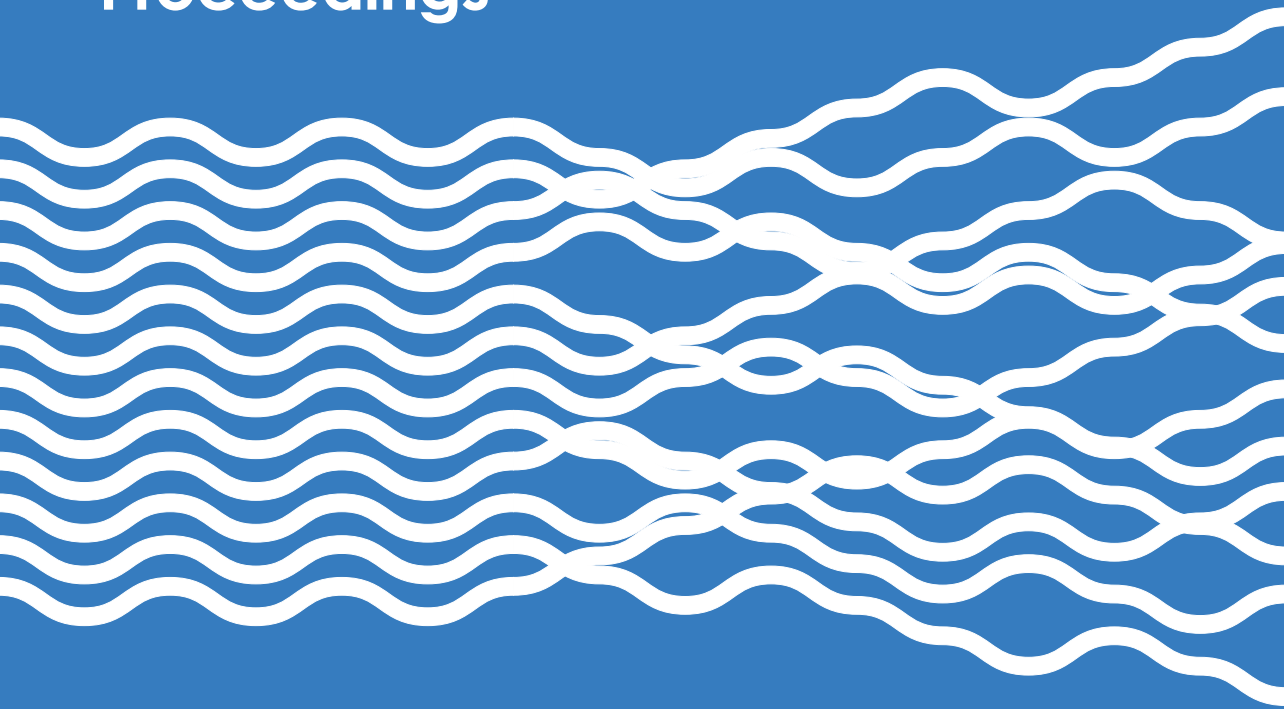# Conference Proceedings

![Sharing Society logo] **Sharing Society**

International Conference

Sharing Society

The Impact of Collaborative Collective Actions in the Transformation of Contemporary Societies

May 23-24, 2019 • Universidad del País Vasco/Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea • Bilbao, Spain

Benjamín Tejerina, Cristina Miranda de Almeida and Ignacia Perugorría
Editors

Sharing Society

The Impact of Collaborative Collective Actions
in the Transformation of Contemporary Societies

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Sharing Society
The Impact of Collaborative Collective Actions
in the Transformation of Contemporary Societies

Foreword

For decades, the concept of *collective action* has been widely used in the social sciences, giving birth to the prolific areas of protest, contentious politics and social movements studies. A myriad of theoretical approaches and empirical studies have subsequently sprung up within these confines, reaching almost every single corner of our academic world, and intertwining with the practice of movements themselves. But however fertile this area has been, little research has so far delved into a crucial aspect of collective action: its collaborative dimension.

In recent years, an emerging field of study focusing on the *sharing or collaborative economy* has begun to shed some long-overdue light on this aspect. Colleagues from various disciplines such as economics, anthropology, and philosophy, among others, have started to point to a blooming economic model often defined as the peer-to-peer (P2P)-based activity of acquiring, providing or sharing access to goods and services, mostly through online platforms. Under this term, case studies have analized experiences as diverse as ride or car sharing (e.g. Uber and Car2Go), apartment or house renting and couchsurfing (e.g. AirBnB), crowdfunding (e.g. Kickstarter and Indiegogo), reselling and trading (e.g. Ebay or Craigslist), and knowledge and talent-sharing (e.g. TaskRabbit and LivePerson). We would nonetheless argue that some of these cases lack key collaborative traits in both their setup and praxis. So much so that some scholars have called for the use of the term *true sharing economy* to distinguish the former from more nuanced and complex experiences.

The concept of *sharing society*, guiding both our research and this international conference, is inspired by the conceptualization of *collaborative collective action*, defined as a "the group of practices and formal and informal interactions that take place among individuals, collectives or associations that share a sense of belonging or common interests, that collaborate and are in conflict with others, and that have the intent of producing or precluding social change through the mobilization of certain social sectors" (Tejerina 2016).

Under the motto "Sharing Society. The Impact of Collaborative Collective Actions in the Transformation of Contemporary Societies," the international conference will take place during the late days of May 2019 in the city of Bilbao. The conference stems from the research project "Sharing Society. The Impact of Collaborative Collective Action. Analysis of the Effects of Practices, Bonds, Structures and Mobilizations in the Transformation of Contemporary Societies," directed by Prof. Benjamín Tejerina, funded by the Spanish Ministry of Economy and Competitiveness (MINECO CSO2016-78107-R), and hosted by the Collective Identity Research Center (CEIC), at the Department of Sociology 2, Universidad del País Vasco/Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea.

Our conference sets out to analyze the characteristics, trajectory and impact of collaborative collective actions in a context of erosion of the welfare state. It also seeks to present and discuss the most recent innovations, trends, and concerns, as well as practical challenges encountered, and solutions adopted in the fields of collaborative collective actions. The conference will address the following questions: How, when and where does collaborative collective action occur? Which are the characteristics of contemporary collaborative collective action? What are the practical, symbolic, and legal effects of collaborative collective actions for the forging and recovery of social bonds? And, finally, what forms of interaction emerge from these types of actions?

This Book of Proceedings, published in the weeks prior to the international conference, compiles all conference papers submitted in due time and format. It features both theoretical and empirical proposals exploring collaborative collective actions in the areas of work, production, consumption, culture, arts, science, housing, care, knowledge and education, solidarity with precarious groups, and politics and civic participation. Authors come from diverse fields of study, such as the social sciences, humanities, architecture, urban planning, and design. A public roundtable organized as a pre-conference event will feature speakers working with citizen participation in the sciences, arts, media and politics (e.g. in cultural institutions, cultural policy, social media platforms, cooperatives, and NGOs). All texts were subjected to a double-blind peer review process and, in a few cases, to a third reviewer. The volume includes 57 conference papers in both English (the conference's official language) and Spanish. Papers are arranged following the simplest of all criteria: by track, first, and then by authors' last names, ordered alphabetically.

The final Conference Program, including track and session titles, and the titles and authors of all papers presented at the conference, can be found on page xxx (for more information, see the accompanying Book of Abstracts). These Proceedings include, as well, abstracts for the presentations that will be given by our keynote speakers: David Bollier, Derrick de Kerckhove, Mayo Fuster Morell, Ezio Manzini, Fermín Serrano, Ling Tan, Stacco Troncoso, and Manuela Zechner. Members of the conference's Scientific Committee, Program Committee, Local Organizing Committee, and our academic network and partners have been detailed on pages xxx. We would like to thank them all, together with our session chairs and organizers, for their hard work and intellectual generosity in preparing what promises to be an exciting conference.

Special thanks and appreciation go to the team of researchers at Universidad del País Vasco/ Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea: Izaskun Artegui Alcaide, Diego Carbajo, Joseba García Martín, José Luis González Rivas, Amaia Izaola, Cristina Miranda de Almeida, Ignacia Perugorría and Benjamín Tejerina. In addition, members of our research team in Spain and fellow conference organizers include Ana Aliende Urtasun (Universidad Pública de Navarra/Nafarroako Unibertsitate Publikoa), Rafael Castelló-Cogollos and Ramón Llopis Goig (Universitat de València), Ferran Giménez (Universitat de Barcelona), Manuel Hidalgo (Universidad Carlos III de Madrid), Carmen Rodríguez-Rodríguez and Elvira Santiago-Gómez (Universidade da Coruña), and Elsa Santamaría (Universitat Oberta de Cataluña). Among the international members of our research team are Mauricio Sergio Chama (Universidad Nacional de La Plata, Argentina), Andrés Gómez Seguel (Universidad de Chile, Chile), Mora González Canosa (Consejo Nacional de Investigaciones Científicas y Técnicas, CONICET and Universidad Nacional de La Plata, Argentina), Pedro Manuel Hespanha (Centro de Estudos Sociais, Universidade de Coimbra, Portugal), Camila Ponce Lara (Universidad Católica Silva Henríquez, Chile), Paola Rebughini (Università degli Studi di Milano, Italy), Camilo Tamayo Gómez (University of Leeds, United Kingdom), Ligia Tavera Fenollosa (Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales, FLACSO-Mexico), and Barış Tuğrul (Hacettepe University, Turkey). We also had the contribution of Evin Deniz (Independent Researcher), and Margarita Rodríguez-Ibáñez (Asociación Demetra).

Bringing these papers together and publishing them has involved a first stage of international collaboration. We expect this will pay off in a most successful endeavor of academic community-building across national borders and disciplinary frontiers. We hope this volume will help foster a world-wide debate among scholars, researchers, activists, policy-makers and citizens as to how we can contribute to address the pressing issues of our vivid times while bolstering our field of study and multiplying its social impact. We trust the conference will be a privileged breeding ground for this crucial dialogue..

Benjamín Tejerina, Cristina Miranda de Almeida and Ignacia Perugorría
Editors

Bilbao, May 2019

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Opening Address
- Benjamín Tejerina, President of the Scientific and Organizing Committee, Universidad del País Vasco/Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea
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Keynote Speakers
- David Bollier, Director of the Reinventing the Commons Program, Schumacher Center for a New Economics
- Derrick de Kerckhove, Politecnico di Milano and Media Duemila
- Mayo Fuster Morell, Faculty affiliated to the Berkman Center for Internet and Society, Harvard University, and Director of Dimmons Research Group, Internet Interdisciplinary Institute IN3, Universitat Oberta de Catalunya
- Ezio Manzini, Escuela Universitaria de Diseño e Ingeniería de Barcelona (ELISAVA), and Design for Social Innovation and Sustainability Network (DESIS), Politecnico di Milano
- Fermín Serrano, Commissioner for Knowledge Economy and Innovation, Gobierno de Aragón
- Ling Tan, Umbrellium
- Stacco Troncoso, P2P Foundation
- Manuela Zechner, Aristotle University Thessaloniki and ERC Heteropolitics

Round Table Speakers
- Maskilu: Conservas por la Soberanía Alimentaria
- Ongi Etorri Errefuxiatuak
- Ametsak Sortzen- Asociación Vasca de Cohousing
- Biook, Ciencia Ciudadana
- WikiToki / ColaBoraBora

Keynote Speaker Abstracts

David Bollier

Director of the Reinventing the Commons Program, Schumacher Center for a New Economics

Free, Fair and Alive. The Commons as a Vibrant Social System

Abstract: The orthodox view of the commons sees it as a drama of "rational actors" managing (or failing to manage) economic resources. But this perspective fails to see the commons as a rich and hardy social system -- a form of stewardship that escapes many of the pathologies of the modern market/state. In this keynote talk, David Bollier, Director of the Reinventing the Commons Program at the Schumacher Center for a New Economics, describes the recurring patterns of social life, peer governance, and provisioning that are present in successful commons. He will draw upon themes developed with his coauthor Silke Helfrich in their forthcoming book, Free, Fair and Alive: The Insurgent Power of the Commons.

Derrick de Kerckhove

Politecnico di Milano and Media Duemila

The Rise of Collaborative Investigative Journalism from Wikileaks, Panama Papers to the "Implants Files"

Abstract: Thanks to the Internet, contrasting the increase of disinformation, a new era of transparency henceforth reveals not only the malice of fake news factories, but the staggering amounts of tax evasion in tax paradises. Now the scandal hits the medical world with the revelation of the "Implants files". Collaborative investigative journalism has begun to play a major role in bringing such matters in the open. Writes Charles Lewis, founder of the International Consortium of Investigative Journalists: "What is remarkable and unprecedented in the epic Panama Papers project, is the one-year, discrete investigative collaboration between 370 journalists and their respective news organizations around the world. "And Lewis adds:" In a world of debilitating political malfunctions with dire consequences, the crucial concept of public accountability cannot and should not be limited by local or national borders, nor by the rigid restrictions, standard orthodoxy, ominous omens and insecurities of traditional journalism ". The developments evolving from the Implants Files indicate the need for a radical renewal of the function of journalism nevermore isolated or coerced by the editorial board of a single company, but supported by the simultaneous and convergent work of hundreds of colleagues across the world. It should become more and more difficult if not impossible for the president of the most powerful country in the world to continue talking about fake news.

Mayo Fuster Morell

Faculty affiliated to the Berkman Center for Internet and Society, Harvard University, and Director of Dimmons Research Group, Internet Interdisciplinary Institute IN3, Universitat Oberta de Catalunya

Collaborative Policies for the Collaborative Economy

Abstract: The Sharing or Collaborative Economy (CE) that is, the collaborative consumption and production of capital and labour among distributed groups supported by a digital platform, is growing rapidly and exponentially, and has become a top priority for governments around the globe. However, it suffers from three main challenges that will be addressed though the presentation: (1) CE occurs in a regulatory vacuum, with unsystematized policy reactions and uncertainty towards which policies may be more beneficial. Furthermore, collaborative practices are opening up a tremendous potential and opportunity for public innovation that is not being exploited. (2) CE is creating high sustainability expectations for its potential to contribute to a sustainable development of society, constituting a paradigmatic change. But it lacks a holistic framework for assessment of its sustainability. (3) The disruptive impact of the best known CE model, that of corporations like Uber and Airbnb, is arousing huge controversy. Successful alternative models exist, such as open commons, platform cooperativism and decentralized organizations based on a social economy and open knowledge, but these have received neither policy nor research attention. In sum, CE constitutes a paradigmatic change, but assuring a positive direction to this change requires that we target these three challenges in order to re-direct CE towards a sustainable future.

Ezio Manzini

Escuela Universitaria de Diseño e Ingeniería de Barcelona (ELISAVA), and Design for Social Innovation and Sustainability Network (DESIS), Politecnico di Milano

The Making of Collaborative Cities. Social Innovation, Design and Politics of the Everyday

Abstract: In the scenario of the collaborative city, what can design do for social cohesion? What for urban commons? What to trigger and support a regenerative circular economy? What to enrich the urban ecosystem with appropriate enabling infrastructure? Finally: how can design leverage social-innovation to orient city-making processes towards resilient, sustainable and collaborative results?
The lecture deals with these questions proposing meaningful examples worldwide. Moving from them, it highlights the politics of the everyday on which they are based, the design culture that oriented them and the specific design tools that have been used.
This lecture contents are based on a book (Ezio Manzini, The Politics of the Everyday, Bloomsbury, 2019) and on the first results of Design for Collaborative Cities (a design research program, self-organized by DESIS Network, which involves several design schools around the world, working at the crossroads of city making, social innovation and design).

Fermín Serrano

Commissioner for Knowledge Economy and Innovation, Gobierno de Aragón

Citizen Science at the Confluence of Research, Society, Technology and the Arts

Abstract: Citizen science refers to the general public engagement in science, including both projects where professional researchers ask people to contribute, and grass-roots projects where communities adopt scientific method for their own purposes. In both cases citizens (amateurs, volunteers) they contribute with their own resources, knowledge and time both individually and collectively in the different steps of the research process. As a result, his generic frame covers a number of transversal methodologies that can be applied to different knowledge areas such as biodiversity monitoring, digital humanities or community-based laboratories. With an action-oriented approach, citizen science is growing in the last ten years at local and global scales in number of projects, coordination efforts and studies. This growth is due to the convergence of a number of factors ranging from the digitally-enabled transformation of society (e.g. ubiquitous web services), to the rapid dissemination of successful stories, to the new relationships between citizens and public entities (e.g. transparency and openness as a global trend). In this presentation, most important aspects of citizen science will be reviewed from a practical point of view using as reference different initiatives where the speaker has participated as well as future strategies.

Ling Tan

Umbrellium

Hyperlocal Cities. Structuring Participation and Collective Actions

Abstract: When it comes to tackling complex issues such as climate change or governance, can we consider every citizen as an active participant in contributing or making a difference? The talk explores the recovery of agency in citizens as a community, as a group and as individuals in our complex interactions with our cities. Ling will discuss these in the context of various Umbrellium projects in cities around the world which harness collective community effort to build a city from the bottom up starting from hyperlocal interventions in neighbourhoods.

Stacco Troncoso

P2P Foundation

"If I Only Had a Heart." Encoding Care On- and Offchain, Open Cooperativism and Distributed Cooperative Organizations

Abstract: Distributed Cooperative Organizations (or DisCOs) are a cooperative reaction to the individualistic and techno-deterministic Decentralised Autonomous Organizations (or DAOs). DAOs are blockchain-based entities that execute payments, levy penalties, and enforce terms and contracts without human interaction. By contrast, a Distributed Cooperative Organization prioritizes mutual support, cooperativism and care work among people and is a practical framework for Open Value Cooperativism. These are locally grounded, transnationally networked cooperatives focused on social and environmental work.
Open Value Cooperatives can be viewed as the experimental edge of the work of our allies in Platform Cooperativism movement, exploring convergences between the Commons and P2P movements along with the world of cooperatives and the Social and Solidarity Economy. Harnessing the potential of the blockchain while addressing its deficits, DiSCOs prototype and allow for tailoring of the Commons-Oriented Open Cooperative Governance Model originally developed for Guerrilla Translation - a commons-oriented translation agency and one of the first DisCOs. Together, these can be greatly amplified to make distributed ledger technologies (DLTs) accessible to common people, cooperators and economically disadvantaged, breaking the monopoly of a white/male technological elite's involvement and benefit.

Manuela Zechner

Aristotle University Thessaloniki and ERC Heteropolitics

Caring, Sharing and Commoning. For Lively Entanglements and Ecologies of Care

Abstract: In recent years it has becoming painstakingly clear that the primary dilemma facing us is not economic crisis, but indeed a matter of ecologies that requires us to rethink both the local-global and the micropolitical-macropolitical binaries. Either we invent new collective, transspecies alliances and modes of reproduction that can sustain us in and across places - not forgetting about migrations - as well as modes of living and working that rethink politics in relation to life and care - not forgetting about those psychic ecologies Felix Guattari spoke of in the dark 80s.
Feminist movements have long called for us to put life at the centre of our politics, rooted in everyday life and struggle, and commons movements have recently enabled us to envision other modes of social and ecological reproduction.
How does this impact how we think about sharing, and indeed, its relation to caring? This experimental lecture will try draw out common notions, interpellating and involving different bodies and forms of sharing, circulation and inhabitation.

TRACK
1

Food and Agricultural Production
*Food sovereignty; agroecology;
zero kilometer movement; food and
sustainable soil experiences; urban
agriculture; and community gardens*

La agroecología y la soberanía alimentaria como bastiones para la acción colectiva colaborativa

Izaskun Artegui Alcaide

Universidad del País Vasco/Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea

Resumen: *La presente comunicación tiene como objetivo evidenciar la presencia y la extensión de la acción colectiva colaborativa en las prácticas agroecológicas y/o en los proyectos dirigidos a la consecución de la soberanía alimentaria. Más concretamente, busca señalar aquellos espacios específicos donde esta se desarrolla con el fin de significarlos y caracterizarlos. Para ello, se tomarán como base los datos producidos a través de un trabajo de campo (entrevistas en profundidad y observación participante) realizado en la Comunidad Autónoma del País Vasco en el año 2018. En primer lugar, y atendiendo a los relatos analizados, se mostrará cómo la acción colectiva colaborativa opera en dos niveles ciertamente diferenciados: el más apegado al plano teórico y el que se desarrolla en la propia práctica. En lo que se refiere al plano teórico, los testimonios dotarán de intensa relevancia y sentido de guía a cuestiones estrechamente relacionadas con paradigmas de pensamiento o acción política, social y económica como la economía feminista, el bien común o el buen vivir. En relación al ámbito más práctico, se opta por destacar esas "formas de hacer" comunes a las experiencias analizadas. Estas evidenciarán la centralidad de lo colectivo colaborativo en ámbitos tan disimiles como el relacional (cómo se relacionan entre ellas y ellos, con otros colectivos, con la comunidad, con el entorno), el deliberativo (cómo son sus procesos de deliberación y toma de decisiones) o el práctico (la colectivización de los recursos y saberes o el apoyo mutuo). En segundo lugar, se presentarán las cinco dimensiones concretas en las que se presenta y desarrolla con mayor vigor la acción colectiva colaborativa. Estas son: a) las formas de organización y gestión colectiva, b) las metodologías de trabajo, c) los valores, d) la socialización de lo producido y la relación con las y los consumidores, y e) su posición frente a las políticas públicas. Como cierre se plantearán una serie de preguntas que contribuirán a dilucidar en qué medida y en qué sentido las experiencias y prácticas agroecológicas y por la soberanía alimentaria, tomando como base los hallazgos presentados, pueden estar generando un impacto sobre los propios grupos que las implementan y desarrollan, sobre los y las consumidoras que apoyan y/o cooperan con estas iniciativas comprando sus productos, o sobre las comunidades o sociedades que les dan cabida.*

Palabras clave: *agroecología, soberanía alimentaria, acción colectiva colaborativa*

1. Introducción

La literatura académica muestra un universo semántico amplio, complejo y, en ocasiones, poco consensuado en torno al campo de la producción de lo común (Zubero 2011; Gutierrez Aguilar 2018). Si bien es cierto que esta amalgama conceptual se relaja cuando bajamos a la práctica, las nociones, fórmulas o sintagmas que se emplean muestran de igual modo la complejidad e imbricación que caracteriza a este territorio. Ahí, observamos que conceptos

equivalentes o idénticos se utilizan de modo indiferente para dar cuenta de experiencias o prácticas disimiles, mientras nociones diferentes hacen alusión a realidades ciertamente parejas. Lo que inferimos es que nos encontramos frente a un fenómeno repleto de pliegues en los que conviene abundar. Con el trabajo que aquí presentamos trataremos de contribuir a esa labor, arrojando ciertas pistas sobre las iniciativas o procesos que se desarrollan bajo el paraguas de lo común.

Para ello, nos centraremos en un área concreta, la de la soberanía alimentaria y la agroecología. Si la primera se conoce como el derecho que tienen los pueblos o comunidades a decidir cómo se quieren alimentar y cómo quieren gestionar sus recursos para producir esos alimentos, la segunda será entendida como la ciencia que estudia los ecosistemas agrarios y las relaciones que se dan entre los diferentes agentes que conforman ese ecosistema (Sevilla Guzmán 2011; López García 2015). Ambos conceptos se unen en la práctica de millones de campesinos de todo el mundo (Vía Campesina), siendo la soberanía alimentaria el objetivo que persiguen alcanzar y la agroecología la herramienta de la que se sirven para lograrlo. Aquí, nos acercaremos a ese dominio poniendo el foco sobre los procesos agroecológicos que se están desarrollando en la Comunidad Autónoma del País Vasco.

El objetivo de la investigación[1] en la que se encuadra este trabajo es analizar el impacto de la acción colectiva colaborativa (Tejerina 2010) en ámbitos tan disimiles como la cohabitación, la ciencia ciudadana, la memoria colectiva o la compasión. Lo que trataremos de demostrar aquí es que a) los proyectos agroecológicos son suelo abonado para este tipo de acciones y que b) algunos de sus impactos más interesantes están relacionados con los fundamentos que motivan a estas tipologías de acción. Para demostrar estas hipótesis, ahondaremos en dos de los espacios de producción de lo común más abundantes que hemos detectado en el trabajo de campo: el productivo y el reproductivo. A modo de conclusión, señalaremos cuáles pueden ser algunas de las líneas que singularizan los impactos que nacen de estas experiencias.

2. Definiendo el espacio de la acción colectiva colaborativa

Antes de comenzar, conviene emprender la tarea de pincelar lo que en este texto entendemos por "producir en común"[2]. Empezamos destacando que, aunque el término producción acostumbra a llevarnos al universo de la fabricación de elementos tangibles, la realidad que mostraremos aquí será mayor, pues acoge en su interior esos métodos, modelos o procedimientos de elaboración o producción de materiales o acciones evidentes, pero también aquellas formas de producción intangibles que se utilizan para relacionarse, generar vínculos o, en resumen, hacer vida en común.

En esta línea, subrayamos que, como es sabido, los procesos que aquí se analizan tratan de aportar alternativas contundentes a todas esas lógicas que alimentan y perpetúan el sistema capitalista: aquellas que nos remiten a sus modos de producción y acumulación, pero también a las relacionadas con las consecuencias que estos modelos vierten sobre la esfera reproductiva y de cuidados. Desde ahí, observamos que estos colectivos hacen suyos los preceptos de la economía feminista, trabajando por construir unas condiciones materiales y simbólicas que pongan la sostenibilidad de la vida en el centro, haciéndolo, además, desde lo rural y con lo común, lo colectivo, lo colaborativo como estrategias protagonistas. El fundamento de estas

acciones, pues, entronca con las reflexiones más recientes de la economía feminista en torno a "la sostenibilidad de la vida y la defensa del entorno" donde, precisamente en la actualidad, se están buscando formas de incluir lo *agro* y lo comunitario (Gutierrez Aguilar, 2018). En este sentido, será interesante atender a la manera en que las esferas productiva y reproductiva, separadas de raíz por las lógicas capitalistas, encuentran interesantes potencialidades de reconciliación en estos procesos.

Declaramos además, que la producción de lo común se desarrolla en dos niveles: el macro y el micro. El macro nos remite al paradigma que da sentido a la lucha por la soberanía alimentaria: la agroecología. Este paradigma nos recuerda que para que los ecosistemas agrarios funcionen de manera óptima, es necesario que todos los elementos que conforman ese ecosistema (agricultores, ganaderos, medio natural, comunidades, agentes institucionales,…) se afanen en protegerlos, asimilarlos y trabajarlos como un espacio de sentido y de práctica que ha de ser construido entre todas y todos. El nivel micro, compuesto por las personas y colectivos que constituyen ese ecosistema macro, reproduce las lógicas de este dejando en evidencia que si se quiere garantizar el correcto funcionamiento de su totalidad, sus partes deberán trabajar de manera engrasada y colaborativa. Nos valemos de este apunte para decir que, en esta ocasión, será en estos pequeños ecosistemas donde trataremos de buscar esas acciones relacionadas con la producción de lo común que aquí nos aplican.

Finalmente, el análisis de los datos producidos nos permite indicar que la producción de lo común parece darse en dos direcciones: la interna y la externa. La externa es aquella que, traspasando las fronteras de los propios ecosistemas, prácticas o campos de experiencia de estos colectivos, actúa en el ámbito de la comunidad (sea esta entendida como el pueblo en el que se desarrolla la actividad, sus colectividades, los agentes sociales e institucionales o la sociedad en general). La interna, por su parte, es la que se desarrolla en el seno de las propias iniciativas o proyectos, desplegando su radio de acción, nuevamente, en dos niveles diferentes: el productivo y el reproductivo. Anunciamos ya que, con la intención de dar cierta profundidad a lo que aquí se presenta, nos centraremos en la exploración de la menos explorada de estas caras, la interna.

3. Entre lo productivo y lo reproductivo: Análisis de campo

Antes de comenzar con el análisis, queremos matizar que la separación de lo productivo y reproductivo que aquí seguimos (tentativa y revisable) no responde tanto a una separación que se reproduzca en los espacios analizados. Es más, en el trabajo de campo podemos observar que ambas esferas se retroalimentan: los cuidados permiten que los proyectos perduren y, su vez, son las propias lógicas de producción y sus estrategias las que permiten que se desarrollen esos cuidados. Si buscamos una representación sencilla (que no simple) de esta bifurcación que no nos remita a esa separación productivo-reproductivo que marca el capitalismo, podríamos decir que la principal diferencia es que mientras las colaboraciones que recogemos bajo la vertiente reproductiva están centradas en "cómo se produce la comunidad", la vertiente productiva señalará "cómo se produce en común". La primera produce sobre todo valores intangibles y la segunda tangibles; la primero estará mayormente dirigida a sostener la vida y mientras la segunda tratará de sostener los proyectos. Siempre, como señalamos, creando vasos comunicantes y de alimentación mutua entre ambos.

Tras haber asentado unas breves bases que nos posibilitan caracterizar lo colaborativo y señalar los anteriores matices, pasamos ahora a atender a sus procesos de producción de lo común. En el campo de lo reproductivo, serán tres los espacios que traeremos a colación: la recuperación de las relaciones, su cuidado y el apoyo mutuo. En el espacio de lo productivo, nos centraremos en el análisis del trabajo comunitario (*auzolan*).

3.1. La producción de lo común en la esfera reproductiva: Sostenibilidad de la vida y cuidado

Todos los proyectos, procesos o acciones de base colaborativa que recogemos en las entrevistas, así como la misma conformación de los colectivos que los impulsan, coinciden en su germen: nacen de la puesta en marcha de procesos de reflexión que buscan detectar las necesidades del colectivo. Atendiendo a las narraciones, vemos que todas las experiencias coinciden en el relato de unas primeras reuniones tensas y nada sencillas, en las que es necesario desliar los nudos y rencores que en gran medida han sido provocadas por el modelo de producción intensivo, su competitividad e individualización) se han acumulado durante los años anteriores:

Los primeros años son horrorosos porque la gente necesita una fase… Nosotros lo llamamos la fase escupidera. O sea, fueron dos años de fase escupidera en el que todo el mundo se dijo las de dios a todo el mundo, salieron las miserias más impresionantes (…) Es que, en el fondo, lo que había pasado en todos estos años, es que todas las relaciones que habían sido súper intensas entre baserritarras que se sembraba juntos, se recogía juntos, se trillaba juntos, desde los años 70 hasta el 2000, todas esas redes se destruyen. Todas. (…) se promueve toda la individualización y concentración de la explotación, van desapareciendo un montón de caseríos, entonces las redes de comunicación entre caseríos desaparecen. Entonces, ¿qué queda? Las malas babas. [entr.1]

Esto ya nos demuestra que la intención de cooperar o erigir un proyecto común no es el motor de estos encuentros, sino su resultado de la puesta en común y la actitud en la que se da la escucha. Nos relatan que estos son momentos en los que, curadas las heridas, descubren que las necesidades individuales son también las de los otros y en los que interiorizan que contribuir a satisfacer las necesidades de los otros ayudará a fortalecer e impulsar sus proyectos particulares, pero también el proyecto común.

Atendiendo al nivel operativo, es en esos espacios de reconciliación y escucha donde comienzan a tejerse las redes de intercambio de inquietudes y necesidades, de organización y de colaboración. Estas partirán ya de objetivos comunes (y a trabajar en común) como la mejora de las condiciones laborales de los productores, sus necesidades cotidianas y vitales, la socialización del conocimiento, la inquietud en torno a la soberanía alimentaria y la agroecología,… Además, se tratará de una fase clave pues, será en ese ejercicio de recuperación, fortalecimiento y puesta en valor de los lazos donde se apoyarán los andamios necesarios para el buen avance de estos proyectos en común.

Una vez recuperadas las relaciones, cuidarlas es ineludible. Si atendemos a los materiales producidos en las entrevistas podemos afirmar que el tema de los cuidados y la sostenibilidad de la vida aparece con asiduidad, de manera más o menos velada, en sus discursos: defienden

que estos proyectos solo podrán ser transformadores si se transforman las bases sobre las que se sostienen las propias prácticas, además de las formas de estar, de relacionarse y de ser. La perspectiva feminista aparece aquí con fuerza:

Cuidar todo. Poner la vida en el centro. Al final decimos que la agroecología es feminista o tiene que ser feminista y lo que se busca también invertir las lógicas del mercado, ¿no? Sacar el mercado, lo monetario del centro y poner otros valores.(…) se entiende que los derechos de las personas tienen que ser respetados y defendidos por igual. (…) La división trabajo productivo – reproductivo, la visibilización, el reparto de tareas, el tema de los cuidados y todo esto, al final tiene que estar tomado en cuenta . (…)

(En) una instalación (…) si se repiten roles de género o prácticas machistas o discriminatorias,… ¡no puede ser! No tiene cabida. [entr.2]

Estas teorías se llevan a la práctica, a través de lo que denominamos "triple cuidado", que se materializa en el cuidado o protección de la tierra, de la comunidad (entendida como pueblo o comarca) y del grupo (entendida como colectivo o proceso común). En este caso, nos detendremos en los cuidados del grupo, que se piensan desde la clásica distribución: tiempos de producción y tiempos de vida.

En lo que se refiere a los primeros, se hace un esfuerzo porque los temas que puedan estar generando conflictos o malestar en el grupo se trabajen y se resuelvan de forma dialogante y empática, dándoles la presencia, tiempo y medios que merecen para llegar a una solución.

"Intentamos hacer reuniones y asambleas una vez a la semana (…) y que haya puntos en los que no sean sólo de temas de la huerta (…) que vayan saliendo las cosas de si yo me he sentido así o, no sé, o estoy rallada porque siempre llevo esta tarea. (…) Lo entiendo como algo de cuidados porque creo que es como poner los problemas sobre la mesa y buscar soluciones, sin llegar al punto de: "Estoy enfadado contigo porque creo que deberías haber hecho esto y no lo has hecho o porque yo hago más que esto". (…) Entonces, en las reuniones ir hablando de estos temas, que son más del funcionamiento del colectivo y cómo estamos cada uno en ellos y tal. [entr.3]"

Además, lo productivo y lo vital se reflexionan juntos, sobre todo para que lo primero no sotierre a lo segundo, es decir, para que las altas demandas de tiempo y esfuerzo que implican estos sectores laborales no acaben por sepultar los tiempos de vida bajo los tiempos de producción y sus habituales lógicas de autoprecarización y autoexplotación. Para lograrlo, trabajan cuestiones como la dedicación a los proyectos, la distribución de las tareas, los horarios, los periodos de descanso o vacaciones y la conciliación familiar.

"Hacerlo compatible con la vida (…) O sea, la parte positiva del colectivo es que repartes la carga de trabajo. (…) Tanto mi compañera como yo las dos somos de fuera, por lo tanto, tenemos nuestra familia fuera y necesitamos, por lo menos tres veces al año, ir a verles. Y además somos gente que en realidad ha tenido un origen urbano que incorpora la dimensión del ocio y las vacaciones de manera como casi vital y necesaria. (…) el estar en colectivo hace que te puedas permitir esas vacaciones. (…) lo que hemos decidido es no cerrar, pero sí tomarnos vacaciones. (…)

> *Nosotras hemos tenido las dos lactancias maternas muy prolongadas (…) lo primero es que como colectivo hemos asumido que había un periodo, que cada familia decidía cuánto tiempo se quedaba en su casa con los hijos y las hijas (…) Entonces nos hemos dado el espacio de… Bueno, cuidar también es parte del trabajo y se reconoce y en nuestro caso eso no ha generado… No ha habido malestar (…) Yo decía: "No puede ser de otra manera. (…) no he sentido la presión del resto del grupo porque yo no estuviera, porque estuviera menos… Y he seguido cobrando igual. [entr.3]"*

Los entrevistados reconocen que añadir una dimensión de cuidados a sus prácticas reporta mejoras en términos de calidad de vida, pero también en el desarrollo y avance de los proyectos. Tanto es así que algunos, al valorar procesos que han fracasado, encuentran entre sus causas la falta de cuidados frente a la priorización de la viabilidad económica.

> *"No sé… hablar un poco más de cuáles son nuestros sentimientos, si estamos enfadados por qué lo estamos y qué recursos vamos a poner para solucionar lo que ha causado ese problema. Un poco, no sé cómo decirlo, lo que a nosotros nos ha faltado es la ayuda de alguien que se dedique a la resolución de conflictos o algo así. [entr.4]"*

Finalmente, los apoyos aparecen como estrategia fundamental para poner en práctica los cuidados. Los entrevistados hablarán tanto de apoyos emocionales como de apoyos técnicos y prácticos. Los primeros se refieren a aquellos que contribuyen a despejar o allanar los sentimientos de soledad, incertidumbre o miedo que puedan surgir a la hora de enfrentarse a nuevos retos en los que no se tiene experiencia (llevar a cabo gestiones, hacer inversiones,…) cubriendo así un espacio de apoyo simbólico que a menudo afecta a quienes emprenden.

> *"Otra de las oportunidades que vimos es que había otra pareja de nuestras mismas características, también que estaban empezando a tener familia, que querían también dar ese salto, pero que les daba un poco de vértigo hacerlo en solitario. Entonces, un poco porque nos conocíamos, porque teníamos la misma situación de no ser campesinas ni tener una familia campesina ni tener un baserri ni nada, pues pensamos que podía ser una buena idea hacerlo de forma colectiva. [entr.3]"*

El apoyo técnico o practico, que veremos con más detalle en el siguiente apartado, hace referencia a prestar cooperación en labores o cuestiones concretas. Lo importante a subrayar es que este tipo de apoyos son una consecuencia inevitable de un cambio de comprensión de lo productivo desde los cuidados. El concepto de competencia y maximización de beneficios asociado a las lógicas capitalistas se diluye para abrir paso al del apoyo a la hora de sostener los proyectos y la vida.

> *"Si yo hoy no tengo no sé qué y tú tienes no sé qué,… el hecho de ellos tener que responder a una cesta les crea la necesidad de tener que ponerse en contacto con otros productores o productoras de su perfil—o sea que se entienden y están en igualdad de condiciones—y se hacen o trueques, o se hacen precio entre ellos, pues por ejemplo una persona tiene un porrón de acelgas y sabe que no le da salida, y sabe que otra persona hace cestas, entonces le hace precio, esta persona añade las acelgas a su cesta, sale ganando, y yo además las iba a tirar. [entr.2]"*

3.2. La producción de lo común en la esfera productiva: El trabajo comunitario o *auzolan*

Estas colectividades parten de una buena base para el trabajo colaborativo, pues comparten (en mayor o menor medida) la visión en torno a las formas de producir, comercializar (cooperativas, grupos de consumo,…), sus posicionamientos ideológicos respecto a la soberanía alimentaria y la agroecología, su postura frente a los cuidados,… Y, aunque en ocasiones no utilicen idénticas estrategias en sus propias explotaciones, todos confluyen bajo el objetivo común[3]. Para atender a este espacio, nos centraremos en la tipología de trabajo en común más característica de estos procesos y también de la tradición campesina de la Comunidad Autónoma del País Vasco, el *auzolan*[4] (Mitxeltorena, 2011).

Atendiendo a los datos producidos en las entrevistas, vemos que el *auzolan* funciona bajo diferentes intensidades y continuidades. En su forma quizás más intensa, generan redes de *baserris* (caseríos) y organizan trabajos mensuales y rotativos para dar respuesta a esos momentos de grandes cargas de trabajo que surjan en las explotaciones (recolecta, reforma de la explotación, adecuación de las tierras, etc). Esta forma intensa exige un dinamismo, continuidad y esfuerzo que puede llegar a convertirse en el sacrificio de las propias condiciones vitales de los productores. Es por esto, que su graduación tiende a ser variable y más cercana a responder a necesidades puntuales, que a una dinámica dirigida y con pauta temporal.

> *"Entonces pensamos en hacer una pequeña red de auzolan… Y, bueno, hicimos algunos auzolanes, al principio. Pero eso ha perdido fuerza con el tiempo y no hay… no se ha mantenido - ¿cómo diríamos?- uan dinámica… una dinámica que sea periodica, no sé cómo decirlo. Si de vez en cuando alguien lo necesita (ayuda), lo pide, vamos y ayudamos. [entr.4]"*

Pero el auzolan no siempre tiene que darse en explotaciones concretas. En las entrevistas recogemos varios casos en los que el trabajo comunitario se pone en marcha, por ejemplo, para recuperar espacios abandonados o para gestionar bienes comunes. En el primer caso, se puede tratar de trabajo colaborativo para hacerse cargo de explotaciones, terrenos, etc. que no tienen relevo, recuperarlos y colectivizarlos.

> *"Él se jubiló el año pasado, pero hace dos o tres años ya se puso en contacto con nosotros… bueno, anduvo buscando relevo, no encontraba a nadie y entonces, nosotros, 15 o 20 personas de la comarca -el número varia- decidimos tomar la gestión de ese manzano. Y así lo hacemos. hacemos el mantenimiento, las cosechas,… las hacemos nosotros. Normalmente la gente hace zumo para autoconsumo. Yo hago para autoconsumo y, además, hago zumo para meter en el grupo de consumo y así llevamos los últimos tres años. [entr.4]"*

En lo que se refiere a la gestión autónoma y colectiva de los bienes comunes, como por ejemplo los pastizales de los montes de utilidad pública o los bosques, se ponen en marcha acciones de reapropiación. Su objetivo es recuperar ese recurso colectivo con el fin de resguardar la economía, el medioambiente, la salud y la cultura de esa comunidad, entendiendo, además que son quienes conforman esa comunidad (y no las instituciones públicas), las que tienen que tomar decisiones sobre esos terrenos y gestionarlos. Es, al fin y al cabo, la gestión, el mantenimiento, la promoción, la defensa, de los bienes comunes.

> *"Un trabajo súper potente para que ahora el Ayuntamiento esté consciente para decir: "No, ya no lo va a hacer la Diputación, es mi monte, yo voy a hacer mi Plan y lo voy a hacer con la gente que es usuaria de este monte: mendizales, baserritarras, forestalistas y el que haga falta. Pero va a ser nuestro plan, con nuestro… Es nuestro futuro, no es el de la Diputación (…) apropiarse del monte público. [entr.1]"*

4. Conclusiones

Como primera conclusión, podemos afirmar que, efectivamente, los proyectos y procesos agroecológicos analizados tienen una fuerte presencia de acciones colectivas colaborativas, siendo dos los espacios colectivos que más riqueza colaborativa demuestran: la esfera reproductiva y de cuidados y la esfera productiva. En la primera, sus principales expresiones serán la recuperación de las relaciones, su cuidado y el apoyo mutuo. En el caso de la segunda, el *auzolan*.

La segunda conclusión, la más tentativa y sobre la que reflexionaremos en ulteriores trabajos, será la que hace referencia a los impactos de estas iniciativas o experiencias. Bajo lo que nombraremos como un "encadenamiento de valores sociales", podemos observar una serie de movimientos subterráneos que parecen apuntar hacia un fuerte potencial de transformación de estas comunidades y de sus modos de hacer y de vivir. Además, parece estar caracterizado por un efecto acumulador y con una interesante tendencia a la escalabilidad (tanto dentro de los contornos de los procesos como hacia fuera -comunidad o sociedad-). Esta cadena de valores pasa por tres momentos reflexionados brillantemente por la filósofa Marina Garcés en su obra *Un mundo común* (2013): el del reconocimiento del otro, el de la interdependencia y el del compromiso, en este caso, por la comunidad y por el Bien Común.

El primer paso lo vemos en el ejercicio de escucha involucrada que encontramos en el origen de estos procesos, concretamente, en la recuperación de los vínculos, pues se trata de un proceso que, para su avance, requiere de la activación del reconocimiento del otro, desembocando en una alteración del yo que se convierte en un nosotros. Esto afecta a las formas de producir y de vivir de estas personas, pasando de hacerlo colaborativamente a hacerlo en común. El segundo paso se vincula, precisamente, a las relaciones de interdependencia que nacen de esa transformación del yo. A través de formas de producción de lo común que hemos recopilado y bajo las lógicas de producir bajo un objetivo compartido, los límites entre lo que pertenece y es responsabilidad de uno y lo que atañe mismamente al otro se difuminan para formar un continuo. Esto lo podemos ver en el modo en el que se distribuyen y acometen aquellos trabajos o responsabilidades de las diferentes personas o colectividades (*auzolan*), pero también en la gestión de los límites subjetivos o emocionales (cuidados y sostenibilidad de la vida en el centro). Finalmente, y en lo que se refiere al tercer paso, el compromiso, observamos diferentes niveles de intensidad que bien podrían explicarse desde una red de relaciones basada en un apoyo mutuo hasta otras que implican un verdadero compromiso, un cambio de visión más cercano a la interdependencia que a la cooperación o colaboración. Este compromiso, además, no solo se representa a través del compromiso con los otros, sino mediante el compromiso con el proyecto común y, como veremos en ulteriores trabajos, con la comunidad, la naturaleza y la sociedad.

Con todo, podemos decir que existen pistas fehacientes que nos dirigen a unos impactos que se generan en el terreno de los valores sociales y que, si bien no afectan a todos las personas que conforman estas experiencias con la misma intensidad o en los mismos aspectos, sí que parece contribuir a crear los cimientos para la configuración de formas de trabajar y de vivir que ofrecen interesantes alternativas a las lógicas capitalistas que tratan de derribar. Esto, además, se desarrolla desde una evidente base social, cuestión que, en un tiempo caracterizado por una profunda *crisis de valores*, parece no ser poco.

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6. Apéndice metodológico

Para conformar este texto nos hemos apoyado en la explotación de los datos producidos a través de un trabajo de campo de base cualitativa llevado a cabo en 2018 en la Comunidad Autónoma del País Vasco. En total, se han realizado siete entrevistas en profundidad a diferentes personas vinculadas a procesos agroecológicos. Además, se ha llevado a cabo cuatro observaciones participantes en diferentes grupos de trabajo y jornadas desarrolladas bajo la misma temática en este mismo territorio.

7. Nota biográfica

Licenciada en Sociología (UPV/EHU) y profesora en el Departamento de Sociología y Trabajo Social (UPV/EHU). Sus principales áreas de interés son la juventud y el tiempo social, focalizando sus investigaciones más recientes en las respuestas de los individuos al riesgo y la incertidumbre. Ha sido investigadora visitante en la Universidad Complutense de Madrid (UCM) y en la Universidad Nacional Autónoma de México (UNAM). En el terreno de la acción colectiva colaborativa, dirigió el proyecto de investigación "Ekiten eta Barneratzen. Berrikuntza sozialetik abiatutako ekintzailetasun eredu berrien aukera eta oztopoak" financiado por Emakunde, Instituto Vasco de la Mujer.

8. Notas

1 Este paper recoge algunos de los resultados trabajados en el marco del proyecto de investigación Sharing Society financiado por Ministerio de Economía y Competitividad de España (MINECO CSO2016-78107-R).

2 El concepto con el que trabajamos, "formas de producir lo común", se inspira en el trabajo de Gutierrez Aguilar (2018, coord.). Lo elegimos porque nos parece una fórmula que ensancha, en cierto modo, los límites epistemológicos, analíticos y semánticos de la compleja cuestión que estudiamos.

3 Esto, además de en el auzolan, se materializa en inversiones, alquileres y compras colectivas, en la construcción y gestión comunitaria de infraestructuras, en la organización de mercados de agricultores locales, en grupos de formación y tutorización.

4 Se trata de una forma de trabajo comunitario o vecinal basado en la organización colectiva de los miembros que conforman esa comunidad.

