



Haris Malamidis

Social Movements and Solidarity Structures in Crisis-Ridden Greece

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Introduction

Abstract

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

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

Aim and Contribution

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Research Design

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

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



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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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



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

Structure of the Book

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

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

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



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

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

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

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



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

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

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

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

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