation tactics.

Essay 3: The Tools of Counter-architecture

Although the formal and substantive qualities of the ‘right to the city’¹ remain contested,² I explore a specific manifestation of collective action wherein such rights take expression and ground themselves in concrete infrastructural conditions. Lefebvre’s original inspiration was to think of inhabiting the city not as the reclaiming of a right to a political voice within the liberal juridical framework of a state-sanctioned or market-shaped urban geometry, but as an exploration of the very conditions holding it together and yet, more often, receding into the distance, the shifting horizon of ‘our project for democratic-becoming’.³ Democracy, in other words, manifested as a real (infra)structure: an ongoing and deepening search, a project of self-management, reinvention and reappropriation – ‘autogestion’,⁴ in Lefebvre’s term, and adopting Mark Purcell’s analysis of autogestion – of the radical and receding sources of political conviviality. There is, therefore, an infrastructural expression implicit to the right to the city.

Mark Purcell’s essay unravels the work by Henri Lefebvre on the right to the city by situating the idea in Lefebvre’s wider political vision. Purcell argues precisely that Lefebvre enumerates a suite of new rights that consist of the core of his political vision for the future, ‘such as the right to difference, the right to information, the right to autogestion, and the right to the city’.⁵ And Purcell continues, ‘autogestion and democracy are always constituted by a movement toward a horizon, an ongoing project for people to increasingly manage their affairs for

¹ Henri Lefebvre, ‘The Right to the City’, in *Writings on Cities*, ed. by Eleonore Kofman and Elizabeth Lebas (New Jersey, New Jersey: Wiley-Blackwell, 1996), pp. 147-159.

² For Mark Purcell the right to the city can take many connotations, as he finds that Lefebvre himself enumerates a suite of new rights that consist of the core of his political vision for the future. Mark Purcell, ‘The Right to the City: The Struggle for Democracy in the Urban Public Realm’, *Policy & Politics*, 43.3 (2013), pp. 316-317. Also David Harvey, importantly, raised concerns about the fact that markets should claim their right to the city. In David Harvey, *Rebel cities: From the Right to the City to the Urban Revolution* (London: Verso, 2013).

³ Lefebvre, ‘The Right to the City’, p. 147.

⁴ This account echoes Mark Purcell’s recent call to recuperate the Lefebvrian strand in the right to the city as a constant struggle, in particular as an ‘autogestion that must constantly be enacted’. Purcell, ‘The Right to the City’, p. 317.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 316.

themselves'.⁶ Precisely, Lefebvre does not see this project of widespread collective self-management as an end goal but rather as a perpetual struggle.⁷ In addition, he sees this struggle as largely the same thing as democracy. Notably, Henri Lefebvre in a later piece reiterates that idea:

Democracy is nothing other than the struggle for democracy. The struggle for democracy is the movement itself. Many democrats imagine that democracy is a type of stable condition toward which we can tend, toward which we must tend. No. Democracy is the movement. And the movement is the forces in action. And democracy is the struggle for democracy, which is to say the very movement of social forces; it is a permanent struggle, and it is even a struggle against the State that emerges from democracy. There is no democracy without a struggle against the democratic State itself, which tends to consolidate itself as a block, to affirm itself as a whole, become monolithic and to smother the society out of which it develops.⁸

Existing social experiments contribute to the endless process of pursuing emancipation, and experimentation with new forms of life leads to what Cornelius Castoriadis (1987) and Serge Latouche (2015) have called the 'decolonisation of the imaginary', an essential act for the opening of a new spectrum of possible alternative futures.⁹ Tiqqun also refers to decolonisation and new 'forms of life' to argue that 'there is always a counter-history that is constantly recomposed by non-state collectives that challenge the political monopoly'.¹⁰ For Tiqqun, whose theory draws primarily on the work of Franz Fanon, 'decolonisation means the elaboration of new forms of life and of horizontal, sub-institutional power that function better than the old ones'.¹¹

For nearly the past decade, there have been social movements pursuing emancipation through battling against the exclusions and practices of colonialism as manifested today: from austerity policies and the dismantling of the welfare state to state violence, systemic racism and structural inequality, undertaking collective interventions that are, in turn, reconfiguring urban space. This is because, according to Boaventura de Sousa Santos, social movements, although they operate on many levels, are composed of networked local initiatives that share a common goal of action, building political and cultural relationships on the basis of participatory democracy, and acquiring and reconfiguring discussion and participation spaces in urban space.¹² Precisely, although this struggle for autonomy, democracy

⁶ Ibid., p. 318.