Community Gardens and Neighbourhood Movements. Benimaclet and El Cabanyal (València) [1]

Rafael Castelló-Cogollos and Ramón Llopis Goig

Universitat de València

Abstract: *Since the emergence of the capitalist industrial city, urban agriculture experiences have been varied, linked to a wide range of different critical historical situations, and carried out or driven by diverse groups with different purposes and motivations. Since the end of the 20th century, many of these experiences have taken the form of communal urban gardens. We analyse the creation of community urban gardens in neighbourhood environments as a way of broadening the repertoire of action of neighbourhood movements that oppose neoliberal forms of urbanization. The common areas and the right to the city combine and generate collective collaborative practices that favour the construction of communities and the emergence of new forms of citizen participation in local politics.*

We study two cases where neighbourhood movements and the creation of community gardens converge: the urban gardens of the neighbourhoods of Benimaclet and El Cabanyal in the city of Valencia. They combine urban agriculture and neighbourhood movements as an action to oppose important housing developments with a strong impact on the physical and social personality of both neighbourhoods. We use the case study methodology to approach this topic and, specifically, obtain information through in-depth interviews and the analysis of documents (on paper or virtual access).

The results indicate that, indeed, the neighbourhood movements in the city of Valencia, whether institutionalized or not, have expanded their repertoire of disruptive actions to include the occupation of land for the creation of urban gardens. They use actions linked to the promotion of alternative values to capitalist urbanization and creation of neighbourhood communities that are closer and more human. These new actions have had an impact on political institutions, which have had to incorporate these new neighbourhood strategies and take part in their demands.

Keywords: *Urban gardens, neighbourhood movement, collective collaborative action, neoliberalism, city.*

1. Introduction

Our research aims to analyse two collective movements that emerged in the city of Valencia in recent years: the urban gardens of the neighbourhoods of Benimaclet and El Cabanyal. These urban gardens involve a concurrence of neighbourhood movements opposing housing projects and the defence of a city model that respects the community idiosyncrasy of the area, as well as its collective identity and forms of sociability. Most of these initiatives have emerged as demands against actions derived from the so-called *New Urban Policy* (Cucó 2013), in which the *exchange value* of the space is prioritised over its *value in use*, the specificities of the urban spaces are standardised and blurred, and the identities and forms of sociability linked to territories are eroded.

In this paper, we try, on the one hand, to identify the urban context in which these urban gardens have emerged and, on the other hand, to examine in what ways they constitute relevant cases of *collective collaborative action* (CCA). The main goal is to identify the characteristics that allow us to view them as a kind of CCA and that award them uniqueness as urban movements. The empirical basis for the study comes from semi-structured interviews with strategic informants, as well as the analysis of documents and reports published in the press.

The text is structured in four sections. The first one offers a brief account of the background of urban gardens and links it to the recent development of urban movements. Then, we describe the socio-political and urban contexts from which these two initiatives emerged. The next section presents the characteristics of both cases, focusing on their main impacts on the participants and on society as a whole.

2. Antecedents

The first public community urban garden program was known as the *Green Guerrilla*. It started in Manhattan in 1973 with the planting of trees and plants or the launching of bombs of seeds in abandoned plots, as actions protesting the neglect of the neighbourhood. In time, these programs occupied plots where they initiated their community gardens and managed to significantly improve the neighbourhood's living conditions. The success of the experience facilitated its spread to other neighbourhoods of New York and other U.S. cities, subsequently reaching Europe through the United Kingdom.

Although the initiatives related to urban gardens vary greatly, their revitalization at the end of the 20th century and the beginning of the 21st century is associated with various ideas (Fernández and Morán 2016:304 and ss.): an idea of resilience that encourages the development of adaptative and collaborative strategies; Henry Lefebvre's idea of the *right to the city* (1975), which facilitates the reterritorialization of social movements; the rise of the ecologist movement with regard to global warming; the impact of new technologies on the concept of private ownership (especially in the case of cultural goods); and the recovery and resurgence of the common good (Various Authors 2017), facilitated by Elinor Ostrom being awarded the Nobel Prize for Economics in 2009.

Furthermore, these experiences can be associated with the increase in participatory processes and community methodologies designed to promote the democratic management of the city and the structuring of the civil society (Telleria and Ahedo 2016). According to these authors, the combination of transformations in the structure of political and organizational opportunities, along with the generation of new discursive frames and the enrichment of the range of actions, had a clear influence.

The evolution of neighbourhood associations would also have to be considered, which would fit what Castells (1986) defined as *urban social movements* oriented toward collective consumption and opposed to *the selling of the city*. On the other hand, they constitute a movement made up of neighbourhood associations and citizen platforms, most often oriented toward the defence of patrimony or opposed to urban renewal programmes, and they include other movements that bring immigrants and excluded populations together (Ibarra and Tejerina 1998; Santamarina and Mompó 2018: 387).

It should also be added that the increasing complexity of urban transformations has encouraged more collaboration between local political institutions and urban movements, which has meant that the latter receive incentives for their collaborative action. This has involved a shift in the relationship of urban movements with the State, moving from confrontation to greater collaboration, within a context of hegemony of urban policies based on the principles of neo-liberal urban planning.

3. Sociopolitical and Urban Context

The urban gardens of Benimaclet and El Cabanyal are found in two neighbourhoods with these same names located very close to natural spaces or resources such as the historical Valencian Gardens (Benimaclet) or the Mediterranean Sea (El Cabanyal). Both have been strongly affected by neoliberal urban projects from the middle of the 1990s and during a long period when both the local and the regional governments were in the hands of the right-wing party, Popular Party (Partido Popular, PP). In both cases, the neighbourhood response adopted the form of an intense urban movement that included actions such as the creation of community urban gardens. In this section, we briefly outline the main successes and characteristics of the recent urban development of both neighbourhoods, with the aim of characterising the context where their urban gardens have arisen.

3.1. Benimaclet

Benimaclet is a neighbourhood in the city of Valencia located northeast of the town on the border of the Valencian garden and next to the town of Alboraia to the north. In 2017, it had a population of 29,038, or 3.7% of the city's population. In the past ten years, it has lost more population than the city of Valencia: -5.5% compared to -2.0%, respectively. Benimaclet has its origins in a village founded during the first wave of Moslem colonization, around the year 800 AD. This Andalusi settlement created the Valencian garden and built its famous irrigation system (Esquilache 2017). With the Christian conquest, it became an estate. Until the nineteenth century, agriculture was the core activity. In 1760, Benimaclet became a municipality with its own town council, but one hundred years later, in 1871, due to a lack of economic solvency, it became part of the city of Valencia. However, its urban integration in the city did not occur until the 1950s. The importance of the agricultural area, its experience as an autonomous municipality, and its late urban integration in the city favoured the existence of a strong identity and sense of belonging to Benimaclet and its will to "continue to be a town" (Sanz 2016:1).

It is a neighbourhood that is well-known for the vitality of its neighbourhood movement. In fact, although its neighbourhood association was only formally established in 1974, the neighbourhood had already mobilized to demand public investments in the 1960s. At present, Benimaclet is a neighbourhood with an intense civic robustness, with many associations that regularly hold activities related to preserving and spreading the cultural, urban, and natural heritage of the neighbourhood, defending responsible and sustainable consumption or solidarity among the different groups that live there.

The neighbourhood movement gained further momentum at the end of the twentieth century, when the Valencia City Council approved a new urban plan that, in 1995, was included in the Integrated Development Plan of Benimaclet-East (Plan de Actuación Integrada, PAI). It is housing development that occupies the lands between the constructed area and the city's North Road. It involves about 200,000 m^2 destined for more than 1,400 homes. The land was bought by property developers, and the existing crops were abandoned. The land was progressively covered by rubble and infertile soil coming from excavations. This situation of abandonment extended over time, during which it experienced legislative changes, attempts to increase its buildability, and, finally, the impact of the recession. Although there were elections and a change of the political parties in the regional and local governments, no changes have been made in this regard until the last few months of the legislature, when the aforementioned PAI was reactivated with some minor changes that do not satisfy the neighbourhood. Thus, several protest actions have already been held.

3.2. El Cabanyal

El Cabanyal is part of what is known as the maritime area of the city of Valencia or its maritime districts. The neighbourhood experienced an important demographic growth in the 19th century, coinciding with its municipal independence in 1837. At the end of this century, it started to receive large numbers of summer tourists, but the economic difficulties its council faced and the Valencian authorities' desire to expand its territorial domains and population size motivated Cabanyal's annexation to the city of Valencia in 1897 (Baydal 2017).

The progressive abandonment of the fishing activity in the 1960s and 1970s aggravated the difficulties of its inhabitants. The declaration of the neighbourhood as a Cultural Heritage Site in 1993, in recognition of its architectural, urban, and cultural heritage, did not succeed in holding back its progressive degradation or leaving it out of real estate disputes. In fact, the city Land-Use Plan, passed in 1988, already included, from the hegemonic discourse, one of the age-old aspirations of the city of Valencia: the extension of Blasco Ibáñez Avenue to the sea. However, the prolongation of this avenue would not be activated until ten years later, when the local authorities approved a draft proposal for the demolition of 1,651 houses and the dismantling of the urban structure of El Cabanyal, dividing it into two parts (Santamarina 2014: 309).

This project resulted in a strong resistance movement that rejected the demolition of houses and the subsequent expulsion of its neighbours, as well as the destruction of the urban layout and the loss of identity and architectural heritage of the neighbourhood. The movement crystallised with the creation of the Platform Let's Save the Cabanyal-Canyamelar (Salvem el Cabanyal-Canyamelar), and since then it has demanded the rehabilitation of the neighbourhood (Santamarina 2014: 309). In 2001, the Valencian Regional Government approved a plan to speed up the delivery of the urban project, resulting in a conflict between very opposed positions that finally encountered its main obstacle in a 2009 Order of the Ministry of Culture[2] that imposed the immediate cessation of the demolitions (Santamarina 2014: 310). However, the municipal authorities continued to oppose the national government's decision in a context where the area of the neighbourhood affected by the hypothetical prolongation of Blasco Ibáñez Avenue was exposed to progressive degradation facilitated by institutional abandonment.

The forced departure of some of its inhabitants, the abandonment and degradation of the houses, plots, and commercial spaces, and the loss of some of its most important buildings are clear proof of this (Santamarina 2014: 312). After fifteen years of disagreements, the prolongation of the avenue had not been implemented, but in addition to the degradation and abandonment of the physical environment of the neighbourhood, its population had dropped by more than twenty per cent, and unemployment was close to forty per cent. The political change after the 2015 elections meant the annulment of the urban plan for this area and the announcement of new ways of promoting the neighbourhood, which, in the final part of the term, did not seem to convince many of the neighbours.

4. The Urban Gardens

In this section, we present the main results obtained from the analysis of empirical materials. We focus on the short description of the characteristics of the gardens and the main effects of the initiative on the participants and society as a whole.

4.1. Benimaclet

The initiative in Benimaclet analysed here is an experience promoted by the Benimaclet Neighbourhood Association (Associació de Veïns i Veïnes de Benimaclet). There are other urban garden experiences in the neighbourhood, initiated by individuals or by other collectives, but this one seemed of special interest due to its integration under the framework of the neighbourhood strategy. The aforementioned association has considerable experience in opposition movements; however, in 2010 it changed its strategy, moving from resistance to projects dictated from outside to a line of action based on the elaboration of its own proposals.

At that time, the different social agents in the neighbourhood coincided strategically in their opposition to the PAI Benimaclet-East, and, as a first action, they occupied a plot of land included in the PAI, adjacent to the town centre, to transform it into a car park. The experience was very positive, due to the success of the call and to the way the relations with property were developed. The next step was the occupation of another plot of land to create an urban garden: specifically, a plot -owned by the bank BBVA- that the PAI considered a public green area. After several unsuccessful attempts to negotiate with the owners, the City Council of Valencia -then, with the majority right-wing party, PP- mediated in the conflict, and it achieved the earlier transfer of the land to the Benimaclet neighbourhood association, with the condition that the participants in the garden would be members of the neighbourhood association.

Sixty plots were initially created, but the strong demand required its extension to 100, with the subsequent reduction in the average size. Currently, the gardens occupy an area measuring 10.000 m^2, with the involvement of approximately 400 people. They are organised in an autonomous manner they have their own assembly and an independent asset manager- and they do not receive public grants or funding from private entities: they are fully financed by members' contributions.

The promoters highlight the impact of the urban garden experience on the social transformation of the neighbourhood in three dimensions. They observe, first, that these urban gardens make it possible to learn about lost forms of social relations in large cities, especially with regard to the link between the garden and the city, but also with regard to more open and natural forms of sociability. This shared learning, and the social innovation it generates, stimulates the creation of other urban gardens (imitation effect) and transfers to other spaces (demonstration effect), such as the local government, which, through this experience, has approached communitarian forms of public management.

Second, the informants point out that the experience reinforces the collective identity and sense of community. The urban gardens have made it possible to recover municipal roads and irrigation canals (territorial identity), introducing significant relationships with the land and interactions between multiple and diverse social agents (social identity). Thus, the urban gardens are used by other associations –such as people with mental or physical functional diversity– or by the public schools, in order to develop creative activities that improve their capacities and generate significant gratifying effects. The informants also point to the strengthening of intergenerational relations, as well as relations between various professional groups. All of this contributes to the creation of stronger community ties.

Third, they consider that the changes in the learning processes and the reinforcement of the sense of community relaunch citizen participation and empowerment. Essential elements in this process are the shared diagnosis and the capacity to anticipate events in order to face uncertainty with preparation. In addition, the informants indicate that this movement has very relevant and effective collateral effects on other neighbourhood demands (paving, adequacy of streets, and providing school equipment…). They recognise that the political changes are slow and complicated, but they hope the city council will improve its proposal for PAI-Benimaclet East, although they do not expect it to meet their expectations. This –they state– will provide a coordinated and constructive response by Benimaclet and perhaps by other neighbourhoods in the city.

4.2 Cabanyal Horta

The Cabanyal Horta urban garden is located in the middle of the neighbourhood of Cabanyal, in what was an abandoned lot, popularly known as The Hole (El Clot), whose recovery was promoted by a group of residents linked to the collective Neighborhood Space (Espai Veïnal) in 2015. This space is located between the Port Bloc (Bloc Portuarios) –a building consisting of 168 homes with a high illegal occupation– and the back of the Sports Centre Cabanyal, in one of the poorer and most abandoned areas of the neighbourhood –a few meters from the sea– today municipally owned. Most of the homes that made up the space occupied by the urban garden were torn down three decades before, with the intention of reducing problems of marginality, delinquency, and drug trafficking. Although the promoting group has not yet achieved the transfer of the space, its members are generally satisfied that they have achieved the recovery of a public space that had been abandoned so that its progressive degradation would favour property interests alien to neighbourhood life. Its implementation required the removal of more than 10,000 kg of rubble and debris, carried out with the collaboration of the City Council of Valencia.

The urban garden is reached through what is known as the House of the Bear (la Casa del Oso): a typical two-floor fishing building, built in 1919 as a fisherman's home. It has been renovated and frequently houses diverse activities (consumer groups, workshops on agriculture, tree day, educational activities for schools, concerts, film screenings…). The promoters of Cabanya Garden (Cabanyal Horta) insist that their initiative should not merely be considered a consumer group because their true vocation is to serve as a tool for the recovery of public space, avoid the construction of an avenue, and create a space for an urban garden that stimulates community life and is available to the whole neighbourhood.

Cabanyal Garden defines itself as an agro-ecological project that aims to raise the population's awareness of the importance of taking care of the environment. Its goal is to promote agroecology and permaculture as a way of life and from the standpoint of sustainability and recovery of common areas. However, they do not conceive of themselves as an initiative with only one focus. The founders of Cabanyal Garden indicate that the project also has a goal related to the regeneration and revival of the neighbourhood, through the integration of the residents, and its transformation into a space of educational possibilities. There is, thus, a clear goal of recovering the public space of the neighbourhood, linked to the situation of abandonment and degradation to which it was previously exposed. It could be said that, after a period of intense resistance –lead by groups such as Let's Save el Cabanyal-Canyamelar– to development projects, they have moved to other kinds of initiatives which –as in the case of Cabanyal Garden– pursue community recreation and the recovery of the harmony and sociability of the neighbourhood.

5. Conclusions

This research has explored two experiences of collective movements that arose in recent years in the city of Valencia –the urban gardens of Benimaclet and El Cabanyal– with a twofold objective. First, we examine the socio-political and urban context in which they emerged in order to identify their parallelisms and the conditions that made them possible. Second, we provide a basic description of the main characteristics of each, with the aim of identifying the features that allow them to be considered examples of collective collaborative action (CCA).

With regard to the first point, the study showed the existence of several parallelisms between the two initiatives. First, the neighbourhoods in which these urban gardens are located are very close to natural spaces or resources such as the historical Valencian Gardens (Benimaclet) and the Mediterranean coast (El Cabanyal). Both neighbourhoods, in addition, have been affected by the progressive loss of economic relevance of the activities to which they were historically devoted: agriculture in the case of Benimaclet and fishing in the case of El Cabanyal. This circumstance has caused sharp decreases in the population in recent decades. A third parallelism refers to the fact that both neighbourhoods enjoyed the statute of municipality for a certain period of time –Benimaclet between 1760 and 1871 and El Cabanyal between 1837 and 1897–, and they were subsequently annexed by the city of Valencia due to their lack of economic solvency and the Valencian authorities' desire to expand the city's territory and population. Fourth, both neighbourhoods are geographically located close to the campuses of the two public universities in the city –the University of Valencia and the Polytechnic University of Valencia–, which has facilitated the presence and commitment of a large number of university researchers and lecturers in their movements. Fifth, both neighbourhoods are characterised

by outstanding civic and associative activity that goes beyond the socio-political sphere and includes numerous neighbourhood, youth, and cultural initiatives. Nonetheless, beyond all these parallelisms, the study revealed that both initiatives involve a response to neoliberal urban projects promoted by the local administration. Thus, both initiatives are strategies to try to stop urban projects that, on the one hand, intend to prioritise the *exchange value* of the space over its *value in use* and, on the other hand, involve an assault on the identity and community fabric of each of these neighbourhoods.

The second goal of this research has made us wonder whether the urban gardens of Benimaclet and El Cabanyal can be considered forms of *collective collaborative action* (CCA). Although the concept of collective action has been widely used in the domain of sociology, our interest referred more specifically to the collaborative aspect of this action. In the frame of the project "Sharing Society", in which this research was carried out, CCA can be defined as

> *"the set of practices and formal interactions carried out among a plurality of individuals, groups or associations that share a sense of belonging or common interests, on the basis of collaboration and conflict with others, with the pretension of producing or stopping a social change through the mobilization of certain social actors" (Tejerina 2010)*

This definition of CCA is different from what is usually understood as the *sharing economy* in one key aspect: the sense of community. Collaborating is more than sharing because it implies participating actively in the conception and execution of initiatives, as well as developing a collective identity and conscious commitment to a community of equals. All these aspects are found in a more or less explicit way in our description of the urban gardens of Benimaclet and El Cabanyal. The informants in the first case highlighted that the main outcomes of this initiative were collective learning and innovation, identity strengthening and the generation of community, and political empowerment; however, in the second case, there was an intention to recover a public and sociability space and regenerate the neighbourhood through several actions designed to achieve its environmental sustainability and greater integration of the people living there.

Both initiatives are characterised, thus, by a clear defence, conquering, and recovery of the public space, a public space towards which they show a remarkable level of appreciation and sense of belonging. Hence, there is a crucial commitment to its recovery that could metaphorically be termed *therapeutic*: restore a public space worsened by the abandonment and degraded conditions to which it has been subjected by neoliberal urban policies. On the other hand, both experiences can be discursively framed in the perspective of the *right to the city* (Lefebvre 1975) and its implications in terms of reterritorialization of the movement, democratization of the urbanization processes, and territorial self-management. All of this leads them to propose the need to share power and decision-making, resources, efforts, information, and knowledge, in addition to satisfying needs –individual and collective– and taking responsibility for the common good. Finally, in these initiatives, there is also a component of resilience that must be highlighted because it promotes the development of adaptative and collaborative strategies, broadening and enriching the repertory of urban movements' actions and representing a clear change in strategy. The initiatives reviewed in this research involve an improvement in *resistance* and *adaptability* strategies, as defined by Jorge Wagensberg (2013), to the extent that they adopt a strategy characterised by the elaboration of proposals and alternative guidelines (*creativity*), in order to anticipate the foreseeable development of events.

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7. Methological Appendix

We use the case study methodology as a means of approximation, and specifically obtain information through six in-depth interviews with strategic informants, and document analysis (several on paper or virtual access).

8. Biographical Note

Rafael Castelló-Cogollos is PhD in Sociology (1999) and Associate Professor at the University of Valencia (Spain), where he teaches Social Structure of the Valencian Country and Sociostatistics. He has published in academic journals as well as contributing chapters to books. He has developed an intense knowledge transfer activity in Valencian society. His substantive research interests include political sociology, language sociology, national identities, citizen participation or the analysis of the class structure.

Ramon Llopis-Goig is PhD in Sociology (1996) and Associate Professor at the University of Valencia (Spain), where he teaches Sociology of Organizations and Social Research Methods. He is also Vice-Dean of Academic Planning of the Faculty of Social Sciences at the same university and Vice-President of the Spanish Association of Social Research Applied to Sport. He has published extensively in academic journals as well as contributing chapters to several books and his substantive research interests include consumption, culture, sport and leisure from a sociological perspective.

9. Notes

1 This research has been carried out within the project *Sharing Society. The impact of the Collaborative Collective Action. Some case-studies about the effects of practices, linkages, structures and mobilizations in the transformation of the Current Societies* (MINECO, CSO2016-78107-R). To contact authors: ramon.llopis@valencia.edu.
2 Considering that the cataloguing of Cabanyal as an "Asset of Cultural Interest" gave the neighbourhood a patrimonial status that left the final decision about the neighbourhood to the Ministry of Culture.

TRACK 1

Food and Agricultural Production

The Role of Digital Platforms in Agroecology Food Consumption Collaboration. A Comparison between Porto and Barcelona

Ricard Espelt[1] and Sara Moreira[2]

[1]Universitat Oberta de Catalunya
[2]Universitat Oberta de Catalunya and Universidade do Porto

Abstract: *Collaboration around food consumption has had an important role in the transformation of societies over time. From historical cooperatives to current urban commons, citizen self-management has allowed to build food supply alternatives linked to the principles of Social and Solidarity Economy (SSE). In the era of the Network Society, these organizations are adopting Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) in order to facilitate the management of food supply, internally and to interact with their providers (Espelt 2018). Departing from the framework for Assessing Democratic Qualities in Collaborative Economy Platforms (Fuster Morell and Espelt 2018), which focuses on governance, sustainability model, technological and knowledge policies, and social responsibility impact, we analyze how agroecological food consumption organizations are embracing digital platforms. We have focused our analysis on a set of organizations that have emerged in Greater Porto and Barcelona and the meeting-points of ICT adoption. Currently, Barcelona has around sixty agroecology food consumption cooperatives distributed along the city with around 1.500 consumption units associated. In Greater Porto, there is a low tradition of self-management initiatives and only a couple of consumer groups that can be considered agroecological and solidarity-oriented (Martins Soria 2016), though there are dozens of "short food supply chain" schemes, which have been formed in the last few years with the help of proprietary and centralized digital platforms. On the one hand, the results of this investigation reveal the significance of the role of digital platforms in agroecology food consumption organizations which are involved in and promoting social market. On the other, the conclusions highlight the possibilities of platform cooperativism as a way to facilitate agroecology food consumption collaboration and its scalability, in connection with democratic qualities in collaborative economy platforms.*

Keywords: *Food, agroecology, commons, cooperativism, platformcoop*

1. Introduction: Commons and cooperativism encounter

In Catalonia, two historical events that took place in parallel at the end of the nineteenth century — the culmination of a dispossession of communal property and the industrialization and urbanization of cities — entail the generation of a working class that begins to organize itself through associationism (Miró 2017). In the same way, in Portugal cooperativism started to emerge in the mid-19th century (its Basilar Law of 1867 is one of the first statutes in the world), and was deeply linked to the slow processes of industrialization and urbanization, even though agriculture remained the major economic activity in the country until 1960s. Freire and Pereira (2017:321) point out "co-operation in the sphere of consumption was mainly a strategy to resist speculation, exploitation and political oppression."

Cooperativism allows the preservation of the ancestral communal management (Ugarte 2014) and, as an instrument of the SSE, to imagine a "sustainable, democratic and inalienable management of the commons" (Sabín 2015:5). That is, SSE can be an economy for common goods if it has the transformative capacity to build a post-capitalist model. Collado and Casadevente (2015:59-60) propose five premises to make this possible:

> *"produce to meet the basic needs of society in a reproducible way, to work beyond capitalist and patriarchal relationships, internal and external democratization from cooperativism, reduction of environmental goods and defense of the territory and reproduction of cooperative goods and cooperative democratization of economic practices." (Collado and Casadevente 2015:59-60)*

Self-management organization has a link with two historical approaches that find a new amplification space within the Internet. On one hand, the tradition of self-management of common goods that, with the emergence of the Internet, has the possibility to reconfigure itself again around the Free Culture Movement and the digital commons (Fuster Morell et al. 2015). On the other hand, the tradition of cooperativism as a space for citizen self-management. Scholz (2016), in Platform Cooperativism, states that the cooperative movement must reach an agreement with the technologies of the 21st century, since the cooperative values must serve as the basis for the construction of technological platforms that allow them to amplify their virtues. Platform cooperativism promotes digital platforms based on collective ownership; the decent payment and the income security of its workers; the transparency and portability of data; the appreciation and recognition of the value generated through its activity; collective decision-making; a protective legal framework; the transferable protection of workers and the coverage of social benefits; the protection against arbitrary behavior in the rating system; the rejection of excessive vigilance in the workplace; and, finally, the right of workers to disconnect (Scholz 2016). At the same time, Fuster Morell (2016) indicates that the construction of the technological platforms is not a minor issue and that platform cooperativism must adopt free software and open licenses. In short, it originates from a self-managed governance, which allows the development of a community of digital commons, which should approach an "open cooperative" model (Bauwens 2014) as an antithesis of the «Unicorn» platforms — corporate, hierarchical and proprietary software (Lee 2013; Fuster Morell 2016; Cruz 2017; Glasner 2017).

Although it may seem that there is a disconnection between the two models (platform coop and unicorns), the border is not accurate and the line drawn between the two is extremely complex (Figure 1). For this reason, the «Analytical framework of the democratic and procommons qualities of collaborative economic organizations» (Fuster Morell et al. 2017) is a useful tool to review holistically the characterization of each digital platform.
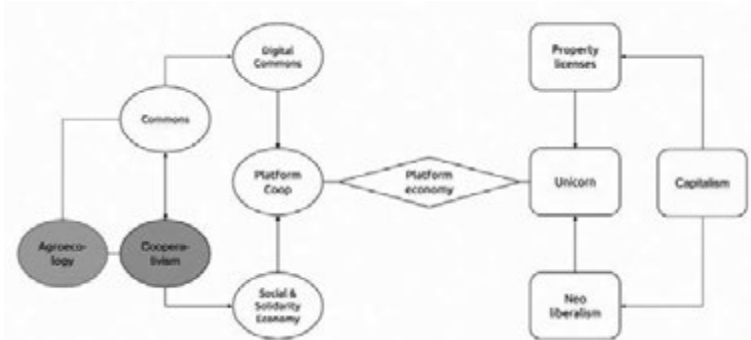
Figure 1. Agroecology Digital Platforms Paradigm (Espelt 2018)

2. Analytical Framework of Democratic Qualities of Digital Platforms

According to Fuster et al. (2017), the democratic qualities of digital platforms are articulated around three main dimensions, with six subdivisions (Figure 2):

Figure 2. Procommons Collaborative Economy Analytical Star Framework

2.1. Governance and Economics

The way that the project or platform is governed is connected to its underlying economic model:

• Governance: This aspect regards democratic enterprises and involving the community generated value in the platform governance. This aspect also regards the decision-making model of the organization, and mechanisms and political rules of participation in the digital platform.

- Economic model: This aspect regards whether the project's financing model is based on private capital, ethical finance, or a distributed fund (crowdfunding or match-funding), the business models, mechanisms of economic transparency, how far profitability is driven in the whole plan, distribution of value generated, and equity payment and labour rights. This aspect regards ensuring equitable and timely remuneration, and access to benefits and rights for workers (maximization of income, salary predictability, safe income, protection against arbitrary actions, rejection of excessive vigilance at the workplace, and the right to disconnect).

2.2. Knowledge and Technological Policies

The adoption of certain technological tools or licenses impacts the way the platform promotes knowledge:

- Knowledge policy: Regards the type property, as established by the license used (free licenses or proprietary licenses) for the content and knowledge generated, type of data (open or not), the ability to download data (and in which formats), and the promotion of the transparency of algorithms, programs, and data. This aspect regards privacy awareness, the protection of property including personal data, and preventing abuse and the collection or sharing of data without consent. This aspect also regards guaranteeing the portability of data and reputation.
- Technological policy: This aspect concerns the type of property and freedom associated with the software used and its license (free or proprietary) and the model of technology architecture: distributed (using blockchain, for example) or centralized (software as a service).

2.3. Social responsibility and Impact

These dimensions relate to any source of awareness and responsibility regarding the externalities and negative impacts, such as social exclusion and social inequalities, the inclusion of gender, regarding the equal access to the platform of people with all kinds of income and circumstances in an equitable and impartial way (without discrimination). This aspect regards compliance with health and safety standards that protect the public, and the environmental impact (promoting sustainable practices that reduce emissions and waste, taking into account the rebound effect they can generate and the most efficient use of resources, the origin and production conditions of the goods and services they offer, minimizing resource use, and recycling capacity), and the impact in the policy arena, and the preservation of the right to the city of its inhabitants and the common good of the city. This aspect also regards the protection of the general interest, public space, and basic human rights such as access to food.

3. Results

3.1. Greater Porto

The history of consumption cooperativism in Porto goes back to the late nineteenth century but nowadays it is quite rare to find consumer groups that follow principles of cooperation, self-management, solidarity and agroecology (Martins Soria 2016) – most of the initiatives directly connecting farmers with consumers are based on the individual action of small farmer-entrepreneurs. However, there has been a boom of "short food supply chain" schemes in the last few years with the help of mainly proprietary and centralized digital platforms.

AMAP | https://amap.movingcause.org

Associação para a Manutenção da Agricultura de Proximidade (AMAP) is a community-supported agriculture scheme where consumers commit to pay in advance a complete season of agro-production from one or more farmers, and then receive weekly baskets of certified organic vegetables and other food goods. There are currently three active AMAP groups in the Greater Porto area: AMAP Porto (launched in 2016), Gaia (2016) and Matosinhos (2018), summing a total of roughly 70 consumers and 7 producers.

• Governance: each AMAP constitutes an informal association, without legal status, with relative democratic governance: there are one to two meetings a year to present results, reflect on the evolution of the group and discuss future plans. Some groups foster self-management in the delivery points, although participation response is low.
• Economic model: AMAP's financing model is based on autonomy (no external funding) through participation of consumers. Instead of profit, the model aims at providing a dignified life for farmers (timely remuneration in the beginning of the season; safe income; and protection against unforeseen events affecting the production). Some economic information is accessible to the community.
• Technological policy: Google forms to organize orders and distribution plans, allowing for easy collaboration between different producers who provide a group of consumers. One AMAP is parallelly adopting Open Food Network's open source platform Katuma.
• Knowledge policy: There is no formal policy regarding knowledge, content or data, although they are partly open access, and replicable on demand (AMAP members provide support to new groups that want to set up, facilitating tools and knowledge).
• Social responsibility: No policy or action about inclusion, though it is discussed. Every AMAP follows a Charter of Principles concerned with agroecological practices, human-scale bonds, and food as a commons (and not as a commodity).
• Impact: the model has been adopted by five consumption groups in Northern Portugal and more are preparing to do so. In December 2018 existing groups got together and launched the Portuguese Network of Solidarity Agroecology, Regenerar.

Fruta Feia | https://frutafeia.pt

Fruta Feia is a consumption cooperative which aims at reducing food waste, by buying directly from farmers the produce that the big retail shops reject due to nonconforming size or aesthetics. It was launched in 2013 in Lisbon, and today has 11 delivery points ("delegations") around the county, three of which in the Greater Porto area (Porto, Gaia, Matosinhos).

- Governance: By default, consumers have to be associate members of the cooperative, but without vote: decisions, assemblies and reports are restricted to few co-op members who have the right to vote. Some participation tools are provided, the delivery is co-managed with volunteers.
- Economic model: A series of awards in 2013-2014 as well as a crowdfunding campaign helped to launch and expand the cooperative. The co-op is also supported by membership fees. Some economic information is accessible to the community, but full economic reports are only available for members with vote.
- Technological policy: the platform is based on Drupal (GNU General Public License)
- Knowledge policy: It presents a clear privacy policy and confidentiality notice concerning GDPR. Content licenses are not available, nor data for download.
- Social responsibility: It focuses on providing opportunities for "rejected" farmers by providing their products to consumers concerned with social justice and environmental protection. It also offers baskets that are left over to social institutions.
- Impact: Fruta Feia currently has 11 active delegations, and has been adopted by 190 producers and more than 5000 consumers, saving 15 tons of food waste per week.

PROVE | http://www.prove.com.pt/www/sk-pub-nucleos.php?dst=3

PROVE (acronym of Promote and Sell) is a network that promotes short food supply chains. It was publicly launched in 2006 as a brand, bringing together local entities, public authorities, farmers and consumers in two municipalities of central Portugal, and today is disseminated across most of the national territory. It has 30 active groups / "nuclei" in Greater Porto.

- Governance: a regional development association, Adrepes, is responsible for managing the core and backoffice; 16 "local action groups" promote PROVE in their territories; they meet once a year.
- Economic model: the project has been funded by European funds since conception but it is not sustainable for promoters; the current economic model is being reorganized and will possibly start charging producers (for the platform and promotion). No economic information is publicly available, but the interviewee pointed an annual turnover of roughly 3.5 million euro.
- Technological policy: the platform (GPROVE) was developed 10 years ago mostly in PHP and is based on proprietary applications with some open libraries; the source code is available for 10.000€;
- Knowledge policy: all rights reserved; GDPR guaranteed; no data for download.
- Social responsibility: it started by training farmers on the use of computers and internet, until they could manage orders by themselves; it promotes job creation in the agricultural sector; concerning the environment, all deliveries are in a radius of 50km; all vegetables are fresh and seasonal.
- Impact: it is the most disseminated short food supply chain mechanism in Portugal, with 112 delivery points in 12 districts (out of 18).

Reforma Agrária | https://www.reformaagraria.pt/

Launched in August 2018 by the initiative of two independent developers, Reforma Agrária promotes the direct connection between farmers and consumers (sales do not go through the website).

- Governance: individual enterprise without legal status; no participation tools are provided (except for a Facebook discussion group);
- Economic model: the platform is free of costs for farmers, but aims at becoming sustainable by possibly introducing agrarian real estate for rent/sale. No economic information is accessible to the community;
- Technological policy: proprietary software (VBNet, .NET, Windows server): No tech tool is based on FOSS; centralized architecture;
- Knowledge policy: there is not an explicit license, nor is data downloadable.
- Social responsibility: it has some inclusion policies such as the role of facilitators to help bring opportunity to farmers who are digitally excluded.
- Impact: The platform has been adopted by 83 producers, mostly from Northern Portugal, but it is not clear whether they are actually benefiting from it.

Sachar | http://www.sachar.pt

Sachar was launched in 2015 by a former banker who had started to dedicate to amateur agriculture after a health problem, and soon faced the problem of the outflow of his own production. The idea was to provide a platform where small farmers could announce their products and surpluses, for offer or sale at a fair price.

- Governance: property of a private enterprise, there are no tools for participation.
- Economic model: the platform is non-profit and does not intervene in economic activities - it simply serves as a catalog of farmers and their produce, to facilitate contact with interested consumers. There is no economic information available.
- Technological policy: the first version was developed with Ruby On Rails (open source software), but it "became unbearable in terms of maintenance costs". The second version is currently under development using Wordpress.
- Knowledge policy: it is a registered brand, it doesn't have licensing policies (GDPR was one of the reasons why the platform has been temporarily taken down for maintenance).
- Social responsibility: it aims at supporting "unprotected farmers" and fighting food waste.
- Impact: the platform is currently unavailable online therefore it was not possible to confirm its outreach.

Smart Farmer | https://www.smartfarmer.pt/

SmartFarmer is an agri-food consumption platform acting at the national level in Portugal. It was launched in August 2016 by Oikos - one of the country's largest NGOs - in partnership with the Vodafone Foundation.

- Governance: it is managed by an NGO; no participation tools are provided
- Economic model: the platform was developed with funding and expertise from Vodafone Foundation. It charges farmers 16% of their sales. No economic information is provided;
- Technological policy: proprietary software with centralized architecture;
- Knowledge policy: copyright / no data downloadable;
- Social responsibility: it "aims at contributing to the rural development and the growth of the local economy, as well as enhancing agri-food supply chains and proximity markets";
- Impact: It has been adopted by 77 "sellers" around the country.

3.2. Barcelona

Barcelona has a great experience of agroecology cooperativism. The first organizations appeared on the last years of 1980s and first of 1990s. In a deep study of the impact of ICT in the transformation of the agroecological cooperatives of the city, Espelt (2018) concluded organizations are adopting platforms in order to organize their consumption activity (around 80% use a digital a platform and find it highly relevant for the management of the organization). At the same time, we observe two trends: on the one hand, cooperatives which adopt private software (especially Google tools), on the other, organizations that develop software in the basis of digital commons.

El Bròquil del Gòtic | https://github.com/tiendan/broquil

El Bròquil del Gòtic is a consumption group with the legal form of association launched in 2010. Around thirty consumer units members are involved in the organization. One volunteer of the cooperative has developed a digital platform which is only used internally in this group.

- Governance: The consumption group has a horizontal management and decision-making process. The software is on GitHub (currently with 2 contributors).
- Economic model: Non profit organization with no professional tasks in the cooperative so it is self-managed with voluntary dedication. Each member has their role and some of the tasks are rotative. This includes technological development.
- Technological policy: The source code is uploaded on GitHub but there is no specific license associated to it.
- Knowledge policy: The contents of the organization are in Google Blogspot without any type of license.
- Social responsibility: As the majority of Barcelona agroecological cooperatives, it cares about local consumption, social justice and environmental issues.
- Impact: Since now, the platform has been adopted only by El Bròquil del Gòtic.

Germinal | http://www.coopgerminal.coop/

Germinal is one of the main references in agroecology consumption cooperatives in the city of Barcelona. The first group of the organization was launched in 1993 in Sants as a cooperative. The model allowed the creation of different groups in other neighbourhoods and cities abroad. Germinal developed a platform which allows the management of the different groups.

- Governance: Each group, organized with different commissions, has its own assembly but the final resolutions depend on the general assembly (which involves all the groups). This model of decision making process involves all the elements of the cooperative, ICT as well.
- Economic model: Like El Bròquil del Gòtic.
- Technological policy: The platform is developed with Drupal (GNU) license.
- Knowledge policy: There is no specific license regarding contents and the data is not downloadable.
- Social responsibility: Like El Bròquil del Gòtic.
- Impact: The platform has been adopted by the whole Germinal organizations (Sants, Sarrià, Farró, Poble-sec, Rubí).

Aixada | https://github.com/jmueller17/Aixada

Aixada (launched in 2013) is an open Source platform that helps people to organize an alternative consumption cooperative. It is built for managing the ordering, buying, selling and handling of products between end-consumers and local producers. This software platform has been used first in the Aixada cooperative located in Barcelona where it self-administers over 700 products distributed over roughly 60 local, organic providers among 40 households. The platform combines a normal shopping cart application with a module for ordering products from providers. Apart from self-administered buying and selling it also helps to manage cooperative members, keep track of product stock, money and consumption patterns.

• Governance: A small group of developers takes into consideration the requirements of the organizations that have adopted it. The software is on GitHub (currently with 9 contributors).
• Economic model: Like El Bròquil del Gòtic and Germinal.
• Technological policy: GNU license.
• Knowledge policy: Aixada cooperative uses Wordpress with no license associated.
• Social responsibility: Like El Bròquil del Gòtic and Germinal.
• Impact: Apart from the own cooperative, Aixada has been adopted by other Barcelona city agroecology cooperatives (Can Pujades, Cydonia, Verdnou, Mespilus, Estèvia, Girasol de Sant Martí, La Tòfona).

Aplicoop | http://aplicoop.sourceforge.net/

Aplicoop 3.0 is an application that allows consumers to shop online, manage groups of purchases, prepare orders, invoice, etc. It has been developed for the management of a consumer cooperative where all partners are volunteers, and both orders to suppliers, such as the preparation of baskets for members, as collections and payments are made by the members themselves on a rotating basis and in commissions. The first version of the software was launched in 2009.

• Governance: Aplicoop is an online community, where users can request future developments.
• Economic model: It is a non-profit organization.
• Technological policy: GNU-GPLv3 license.
• Knowledge policy: Data is fully downloadable.
• Social responsibility: The project promotes consumer cooperatives, procommon activity and local consumption.
• Impact: Two groups have adopted Aplicoop in Barcelona: 30 Panxes and L'Economat Social (in spite of that, this one has changed to a new platform in 2017).

Katuma | http://katuma.org/

Katuma is an agroecology consumption platform based on commons collaborative economy values. The project was started in 2012 and was developed by Coopdevs, a non-profit association focused on free and open software to promote social and solidarity economy projects. From early 2017, Katuma is part of the international project Open Food Network.

- Governance: The digital platform is managed by a cooperative whose members are producers, second grade and consumer organizations, with a democratic decision-making process.
- Economic model: The project gets sources from projects promoted by public administration (it is also a part of H2020 project), has participated in a match-funding campaign and monthly quotas from its members (in the upcoming months).
- Technological policy: GNU Affero General Public License v3.0 (AGPL).
- Knowledge policy: The contents are under a Creative Commons (BY NC) license.
- Social responsibility: The project is focused on connecting producers and consumers in terms of social justice.
- Impact: currently growing, it has around 15 consumer groups (201 family units that belong to those active organizations) and producers actively using the platform scattered around Catalunya, Porto and Canary Islands.

La Colmena Que Dice Sí! | https://lacolmenaquedicesi.es/es

La Colmena que dice sí! (LCQDS) is an online farmers' market that aims to help farmers sell their produce directly to consumers. Founded in France in 2010 by Guilhem Cheron and Marc-David Choukroun, the platform was originally called La Ruche qui dit Oui!. There are branches in France, Belgium, Spain, Germany, Denmark, the Netherlands, UK (no longer active), Switzerland and Italy. Anyone can open a node in their neighbourhood and recruit local farmers to sell there. Customers can place orders through the online platform and then pick up their orders at a local venue from the producers.

- Governance: The digital platform is managed by the promoters. Those responsible for each node have the possibility to participate (limited) in the decision-making processes.
- Economic model: Private capital allowed the development of the platform. Each node has a promoter who receives 8.35% of sales as compensation for its coordination work and invigorating the community. The promoter of the project receives another 8.35% of the income for the platform maintenance and the producers charge 83.3% of the sale price.
- Technological policy: Copyright.
- Knowledge policy: Copyright, data is not downloadable .
- Social responsibility: The project promotes local consumption and is B Corp certified.
- Impact: Currently there are 14 organizations in the city of Barcelona (two under construction).

4. Data Analysis

From the set of cases under analysis, two very different approaches have been identified concerning the role of technology in the work of the organizations: whereas for seven of them the digital platform itself represents the core of the organization and has been developed as a service or a free tool for others to use (Cases 4, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11 and 12), on the other hand there are five cases where the technology is simply a tool to make the organizing of orders and distribution more efficient, while the focus relies in the socio-economic dimensions of collaborative food provision (Cases 1, 2, 3, 7 and 8).

Moreover, there are also important disparities concerning the way the cases have come to life: from the bottom-up approaches of consumers, farmers, developers coming together to

organize their own food system (Cases 1, 2, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11), to the more top-down approaches implemented by institutions with access to relevant funding (private or European-level) (Cases 3, 6, 12). Between bottom-up and top-down, there is the spontaneous initiative of individuals who have developed platforms because they identified a need - although they don't seem to have a very clear strategy or sustainability model (Cases 4, 5).

With these considerations as a starting point, the comparative analysis (see Table 1) shows that none of the cases completely fulfills the commons balance dimensions, although in general the bottom-up approaches are better ranked. There is a clear overall pro-common tendency in the cases from Barcelona while the Portuguese are less aligned with a pro-commons model.

Whereas the majority of the cases cover the social dimensions concerning social inclusion and environmental policies, the knowledge dimension is the one with less active supporters, both concerning licensing and (open) data. Case 10 (Aplicoop) is the one accomplishing more commons criteria (except for the economic transparency and impact dimensions, which are only partially fulfilled), followed by Cases 9 and 11 (Aixada and Katuma), who respectively do not fulfill the open data and decentralized technology requirements.

Open participation and economic transparency are the qualities with more discrepancy between the two regions: while in Barcelona, all cases except 12 (LCQDS) accomplish these dimensions, in Porto none of the platforms completely fulfills these goals, although Cases 1 and 2 (AMAP and Fruta Feia) have some limited mechanisms and aim for it.

Dimensions	Sub-dimensions	Porto						Barcelona					
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
GOV	Type of organization	■	■	▧	□	□	▧	■	■	■	■	■	□
	Open participation	▧	▧	□	□	□	□	■	■	■	■	■	▧
ECON	Goal	■	■	□	▧	■	□	■	■	■	■	■	■
	Transparency	▧	▧	□	□	□	□	■	■	■	▧	■	■
TECH	FLOSS	□	■	□	□	■	□	▧	■	■	■	■	□
	Decentralized	□	□	□	□	□	□	■	□	■	■	□	□
KNOWL	Copyleft	▧	▧	□	□	□	□	□	▧	▧	■	■	□
	Open data	□	□	□	□	□	□	□	□	□	■	▧	□
SOC	Social justice	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	■	□
	Green	■	■	▧	■	▧	■	■	■	■	■	■	■
IMPACT	Adopters	■	■	■	▧	▧	■	□	▧	■	▧	■	■

Table 1. Comparison Between the Cases through the Commons Balance

Note: Dark grey: fulfilment, Light grey: Partial fulfilment; White: unfulfillment. Cases: 1. AMAP, 2. Fruta Feia, 3. Prove, 4. Reforma Agrária, 5. Sachar, 6. Smart Farmer, 7. El Bròquil del Gòtic, 8. Germinal, 9. Aixada, 10. Aplicoop, 11. Katuma, 12. La colmena que dice sí. [Table 1. Comparison Between the Cases through the Commons Balance.]

5. Conclusions

From the results of the analysis about the role of ICT (predominant in more than half of the cases), we can conclude that agroecology cooperativism is transforming into a new agroecology platform cooperativism. In spite of that, the 12 cases analyzed showed different levels of connection with the SSE and Digital Commons frameworks, networks, and values. On one hand, Barcelona has a better procommon approach; on the other, the social dimensions are more accomplished than knowledge and technological policies. The expansion of the social solidarity economy movement in the city of Barcelona (Fernàndez and Miró 2017) may explain the better approach to SSE principles. At the same time, while some organizations have trended to promote platforms beyond private technological solutions, they have not had much attention to knowledge generation (dismissing licenses and the possibility to download data).

Other important consideration of our investigation is the impact. Even though Porto cases have less accomplishment of the democratic and procommons qualities, their impact is higher in terms of adoption. The case of LCQDS in Barcelona, with a great expansion in the last years, confirms this behavior. This observation connects —in the majority of cases— with the duality from bottom-up to top-down approach: currently, private or institutional top-down platforms are creating a bigger impact than bottom-up ones. It seems that grassroots movements have more difficulties to scale their impact.

To sum up, our investigation shows the relevance to consider the whole analysis of a digital platform in order to connect socioeconomic values with technological and knowledge ones. Furthermore, the platforms with a better democratic approach have the challenge to improve their scalability and sustainability.

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7. Methodological Appendix

Methodology is based on an in-depth 12 case study comparison. Data collection was based on interviews and digital ethnography (in order to collect information about knowledge and technological policies and social networks), from September 2017 to February 2019. Data analysis combined qualitative and visual analysis of data from interviews and digital ethnography. Regarding the sample, we have chosen the more significant digital platforms with impact in Barcelona and Porto (six from each city).

8. Bibliographical Note

Ricard Espelt is a Dimmons postdoc researcher. PhD in Information Society and Knowledge by the Internet Interdisciplinary Institute (IN3) at the Open University of Catalonia (UOC). He is also a Fine Arts graduate by the University of Barcelona and has developed a different type of creative and interdisciplinary art projects. Last publication: Espelt, R., Peña-López, I., Miralbell, O., Martín, T. & Vega, N. (2019). The Impact of Information and Communication Technologies in Agroecological Cooperativism in Catalonia. Agricultural Economics. ISSN: 1805-9295.

Sara Moreira is a PhD candidate on Information and Knowledge Society at the Internet Interdisciplinary Institute of the Open University of Catalonia (IN3/UOC), where she collaborates with the Dimmons research group. Her research focuses on the communicative ecologies of commons-oriented organizations in Portugal and Catalonia and is also hosted by the Institute of Sociology of the University of Porto.

9. Abbreviations

• **SSE:** Social and Solidarity Economy
• **LCQDS:** La Colmena que dice Sí!

10. Notes

TRACK 1

Food and Agricultural Production

The Role of Communal Lands in The Revitalization of Rural Areas in Portugal

Pedro Manuel Hespanha

Centro de Estudos Sociais, Universidade de Coimbra

Abstract: *Communal lands were essential for the survival of communities in pre-modern societies being traditionally used for cultivation or grazing, collecting wood or stone for buildings, bushes for fuel or for fertilization, honey production, etc. In Portugal, they have survived to this day, despite the attacks that were driven mainly from the second half of the eighteenth century by an adverse state inspired by liberal thinking and by a fierce and powerful rural bourgeoisie who anxiously wanted to lay hands on these lands. The fact that communities have had to face attacks from different antagonists (feudal nobility, gentlemen farmers, landowning bourgeoisie, physiocratic, liberal and positivist thinkers, modern state administration) has strengthened ties and strengthened collective action in communities. The recognition of community property by the Constitution of the Portuguese Republic of 1976 was an opportunity to recreate new forms of use of common goods more appropriate to contemporary realities. Some of these ways were aimed at revitalizing communities through collective action and investment in material and social capital; some other ways have sought to broaden and diversify access to the use of common goods in order to meet the demands of external users such as tourism, sports or leisure agencies. In these cases, the activities carried out could involve a high degree of commodification, unlike what happened in the first ones when the "solidarity economy" was strengthened. The presentation of two cases with different orientations allows for a debate on the future of communal lands in Portugal and on the risks and challenges of the new uses of these lands.*

Keywords: *Communal land; democratic governance; reciprocity; solidarity; commodification*

1. Introduction

There is a renewed interest in the theme of commons in large part inspired by concerns about environmental problems arising from the unlimited use of common goods (Demetz 1967, Hardin 1968, McCay and Acheson 1987), but also inspired by other concerns such as socio-economic development or the search for alternatives to the private management of common interests (Wade, 1987) or the understanding of historical processes of change in property regimes (Moor, Shaw-Taylor and Warde 2002).

Besides the diversity of views on the common goods, the concept itself is distinguished by its complexity, uncertainty, and institutionality (Van Laerhoven and Ostrom, 2007). Complexity has to do fundamentally with the way in which ecological systems interact with social systems and assumes larger proportions whenever this interaction involves differentiated social groups and multiplicity of uses, as is the case that we will analyze. Uncertainty has to do with the unpredictability of the effects of complex interactions between ecological systems and social

systems, such as when "institutional arrangements leave a wide margin of choice and when each individual effect depends on the action of others" (Ostrom 2005: 48-49). We will see this when analyzing the effects of the community's slowing down of control over access to communal land by outsiders. Finally, institutionality has to do with how the practices of use of common goods are embedded in systems of beliefs, values, norms, and roles, that is, in specific institutions (Popkin 1979, Wagner 1994).

Among the universe of "common", the communal lands stand out for their long history and diversified institutionalization. Communal lands or *baldios,* as designated in Portugal, were essential for the survival of communities until the advent of modernity and traditionally used for multiple activities: farming or grazing, collecting wood or stone for buildings, collecting bush for burning or for fertilization of the land, honey production, sand or water extraction, etc. In addition to the collective use of other resources in various ways - collective herds, communal kilns and fields, common use equipment, dikes and paths, etc. - communal lands were also used by neighbors for individual benefit according to customary rules that recognized free access to the means that those lands could offer and, at the same time, strictly regulated the forms of conflict resolution that occurred between common use and the individual use of these resources.

Communal lands have survived to this day, despite the attacks that were driven mainly from the second half of the eighteenth century by an adverse state inspired by liberal thinking and by a fierce and powerful rural bourgeoisie who anxiously wanted to lay their hands on these lands. The fact that the communities had to face attacks from different antagonists (feudal nobility, gentlemen farmers, landowning bourgeoisie, physiocratic, liberal and positivist thinkers, modern state administration) strengthened the bonds and reinforced collective action within them. Nevertheless, many of those communities could not avoid the usurpation of their common goods.

Modernity has changed lifestyles everywhere and created new opportunities for productive work outside rural communities. But as communal lands became less essential to the survival of communities, they underwent a process of decline and marginalization, accompanied by a shift in individuals' own ideas about the role of community and community resources in their economic and social reproduction. As communities are no longer dependent on *baldio*s for their subsistence and these become increasingly attractive to other agents interested in exploiting communal land on a commercial basis, these communities now consider the *baldios* more as a rental resource (from afforestation, wind farming, leased parcels, tourism, sport events, etc.) than as means of production. Moreover, as community control over the access of outsiders to communal lands slows down, the mining of the communal lands' resources or the immoderate use of them for sports and recreation is becoming a threat to the environmental balance.

The presentation of two cases that illustrate these different ways of using the *baldios*, resulting from an ethnographic study, allows us to feed and deepen a debate about the future of communal lands in Portugal and the risks and challenges of the new uses of these lands.

2. A Brief History of Communal Lands in Portugal

In the Portuguese case, the origins of communal lands are lost in time, but there is evidence that their possession was never peaceful and that communities had to face the almost constant risk of losing them in the face of threats from various sides. The best-documented history of the Portuguese communal lands shows that from the 12th to the 14th century there was a marked expansion of the *baldios*, related to the Christian re-conquest of the territories that had been occupied by the Muslims since the 8th century. Abundant royal concessions promoted the settlement of peasant families on reclaimed land, conferring them rights and in many cases, land for common use to thrive in self-managed communities. But this expansion did not go without difficulties. In the fourteenth century there arose a proto-bourgeoisie of traders claiming access to uncultivated fields and communal lands on the grounds that these were not producing surpluses for the market. Thereafter, the communities' complaints against the abuses of the nobles and the gentlemen farmers who illegally appropriated communal lands in a way that we today relate to the process of dismantling the pre-modern institutions.

Later in the eighteenth century, the population growth and the need to facilitate access to land, coupled with the influence of physiocratic doctrines, put communal lands in the face of new threats. Common property is increasingly seen as a remnant of the feudal regime that had to be abolished, but the resistance to these threats was always strong and manifested itself in protest actions registered in several points of the national territory (Rodrigues 1987; Tengarrinha 1994).

Throughout the nineteenth century the process of penetration of capitalist relations in agriculture accelerates and with it increases the pressure for the extinction of collective forms of property. Accordingly, new legislation, published between 1804 and 1815, allows for the division of communal land and its distribution by neighbors and, whenever this is not possible, imposes the transfer of the management of the *baldios* from the communities to the municipalities. Soon after, the liberal revolution of 1820 proved to be militantly anti-feudal and anti-communal, labelling the communitarian agro-pastoral system as the greatest embarrassment to the progress of agriculture (Herculano w / d: 35). This positivist idea of bringing "progress" to agriculture would inspire new legislation to attack the *baldios*, this time through the colonization of uncultivated and communal lands for landless peasants able to increase the production of food for the market.

Food shortages, especially during World War I, led governments through successive laws to encourage then increase in cultivates areas at the expense of communal lands. The most serious attack on the *baldios*, with this aim, was triggered during Salazar's dictatorship and operated on several fronts: by entitling municipalities to dispose of communal lands; by settling peasant families in vacant lands; and by including about 80% of the communal land in a compulsory program of afforestation. These measures created resentment and revolt. Afforestation was seen by the communities as a "robbery" instead of a "gift", and the arrogant attitude of the forest rangers, the abusive intrusion of the Forest Services into the communal lands and the planting of forest species very vulnerable to fires prompted widespread popular resistance. But the government has consistently reacted to this resistance with intimidation, repression, and fines.

On a different scale, the pressure for the afforestation of the *baldios* is also related to the increase in the market prices of timber since the nineteenth century, and to the fact that investment in forest new plantations became very attractive for capitalists. Wood industry covered different areas all in expansion: housebuilding, furniture and shipbuilding, pulp and resin production, railways (Estevão 1983).

In 1974, the democratic regime that emerged from the "carnation revolution" recognized the communal communities that lost communal lands for afforestation as the legitimate owners and therefore as the deciders of how to manage the land and forest. Two years later, the new Political recognized the communal land as part of the public sector (and later, in 1982, as part of the "cooperative and social" sector). *Baldios* are now defined as areas of land autonomously owned and used by local communities as the heirs of the old communitarian forms of land ownership.

3. Some Experiences of Community Revitalization

The Portuguese countryside, with the exception of a narrow coastal belt where the activities most closely linked to the market are concentrated, is indelibly marked by an intense rural exodus that occurred in the last half-century. However, the recognition that there is a process of demographic decline and aging desertification of the Portuguese countryside, accompanied by a loss of density of social and economic activities, should not hide the fact that here and there, in these declining rural areas, it is possible to detect experiences of economic and social revitalization based on the active mobilization of communities around their communal lands with surprising success taking into account the fragility of the social and economic fabric of these communities.

These experiences constitute a very rich field of analysis of the conditions that can favor the revitalization of rural areas. Returning to the preponderant forms in the present use of the common lands above mentioned, we can identify the factors that, in each one of them, may influence the direction of the changes. Combining collective strategies with individual strategies allows for a stronger rooting of neighbors' economies in the community, regardless of a more mercantile or more communitarian orientation of these economies. That way, families may invest in market-oriented agriculture and at the same time benefit from the communitarian resources, either directly (via productive use of communitarian resources) or indirectly (via conversion of rents in social capital). This combination does not preclude the possibility of neighbors give priority to the strengthening social capital. In cases where a rentier strategy for managing the *baldio* is prevalent, the risk associated with it is the weakening of the social ties within the community, especially in the case of those families who least benefit from the investment in social capital, for instance in "local improvements that make the community more attractive as a place of residence, thus creating a more pleasant life for the population whose individual economies are no longer articulated with the use of common lands" (ibid.: 62). Finally, in cases where free access to the *baldio* by outsiders prevails, the related risk consists, in addition to weakening of the social ties, in the loss of control over the use of these lands and their potential degradation, either when it involves mass recreational, sport or leisure activities or when it involves uncontrolled exploitation of nonrenewable resources (Hardin, 1968). The probability of communal lands turning into exchange values is high in these cases and hardly compatible with a restrictive use for reasons of environmental protection.

Two case studies from recent studies carried out by the Center for Social Studies of the University of Coimbra (Caldas, 2013; Serra, 2013; Hespanha, 2014) allow us to deepen our knowledge about possible models of the revitalization of those communities owning *baldios*. What makes this comparison more relevant is the fact that these two cases concern the same geographical area - the Mountain of Lousã -, and share a common history until very recently, when they began to diverge in their strategic orientations: in one case, pointing towards a strengthening of community identity and, in the other, pointing towards an opening the access to outsiders by offering a wide range of recreational, sport and leisure services on a strict commercial perspective.

The mountain of Lousã was intensely populated in the past. An extensive area of communal land allowed for the survival of several mountain communities whose economic activity was based on poor agriculture and sheep and goat herding, also limited by the poverty of the land. The production and sale of charcoal from the communal woodlands also represented a complementary source of income. Against this background, it is better understood how the forced forestation of the *baldios*, which began in 1925, lasted until the 1950s, and the consequent reduction of the herds in forested areas generated an emigration flow to Lisbon, to Brazil and to North America that was already coming from the end of the century. XIX, and which culminated in the total depopulation of these places in the mid-1980s (Monteiro 1985). Later on, some of these places attracted people from distant urban centers, who were looking for the mountains for leisure and rest, converting the old shanty houses of the mountains into secondary residences and, to a lesser extent, foreign visitors who settled there moved by a desire to return to their origins, to a simple life and in harmony with nature (Dinis and Malta 2003: 119). This cultural and touristic attractiveness of mountain has been recognized by municipal planning when establishing that "the shanty villages of the mountain of Lousã are predominantly destined for housing, commerce, services and tourism and equipment for collective use" (Câmara Municipal da Lousã 2014).

Let us see in detail how the change of uses of the *baldios* has taken place and what strategies seem to be established in their governance.

Baldio de Vilarinho

The *baldio*, with one area of about one thousand hectares, has been used by the "community" of Vilarinho since immemorial time for a multitude of purposes: collection of stone and gravel for housebuilding and corrals for livestock; grasslands for sheep grazing; collection of wood and firewood; beekeeping; plantation of olive and chestnut trees; water collection and conduction for irrigation and for the operation of cereal mills.

During the dictatorship, the National Forest Services transformed much of traditional uses of the *baldio* into exclusive forest use. Under the close control of the forest rangers, the community members were forbidden to feed their flocks in the common lands as well as to remove logs, stones, gravel, grass and other fruits and waste products that were commonly used by them.

After the fall of the dictatorship in 1974 and enactment of the new law on communal lands (in 1976), the community elected the first Council of Users of the *Baldio* de Vilarinho and approved

a collective investment plan that included the construction of social equipment (a primary school, a health center, a civic center, a cemetery) and the opening of some roads and paths. In 2005, the Council of Users authorized the installation of a wind farm with a capacity of 35 MW, which represented a new and significant income for the community.

In 2006, the Community of Vilarinho decided to end up with the regime of association with the National Forest Service, which only came to be recognized by the court six years later. Thereafter, a new phase was inaugurated with the self-management of the common lands, very rich of initiatives for the strengthening of the collective life and the local cohesion, based on a set of strategic objectives widely consensual:

- **1.** to invest in the future, by preparing the young generations for the management of the forest, providing them with basic knowledge and experience and sensitizing families and the community in general to the economic, social and cultural value of the forest heritage;
- **2.** to preserve the heritage, by collecting information on traditional forms of land use using oral history;
- **3.** to involve children in collective community projects, such as Summer Schools for mini-groups (under the acronym "We are the owners of our mountains"). During school holidays, children are socialized in the baldio's management experience, allowing them to become aware of the importance of their involvement in community-based projects;
- **4.** to open the access of outsiders to the baldio, in order to let know them the variety of common resources that are available and to share with them the enjoyment of some of these resources in a way, at the same time, pedagogical and controlled. Since 2012, the community organizes mycological tours with the aim of training young people as well as external guests to identify the different species of mushrooms and to distinguish between those that are poisonous and those that are edible. Also, the experience of community involvement in educational activities related to the baldio has generated a set of pedagogical tools that are being made available to primary and secondary schools in the region.

Baldios da Lousã

This generic designation encompasses about 600 ha. of communal lands belonging to the agro-pastoral communities of Lousã, which, as previously mentioned, disappeared with emigration. The Association of the *Baldios da Lousã* was created to regulate and manage the use of communal lands, making the lands accessible to national and international tourists looking for leisure and adventure activities in areas of great natural and scenic value. For this purpose, the common lands were equipped with a campsite for 90 users, offering wooden houses for short stays, with old mountain stone houses adapted for tourism, with tracks for mountain bike competitions, with photo-safaris involving hunting animals and bird watching, pedestrian rails, mushroom picking. At the same time, a set of rules of conduct seek to discipline and guide the use of land for sporting practices in order to safeguard the correct use of tracks and infrastructures (Baldios da Lousã 2010, w/ d).

In contrast to the previous case, the Lousã common lands follow the associative management regime with the National Forest Service, thus providing the community with limited autonomy in forest management. Notwithstanding, the Association assures several services related to the

forest, such the clearing, pruning, thinning and deforestation, as well as the plantation of new areas, partly due to the insufficiency of the Forest Service.

The comparison of the two cases shows other significant differences. The first is the different understanding of who constitutes the *baldio*' community. In the case of Vilarinho, it is constituted by the residents who carry out their activity in the village and that, according to the customs recognized by the community, they have the right to use the *baldio*. In the case of the Baldios da Lousã, where traditional users emigrated, the community integrates both the population of the city of Lousã and national and foreign visitors. The future of the common lands of Lousã is thus dependent on the profile of these external users, who depend more and more of the local private operators of mountain tourism, leisure, and sports.

The second difference is in the governance model. The fact that the community of Vilarinho was one of the first to claim, after the fall of the dictatorship, the ownership of communal lands, came to strengthen social ties within the community and to consolidate a practice of governance that involved direct participation of the neighbors. This resulted in a concerted strategy aiming at strengthen the communitarian identity: an adjustment of the uses of the *baldio* to the current needs of the community, a compromise between the initiative of the neighbors and the preservation of the heritage, a compromise between innovation and traditions of the community, a socialization of the new generations in collective practices (Serra and Ferreira 2017), a controlled extension of the use of the *baldio* to non-neighbors who respect the culture of the community. In the case of the *Baldios da Lousã*, the sense of community has been lost due to the eclipse of the traditional communities, and the efforts to rebuild an extended community come up against the diverse, irregular, fortuitous and superficial profile of new users and new uses.

The third difference lies in the degree of commodification of the economic relations that have been established because of the *baldios*. In both cases, the communal lands are generating income but in only one of them (Vilarinho) the neighbors make productive use of the *baldio* either acting collectively or individually. The individual production, although linked to the market, corresponds more to small scale popular production than to capitalist production. What moves small-scale producers is more the need to improve living conditions through their own resources (mostly work) and cooperation with their neighbors, rather than the blind and incessant pursuit of profit. It is not only a matter of ensuring survival but also of living better. Moreover, the improvement of living conditions is not a personal objective, but an objective of the household and the economic reproduction of the household implies the reproduction of primary social networks by investing in reciprocity and solidarity at the community level (Hespanha 2009b). In this sense, economic relations are institutional or moral and not merely contractual and monetary (Popkin 1979).

4. Conclusions

Despite the apparent omnipresence of the market and profit, the communal lands are not limited to the passive condition of supporters of activities valued by the market. They are also a heritage of cultural and political significance, a repository of the experience of cooperation accumulated over generations. Communal lands generate identity and roots for those who are members of the community, operate as a school for learning democratic self-management

and for developing the capacities to collectively face problems that would be insurmountable. The autonomy they guarantee to the members of the communities, allows them to feel more secure and more apt to implement their initiatives and aspirations.

Tracing different trajectories vis-a-vis the market, the two analyzed cases do not cease to put us difficult questions about the future of communal lands and of their democratic governance.

Regarding the case of Vilarinho, it is important to know, among other questions: a) whether it will be possible to develop a strategy to reinforce collective life exclusively through the income generated by the *baldio*; (b) and, in the negative hypothesis, whether it will be possible to recreate an economy based on the productive work of neighbors when their education and qualifications are so distinct; and (c) whether "proximity" and "trust" are enough to maintain community ties among an increasingly differentiated population (in terms of age, education, and occupations).

In the case of Lousã, the following issues should be considered: (a) whether it is possible to develop a strategy for conserving democratic governance of communal lands on the basis of free access and free initiative of users; (b) whether it is possible to create a new identity for *baldio*'s users based solely on their consumption affinities; (c) the extent to which it is possible to maintain strict regulation of the use of communal land, without the opposition of market forces or their eviction.

The complexity and uncertainty of these processes of change do not allow for an easy answer to these questions. Where the processes of change denote the presence of a mercantile logic in consumers' and investors' choices and where individual interests are separated from collective interests, the sense of community is lost or assumes blurred contours at the same time that the market dynamics tend to exceed the rules that seek to regulate the activities in communal lands. Where, on the contrary, the changes are taking place in the sense of valuing both the material capital constituted by resources of local communities beyond the market and the social capital constituted by the heritage of "immaterial competences based on the qualified participation of the populations and on specific forms of organization (ANIMAR, 2013), ie. where changes take place in the countercurrent of the market and individual self-interests, then only a persistent and participatory collective action of neighbors materialized in economic practices based on cooperation and solidarity and a sense of widely shared community can absorb and value the diversity of skills and aspirations of neighbors and maintain a high degree of autonomy in the use of communal goods.

Being nowadays a seemingly residual reality, these cases of community revitalization make it possible to perceive the importance of the common goods (whatever their nature) in the fulfillment of local development aspirations, understood as a participatory and democratic process of change, which brings a better life for all.

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6. Methodological Appendix

The aim of the research was to identify the changes in the use of communal land in Portugal and to analyse under which conditions it could support the revitalization of rural areas in decline. The text is based on a case study research method focusing on a single entity, the communal lands of the Lousã mountain, historically divided into different communities whose mode of use of the land evolved in contrasting ways. Ethnographic observation, interviews and documental analysis were the main research tools involved in the study. Fieldwork was carried throughout 2014.

7. Data Sources

• Official, press, and advertising documents
• Interviews to local informants, members of directive boards, and communal land users legislation
• Minutes from the communal land directive boards
• Direct observation
• Database from the research project SCRAM - Crises, risk management and new socio-ecological arrangements for forests: a perspective from science and technology studies, organized by CES – Center for Social Studies, University of Coimbra and funded by the Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology.

8. Biographical Note

Sociologist and founding member of CES – Center for Social Studies, University of Coimbra. Jubilated Professor at the Faculty of Economics of Coimbra. Participated as main researcher in several national and international research projects and research networks, dealing with active social policy, social exclusion and poverty, employment and unemployment experiences and strategies. Coordinates the Research Group on Solidarity Economy (ECOSOL/CES). Latest publications: 2018. "The impact of crisis and austerity on social services and social workers in Portugal." Pp. 33-56 *in Financial Crisis and Social Work,* edited by Christos Panagiatopoulos. Beau Bassin: Lap Lambert Academic Publishing; 2017. *Trabalho e Políticas de Emprego. Um retrocesso evitável* edited by Pedro Hespanha, M. Carvalho da Silva and J. Castro Caldas. Lisboa: Conjuntura Actual Editora. Main research areas of interest: Social Policy, solidarity economy and other economies.

TRACK 1

Food and Agricultural Production

Reviving the "Hakora." Local Farming and Collaborative Efforts

Abeer Musleh

Bethlehem University

Abstract: *This paper looks at two local initiatives in agriculture that worked on enhancing a meaning for agriculture land beyond its economic value. It explores building a collective meaning within a group and a community to create a change in the community. This paper is based on qualitative research methodology interviews were conducted with leaders of the two groups conducting the initiatives. The research focused on the process in which the group lived, the challenges, and the process of building their collective vision and power. This study explores two cases launched at different times, and utilized different structures for their work. This study found that joint learning, working directly in the land was essential to build the internal collective vision of the group and its sense of agency and trust in its members. Voluntary working days, workshops with the community were important to build the connection with a larger community. Depending on larger networks in which each group members bring were important to sustain the sense of agency in the two initiatives.*

Keywords: *Food sovereignty, youth, collective action, agency, community building*

1. Introduction

The *Hakora* is a piece of land that is adjacent to the house, in which families plant their vegetables and fruits over the year and provide the house with the needed food basket. Exchanging food products of the *Hakora* with neighbors is a well-known practice in the Palestinian society. Since the colonization of Palestine in the year 1948 the role of agriculture changed due to the loss of the land, and the Israeli policies that wanted the land without the people[1]. Hence, the role of the *Hakora* in the daily lives of the Palestinian household became almost nonexistent.

The signing of the Oslo Accords and the economic agreements between the Israeli and Palestinians,[2] led to an increase of restrictions on the use of land and water by Palestinian farmers. The agricultural land and water resources are all in area C that according to the Oslo Accords is under the total control of the Israeli colonial regime[3] (ARIJ 2015). Furthermore, the Palestinian Authority (PA) provided limited support for small farmers especially with neoliberal economy policies implemented (ARIJ 2015). PA economic policies in the agriculture sector focused on larger farms and producing for export rather than securing the food basket of Palestinian population. Currently, the Palestinian economy is totally dependent on the Israeli economy, with high levels of unemployment, and little to no food sovereignty. For example, in Gaza we noticed that the planting strawberries took priority over products that provide the community with its food basket. With siege on Gaza, produce exports are totally dependent on the acceptance of the Israeli colonial regime to allow passage through the checkpoints.

These policies combined with the Israeli policies for land grab (de facto annexation) were major factors in disempowering the people and increased calls for "resistance economic" policies instead. Resistance economy (RE) is not a new concept, but it was used by the Palestinians in a way that it connected the notion of *sumud* (steadfastness) and *muqawima* (resistance). This concept emphasized 'moving from defensive forms of survival to offensive modes of struggle' (Dana 2014; Tabar 2015 seen in Salzmann, 2018). It is reflected through providing people with power to build independent economic structures that can be presented through building "people self-sufficiency, with emphasis on returning to the land, building agricultural development and attaining food self-sufficiency." (Tabar 2015, seen in Salzmann). The concept emphasized that expanding agriculture is a confrontation of colonial power through reclaiming resources and creating a resisting economy that could sustain people and enable daily conquests in cumulative struggle for liberation.

The RE discourse is in line with the international debate about food sovereignty and resisting globalization and in which many local practices emerged around the world. Studies about local economies and food focused on the alternative agricultural methods possible such as organic, environmental, and sustainable agriculture. It emphasized building connections within a community, the context in which agriculture takes place and the inputs of agriculture (Schnell 2007; DeLind 1999; Duram 2005).

Internationally, the focus on the way that people eat created a change in the food economy worldwide. Alternative methods for agriculture concentrated on: producing quality products, building agricultural knowledge, and partnership with farmers (Schnell 2007). Studies about societies providing support for alternative agriculture noticed that societies that have higher levels of education and higher income rates, have higher rates to support alternative agriculture (Schnell 2007). This is related to the creation of knowledge and awareness about economy, quality of food related to education and lifestyle.

Research about alternative agriculture around the world mainly focused on community supported agriculture as a form of community building, and as models for economic change. Community gardens focused on building green areas within urban areas, the impact on the environment and community wellbeing, and how it affected building communities. Community building through alternative models of agriculture research focused on building mutual interest and embedded networks (Wright, 2006). Studies about localizing food focused on learning process and building the knowledge within a society as an important factor to create support for the movement (well et al,1999; Lanchman et al,2013). However, these studies did not explore the socioeconomic stratification when explaining these movements. Furthermore, most of the studies presented are conducted in economies that provide subsidies and protection for farmers, where farmers own their land and the land is not threatened with confiscation and that have access to water.

Studies about agriculture and building communities focused on urban areas emphasized creating safe and green spaces to improve neighborhoods; and community supported agriculture focused on resistance of the globalization effect and supporting local products. Yet all these contexts did not study agriculture within a colonial context in which the land became a scarce commodity and the farmer is not allowed to access the land or other resources such as water.

This paper explores two initiatives that are creating change within the Palestinian local food production sector. The two initiatives are not separate from an increased interest in local agriculture in Palestine, that has been building for the last 10 years. these initiatives focused on: encouraging local and organic products; establishing local regular markets for farmers; and providing local and traditional seeds for planting. It is noticed that urban farming and roof-top gardens are gaining popularity among various local communities especially those that do not have a traditional or large spaces for farming. This paper explores the two initiatives for supporting agriculture and the process they went through to create a change in the meaning and value of the land, the *Hakora*. It explores the factor of building a collective meaning within a group and the community.

2. The Case Studies

The case studies selected for this paper present two voluntary initiatives started by different generations, and how these groups started their connection to agriculture with a different goals and consciousness. Each of them created a good model for building the collective action in agriculture. The first group *Sharaka* (partnership) started exactly 10 years ago, and was the first voluntary group that tried to build a network to support farmers. *Ardi Farm* (my land), is a youth initiative that returned to the land for building an economic model that young people can replicate to move away from a neoliberal economy.

2.1. *Sharaka* was initiated in 2009 by 10 members who wanted to provide support for farmers through building a direct connection between farmers and consumers. The group kept over the year its voluntary characteristic that is a part of its commitment towards the community. The group consciousness about the reality of agriculture sector changed as they became more involved, and accordingly the joined experience changed their direction of work towards building a network of support and learning for farmers and community. The group worked on establishing a network of 40 small farms in which farmers exchanged experiences and best practices. Furthermore, *Sharaka* aimed at facilitating activities in the community that increased the knowledge about the various farms and agricultural practices in them while depending on local community resources to support their activities and networking.

2.2. *Ardi* Farm is a youth led initiative that stemmed out from a larger youth voluntary forum that aimed at creating a culture of critical agency among the young people and the Palestinian society at large. The group formed the *Ardi Farm* to find an independent source of funding and connect again to the value of land as an important component of Palestinian cultural and economic heritage. The farm as a cooperative is formed from 22 young members who are mostly university students, except for 3 young farmers who do not have any university education and currently are managing the farm. The group decided to utilize cooperative structure for the farm, and they utilized a network of young people as volunteers that from the larger group they are affiliated with. The farm regulations were developed by the group members based on the challenges they faced. For example, members of the cooperative need to provide a specific number of labor hours in the farm in addition to financial resources, and spreading the idea to other youth groups.

3. Moving towards Farmers' Knowledge

The two case studies involved groups without a prior farming background. Both initiatives core team members are urban middle class and educated. As a result both groups were faced with little to no perspective about agriculture. For *Sharaka* their original perspective was the access to markets (interview no 3). As for *Ardi Farm*, they were trying to connect their interest in creating an income for their activities with the renewal of the value of land among young people (interview no 9). As they worked on the ground, the two groups' understanding of the context in which they operated was transformed. Both initiatives realized that there are more systematic factors affecting the agriculture context in terms of practices of farming, restricted access to the land and water resources, the amount of labor needed, and community consumptions habits. Hence their perception about their priorities and role started to change.

The *Sharaka* initiative began its work with a good intention to create a change through expanding the farmers' access to markets. The initial members wanted to build on the international model of community supported agriculture. *Sharaka* aimed to increase farmers' the access to markets through cutting the middle man in the agriculture's value chain. The group's intention to connect the farmers and consumers directly stemmed from *Sharaka*'s comprehension about the market dynamics and the understanding of inequalities in value chain of agriculture production. Yet this experience made them realize that the problem is more complex and the challenges in the agriculture sector with a consumption culture cannot succeed. According to one of the founding members of the *Sharaka*:

> *"When we started the initiative we did not know about challenges facing the farmers, we only thought that we need to build a connection between farmers and consumers. Still we became the middle man instead of establishing the interaction. We noticed that the community is still not ready to accept the ideas of community supported agriculture especially that the cost of the products will be more expensive than the market due to the cost of transportation that the farmers had to pay" (Interview nº 3)*

Hence initially, *Sharaka* directed their action towards informing community members about: agriculture process, challenges facing farmers, and possible sustainable and local agriculture alternatives. Second, they worked to build a support network of farmers that will exchange knowledge with other farmers about local, traditional and organic agriculture models and create a space for farmers to work collectively on changing practices, marketing, and informing the community (interview no. 1). The understanding about having various systematic factors affecting the agriculture sector led to change in the expectation of the role of *Sharaka*, according to one of the founders. Further, sharing the knowledge among farmers about good practices was an important tool to give them voice and ownership (Interview nº 1).

As for *Ardi Farm*, finding a land to farm was not difficult, especially with the increased amount of lands that are adjacent to the Wall in Area C. Because of accessibility issues and fear of Israeli reprisals, market value for these lands plummeted thus encouraging their owners to rent the land. As all members who started the farm were urban-based university graduates or students, they did not possess the knowledge and skills to farm the land, nor the challenges facing the agriculture sector. Although the leading group had a basic theoretical knowledge about the impact of colonization and neoliberal policies on the sector, this was their first experience

working the land (Interview no. 9). To gain the knowledge essential for the success of their initiative, the group decided to have young farmers join the initiative, and so their cooperative was formed with 3 farmers who are leading the work on the farm, and 18 young women and men who are from urban areas. According to one group member:

> *"The farmers who became members of the cooperative own the knowhow, the rest of us with university degrees we do not. We realized that our university degrees do not tell us how to plow, so we had to do what they tell us. This is how we started learning about farming, our knowledge increased with each agriculture season." (Interview nº 9)*

The need to learn about cultivating the land changed the dynamics within the group as the hierarchy of education does not have any important input with the actual work. Furthermore, the group faced challenges with regards to the location of the farm. The farm is situated in Area C and surrounded by 3 Israeli colonies. Israeli colonizers unleash wild pigs in the area that eat the planted vegetables. The young farmers had to go to the local farmers in the area to learn about their techniques in planting to overcome this challenge. As a result, they learned about the types of vegetables they have to plant in a green house, and what kind of plants that the pigs will not eat that are planted in open air (interview no. 8,). At this stage, the two initiatives members' understanding of 'self' and the 'other' started to change. Sharing the knowledge with others created a greater understanding for the 'we' that they are part of in which they share the experience.

4. Building Agency

To rebuild the connection to the land the two initiatives had to create a value for working in the land that goes beyond the economic value. Building a collective agency among members and supporters created a collective pride about the work conducted, especially trust building in self and others. To do so the two initiatives focused on enhancing awareness and skills of individuals and the group as a whole, reinforcing the connection with the community through building a support network, and voluntary working days.

In the case of *Sharaka*, agency was built by sharing the knowledge first within the network of farmers and second with the larger society, and encouraging farmers to adopt practices that are more traditional, ecological and organic. In *Ardi Farm*, it was learning together and reflecting about best approaches to work in the land to ensure the development of a collectively sustainable model. The collective sense of agency for the two groups started with the increased sense of control and trust among group members.

One main activity that *Sharaka* led focused on building a common knowledge among farmers. The common knowledge among the farmers was facilitated through the establishment of a network of 40 farmers. Within the network, farmers worked together on enhancing their knowledge through workshops that farmers themselves led. Workshops focused on farmers' sharing successful techniques they utilize in local, traditional, and organic agriculture. Workshops allowed for the interaction among small farmers, creating a mutual knowledge through mutual learning process, cultivating a culture of trust and mutual interest. For small farmers learning techniques that will improve their production is essential so they can have

better profit, the network not only provided them with the knowhow, but also connected them with people with a mutual interest. Based on an interview with one *Sharaka* member:

> *"When people got the skills, it made them more willing to change their technique. Maybe not all farmers are growing organic produce, still if they are open for new ideas for sure we work with them through the network for farmers." (Interview nº 4).*

As for *Ardi Farm*, building agency was focused on establishing an effective structure that the group can utilize. To work collectively on finding solutions for challenges they face, and to go through a joint learning process was important to build the group agency. According to one of the leaders:

> *"We cannot fail; our work should be a model for other youth groups to follow. Still as young people we have a lot of commitments due to our work, education. We had to find ways to manage our work together, especially that that we all have other commitments. So we arranged for each one of us to volunteer 30 hours a month including 2 days over the weekends for the farm. When we found that some members could not perform their committed hours of work, they kept their commitment by paying money to the cooperative that was used to compensate others that would do the work on their behalf. Through this we kept people together. We understand that our lives are not the same all the time, and we ensured that the cooperative is kept strong." (Interview nº 10).*

Learning new skills and solving problems collectively were ways to make members share one vision and reinforce their sense of collective agency. The *Ardi Farm* did not produce profit that its members can share. Investing their time, physical effort, transporting products to consumers, and utilizing a personal network for marketing were ways in which each member of the cooperative presented their commitment to the group, and served to build group power (Interview no. 10, 2019). Furthermore, the group discovered the importance of dividing their work within groups, in which each group has to commit for a specific time within the season cycle. This approach allowed them to face challenges with regards to other life commitments, built strong connections among members through direct and indirect interaction, and the small group learned and practiced specific skills. In addition, the adoption of the idea by other youth groups who were exposed to their initiative enhanced their self-esteem, sense of accomplishment, and gave additional value for their work. (Interview nº 11).

5. Building Support within the Community

The building of the farmers network and social support network within the community led to the enhancement of the social capital of the community of people interested in developing the agriculture sector in support of small farmers. Social capital is defined as "norms and networks facilitating collection action for mutual benefit" (Woolcock 1988). Relations of trust and exchange, common norms and connectedness in groups are related to the collective action and change to take place (Pretty and Ward 2001 seen in Garcia Amado et al 2012).

5.1. Community Workshops and Interventions

Activities with the larger community aimed at introducing the community to the various farms; concepts of organic and environmental farming; introducing the farmers to the consumers directly; enhancing the awareness of the challenges facing the farms; and finally, providing support for the farms and the initiative activities. Workshops and voluntary days at the farms, and the 'unknown' kitchen activity established the connection between the larger community and the farm.

> *"We conducted workshops during the appropriate season about a healthy kitchen utilizing in-season products. This provided people with the knowledge about a specific farm and its products, and increased awareness for people about seasonal products. Introducing new dishes also allowed for people to experiment and expand their cuisine and to know about the existence of local produces. . In addition it would provide us with funding for the activities for the initiatives. When we conducted the activity with Amoro (the first Palestinian mushroom farm), each dish cooked contained produce from the farm. People got to know about the farm and what it takes to produce mushrooms and we received funds needed for some future activities." (Interview nº 3, 2019)*

Sharaka aimed to create a face for the mushroom farm by introducing it to the larger community. Producing such a product in Palestine required a lot of imported materials and was often faced Israeli restrictions. This affected the farm's ability to have regular production and accordingly the ability market themselves.[4]

According to one of the *Sharaka* group members:

> *"There have been a lot of great initiatives in Palestinian society the last ten years, yet the community is still not ready and does not know what takes place on the farms. We still did not reach the mainstream. When we started 10 years ago we wanted to utilize the community supported agriculture approach, but farmers were not ready and they used non-environmental or non-organic approaches. The community was not ready to pay for more expensive products if produced organically. Now we are introducing people to various farms, we facilitate the conversation between them, and we introduce them to practices that provide them with healthy food." (Interview nº 3).*

As a result, activities conducted by *Sharaka* focused on enhancing the knowledge of the urban community about byproducts household production[5], pruning, or mobilizing the municipality to create a farmer's market.

For *Ardi Farm*, the relationship with the larger community was through the connection they had with their larger youth group by conducting discussions with youth groups in the farm about the value of their work, and the process they went through. For the *Ardi Farm*, it was important to learn from other similar initiatives about how to build a collective from around the world and in Palestine. Currently, they started utilizing social media to educate the larger community about their work and the process they go through. The group started to post regularly on Facebook about the agriculture process taking place in the farm.

5.2. Voluntary Days

Both groups utilized voluntary days as a way to build connections, agency, and redirect human resources. Voluntary days were important to connect farmers and communities by teaching community members about farms, exposing them to the agriculture cycle and process, and raising awareness about organic and traditional agriculture models. Voluntary days were organized based on the needs of the farmers and according to the cycle of the agriculture season. Securing the manpower for the farmers during the most needed times was essential for farmers to feel the benefit of the network. For community members, volunteering in the farm was a way to connect with the land, and the meaning it presented. The fact that farms are mostly in Area C made it easier to mobilize people to join the voluntary day. This ability to mobilize people to join the voluntary work is related to the work the groups conducted in raising awareness about agriculture and the political context. The two initiatives are part of a larger networks that connect food sovereignty with the impact of colonization and globalization. These networks allowed the two initiatives to reach for larger constituencies and facilitated their access to volunteers. Based on an observation of one of the members of the initiative:

"We notice that when we have a voluntary work, we have people from all areas of mandatory Palestine, and that tells us how people are trying to reconnect with the land, especially for areas around the Wall and designated Area C, a lot of people will show up".

Building the connection with the land had different values for various people, and according to members of the two initiatives people joined them for various reasons, some of them wanted to have a new experiment, others for their political awareness about the challenges, and others because of their believe in the important of local agriculture. The networks were not only a place to provide human resources but were also a place to share knowledge, and reach similar minded people. Both groups connected going back to the land, advancing the culture of voluntarism and depending on the local resources without reliance on external funding for their work. Voluntarism was a way in which the two initiatives connected the larger community to the land and to other community members. The refusal of external funding from both initiatives enhanced their credibility and legitimacy within the community, provided them with ownership, and enhanced their options for sustainability.

According, to one of the youth cooperative members:

"We made efforts to let the volunteers know that their work is appreciated, and that they are part of our community. When we sit to eat together after the work we build our connection, and we are part of the success of the farm and this project." (Interview n1)

For the youth cooperative, the *Ardi Farm*, it was important to engage with their larger network of youth that they are affiliated with; university students and other youth initiatives were targeted. Building a community meant disseminating their ideas to other youth and encouraging them to implement similar initiatives.

Both *Sharaka* and the youth cooperative initiative shared the belief in the importance of voluntary work, especially for the members of each initiative. Active participation and commitment by members within activities were essential for the initiative's success and

sustainability, and a value that they worked to enhance. Voluntarism represented the mutual commitments of members.

6. Concluding Remarks

To revive the meaning of the *Hakora*, both initiatives aimed at preparing a social infrastructure that can enhance the "sumod" of the people. The two initiatives provided a meaning for the land through reviving not only its economic value, but also its social value. Through the learning process and knowledge sharing implemented by the two groups, a personal and collective pride was developed with the enhancement of the sense of agency. The sharing of knowledge and development of more supportive societies of local agriculture is one way to develop a more inclusive society with a collective vision. Going back to agriculture is a way to reclaim the ownership of the land, and to enhance a community that is more sustainable that can meet the production of basic food. The two initiatives provide a local collective model that can be replicated. The two models were based on enhancing the networks of support and ties of trust across community. Going back to local and traditional agriculture allows working with local resources and local knowledge that enhances the power of the local farmer and reinforces the meaning of the Hakora.

Building a cooperative and working with small farmers is an important way to build local power yet this cannot be sustainable without having local and national policies to protect the local farmers. While the two initiatives tried to utilize their networks to support local farmers and enhance practices, similar approaches should be a combination of both public and community institutions, groups, and individuals' joint efforts. The two initiatives sustainability was dependent on the commitment of its members and their willingness to invest their time, physical labor, in addition to bring in their personal knowledge. The building of the 'we' sense of each group was vital for the commitment of its members and eventually the sustainability of the initiatives. The two initiatives present models in which development is based on grassroots participation and active citizens. it is a development that is based on promoting concepts of social cohesion, justice, and solidarity. It brings power to the most marginalized through an emancipatory process of joint learning and sharing across social groups.

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8. Methodological Appendix

This study utilized qualitative research methodology. In which semi structured interviews with members of the two initiatives took place in total the 11 in-depth interviews took place. Selection of interviewee was based on the role they played in the initiative, and the amount of time they spent in each initiative. Interviews were conducted in Arabic, transcription took place in Arabic and text used in the writing was translated into English for the use of the paper. Verbal informed consent was provided by interviewee, the consent was with regards to participation in the research, recording of interview, and the use of name in the research. A few interviewees preferred not to have their names used in the research, and not to be recorded during the interview. In addition, the interview focused on how members of the two initiatives develop their perspective, how it changed over time, their strategies. If focused on the internal learning of the group in additional to the learning and building the relation with the larger community. For coding and data analysis we utilized a thematic coding approach from grounded theory perspective, in which the researcher based on the initial thematic coding followed the lead for data and conducted data accordingly. Data collection and analysis took place between December 2018 and February 2019.

9. Biographical Note

Abeer Musleh is an assistant professor at the Department of Social Sciences and the Coordinator of the Master Program of Social Work at Bethlehem University, Palestine. Her research interest focuses on youth community development, collective action, youth engagement with special focus on the impact of context and institutions on the socialization of youth and building their resilience. Her current research is focused on youth in Jerusalem and building resilience through engagement under colonization. Her research looks into how life under colonization would affect the forms of engagement of young people, and how youth build their individual and collective resilience as active citizens. Previous research focused on the role of organizations in the formation of types of young leaders, and the Palestinian youth organizations resiliency and strategies to face challenges of work under colonization.

10. Notes

1 Since the year 1948 Israeli authorities initiated many laws to confiscate the land from the Palestinian people some of these laws are: the absent law, the add a paragraph about the laws.

2 The Israeli-Palestinian treaty that is signed in Cairo was based on Washington consensus, which made the Palestinian economy to be neoliberal and not allow for any restrictions and protections for farmers, in addition to be open to import. To learn more please see Korzom, George.2015, and Arij, 2015.

3 Based on the Oslo accord and economic treaty between Palestinians and Israelies, Palestinians are not allowed to dig wells in any area, and they have restrictions in relation to the type of agriculture and products that they can plant and produce.

4 Amoro Mushroom farm has been established by young people who graduated from Birzeit University. The production of the farm is not regular due to the fact that they need special agricultural products that the farmers have to import from Europe. Palestinians do not control the borders and accordingly receiving the materials is dependent on the extent of restrictions applied by Israel. For more information see (Add Amoro links Monitor and Aljazeera, Birzeit).

5 Are products that are made utilizing agriculture products such as pickles and jams.

TRACK 1

Food and Agricultural Production

Main Issues of the Contract Farming Structure in Sugar Cane Farming. Perspectives of Smallholder Farmers in Kilombero Region in Tanzania

Valerii Saenko[1] and Jennifer Kasanda Sesabo[2]
[1]Scuola Normale Superiore and Institute of Development Policy, University of Antwerp
[2]Mzumbe University

Abstract: *In this paper, we present the results of a preliminary study on Contract Farming (CF). Giving a brief overview of the academic discussion on its impact on society and specifically farmers, we demonstrate the arguments that the mainstream and critical literature provide for and against CF. This study focuses on the relations between actors or groups of actors in CF structure including local farmers, farmers' associations and multinational companies (MNCs). We use the prism of power analysis and access theory to analyze the institutions and interactions within the CF context. Discussion of power relations provides insight into less tangible aspects of CF arrangements and how they come to exist. The insight provides a conceptual framework which can be used in the Ph.D. project. To establish this basis, we focus on how the farmers view and understand CF arrangements. The fieldwork was done within the frameworks of cooperation between the Institute of Development Policy (University of Antwerp) and Mzumbe University and funded by Vlir-UOS. The focus group discussions (FGD) were used to gather data among the sugar cane farmers in Kilombero, Morogoro region in Tanzania. Literature suggests that farmers are losers when it comes to CF arrangements. This implies that understanding their position allows us to point out where the most tension can occur between different actors in CF arrangements. Based on the gathered data, five major issues were pointed out. These include corruption, limited transparency, process limitations, unequal access to inputs, and power issues. Using the prism of power helps us in conceptualizing how delegating negotiation and representation of their interests to the associations, farmers might lose out on certain material and immaterial benefits of CF (ranging from fertilization and irrigation to be able to negotiate for their own interests and control for crops weighting and quality testing). Further research ideas and fieldwork are suggested based on in-depth interviews with farmers, representatives of associations and the company itself in order to make more firm conclusions. While it is quite soon to make certain policy suggestions, some preliminary points for focus on addressing these five major issues are discussed.*

Keywords: *Contract farming, development, power dynamics, corporate social responsibility, Tanzania*

1. Introduction

Contract Farming (CF) plays an important role as a developmental strategy for promoting the transition of small-scale farmers in Sub Saharan Africa from subsistence to market-oriented

commercial production (Bolwig, Gibbon, and Jones 2009; Maertens and Swinnen 2007). CF is viewed as an important institutional arrangement for improving farmers' income and livelihood via improving productivity and output. This is done through the provision of important agricultural services such as input supply, marketing channels, extension services and micro-credits (Coulter et al. 1999). This indicates that the CF was made initially as a tool to coordinate the work between the suppliers (i.e. outgrowers) and the buyers like multinational corporations (MNCs) and to put these relations in contractual obligations that would provide a legal basis for both sides to gain benefits.