⁷ Lefebvre, 'The Right to the City', p. 153.

⁸ Henri Lefebvre, *State, Space, World: Selected essays*, trans. by Gerald Moore, Neil Brenner and Stuart Elden (Minneapolis, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 2009), p. 61.

⁹ Cornelius Castoriadis, *The Imaginary Institution of Society* (Cambridge, UK: Polity Press, 1987), p.365. Notably, Serge Latouche, reintroduced the concept of 'decolonisation of the imaginary' as a precondition for alternative economic models and practices to emerge. In Serge Latouche, 'Decolonization of Imaginary', in *Degrowth: A Vocabulary for a New Era*, ed. by Giacomo D'Alisa, Federico Demaria and Giorgos Kallis (Abingdon: Routledge, 2015), pp. 117-120.

¹⁰ Tiqqun, *Introduction to Civil War*, trans. by Alexander R. Galloway and Jason E. Smith, Semiotext(e) / Intervention Series (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2011), p. 16.

¹¹ Tiqqun refer to the scholarship by Franz Fanon to speak about decolonisation in Tiqqun, *Introduction to Civil War*, p. 43. This thesis studies the text alongside the book by Frantz Fanon, *The Wretched of the Earth*, trans. by Richard Philcox (New York, NY: Grove Atlantic, 2007).

¹² Santos, *Democratizing Democracy: Beyond the Liberal Democratic Canon* (London: Verso, 2005), p. x.

and self-management occurs in situations of contingency and precarity, it is a timely struggle happening in urban space, which is made evident in the study of solidarity projects that have emerged during the past ten years in the aftermath of the 2008-financial crisis, where the means and ends of political action have converged in very concrete and material objects of infrastructures for welfare provision in urban space, rendering the infrastructural domain as one of the most important public sites of collective participation and struggle.

The question yet to be answered is if the spatial expression of solidarity projects consists of a counter-architecture that finds its way into urban space through the claims for the right to the city from alternative forms of life, then what are the tools that architecture can use to intervene into such a complex institutional ecology?

Aligning with the realisation of contingency as a fundamental characteristic for the movement of social forces and, thus, of democratic becoming, what current conditions in architecture call attention to is a fundamental shift in the production of space as Lefebvre has identified it, drawing away from practices primarily concerned with the production of buildings. Implicit within this alterity has been the notion of autonomy, of which architect and educator Pier Vittorio Aureli provides a historical account in his book *The Project of Autonomy*. Aureli surveys the ‘contingencies, actions, and expectations’ in the city as a symptom of what he defines as a project of autonomy, which is also a permanent struggle happening in urban space.¹³ Furthermore, he elaborates on Aldo Rossi’s idea of the ‘city as a place formed by politics’ as opposed to a neutral ground. Suggesting that even though projects of autonomy conform on many levels (to institutions) to survive institutionally, the space of the city and the politics that shape it are always reinvented, as are the tools that shape them.¹⁴

Adrian Lahoud recognises the political function of architecture in these processes of social transformation, socio-political uncertainty and economic precarity by examining the collective sentiments that have shaped Arab identity. What, crucially, Lahoud identifies is the space that architecture can operate in amidst this complex, paralysing and powerful system of apparent impossibilities, and it is precisely in there that he argues that architecture’s role becomes fundamental as ‘it is able to contribute something essential to the durability of new social diagrams —an impersonal form’.¹⁵ By referencing the work of the

¹³ Pier Vittorio Aureli, *The Project of Autonomy: Politics and Architecture Within and Against Capitalism*, (New York: The Temple Hoyne Buell Center for the Study of American Architecture at Columbia University and Princeton Architectural Press, 2008).

¹⁴ P. V. Aureli draws an analogy between the project of autonomy and the project of the Left where similarly in order to survive the geopolitics of the Cold War activists and intellectuals had to reinvent the politics of the workers’ movement. In Aureli, *The Project of Autonomy*, p. 15.

¹⁵ Adrian Lahoud, ‘Fallen Cities’, in *The Arab City: Architecture and Representation*, ed. by Nora Akawi and Amale Andraos (New York: Columbia Books on Architecture and the City, 2016), p. 104.