Empirical evidence indicated that the effectiveness of CF depends on various factors including how contracts are implemented in heterogeneous contexts. Factors such as firms/companies' specific characteristics, contract types/models, crops, and socio-economic landscape/environment are crucial in influencing the effectiveness of CF in various rural communities of developing countries. Furthermore, it is important to look at how farmers perceive the benefits and costs of CF and define their relationship with institutions/companies managing the contracts and how it varies across the communities, markets, and farming production systems (Asano-Tamanoi 1988; Oya 2012).

Taking together the above explanations, it is crucial to analyze different perspectives when trying to design effective interventions in CF arrangements between MNCs and small-scale farmers. The empirical evidence provides two views of CF namely mainstream and critical. The mainstream view of CF suggests a win-win situation for both sides. This is often supported by quantitative data showing an increase in household incomes for the farmers and provides evidence of benefits for the companies. The critical view provides insights into institutional and structural issues that come with CF where farmers seem to be the losing party. This research sets out to look further into the critical aspects of the literature and provide some insight to have a more meaningful understanding of how different parties and actors benefit or lose out in CF arrangements.

This research was exploratory based with the aim of answering the broad research question: "What is the farmers' perspective on CF organization and implementation in Kilombero sugar cane farming?" This question focuses on the relations and interactions between actors or groups of actors in this structure rather than the process of implementing the CF scheme in this region. The research also had the following sub-questions that were also the basis for FGD topics (1) How are the supply relations between the sugar factory and farmers organized? (2) Are there any issues connected with the implementation of CF arrangements? The study used the prism of power analysis and access theory to examine the institutions and their interaction. Such theoretical framing provides for a more in-depth depiction of relationships. It allows to see the important areas which need the attention of policies and provides areas for further theoretical studies.

In the first section, we describe the state of the art and theoretical background of this particular study where the discourse of mainstream and critical CF analysis is described in more detail. Moreover, the perspective of power analysis was added in order to frame the study within the context of CF literature. The aim was to provide a pathway which further future research gaps can be taken on board for Ph.D. studies. The second section shows the main findings of this fieldwork and illustrates the conceptual framework. In conclusions, we reflect on how the

findings fit within the literature review and previous research on CF in Tanzania and set the stage for further analysis.

2. Literature Review and Conceptual Framework

2.1. Contract Farming Views: Mainstream Economic and Critical views

Based on Oya's (2012) extensive literature review, two main views regarding the relationship between companies/firms and the small-scale farmers can be identified which are mainstream economic and critical views. The mainstream economic view suggests that CF creates a win-win situation where MNCs and local smallholder farmers gain benefits. As Oya (2012) suggests the mainstream economic view looks at CF from the perspective of economic bargaining, market (in)stability, household income, policy orientation in more global perspectives such as participation of donors in a solution of market failures. The mainstream view could be positioned in the positive description of CF focusing on a win-win scenario where companies avoid direct labor regulation and farmers gain access to new markets and ways of selling their produce (Oya 2012). Nevertheless, even mainstream studies point out negative aspects of CF. According to Oya (2012), the main negative aspects of CF from the perspective of the mainstream view are in the low bargaining power of farmers and imbalanced risk sharing, where farmers bear the majority of risks.

The critical analysis takes its roots in political economy and a mix of Marxist and post-structuralist schools of thought, it uses qualitative data predominantly (Oya 2012). The focus here is on agency, class relations and individual meanings of the conditions that CF creates and argues that CF provides a win-lose scenario. This does not mean that critical perspective refers only to negative aspects of CF, but it does try to enrich the theoretical knowledge of how these issues come to exist and what institutions and social structures help create the conditions the actors are in. Literature (Isager, Fold, and Larsen 2017; Isager, Fold, and Nsindagi 2016; Sulle 2017) describes the important role of farmers' associations in CF arrangements where they are supposed to represent the interests of the farmers. However, they are exploiting farmers to gain own benefits due to their powerful positions,

One of the major issues pointed out in the critical literature is the new ways of labor exploitation. Oya (2012) provides a detailed summary pointing out the main issues such as reduction of the supervision costs, moving to indirect exploitation through household labor, avoiding labor union conflicts and poorer working conditions for the wage labor since the smallholder farmers pay smaller wages than workers for the factory estates would get. To this end, Scott (2012) argues that CF is a "simulacrum of independence and autonomy" where the farmers are independent in the sense that they are responsible for loans and raising the crops but their "workday and movements are near as choreographed as those of the assembly-line worker" (Scott 2012). Another aspect of the critical perspective is the more nuanced and ad hoc analysis of CF arrangements. For example, Isager et al (2016, 2017) suggest the role of the farmer and associations working with MNCs to drive the expansion of rural capitalism. In their works, Isager et al (2016, 2017) focus on the associations as major participants in relations between the buyers and sellers of sugar cane in Kilombero. The position of associations grants them a

powerful role in CF arrangements where it can schedule farming patterns or set farmers' fees for harvesting or transportation (Isager et al. 2017).

This research leans more towards critical literature since using ideas and concepts provided by academics in this field corresponds to the goal of having a deeper understanding of where CF practice fails, what meanings and ideas it does not take into account. The basic argument behind this position is that pure economic perspective on CF has certain limits in describing the specific case of MNC to local community relations based on economic modeling. Acknowledging these models but describing the details through concepts of the critical perspective allows for an in-depth understanding of these relations. The following section builds more on social science literature and provides a basic framework of power for this case study.

2.2. Issues of Power and Conceptual Framework

This study follows up directly on the research by Isager et al (2016, 2017) in terms of turning the focus away from economic impacts on the household towards the roles of different actors in the CF arrangements. It further develops the theoretical understanding of power dynamics in terms of CF. The general definition of power is based on Bourdieu's concept of symbolic power which is understood as the ability to manipulate others based on certain symbols and system of institutions and laws (Bourdieu 1984). In the example of Kilombero sugar cane farming associations have a lot of power over the farmers (Isager et al. 2016). Though the specific power of farmers as active participants is not clear based on the literature review. Foucault argued that power adjusts to the situation through different rationalizations and institutes itself through hierarchical structures and regulations, that it is present in every social relationship and takes on multiple forms depending on the situation (Foucault 1982). Understanding the power dynamics between actors in the CF setting would allow for a more fluid and dynamic picture of the relationships between these individuals.

In order to understand power relations in CF arrangement we frame the concept of power not only as the ability to act (e.g. bargain for price, set schedules for harvesting, look for other options for selling the crops, and other major or minor decisions) but we use the definition of power provided by Mosse (2010). He argues that power should be seen not only as a form of domination or assertion of will but also as a sort of political representation (Mosse 2010). In the case of CF, political representation does not necessarily mean a governmental struggle for power. Literature has highlighted how a corporation may take on the role of the government in a certain region and called for the democratization of capitalism (Banerjee 2008; Banks et al. 2016; Bendell 2005). It is crucial to investigate who is representing the stakeholders within a company and thus giving them power in the form of representation. The theory on CF can draw from works discussing 'stakeholder democracy' (Matten and Crane 2005) or analysis of local actors' agency (Banerjee 2008; Banks et al. 2016) and representation of meanings and interests of beneficiaries in policy and practice of corporate involvement in development (Blowfield 2005, 2007; Blowfield and Frynas 2005).

Moreover, it is important to obtain a thorough understanding of how this is done and how exactly the company's actions are influenced by the ideas and interests of the beneficiaries. Noam Chomsky (Chomsky 2008) in his "Notes on Anarchism" cites Diego Abad de Santillan

discussing the organization of production in Spain before the revolution of 1936; he points out the importance of not governmental structures per se but the economic and administrative power coming from below and formalized through *liaison corps*. While Chomsky's essay is focusing on making sense of anarchistic literature, it and specifically de Santillan's remarks give some foundation for framing power as a representation not only through political and governmental mechanisms but also through the organization of production.
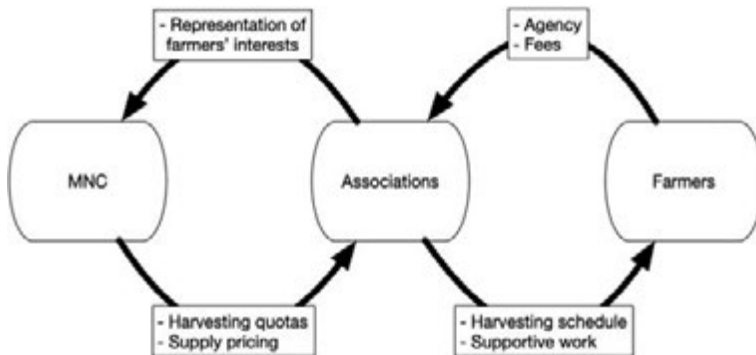
Figure 1. Conceptual Framework Based on Literature Review

Based on this theoretic background we suggest the following framework (Fig.1) conceptualize the complex relations between actors in CF arrangements. As Isager et al. (2016, 2017) point out that associations take a powerful role in coordinating and organizing the relationships between MNCs and farmers we can place them in the framework as the *liaison corps* through whom the purchasing and supplying of cane happens. Through the associations, farmers can theoretically realize their agency since they act as a representation of farmers interests. These interests should then be translated to MNCs and the conditions are negotiated, prices are set, and the amount of cane supplied is settled. In the following section, we show the main findings and develop the conceptual framework.

3. Findings

Based on the gathered data five major issues were pointed out. During the FGDs multiple topics were covered. As some of the information overlapped and topics were similar the data could be coded based on several ideas that were mentioned by the farmers or theoretical concepts that were based on a literature study. The five major points of interest for this study were: corruption, limited transparency, process limitations, unequal access to inputs, and power issues. The first four have a practical idea to them while power perspective is added as a fundamental concept that describes social relations and helps in building a further theory on CF.

The topic of corruption was raised by farmers from villages from only one ward. Farmers mentioned that corruption occurs at the following places: the weighing station, lab tests for sucrose, scheduling for harvesting and transportation of the cane. Weighing and testing for sucrose are controlled by the factories. Farmers voiced suspicions that the schemes include association representatives on the way to the weighing station that would ask for bribes to

get higher results for farmer's cane. While not having specific tools for controlling how well the factory weighs the cane or tests for sucrose the farmers can make an only rough estimation of how much they harvested. This point was raised in multiple FGDs with farmers from different villages.

It is hard to conclude how extensive the corruption is, but due to observed and reported a lack of transparency, we can suggest that there are ample opportunities for corruption to occur. For instance, the only binding contracts are signed between the associations and the factory, not the farmers. Relations between farmers and associations are trust-based. Depending on the association some farmers were provided with information about the contract others not. The main way the farmers could check how much cane was gathered and how much they should be paid was by their own eye estimates and pay slips. Though there are no consistent ways for the farmers control it.

Process limitations can be summed up as the logistical difficulties that farmers face during the process of farming, harvesting, and supply. A major factor here is the factory's own sugar cane estate and as a result, it competes with the farmers. The quotas for how much farmers should supply are negotiated between the factory and associations. Some farmers reported that associations schedule for more harvesting of cane then the quota states and the factory can process. As Isager et al. (2016, 2017) point out, associations main income is based on the amount of cane the farmers' supply. It is in their interests to have farmers increase the harvest and create an oversupply. Transportation of cane also plays an important role. The infrastructure around farmers lands is usually of low quality. Farmers pointed out that during the rainy season roads can become too wet for a truck to pass. Farmers with the smallest land size risk losing their annual income due to bad roads and heavy rainfall.

Unequal access to inputs describes such topics as access to financial support, seeds, fertilizers, irrigation, technology, etc. Farmers mentioned several points where access to inputs to support their work was limited. Famers with small plots are often denied assistance in getting loans from the associations since banks and associations expect high risks on these loans. As a result, smaller farmers have fewer opportunities to finance their operation. Another aspect is the problem of fertilization and irrigation. The factory estate has access to both while farmers often lack this access. This limits farmers' production of high-quality crops. As a result, it can create an added preference for the factory to use its own crops and not cooperate with farmers. This goes against the basic idea of CF.

By framing power as representation, we can illustrate several points about how farmers' interests are lacking representation in the CF arrangement in Kilombero sugar cane farming. Farmers point out that almost all communication with the factory is done through association. As result they cannot directly negotiate or participate in the decision-making process regarding the amount of supply of sugar cane, there is no reliable way for them to control how well the weighting and sucrose testing processes are done. Some farmers do not have sufficient information on what the contracts between the company and the associations include. They do not have an adequate understanding of the terms and conditions of such contract.

As a result farmers' agency in influencing the structure that governs their activities can be diminished. Associations do not fulfill their main role as representatives of farmers interests

in CF arrangements and look for their personal benefits. They were designed as instruments in giving the farmers representation in CF arrangements that open global markets for farmers to sell cash crops and earn income contrary to living on subsistence farming. Nevertheless, due to power disbalance and associations role in CF arrangements farmers do not gain all the promised benefits. These issues were mentioned during all discussions though the emphasis seems to have varied from village to village. This could be connected to the fact that different associations operate in different villages and adhere to different standards of work. This will be the focus for investigation in the Ph.D. project.

4. Conclusions

Based on the data gathered and its analysis this work points out several major issues that are present in Contract Farming arrangements in Kilombero region from the perspective of the farmers themselves. By looking at data through the perspective of the theories described above, focusing on local actors and the power dynamics between them we suggest a conceptual framework (Fig.2) for further research. Due to exploratory nature, this research cannot provide any definite conclusions but based on the data it gives some interesting insight for further studies on the topic of contract farming.

The main takeaway is that on paper CF suggests improvement of farmers' conditions from the perspective of household income. In practice, it still creates certain conditions where farmers cannot easily control the processes beyond farming itself. The source of the agency where farmers can protect their interests has opportunities for corruption. As a result, this can be attributed to farmers' ability to influence the structure. Often the smallest farmers lack the means to secure a profitable position in the schedule (although it should be provided for them by the associations). Due to risks that might be associated with the lack of ability to make a profit by the smallest farmers they are also often denied assistance in securing production inputs. This can create a vicious cycle.
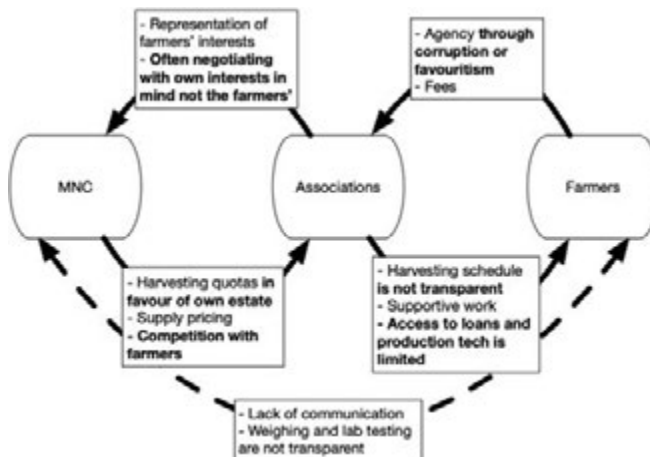
Figure 2. Updated Conceptual Framework

Suggestions for further studies would include a further focus on the power dynamics between

different actors in the structure of CF. Specifically more data is necessary to make concrete conclusions. We suggest conducting individual interviews with farmers, representatives of associations and the factory to enrich the empirical evidence as well as a more detailed study of the documents, contracts, and regulations on CF to triangulate the data. Further understanding of how current institutions developed and what regulates the power dynamics between different actors is needed.

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6. Methodological Appendix

By focusing on the farmers this study follows the critical perspective approach. We acknowledge farmers' agency and try to understand what power and influence over the structure do they have. This research is missing out on a major part of the picture by not doing any interviews with the association or Kilombero Sugar Company representatives. We only conduct FGD with farmers from four villages in Kilombero region. Though due to the exploratory nature of this study it is not set out to give any definite conclusions regarding the power dynamics of CF in Kilombero, the main goal is to point out several potential topics for further research as well as preparing a conceptual framework to do more in-depth research.

To get a basic understanding of farmers' perspectives FGDs were conducted. Due to the small time-frame and the set goals, the FGDs were a good option in terms of scheduling, getting information from different villages and the quality of data. FGDs by nature also provide for a good platform where participants can raise certain issues that could be discussed in a group of peers. One of the goals for the discussions was to give the farmers the floor to reflect on their ideas and views. To facilitate this, we suggested three topics for discussion on issues regarding the organization of the farming activities which included (1) production process and harvesting, (2) payments and (3) expectations and satisfaction regarding the sugarcane under contract farming. Questions were prepared before doing the interviews and were used as guidelines for discussions. The participants were asked to talk about the practical arrangements of their relations with the factory and the associations, how they saw their benefits in growing sugar cane and what additional support did they get to start their farming business. This design follows the idea that interviewees would take the initiative to raise topics. Such an approach allowed the interviewer to be a listener that does not interrupt though moves the discussion forward when needed. This gave the opportunity for the participants to explain their own interpretation of the processes at place. The analytical part of this study dealt with classifying and understanding of these interpretations afterward.

The sample size was not strictly determined before the fieldwork, the idea was to continue fieldwork until certain saturation. Nevertheless, conditions were set in terms of what type of farmers would be interesting for this research. The choice was to have two different groups of farmers per village. One group would include small-scale farmers that have less than 5 acres of land and another group of any farmers with farm area above 5 acres. This differentiation was made to facilitate some sense of equality between participants during the discussion and compare the data from these groups later. To have more diversification four villages were chosen from two wards in Kilombero region. From each village, two focus groups were gathered of no

more than 8 people one group of small-scale farmers the other of bigger farmers with a total of 7 groups. Due to miscommunication in the organization of FGDs in the one village, both larger and smaller farmers participated in the same group. This discussion was not discarded since it still provided good insight and showed great participation of farmers present. Different associations were active in these villages hence the agency and power of the farmers could vary depending on the associations. The fieldwork was conducted in December 2017.

For additional data, basic observations were made and recorded to have a more colorful view of the context (road condition, farmers' and factory's estates, transportation process). The observations were made during a tour around the farmlands with the interpreter before conducting the FGDs to get a general overview of sugar cane farming as well as on the last day of fieldwork to observe what the farmers were talking about when comparing their and factory's estates. The main data comes from the FGDs themselves and was coded using Nvivo software. During the discussions, a voice recorder was used (with permission of the participants for the researchers' use), and the audio record was kept, to be addressed during coding and analysis for clarifications on the notes. The data coded were the notes taken during the FGDs and observations.

7. Biographical Note

Valerii Saenko is a Ph.D. student at Scuola Normale Superiore, Florence, Italy. His research analyses the role of MNCs in development focusing on power relations between MNCs and local communities influenced by corporations. He obtained his master's degrees in Business Administration at the University of Antwerp and Development Studies at the Institute of Development Policy (University of Antwerp). His master thesis was titled "Critical Analysis of Corporate Social Responsibility Theory" and became the basis of his current research. With the support of IOB and Mzumbe University, he conducted the fieldwork in Tanzania, the results of which are presented in this paper.

Jennifer Kasanda Sesabo is a Lecturer of Economics at Mzumbe University, Morogoro, Tanzania. She received her doctorate in Economics and Social Sciences from Hamburg University, Germany. Her recent publications include Nsindagi, T.E., and Sesabo, J.K. (2017). "Contract farming and upgrading possibilities for smallholder sugarcane-growers in Tanzania." (pp 86-106), In Kuzilwa, J.A., Ford, N., Henningsen, A. and Larsen, M. (2017). Contract Farming and the Development of Smallholder Agricultural Businesses: Improving Markets and Value Chains in Tanzania (pp 1-232); Nsindagi, T.E., Sesabo, J.K. and Henningsen, A. (2017). "Income diversification of Small-scale sugarcane contract farmers in Kilombero and Turiani, Tanzania." (pp 143-161), In Kuzilwa, J.A., Ford, N., Henningsen, A. and Larsen, M. (2017). Contract Farming and the Development of Smallholder Agricultural Businesses: Improving Markets and Value Chains in Tanzania (pp 1-232); and Nsindagi, T.E., and Sesabo, J.K. (2018). Profit Efficiency and Small-Scale Sugarcane Out-Growers Under Contract Farming in Tanzania: Does Location Matter? Journal of Education, Humanities and Sciences Volume 7. No.2, pp 18-31. Her research interest including contract farming, marine resource conservation and she is currently participating in the DANIDA project titled Enhancing Productivity, Market Access and Incomes for Small Farming Businesses in Tanzania: Potentials and Limitations in Contract Farming (POLICOFA) – Phase I

TRACK
2

Economy, Work and Consumption
Collaborative economy; circular economy; new forms of collaborative work and co-working; collaborative consumption; time banks; and platforms for sharing resources and experiences

TRACK 2

Economy, Work and Consumption

Internet Prosuming. The Social Practices to Create Digital Content to Share on Social Media

Rosa María Alonzo González

Universidad de Guadalajara

Abstract: *This paper addresses the actions of internet prosuming, a term which conceptualizes the different social practices associated with the user generated content to share on social media. The aim is to approach and understand the prosuming social practice on the internet and it´s integration in the agent´s life. The theoretical framework moves from the original characteristics of the term prosumer toward the different empirical social practices associated with the creation of digital contents to share on social media. Some key aspects of structuration theory that restores human agency to social acts, this are used to address the social practices of creating content for the internet. Following the idea that people´s activity matters, practice needs studying; this paper will focus on two main analytical axes —agency and social practice — starting from the reflexivity of users who generated content for a social media, YouTube mainly. The data collection was carried out from 2013 to 2015, keeping Mexico as the geographical delimitation and YouTube as a common social media among the informants. Using a qualitative methodology based on Grounded Theory this paper analyzes 9 in-depth interviews and 15 videos under the tag "Draw my life" on YouTube. As a result, a model of internet prosuming strictly integrated with four key elements and the motivations related to social practices is presented. In this sense the idea of Internet prosuming expressed in the paper converge into the aspect of social practices related with self- satisfaction, recognition and self-commitment.*

Keywords: *Internet prosuming, prosumer, user generated content, social media*

1. Introduction

Time magazine, since 1976, makes a tribute to the people who represent the most important achievements of the year, placing them on its cover (Monge 2006). For 2006, this publication presented "YOU" as the person of the year, referring to those who dedicate part of their time to creating content for the Internet.

"It's a story about community and collaboration on a scale never seen before. It's about the cosmic compendium of knowledge Wikipedia and the million-channel people's network YouTube and the online metropolis MySpace. It's about the many wresting power from the few and helping one another for nothing and how that will not only change the world, but also change the way the world changes." (Grossman 2006)

Despite the fact that 13 years have passed since the publication of this cover, the activity of creating digital content - by internet users - to be shared on the web, turns out to be a relatively "recent" practice for social science and for communication studies, even when the presence of web 2.0 makes it possible since 2000.

The social studies that discuss the topic, have been focused mainly on the dissemination of content, its spread and implications on the global reach (and, sometimes, the local). Usually they are interested in the effects of these contents when there are repercussions in a macro social level. Example of these is the study of memes (García 2014), in which the interest lies in the fact that this content has become a social phenomenon for its recurrence and repetition. Another example is the social movement "I am 132" (Yo soy 312) (Galindo and González-Acosta 2013), where the digital contents were relevant in relation to the implications of the political and social action.

The previous examples show a tendency on the study of the contents generated by the users in relation to the phenomena derived from their proliferation when the results become mainly viral. The studies consider the topics of the contents, the type of support that contain them, the objective they pursue, even the effects that may arise from them. However, the actions of the person who is involved in the process of creating the content that is shared on the internet has been left aside.

Therefore, it is relevant to understand the people´s activity, the process and the actions that a person follows to create the digital contents that will be spread over the internet when this content is a product materialized in an audio, video, image or other digital support. The creation of internet content takes importance as a microscopic study of a praxis, located in social life as a routinary social practice structured through time and space.

2. Theoretical Considerations

The access to the content created by internet users has become part of everyday life, it has been internalized as part of the scenario offered by *Information and Communication Technologies associated with the Internet* (ICTI). To assume this as a fact, derives in dehumanizing the participatory act of the people (Mantecón 2010). To restore the human agency, the focus of this paper is in the social practice the activity itself, where the digital content is only a derived visible product of it.

According to Giddens (2011), it is necessary to understand the nature of human action, to recognize the reproduction of social structures and the conditions in which they are transformed or continue. This implies that it is essential to observe the facts derived by technology, from the scope that the person achieves when appropriating it; that is, from the human dimension (Zermeño, Alonzo and Flores 2015).

Before approaching the human action of generating content for the internet, it should be considered that there is no exact description of the person's profile, the individual can only be located through its manifested action visible by digital content that is shared on the internet.

A concept that brings us closer to the person´s profile is *prosumer*. The concept is used to signal the internet user who creates content and information to share on the web. These actions are facilitated by *social media*, digital platforms that allow you to make public your content on the web without a deep knowledge of computer science.

The mediation of the ICTI leads us to think of a prosumer profile on the internet with its own characteristics. The concept of prosumer of Toffler (1981) is useful to address these practices, because it allows to locate the initial characteristics for the person´s practice and profile, such as:

• A person that is considered non-professional or amateur for the practice.
• A person who consumes, participates, modifies, creates and produces for personal non-profit use.
• A person who performs a non-economic activity with economic impact
• A person who produces what he consumes, affects the forms of production, as well as the ways of acquiring products and services.
• Its activity produces micro alterations of daily behaviors that reflect changes in society.
• The proliferation of these people produces new styles of daily life.

Structuring theory of Giddens (2011) points out it is possible to analyze the actions related to the creation of content to share on social media through the person as an *agent*; who keeps a reflexivity record of these actions, so he potentially can explain what he does and the reasons associated with his performance. "The appropriate unit of reference for an analysis of the action must be the person, the acting being" (Giddens,1997: 96). The agent is able to explain his actions, as well as the reasons to which they obey. This possibility that the person has, is given through what is called a *stratification model of the human agent.* This model infers that it is feasible to work an inductive study, as the Grounded Theory suggests, to recover the reflexivity of the online prosumer to understand the practice.

Stratification model of the human agent for Giddens (1997), considers the *reflexive monitoring of action*, *the rationalization of action* and *the motivation of action*. These cognitive mental processes are embedded -as a whole- in a process that the agent carries out in an automatic way, at the same time that the person executes the actions in the course of his daily life. So, it is possible to analyze a practice from the information obtained with the people who do it and have internalized it; which means that, through their experience it is possible to understand the social practice.

The *social practices* are the mechanism through which the person, as an agent, molds the *structure*. In turn, the structure is the conditions, the framework of action for this practice. Therefore, it is also the framework of action for the person as an agent.

According to Giddens (2011), human activities or actions are recursive events that are recreated continuously in time and space, being the same people as agents, who create the conditions that make them possible. The social practices "should be understood as procedures, methods or skillful techniques, appropriately performed by social agents" (Cohen 1987: 367). They have three aspects as elements: a recursive nature in social life, a routinization, as well as being located in space and time.

The objective of centering this study on the action of generating content to share on internet, take for granted that internet prosuming present the characteristics of a social practice. This practice presents the three elements: it has a routinization, a systematic way to do it; it has a recursive nature in social life, it is done continuously by agents; and it is located as well in a space (offline-online) and time (Giddens 2011).

Epistemology and the principles of the methodological approach of grounded theory (Charmaz 2006; Andréu Abela, García-Nieto and Pérez 2007 and Corbin 2010) were applied to fieldwork and data collection. It worked from the empirical reality through the reflexivity of people as agents (Giddens 2011), who interact in technological environments to build models and theoretical lines that explain these social practices. For the reconstruction of the social practice through methodical gathering and analysis of data, all the data collected, was reviewed to locate repeated ideas, concepts or elements that become apparent to understand the internet presuming practice.

3. Internet Prosuming as a Social Practice

To understand the internet prosuming it is necessary to identify the four elements involved in the practice of creating content for the internet as an activity, which are:

1. The internet as a medium and multiplatform from the Web 2.0, influencing with its logic of social web, been the media environment. (McLuhan, 1996 and Postman, 2000).
2. The social media, digital platforms which are democratizers of communication, even with its constriction peculiarities. (Carpentier, 2007 and Orihuela, 2005).
3. The digital content or user generated content, that can be in different types of support, such as text, audio, image, video, multimedia, among others. (Fernández, 2014)
4. The collaborative internet user, particularly those people who are known for producing digital content to share (online prosumer) with their economic, technological and social implications (Toffler, 1981 and IAB, 2009).

The relationship that these four elements hold is indispensable for internet prosuming, the lack of some of them leads to other possible practices. As an element the internet allows to identify the practice and its dissemination in social life. Social media is the immediate structure that allows the realization of these practices without a deeper knowledge of the computer and this kind of platform allows a person to remain at the level of prosumer, without becoming a producer. The digital contents are the materialization of the creative and instrumental process that was carried out by person as an agent, it is the evidence of the result of social practices. The online prosumer as agent is the gear that turns the social practice and gives it continuity to mold the structure (Giddens 2011).

Internet prosuming is a social practice that is carried out in an active and self-organized manner. The person or groups organize themselves autonomously to develop it. However, it should not be forgotten that the practices are developed under established structures that mainly vary according to the social environment, and to a lesser extent to those agreed by the people as agents. In this sense, the online prosumer freely ascribes to the terms established by any social media in which they upload their content for it to be disseminated. This is part of the structure that conditions the practice, but at the same time, it allows the practice to develop, in congruence with Giddens (2011).

To be an online prosumer, the person, in addition to producing, must not stop being a consumer, a point that is observed from the concept of Toffler (1981). This situation was present in all the sources of data (interviews and videos). Regardless of the type of digital content support or

social media, the informants pointed out that they were regular consumer of web media in their daily lives (websites, social networks, social media, among others), often made by internet users like themselves.

The use that people made of these contents were inclined to development of their own productions as creator of contents. This action derives in its professionalization. Evidence of this can be seen in the comment made by Beatbox guy, who points out he consumes or makes use of internet contents in order to develop his practices. This topic appears in a similar way in all the interviews and some videos.

> *"Well, there is a saying that goes: " he who wants, can," what I did first because the internet now has everything; then, I started to investigate (...) YouTube has become so powerful that it has, if it´s not a school, it´s an academy, you do it in person or online (...) but you can only go with if you have 10,000 subscribers, I learned that ever since then; I knew I couldn't go and even less without a visa, so on the YouTube blog I started to see all the questions that were generated (...); I also learned how to edit the videos, what programs were the best, this I learned from YouTube tutorials (...) I mean there are still things I do not know yet because I´ve never needed them, but if I need it, I type it in Google how to do it and you learn it, because I already know the whole interface." (Man / 22 years old)*

In the quote, Guy beatbox refers to how he consumes internet content and shows that he can identifies contents that are created by other online prosumers like him. Also, he describes how the process of self-professionalism is to get better in the practices of creation of digital content. The internet becomes the source of content that feeds and trains the online prosumer to continue the practice.

This practice is done without profit, or, at least, this was indicated by all the interviewees, who mentioned that monetizing was not something that motivated the practice. However, it is known that social media -like YouTube- have programs that monetize the content that users upload and share; a situation that was referred to in several of the videos under the tag "Draw my life" on YouTube. In these videos, there are no mentions about if earning money was the motivation or purpose of sharing them. In this sense, the Tec guy describe his experience in monetizing videos, to which he pointed out that making money is not what motivates or improves the practice, but it definitely does support it.

> *"Not even was because I was making money, because at that time there was still no partner program for YouTube Mexico (...), at that time it became more a situation of (...), I have to continue representing my community, my followers and the same contents began to become more difficult; and already the videos required more and more time, (...) And it was a time to think ¿what can I offer, what video can I offer that Adan is not going to come up with and this girl is not going to come up with ?" (Male / 22 years old)*

In the subject of sharing, the relationship between the creation of digital content and sharing it, is not direct in terms of motivations. The collected data shows that people as internet users begin with the prosumer practices to satisfy their own needs, a *self-satisfaction*, that gives an individual gratification according to his inclinations. This gratification can be of various kinds, some traced in interviews are: to see digital contents about something that likes and do not

find on the web, to support a group of friends that make digital content of something amusing, leave evidence of your life, have interest in making videos as a personal hobby.

The creation of content, in the beginning, obeys a logic of self-consumption for the prosumer and of non-profit, as established by Toffler (1981). This self-consumption is understood as self-satisfaction a kind of gratification that the person achieves when generating the contents, as the Band guy explains about their rock videos.

> "Although the members of both bands are aware that we do not do it for profit, we like to see the videos, we like other to see them, that they like the song; it is more or less the process, words more or less." (Man / 29 year sold)

This feeling of self-satisfaction is also observed in the generation of digital content in other types of support, as in the case of the textual type, shared on social media Blogger, as indicated by Text guy, who has a blog in which he writes about everything interesting to him.

> "It is my story, it is important to make history, the individual, the local, the national, it is what we are, it helps us to describe and understand ourselves and eventually, to improve ourselves, individually and socially, personally and collectively; that´s what it´s useful for, it works for that." (Man / 29 years old)

Digital contents need to accomplish this self-satisfaction in the first instance, because this motivates the action and allows to perpetuate it over time. Although the digital content - in principle - must please the person who creates it, to share it is implicit at the moment it is thought up. In words of Photo girl, whom generates content for Instagram, "to share is something mechanical" (Woman / 23 years old). The action of sharing is done automatically once the content is created and it´s ready.

The difference between digital contents is the intention to detail or to work more closely on the content, this differentiates those who are online prosumer of those other people who only comment or collaborate in a minimum way on internet.

> "I think it is a very personal part, for example, I see that there are people who go somewhere, take a picture, in a conference, for example, and there is nothing, nothing is distinguished, there is only the picture on the Instagram with a filter. I do not do it that way, I almost always try to leave something else, something through my "human vision", like saying, "I like how this leaf looks and I want to share it", and not so much "I want to share it", it's more like a spontaneous action, I do not have to be inspired to share it, you just do it, it's like something mechanical." (Woman / 23 years old)

This same situation above is presented independently of the digital content topic, different types of support or social media. Band guy, who generates content in text and video support says:

> "I have music with my two bands and I feel we do it well and I say: "Well, here we go, there it goes, see it and give me your opinion"; maybe I'm wrong and we need, this, this and that, or maybe we're fine, we're on the right track, !wow¡, it's a need to share what you're doing.

With the blog it's almost the same, but let's say it's, a little more concrete, it's a slightly more closed unit." (Man / 29 years old)

On the other hand, it is observed that it is the recognition of contents or the search for community, that is the clue to motivate this kind of actions to become in a social practice that result in internet prosuming; but this is something that happens in a second instance, once self-satisfaction has been achieved.

The idea of *recognition* is an important motivator for the social practice, this is the manifestation of the community to which an online prosumer -through the digital contents- contributes something of himself. The digital contents connect with others that share their pleasures or that recognize their abilities. The online prosumer, through recognition, is motivated to improve the contents and to continue contributing to that community that is now visible. As Yuya says in her video, mentioning how she started generating videos for YouTube.

"When I was in high school, I was about 15 or 16 years old, I discovered some videos on YouTube and I loved them, I loved watching them, but I only saw and saw, saw and saw. One day, they did a makeup contest and I decided to do it in and guess what? I lost!, but I consider myself too competitive, so I clung and competed again in others; but now I won, I won and I won! And so the whole story begins. Here some of you met me and asked me to upload makeup tutorials, I loved the idea, I accepted the challenge." (Woman / 20 year sold)

The commitment that the online prosumers feel, at first, is with themselves; therefore, the topic of the content is closely linked to their inclinations, hobbies or likes. When it is uploaded in the social media, the online prosumers believe that they will not be seen by other people, because it was not created for that purpose. At the moment that these digital contents are viewed, recognized by others, and a feedback exist (comments, likes, views, subscriptions, other forms), it is in that moment that the online prosumer becomes aware that the digital content is shared and recognizes the existence of the other.

This process to achieve a sense of belonging and unity with an online community, appears once the person realizes the existence of the community through the recognition provided, afterward the person can establish a *self-commitment* to provide more digital content and/or to improve its quality. The socializing intention of the online prosumer is manifested through the digital contents; therefore, it is implicit from the moment it uploads it to social media; however, it is not the purpose that it had when it was created.

4. Conclusions

The Internet is the element that allows this social practice to be possible, it is a technology that allows the digital content diffusion on a global scale, but it also allows the practice of internet prosuming to be seeing and replicated. The internet brings access to the tools for the creation and continuity of practices. This is why self-professionalism is observed as a very recurrent feature in this practice.

Likewise, these contents are the product of a creative or intellectual process, which is observed materialized in a type of support that selects the online prosumer that generates it; who, apparently, chooses it because of the inclination and preference he feels towards this type of communication.

Internet prosuming, as a social practice starts with self-satisfaction to create the digital content, beginning to choose a topic, a type support and a social media to upload it, all these factors respond to an individual gratification. The socializing intention of the online prosumer is manifested through the digital contents. At the beginning the creation of content obeys a logic of self-satisfaction and the act of sharing it implicitly part of the same action since the moment of its creation.

The recognition of the others through feedback of the digital content is a motivator for this social practice. This is the manifestation of the community to which an online prosumer -through the digital contents- contributes something of himself. After the recognition, the online prosumer can establish a self-commitment to provide more digital content and/or to improve its quality. This recognition and self- commitment with a community isn't the purpose of this social practice, but it can encourage to improve it.

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6. Methodological Appendix

The data collection worked on three stages. The first stage started from the content that these people generate and share on the internet, to locate those who could be considered as online prosumers being the geographical delimitation Mexico using a checklist derived from the concept of prosumer de Toffler (1981). This stage was carried out from 2011 to 2012.

In the second stage, information was obtained about internet prosuming, without considering any particular support type for digital content or social media. This stage was carried out in 2013. Four in-depth interviews were made with a guide that considered five units of analysis: Actions, Resources for the actions, Motivation for the actions, Senses associated with the actions and Agent´s Profile.

The third stage was carried out from 2014 to 2015. Information was obtained about internet prosuming, but with delimited criteria: YouTube as a social media and video as a type of support for the digital content. Five in-depth interviews were made with a guide that had been

applied in the previous stage, but only four units of analysis were used: Actions, Resources for the actions, Motivation for the actions and Senses associated with the actions. In this stage, 15 videos under the tag "Draw my life" on YouTube were integrated as part of the information units and were analyzed just like the interviews.

The information data obtained during all the stages were integrated in the same hermeneutical unit for construction of the social practice (internet prosuming) through methodical gathering and analysis of data, with the support of the Atlas.ti computer program in version 1.6.0 for the MacOS operating system.

7. Biographical Note

Dra. Rosa María Alonzo González. Doctor in social sciences, candidate for national researcher of the National System of Researchers (CONACYT, Consejo Nacional de Ciencia y Tecnología), currently attached to the University of Guadalajara in which she holds a postdoctoral stay in the Institute of Knowledge Management and Learning in Virtual Environments in the line of communication research and digital culture developing the project: Generation and evaluation of digital content and social participation. Within the Agorante research group of the Universidad of Colima, she has collaborated in research on digital inclusion for social inclusion, as well as social uses of Information and Communication Technologies (ICT).

8. Notes

This document is derived from the doctoral thesis to obtain the degree of doctor in social science entitled: "Prosuming on the internet. The social practices of creating digital content to share through social media on the internet" (Prosumir en internet. Las prácticas sociales de crear contenidos digitales para compartir por medios sociales en internet). The financial support of the National Council for Science and Technology (CONACYT, Consejo Nacional de Ciencia y Tecnología) for this doctoral study. Correspondence should be directed to Rosa María Alonzo González at ralonzo@suv.udg.mx or rosmia.glez@gmail.com.

TRACK 2

Economy, Work and Consumption

Solidarity Economies and Solidarity Networks among Green Consumers in Turkey

Melike Bozdogan

Baskent University

Abstract: *This paper examines the popularization process of sustainable consumption practices among urban dwellers by focusing on collaborative actions in solidarity economies and solidarity networks among green consumers. It presents the findings of a larger empirical study on ecological living communities and consumer collectives and focuses on alternative economic activities. The primary objective of this paper is to present the main implementations of solidarity economies, including barter, sharing, and gift giving within green consumer networks. Green consumers are understood to be active agents who deliberately foster changes in consumption patterns and develop ecologically sustainable alternatives. Sustainable consumption is evaluated as a constant activity of green consumers that forms their daily routines and practices and necessitates collaboration among urban dwellers to find sustainable alternatives in their cities. Through online and offline consumption networks, green consumers organize various solidarity-based activities, including organic food production, urban farming, collective production, and swap markets. To investigate how green consumers benefit from solidarity economies, I first analyze the organization of solidarity networks among green consumers in the urban sphere by focusing on ecological living communities, consumer and neighborhood collectives, and the workshops organized by green consumers. Second, I question whether collaborative actions are significant in popularizing sustainable consumption practices and solidarity economy activities across a wider segment of society. Finally, I focus on the ways in which green consumers implement solidarity economies in their own communities to establish non-market-oriented economic activities. The empirical research ascertained that solidarity economies are the organizing principle for the development of collaborative action and community building among green consumers. This paper then argues that reciprocity and trust are the central aspects of their economic and social relations. Thus, the collaborative actions of green consumers can go beyond changes in individual consumption practices and foster the popularization of sustainable consumption practices and solidarity economies across a wider segment of society.*

Keywords: *solidarity economies, solidarity networks, collaborative actions, sustainable consumption, green consumers*

1. Introduction

The fatal consequences of global climate change are becoming manifest all over the world. Some regions struggle with famine and drought, others are damaged by floods. To overcome the environmental and social disparities caused by human-led climate change, individual consumption practices can be important for ecologically-sustainable change. Therefore, the efforts of green consumers living in the urban sphere to practice sustainable consumption have drawn attention, as the urban sphere is an area where consumption is concentrated. The

strategies developed by individual consumers to decrease the environmental effects of their consumption have been analyzed in terms of the change in consumption practices and the ecologically-sustainable transformation of everyday life.

Green consumers are concerned about the well-being of the environment and search for ecologically-sustainable solutions to transform their consumption practices. As sustainable consumption encourages consuming less, green consumers make deliberate consumption choices to transform their unsustainable consumption practices. These choices can be regarded as a practice of political participation (Micheletti 2003; Jacobsen and Dulsrud 2007) and political consumerism (Holzer 2006).

In the discussion of whether consumers have a choice in the market, Holzer directs attention to the following question: "How can a political social process (collective decision making) inform the individual choice of economic agents?" (2006:406). The potential answer to this question is provided by Holzer in the discussion on political consumerism and "collectivized individual action" (ibid:411). By paying attention to the collectivization of individual choices, this paper uncovers the collaborative actions and solidarity networks among green consumers. While the individual aspect of sustainable consumption can be analyzed in terms of the change in individual consumption practices, the collective aspect is embedded in consumer networks and groupings. Therefore, I exclude the experience of those green consumers who practice sustainable consumption without taking part in collective activities. There might be people who are concerned about the environment and determine their consumption practices accordingly without taking part in any collective action. However, the aforementioned empirical study ascertained that, in order to maintain their sustainable consumption practices, individual green consumers need solidarity networks (online or offline) to find sustainable alternatives. In other words, maintaining sustainable consumption practices necessitates collaboration among urban dwellers to find sustainable alternatives in their cities. Therefore, this paper focuses on collaborative actions to uncover the significance of solidarity networks among green consumers living in the urban sphere.

Networks among green consumers are a way of applying solidarity economies in practice because networks respond to sudden needs in society by favoring social ties and empowering localities (Aykaç 2018). These networks are not centrally coordinated, and they are usually formed and operated according to the current needs of green consumers including organic food, sharing, and exchange. For instance, the efforts of urban residents to create food networks without relying on the state-centered food system can be enabled by solidarity economies (Petropoulou 2018).

The networks of green consumers studied in this paper are Eskisehir Ecological Living Community (in Eskisehir), Ecological Living Workshops (in Istanbul), and 100. Yil Food Community (in Ankara). Each of these networks maintains solidarity-based relations with bigger collectives and cooperatives working on wider environmental issues. Eskisehir Ecological Living Community involves approximately 25 people of different ages and occupational backgrounds who are motivated by the idea of having ecologically-sensitive lifestyles in the city. They organize weekly meetings to discuss the problems related to the city and their works concentrated on the ecologically-sustainable transformation of urban spheres. In contrast, Ecological Living Workshops in Istanbul directly targets individual consumption practices (especially in the

household) and advocates for the transformation of lifestyles. These workshops are organized by two or three volunteers (with at least 15 participants) with the aim of introducing ecological ways of self-producing cleaning and cosmetic products, making one's own food (including home-made bread and apple cider vinegar), and ways to reduce consumption (such as introduction of swap markets, food communities, urban gardens in the neighborhood, and online freecycle groups). These workshops are organized weekly, and gift economy is used as the main basis of the events. The last collective is a food community from Ankara established in 100. Yil neighborhood. 100. Yil Food Community was set up by the people involved in 100. Yil Initiative (established during the Gezi protests in Ankara). This food community is smaller than a cooperative, and it does not have a formal structure. It not only organizes the communication between small-scale producers and urban consumers but it also runs a community garden.

2. Solidarity Economies and Collaborative Actions

Collaborative actions among consumers, or the collectivization of consumption choices and practices, have been analyzed through different categories such as *collectivized individual action* (Holzer 2006) and *individualized collective action* (Micheletti 2003). Even though Holzer (2006) and Micheletti (2003) pay attention to political consumerism and the wider effects of individual consumption choices, the discussion barely refers to the consumption practices outside market-oriented relations. In this paper, I give special attention to non-market-oriented relations by examining solidarity economies. I then focus on collaborative actions among consumers to uncover the trust- and reciprocity-based economic and social relations.

Solidarity economy is the central term for explaining how green consumer solidarity networks establish non-market-oriented economic relations. Therefore, sharing, reciprocity, and trust are considered to be integral parts of the analysis of collaborative actions among green consumers. The object of this study is related to Bostman and Roger's discussion on collaborative lifestyles in which "people with similar interests are banding together to share and exchange less tangible assets such as time, space, skills and money" (2010:73). In the networks discussed in this paper, these collaborative actions of sharing and exchange include shared spaces (urban gardening, preservation of the commons, and neighborhood collectivities), knowledge and skill sharing activities (ecological living workshops), and establishing green consumption networks (food co-ops, goods swapping, sharing, barter, exchange, and gift giving).

As an ecologically-promising and socially-equitable alternative, solidarity economies have gained popularity among consumer collectives and consumer cooperatives. Starting from this, solidarity networks among green consumers can be treated as grassroots economic activity and analyzed using some theories of new social movements due to their focus on post-materialist values and latent networks in the organization of collective action (Buechler 1995). As Holzer puts it, social movements are capable of collectivizing consumption choices, and the interferences of consumers develop into "a societal fact instead of an individual quirk" (2006:410). Therefore, the transformative capacity of the solidarity networks of green consumers resides in the organization of solidarity economy, which is a locally-organized and collectively-controlled community-based experience (Aykaç 2018).

Economic crises can foster the development of alternative economies (Petropoulou 2018). The

economic crisis in Turkey has led to serious problems regarding food. Lately, Turkey had to deal with increased inflation rates that have resulted in higher food prices. To find a solution to citizens' complains about escalating prices, the government established direct food sales points (Tanzim Satış Noktaları) in public areas of big cities to sell vegetables at affordable prices. However, it is not clear whether these sales points have been permanently established to solve the food-related issues in Turkey. In addition to these state services, there are grassroots attempts that successfully maintain organic food distribution, including food cooperatives and food communities organized in cities by urban dwellers in collaboration with small-scale producers. In a case study of the urban consumption cooperative (Nontropo) in Greece, Petropoulou uncovered that in the times of crisis consumer cooperatives can produce more sustainable means for food consumption (ibid:81). By using online and offline networks to establish alternative food distribution, food cooperatives aim to develop common and open spaces to bring local producers and urban consumers together. However, food cooperatives are not able to decrease the prices of the food, since they are motivated to get foods produced through organic methods, which are much more expensive compared to the industrial ones. In order to overcome this burden, a member of 100. Yil Food Community referred to their strategy as "eliminating the intermediaries through direct communication with producers and applying bulk buying methods to reduce the shipping prices of food." Even though these alternative organizations are not able to replace the capitalist system (ibid), they can produce local impacts and initiate the establishment of direct relations of production and the implementation of a solidarity economy.

Solidarity economies are organized to counteract the mainstream economic implementation of the capitalist system; thus, they refer to economic activities performed outside mainstream market relations (Aykaç 2018). Quiñones defines solidarity economy as a "socio-economic order and new way of life that deliberately chooses serving the needs of people and ecological sustainability as the goal of economic activity rather than maximization of profits under the unfettered rule of the market" (2009:19). Therefore, a solidarity economy in green consumer collectives can exemplify non-market-oriented economic activities that aim to produce solidarity-based relations among people with the aim of sustaining the well-being of their community and the environment.

Solidarity economies define the market as an open and common area that allows for all kinds of sharing without limiting it to only economic means (Aykaç 2018). As there is no clear-cut definition of solidarity economies, they cannot be limited to specific activities. The understanding of solidarity economies, in which local relations are at the forefront, can be applied in many different ways depending on local characteristics. Therefore, solidarity economies can be defined as attempts to produce alternative solutions to the problems of the local areas in which the economies are located (ibid:17). Thus, consumer cooperatives, collectives, and initiatives of green consumers can be considered to be important actors for the activities of solidarity economies.

3. Organization of Solidarity Networks among Green Consumers

Analyzing the collaborative actions among green consumers is important for highlighting how they benefit from the practices of solidarity economies. I do not approach green consumers

only as a consumer segment by emphasizing their purchasing behavior; instead, I highlight the lifestyle transformation they have gone through following the sustained changes in their consumption practices. Green consumers living in the urban sphere have online and offline networks for organizing workshops, sharing experiences, and fostering transformation in their consumption habits. In order to come together, they use different public and private places, including cafes, parks, and houses of friends. They contact with one another using online means, such as, networking sites, as well as through bulletin boards in cafes. They are affiliated with Facebook groups that are organized to create open areas that enable people to find a house or a tenant, or to circulate their goods. As a result, internet-based mediation in such online networks has become a prominent aspect of the organization of solidarity among green consumers.

This study focuses on the experiences of green consumers living in an urban sphere; therefore, it is necessary to emphasize the unique aspects of urban areas in terms of solidarity economies. While solidarity networks in rural areas tend to be spontaneous, in urban areas they can be created willingly because spontaneous encounters are limited by space. Gezi protests in 2013 became the leading force in the establishment of neighborhood collectivities in Turkey (Özinanır 2013). During the period following the Gezi protests, neighborhood-based solidarity networks gained importance. People participated in neighborhood meetings in parks as a practice of active citizenship and direct democracy (ibid). While we can talk about the presence of collectives before the Gezi protests, this event became the driving force for the popularization of new solidarity networks. During the protests organized in different parts of the country, people experienced different forms of solidarity-based relations, including collective living, co-producing, and, most importantly, protesting. One of the leading slogans of the protests was "Hands off my neighborhood, my square, my tree, my water, my soil, my house, my seed, my forest, my village, my city, my park" (mahalleme, meydanıma, ağacıma, suyuma, toprağıma, evime, tohumuma, ormanıma, köyüme, kentime, parkıma dokunma) (Seloni and Sarfati 2017:23). This slogan exemplifies the major concerns and approach of the protestors, which afterwards fed the development of collectives.

Thanks to the memories of collective sharing during the Gezi protests, defending neighborhoods has become an important issue in Turkey. In different parts of the country neighborhood collectives have been established with the aim of preserving or creating the commons in face of the annihilation of the public areas where people come together in cities. Therefore, in order to protect these areas, people have tried to make them functional. Here, it is important to distinguish public areas from the commons. In this paper, public areas are defined as something that is given, while the commons are created or preserved through the efforts of the participants. Furthermore, the struggles over the commons prove that different movements can collaborate, and that solidarity economies can unite people from different social movements (Aykaç 2008).

The question of how the economic crisis and the oppressive political atmosphere have affected relations of solidarity in urban spaces deserves further analysis. This question also requires considerations regarding the unique possibilities of the urban space itself. When describing urban society, Lefebvre (2003) states that it would not be right to consider the city only as an area where production and consumption relations are organized; the capability of the urban to consolidate everything should also be noted. Relying on this, the urban sphere consolidates the needs of green consumers through both solidarity economies and the creation and perseveration of the commons.

The neighborhood collectivities 100. Yil Food Community and Eskisehir Ecological Living Community use the commons for different purposes, including urban farming, community gardening, co-production workshops, swap markets, and festivals. These neighborhood collectivities created urban gardens by occupying empty areas belonging to the municipality. In this way, while producing their own clean and healthy foods and sharing them with their neighbors, the community members also made these areas visible and functional. Their aim is to transform these public spaces into common areas that are open to neighborhood interactions. The approach of green consumers to the commons in their neighborhood can be found in the space-place distinction made by Madanipour:

> "(…) space is considered to be more abstract and impersonal, while place is interpreted as having meaning and value. One of the key criticisms of the urban development process in modern cities has been the transition from place to space, through a loss of meaning and personal association." (2010:6)

Collaborative actions among green consumers as part of neighborhood communities not only provide new ways for alternative consumption practices but also foster local loyalties. Therefore, food cooperatives, food communities, ecological living communities, and neighborhood collectivities can be approached as solidarity networks among green consumers.

4. Popularization of Sustainable Consumption through Consumer Networks

The discussion on prefiguration helps to understand how solidarity networks among green consumers accelerate the popularization of sustainable consumption practices among wider segments of society. According to Yates, "to prefigure is to anticipate or enact some feature of an 'alternative world' in the present, as though it has already been achieved" (2015:4). Collaborative actions increase the maintenance of individual sustainable consumption practices and provide new spaces that allow for encounters among green consumers. In this way, they represent the possibility of having a sustainable lifestyle in an urban sphere. Consequently, they enable community building among green consumers that is based on reciprocity and trust.

While discussing the significance of prefigurative politics in relation to social movements through the case studies of social centers in Barcelona, Yates refers to five processes or dynamics of prefiguration: "'experimentation', 'perspectives', 'conduct', 'consolidation' and 'diffusion'" (ibid:15). In the networks represented in this paper, collective experimentation and diffusion become prominent processes and deserve further analysis. These processes contribute to the popularization of both the practices of sustainable consumption and solidarity economies. Thus, the collaborative actions and the solidarity networks among green consumers can be analyzed through the notion of prefiguration.

In order to minimize their intervention upon nature, green consumers are concerned about the consequences of their daily life practices. After the analysis of their networks, it can be asserted that, in addition to transforming their own consumption practices, green consumers may foster a wider transformation by sharing their practices with others. Through ecological living workshops, which are announced online and offline and are open to contributions from

everyone, urban dwellers find a chance to encounter alternative consumption practices.

Ecological Living Workshops organized in Istanbul works to introduce sustainable alternatives for domestic consumption practices. Instead of adopting a permanent and settled place, they use cafes or rent places for meetings and workshops. When organizing workshops in a rented place, they inform the participants and set a minimum fee while using gift economy as the basis. During three hours of workshops, they set up booth areas allowing for exchanges among the participants. Therefore, the workshops not only introduce sustainable consumption practices but also serve as places for the application of solidarity economies. The organizer of the workshops claimed that they give priority to establishing trust-based relationships among participants and use non-violent communication methods. Instead of treating these workshops as lectures, they create a collective learning space that is open to everyone's contribution.

Building a common place is important for developing a strong relation with a neighborhood and being more inclusive. For instance, 100. Yil Food Community has a common apartment that is open to everyone in the neighborhood. They do not use this apartment as shelter; instead, they use it to organize their events (such as knitting workshops, permaculture training). By contrast, the absence of such a common place has caused trouble for the Eskisehir Ecological Living Community, which has been forced to rely on places provided by the municipality in irregular ways. Therefore, having their own place gives more independence to the communities. The lack of such a place prevents the establishment of regular relations among community members and excludes potential members due to the absence of a common meeting point.

5. Intercommunity Relations and the Practice of Solidarity Economy

The solidarity economy and the social economy are two concepts that are related yet different. Social economy complements the existing social order; however, solidarity economy promotes a more transformative approach (Miller 2010). According to Utting, the solidarity economy advocates "a more people-centred and planet sensitive approach" (2016:3). A similar approach can be found in the discussion of sustainable consumption, since an environmentally respectful consumption necessitates the development of certain sensitivities regarding the well-being of the planet. So far, I have discussed the green consumers; however, the link between sustainable consumption and solidarity economy can also be established through a discussion on ecological citizenship due to the latter's emphasis on the consequences of actions on the environment and on others (Seyfang 2005).

How the solidarity economy can be positioned within capitalism is an important concern. Solidarity economies can be approached as activities attempting not to abolish capitalism but to provide alternative ways to find economic and social solutions to local problems (Aykaç 2018). Thus, in order to strengthen alternative networks, community engagement and collaborative actions in the local level are a significant part of solidarity economies. Healy refers to the common definition of the term alternative as "self-consciously intentional efforts undertaken on a local scale" (2009:338). The emphasis on the local represents the differentiating aspect of alternative economies from mainstream economic implementations of the capitalist system, which rely on global networks. Furthermore, this can be interpreted as a reflection of concerns

regarding environmental sustainability and reducing carbon footprints in solidarity economies.

In the case of green consumers as urban dwellers, the application of solidarity economy can be found in food communities and cooperatives. These communities are important in two ways: 1) for establishing food distribution networks among local producers and urban consumers, and 2) for establishing common spaces in urban areas by means of distribution points for organic foods. Food communities in urban areas apply bulk-buying (collective purchasing) methods with fixed delivery and distribution dates to decrease the harm caused by shipping. In order to have clean and organic foods through fair trading with affordable prices, developing alternative ways to distribute food has become a great concern for urban dwellers. They aim to replace relations mediated through distribution with face-to-face relations. Instead of following a certification method, food communities build relationships with the local producers based on trust.

Reciprocity and trust are the key aspects and organizing principles of community economies and they work for the strengthening of ties among the members. Even though people do not wait for direct acknowledgments for what they have done for the community, establishment of solidarity makes individuals bring more to their communities. Therefore, solidarity economy can reinforce mutual support as well as solidarity (Miller 2010). The collective apartment of 100. Yil Food Community was set up and run by volunteer members. They provide a shared library and some machines that can be used collectively, including a sewing machine and a 3D printer. In addition to creating new ways for sharing and collective production, they have also created a common area that allows for interactions among neighbors. Similarly, Eskisehir Ecological Living Community aims to increase the visibility of the common areas in the city. It works to transform the streets into more sustainable and livable places that allows for more interaction among the neighbors. They organize swap markets and ecological street festivals. Barter and gift economies are widely practiced in the swap markets, and they enable the free exchange of goods. As was already mentioned, consumer collectives organize workshops on several topics, including organic farming methods, the production of cleaning products, waste disposal, composting, and yoga training. These workshops are announced through online and offline networks and are based on gift economy to avoid setting prices. Since these workshops allow the participants to decide what they want to give to the organizer, their events become more inclusive. However, these practices of solidarity economies are not generalizable to the entirety of green consumers; instead, they exemplify alternatives and are significant for imagining future possibilities as a practice of prefiguration.

Solidarity networks among green consumers bring different economies into being. Reciprocity and trust-based collective economies take specific forms, such as Friends' Cargo (Es-Dost Kargo). Friends' Cargo is an online project developed by green consumers to overcome the reliance on shipping services. Using a Facebook group, people announce their shipping needs by giving information about the destination, time, and size of the package. The group is defined as follows:

> Friend's Cargo provides fast, easy, and unmediated shipping that has its unique story based on the use of gift economy through trust and friendly relationships. (Friends' Cargo Facebook Group)

Community-based food and coffee chains are the most common implementations of solidarity economies among consumers in Turkey. For instance, the Zapatista coffee chain is located in

Istanbul and transfers coffee to the collectives, cooperatives, and the cafes that take part in the coffee network. They voluntarily organize the transfer of coffee across the country and connect the producers in Mexico with the consumers in Turkey. Although this coffee network seems to go against the emphasis on locality, it strengthens global solidarity. The local is mainly emphasized in solidarity economies and seems to be one of the main objectives of alternative economic activities (Gibson-Graham 2008; Healy 2009). However, alternative local economic activities can have globally-transformative effects if they are shared, adopted, and applied in different parts of the world. A significant observation is that the efforts of consumer collectives make the solidarity economy visible in order to foster a change in economic relations.

6. Conclusion

Collaborative actions and solidarity networks among green consumers popularize the practices of sustainable consumption and solidarity economies. Through their collective efforts, self-motivated individuals create consumer networks that support local economies. Therefore, an emphasis on locality makes green consumer networks fertile areas for applying solidarity economies. Barter, gift economy, and sharing are acknowledged as prominent practices of solidarity economies among green consumers. Furthermore, solidarity networks among green consumers lead to the creation of common spaces where people can interact while engaging with sustainable consumption practices. Since the concerns and practices of green consumers can also direct the attention of the different groups, these networks are inclusive, and they can easily turn into wider cooperatives and neighborhood communities. Furthermore, solidarity networks among green consumers can be evaluated beyond their economic aspects through an emphasis on collaboration among green consumers as a practice of prefiguration.

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8. Methodological Appendix

This study relies on the data gathered for a larger empirical research for a master's thesis. The said empirical research focused on ecologically-sustainable transitions of everyday life consumption practices of green consumers living in urban spheres. The main sources of information were in-depth interviews, participant observation, and small group discussions. The data gathering period lasted 5 months, in phases from April to-August 2018, and was conducted in three different cities (Istanbul, Ankara, and Eskisehir).

9. Biographical Note

The writer is a PhD student at Middle East Technical University Department of Political Science and Public Administration.

10. Notes

1 This paper is based on the findings from a larger case study for a master's thesis.

TRACK 2

Economy, Work and Consumption

Circular Economy in Fashion World

Alba Cappellieri, Elisa Borboni, Livia Tenuta and Susanna Testa

Politecnico di Milano

Abstract: *In a context of erosion of the "welfare state" in Italy and Lombardy, a number of circular economy trials have been enacted by cooperatives and associations. In particular, in the sectors of fashion and clothing it's possible to see not only the reuse of clothes, jewels and accessories, but even their re-elaboration and relaunch, with the creation of a totally new stylistic trend and creativity in fashion design. Every year in Milan there is "Vestiaria", an event dedicated to vintage and contemporary clothes, shoes and accessories.*

This one surely turns out to be one of the most awaited events for fashion and vintage lovers, but in lots of Lombardy cities there are similar initiatives having two different objectives: the search for originality in the product and its uniqueness together with the reduction of consume and waste production, activating a virtuous circle of recycling and reuse. The aim of this study is also to show how, from the most recent experiences, respect for the environment and reduction in waste production are not in contradiction with the development of creativity and trade in the fashion sector. The research will deal with the Lombardy fashion sector, using interviews and case studies.

Keywords: *Up-cycling, reuse, fashion, accessories, ethics*

1. Introduction

The textile and fashion sectors are among the most polluting ones in the world, second only to the oil production (Utilitalia 2018: 66-76). In the latest years, especially after 2015, new environment policies have become more sensible to the need of managing resources in a more sustainable way.

The legislation has introduced new daring objectives in prevention and re-use of waste (sustainability, quality, transparency and legality, support to entrepreneurial activities able to support themselves and the creation of nets among companies of the sector). This integration in environmental policies has made it necessary to have European, national and regional regulations, aimed at managing operative and trading matters, but taking into account social inclusion and solidarity as well (Scherer 2003: 334–358). The period from 2015 to 2018 was very rich in novelties in this respect. New possibilities were created thanks to anti wastefulness laws, such as the *Collegato Ambientale* of 2015, the package on circular economy of the European Union 180 bis and the creation of centers and nets accredited for reuse. The European Union, with the approval of the package on circular economy, has decided to shift from a model of linear economy (following a one-way direction from production to waste disposal) to a more forward-thinking model of circular economy based on the three Rs of Reduce, Reuse and Recycle.
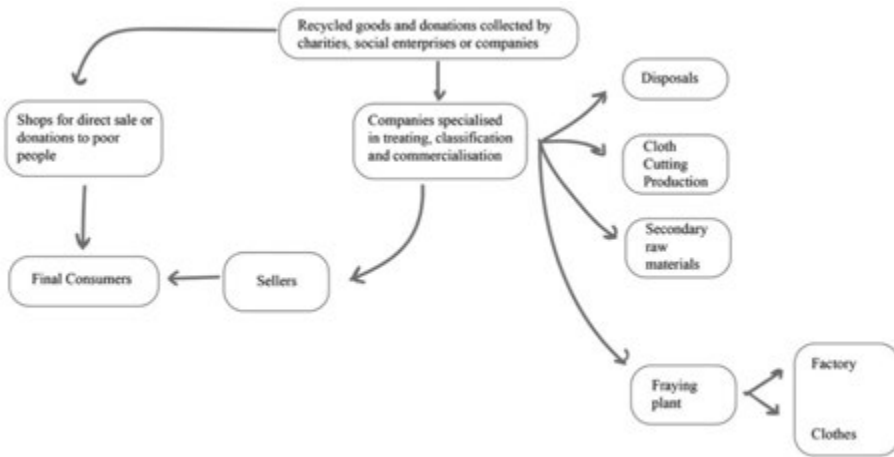
Figure 1
Source: "A global view for ethical actions: used clothing" Occhio del Riciclone 2013

Italy, with the law of 19th August 2016, art. 14, also regulates the distribution of articles and clothing accessories used for charity. The goal of 65% in 2035 should include both recycling and preparations for reuse (Art.14 Low 19th August 2016, n.166, GU 30th August 2016 n.202). Reuse helps to reduce the quantity of produced waste; for each ton of goods we spare 9 tons of carbon dioxide, so this is by far the best way to reach meaningful results in environment protection. It is important to notice a coming back of vintage, together with a new attention to a conscious and sustainable fashion, aimed at reducing usage and increasing awareness. The love for vintage is actually a very trendy fashion amongst young people, who want to create a contemporary style though still looking back to history, giving value to accessories or clothes which, coming from the past, become unique, non-reproducible. Georg Simmel writes: "people seem to feel the necessity to be social and individual at the same time; fashion and clothing are ways by which this complexity of wishes and necessities are negotiated" (Ruggieri 2016: 250-251). There is more attention to the quality of materials, whose age reveal a longer lasting life, responding to a need of slower rhythms, precious tissues, careful sewings in clothes cut by expert hands. Together with the necessity of reducing waste, there are now more possibilities to earn something from what is being reused. The accessibility to products and their low cost is also making possible to reach objectives of higher social equity.

This sector's virtuous circuit is further enhanced by the use of incomes for charities and by creating new jobs involving disadvantaged people. Vintage is now a successful fashion which influences trends, tastes and groups, and it is able to condition the traditional channels by showing the cyclic nature of fashion (Armstrong 2015). It is important to notice a coming back of vintage, together with a new attention to a conscious and sustainable fashion, aimed at reducing usage and increasing awareness. The love for vintage is actually a very trendy fashion amongst young people, who want to create a contemporary style though still looking back to history, giving value to accessories or clothes which, coming from the past, become unique, non-reproducible (Allwood 2006). The goal of this research is to give a prospect of the Italian situation, focusing in particular on the initiatives taking place in Lombardy Region.

2. Lombardy's Experience

Lombardy has a considerably high number of experiences in reuse for charity purposes. There are historical realities with a long tradition which have shown high ability in producing important environmental results, such as: the cooperative *Di Mano in Mano* with its specialized sector of *Vestiaria*, the cooperative *Senza Frontiere*, the cooperative *Mani Tese*, the *Isle of Reuse of Cauto* with the sector of Spigolandia, the centre for reuse of Eye of Riciclone, Mandacarù in Brescia, *National Tumors Association* (ANT), with various branches in Italy and the net *Riuso*, *Humana*, *Share* second hand reuse, *Vintage Garden*, *Trash to Trend Milano*, *East Market Milano* and *Riuso*, a community net of supportive humanism with 77 operators of reuse in Lombardy.

In this region the work of all the net members makes it possible to collect, repair and reuse approximately 16000 tons of durable goods yearly (Rapporto nazione sul riutilizzo 2018: 66-76). The net members are 285 workers (among them disadvantaged people and protected categories), with a sales volume of more than 25 million Euros. The cooperatives *Humana people*, *Occhio del Riciclone*, *Mercatopoli* and *Baby Bazar* are part of this net.

SPIGOLANDIA (CAUTO BS)	25 workers + 100 volunteers + 3 shops + collection though containers
VESTIARIA (DI MANO IN MANO)	About 200 volunteers and workers + 3 shops + collection and donators' homes
ANT LOMBARDIA	10 shops in Brescia and Milano + Spontaneours donation of used clothes + home assistance to terminally ill people
MANI TESE	24 workers + collection and sale of clothes with financing of solidarity projects
HUMANA VINTAGE	440 shops in Europe, 5000 containers for collection on Italian territory + financing of 53 projects in the south of the world
OCCHIO DEL RICICLONE	Work of rom stylists and craftsmen who, starting from scrap, produce clothes for shows and online sales
MANDACARU'	91 volunteers + direct disposal of clothes + direct sale + financing of projects in the south of the world and territory
VESTI SOLIDALE (CINISELLO BALSAMO MI)	29 vehicles and 101 workers, mango them 27 disadvantaged people + 749 containers for collection + financing of projects on the territory

Table 1

The goal of the research is to assess, though approximately, the quantity of clothes and accessories that every year are being recycled and reused in Italy, and in particular in Lombardy, to identify the most meaningful realities together with the achievements of their objectives, and to show how in their recent experiences the reduction of waste production and the new environment respect are in no contradiction with the development of creativity and commerce in fashion (VanDyk 2008: 233-263). On the contrary, they are helping to activate a virtuous circuit of support to the population in several ways, to be analyzed later. In 2018 133,000 tons of textile waste have been collected (2.2 kilos per resident), and the trend is increasing. On average, 15% of this textile material is used as raw material, 68% for reuse (Rapporto nazione sul riutilizzo 2018: 66-76). The citizen is motivated to give used clothing thanks to the solidarity nature of the collecting systems. The charity organizations have to be able to show and make visible each

step of the production process, spreading the culture of Ethical, Supportive, Ecological and Transparent (E.S.E.T.):

Collected textile waste, differentiated by year (1.000*t)				
2012	2013	2014	2015	2016
101,1	110,9	124,4	129	133,3

Table 2
Source: Report on urban waste, Edition 2017 ISPRA

The fundamental principles of the E.S.E.T. culture are to be found on the website of *Humana*[1] and they are as follows:

• Ethics and legality of the economic operator
• Management correctness
• Economic, operative and technical ability
• Reducing pressure on price and its potential risks
• To assure quality
• To assure the correct functioning of the service
• To acknowledge the value of solidarity
• To back an ethical and legal production process
• To back an ecological production process

Only in Lombardy Region each year 700,000 tons of goods are dealt with, in the sector of clothing/accessories 133,000 tons. This fact and its increasing trend give a clear idea of the importance of this sector. (Rapporto Nazione sul Riutilizzo 2018, p.66-76) (Tab3)

3. Data and Cooperatives

Greenpeace says: "It is about time that new regulations make companies more responsible, forcing them to recollect the products at the end of their life, so as to avoid dumping or incinerating, and rewarding companies that reduce the environmental impacts of their products." As previously mentioned, during these 20 years in Italy and in Lombardy in particular a great number of associations and cooperatives have taken this direction. The common goals are surely solidarity, work support for disadvantaged people, the spreading of recycling culture, respect for the environment, trade in quality vintage clothing and, last but not least, the possibility to develop new ideas and proposals in a creative field. Besides, each cooperative presents its own peculiarities.

From hand to hand (Di mano in mano) is a cooperative that has been active for more than 20 years in Lombardy. It reutilizes durable goods thanks to the work of 110 people, among them 60 working partners, 15 employees and tens of working cooperators. About 50% of its workers are disadvantaged or have some forms of handicap.

Inside the cooperative, *Vestiaria* takes care of the Fashion branch, recycling used clothes and accessories, but also adding value to them thanks to experts, new talents and new media such

as social platforms, with the explicit goal of advertising the events for the various seasons and the website itself.

For each season, *Vestiaria* organizes vintage promoting events in Milan, attracting more and more young and cool customers who want to enrich a contemporary style with objects or clothing from the past, thus creating a unique style. Besides the sales section there are cultural and social events with the presence of image consultants to assist the customers.

Its objectives are the creation of a working environment for the partners, with self-sustaining families, hospitality for disadvantaged young adults and for customers. It promotes an alternative culture of recycling and reuse with a particular attention to the use of things and the environment. The extra value of this cooperative lies precisely in the creation of spaces entirely devoted to vintage and its culture

Mani Tese is a social *Onlus* cooperative, born in 2004, employing 21 people with disadvantaged subjects. It takes care of clearings and recycling of materials, using a wide net of volunteers who deal with a great quantity of products each year in the clothing branch. The great number of volunteers taking part to the project has made it fully sustainable over the years and it's a guarantee of transparency and ethics.

The *Humana Vintage* shops have been created to let us discover clothing accessories, bijoux and other vanity objects which tell us about the Italian fashion. All the items, from the 60s to the 90s, are sold at low prices to sustain humanitarian projects of the association in the south of the world. Every week there are more than 500 new items, a real paradise for those who want an inimitable look. Every clothing item is unique, it is selected with care and attention and then given a specific price corresponding to a fair value. *Humana* vintage shops are made up with recycled materials, used with skills and know-how, making it possible to be at the same time trendy and supportive. But shopping means for *Humana* environment protection as well. In 2017 *Humana* people to people Lombardia developed a new prototype of container called *Clothes for Love*, which is positioned in very busy locations in the main Lombard cities. Giving a piece of used clothes contributes to financing development and solidarity projects in the south of the world, but also implies an immediate discount voucher usable in the tens of shops of the net of reuse. *Humana Vintage* has proved to be very respectful for the environment in the creation and managing of its sales points.

For ten years the social cooperative *Occhio al Riciclone* has been using the work of stylists and vulnerable subjects in order to create haute couture clothing accessories starting from scrap. It cooperates with *Humana people to people* Italia which offers great quantities of tissues that can't be reused but are perfect for Upcycling. Upcycling is not a synonym of recycling, which means transforming wastes into a product fit for a new use (Saccavini 2014). The best translation for this term is creative reuse, since the dumped object not only finds a new life but it gets an extra value if compared to the original object or material (Gullà 2017, 2016). The cooperation between stylists and disadvantaged workers represents a successful pioneering action which is becoming established also in other Italian realities.

Mandacarù Brescia, active since1995, gives work to hundreds of volunteers from Monday to Saturday. Clothes handed in by citizens are given a new value by being selected, catalogued,

repaired and recycled. The best clothes and accessories are exhibited in the sales area in a weekly market on Saturdays. Unsold items are passed on to other charities which care for a further selection.

According to their ethics, dumping means to despise the environment and those who toiled to produce goods. One of their priorities is to give back to the poor what was taken to them through policies based on consumerism. These actions are implemented by sustaining solidarity projects in the south of the world and in Italy as well. They are deeply convinced that giving to any disadvantaged person the chance to buy necessary goods at a symbolic price is a way to endow dignity to the buyer and to the item itself.

The income from the Saturday market is totally given for solidarity actions to sustain projects in immediate response to emergencies, such as earthquake or flooding, or to promote birth of small production activities for young people, or responding to primary needs like home, food, education and health. At present 91 volunteers are working for free in the various sectors, collecting, re-ordering and exhibiting clothing and accessories in the main headquarters.

Sales prices are really low, and in this case too we have disadvantaged people who have the chance to add value to their abilities and to face their problems by sharing the volunteers' work. *Mandacarù* takes active part in external sales organized by local charities whose objectives they share. In early summer the clothes show *Used but Beautiful* is very much awaited. The attention to young people is implemented by proposing meetings with school students, promoting awareness on world matters, environment respect, recycling and volunteering. The main goals are the support of new poverties and the spreading of recycling culture among young people.

Second hand reuse is a project developed by *Vesti Solidale*, a social cooperative *Onlus* that opened its first *Share Shop* in via Padova 36, Milan, on 12th march 2014.

The goal of the project was to assess the sustainability of a new business, to offer high quality used clothes, to create new jobs and economic resources to be used for solidarity projects on the territory, together with the completion of the production process of recycled clothes. Their aim was to test the customers' possible changes in purchase intentions, and to explore an activity successfully taken on by several social businesses in Europe in the last 10 years, in order to open new *Share* sales points on the whole national territory.

At present, four social cooperatives have endorsed the *Share* initiative, and they are opening shops in Milano, Varese, Lecco and Napoli. The project *Vesti Solidale*, among its goals, has the peculiarity of trade in high quality clothing.

Cauto is a Brescia social cooperative. Its goal is to implement new business activities for social cooperatives of type B, testing a trade branch for the big public, generating economic resources for the territory's social needs. It supports no profit activities and creates new jobs mainly for young women, closing the cycle of used clothing. Its customers should be ethically. *Cauto* sells clothes in devoted shops (Spigolandia) and takes care also of the production chain of materials that are not usable anymore.

National Association Tumors (A.N.T.) carries out its action of recycle and reuse on the whole

national territory using the work of about 2000 volunteers and sale spots called *Cantucci* which only in the city of Brescia are to be found in 5 different boroughs. Every year this social business handles thousands of tons of clothes and accessories selling in the shops the goods with the best quality and commercial value and redistributing to charities all that is not sold. The incomes are used to sustain free home assistance to terminal ill people. These experiences look for new and different ways for a better life quality, making us reflect on our lifestyle and choices. All these realities share the goals of environment respect, recycle and reuse as well as a philanthropic support to society through the large use of social volunteers and the introduction to work of disadvantaged people. (Tab.2) They all have the same goals: the environmental protection with the waste reduction, improvement of welfare in two ways: offering affordable good-quality garments and accessories and creating jobs for disadvantaged people.

4. Other Types of Realities in Circular Fashion

Besides social cooperatives taking care of recycle and reuse in the clothing and fashion sector, there are new experiments and examples of sharing economy. It is useful and important to mention them, because they represent new ways to approach eco-sustainability in fashion, where respect for the planet and for man's work can fit together with design and creativity.

East Market Milano is one of the coolest and trendiest realities of the moment, obtaining as a result the creation of a location attracting people of every age, social status and competence, bringing the event on social platforms thanks to word of mouth by Milan influencers and trendsetters (Ottoman 2011).

East Market has chosen for its location a former aeronautics factory, completely rebuilt, a place for people to sell, buy or exchange any kind of goods. The entry is free and in line with the London spirit which inspired the starting concept, where in Milan a sort of italianized Camden Town is born. Every edition of the east market has a food market proposing specialty from all the world, making this an intercultural event.

Since 2017, in Milan, the *National Fashion Italian Camera* (*Camera Nazionale della Moda Italiana*), in cooperation with eco-age, bestows the *Green Carpet Fashion Italian Awards*, to celebrate the goals reached in sustainability of the production chain in fashion and luxury (Niinimäki 2015, 2014). The La Scala Theatre hosted the green carpet in 2018. The new standards of fashion, which involves Milan as an important setting, are now *design, creativity, luxury, sustainability, respect* for the planet and the work of man (Cooper 2005).

The *Green Carpet* aims at making fashion more sustainable. Two events have drawn attention to this sector in 2011. Greenpeace, with the campaign *Detox*, asked big players to reduce by 2020 harmful practice in favor of more sustainable ones by reforming production, tissue supply and accessory production. In 2013 there was the crumbling of Rana Plaza in Dacca where more than 1000 people worked with no security at all. These events have made to real change (Belz and Peattie 2011). Young people must be helped to know and see where clothes come from, to look for brands whose production processes are rooted in local know-how, to give value to products created through modern and innovative techniques, and so more beautiful and more resistant (Belz and Peattie 2010). A brief overview of some of the main realities operating in the fashion

world, spreading awareness on reuse and recycle, should not ignore *H&M Conscious*, which utilizes jeans transforming them into cardboard and giving a second life to materials in order to create new clothes. Another big brand in fast fashion is *Zara*, which has created an awareness campaign to collect used clothes using the hashtag #joinlife, in cooperation with *Caritas* and *Crocerossa*.

The *Fashion Week* in Milan was an important moment as well, a chance to present the recycled plastic sneakers fished in the oceans by *Reebok*, and the splendid shoes with upper made from fire hoses, according to an idea by *Venethica*. Other brands investing on innovative materials are Ferragamo, with vegetable skins made from wine production waste and rind from citrus fruit, *Adidas*, with fishing nets, castor-oil and reproductions of DNA filaments inspired by spider cobwebs for shoe uppers, or Stella McCartney, who has been studying ecological skins for years, starting from biological cultivations of laboratory mushrooms.

Next Perspective, the event created by *Altagamma* (Celaschi, Cappellieri, Vasile 2007) and realized in partnership with *Fiera Milano* and *Agenzia Ice* on 30th October 2018, is future-oriented, a sort of debate on the world trends of creativity and design, together with their impact on consumers, on lifestyles and on the business model of cultural and creative companies. All this in a symbolic location: the *Triennale di Milano*.

Next comes from the need to understand a world that is becoming more and more wide, fast and many-sided. If we talk of design we think about an idea, a project bound to become reality, because language anticipates the future.

In this respect, it is clear how design doesn't only affect the physical interactions between body and matter but also, if not mostly, the interaction with time. Design is the essence of our era, it is a precious ecosystem and we have to be open to change, thinking of what comes "next".

Thanks to Andrea Bell and Lisa White, representatives of WSGN (a London-based company dealing with new trends) we were able to have an overview on the main future trends in the world of design, such as *the Luxe of less*, that is the search for simple things, reuse, waste limiting, the essentiality of Bio-facturing, an ever expanding branch on the creation of materials coming from laboratories, implementing an improbable cooperation of fashion and other design branches, even science. *The New Consumer Voices* reports the strong request from customers to be heard, concluding with "the future is emotion", *positive discomfort* and *all-inclusive design*. Though the past retains its importance, it is in the future that we can reach an improved awareness of the value of time, and most of all the potential value of good actions in one's own time.

5. Conclusions

The market of used goods, in Italy and Lombardy, is growing fast thanks to the effect of a cultural revolution that is reshaping it (Utilitalia 2018). The economic boom of post-war years has given way to a consumerist movement which, in a short time, has set aside values like self-consumerism, spirit of sacrifice and ethics of saving, values that once were deeply rooted into our society. The economic well-being, together with the pressure coming from an insisting

advertisement system, has radically changed the way of thinking of people, bringing to the paradox that every object should be created to become a waste in the shortest possible time. The cultural change we are experiencing, giving new value to used goods and putting them to the same level of new ones, is mainly generated by the digital revolution fostered by new generations and by the frequent ecological instances to safeguard resources. Besides, the concept of eco-sustainability has become today an important value and makes it possible to create new business opportunities and generate new profits, creating value from waste (Tojo, Kogg, Kiørboe, Kjær and Aalto 2012). Reusing should be supported because it is coherent with a sober lifestyle, necessary to restore a right balance between man and environment and to create a fairer and more sensible economic system. The solidarity chain of reuse involves organizations and associations, so today it needs new implementations owing to the big quantity of dumped goods involved into the logistics and the general costs of management. Lombardy data show the existence of a strongly expanding sector, mostly in the years from 2012 until today (Tab5) (Tab6), with an exponential increase in the tons of recycled clothes and the involvement of great numbers of workers and volunteers, together with a matching number of customers. All this leaves no space to improvisation, so volunteers are to be supported by entrepreneurs, too. The considerable quantity of goods requires transparent instruments aimed at certifying the ethical actions, and the organizations must give proof of their declared goals; they must also have clear, simple, transparent and traceable contracts or agreements.
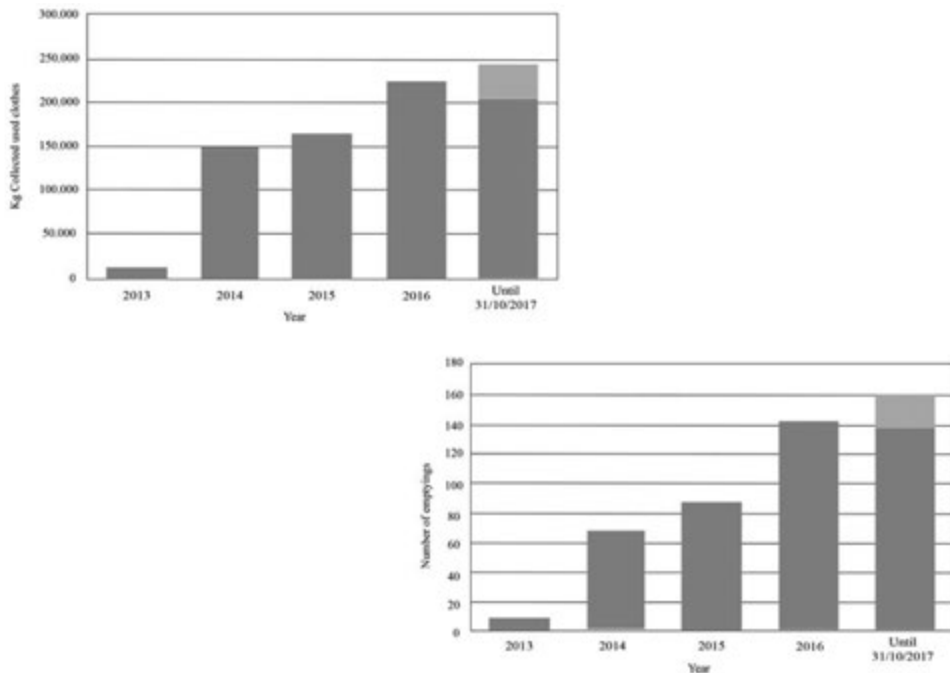
Figure 2
Source: Luca Andreassi Ecomondo 2017
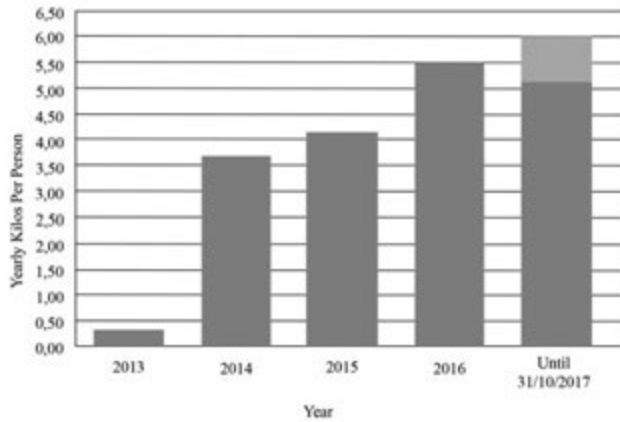
Figure 3
Source: Luca Andreassi Ecomondo 2017

Recycling and fashion are close like never before, but we have to look at upcycling too, which means to creatively re-invent an accessory or a vintage dress to repurpose it on the market (Saccavini 2014). The data are very clear: consumers today are requesting higher standards of environment respect and a deeper search for quality in materials, innovation in style and design and durability of the products. In Lombardy, the economic impact of recycling and reuse in fashion enacts a new welfare for wide sectors of the population, both directly (access to higher quality clothing at low prices) and indirectly (more occupation working chances for disadvantaged people and projects of social solidarity). The study of this trend in the Italian reality, and more specifically in Lombardy, highlights a strongly expanding sector involving higher numbers of subjects and materials re-born to a new life.

What about future outlooks? How will an advanced society be able to handle the enormous quantity of clothing and objects? The present preconditions are very encouraging and give us a strong hope for a more ethical and virtuous society. The great number of materials and people involved in this sector are very suggestive about its future expansive trend, including several professionals and customers and this opens new prospects for creative expression in fashion.

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7. Methodological Appendix

The research will deal with the Lombardy fashion sector, using interviews and case studies.

In-depth interviews were used with developing questions and answers during the dialogue. The duration of the interview depends in the notes written by the interviewer. Besides, an initial focus group of four people has been activated, developing the focused points and the contents of the paper. Finally, by merging paper, online and interview results it was possible to produce observations on the essential topics in the article and to evaluate future outlooks.

8. Biographical Notes

Elisa Borboni, Bachelor and Master in Design (Politecnico di Milano) is currently a teaching

at the Master degree and collaborating with the Polytechnic of Milan, Department of Fashion Design. As a professional designer she has had her own online brand for 3 years. As student she was granted a exchange period at the Fashion Design, Raffles College University of Design and Commerce, Sydney, Australia. Publications are: "Giulia Boccafogli: dall'idea, alla materia, al gioiello"; "Roberta Risolo, gioielli ispirati alle terre salentine"; "L'Amalassunta, l'universo, la natura e il gioiello"; "Gioiello contemporaneo. I sancta sanctorum dove esporre i propri gioielli. Viaggio tra le principali gallerie e concept store italiani"; "P D Paola, gioielli pret-a-porter del design contemporaneo"; "Post scriptum, the glamour jewelry by Simona Rinaldi"; "Next 2018: Jewellery? The future is bio"; "Fery, gioielli ispirati dal sapore gotico e per Asia Argento la croce Cruzeiro"; "I Millenials, i Gioielli, il Natale- Millenials, Jewellery and Christmas: a history beyond the object", Preziosa magazine, Rivista Internazionale di Gioielli e Bijoux, n.4/2018; pag 56-57, 16th October 2018. e mail: elisa.borboni@hotmail.it

Alba Cappellieri is Full Professor of Design of Jewellery and Fashion Accessories at the Politecnico di Milano, where she is the Director of the International Master in Fashion Accessories Design, of the Master on Brand and Product Management at the Milano Fashion Institute (consortium of Bocconi, Politecnico and Cattolica universities). She is a member of the Scientific Committee of the Ecole Van Cleef & Arpels in Paris and of the Fondazione Cologni in Milan. From 2013 to 2016 she taught Design Driven Innovation at the Stanford University. In 2017 she was appointed Ambassador of the Italian Design in Osaka and in 2018 in Sydney. She is currently doing research on the relationship between fashion and technologies. From 2014 she is the Director of the Jewellery Museum in Vicenza, the only Italian museum exclusively dedicated to jewellery. She curated several International jewellery exhibitions and her last publications include ""Jewels of the twentieth century, from Art Nouveau to 3d Printing" (Skira, 2018), "Chains, jewellery in history, function and ornament" (Silvana 2018), "Brilliant" (Corraini 2016), "Jewellery a la Mode" (Corraini 2016), "Sentimental jewellery" (Marsilio 2014), "Italian design meets jewellery" (with M. Romanelli, Marsilio 2013)

Livia Tenuta**.** PhD, Research Fellow at Design Dept. where she collaborates as TA in the Fashion Design Program. Her research is focused on future scenarios for fashion, innovation in fashion process, retail, and products, in particular wearable accessories. She developed her knowledge during her period of PhD focusing on the impact of innovative technologies in fashion, especially the accessory. She will contribute both to research and didactic activities, contributing to the exploration and definition of fashion design process and tools enhanced by digital technologies. Publications: L. Tenuta, S. Testa, *'Frid 2017: sul metodo/sui metodi esplorazioni per le identità del design*; L. Tenuta, A. Cappellieri, S. Testa, '*Tecnologie digitali per la moda: da prodotti a esperienze su misura'*; L. Tenuta, S. Testa, *'Scientific method and creative process for wearable technologies from invention to innovation', Computational tools and digital methods in creative practices*; L. Tenuta, R. Bernabei, A. Cappellieri, S. Ugur, '*CAD/CAM Jewellery education*'; L. Tenuta, '*Technology for accessories: wearable technologies from design to the finished product'*.

Susanna Testa. PhD, she is a fashion and jewellery design consultant and illustrator. At the Design Department of Politecnico di Milano she earned both her Bachelor's and Master's degree. During her master studies she completed her education course at the Fashion Institute of Technology in New York City. Her current research focuses on interaction and technological innovation within the field of fashion. Along with her creative research, Susanna carries on

the academic activities as tutor at the Final Synthesis Lab in Jewellery and Accessory Design, Bachelor Degree in Fashion Design at Politecnico di Milano, and at the Higher Education Course in Jewellery Design at Consortium Poli.Design in Milan. Susanna won national and international competition both in the field of fashion and jewellery design and illustration. Publications: Cappellieri, A., Testa, S. (2018). *Digital Crafting for Fashion Accessories. From Static Products to Open Interactive Experiences*; L. Tenuta, S. Testa, *'Frid 2017: sul metodo/sui metodi esplorazioni per le identità del design*; L. Tenuta, A. Cappellieri, S. Testa, *'Tecnologie digitali per la moda: da prodotti a esperienze su misura'*; L. Tenuta, S. Testa, *'Scientific method and creative process for wearable technologies from invention to innovation'*; Testa, S. (2017). *Research in Fashion Interaction. Experience Through Design Activities*.

9. Notes

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TRACK 2

Economy, Work and Consumption

Collective Practices and Strategies around Leisure of Contemporary Basque Young People. The Phenomenon of *Lonjas*

Diego Carbajo

Universidad del País Vasco/Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea

Abstract: *In the last decades, groups of youths in the Basque Country (Spain) have been renting former commercial premises as spaces for leisure and sociality. According to recent data, at least the 20% of young people of the Basque Country is member of this kind of collectivities. The institutionalization of this forms of collectivity is closely related to processes such as: a) urban transformations; b) the extension of youth; c) the precarisation of labour and housing markets; d) the implementation of some regulations over the uses of public spaces in the last decade and; f) some cultural features of the Basque Country. Grounded on two quantitative broad research produced by the Basque Youth Observatory and a qualitative research I coordinated for the city of Vitoria-Gasteiz, the objective of the paper is to analyse this phenomenon as a collective strategy that fights back against the processes of precarisation experienced by young people.*

Thus, the presentation will provide evidences of how phenomenon takes the form of a collective and creative response that enables young people more affordable leisure and consumption far from the adult-world surveillance. It will also go in depth on how the premises emerge as autonomous and communal social spaces where different learnings such as sharing and managing common goods, or making collective decisions take place. Lastly, the paper seeks to contribute to the conference with some developments for the debate around the concept of agency and the possibility of social change without political articulations or claims.

Keywords: *Youth cultures, sociability, precarisation, collective agency, urban spaces*

1. Introduction

In the last decades, groups of young people in the Basque Country (Spain) have been renting former commercial premises (known by locals as *lonjas* and named as such hereinafter) as semi-private spaces for leisure, consumption and sociality. In this communication I will argue that the phenomenon of *lonjas* is a significant case study through which understand certain 'divergent' sharing practices in a socio-structural context of generalized precarisation processes. Analysing the intersection between leisure time, the social network building and the construction of identity in liminal spaces between home and semi-public space (*lonjas*), the objective of this communication is to analyse the practices deployed by them in those premises and the effects of those practices in their lives. I will give evidence that the *lonjas* phenomenon promotes a collective and creative response that enables young people to achieve more affordable leisure and consumption patterns far from the adult-world surveillance or the institutional control. Furthermore, the *lonjas* emerge as autonomous social spaces where different learning processes such as sharing and managing common goods, or making collective decisions, take place. Lastly, this study case will be posed as an interesting departure

point to explore processes of social change without conventional political articulations, collective representations or clear claims.