Invisible Committee, he draws on the book *To Our Friends* and highlights that ‘the nature of contemporary power is architectural and impersonal, not personal and representative’, to point out to the realisation that what ‘is growing clearer in leftist thought —is the need for a constructive political architectural project’.¹⁶

Nonetheless, this transposition into a political role that architectural practice should have in no way diminishes the knowledge and experience required to design and deliver a new building, for example. Eyal Weizman makes that explicit by reflecting on the book *Learning From Las Vegas* that ‘the ‘learning’ (in *Learning From Las Vegas*), as much as in the learning from all other contemporary cities, phenomena and places, implies that the prime motivation for architectural research is still in its application in a design scheme’, stressing, in this way, that architectural research is at its core projective applied research.¹⁷ However, he concludes that in this process of learning, research eventually becomes architecture in its most material sense.¹⁸ Bringing this discussion into the local context of Athens and with a focus on the urban scale, Aristide Antonas explains that ‘today, at its current state, Athens cannot be seen as a typical city but as an exemplary urban case. In that sense, Greek architects are not so much concerned with what is being built but with the complex transformations that the city is experiencing’.¹⁹ Thus, it seems more urgent in this case to suggest a way that will enable the architectural discipline to remain relevant by employing methods for addressing the current urban complexity rather than propose solutions using traditional architectural drawing methods.

In this case, what could architecture, (architectural) research and the work of the architect contribute to a context of struggle, contingency and unpredictability that define contemporary spatial settings? And what implications does the political role of the architectural practice has for the architectural discourse? Peggy Deamer has done significant work to make explicit the political and economic implications of the alternative practices that are coming to be accepted in architectural discourse.²⁰ Deamer locates the focus of architecture to be on the labour that is expressed in the *process* of design and research.²¹ Drawing attention to the change in dominance from productive capital to financial capital, and its negation of social concerns related not least to the builder/worker, she additionally recognises the impact of immaterial forms of labour in the growing ‘knowledge economy’. This is important to the field because it acknowledges how the labour of architecture’s production might be juxtaposed with theories that call

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 105. Adrian Lahoud refers on the book by The Invisible Committee, *To Our Friends*, Semiotext(e) / Intervention Series (Cambridge, MA: The MIT Press, 2015), p. 83.

¹⁷ Eyal Weizman, *Hollow Land: Israel’s Architecture of Occupation* (London: Verso Books, 2012), p. 259. In his book Eyal Weizman offers a view on the method of architecture as research to be used in situations of conflict to provide agency to non-state collectives.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 261.

¹⁹ Aristide Antonas, ‘Athens and Some Thoughts on Urban Mechanisms’, blog entry on the Antonas Office website (September 2010) <<http://antonas.blogspot.com/search?updated-max=2010-12-24T09:49:00-08:00&max-results=15&reverse-paginate=true>> [accessed 10 September 2021].

²⁰ Peggy Deamer, ‘Deprofessionalisation’, in *Architects After Architecture: Alternative Pathways for Practice*, ed. by Harriet Harriss et al. (London: Routledge, 2020), pp. 184-194.

²¹ Peggy Deamer, *The Architect as Worker: Immaterial Labour, the Creative Class, and the Politics of Design* (London: Bloomsbury, 2015), p. 36.

²² Jane Rendell, *Art and Architecture: A Place Between* (London: IB Tauris, 2006), p. 34.

attention to a fundamental shift in the production of space, such as the ones of Lefebvre and Purcell. Examining such theories, Jane Rendell reflects on the interconnectedness of knowledge economy, social frameworks and architecture, arguing that social relations are spatially produced' and suggests the term 'critical spatial practice' to 'describe work that transgresses the limits of architecture'.²² Pointing to the dual meaning of this term, she draws attention not only to the importance of the critical but also to the spatial, indicating the interest in exploring the specifically spatial aspects of interdisciplinary processes or practices that operate within and through architecture. In a similar manner, Jilly Traganou also argues for a broader definition of architectural practice that goes beyond the relation of architecture with studies of buildings.²³ Traganou argues that the reorganisation of the field of spatio-architectural studies should be expanded so that the realm of spatial examination is able to include various scales, and more specifically 'from the scale of the interior space to that of a geographical region as well as spatial practices beyond the design of buildings, such as spatial representation, spatial narratives, spatial policies and users' practices within and through space'.²⁴ Moreover, this practice of reorganisation of the architectural field can also apply in the scholarly public realm as a means of bringing together different approaches and disciplines, such as those deriving from anthropological and ethnographic approaches, political science or media studies. Precisely this practice of de-centring tools and methods can be used for addressing architecture's relations with systems of power and coercion, as well as with the constantly in-flux realms of interpretation, appropriation and use of spatial artefacts.²⁵

Therefore, the challenge of this moment, seems to be not so much about finding solutions through design, but more about adapting to the transformations that have emerged on an urban scale. In order to carve out a space of intervention, as an architect and researcher, I am also motivated to situate the ascent of practices of reinvention, reappropriation and democratic becoming by social movements within the larger genealogy of the urban space production, which has also caused transformations to the way architectural practice and research are conducted. My aim has been not so much to produce a deep historical or comparative survey of urban developments to date, as to interrogate and create links with some of the key debates surrounding the political and technical implications that working with and thinking through the activities and initiatives by social movements have for architecture for some of these questions affect profoundly how urban, architectural and institutional ecologies are modulated by certain infrastructural developments within a context of dispute and contingency.