This paper is divided into five main sections. In the first section (2), a quantitative overview is presented that allows 'measuring' the phenomenon in the Basque Country. The second (3) focuses on explaining the emergence and progressive institutionalization of the phenomenon from a socio-structural, historical and cultural perspective. The third section (4) gives account of the forms of organization, innovative practices and self- management of youth collectives. The fourth (5) section is focused in the shared experiences that this phenomenon allows among young people. Finally, the fifth (6) debates around the concept of agency and the possibility of social change without political articulations or claims.

2. An Overview of the Lonjas Phenomenon

To start with, *lonjas* can be defined *as a semi-private physical and symbolic space rented, conditioned and used by a group of young people in their free time as a place for sociality.*

In 2013, the Basque Observatory of Youth (OVJ) reported that around 20% of Basque youth had access to a *lonja*, and another 25% of young people had been a member of one at some point in their lives. The remaining 55% had never belonged to a proper *lonja*, but the same research underlines: more than a third had ever gone to the *lonjas* of friends; a third of young people who did not have access to a *lonja* at the time of the interview would like to be part of one; and, those who had previously been involved in a *lonja* showed a greater desire to participate again than those who had never been members (OVJ 2013: 25). The most relevant change detected in the survey carried out in 2017 by that same institution is that those interviewed who claim to have participated in a *lonja* rises 5 points, thus estimating that currently around 50% of Basque youth have a direct experience in this type of spaces (OVJ, 2017).

In relation to the motivations for belonging to a lonja, the most notable in 2013 were: "not to be in the street because it is cold or raining" (75%), "the need to have a place of one's own where the rules are set by oneself" (47%) and "to be able to be with friends without anyone controlling you" (46%) (OVJ, 2013:19 ff.). Beyond the weather argument, it is important to stress that the desire for autonomy and the ability to make decisions on one's own are the two main reasons to be a member. The fact that more than half of Basque youth participate actively and directly in the lonja phenomenon — and a higher percentage, if we take into account those who have participated in the past or do so indirectly through friends and acquaintances—, requires an explanation that takes into account both cultural and socio-structural factors.

3. The Phenomenon from a Socio-structural Perspective

The emergence and consolidation of this phenomenon cannot be understood without taking into account a broader social and historical context and the influence of other factors and conditions.

First, there is a particular social institution through which friendship relations are woven and

maintained in the Basque Country: the group of friends known as cuadrilla (Gatti et al. 2005). The group is formed by people united by bonds of friendship that are established during childhood and adolescence that last beyond the youth period and, in many cases, throughout life. Even though cuadrillas have changed a lot in last decades, it has a central sociality component —possibly shared with a feeling of individualization greater than in previous generations— and, above all, it has evolved articulating free time, leisure and consumption. In few words, the cuadrilla has made it possible for young people to think of themselves as a group and to develop collective leisure and consumer tactics (de Certeau 2000) through those spaces.

Second, urban transformations and regulations on the use of public spaces have collaborated in the emergence of this phenomenon. The decline of neighbourhood stores and shops since the 1990s, along with the expansion of shopping centres (CEIC 2005: 133), left a large number of empty commercial premises —lonjas— on the ground floor of many city dwellings. This availability of space partially explains the phenomenon. By renting these premises, young people have somehow colonized many of these disused spaces and turned them into anthropological places (Augé, 2004) where they can catch up, hang out and develop and expand different practices in their leisure time (Carbajo and Martínez 2013: 302). It can be affirmed that as an urban process, the lonjas phenomenon signals, and is the effect of, a process of urban reconfiguration that is inseparably linked to a change in the production and consumption model in the Basque Country over the last twenty-five years (Gurrutxaga et al. 1990). And more importantly, which emptying effect has been exacerbated by the 2008' financial crisis. Together with it, in recent years there has been a multiplication of regulations and legislation on the uses of public space applied by municipalities, Autonomous Communities and the State. Together with it, several interventions of the administrations to neutralize some of the youth practices in public spaces such as drinking and/or smoking, have contributed to this displacement and withdrawal of the youth collective towards the semi-private space of the *lonjas*.

Thirdly, the *lonja* phenomenon has to be framed in the extension of youth in contemporary Western societies. Extension that, understood as a delay in reaching the marks of adult identity, transforms this type of place into spaces of autonomy outside the family home and enables forms of partial emancipation (Carbajo, 2014). The economic dependence that young people have on their families of origin in the Basque Country (Tejerina et al. 2012b), together with the low economic cost of the lonja compared to other more conventional and commercialised forms of leisure, is crucial to understand the expansion of the phenomenon. This "in-between" perspective in relation to time or to life periods such as youth and adulthood allows us to analyse the lonja as a liminal social space where young people try and test forms of semi-independence through leisure, in a socio-economic context subject to a strong process of precarisation of living conditions.

4. Forms of Organisation of the *Lonja*

As said, the lonjas become spaces of relative autonomy in a context of significant difficulties in emancipating oneself from the family of origin. But this autonomy is carried out collectively. This fact favours processes such as learning to live in common or creating new forms of shared leisure and consumption patterns in times of precariousness.

Lonjas are generally large and multifunctional spaces, usually with a bathroom. They are basically furnished with all kinds of objects related to their members' needs and tastes: sofas, tables, chairs, shelves, microwaves, refrigerators, televisions, the last video game consoles, stereo music players and board games, darts, table computers, table football, ping-pong and poker tables or even pin-balls, and posters of football teams, media stars, groups of music and so on. As this equipment is usually obtained through donations from the members of the lonja themselves, from their families, or by recycling and reusing objects found in the street, different and eclectic styles of decoration can be found.

However, in order to make the diverse leisure activities possible, the lonja requires a minimum management which, in most cases, involves: signing of a rental contract (managed by the parents when the young people are minors); paying the rental fee through members' fees; pantry provisioning of (mainly food and drink); and the organisation of cleaning and maintenance shifts. Through the payment of that modest monthly fees (between €20 and €50 per month per individual) and the collective purchase of consumable products, the lonja allows the development of a certain type of economic rationality insofar as it makes shared consumption practices possible to reduce costs.

In this way, the lonja produces certain submerged leisure economies that do not necessarily pass through conventional or established consumer circuits. These consumer practices are not forms of resistance to an instituted order, but ways of agency, recreation or parody of some conventional consumer practices. From a subordinate and dependent position on the economic resources available to them as citizen-consumers, lonjas create a sort of associations or communities for consumption in the form of precarious recreational societies that revolve around a notion of a collective project (CEIC 2005, 79) and the previously mentioned cuadrilla.

If the reduction of costs in order to give continuity to certain forms of leisure and consumption provides meaning and economic legitimacy to lonjas, greater centrality they acquire through the experiences, affectivity and friendship that they generate and reinforce. The sociality and affectivity that takes place in the lonja is derived, evidently, from a whole set of activities, events, celebrations, conflicts and moments of collective effervescence that participants experience in and around this physical and symbolic space. A place that, prior to the massive use of mobile phones or the Internet, has been boosted by new technologies. Almost all lonjas have today parallel presence on the Internet through social networks such as Facebook, Instagram or WhatsApp groups, either to share photos, videos and information or as a form of coordination, control and communication among their members.

5. Sharing Transitions to Adulthood, Shared Learning

Through the practices described above, the lonja becomes an important space of autonomy that is not produced individually but it is constituted with others. The lonja allows and demands a series of actions and responsibilities (maintenance work, in its broadest sense) that contribute to develop subjective experiences of self-sufficiency that compensate for some dependencies with respect to the adult world.

On the one hand, this type of autonomy requires a collective management of the daily place:

from the rental fee payment, to the cleaning shifts, but also the organization and equitable distribution of the activities that are carried out in the lonja, distinguishing between times for the party (weekends) and times for a quieter enjoyment (weekdays). The establishment and collective discussion of rules are progressively developed in a process of trial and error through facing different problems and conflicts regarding the organization and distribution of tasks and functions.

On the other hand, the very generation of a place, which implies the decision to rent a space, the searching processes, the rental procedures with the owners, as well as the adaptation of the place to their needs, tastes and desires —repairing, painting, furnishing, decorating—, constitutes for many young people a first experience close to that of leaving the parental home —the search for accommodation—, but through collective practices of informal learning. Although the phenomenon does not deny the existence of individualized biographical trajectories and itineraries, lonjas intervenes synchronising or pacing them, which makes evident the need to pay attention to the collective and, therefore, shared aspects of contemporary youth transitions.

But for the propose of this communication, what is at stake within the lonja is the management of the common or a community good (commonwealth) by means of rules that are aimed at avoiding internal and external conflicts. Most of the rules point to improving internal coexistence but, above all, giving continuity and preserving the place, which implies maintaining certain rules for keeping a good coexistence with the neighbourhood (related mainly to limiting opening hours and sound volume and noise), and avoiding possible complaints and the consequent eviction by the local police. In this sense, the notion of social laboratory helps understanding both the experimental nature of its physical conformation and the negotiation process of agreeing "the internal policy of the lonja" (CEIC 2005, 78). That is to say, the very rules and sanctions by which to govern and self-govern themselves. In other words, 'the rules and regulations' that allows the place to be produced, shared and being meaningful.

6. Social Change and Political Effects without Political Articulation

These forms of self-regulated, collectivity self-managed and co-produced autonomy are central when it comes to understanding some of the resistances that the young people at the lonjas have shown to the processes of regulation and intervention on the part of the Town Councils. The programmes and regulations implemented in some municipalities have been problematic precisely because they aspire to intervene, alter and over- regulate this type of social process. One of the main concerns expressed by the interviewees was the latent and constant threat of eviction and closure of the lonja by the police. Faced with this threat, the main demand of young people, —that does not necessarily politically unite or articulate a collective action—, can be summed up in the claim: "leave us alone". Thus, for its participants, the lonja constitutes a physical and symbolic space of personal and collective autonomy built in collaboration with peers but without any kind of claim in the public space (or the Polis). It is formed as a place where to develop and deploy a common project that is crossed by several meanings, unexpected configurations and innovative practices —with, by no means, political effects.

Overall, it can be said that young Basques have translated a whole series of cultural and socio-structural factors, limitations and dependencies into a form of complex agency that goes beyond the analytical dichotomy of structure and action (Coffey and Farrugia, 2014; Kelly, 2018). Agency that, objectified in the lonja and without necessarily being resistant, contestatory or rebel in modern terms (Raby, 2005: 153 and 154), is by no means problematic for the municipal forms of government. The lonja can be understood as a displacement, an escape or as a flight through the creation of places of shared privacy that, without seeking social notoriety in the public space (Polis), alters it as a collective project and phenomenon that tries to elude the adult and institutional control. Among the elements that make this phenomenon novel we find certain assembly or communal forms of decision making and management —not strictly new but resignified— both of the group of participants, and of the lonja as a project or common good. Thus, youth lonjas consist of a kind of social laboratories that, in a playful way, reproduce and alter the traditional forms of sociality, a place where the forms of sociality that are about to arrive are tested and rehearsed.

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8. Methodological Appendix

The results presented here are based on a research carried out in Vitoria-Gasteiz (Tejerina et al, 2012a), the capital of the Basque Country, and developed in two phases. In the first phase, in collaboration with the association Ailaket, a mapping of the existing lonjas in that city rented by groups of young people was carried out. During this phase, we were able to localise 160 lonjas, measure the phenomenon and carry out an exploratory survey (N=54). This was followed by qualitative fieldwork consisting of 5 discussion groups with young people, 1 discussion group with parents, 15 personal interviews with neighbours, and 2 personal interviews with members of the Vitoria- Gasteiz City Council services. Finally, with the audio-visual recording of these two research phases, a documentary was made, together with the final report. It can be viewed or downloaded with English subtitles from: https://vimeo.com/54550320

9. Biographical Note

Diego Carbajo is a postdoctoral researcher at the University of the Basque Country funded by the Basque Government Doctoral Research Staff Improvement Programme 2017. Affiliated to the consolidated research group "Social Change, Precarity and Identity in Contemporary Society", he is currently developing a postdoctoral project about the "global grammars of self-entrepreneurship" at RMIT University in Australia. In recent years he has been lecturing on different subjects in the Dept. of Sociology 2 and in the Dept. of Didactics of Social Sciences at the University of the Basque Country. His Phd Thesis (UPV/EHU 2014) obtained the second position of the Social Reality Prize granted by the Presidency of the Basque Government. Researches Projects on contemporary residential transitions (2014), the phenomenon of youth premises and "lonjas" (2012) or the squatter movement (2007) relate to the research line structured around the concepts of youth, space and precarity. A second line of research (intermittent and underfunded) is emerging and seeks to force the limits of enunciation of Sociology, exploring ANT, the analysis of artistic productions and new uses and meanings of the Zamorano-Leonés donkey breed.

TRACK 2

*Economy, Work
and Consumption*

Organizational Communication of the Commons. Any Particularity?[1]

Enric Castelló Cogollos

Universitat Rovira i Virgili

Abstract: *This paper aims to make a theoretical contribution to the literature on collaborative action and the management of the commons (Hess and Ostrom 2007; Ostrom 1990), with particular emphasis on communication. It draws on communication studies to identify some of the premises that are key to the Organizational Communication of the Commons (OCC). The organizations that have to deal with some of the new commons (Hess 2008) manage and communicate outputs about knowledge, environment, social justice, public health and other fields. This paper argues that it is in communication that they constitute, or not, the so-called commons as such. Communication and management are at the heart of making-sense processes, so the author adopts the framework of the Communicative Constitution of Organizations (CCO) (Cooren 2000; McPhee and Zaug 2000). The paper points out that narratives and storytelling are the places where some of these processes take place and regards organizations as story producers (Boje 1991, 2014; Czarniawska 1998). The contribution argues that organizations dealing with the commons have particular issues to observe when communicating with the community and stakeholders and highlights specially three: a) accepting the blurring boundaries of organizations; b) adopting a new and integrative approach that opens up organizations to the publics; c) truly democratizing decision-making processes, which must be open communication systems, not just available or transparent. The paper ends with a call for a shift in organizational culture by challenging three features of neoliberal logics: identities – embedded in storytelling practices –, their publics – the nature of which needs to be reconsidered –, and their governance – which requires consistent and fair feedback from all agents. The author argues that communication processes are at the basis of this change. The essential idea put forward is that it is how we communicate at an organizational level that (re)cognizes the commons as such.*

Keywords: *Communication, nonprofit organizations, organization, commons, constitution of the commons*

1. Introduction

The concept of *the commons* has a long tradition in social sciences and economic thought. It was in the eighties when the advances made by Elinor Ostrom (1990) and colleagues challenged the idea that, left to their own logics and driven by selfish interests, individuals, institutions and organizations at large would extinguish any common pool resources (CPR). This conception emerged from that of previous analysts in the sixties (e.g. Hardin 1968), and led to a dichotomous response to managing the commons: privatization or strong regulation by public bodies. The commons are defined as "shared resources in which each stakeholder has an equal interest" (Hess 2006), which have particular governance problems because of human behavior such as "competition for use, free riding and over-harvesting" (Hess and Ostrom 2007:5). We usually refer to CPR in terms of the environment (woodlands, biodiversity, fishery),

nature (minerals, land, woods, water, air), and non-physical resources such as knowledge, cultural diversity, languages, etc. Even so, as Ismael Vaccaro and Oriol Beltran (2019) have pointed out, CPR can also be seen as a "conceptual fiction", in the sense that once we make use of them they become either common property or an open access resource. As we shall see, this warning is meaningful to our theoretical viewpoint.

Ostrom challenged the idea that people and organizations had no agency in the better management of the commons and that their behavior would exhaust or depredate the benefits of others or be exploited to such an extent that the situation would become lose-lose. From this point on, the academic literature on the commons has grown, and the resources regarded as commons have diversified. Communication has been identified as a type of *new commons*, which would include mass communication, public media, infrastructures and open source websites (Hess 2008). But little attention has been paid to aspects related not to communication as commons but to what this paper defines as Organizational Communication of the Commons (OCC). This concept refers to the management of communication in the organizations that administrate the commons and we argue that, even though most organizations have to deal with CPR to some extent or another, those that are heavily involved in the management of the commons should ensure that they accomplish certain aspects within the communication processes.

Scientists working in the field have already shown that communication among the members of an organization improves the management of the commons. Research on communication typically considers its cost; communication is costly. However, increasing costless communication increases the mean efficiency of a group (Ostrom and Walker 1989; Muller and Vickers 1996), and communication among members who exploit a common resource leads to moderation and homogenization (Ghate, Ghate, and Ostrom 2013). But communication does not always improve agreement; it can cause misunderstandings among in-group management and reinforce the viewpoints of other stakeholders (de Nooy 2013). Added to this, it cannot be seen as a direct solution to, for example, the governance of specific high-risk socio-ecological systems that requires not only communication networks but also actors who can provide trustworthy information. In this, governmental agents seem to have a central role (Berardo 2014). Applying this type of analyses and using elaborate models to quantitatively calculate efficiency, the research has shown that communication "increases the group performance in commons dilemmas, even if communication is costly" (Janssen, Lee, and Tyson 2014:633) and that opening communication with local groups increases cooperation for managing common resources (Mitra, Buisson, and Bastakoti 2017). Overall, when researchers regard communication as important, they usually analyze the impact that constrained, unconstrained, costly or costless communication, has on the efficiency of the group management of CPR using models, experiments or game dynamics.

These advances are essential to measure whether communication in organizations adds efficiency or not, increases or decreases the trust among stakeholders or strengthens or weakens the will to cooperate for the common good. But communication should be seen not only as a matter of cost or an element by which efficiency can be evaluated. This is concerning particularly because of the importance that Ostrom (2009:421) put on media organization and interactions (including information sharing, or networking) as the social, economic, and political setting that affects a subset of variables that will help organizational self-governance

avoid the "tragedy of the commons". Our approach does not focus on the cost/benefit of communication in a given system and does not pretend to contribute to this line of thought. We will theoretically reflect on a broader issue: the extent to which organizations dealing with the commons have to adopt a particular approach to communication in socio-economic systems. To this end, we will use OCC to identify the type of communicational issues that have an impact on the constitution of the organizations as such and on their observance of the commons as such. Because the commons are so diverse, as is the socioeconomic environment in which they are managed and the cultural background of the communities, it is not possible to establish universal rules or paradigms to govern common or open access resources. This was pointed out by the pioneers in the field like Ostrom (1990:23–24) who stated that we cannot establish general rules or unlimited premises should not be a cause of concern. It is indeed an opportunity. One of the consequences of this is that the field is particularly fragmented, with a series of case studies that focus on specific types of commons.

We should point out first that communication is not just an option for an organization, but a must. Therefore, organizations dealing with this type of resource cannot avoid communication, either internally among members or externally among stakeholders or addressed to some sort of "publics". Thus, communication in organizations dealing with the commons, as in every organization, is not just a matter of cost. It is communication that lies at the roots of all organizations. Here, we follow the Communication Constitution of Organization (CCO) paradigms (Cooren 2000; McPhee and Zaug 2000). But the important thing is that it is the way this communication is organized and how it is managed that shows the extent to which the organization observes CPR as such. At this level, storytelling and narrative approaches to the organizations have a central role and relevance.

Let us discuss a couple of examples to illustrate this idea that could appear as abstract. Education is regarded as a type of knowledge commons (Hess and Ostrom 2007; Hess 2008), and universities as among the institutions that manages not only education, but information and knowledge as well, which *are* both considered as CPR. Universities should consistently develop an OCC that involves transparent management, open-access to educational and knowledge resources, creative-commons policies, public events, spaces, libraries or classrooms, and so on. Also, public communication should present education and knowledge not as privative, exclusive or competitive. However, experience differs considerably and public universities have strict policies on access to knowledge, their advertising is full of markers stressing competition, exclusiveness, and the individual benefit that students and companies can add to their careers and economic performances. Therefore, pragmatically, education and knowledge *are not* CPR for these universities. Another example: if we take a health or medical commons such as community resistance to illness we could decide that health care or vaccines should *be* considered CPR, but so should the information and knowledge about how to freely access them, the consequences of using them or not, the scientific progress in certain medical areas, etc. Health care centers, hospitals and institutions should then take a broader approach to OCC so that they can communicate and exchange with communities within a political system that is socially organized for open access to public health and regarded as a sort of CPR. Still, experience tells us that health is a common good that has historically been privatized. Access to medicines is constrained and medical knowledge is very much in the hands of privately or publicly owned institutions, not shared and managed as a common good. Therefore, public health *is not* a CPR in these management and communication systems.

We argue that both of these cases may be a sort of *illusory CPR* or even an *illusory kind of commons* because it is through our practice and how we act and communicate that constitute the commons as such. This *illusion of the commons* works on the same premise as other non-performative acts of speech such as the ones pointed out by Slavoj Žižek (2010) and Sarah Ahmed (2005) and they can be detected, for example, in anti-racism claims, access to work and housing, and the like. We need to ask ourselves how we can counteract this illusion. At the same time, the fact that the pragmatic communication strategies taken by these institutions do not constitute CPR as such is in line with Vaccaro and Beltran's (2019) argument that CPR is a problematic and even can be a useless concept. We argue that OCC should have at least three features that challenge the neoliberal approach to organizations. These features involve a shift in three key elements: identity, publics and governance.

2. Boundaries, Publics and Democratization

Traditional corporate and institutional management has had rather strict boundaries between internal and external communication. The term "internal communication" is commonly used to refer to those actions addressed to staff, managers or the members of the organization. This conception has been handed down from the classical public relations approach of the 1980s and the idea that integrated communication means that organizations should speak with "one voice". More critical and reflective approaches have problematized such well-defined boundaries (e.g Cheney and Christensen 2001; Fernández del Moral 2004; Castelló 2019). Thus, the first premise that we are proposing here is that the boundaries of organizations are more blurred in OCC. Or, in other words, *OCC is rooted in organizations that dissolve strong boundaries with society and communities at large*. CPRs are diverse, sometimes movable (e.g. fisheries) or immaterial (e.g. education), but those organizations that regard these resources as the commons should notice that they would have trouble applying the old dichotomy between internal and external. We can illustrate this with the risk industries that use river water or send CO_2 into the atmosphere after paying the corresponding quota so that they can legally pollute the air. To an extent, these companies "buy" common resources and, because they have paid for them, expect to be able to manage them as if they were privatized. Their communication on use is regarded as an "internal matter", and communicating procedures for de facto emissions, spills or "incidental" events are also "internalized"–. Nearby communities, however, may not agree to go without a proper environmental river mouth or quality air, and decide to demand better information. Public bodies here are to monitoring and guaranteeing the observation of the rules. But these communities counteract with framing responses that provide an alternative to the industries' narrative, which impacts on public discussion through media coverage (e.g. Castelló 2010). In this sort of scenario, air and water are not regarded as a commons by the industries while they are regarded as such by the communities. The situation does not correspond to how the commons and communication boundaries are generally understood. In this case, not only does the scenario extend to become what Jan Gonzalo and Jordi Farré (2011:129) identified as a "communities metamodel of risk communication", but also the boundaries of the communities are moved to such an extent that the whole scenario becomes a sort of *super-community* and finding internal consensus and fairness is crucial.

These types of situation tell us that OCC distances itself from closed community models and opens up organizations and their communication to broader publics. In a networked

environment, the traditional "boundaries of organizations" are permeable, but this permeability cannot be "controlled" by PR activities in the same way as it was twenty years ago. Thus, renewing the OCC would literally set up an "open access" system, in which how the organization manages its resources is reported transparently. Such transparency is not always achieved or tolerated by companies dealing with natural resources, environmental impacts or social issues like health, education or equality. Here, the commons go beyond its definition in terms of property; a common source can be regulated as property but problematically communicated as such in *super-community* scenarios like the one described above. What this shows for the cases discussed is that common extractive industries do not treat the commons in their production and transformative processes, and neither do they communicate the commons, because they are not considered as such; and this is a major cause of conflictive episodes wherever they happen. The blurring of boundaries is related to the so-called *economy for the common good* (Felber 2014).

A communicative constitution of organizations (CCO) approach would argue that the way we communicate is part of an organization's input and, therefore, also part of the commons. This does not mean that organizations can be reduced to discursive action but, as Cooren (2004:388) proposes, that a "textual agency" is acknowledged in organizations and has human and non-human "contributions". The commons is constituted in communication because it is common-action. So, we can move on to take a look at the immaterial commons of knowledge and education, and the university system. In regular discourse about the role of public universities it is repeated one and a thousand times that universities, funded with public resources, build a body of public knowledge that is transferred to society. The model seems to imply a that knowledge is "manufactured" in the university, and transferred to society at large. In the last decade, great efforts have been made in the field of open-access resources, massive open on-line courses (known as MOOC), and a new definition of what social impact is. Again, if we visit public university offices we see that the communication and marketing departments are not organized as if they were dealing with a commons. Here we should avoid misunderstandings: commons and open access are resources of a different nature. Educational marketing is generally accustomed to using the discourse of competition with particular insistence on rankings, the impact factor of research or the head-hunting of top scholars, they invest quantities of money in attracting students as customers – for example, a common term in Spanish is "*captación de estudiantes*" one expression that we would propose to switch to *"atracción de estudiantes"–,* they evaluate and engage in decision-making processes that assess programs as products or services, or they launch social media and advertising campaigns similarly to those at private businesses. Most universities are, communicatively speaking, operating along similar lines to corporate brands; their pragmatics constitutes knowledge and education as commodities. If a real OCC were to be implemented in education, the first step would have to be to define the boundaries of what sort of organization the university is: Are universities "the place" where knowledge is produced or one more actor in society transforming common knowledge? Are the students regarded as internal public and organizational members of the organization or are they more like customers who spend two or three years "purchasing" something? These considerations not only challenge the borders of the institution – who we are – they also change the very idea of what publics are.

Who are the publics in an OCC strategy? The traditional position of institutions communicating to explain the organizational outputs was to mistake the publics for customers or audience, a sort of outsider community, as a segment, a kind of liability or "objective" to be "targeted",

who can be mobilized to purchase, vote or act in a specific way. We are used to dealing with this misunderstanding in universities. We already problematized the regular treatment of the publics as "segments" and used logarithmic schemes to address the specific features of each group (Castelló 2019). Those institutions dealing with CPR are expected to adopt a different communication culture and the general public should be considered when specific issues are designed and addressed. Participation and co-creation dynamics in designing and distributing the message among the interested communities are crucial and should be general practice. Therefore, the traditional concept of the public with a passive role in communication design and decision-making is exhausted. For the commons theory, this was referred to as "analytic deliberation" by Dietz, Ostrom and Stern (2003:1910), and means that the "interested publics" are relevant when action is taken regarding the governance of the commons. This implies increasing trust, engagement and effectiveness. So, *in OCC the publics are neither passive nor the receivers of communicative acts; instead they take part in the organization's output because they are part of the organization.*

For purposes of illustration, we can give the example of woodlands and wildfire extinction and prevention. Woods are considered to be a common good which is not easy to manage exclusively through private or public bodies. In one research project on the sense-making processes surrounding fire prevention and mitigation, we noted the frames that different publics can apply to this issue, with a focus on environmental organizations (Castelló and Montagut 2018). These organizations include a wide range of individuals, from expert volunteers to participants in eco-friendly activities, who have a rich understanding of how to prevent wildfires. Their viewpoints are not commonly taken into account by institutions or firefighting bodies. If we engage in a similar exercise of sense-making retrospection (Castelló 2019: 44-52) for the risk communication industries and higher educational institutions, we will be able to determine how the larger *super-community* understands them and how we can collectively deal with them. One example of a positive attempt to include different publics in campaigns for prevention and mitigation was the 2018 campaign by the Barcelona Provincial Council (2018). One of the features of the campaign was that it included volunteers like the Agrupació de Defensa Forestal,[2] academics and experts like the Pau Costa Foundation,[3] and the firefighting bodies. The campaign by the Barcelona Provincial Council pointed out that the general public could help improve the situation by protecting themselves, consuming local products from farmers, avoiding negligent behaviors and understanding wood management. The campaign was a good example of CCO in the sense that the communication itself constitutes the wood as commons.

This type of renewed and participatory approach to communication campaigns reveals a third aspect that should be considered by *OCC: the need for a truly inclusive decision-making process within the organization.* Many researchers are working on the issue of how we can respond to the need to take into account different decision making-structures. That is to say, ones that incorporate grass-roots movements or are truly transversal communication flows. Among them, we can exemplify with the project SoCaTel,[4] that is implementing a co-creative platform to implement health services for long-term care. A variety of approaches are used here, but we will focus on narrative perspectives, because a more democratic and inclusive governance necessarily involves visualizing and hearing stories from minorities, from the organization grounds, and activating bottom-up procedures. This is important because, above all, organizations are storytelling agents, producers of narratives (Boje 1991; Czarniawska 1998).

Here David Boje's concepts of *microstoria* and *antenarrative* play an important role in a more complex understanding of how storytelling transforms organizations and society. At micro-levels, microstoria are non-premeditated stories, unplanned but active, which are collectively as important as official stories or stories organized by managers. Boje (2001:1) regards antenarratives as "fragmented, non-linear, incoherent, collective, unplotted and improper storytelling". Here we could understand them as a type of counter narratives, sometimes opposed to official stories, that are not just relevant at the level of managers or at a macro-level, but also as an active action from practitioners at a micro-level (Boje, Haley, and Saylors 2016). Whilst corporate and institutional communication commonly focuses on macro-stories and top-down rationales, a more democratic view of governance brings together many different communicational levels, including workers and members of the organization, customers, media and social networks, etc. This type of broad but strong process of sense-making defines the third premise of the OCC and initiatives like SoCaTel or others, which pay attention to stories from the grassroots and microstoria, can be a way to channel new participatory and co-creative dynamics.

3. Conclusion: Challenging Neoliberal Premises

This paper aims to reflect on how the OCC is challenging the usual prerequisites of certain organizational communication approaches, and especially corporative communication. Neoliberal schemes reinforce the notion of the tragedy of the commons and the "pathogenic effects of conscience" that Garrett Harding (1968:1246) already pointed out in the sixties, and which explain that those who exploit a commons experience "intended" and "unintended" communication when asked to desist from continuing such exploitation. We may apply this notion also to organizations. The intended communication is condemnatory – you are not a responsible organization – whilst the unintended communication activates a neoliberal logic – your organization is shamed because "standing aside" while others make profit. In Hardin's words (1968:1244), the tragedy is that each individual – organization or group of stakeholders – feels compelled "to increase his herd without limit – in a world that is limited. Ruin is the destination toward which all men rush in a society that believes in the freedom of the commons". Even Hardin pointed the perils of this schizophrenic system, an affirmation that reckons the ideas by Deleuze and Guattari (emphasis in original, 2009: 246/1972) when holding that "schizophrenia is the *exterior* limit of capitalism itself on the conclusion of its deepest tendency".

As Ostrom did before us, we have continued to problematize this bi-polar viewpoint, and we have challenged three key aspects of neoliberal logics in the realm of organizational communication. This challenge involves problematizing the question of who we are – as organizations and collectives –, who we are addressing, and how we organize our decision-making processes. All three aspects are ontological elements associated with communication issues developed in Castelló (2019):

• Identity: OCC requires organizations to redefine their identity and broaden their limits. The question of who we are should be answered in four parts: the material, the mentalized, the projected and the pragmatic organization. Although not all organizations go to such lengths, those managing commons are more obliged to reflect on their identities, expand their borders and substitute the common internal-external approaches to proximity positioning of

time and space for each of their communication activities and events.

- Publics: OCC requires publics to be included in organizational logics and communication procedures. It is not sufficient just to give them a "window" of expression through social networks and on-line platforms. As for every form of communication, in networked OCC the dichotomous scheme of sender-receiver, or a passive/active audience, is over. We are not referring to the notion of *prosumer* or the profit made of users' activity or content –like the *user generated content* model. The fact that publics are part of the organizational output means that we abandon the notion of users, audience, voters and consumers as we understand them. In OCC, the publics become the community, the collective, and, therefore, they are a constitutive part of the organization.
- Governance: The decision-making processes in OCC have to change constantly. To include the community in these processes is a mechanism by which all the stories of an organization can be channeled. These processes rely in both macro and micro levels beyond the narrative and discourse. Thus, OCC should explore all the models and alternative modes of organization (among others, cooperatives, participatory budgets, time banks, assembly events, co-creation initiatives, communitarian rules, etc.) that also requires a reform of communication processes and rationales.

Without a doubt, the answer to the question formulated in the title is yes. OCC implies some particularities that are attached to organizations dealing with the commons. This is not to say that other organizations are not obliged to build on transparent, responsible and morally acceptable communication directives. But it seems to us that when dealing with the commons, organizations are required to be more careful in their observation of inclusive and sustainable communication procedures. Only truly OCC constitute a commons as such, and the organizations as valuable mechanisms to efficiently and ethically respond to the challenges of our limited and fragile world. Thus, OCC is not just a matter of *cost* or even the *cost of being*, but a matter of *being itself.*

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5. Methodological Appendix

This is a theoretical contribution. It is mainly grounded on a review of the literature and the discussion of concepts put forward by major scholars in the field. The paper was also enriched by previous research at Asterisc Communication Research Group[5] on risk communication, storytelling and framing wildfire mitigation and prevention (see references).

6. Biographical Note

Enric Castelló (PhD) is an associate professor and member of the Asterisc Communication Research Group at the Department of Communication, Universitat Rovira i Virgili (Tarragona, Spain). He was invited researcher at the Glasgow Caledonian University and Loughborough University. His latest book is *Comunicación y ser de la organización* (in press 2019, Tirant lo Blanch Humanidades, València).

7. Notes

1   enric.castello@urv.cat
2   http://snadf.org/
3   http://www.paucostafoundation.org/ing/index.php
4   https://www.socatel.eu/
5   http://www.comunicacio.urv.cat/en/research/

TRACK 2

Economy, Work and Consumption

Sharing the Understanding of the Future. Generational Perspectives on Work in the City of Milan

Enzo Colombo and Paola Rebughini

Università degli Studi di Milano

Abstract: *The aim of this paper is to present the opportunities and constraints in implementing forms of sharing experiences, knowledge and reflexivity among young people in a context of work precariousness. The data presented come from a qualitative research, realized from 2015 to 2018, consisting in 85 in-depth interviews with young people (aged 18-31) living in Milan. In this paper, we will focus only on 50 of the in-depth interviews with young people with high cultural capital (with a degree or attending a university course). The analysis focuses on the way in which young people face the neoliberal injunction of self-realization through work and how sharing practices enter or not within the horizon of the possibility of building an autonomous self.*

We analyse the generational specificities of these sharing experiences, and we suggest that representations and experiences of the job market may be a good basis for understanding the discontinuities that characterize the current young generation, especially concerning the possibility to construct sharing practices. More specifically, we focus: a) on the consequences of economic crisis among young people in Milan, in terms of work expectations and experiences; b) on interviewees' experiences of sharing practices and discourses about their personal and collective situation in front of social uncertainty and complexity, with a specific reference to the job market.

The research carried out in Milan shows that while individualization processes have become 'structural' features of young people's experience, the way in which individualization is intertwined with subjectivity and individualism is more complex. We can broadly recognise two different attitudes. The first one consists in developing a 'competitive' entrepreneurial self, that is, investing in the constant empowerment of the self through the capacity to seize the moments, to take advantage from the favourable circumstances and to avoid putting oneself in critical situations. The second attitude consists in developing a 'cooperative' entrepreneurial self. In this case, the need to invest in oneself to become an autonomous subject, continuously improving one's own abilities, is accompanied by the refusal of an individual solution. Cooperative and collaborative space of sharing are at the base of new forms of collective action as a web of individualized connections of emotions, values, commitments and everyday practices, where individuals can make a difference while being recognized in their uniqueness.

Keywords: *Individualization, collective agency, sharing practices, work, Milan*

1. Introduction

Perhaps the world has not entered a true 'metamorphosis', as Beck claimed (2016), but it is likely that since the end of the last century a number of accelerating transformations in the economic, productive and technological fields have changed our social experience of everyday

life. Multiplicity, complexity, and uncertainty are not new, but their impact have today acquired some specific generational characteristics. These transformations have been even more enhanced by the so called 'Great Global Recession' triggered in 2007 by the subprime mortgage crisis. Especially in Southern European countries, this has had a considerable impact on social structures and dynamics in the field of work and professional careers. This brought also to a general 'Great regression' (Geiselberger, 2017) in terms of tightening of social inequalities, democracy fatigue and individualization processes. Young people who have become adult with the economic crisis face a European society accepting the culture for which we are all individual citizens – not subalterns or hegemonic social groups, workers of bosses – and for which what counts it is your own personal capabilities.

The aim of this paper is to present the opportunities and constraints in implementing forms of sharing experiences, knowledge and reflexivity among young people in a context of work precariousness and so called cognitive capitalism (Moulier Boutang, 2012). The data presented come from a qualitative research, realized from 2015 to 2018, consisting in 85 in-depth interviews with young people (aged 18-31) living in Milan, both with high and low cultural capital, and focusing on the new forms of youth personal capacities to navigate social uncertainty. In this paper, we will focus on 50 in-depth interviews with young people with high cultural capital. They are equally distributed between women and men, all with a degree or attending a university course.

The analysis focuses on the way in which young people face the neoliberal injunction of self-realization through work and how sharing practices enter or not within the horizon of the possibility of building an autonomous self (Bang 2004; Franceschelli and Keating 2018; Farrugia 2019a). We analyse the generational specificities of these sharing experiences, on the way in which young people engage in forms of commitment, reorganize their personal agency, cope with individualization processes and unpredictability of the future. More specifically, we suggest that representations and experiences of the job market may be a good basis for understanding the discontinuities that characterize the current young generation (Caraher and Reuter 2017; Vogt 2018), especially concerning the possibility to construct sharing practices.

In the following sections we focus: a) on the consequences of economic crisis among young people in Milan, in terms of work expectations and experiences as the main pivot of their relationship with individualization processes and structural constraints; b) on interviewees' experiences of sharing practices and discourses about their personal and collective situation in front of social uncertainty and complexity, with a specific reference to the characteristics of the job market.

2. Generational Perspectives on the Individualized Experiences of Work

In academic and policy debates the ethical dimension of the 'sharing economy' has been at the forefront as possible agent of social change and development of new values and solidarity that derive from sharing practices in a context of job precariousness (Arvidsson, Peitersen, 2013). Many young people are attracted by this possibility of combining economic growth with a re-embedding of the economy within communitarian social relations. Small-scale initiatives such as

community agriculture, sharing productions, tool libraries, time banks or co-working spaces are particularly appreciated by young people as possible way to integrate economic initiative, critical attitudes and environmental awareness (Rebughini, Sassatelli, 2008). At the same time, new norms and standards for practicing 'small scale sharing' are emerging as part of their everyday practice. Digital technologies offer the possibility to network and connect these emerging activities in order to create new kinds of commons standards and collaborative projects.

While the enthusiasm in front of these initiatives is sometimes excessive, the construction of new ways of sharing is an attempt to cope with the continuous down-sizing of welfare state systems, of neoliberal political economy, increasing social inequalities, and individualization cultures enhancing forms of self-entrepreneurship (Bröckling 2015). For young people the ground of experimentation of this social change is mainly the passage from school to the job market (Farrugia 2019b; Scharff 2016). As our interviews reveal, this is often a solitary trial. Hence, we are going to analyse the experience of sharing not in respect to some specific economic or consumption activity, but rather as possibility to share collectively questions and answers to individualized problems especially related to entering the job market.

One of the main outcomes of our interviews was immediately the lack of a specific meaning, and the consequent ordinariness, of the socio-economic situation that the interviewees defined as 'economic crisis'. For those who completed their studies when the Global Great Recession had already produced its effects on the job market, precariousness and uncertainty of job opportunities constituted the 'normality' of their experience; it was the only blurred horizon that they saw around them, and sometimes it was also part of their family experience, when one of their parents had lost his/her job.

When it is difficult to distinguish the nature of the next step and to foresee what is going to happen in the following years or months, it becomes impossible to follow consolidated and shared routines. The narratives of the interviews highlights that the way of life of the parents was no longer a guide, and it was not possible to be confident that what one had learned or achieved today would be still valuable tomorrow. As Ulrich Beck (2016) puts it, young people today are continuously called upon to shape their biography and make choices not because of the weakening of structural constraints but because of their proliferation. Current uncertainty stems from the multiplicity of – sometimes virtual – options and from the multiplicity of constraints that give shape to the different contexts of action. Young people have to learn to move from one context of action to another, changing languages and codes each time they enter a new situation, and "managing the contradictions and incompatibilities of partial but proliferating structures" (Woodman, 2011: 115).

While work remained a central concern for all our interviewees, their common way of talking about work was to point out how the current situation is radically different from what their parents had experienced. Work means at the same time labour, activity, effort, paid occupation, social role, function, and performance. While having a job used to correspond to a quite stable social status, roles and identities, today working seems to have many overlapping meanings and functions, where full and part time, paid and unpaid activities, social roles and status blur and quickly change shape. Social representations, expectations, aspirations, ambitions, goals and motivations tend to be contextualized in more precise space and time references that no longer involve the project of a lifetime, although 'work' continues to be meaningful in terms of

personal achievement, self-esteem, or feelings of belonging (Heggli et al., 2013).

Our interviewees were well aware of the difficulty of relying on inherited established strategies and the necessity to make choices without guarantees of success. Nevertheless, they believed that the current uncertainty could be managed and driven towards favourable directions by those with the 'will' and 'perseverance' to try hard, take action, and seize opportunities.

> *My mother got a job when she was eighteen and has always worked in the same place. It was certainly easier because you had an open-ended contract, but I live with the anxiety of contract expiry. Perhaps it used to be easier. Then it depends on what sort of person you are. If you go after them, the opportunities are there. If you're ambitious, if you know how to create networks, then you create opportunities for you to grasp. If you only want to look after your own backyard, then it's difficult (Anna, woman, 30 years old, degree in biology, medical sales representative)*

As Wyn and Woodman (2006) observe, acceptance of personal responsibility for youth lives was a feature shared by our respondents. They were aware that "in an age of uncertainty, in order to survive they need the capacity to understand the options that they have before them, the skills to make choices, and the basis for being flexible" (Ibid, p. 508).

Faced with the precariousness of job opportunities, the interviewees were not discouraged or distressed, but nor were they conceited or overly optimistic. They were moderately self-confident, but they recognized that nothing can be taken for granted and that they had no assurance that their projects would succeed. Uncertainty was normalized, but at the same time not fully accepted, it continued to raise concerns and translated into a sort of 'active resignation': action must be taken because staying still means succumbing.

Our interviewees have internalized the ethic of self-realization. They invest on their personal capacities (Melucci 1996), that is, on developing themselves as autonomous persons, showing self-control, creativity, responsibility, the desire to improve their skills, and the will to take risks. The young people with high cultural capital interviewed approach work as a project of self-realization, personal fulfilment and self-expression rather than a simple means of obtaining adequate material resources for a satisfactory standard of living.

> *As a matter of fact, once there were more opportunities, but who cares. It's our time. If there are fewer opportunities, we find the ones that are there ... You create the opportunities. If you're smart, you'll find something, if you waste too much time moaning, it means that you don't want or can't do things (Giulio, man, 31 years old, master degree in Communication, co-founder of a digital communication company)*

In some interviews the question of uncertainty was approached positively, almost as an opportunity; uncertainty assumed the face of the inevitable necessity to which one can only react by mobilizing oneself virtuously, putting oneself to the test, using the best of one's resources. Although in terms of power relations this could be considered a form of self-management (Kelly, 2013), we can also consider it a generational attitude. In the absence of structural opportunities able to converge claims or protests against the inequalities of the job market, and in the absence of adequate vocabularies to frame one's situation, an individualized approach based on situated

practices prevails. Trusting one's capabilities to manage local constraints seems the only way out, making adjustments as necessary.

3. Sharing the Experience of Work Uncertainty

Our interviewees adopt different strategies in order to face the unpredictability of their future. They are generally convinced that they can master their life and that they derive and renew their capacity for action from within themselves (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim 2002; Kelly 2013; Bröckling 2015; Farrugia 2019a). They accept 'individualization' as an unavoidable characteristic of their biography and take for granted that it is up to them to construct an independent and autonomous self, in the mist of the collapse of social-sanctioned normal forms of transition to adulthood, frame of reference and roles.

While this general individualistic stance is widespread among all these young people, the way in which they share, or not, their experience related to job uncertainty and everyday complexity varies significantly. Generally, we can identify, on the one hand, a majority group of interviewees who prefer to adopt a more superficial and symbolic form of sharing their choices, experiences, attempts and expectations about the job market. In this case, the normal experience of sharing the events of one's life with friends and peers remains based on an individualized attitude in front of the challenges of uncertainty and complexity. On the other hand, there is a minority group of interviewees, involved in forms of political participation and other sharing activities, who are accustomed to confront themselves with their peers to discuss about their experiences and representations of the current job market, sharing specific spaces of confrontation and debate.

While young people not directly involved in forms of political activism tend to collapse 'individualization' with 'individualism', those who are politically active endorse the former but openly oppose the latter. So, while young people not directly involved in politics are focused on building an 'entrepreneurial-self' adopting an individualistic and competitive attitude, young people politically active are more involved in developing a 'cooperative-entrepreneurial-self'.

Young people who are committed to developing an entrepreneurial-self trust their personal capacities to cope with the uncertainties of the job market, and do not feel the need to confront or to sympathize with other similar experiences.

> *You have to invent yourself, understand what you want to do. A network of contacts is needed in my sector [music industry]. You need the ability and the desire to know how to relate to people. You have to let people know that you're worth. You have to have a lot of passion too ... My field is very competitive […] I'm not a dreamer, I'm very practical, I've always preferred to work alone ... I am individualistic. In the most absolute way. The idea of an association of some kind doesn't give me any security. When ideas become a political group, they lose their initial strength, they all become 'OK, we have to come to an agreement.' I have opinions on everything, but, even in the broadest terms, I find politics too stifling for me (Carlo, man, 30 years old, degree in Sociology, owner of a music-recording studio)*

In their view, any experience of work, no matter how much precarious, is an opportunity to capitalize professional knowledge, individual know-how, practical information and forms of self-improvement. To put oneself to the test is presented as a personal and individual experience, the reference to social rights as collective aim is rarely mentioned. To be able to answer to the challenges of uncertainty is a proof of personal capacity and self-realization. More than being a process of struggle against forms of domination, autonomy lays in the ability to keep this process of self-development and self-positioning open. The context is taken for granted. To share one's experience of the job market is limited to social networks and common conversations with friends. This does not necessarily mean that these interviewees do not trust political action as such; rather they believe that the current available forms of political intervention are inadequate, guarded by older generations who leave no room for change (Colombo 2017; Genova 2018). This does not mean that there is a mistrust in sharing their experiences with others; rather, these young adults prefer to cultivate themselves as 'subjects of value' (Farrugia 2019a).

This implies accepting, at least in general terms, the neoliberal assumption that the free market offers a fair system where the talented and hard-working can overcome all obstacles and achieve greater success (Brown et al. 2011). This group of interviewees have assimilated the neoliberal injunction to constantly demonstrate enthusiasm, flexibility, determination, creativity, innovation and the will to take risks, to invest in their own personal capacities, while continuously improving their skills in order to live up to the demands of highly competitive contexts. Sharing activities can be considered as useful to contrast specific problems such as pollution (car sharing, for example), but they are not at the forefront of their projects in relation to the job market. In this respect, a culture of individualism, more than the push towards individualization, seems in contrast with the possibility of sharing experiences and practices.