²³ Jilly Traganou, 'Architectural and Spatial Design Studies: Inscribing Architecture in Design Studies', *Journal of Design History*, 22.2 (2009), p. 173.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Ibid.

LEXICON

A.

Access
Activism
Adaptability of space
Ad hoc (infrastructures)
Administrative protocols
Administrative scales
Anti-austerity movement/ struggle/ protest
Anti-middlemen initiatives
Appropriation
Archive of resistance

B.

C.

Camp of water protectors
Can Batlló
Care
Care prototypes
Certificates of solidarity medical care
Charter of Constitution
Citizen-managed public goods
Classification of infrastructural disputes
Clinic
Clinic of the Camps
Code of Conduct
Collective Care
Conversion (of buildings and interiors)
Contingency
Coòpolis cooperative
Counter-architecture
Creating infrastructure
Criminalisation (of solidarity)
Crisis

D.

Decentralised
Decolonised healthcare
Design documentation
Diagramming
Direct social action
Donation (of medicine etc.)
Debilitation (of bodies, infrastructures)

E.

El Campo de Cebada
Empirical knowledge
Encampment

Evacuation
Eviction of (solidarity initiatives)
Exclusion
Expansion (spatial)
Extension (of space)

F.

Food redistribution network
Form (of application, of diagnosis, of receipt/ delivery of medication)
Form of life
Framework (of institutionalisation)
Food provision social movement

G.

Governmentality of SYRIZA (Coalition of Radical Left)
Grounded normativity

H.

Hacking tools

I.

Indigenous methodology
Indigenous protocols of care
Infrastructural crisis/gap
Infrastructural dispute/conflict/contestation (types of)
Infrastructural diversity
Infrastructural movement
Infrastructure of solidarity and care
Institutionalisation (mechanisms/protocols/frameworks)
Interiority
Interplay
Inventory (of equipment, practices, protocols)

K.

L.

Labour (affective, architectural)
Law/ Legislation
Legislative protocols

M.

Maintenance
Map / Mapping
Marginalised (groups, people, forms of life)
Mechanisms of exclusion and separation
Metropolitan Community Clinic of Hellinikon

Microstructure
Movement cycles
Movement of the squares
Municipal Agreement

N.

Neighbourhood vernacular
Network
Nomos
Normative experience
Norms

O.

Occupation (of space)
Open-source architecture
Ownership models

P.

Pilot Project of Athens (for urban planning and reappropriation)
Planning VS Policy
Precarious (spaces, bodies)
Protocol
Protocols of (institutionalisation, self-organisation, care)
Prototypical designs

Q.

R.

Reappropriation
Reconfiguration of spaces
Redesign of infrastructural systems
Redistribution systems
Registration mechanisms
Repair
Replicability
Repository (of tools, documents, prototypes)
Reproduction
Reversibility points
Routinisation (of activities of solidarity initiatives)

S.

Scalar (institutionalisation)
Scale (of diffusion of solidarity initiatives)
Self-organisation
Shelter
Social movement(s)
Social Solidarity Economy
Solidarity (in healthcare / housing/ education/ food)
Solidarity clinic

Solidarity clinic and pharmacy
Solidarity for All
Solidarity initiatives
Solidarity movement
Solidarity network
Solidarity pharmacy
Solidarity project
Squat
Standards (legislative, spatial)
State/ structural violence
State Apparatus
Survey of buildings
Sustainability
System
System-building

T.

Taxonomy of social movements
Technical documentation
Testimonial practices
Topography
Transmission system (of medicine, medical equipment)
Types of (interiors, rooms, infrastructures)
Typology

U.

Urban prototype
Urban uprising

V.

Violence (infrastructural, state, police, personal)
Volunteers (in solidarity initiatives)

W.

Welfare infrastructure
Welfare provision
Welfare state
Witnessing

X.

Y.

Z.

Zone / Zoning (of spaces)

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