In contrast, those who are more oriented towards building a cooperative-entrepreneurial-self consider sharing with others their experience of complexity, beyond the precariousness of work, as an intimate moment to overcome the bewilderment of uncertainty, inequalities and injustice. Rather than a form of self-management, in this case interviewees seek to construct a new horizon of 'self-cooperation' for which the construction of oneself as autonomous subject is not a solitary auto-referential process, but a collective enterprise, based on sharing individualized experiences. For these young people a sharing economy, alternative to neoliberalism, cannot exist without a sharing society; that is, the capacity to construct collaborative exchanges in terms of experience, knowledge, symmetric and not hierarchical relationships. Interviewees engaged in this effort attempt to realize these forms of sharing individualized experiences through the organization of spaces of social activism, typically in squatted urban spaces, where political and entertainment activities are associated to moments of more intimate discussion about their personal and generational situation.

The interviewees who feel the need to share their experiences of precariousness, involving themselves in collective initiatives, common spaces of practices and political or civic commitment, give to the notion of sharing a specific and more complex meaning. The experience of sharing is not in contrast with the contemporary culture of individualization as enhancement of autonomy, rather it is conceived as an antidote to the entrapment of self-entrepreneurship and internalization of forms of self-discipline. What is considered necessary to share is not just a service, nor material resources. Instead, it is important to share emotions,

experiences, narratives, and feelings. There is a need to share everyday life, spaces of intimacy, where it is possible to be listened to and to listen to others.

> *We, as a generation, need a lot of intimacy ... because we live in a world of insecurities, paranoia, things that inwardly divide you. So, we need to talk to each other, to have a place where we can develop mutual trust ... because our generation is struggling to find channels of expression ... to have confidence ... because trust must be strengthened […] This is what we do here, trust is made working together, cultivating projects together, sharing interests and passions and making them become a shared moment, and, above all, every day. (Marta, woman, 25 years old, degree in Art and Design, free-lance)*

Even though they are all absorbed in an individualistic culture, for which the sacred autonomy of the modern individual is taken for granted, their cultural enemy is individualism as social translation of market dynamics in neoliberalism. Selfish attitudes, naïve convictions of self-sufficiency, aestheticization of oneself as exhibitionist practices, incapability to recognize one's weakness in the current economic system are considered as the cultural ground of the struggle. Individualism, rather than individualization, is the true enemy of the insightfulness and critical capacity that these young people hope to construct in their social spaces of sharing. They believe that individualism and convictions of the possibility of 'bowling alone' can help only the search of security in self-referential identities and communities, made by individuals unable to communicate among them and governed by instrumental action.

Hence, interviewees interested in the construction of sharing practices fully recognize the existence of individualization as the transformation of identity from a 'given' to a 'task', charging the actors with the responsibility to perform that task and for the consequences of their performances (Beck and Beck-Gernsheim, 2001). They recognize also the necessity to develop their personal capacity (Melucci, 1996), and to preserve it from its recovery by commodification and self-disciplinary practices.

> *The important thing to do is to root out the idea of individualism you find among students... the guys of my generation... The latest education reforms have contributed a lot, both at high school and university level, to what is called the corporatization of universities, the commodification of universities… having people believe that university is the launching pad for the labour market… and there's no doubt about it… and therefore you have to have a very individualistic attitude. The idea that you have to study... alone... and get top marks in everything, so you'll have a degree that counts for something and so that you can be someone... without looking around you… with tunnel vision. [At school] they teach you that you're on a lower rung… in high school already… and I reckon this is a cause... that is... not a cause of disinterest in itself... but one of those things that leads students... to be a lot more individualistic and less... less of a social animal. (Andrea, man, 23 years old, Degree in Political Sciences, unemployed)*

For these interviewees, sharing spaces of political and cultural activities are at the same time spaces of 'good individualization', of agency and autonomous construction of oneself, and areas for the construction of collective agencies and identities. These are spaces where personal characteristics are fully implemented and can be fully developed, tested and strengthened through sharing opportunities. This generation can no longer imagine that their

political and cultural activity will contribute to change the world, their attitude is sober and realistic. Rather, they think that constructing themselves as true autonomous subject is a hard enterprise that have to be developed together, in sharing space of open and frank dialogue, as best opportunity to foster personal fulfilment. In respect to the abstract knowledge, they acquired at school and university, these spaces of shared discussion around power-knowledge dynamics can offer to the individual the possibility of self-determination in an environment of increasing forms of control.

The space for discussion created through collective action is 'political', as it is the necessary condition for both full personal fulfilment and social transformation. It is through the intersubjective, dialogical cultivation of personal capacities that a public space is created; this is a space that counteracts individualism and allows a concrete and real transformation of society. Political action is conceived of less as an arena, and more as a lived experience (Marsch et al. 2007). It mainly concerns sharing emotion, feeling together, belonging, and feeling that the place where we are is 'our place', a space realized connecting individualizations. Effective political action requires sharing spaces and moments where it is possible to rediscover the authenticity of relationships, personal dignity, and become 'subjects' capable to resist the commodification of oneself enhanced by the neoliberal culture.

In our opinion, these practices of shared experience, based on a continuous confrontation and investigation of the present, take the form of a *politics of the present*: it is not primarily oriented towards the general transformation of society but to the transformation of the context of everyday life (Colombo and Rebughini 2019). This can be considered as a wider generational attitude, involving also young people not specifically interested in practices of sharing. The politics of the present is a form of political action that reflexively recognizes the difficulty of changing the 'rules of the game', the structural conditions that define the spaces for individual and collective action, but that count on the possibility to find new ways to manage such rules.

This is a generation accustomed to live in deep immanent conditions: practices and choices, personal capacities and tactics have to be processed here and now. While their efficacy rests on the individual's ability to adapt and be flexible. To create spaces to share such experiences can offer a buffer to freeze the acceleration of temporality and to give room for reflexivity and criticism. In this respect, political action assumes the form of a 'micropolitics of becoming' (Connolly 1999; Bang 2004), a set of activities that is not confined to formal participation in organized groups struggling for the control of specific social resources, but is embedded in attitudes, personal opinions, lifestyles (Farthing 2010).

4. Conclusions

The relationship and the representation young people have of the job market are a good standpoint to analyse the way in which they develop (or not) practices of sharing. The dynamic between individualization processes and practices of sharing arise as a crucial generational mark.

Young people recognize in individualization processes the original footprint of modern emancipation, the possibility to express oneself as autonomous subject, free from the conditioning of family, communities or authoritarian state. Yet, they hardly recognize the way in

which economic processes have been able to appropriate this thrust to autonomy in forms of self-government, and few of them recognize the consequences of the loss of spaces for sharing experiences on a common ground, as once where working-classes' spaces of encounter, with their capacity to provide relief and room for discussion (Côte 2014; Weeks 2011). The result is the perception of insecurity as an individual failure rather than a common generational destiny.

The research carried out in Milan shows that while individualization processes have become 'structural' features of young people's experience, the way in which individualization is intertwined with subjectivity and individualism is more complex. Cooperative and collaborative space of sharing are at the base of new forms of collective action as a web of individualized connections of emotions, values, commitments and everyday practices, where individuals can make a difference while being recognized in their uniqueness. To be part of a space of sharing experiences means to avoid the undervaluation of the structural constraints and to recognize one's own fragility in front of them. This can foster new forms of empathy and the needs to share one's personal experience with others, leading towards shared forms of engagement.

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6. Methodological Appendix

The data presented in this paper come from a qualitative research, realized from 2015 to 2018, consisting in 85 in-depth interviews with young people (aged 18-31) living in Milan. Interviewees were mainly contacted by word of mouth and through the Municipality of Milan Youth Guidance Service. Ten of them were activists in political squats and were contacted by taking part in an activity at a social centre set up in illegally occupied premises in Milan. The interviews, lasting 60-110 minutes were mainly concentrated on current job situation, school-work transition, and work expectations, as well as on lifestyles and social participation including sharing activities and involvement in politics and voluntary work.

7. Biographical Note

Enzo Colombo is full professor of Sociology of culture at the Department of Social and Political Sciences, University of Milan. He has published widely on multiculturalism, youth and citizenship. Among his most recent publications *Youth and the politics of the present. Coping with complexity and ambivalence*, Routledge, 2019 (with P. Rebughini); "A generational attitude: young adults facing the economic crisis in Milan", *Journal of Modern Italian Studies*, 2018, 23 (1): 61-74 (with P. Rebughini, L. Leonini).

Paola Rebughini is full professor of Sociology of Culture at the Department of Social and Political Sciences, University of Milan. She has published widely on social theory, cultural pluralism, youth and collective agency. Among her most recent publications *Youth and the politics of the present. Coping with complexity and ambivalence*, Routledge, 2019 (with E. Colombo); "Critical Agency and the Future of Critique" *Current Sociology* 66(1), 2018, pp. 3-19.

TRACK
2

*Economy, Work
and Consumption*

Solidarity Economy Markets as "Commons Ecologies." The Politicization of the Marketspace by *Esperança-Cooesperança*, Rio Grande do Sul, Brasil

Ana Margarida Esteves

ISCTE-Instituto Universitário de Lisboa and Centro de Estudos Internacionais[1]

Abstract: *This paper analyses how Solidarity Economy markets contribute to the development of post-capitalist livelihoods, as spaces of politicization of production and consumption through the establishment of collaborative linkages between producers, between these and consumers, and with social movements. The case study analysis of the solidarity economy markets promoted by Esperança/Cooesperança, a solidarity economy network in the central region of Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil, indicates that such spaces support the emergence of counterpower by re-signifying economy activity and facilitating collective action. Fieldwork data indicates that they promote "commons ecologies" by creating linkages among commons and promoting commoning at larger scales. They also facilitating mobilization, from the part of participating producers and consumers, as well as the wider public, against existing institutional barriers to commoning.*

Keywords: *Solidarity Economy; Commons Ecologies; Mobilizational Citizenship; Alternative Markets; Public Sphere*

1. Introduction

In order to be self-sustaining, post-capitalist livelihoods and initiatives must be based on "local cooperative ecosystems", constituted by "commons ecologies" based on "system-like stock-and-flow" circuits of value which reproduce the material resources, norms and rules that are necessary for their self-sustenance (de Angelis 2017: 270-1). De Angelis (2017) defines "commons ecologies" as "interrelations among different commons and their environments brought about by a particular type of *commoning* that put them into communication and sustained cooperation, that is *boundary commoning* (…)" meaning a process that "(…)activates and sustains relations among commons (…)", in this case practices of economic subsistence developed within families and communities, "(…) thus giving shape to commons at larger scales (…)" (p. 287). This concept can be framed by Polanyi's vision of an "active society" in "contradictory", but creative, "tension with the market" and its tendency to commodify three fictitious commodities, labour, land and money, by reducing them to exchange value (Burawoy 2003: 198). The still-evolving concept of Solidarity Economy frames that challenge as a bottom-up process, based on prefigurative practices of economic self-governance that prioritize the creation of social value over capital accumulation (Mance 2007; Auinger 2009; Laville 2016; Ould Ahmed 2015). At its core is the normative orientation of economic activity towards democratic deepening within enterprises and at the state level (Laville 2016: 244-5), as well as the promotion of economic resilience of territories (Bauwens and Niaros 2017: 24; Cohen 2017: 3; Estivill 2018: 15).

Community currencies support the constitution of "commons ecologies" as means of exchange that socialize its participants into the norms and practices of effective communication, internal trust and reciprocity (Poteete and Ostrom 2010; Lietaer et al. 2012), which support the coordination of lateral interactions among a diverse set of actors (Bar-Yam 2002). They facilitate the "co-production" of networks of trust that lead to the emergence of local and regional-level supply chains (Lietaer et al. 2012; Rigo and França Filho 2017).

If community currencies are not in place, it is necessary to promote, as an intermediary strategy, a bottom-up system of counterpower which questions the status quo and engages consumers, philanthropies and the state in reimagining the economy over time. Central to this process is the setting up of "alternative spaces" where "socio-ethical and counter-cultural practices" are experimented with, enacted and coordinated (Fois 2019: 108). Studies of prefigurative politics have shown a variety of forms in which "alternative spaces" exist and function (i.e. Gibson-Graham 2006, 2008). These include grassroots networks of "political consumerism", such as Solidarity Purchasing Groups, as well as Solidarity Economy markets (Graziano and Forno 2012; Grasseni 2014; Rakopoulos 2015).

Besides being spaces of commercialization, Solidarity Economy markets are sites of incubation of a "subaltern public sphere" (Fraser 1990) through the co-production of networks of trust and collaboration across different actors, social groups and institutional environments (Rakopoulos 2015). They promote the economic resilience of territories by supporting production relocalization and food system reterritorialization (Migliore et al. 2014; Forno, Grasseni and Signori 2015; Rakopoulos 2015; Forno, 2018; Giambartolomei, Forno et al. 2018; Lekakis et al. 2018). This happens through the promotion of direct producer-to-consumer exchanges, which maximize income for producers by cutting middlemen out of transactions (Grasseni 2014; Rakopoulos 2015). They also promote what Escoffier (2018) calls "mobilizational citizenship", by engaging social movements in forms of political incorporation that emerge from processes of "production of belonging" inherent to the local identities of struggles "updated and reformed through processes of micro-mobilization" (p. 775). That is the case of "slow food" and sustainability transition movements in Italy (Grasseni 2014), of grassroots resistance to EU-imposed austerity measures in Greece (Rakopoulos 2015) and anti-Mafia movements in Socily (Rakopoulos 2018). These exchanges are embedded in processes of "co-production" of networks of trust, based on relationships of proximity and direct collaboration between consumers whose purchasing choices are motivated by environmental and social justice goals over convenience, affordability and other instrumental concerns, and producers whose characteristics contribute to the pursuit of such goals (Grasseni 2014: 184-5).

1.1. Case Study

The case study analysis of the Solidarity Economy markets promoted by *Esperança/ Cooesperança*, a solidarity economy network in the central region of Rio Grande do Sul, Brazil, indicates that Solidarity Economy markets promote "boundary commoning" by fulfilling three functions:

a) being spaces of trust building among participating producers and socialization into cooperative practices of production, distribution and commercialization;

b) being spaces of proximity between politicized consumers and small producers marginalized by globalized supply chains which "socialize and mobilize individuals and families over environmental and social justice issues, starting with day-to-day consumption practices and decisions" (Graziano and Forno 2012: 122);

c) being spaces of engagement of social movements in processes of "mobilizational citizenship" by building counterpower against institutional barriers to commoning and post-capitalist economic activity.

Esperança/Cooesperança is an anti-poverty project, founded in 1987 in the municipality of Santa Maria, in the Brazilian state of Rio Grande do Sul. It is based on a bottom-up methodology of formal and informal learning and mobilization that aims to promote "urban, rural and regional sustainable development" through the promotion of post capitalist cooperative livelihoods. *Esperança/Cooesperança* engages civil society, as well as the state, in supporting the most vulnerable sectors of society in developing the know-how, technology and skills needed to enter the modern economy. Its markets had a significant impact in poverty reduction in the city of Santa Maria and across the state of Rio Grande do Sul. They were a template for a national-level policy of support to Solidarity Economy-based commercialization during the governments of Luís Inácio Lula da Silva and Dilma Roussef. They also became a source of best practices for Solidarity Economy fairs across Europe. This was made possible by the mediation work carried out by the institutional structures of the Catholic Church, namely the Diocese of Santa Maria, with the support of the regional branch of *Cáritas Brasileira*, an organization of the *Conferência National dos Bispos do Brasil*/Brazilian Bishops' Caucus (CNBB). At the time of fieldwork, this role was carried out by a team of project managers, headed by Sister Lourdes Dill, member of the religious congregation Daughters of Divine Love and vice-president of Cáritas Brasileira. This team was accountable to an Assembly of Representatives, elected among participating producers for tenures that vary between one and three years.

1.2. Methodology

This case study is based on participant observation, semi-structured interviews and archival research carried out during three periods of fieldwork: July 2008-July 2009, January 2012 and September-November 2016. It uses a hermeneutic methodology based on the Grounded Theory Method (Glaser & Strauss 1967; Charmaz 2006; Czarniawska 2014). Fieldwork consisted in archival research and participant observation in events that took place at Centro de *Referência Dom Ivo Lorscheiter*, the permanent marketspace of *Esperança/Cooesperança*. These included the weekly markets, thematic fairs and gatherings of social movements. It also included participant observation of meetings with public officials and of the project's participation in public festivities of the Brazilian Independence Day (September 7), as well as *Dia do Gaúcho* (state holiday of Rio Grande do Sul, on September 20).

During fieldwork, I carried out 33 semi-structured interviews with *Esperança/Cooesperança* project managers, participating producers, regular consumers, activists of MST and *Movimento dos Pequenos Agricultores*/Small and Subsistence Farmer's Movement (MPA), as well as civil servants from the municipality of Santa Maria. I used a snowball sampling method for identifying interviewees. The sampling process began with indication from the project management team, which was by gatekeeper to the field. I asked each interviewee to indicate another person in the

same actor category (producer, consumer, project manager, activist). I finished the interviewing process when the data collected did not add any new information to that of previous interviews. The interview guides were structured around the respondent's role or relationship to the project and, in the case of producers, their area of activity.

All the quotes were transcribed in Portuguese, the original language of communication, and translated to English in a way that attempted to retain as much as possible of the original meaning. I was granted permission to use the real name of the subjects in the quotes related to the overall functioning of *Esperança/Cooesperança*. In those that refer to particular producers, I used pseudonyms. Due to time, resource limitations and issues of consent, it was not possible to obtain financial data from *Esperança/Cooesperança* or individual producers that were backed by official documents. As a result, the data used in the analysis of these topics are based on estimations made by participating producers or project managers, or participant observation, unless otherwise specified.

2. Re-signifying the Market through "Boundary Commoning"

2.1. Spaces of Trust-building between Producers

The focal point of *Esperança/Cooesperança* is *Centro de Referência Dom Ivo Lorscheiter* (CRDIL) a marketplace that hosts a weekly Solidarity Economy market, known as *Feirão Colonial,* as well as three-day thematic markets on the first week of Spring (Feira da Primavera) and during Advent (Feira de Natal). Sources from the project management team claim *Feirão Colonial* receives several hundreds of visitors every Saturday, most of them resident in the municipality of Santa Maria. The thematic markets receive several thousands of visitors from across Rio Grande do Sul. CRDIL is also the host of FEICOOP – *Feira Internacional do Cooperativismo* (International Fair of Cooperative Economics), a four-day event that takes place every year during the first fortnight of July. According to internal documents of Esperança/Cooesperança, the first edition of FEICOOP counted with 27 vendors, while its 25th edition, which took place in 2018, counted with at least 200. The thematic fairs receive a much higher number of visitors. The archives of FEICOOP indicate that this event receives an average of 200 000 visitors every year, originating from different parts of Brazil and Mercosur, as well as other parts of the world. All these commercialization events have a parallel schedule of workshops, debates and performative activities organized by *Esperança/Cooesperança* and like-minded social movements.

The publicity materials of the fairs organized by *Esperança/Cooesperança* include the motto *Uma Feira Ensinante e Aprendente*, which can be roughly translated as "A Market of Self-Teaching and Self-Learning". The way different project managers and producers interpreted this motto indicates that such events are regarded as sites of socialization into economic practices based on trust, reciprocity and cooperation. Such process begins with the condition that, in order to commercialize at CRDIL, individual producers need to be aggregated into *grupos de produção*. These are producers' associations, containing at least three family units, which have a common accounting and fiscal identity. Their purpose is to facilitate the access of subsistence producers to the market, as well as to promote economies of scale in production, through incentives for cooperative practices such as the sharing of production spaces and machinery and collective purchases. It also promotes the diversification of supply within the *grupos de produção* through incentives

for individual producers to specialize and add value to their output, instead of maximizing the quantity in production. This includes training on cooperative economics, business accounting and management, manufacture development and commercialization. This combination of incentives for cooperation and specialization promotes non-competitive commercialization arrangements, in which one producer within the group is responsible for selling and keeping the account balance of another production unit. That is the case of "Larissa", part of a family of livestock-producing *colonos*, subsistence farmers descending from European immigrants who came to Rio Grande do Sul in the late 19th and early 20th century. Her production unit specializes in the production and commercialization of ham and sausages, while other units in her *grupo de produção* specialize in other livestock produce:

> *"This week I am here, taking care of our vending place. [Name withdrawn] could not come, so I am selling the milk, cheese, cream and curd they produce from their animals. It is not necessary for all of us to be here together at the same time. There is a lot of trust among us. They know that I will not cheat when writing down the transactions and that I will give them all the money from sales, as agreed. They also know that I will return the produce they were not able to sell. We also transport their produce here to the market in our truck. There is no need for each of us to have our own truck. We share it among us. Next week, if necessary, someone will be here in my place at the vending table." (Interview nr. 23, 22/10/2016)*

2.2. Spaces of Proximity between Producers and Consumers

CRDIL is a space of encounter between the wider public and otherwise socially and spatially segregated socio-economic realities: Those of the urban poor, including *catadores* (recyclable waste collectors), manufacturing workers living in the industrial periphery of the city who were left unemployed by the bankruptcy of local industries during the 1980's. It also includes those of the *colonos* living in the rural belt of Santa Maria or neighbouring municipalities, and those of indigenous and *quilombola* afro-descendent communities, as well as MST settlements. Besides, the fairs organized at CRDIL also include producers from intentional communities inspired by Deep Ecology and New Age philosophies. Such producers, besides selling products such as essential oil, herbal remedies and vegan food, also offer preventive and holistic health treatments. It is common for them to directly exchange know-how, goods and services with producers issuing from other social groups represented in the market.

Due to logistic limitations from my part, as well as from the project managers of *Esperança/ Cooeperança*, it was not possible to carry out a survey which could help identify different profiles among the regular consumers of CRDIL. From participant observation and interviews, it was possible to identify a specific profile of local consumer, whose cultural capital and disposable income predisposes them to favour environmental and social concerns over instrumental motivations when making purchasing choices. This type of consumer is predominantly middle class, with a left-of-centre political orientation a background in militancy in progressive Catholic circles and tend to work in education or in the public sector. That is the case of "Bette":

> *"During my student years, I was against the dictatorship. I was a member of Juventude Universitária Católica [Catholic Youth Student movement]. We observed the state of the*

world and based our analysis in solidarity towards the oppressed. (…) For me, shopping malls and large supermarkets are a shop window of that oppression. The products are made from slave labor, from people paid less than a fair wage or a fair return for their product. Besides, those products have no flavor. They have no soul. (…) I've known Esperança/Cooesperança since its inception. Their militancy is my militancy. (…) I know that the people there put in the products they sell at the market the same amount of care they put in those they produce for feeding their families. You can see it in their presentation, feel it in their flavour. Actually, that's what Sister Lourdes tells them: 'Put in your products the same amount of care you put in the food you give to your family.' (…) I'd rather pay a bit more but eat healthy, flavourful products that are made with care in an economy of fairness, than pay less, not be satisfied and contribute to the oppression of others." (Interview nr. 15, 08/10/2016)

2.3. Promoting Mobilizational Citizenship by Engaging Social Movements

The Solidarity Economy markets promoted by *Esperança/Cooesperança* build the political subjectivity and agency of its participants by mobilizing agentic memory, symbols and practices of belonging, as well as promoting grassroots leaderships through practices of decentralised protagonism. That happens mainly by engaging social movements that aim to promote agrarian reform, such as the *Movimento dos Trabalhadores Rurais Sem Terra*/Landless Workers' Movement (MST) and the *Movimento dos Pequenos Agricultores*/Small Farmers' Movement (MPA). It also includes engagements with international social movement networks, such as the World Social Forum and the Intercontinental Network for the Promotion of Social Solidarity Economy (RIPESS). CRDIL is a space of encounter between Esperança/Cooesperança and these movements, which share similar goals and practices of social transformation.

Esperança/Cooesperança partners with *Comissão Pastoral da Terra* (CPT) in the movement for agrarian reform. Such partnership includes supporting the MST and MPA by hosting a native seed bank, as well facilitating the exchange agroecology know-how between activists of these movements and other subsistence farmers in the region. The MST and MPA have a visible presence at the weekly and thematic markets organized at CRDIL, where have vending areas, decorated with flags and other symbols of these movements. The same happens with the movement of *catadores* (collectors) of recyclable waste. *Esperança/Cooesperança* complements the organizational and technical support given by *Cáritas* to its regional network of associations by providing training and support in business and product development, as well as spaces at the weekly and thematic fairs for the commercialization of products made of recyclable waste.

The engagement with social movements also includes artistic performances and the hosting of national and international organizational gatherings. During the thematic fairs, an area of CRDIL is transformed into a stage for speeches by activists, as well as thematic artistic performances. The marketplace also hosts organizational gatherings and performative events of the movement for agrarian reform, such as *Grito dos Excluídos* (Cry of the Excluded), a yearly march, included in the schedule of parallel FEICOOP, which departs from CRDIL and walks across the main streets of Santa Maria. On January 22-24, 2010, CRDIL hosted the first World Fair and World Forum of Solidarity Economy.

This event was a response of social movements, at the national and international level, to the cancelation, by judicial order, of the 2009 edition of FEICOOP, the 5th Mercosur Fair of Solidarity Economy and parallel events organized by social movements, on the 9th of July, one day before the due starting date for these events. The project managers of *Esperança/ Cooesperança*, together with a cohort of Solidarity Economy producers from 15 Brazilian states, as well as other Mercosur countries that were already in Santa Maria when the prohibition was issued, organized an impromptu protest march for July 10, known as *Marcha da Esperança*. This was the beginning of the international articulation that led to the organization of the I World Fair and World Forum of Solidarity Economy in the following year. This event counted with the support of RIPESS. The second edition of the event took place at CRDIL during the 24th edition of FEICOOP on July 11-14, 2013 and the third edition during the 25th edition of FEICOOP on July 13-16 2018.

3. Conclusion

The previous analysis frames Solidarity Economy markets as spaces that facilitate the emergence of cooperative post capitalist livelihoods. They are sites of re-signification of economic activity through the promotion of networks of trust and collaboration that reconcile cooperative principles with the market. They promote cooperation among otherwise competing producers, contact and trust between otherwise segregated social sectors, and engage social movements in framing Solidarity Economy markets as part of wider political projects. Fieldwork data indicates that the reach and effects of the "mobilizational citizenship" produced within such spaces is limited by the fact that it reaches out mainly to a network of producers, regular consumers and institutional partners socialized in progressive Catholic circles. The judicial prohibition of the 2009 edition of FEICOOP, as well as parallel events, indicates that efforts by the project to reach out to public officials that didn't share such background had limited effect.

These findings challenge scholars and practitioners to promote research on Solidarity Economy markets that frames the "mobilizational citizenship" they promote in the context of structural power relations. This includes the one happening as a result of the interactions between producers, between these and consumers, and between these and other actors such as supply chain providers, credit sources and regulatory agents. Such analysis should take into account the impact of structural power relations, as well as strategic coalitions, on the work carried out by institutional mediators, namely in what regards its capacity to mobilize resources and impact regulation and policy-making, as well as how it influences the relationship between these actors and other agents in Solidarity Economy markets. Such research agenda should also analyse the way in which structural power relations within wider society reproduce themselves in the interactions happening among these sets of actors.

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5. Notes

1 Email to contact with the author: anamargarida.esteves@gmail.com

TRACK 2

Economy, Work and Consumption

Delivery Cooperatives. An Alternative to the Great Platforms of the Digital Economy

Francisco Fernández-Trujillo Moares

Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia

Abstract: *The crisis has brought about significant changes in the labor market, leading to instability, low wages and the appearance of new forms of precarious employment. At the same time, the development of the platform economy has implied the appearance of companies characterized by the technological aspect that have brought with them new jobs that are deeply precarious. This is the case of home delivery through applications.*

The precariousness of this sector has made the people who worked give different responses from the mobilization. In Spain in the last year have been formed collectives of companies like Deliveroo, Uber Eats, Glovo, etc. that have been mobilized with the aim of improving their conditions. The situation and the relationship with these companies have meant that different members of these groups have gone on to shape their own work alternatives. Thus, different distribution cooperatives have been formed in different Spanish cities, some of them with application, in the same way as the large platforms.

This research intends to make an approximation from the point of view of the mobilization in the current economic context, characterized by an extended precariousness at work. So, we must ask: how the labor mobilization has led to the conformation of service alternatives that are constituted as labor solutions?

This study is based on research on digital economy, economic and social alternatives and the latest trends in the study of social movements and unionism (Social Movement Unionism). Thus, this study has two main objectives: to analyze the progression and mechanism that acts in the case of the delivery workers that make them move from mobilization to the search for work alternatives, and to know the political and social elements that are the mechanism for the formation of cooperatives and not another type of organization.

This research is based on the analysis of a series of semi-structured interviews with members of delivery cooperatives located in Madrid. The results of this research are oriented to know if these cooperatives are oriented to a more alternative market and seek a conformation of a less precarious and more stable labor solution, but also more horizontal and democratic at work. But also, if the conformation of the cooperative of distribution are the result of a path of mobilization in the work

Keywords: *Delivery, gig economy, cooperatives, social movements, alternatives.*

1. Introduction

In Spain there have been different changes in the labor market due to various reasons: legislative changes and in the normative frameworks of employment, the economic crisis that involved different measures framed in what has been called "austerity policies" and the emergence and development of different technological elements. In this research, special attention is paid to the changes and consequences of the appearance of digital platforms.

In this context and in a related manner, different mobilization processes have taken place at the same time. On the one hand, related to an extension of democracy and a vindication of the need for political change, and on the other, mobilizations in the work field that have tried to counteract the aforementioned policies that have affected living conditions and good employment.

Likewise, during the crisis period started in 2008, different cooperative initiatives have appeared in the field of delivery. It is necessary to point out that these cooperatives work in some cases through digital platforms that are alternatives to those of the large delivery companies and that some of the precursors of the cooperatives that will be studied have been workers and have participated in the movements against precarious conditions in these companies.

Thus, it is necessary to consider the motivations for constituting different initiatives by employees of the large digital platforms to constitute projects in the form of a cooperative in a sector such as delivery. To answer this question, the starting point of this research are two main hypotheses that will be contrasted through the qualitative analysis of the interviews made to different members of delivery cooperatives in Madrid. These cooperatives have different characteristics in their internal functioning, in the composition of their members, and at the date of the constitution of the cooperative.

The first hypothesis would suggest that the impossibility of solutions outside of new legislative frameworks and the lack of negotiation skills due to their non-status as employed workers imply the search for solutions in the labor market generating new initiatives in self-employment. The second hypothesis would be that given the forms of the mobilizations in which the fight against the precariousness of the working conditions in the digital platforms — that will be approached from the concept of *social movement unionism* —it will have consequences on the characteristics of the delivery cooperatives created in the last period —which would be approachable from the concept of *new cooperativism*.

2. Crisis, Changes in the Labor Market, Mobilization and Emergence of Alternatives

The mentioned technological changes have had an impact on the labor market. These transformations and technological incorporations have involved the disappearance and appearance of jobs in recent years, as well as the modification of many forms of employment (Degryse 2016). One of the most significant transformations would have been the expansion of the use of mobile terminals connected to the network, which allow constant communication (Degryse 2016:26-27). In recent years, different forms of business have emerged in what is known as platform capitalism, gig economy or on-demand economy. These platforms have been implemented with force in different sectors of the economy, each time involving a greater number of workers. In this regard, it is necessary to point out that in these platforms it is common for certain forms of work to be associated, characterized by not being the usual forms of salaried work of the more traditional economies, that is, self-employed workers who provide services to the platform.

It is usual to define as *sharing economy* the delivery platforms that work in Spain, such as

Deliveroo, Stuart, Glovo or UberEats. However, according to the characteristics and definitions of the *sharing economy* they would not fit in this definition, using these companies the claim of "Sharing" as a marketing element (Gil 2018). As indicated by Pat, Bird and Ross, "promoted as the 'sharing economy', these digital companies operate to extract value via a 'black box' system that blocks any direct relationships between producers and consumers." (Pat, Bird and Ross 2018:7).

The emergence, development and expansion of many of these platforms have occurred in a context of economic crisis and mobilization associated with it. In recent years, from the proliferation of movements such as the Arab Spring, Occupy Wall Street or 15M movement have developed different discourses that have brought a change of paradigm. Oñate points out that in Spain there would have been a change in the style of action from 15M, which would have also affected to union mobilization. In this sense, this change would be more oriented towards action, in the face of negotiation and agreement (Oñate 2013: 42). Likewise, the mobilizations related to the labor field in recent years have also largely assimilated the rejection of bureaucratic and hierarchical forms of management and mobilization, with primacy of assembly and horizontality (Moral and Brunet 2018:322). Scholars who study labor and union mobilizations have pointed out that in recent years' new movements have appeared in the labor field. These have been characterized by the presence of informal, precarious and marginalized workers and difficulties to put into practice traditional union repertoires that generate new forms of organization in the field of work; that has recently been addressed from the concept of *social movement unionism*. (Paret 2013; Engeman 2015; Dixon, 2014; Meyer 2017). This is framed, paraphrasing Marcel Paret, in that the conditions of increasing precariousness in the labor market and a decrease in the social relevance of the unions has led to the implementation of a "precarious policy", characterized by its non-union struggle and the protagonism of groups of workers with poor wage conditions and job insecurity (Paret 2013:758).

Thus, the economic crisis, the transformations in the productive markets and the appearance of certain technological elements have implied the emergence of new forms of mobilization in the work field. In Spain, there have been movements such as the related to the object of study of this research, Riders for Rights (Riders X Derechos). Some scholars have also begun to study the confluences between union mobilizations and the forms of social movements of the last period, particularly in the case of delivery workers, as indicated by Moral and Brunet (2018). In their work they also study the case of participants in the group of Riders for Rights (Riders x Derechos) that constitute a cooperative as an alternative as an evolution of discomfort (Moral and Brunet 2018:320).

Some scholars point to the emergence of some initiatives in southern European countries, such as Italy or Greece, of initiatives in the economic field characterized by the alternative, self-managed (autogestión) and cooperative character among the repertoires generated in the anti-austerity mobilizations (Zamponi and Vogiatzoglou 2015:2,7; Bosi and Zamponi 2015:377). Bosi and Zamponi also highlight the importance of the material nature of the repertoires (Bosi and Zamponi 2015:386). However, the creation of cooperatives and self-management initiatives as a continuation of a mobilization process initiated after a labor dispute is not something new. The best known example would be the self-management (autogestión) and occupation of factories in Argentina (Brunet and Pizzi 2011), especially suggestive for this case of study due to the crisis context. Although also from the anti-globalization mobilizations, different social

movements have passed "from protest to construction" (de la protesta a la construcción) proposing alternatives in the field of production and consumption and constituting different forms of cooperatives (Lietaert 2017).

The study of cooperatives from the academic sphere has recently become more important, pointing out the role they have to contribute to social and economic improvements (Diaz-Foncea and Marcuello 2016:40-41). For Lietaert (2017), the emergence of the internet and its use as a tool for social movements would have opened the door to the creation of spaces in alternative markets, using technological evolution for the creation of more horizontal and solidary economic alternatives. Example of this is the report of Trades Union Congress (TUC), who propose the constitution of cooperatives as a solution to precariousness (Pat, Bird and Ross, 2018). These pay special attention to the workers of digital platforms and propose cooperative experiences in which the technological use of apps is of great importance, such as taxi cooperatives (Pat, Bird and Ross, 2018:7-9, 12-13).

For the cooperatives that are the object of study of this research, it is necessary to take into account two concepts related to cooperativism. On the one hand, that of *new cooperativism,* what Marcelo Vieta indicates that opens "new economic imaginaries" (Vieta 2016:62). This *new cooperativism* would be characterized as being initiatives born bottom-up, for being related to experiences of previous social, labor or political movements, for an ethical commitment with different social aspects, the relevance of horizontality in decision making and the priority of serve not only their own economic interests, but also those of the community (Vieta 2010).

On the other hand, as will be discussed below, we could approach the cases studied from the *platform cooperativism* concept, given the use of technologies similar to those of large platforms offering similar services, but under different social and productive relations logics (Gil 2018:56; Scholz 2016:2, 14).

3. Research Approach and Results

The objective of this research is to demonstrate how, in the first place, in specific work situations of precariousness and atypical employment, in which the workers have limited their union and legal capacities, they opt for the creation of cooperatives as a labor response. Secondly, how in the case of cooperatives created in the delivery sector outside of large companies, these have had characteristics determined by the forms and characteristics of the mobilization that preceded them. This research is limited to Madrid. This is because specific characteristics of the city and the moment in which these cooperatives are formed will have consequences in the models, forms and functioning of these cooperatives, as will be reflected in the speeches of the interviewees.

As previously stated, this research aims to address the motivations for constituting different initiatives formed in part by former employees of the large digital platforms to form projects in the form of cooperatives in a sector such as delivery. For this, it is analyzed, as it is reflected below, what the conditions of creation of the cooperatives studied have been, the negotiation capacities and improvement of working conditions in the large delivery platforms and the features related to the mobilizations prior to the constitution of the cooperatives studied

present in the speeches of the interviewees.

Thus, among the discourses extracted from the interviews, some features of the concept of *new cooperativism* (Vieta 2016) can be observed, being a constant in the speeches of the people interviewed that the decision to form a cooperative was opposed to the experience and trajectory in the labor market marked by precariousness and poor conditions in employment. Not only in the field of delivey, logistics and distribution, but in other sectors in which they and their colleagues had worked. This has meant a transition from precariousness to self-management and self-employment. As one of the interviewees states: "We got involved in the project of creating a cooperative because, seeing how the labor issue is here, the truth is that the best thing to do is change the world" (Nos metimos en el proyecto de crear una cooperativa porque visto cómo está el tema laboral aquí la verdad que lo mejor que se podía hacer es cambiar el mundo.) (I5Coop2). Thus, in none of the cases studied did the decision to conform as a cooperative have been innocent, as another of the interviewees points out: "Obviously, we are constituted as a cooperative because of a political issue because we understand that the work belongs to who works it" (obviamente, nos constituimos como cooperativa por una cuestión política porque entendemos que el trabajo es de quién lo trabaja) (I7Coop3).

This also occurs in the dimension of mobilization (Meyer 2017), since, in the two most recent creation cooperatives, some of its members come not only from work experience in large digital platforms but from the mobilization for improvements in working conditions in these. In this sense, one of the interviewees raises about his project: "it has been formed as a group and as a project as a result of the claims and protests (...) against the condition of cyclists-workers or in general workers of a platform, Deliveroo, and from there against other platforms" (se ha formado como grupo y como proyecto a raíz de las reivindicaciones y protestas (…) contra la condición de los trabajadores ciclomensajeros o en general repartidores de una plataforma, Deliveroo, y de ahí en contra de otras plataformas como Glovo.) (I1Coop1)

The interviewees argued that the differences with the large digital platforms would not only be found in contrast to poor working conditions, but also in the business itself. On the one hand, they suggested that their business and scope of action would be different to that of large platforms. In the first place, for having certain criteria in the selection of clients:

> *"[speaking about the big platforms] is that we do not even want to compete with them, because they manage a completely wild market. The advantage we have in creating the (Coop1) is that we choose who we work with." ([sobre las grandes plataformas] es que ni siquiera queremos competir con ellos, porque ellos manejan un mercado completamente salvaje. La ventaja que tenemos al haber creado la (Coop1) es que elegimos con quién trabajamos. Es decir, en el caso de nuestra propia plataforma (…) elegimos con que restaurantes trabajamos." (I2Coop1)*

Second, by the way they work and make decisions within the cooperative. The weight of decision making in a democratic manner would have a fundamental value, assimilating to a large extent the discourses generated from the last period in Spain and a political and discursive trajectory that puts in value the consensus and the assembly (Moral and Brunet 2018), different from the usual corporate management. One of the interviewees raises: "we make decisions in an assembly and democratic manner (...) it is very important as in each assembly we try

to take care of a lot in the emotional sense." (tomamos decisiones de forma asamblearia y democrática (…) es muy importante como en cada asamblea nos tratamos de cuidar mucho en el sentido emocional.) (I3Coop1)

or as another of the interviewees of another cooperative raises:

> *"[speaking of the cooperative's colleagues] they were known, then they became friends and now they are like family. (...) you work together, you suffer together, the problems are for everyone, the solutions are for everyone and when you have to fix something you have to listen to everyone and when you listen to everyone (...) you have another perspective."* ([hablando de los compañeros de la cooperativa] eran conocidos, luego pasaron a ser amigos y ahora son como familia. (…) trabajas juntos, sufres juntos, los problemas son de todos, las soluciones son de todos y cuando hay que arreglar algo hay que escuchar a todos y cuando escuchas a todos (…) tienes otra perspectiva." (I4Coop2)

Third, the approach with respect to competition with other cooperatives, which would have a great weight in the speeches. It is important to note that with the exception of the Coop4 and without having proof before the interviews, throughout the realization of these, all the cooperatives studied collaborate with each other. These collaborations occur when distributing workload among different cooperatives if one has excess, setting up prices, sharing work spaces to reduce costs or in the repair of bicycles. An example of this would be, as one interviewee states:

> *"[talking about Deliveroo] they are workers who are constantly competing with each other, that is, it does not make any sense. We (Coop5) and (Coop3) have done something that any businessman could say is crazy because we are direct competitors, we share space and we share clients and the truth that works (...) far from competing, what we do is to support (...). For example, the (Coop1) is about to sign a contract for a job and they cannot cover it whole, then she called us and said, could you cover the shifts that we cannot? (...) Everything that is the organization of work, prices and such is agreed with them. Although a priori we could be direct competition, in fact it makes much more sense to cooperate with each other"* ([hablando sobre Deliveroo] son trabajadores que están compitiendo constantemente entre sí mismos, o sea, no tiene ningún sentido. Nosotros, (Coop5) y (Coop3) hemos hecho algo que cualquier empresario podría decir que es una locura porque somos competidores directos, compartimos espacio y compartimos clientes y la verdad que funciona (..) lejos de competir lo que hacemos es apoyarnos (…). Por ejemplo, la (Coop1) está a punto de firmar un contrato para un trabajo y ellos no lo pueden cubrir entero, entonces nos llamó y nos dijo, ¿vosotros podríais cubrir los turnos que nosotros no podemos? (…). Todo lo que es la organización del trabajo, los precios y tal se consensua con ellos. Aunque a priori pudiéramos ser competencia directa, en realidad tiene mucho más sentido que cooperemos entre nosotros." (I7Coop3)

As already stated, we can find how there are links in the discourses of the interviewees inserted in the movements and mobilizations of recent years in Spain and Europe and the choice of cooperative form. This would also be reflected in the day-to-day working of these cooperatives, in which the cooperative is not exclusively formal, but is also reflected in the practices based on collaboration between cooperatives (Lietaert 2017). One of the clearest examples is the case of

the presence of collaborative character, in which ideas such as "only you cannot, with friends yes" (solo no puedes, con amigos sí) (I9Coop6) or "(...) that is the best of the cooperative, work in real equipment. There it is noted that one hundred are always going to do more than one always." ((...) eso es lo mejor de la cooperativa, el trabajo en equipo de verdad. Ahí se nota que cien siempre van a hacer más que uno siempre) (I4Coop2)

Although, the interviewees have found a work and vital solution in the field of delivery outside the major platforms, they raise the need for legislative regulation in the sector. They indicate that the only solution to the conflict is through new legislation supranational and innovative given the characteristics of the platforms.

Although the members of cooperatives 1 and 2 come directly from the mobilizations initiated by Riders for Rights (Riders x Derechos), all interviewees say they continue participating in activities and mobilizations of different types in different measures. These range from activities promoting the use of bicycles for a better and more sustainable mobility in a city, demonstrations on bikes for different issues called "bicifestaciones", bicycle mechanic workshops in self-managed social centers or some that still belong to groups such as Riders for Rights (Riders x Derechos), directly related to the improvement of working conditions in the field of delivery. As one of the interviewees points out: "we were very present in the bicicrítica, in fact, many come from there" (estábamos muy presentes en la bicicrítica, de hecho, muchas venimos de ahí) (I8Coop4)

A relevant aspect is also the legal situation of some workers who are not members of the cooperative and, although in some cases, such as the Coop4, a legal constitution is not given as a cooperative, Marcelo Vieta points out that within the logic of *new cooperativism*, these "do not always necessarily manifest as formally constituted cooperatives. Rather, the new cooperativism embraces, more broadly, innumerable forms of collective economic practices and social values" (Vieta 2010: 3).

4. Conclusions

Through the results obtained from the interviews conducted, it is observed that these cooperatives would fit with the forms of self-management (autogestión) according to the approaches and definitions of Brunet and Pizzi (2011:131), characterized by the social and collaborative dimension of their activity far from the mere search for economic benefit. These initiatives would be new organizational forms that seek to improve living conditions from a critical social and political perspective with the logic of the market, being located in an economic environment in which they share activity with large delivery platforms, characterized by precariousness of those who work in them. Thus, the lack of a solution to the labor problem in large delivery companies in the short term would make the ex-workers of these companies and new cooperatives create economic alternatives in the delivery sector.

As reflected in the results, many of these cooperatives are the culmination of a process of mobilization against precarity, which takes a step from protest to the creation of alternatives (Lietaert 2017). As has been shown, characterized by a presence of alternative work organization and alternative decision making, involvement with a market different from that

of large companies and mediated by a great collaboration within the company and with other cooperatives.

Finally, we must bear in mind that these forms of new cooperativism (Vieta 2010, 2016) take place from a specific crisis context and mobilization and organization associated with it (Meyer 2017).

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6. Methodological Appendix

This research has been carried out through a qualitative methodology, conducting interviews with members of different cooperatives. All interviews were conducted in the center of Madrid between January and February 2019.

Thus, for this research, nine workers from five different cooperatives have been interviewed. Three workers, I1Coop1, I2Coop1 and I3Coop1 of a cooperative (Coop1) formed in 2018, which works through the platform technology of the French collective CoopCycle[1], have been interviewed, as well as doing other services through different traditional delivery tools. Some of the founders of this cooperative participated and continue to participate in the Riders for Rights (Riders x Derechos) collective and the mobilizations against poor working conditions in the large delivery platforms is Spain, in which they have worked prior to the formation of the cooperative. This cooperative would approach the definition proposed by some authors of *platform cooperativism*, as it is characterized by a democratic property operating on a digital platform (Scholz 2016:2, 14, Gil 2018). Three workers, I4Coop2, I5Coop2 and I6Coop2, from another cooperative (Coop2) with characteristics similar to the first one (Coop1) have also been interviewed. In the Coop2 the members are former employees of Deliveroo, Glovo and Stuart who participated in the mobilizations, however, they do not work through a digital platform at present.

The third cooperative (Coop3), of which an interview was conducted, I7Coop3, was set up during the appearance of the aforementioned large platforms, some of its members worked for Take Eat Easy[2], a food delivery company disappeared. This cooperative operates through traditional methods of delivery, such as telephone or email, but also has a web application developed by the cooperative itself.

The fourth cooperative was constituted around 2012 to make punctual distribution services, mainly printed alternative press and other weekly home deliveries. The interviewee, I8Coop4, as well as other members combine this activity with other jobs. The fifth cooperative that has

been interviewed, I9Coop5, is one of the oldest cooperatives in Madrid with more than 20 years of experience in which they have kept their working methods more or less constant and have adapted to market changes that have occurred during the past years.

Summary of interviews

• Interviewee 1 Cooperative 1 (I1Coop1): man interviewed in February 2019.
• Interviewee 2 Cooperative 1 (I2Coop1): man interviewed in February 2019.
• Interviewee 3 Cooperative 1 (I3Coop1): woman interviewed in January 2019.
• Interviewee 4 Cooperative 2 (I4Coop2): man interviewed in February 2019.
• Interviewee 5 Cooperative 2 (I5Coop2): man interviewed in February 2019.
• Interviewee 6 Cooperative 2 (I6Coop2): man interviewed in February 2019.
• Interviewee 7 Cooperative 3 (I7Coop3): woman interviewed in January 2019.
• Interviewee 8 Cooperative 4 (I8Coop4): woman interviewed in February 2019.
• Interviewee 9 Cooperative 5 (I9Coop5): man interviewed in February 2019.

7. Biographical Note.

Researcher and PhD candidate in the UNED (National University of Distance Education). Among the research interests are labor mobilization, trade unionism, social movements and economic transformations and their consequences on mobilization.

8. Notes

1 CoopCycle is the European federation of bicycle delivery cooperatives. CoopCycle has developed its own platform for cooperatives - https://coopcycle.org/fr/
2 Take Eat Easy was a delivery company that disappeared due to lack of financing, leaving workers without paying salaries for several months - https://elpais.com/economia/2016/07/26/actualidad/1469546240_044268.html

Is Crowdfunding (and a Sharing Economy) a Type of Activism?

Elena Gil Moreno

Universidad de Valladolid

Abstract: *For the last five years, I've been trying to approach the complex phenomenon of crowdfunding. At the beginning, helped by the emerging literature, I started to dissect the subject just to further understand it. How many platforms existed in Spain? What did these companies look like? However, there was something more out there and researchers were missing it. Equity-based crowdfunders and crowdlenders used to talk about "financial disintermediation" and "de-banking." Most platform discourse focused on the notion of participatory democracies. Promoters were excited about the idea of creating an independent project despite the old-fashioned society they were living in. Some sharing economy values used to appear frequently and so this research became fully immersed in their identification. It seems that crowdfunding exposes oppressive as well as liberative narratives. In this study, we were interested in the liberative narratives but followed Arvidsson's vision of a sharing economy (Arvidsson 2018), which states that these contradictory perspectives should not be seen as opposites in the context of this phenomenon. Consequently, in this text we are going to approach crowdfunding from the "perspective of the chaos." Everything is happening at the same time, both oppression and liberation. Besides, this research is closed to social movement theories that consider non-traditional activist situations to be some kind of political action. For example, researchers have investigated fan activism (Earl and Kimport 2009), the resistance of capitalism from capitalism (Chatterton and Pickerill 2010) and the role of culture within the activism defended by Melucci (Melucci 1989); in addition, some research focused on the study of the Indignados Movement (Fernández-Savater and Flesher 2016). In order to complete a content analysis, "Twine-Machine" was used to download a representative sample of tweets. Overall, nine platforms were analyzed; four of them represented reward-based crowdfunding profiles. In addition, two equity-based crowdfunding platforms and two crowdlending companies were studied. One donation-based crowdfunding platform was also investigated. This proportion makes sense when we think in terms of the percentages of crowdfunding models in Spain prior to 2016. The research revealed the existence of "liberating narratives within [a] sharing economy". This is the appearance of a discourse where different values are enhanced, like "transparency," "horizontal networks," "distrust in top-down institutions" or "promoting [the] social change" value above others. It is a hidden discourse which means that crowdfunding platforms and their followers are apparently unconscious of promoting it. The idea of "subterranean" (Kaldor and Selchow 2015) principles ruling the world or, at least, the actions mediated by the Internet, is starting to be developed in the "prosumer societies" literature (Cochoy 2015), but is also connected with the "hacker ethic" (Levy 1994). This communication attempts to open a debate focused on the nature of crowdfunding. Are backers, platforms and promoters trying to change the world or are they just surviving in it?*

Keywords: *Crowdfunding, sharing-economy, Internet activism, prosumer society, hacker ethic*

1. Introduction

It was August 12, 2006 when Michael Sullivan, an independent producer, launched fundavlog, an incubator for videoblog-related projects and events with an artistic orientation. In order to supply this project, he asked people to fund it. "Many things are important factors, but funding from the crowd is the base of which all else depends on and is built on" (Sullivan 2006). There is an agreement between academics that considers this assertion as the very first one in which someone is talking about the concept of crowdfunding.

The academic literature of crowdfunding arose around 2009 and one of the most important goals of these papers focused on the demarcation of a definition of crowdfunding. The most commonly accepted definition of this phenomenon is the one described in Klemann and Voß: "Crowdfund involves an open call, mostly through the Internet, for the provision of financial resources either [in the] form of [a] donation or in exchange for the future product or some form of reward and/or voting rights" (Kleemann and Voß 2008).

We can think of crowdfunding as a phenomenon spread around the world, albeit mostly in occidental countries, after the outbreak of the financial global crisis in 2009. It also emerged together with other sharing economy initiatives and, in fact, we include it in collaborative consumption theories. Crowdfunding platforms intermediate between promoters (people and organizations who want to fund a project) and backers (people who want to fund a project with a mass of people who want to do the same). So, who funds a crowdfunding project? A crowd. Or even better, "the" crowd. This contributes to create a democratic image of the phenomenon because "the" crowd legitimates projects in the same way voters do. Crowdfunding platforms tend to be companies but are frequently Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs) and public organizations like universities or, for example, The Spanish Foundation for Science and Technology (FECYT). They present themselves through a website designed to put promoters in contact with backers.

Researchers generally agree at least four crowdfunding models exist. *Reward based crowdfunding* is the most popular and had apparently extended above all others. In the first few years this was true but according to the non-published internal data of this research this is no longer true, at least in Spain (see Figure 1).
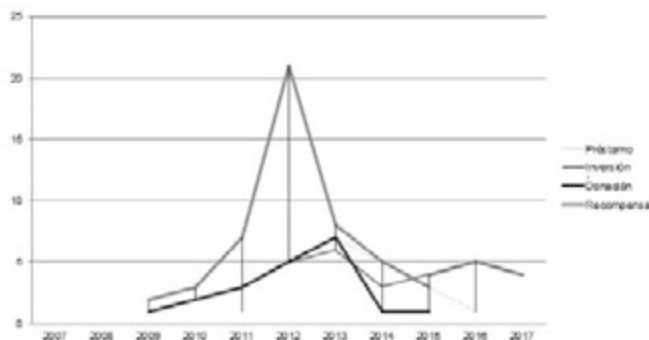
Figure 1. Crowdfunding Models in Time
This table was elaborated by the author using primary sources.

If we think of the way crowdfunding emerged, we could easily identify how artists used this phenomenon at first. Rowan defined them as cultural entrepreneurs (emprendedores culturales) who are far removed from the cultural industry (industria cultural) or the creative industries (industrias creativas) (Rowan 2010). Cultural entrepreneurs are impoverished artists with few networking possibilities or chances of financing who want to survive in post crisis societies or after cutback policies. We were able to find examples of these cultural entrepreneurs throughout the extensive crowdfunding literature. Artists like Amanda Palmer and Kawehi easily illustrate the concept. When a promoter launches a project on a crowdfunding platform, he asks for funds and in return he offers rewards that go from acknowledgements to a private concert depending on the quantity paid by the backer. For instance, the band Raising Appalachia launched a Kickstarter project in 2015. For US$15, they offered the following reward:

"Be the first to receive our new full length album "Wider Circles" before it is released publicly, via digital download (which is cool). And, of course, we will toast moonshine, do backflips, and howl like arctic wolves in our living room... in your honor". But if the backer funded US$10,000, the goal of the campaign, the reward consisted of a "Private house concert in your town!!!! Candles, lightning bugs, harmonics, dance party (location and dates to be discussed privately!) + Unreleased guitar instrumental EP of Rising Appalachia originals (played by David Brown) + a signed physical copy of the new album "Wider Circles" (including a 15 page lyrics booklet) and the digital download".

Donation based crowdfunding is widely used in social projects; NGOs are the most popular platforms for this model. Their way of working is closely related to traditional fundraising initiatives and we must ask ourselves if it is in reality a crowdfunding model. Projects with ecological, social and charitable perspectives are hosted on these websites and promoters ask for assistance to fund them. It's not common to find a discourse close to collaborative values appealing to a community. We will develop this idea later along in this paper.

While those two models have been useful for artistic, social and small projects in general, there is another type that the European Commission (EC) calls "financial crowdfunding" or "financial return models" (EC 2013). According to the EC, the potential of financial models is extremely high and we, the citizens, are going to notice it throughout the next ten years. *Equity-based crowdfunding* is one of these financial models. Crowdcube and The Crowd Angel focus their activities in the intermediation between promoters and investors. They do not just fund a project; they do it in exchange for shares in the company they are investing in. What is new in this scheme is the notion of democratizing the investment process. Equity-based platforms use to sell the idea that before crowdfunding existed, only rich people could invest but now anyone can do it, for instance by participating with less money. The Spanish regulation of crowdfunding encourages professional investors to play their part while others with less capital are not allowed to invest more than €10,000 per year or €3,000 per project (BOE 2015). Despite the growth of this model not being, at least at first, extensive in Spain, it has become a critical sector in recent years when it started to focus on *real estate crowdfunding* (Hernández 2017).

Finally, the EC identifies *crowdlending*, also known as *peer-to-peer lending*, as one of the financial return models. In this case, platforms intermediate between promoters and private lenders. Peer-to-peer refers to initiatives like E-Mule, Ares or uTorrent stating that lenders bid to be chosen by the promoter of a crowdfunding project. The EC asserts that "Europe is the leading region for

the *equity-based crowdfunding* and *crowdlending* models" (EC 2013). This is why Europe is so concerned about creating common regulations for this sector.

Crowdfunding needs further investigation, and marketing is leading its research. This topic has been problematized by several authors. In a bibliographical study of crowdfunding, Short et al. measured where these papers were published. "Journals publishing crowdfunding research included Entrepreneurship Theory and Practice (12 articles), Journal of Business Venturing (4), Journal of Management Studies (1), Management Science (7), and Organizational Behavior Human Decision Processes (1)" (Short et al. 2017: 151). Furthermore, McKenny et al. asserted that disciplines like Sociology, Anthropology, Political Science and Psychology should have a lot to say about this phenomenon and yet fail to do so (McKenny et al. 2017:301). This present study approached crowdfunding from a sociological perspective and tried to focus on its relationship with the citizen participation that appears when we investigate this phenomenon.

2. What do We Know about Crowdfunding?

We could start by explaining what we don't know. There exists no census of crowdfunding platforms in Spain or globally. Researchers have been approaching this phenomenon with no data. This is why one of the first tasks of this study focused on the creation of a platform list in Spain. A number of crowdfunding consultants had already started to create a list, which became the starting point of our directory. We researched keywords in Google to identify platforms. Additionally, Twitter turned out to be a very useful tool to discover new platforms quickly entering the industry. Between 2012 and 2014, we were able to find new platforms almost every week, while others disappeared. We published the directory on a blog and the result was that many platforms wanted to be part of it and they looked for us by mail or by Twitter to do so. The last version of our directory was updated during 2018 and revealed 158 platforms in Spain (see Table 1). The directory also became an excellent database from which to work to differentiate crowdfunding models, the nature of the projects hosted on platforms' websites, the fees they earned, the year they were created and other topics that were analyzed during this research.

	PLATFORM	CROWDFUNDING MODEL *Spanish
1	1x1 M1crocred1t	Préstamo
2	álZate	Inversión
3	Apontoque	Recompensa
4	Arboribus	Préstamo
5	Asociación Reiniziar	Más de un modelo (F+O)
6	Balandra	Inversión
7	Bandeed	Recompensa
8	BBVA Suma	Donación
9	Bestaker	Inversión
10	BetterNow	Donación
11	Bihoop	Inversión
12	Bondora	Préstamo
13	Brickfunding	Inversión
14	Bricks and People	Inversión
15	Brickstarter	Inversión
16	Cabaret Crenom	Recompensa
17	Capital Cell	Inversión
18	Circulantis	Préstamo
19	Clifundy	Donación
20	Colbrain	Sin información
21	Colectual	Préstamo
22	Comproyecto.com	Sin información
23	Comunitae	Préstamo
24	Coopfunding	Más de un modelo
25	CreaRock	Recompensa
26	Creoentuproyecto.com	Más de un modelo (F+O)
27	Crowd2b	Préstamo
28	Crowdcube	Inversión
29	Crowdeduca	Recompensa
30	CrowdfundingEspaña	Recompensa
31	Crowdthinking	Más de un modelo (F+O)
32	Crowdtshirt	Recompensa
33	Curable	Donación
34	Debar G.I.	Inversión
35	DeportistasSolidarios	Donación
36	Dirutza/Lan Irekia	Recompensa
37	Doafund	Donación
38	Dreamdoit	Recompensa
39	EcoCrowdfunding	Donación
40	EcrowdInvest	Más de un modelo (F)
41	Emprendelandia	Recompensa
42	Excelend	Préstamo
43	Fandinguea	Recompensa
44	Fandyu	Recompensa
45	FanStylers	Recompensa
46	Filmutea	Recompensa

	PLATFORM	CROWDFUNDING MODEL *Spanish
47	Fimoos	Inversión
48	Finanzarel	Préstamo
49	Finvertis	Préstamo
50	Firstclap	Recompensa
51	Flipover	Donación
52	FromLab	Recompensa
53	FundedByMe	Más de un modelo (F+O)
54	Funding Circle	Préstamo
55	FundLike	Recompensa
56	Funds4Research	Donación
57	GetYourCause	Más de un modelo
58	GoalFunds	Recompensa
59	Goteo	Recompensa
60	Grow.ly	Préstamo
61	Hazlo Posible Microdonaciones	Donación
62	Housers	Inversión
63	I Love Science	Donación
64	Idea Rápida	Inversión
65	Ifcoop	Donación
66	Igamundi	Recompensa
67	Implica-t	Recompensa
68	Impúlsa't	Recompensa
69	Información Sensible	Más de un modelo
70	Injoinet	Recompensa
71	Inmocrowd	Inversión
72	Inproxect	Inversión
73	Inverem	Inversión
74	Inversore	Inversión
75	Inveslar The Urban Investors	Inversión
76	Invesreal	Inversión
77	Joinmyproject	Más de un modelo (F+O)
78	Juntalia	Recompensa
79	Karena	Recompensa
80	Kickstarter	Recompensa
81	Kifund	Recompensa
82	Kreandu	Recompensa
83	Kuabol	Recompensa
84	La Bolsa Social	Inversión
85	La Minga	Donación
86	La Tahona Cultural	Recompensa
87	Lánzame	Inversión
88	Lánzanos	Recompensa
89	Lebel Evolution	Inversión
90	Lemon Fruits	Más de un modelo (F+O)
91	Lendico	Préstamo

	PLATFORM	CROWDFUNDING MODEL *Spanish		PLATFORM	CROWDFUNDING MODEL *Spanish
92	L'Hospitlet Participa	Recompensa	132	Safaricrowdfunding	Más de un modelo (O)
93	Libros.com	Recompensa	133	Seed & Click	Más de un modelo (F+O)
94	Lignum Capital	Inversión	134	Seedquick	Inversión
95	Loanbook	Préstamo	135	Siamm.es	Recompensa
96	LoHagoPor	Donación	136	SmileMundo	Donación
97	Made in Spain Games	Recompensa	137	Socilen	Préstamo
98	Mamá Monedero	Donación	138	Socios Inversores	Inversión
99	Masscience	Recompensa	139	Somosamalgama	Recompensa
100	Megafounder	Recompensa	140	Spa&Racing	Recompensa
101	MeGustaTuIdea	Inversión	141	Sponsorto	Más de un modelo
102	Mi Grano de Arena	Donación	142	Sport2Help	Más de un modelo
103	MiAportación.org	Donación	143	Startup Inversores	Inversión
104	Microinversores	Más de un modelo (F+O)	144	Startupxplore	Inversión
105	MiCrowd	Préstamo	145	Startval	Recompensa
106	Mola.FM	Recompensa	146	Sýndesi Mentors	Más de un modelo (F+O)
107	Monta tu Luna de Miel	Donación	147	Teaming	Donación
108	MontaTuConcierto	Precompra de entradas	148	The Crowd Angel	Inversión
109	My Major Company	Recompensa	149	Todos A Una	Recompensa
110	Mynbest	Inversión	150	TotSuma	Recompensa
111	MytripleA	Préstamo	151	Tu Crowdfunding Inmobiliario	Inversión
112	Namlebee	Recompensa	152	Treefunding	Donación
113	Nestarter	Inversión	153	Trustme	Más de un modelo (O)
114	Novicap	Préstamo	154	Trustparency	Donación
115	Nuuuki	Inversión	155	Ucrowding	Más de un modelo (O)
116	PagarésYa	Préstamo	156	Ulule	Recompensa
117	Partizipa	Inversión	157	Uniempren	Más de un modelo (O)
118	Patrocínalos	Recompensa	158	United Food Republic	Recompensa
119	Pentian	Más de un modelo (F+O)	159	Urbanitae	Inversión
120	PeerBrick	Inversión	160	Verkami	Recompensa
121	Podemos Crowdfunding	Más de un moderlo (F+O)	161	Volanda.com	Recompensa
122	Potlatch	Recompensa	162	Vórticex	Recompensa
123	Precipita	Recompensa	163	Win1Dream	Donación
124	Privalore	Inversión	164	Worldcoo	Donación
125	Projeggt	Recompensa	165	Ynversion.com	Inversión
126	QuenoparelaMúsica	Recompensa	166	YoQuieroGrabar.com	Recompensa
127	Realfunding	Préstamo	167	Youdoido	Sin información
128	Redfunders	Más de un modelo (F+O)	168	Youfeelm	Precompra de entradas
129	Receptum	Préstamo	169	Yuujoo	Recompensa
130	Rock&Dream	Recompensa	170	Zank	Préstamo
131	Ronfunding	Otros			

Table 1. Directory of Crowdfunding Platforms in Spain (2018)
Note: This table was elaborated by the author using primary sources.

On the contrary, what we knew was monopolized by marketing studies and wasn't useful enough for our investigation. In order to comprehensively approach crowdfunding literature, we are going to differentiate five types of studies. Research focused on 1) the role played by

backers, 2) the one played by promoters, 3) the need for sector regulation, 4) the increasing importance of crowdfunding and its economic potential and 5) crowdfunding narratives. Studies dedicated to understanding backers' and promoters' behaviors attempted to discover the most efficient way to achieve economic crowdfunding goals. They questioned what a promoter would need to do for their project to be funded. Mollick established excellent guidelines for projects: A video has to be created specifically for the project, information needs to be up-to-date and the promoter must take their friends and family into consideration during the first and last stages of the campaign (Mollick 2012). At that point, concepts from economic studies were used to explain how crowdfunding worked. For instance, the term Friends and Family (F&F) became one of the most important of all. Crowdfunding platforms started to use it in their regular discourse when they wrote on blogs and social media (Acconcia 2013; Gutiérrez 2015). Agrawal et al. used it to explain the geographical patrons of funding in which backers who lived in a proximal zone tended to fund projects at the beginning and the end of a crowdfunding campaign. When this type of patron occurs, the tendency of the project to be successful is very high (Agrawal, Catalini, and Goldfarb 2011; Mollick 2012). Some authors focused on backers' behavior and tried to understand what motivations they had to fund a project. Belleflamme et al. supports that backers tend to become consumers of the product they were funding by using pre-sale crowdfunding (Belleflamme, Lambert, and Schwienbacher 2010, 2012). Kuppuswamy and Bayus refer to the *bystander effect* to analyze why people doesn't fund crowdfunding projects if they notice other persons are doing it (Kuppuswamy and Bayus 2013).

Studies arguing for the need to regulate crowdfunding tend to be related to banking, the EU and other organizations which means we are not talking about academic literature anymore. The first report that called for Spanish regulation was written by Xnet, a free culture activist platform which has been promoting important initiatives like 15M for Rato (15MpaRato), the Xnet mailbox (Buzón de Xnet) or the oXcars (X.net 2012) in recent years. Although it was a pioneer study with legal approaches and a reconsideration of the tax system, its proposal hasn't been taken into account. In 2013, the EC published a report analyzing the crowdfunding sector throughout Europe and compared the different regulations approved in several countries. They concluded that financial crowdfunding was increasingly becoming part of our societies and asked European countries to promote similar regulations throughout the European Union (EU) (EC 2013). But the most vital report in Spain was promoted by the Bilbao, Vizcaya, Argentaria Bank (Banco Bilbao, Vizcaya, Argentaria) (BBVA). In this study, the authors differentiated between professional and non-professional investors, which is the basis of the Spanish crowdfunding regulation (Cuesta et al. 2014).

In the first few years of the increase in crowdfunding, consultants and companies published several studies based, on the one hand, on the lack of information we had and, on the other, on the platforms interested in selling the successful image of crowdfunding. Massolution annually published the most popular study of all (Massolution 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015). These reports analyzed the reality of the crowdfunding industry around the world but the information provided needed to be improved because of the representativeness of the sample, in addition to a series of internal data for which the measurement obtainment was unclear. In these reports, the crowdfunding industry looked like an innovative and promising sector for promoters, backers and investors.

From 2009 to 2015, the lack of academic crowdfunding literature was a serious problem. The paradigm changed in 2015 as some authors started to approach crowdfunding from different perspectives. For example, Haas and Nelson observed the relation between gender and crowdfunding, asserting that by using this funding method women were more likely to be financed despite not promoting as many projects as men (Haas and Nelson 2015). Furthermore, following the line of thinking of other sharing economy studies, some critical approaches to crowdfunding appeared. Gehring constructs an image of crowdfunding as a phenomenon that reproduces the most vicious patterns of capitalism (Gehring 2016). Some marketing studies also changed their paradigm and started to become interested in the story-telling narratives included in crowdfunding campaigns (Manning and Bejarano 2017). Although some studies now focus on the analysis of crowdfunding narratives, they are still insufficient and this is the importance of our research. When we started our analysis no investigations of this nature existed, so the relevance of our study was plenty justified.

On balance, the lack of literature coming from academic disciplines other than marketing motivated the sociological approach of our investigation and, specifically, the study of crowdfunding narratives and its importance. We knew that the crowdfunding industry was not only emerging but growing up quickly and two facts were called to our attention. Firstly, crowdfunding as well as other sharing economy initiatives rose up just after the outbreak of the financial crisis. Although Artistshare emerged in 2001 and Sellaband in 2006, 2009 was the year when Kickstarter was created and after that many more platforms appeared all around the world. Secondly, we noticed in the analysis of our database that crowdfunding specialties supported sectors which had been impoverished after the financial crisis. For example, sports, arts, academic research, journalism or editorials (see Figure 2).
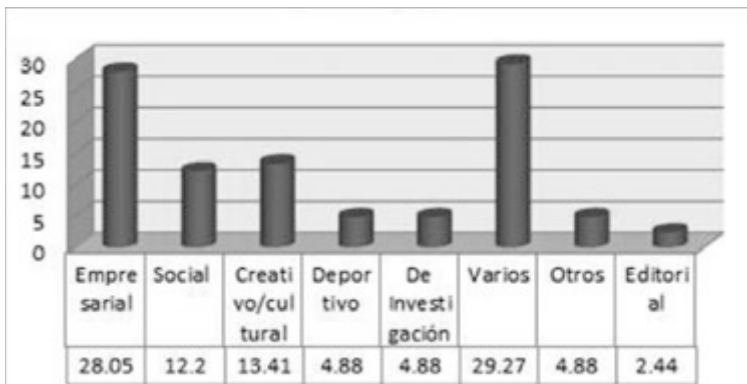
Figure 2. Crowdfunding Projects in Spain. March 2015
Note: This figure was elaborated by the author using primary sources.

A hypothesis came from that; people coming from the middle classes who suffered downward social mobility after the financial crisis were using crowdfunding. We could draw an image where promoters seemed to enjoy a high *cultural capital* while at the same time their *economic capital* was very low (Bourdieu and Passeron 1979). Sastre's investigation revealed the profile of crowdfunding promoters in Verkami. They are male, around 40 years old and with university degrees (Sastre 2015). Brabham literally talks about disempowered people/artists:

> *"The artist (without or before crowdfunding) is conceived of as not just voiceless and lacking an opportunity to dream, but also specifically disempowered, and the marketplace of a site like Kickstarter provides a path to empowerment outside the confines of traditional funding methods" (Brabhan 2017:990).*

Crowdfunding as an empowerment tool for the impoverished middle classes is the main subject of our research. Is this empowerment real? Is it a way of promoting the transformation of our society? If yes, transformation to where? Is crowdfunding a tool for equality? Could it be related with citizen participation concept? Can we see the performative actions mediated by crowdfunding as political? Although we suspected that crowdfunding reproduces survival strategies in a capitalist environment and, specifically, on the impact of the financial crisis, this investigation was more interested in the liberative narratives to see if they exist and what they have to tell us.

3. Crowdfunding is a Survival Strategy or a Political Action against Post-crisis Economies?

The first approach to crowdfunding narratives focused on the long-term reading of blogs, platforms' social network profiles, industry conferences and interviews and focus groups with key stakeholders. Crowdfunding was seen as an innovative industry that allows disempowered people to achieve their goals. Moreover, it was a new paradigm of funding where the policy-making agent was not the bank or traditional investors but "the people." In a dehumanized, individualistic, capitalist world, crowdfunding appears as an alternative where human values are involved. Amanda Palmer, one of the most popular crowdfunded artists, refers to this idea in her Ted Talk "The Art of Asking."

> *"Right at this same time, I'm signing and hugging after a gig, and a guy comes up to me and hands me a $10 bill, and he says, -I'm sorry, I burned your CD from a friend. But I read your blog, I know you hate your label. I just want you to have this money- (…) And this is the moment I decide I'm just going to give away my music for free online whenever possible, so it's like Metallica over here, Napster, bad; Amanda Palmer over here, and I'm going to encourage torrenting, downloading, sharing, but I'm going to ask for help, because I saw it work on the street." (Palmer 2013)*

Her understanding about asking implies a connection between people who believe in a project and want to participate by creating collaboration strategies. Amanda criticizes the economistic perspective of labels that need high levels of earnings. She put forward the example of her first record. "And it comes out and it sells about 25,000 copies in the first few weeks, and the label considers this a failure. And I was like: 25,000, isn't that a lot?" (Palmer 2013). So, crowdfunding reveals a more meritocratic way of following your dreams and achieving your goals. If the promoters are able to connect with people and to show themselves as a real person with virtues and defects, they are likely going to achieve their project goal. Horizontality is important here in the context of discussing people who present themselves as similar to their backers. It's just the crowd funding the crowd, leaving out traditional investors who used to rule the world.

For all these reasons, crowdfunding reveals a more democratic tool for funding. Crowdlending platforms appeal constantly to the idea of *de-banking* and *financial disintermediation*. On

October 13, 2016, the LoanBook Twitter profile published "Do you want to know how [to] decrease your dependency to financial entities? @JoanMarinello explains it [in] a new post." On October 1, 2015, the same profile retweeted (RT) a post of Alexandre Lima telling a story: "To pass from an oligopoly to an open credit market with @EloiNoya from @Loanbookcapital #mooverangtalks." After our qualitative approach, it seemed like people from crowdfunding platforms felt they were part of a widespread transformation and that they were changing the world with their actions. Our conclusion after this investigation stage was that crowdfunding was at least some kind of political action, although we couldn't determine its scale.

The next stage focused on the analysis of Twitter profiles to see if their discourse corresponded with the one found. We had noticed that this social network was the most useful for crowdfunding projects and, in fact, some consultants advised to constantly promote projects on Twitter during campaigns (Muñoz 2013). Additionally, other virtues influenced the choice of using Twitter for the content analysis.

> *"The microblogging site Twitter is now a major meeting point for politicians, activists, journalists, technologists, scholars and others who are actively involved in public life. (…) Unlike Facebook and other social networking sites, Twitter fosters asymmetrical relationships, since one does not need to reciprocate a tie in order to establish a public relationship. The relationship is one of following versus being followed, not of friending"* (Postill and Pink 2012:6-7).

We designed a sample of nine Spanish platforms proportional to the distribution of crowdfunding models in Spain for 2015. 1) Four reward-based crowdfunding platforms (Verkami, Projeggt, Made in Spain Games and Vorticex), 2) Two equity-based platforms (The Crowd Angel and Bihoop), 3) Two crowdlending platforms (Finanzarel and LoanBook) and 4) One donation-based crowdfunding platform (Mi Grano de Arena). We took care to combine the sample by using both popular and successful platforms and others that no longer existed. We also tried to represent different characteristics. While Vorticex was a science platform, Made in Spain Games focused their activities on independent (indie) games. On the other hand, Finanzarel's model is factoring, LoanBook's loans are to small companies and individuals. We must see this content analysis as a work in progress to facilitate future investigations in which we could use larger data techniques in order to analyze the entire sample of Spanish platform tweets. Nevertheless, we decided to conduct this short study to balance the weight of crowdfunding models and their qualitative characteristics.

Throughout the analysis, seven values were found: 1) Transparency, 2) Community feeling, 3) Horizontal networks, 4) Sharing sensation, 5) Distrust in top-down institutions, 6) Do It Yourself (DIY) and 7) Promotion of a society based on participatory democracies.

Crowdlending platforms and Made in Spain Games rated high in the Community feeling value. While Made in Spain Games appeal to a community feeling focused on the *geek culture* (cultura friki/ *freaky*) (Martínez 2014), its discourse was connected with the *hacker ethic* (Himanen 2002; Lessig 2009; Levy 1994; Stallman 2004) crowdlending platforms, which called for a community feeling focused on the Fintech community. Peer-to-peer lending also rated high in distrust in top-down institutions, something that can be explained by the importance of *de-banking* and *financial disintermediation.* Vorticex also prioritized this value and this is probably connected

with the critical cutback policies in science. For reward-based crowdfunding, on the other hand, the most important value was transparency, followed by DIY. This is likely related to the characteristics of most of the promoters who are *cultural entrepreneurs* (Rowan 2010). Transparency appears frequently in all the studied platforms, so it's the most relevant value above all.

Although the study revealed some relationships between these values and crowdlending or reward-based crowdfunding, we didn't find any connection between them and donation-based or equity-based crowdfunding. Equity-based discourse tends to appeal for innovation and technological values, while donation-based crowdfunding focused on solidarity and international cooperation.

4. Conclusions

Although the research points to the constant reproduction of the seven values into the crowdfunding discourse, they don't seem to be intentional. That's why this investigation refers to them as *subterranean values*, following the line of research of Kaldor Selchow. (Kaldor and Selchow 2015). According to the authors, European social movements after the outbreak of the financial crisis reproduce a consciousness ethos based on some of our described values. This lack of intentionality is the key to understanding the political action of crowdfunding. While platforms feel that being part of a societal transformation is critical, they are not necessarily aware of what precisely they should be doing to promote that change.

Furthermore, the social movements literature is being questioned by some authors who think we are missing many political actions because we cannot entirely conceptualize the paradigm of what activism is; for instance, Kimport in the context of fan activism (Earl and Kimport 2009).

In this research, we are not going to defend crowdfunding as an activist action but we would like to vindicate the political subterranean facet which exists in crowdlending and reward-based crowdfunding. Something political is occurring in sharing economy initiatives and it must not be silenced because of the critical approaches to this phenomenon. We also defend what Arvidsson does: the sharing economy and crowdfunding is not only the reproduction of capitalism or a liberative phenomenon – it may be both (Arvidsson 2018) – and we must approach crowdfunding from a chaos perspective where both perspectives are not opposites but rather complementarian.

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6. Methodological Appendix

We used TwineMachine to download tweets and chose periods of time when the platform Twitter profile published more tweets than regular. One problematic use of this method is the differences in the historical periods in the comparative study of platforms.

7. Abbreviations

• **BBVA:** Banco Bilbao, Vizcaya, Argentaria/ Vizcaya, Argentaria Bank
• **EC:** European Commission
• **EU:** European Union
• **FECYT:** The Spanish Foundation for Science and Technology
• **F&F:** Friends and Family
• **NGO:** Non-Governmental Organization
• **RT:** Retweeted

8. Biographical Note

Elena Gil Moreno, Associate Professor at the Faculty of Education and Social Work, University of Valladolid. *This research is the result of a doctoral thesis defended in the University of Salamanca in 2017.*

9. Notes

1 Belleflamme, Paul, Thomas Lambert Schwienbacher, Armin, and Armin Schwienbacher 2010. "Crowdfunding: An Industrial Organization Perspective." Paper prepared for the workshop 'Digital Business Models: Understanding Strategies', held in Paris on June 25-26, 2010. . Authors consider this is a very preliminary version of the paper and ask not quote without prior their consent.
Source: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/228468454_Crowdfunding_An_Industrial_Organization_Perspective

Experiment of Sharing Economy as a Platform of Trust Reconstruction in South Korea

Suk-Ki Kong and Hyun-Chin Lim
Seoul National University

Abstract: *This paper tries to not only examine new patterns and features of skyrocketing social enterprises which focusing on sharing economy but also explore the dynamics of start-up clusters, local community, and the government. We aim to identify the Korean catch-up model of sharing economy driven by the government and then highlight some barriers to reconstruct trust in local community. The top-down strategy is struggling with linking between collaborative economy in modern digital context and old community in traditional small business context. We will explore the trilateral relationship of three main actors including startups, the local government and community. To understand the Korean social economy contexts, three key axes including engaging movements, combining innovation, and leading government should be taken into consideration. Although the local government played an initiative role in promoting cooperative synergy between startups and community, it has faced such challenges as distinction, divide, and distrust between them. This paper tries to pay more attention to why and how such divide and distrust increase or decrease. We tried to compare two interesting cases: With My and BtoB promoted by Heyground at Seongsu alley in Seoul. While With My focuses on producing concreted products, BtoB is a provider of mobile app services. Both cases show the similar pattern in engaging in Heyground and show different outcomes because of the linking to local community. To get reliable evidence for the inquiries, we not only conducted field studies including site visits and interviews but also did document analyses including newspaper articles and various reports from the Internet and the websites. Our comparative studies still remain in exploratory phase but contribute to providing a diagnostic framework of sharing economy as a new platform of trust reconstruction at local community.*

Keywords: *Sharing economy, social innovation, local community, Heyground*

1. Introduction

The explosion of social economic organizations such as Korean social enterprises, cooperatives, social ventures, community business, and self-support enterprises is characterized by the government-led mimicking or benchmarking Western advanced model (Kong & Lim 2017). The social economic activities based on this 'catch-up' strategy ultimately aimed at reviving or reviving the rapidly collapsed community in South Korea (Kong 2014; Kong & Lim 2017). At the same time, what is notable is the enthusiastic and dedicated participation of the residents from grassroots. In the influence of the neo-liberal globalization of civilization, the civil society actively engaged the social economy in an effort to explore an answer on its own (Lim & Kong 2014; Kong et al. 2018). In other words, both upward and downward efforts highlights an active interest in social economic activity in South Korea, and one is the government-led pursuit benchmarking strategy, the other the citizens' active engagement to it.

However, intensive policy support from above is noteworthy, but at the same time limits the sustainability. Traditionally, Korean society has maintained a conflictual relationship between strong state and civil society. Therefore, in the course of promoting the social economy, we have witnessed many obstacles to transparent and robust governance at various levels. It shows a kind of paradox that the government-led social economy strategy can be good health food but sometimes poisons, unless they are equipped with innovation, trust and democratic learning to sustain sustainability beyond the civil society movement. In fact, it is easy to see the shadows of the quantitative growth of the social economic organization since the last 10 year-promoting policy.

Since the Cooperative law enacted on December 1, 2012, there has been a dramatic increase of the cooperatives in South Korean. By type, 12,918 general cooperatives, 1,085 social cooperatives, 62 general cooperatives and 9 social cooperatives were registered, totaling 14,074. By region, about 3,053 Seoul, 2,203 Kyungki-do, and 353 Incheon cooperatives have been established in the Seoul metropolitan area.[1] The Ministry of Economy and Finance conducts a survey on how cooperatives are sustainable every three years, but the reality is very disappointing. Approximately only 10% of them are working steadily, and many cooperatives are hibernating. Most social enterprises including prep-social enterprises and community business groups do not have difficulty in maintaining with the government support for a certain period. In contrast, co-operatives do not have little the government support while expecting that they will receive some support from local governments in the beginning. More and more social economic organizations are demanding facility investment support and marketing rather than subsidy for labor costs.

On the other hand, a new sector, social ventures were created and rapidly growing through innovation from the very bottom. That is Seongsu-dong in Seoul, where a new experiment was conducted in an innovative way. There are clusters of social ventures spontaneously rooted in it. In October of 2017, especially various social ventures and enterprises were gathered into one space, 'Heyground.' It is developing a social economic ecosystem by embracing social ventures, social enterprises, cooperatives, NGOs, and NPOs as well as profit organizations and intermediary supporting organizations. This paper attempts to explore this new experiment. Many scholars and experts pay attention to how this new ecosystem can reconstruct the local community as well as trust that has collapsed as a result of the rushed industrialization, urbanization, and globalization.

Despite these rosy expectations, there is a criticism that Seongsu Alley, a social venture focused, lacks links with the community. There is also a prospect whether or not Heyground will be an island on the lake. If such isolation or disengagement continues, Heyground will not be able to act as a link to promote trilateral cooperation with social enterprises, local communities and local governments. Fortunately, the young entrepreneurs as 'change-maker' recognized this problem and try to bridge the local community. In these contexts, this research seeks to explore the limitations of the social economic ecosystem in the region with case studies of two start-ups at the Heyground.

2. Research Questions and Method

This study examines whether or not the Heyground contributes to a platform that interconnects with Seongsu community through various social and economic activities. To this end, we will examine how Heyground activates social entrepreneurs' networks and expand them toward the local. We would also pay attention to how Heyground is trying to get into the local people to overcome divide, discrimination, and distrust with the community. A case study on the bridging process of Heyground with the local community is expected to elucidate the potentials and challenges of the social economy building process in South Korea. Over the years, the government support for social economy with the catch-up strategy has increased rapidly. Particularly, selective concentration investment in social ventures led to separation from local communities. The local residents are worried that the Heyground will be left as an island separated from the community. This paper examines whether there will be such divide, discrimination, and distrust and then seek how they make efforts to overcome such worries. Local communities collapsed with such rushed industrialization can never be restored to speed.

Root Impact has established a community space, Heyground, where social ventures and social enterprises in the Seongsu area can gather together more actively to work and collaborate. In October 2017, President Moon's visit led to greater interest from the public. The young generation change-makers gather at the Heyground, where they keep discussing and collaborating. Such creative projects and experiments are constantly under way at Seongsu Alley, where they young people emit their own talent, ideas and enthusiasm. Heyground plays a role as a 'seedbed' where they can hatch their entrepreneurship and launch a start-up.

This study aims to compare two entrepreneurial cases to grow into a social venture through the Heyground community. As the two cases were relatively early staged start-ups and less exposed to the public, the analyses were made by mainly field visit and interview data. One of them is "With My," which produces vegan toothpastes. It has a slogan, "for me, neighbors, the environment and all life," and seeks to realize social values in all daily necessities. Currently, With MY keeps a vegan brand that does not use animal oil at all. It is the only certified toothpaste in Korea from the US Environmental Working Group.

The other is BtoB, a social venture that runs mobile application service of providing information both temporary shelters and government support for single mothers. It aims to prevent them from abandoning infants. BtoB means "parent to parent, baby to baby, box to box" and means "channel" through which social resources flow for all parents who raise babies. Currently, babies entering the Baby Box installed in December 2009 in Gwanak-gu, Seoul are all sent to nursery school nationwide, and about 4,000 children enter the nursery each year. BtoB started its project with a stunning view of the baby box and seeks an alternative beyond the legal debate over the baby box. The Baby Box is just a temporary shelter. It hardly provides good information for the parents. That is why BtoB decided to open a plat form to raise public awareness of baby box and to find alternatives together. It is an open process through which participants can social values such as the right to life, children rights, health rights, and bioethics. As a result of the four-year collaborative project, BtoB was registered on November 16, 2018 as a nonprofit corporation.

First of all, let's look at what the two cases have in common. We will look at why and how this social venture has been involved in the Heyground and how each has used it as a collaborative community. Next, let us examine the difference between the two cases. BtoB is attempting to become more active in connecting with the community. So let's look at why the latter was relatively easy to bridge with the region. The research hypothesis is to examine the difference between the two cases, focusing on the business specificity of providing services rather than product production, government subsidies, the presence of local citizens, and the government's discriminatory approach to innovation efforts.

Based on the analyses, the authors would like to diagnose how Heyground contributes to facilitating and mediating start-up companies as an innovative platform from the below (Kerlin 2009). Furthermore, we would like to draw theoretical, practical and further policy implications of whether the top-down social economic ecosystem in South Korea is really permeating into the local community as a conclusion (Defourny et al. 2014; Quarter et al. 2009; Rstakis 2010)..

3. Heyground as a Community Facilitator and Space for Start-ups

Let's look at the initial effort of Root Impact to establish the Heyground. Root Impact was established in July of 2012 with an aim to create a society where everyone contributes to making a better world in its own way. Root Impact set out for the journey with an ambitious goal but was not clear how to make meaningful changes. Root Impact had to go through a series of trials and errors. Fortunately, Root Impact met with many people who want to work with Root Impact and make positive impact. Root Impact realized that a specific community should be created for Change-makers where they can cooperate and encourage each other.

Given these, Root Impact aims to build a co-working community to invite people who want to resolve social issues by turning innovative ideas into reality, people who want to identify newly created social issues, people who want to join and support the efforts of promoting social values, people who want to build a meaningful career and people who want to assist them. Since January 2014, Root Impact has worked with potential community members to make a co-working community with the belief that a genuine community will only be realized when everyone is participated. Every effort brought out the Heyground. It wants change-makers to make more friends at Heyground and say "Hey" to greet each other. They can lean on each other when they need to stop for a moment and take a good rest. This open space functions as casual communication and interaction among members. They engage in fortuitous and casual encounters with other members without coercion or influence from others. The floor plan at Heyground has been designed in a way to encourage members to greet each other and say "Hey" while walking around there.

Heyground wants to connect members at the great extent possible regardless of physical boundaries. A two-story lounge connected by indoor stairs and a sky lounge will invite members occupying different floors to meet and greet. Especially Heyground designed a unique outdoor space different from other ordinary offices. A Green lounge and a roof terrace welcome members to a sunny and outdoorsy area whenever they want to get away from work and have chitchat with others.[2]

Heyground is driving communication and collaboration to happen naturally and routinely. It was designed as a collaborative work space for innovation and creation, in which new business items are discovered while start-ups are sharing information and ideas. To this end, it manages a variety of membership programs by offering spaces, seats, and furniture to suit the size and entrepreneurs' needs. The space and seats are rented every 3, 6, and 12 months, and the fee differs depending on the space size, members and the period. This space leasing business is managed by HGI, but Root Impact, a nonprofit organization, serves as an intermediary to provide opportunities, cooperate and solidarity to start a social venture. Although Heyground does not limit business types and qualifications in occupancy, most of them are leasing space for social enterprises and social ventures. This is because it confirms whether or not they have the motive as a change-maker to create social value. As a result, Heyground is becoming a co-working community for change-makers who are dreaming of a better world. There are well-known social enterprises, social ventures, NPOs, and NGOs currently residing in the Heyground as follow: Marrymond, Eone Korea, Soap Farm, Awesome School, The Big Issue, Root Energy, GonggamIn, Ashoka Korea, Communication Woody, MYSC (Merry Year Social Company), JUMP, etc.

In addition, Heyground keeps various partnerships to promote collaboration of cooperatives.[3] The networks can provide more benefits to their members and to promote the impact of change makers to the local community. Heyground has a separate space at the underground. The multi-purpose hall holds various activists such as lectures, forums, and seminars with local communities. In addition, Heyground is also sharing its activities through various online channels including online newsletters, Facebook, Instagram, and Online magazine, Brunch to connect to local residents.[4]

But is the Heyground's effort leading to the local community? Are the Seongsu residents actively participating in the Heyground programs? In the beginning, the Seongsu local government welcomed it and wanted to work with it and then transferred the Seongdong-gu Social Economy Center from Wangshimni to Seongsu alley. The local government hoped to revitalize the local community with more close relationship with Heyground. However, we realized that the expectations and thoughts of local governments, local residents, and communities are not the same. The Seongdong-gu Social and Economic Center (SSEC) is playing similar mediating role in facilitating activities such as social economy incubation, social economic enterprise marketing support, and Youth social economic promotion. But there is still weak connection between Heyground and SSEC. Seongdong-gu is itself trying to focus on social fashion ecosystem, promotion of traditional market and reviving local community, and development of healthy village, and supporting youth social economy incubation. Interestingly, the local government planned an active cooperation event toward close relationship with Heyground. For instance, many social ventures and enterprises are still reluctant to join the Annual Social Economy Fair organized by the local government. They expect that this fair would not be a kind of show-off event, but rather well-planned programs including marketing, investment and government support. Unfortunately it did not reach their expectations. It is a reality that social entrepreneurs with innovative ideas would not cooperate with local communities relying on the top-down event.

Given these, it is difficult to expect more active communication and cooperation between Heyground and the local community with the top-down strategy for the time being. Instead, the bottom-up strategy shows more possibility. We will examine the linking process through two case studies.

4. Comparison of Social Venture's Connecting Processes to Local Communities

4.1. Case 1: With MY[5]

How With MY became interested in the Seongsu area, and moved to the Heyground shows a typical pattern of social ventures' engagement to it. It has started as a public-interest brand that makes environment-friendly toothpaste by utilizing the dental expertise and shares its profits socially as well as contributes to international aid. After returning to Korea in 2013, the representative happened to learn about Seongsu alley while investigating Korean social enterprises. She often visited the place and met d-Well House by chance. As the building is pretty and the first floor the café and second and third floor co-housing space for supporting start-ups. The d-Well was Root Impact. She met many social entrepreneurs there and naturally worked closely with Root Impact to develop her business items and brand, With My. She also decided to move in at that time, as she does not need to move in but decided to go there with expectation of more collaborative networks with many innovative and enthusiastic people. There she would cooperate more specifically within the community. Eone Korea is one of the most helpful social enterprises she met. She got a lot of good ideas as well as marketing know-how from Eone. She highlights network benefits as follow:

> "However, collaborations in the Heyground are not planned from the top, but are done naturally from the bottom up or from a horizontal relationship. Currently, there are 500 employees in the ground-floor space, with start-ups and social ventures. Despite the short period of time in which they have moved in, there has already been a very natural meeting or encounter among the members, and the invisible social values have been shared. For example, Patagonia Vice President visited the Heyground with his team members. I had a great opportunity to introduce my company to them. If I did not stay there, such networking would never be possible. Heyground tries to strengthen the cooperation of various members with local, national and global partners." (Interview to S. Min).

With My's focus is on informal gatherings among members at Heyground. For example, informal gathering was created by suggesting that 'Let's meet someone who likes Harry Potter.' Heyground emphasizes such casual and informal encounters by supporting 100 USD when more than 5 members gather. In a similar way, bowling, companion animals, jogging, and single lunch group are held. In a very casual gathering, they find innovative business items by chance. Given this, they may organize joint projects to cooperate with each other. With My had a great expectation throughout informal meetings.

However, in late October 2017, Heyground looked like floating island in the lake of Seongsu area. The Local government really wanted to work with it and actively invited it to their projects. However, they cannot follow up innovative approach and business strategy at Heyground because the latter network is much more innovative. As a result, mutual collaboration between Heyground and SSEC at Seongsu area has been more slowly activated than expected.

However, government subsidies have flown to Seongsu Alley as well as Heyground. With My hoped to take part in the expanding networks but not for the subsidies. However, after one year contract, it came of the space. Why? With My had ambitiously planned five commodity projects,

but nothing succeeded. For example, she has been working on a new project of animal toothpaste. However, the manufacturers it worked with could not maintain the social values that keeping hygiene and eco-friendly quality. The most disappointing thing was that she has not met many entrepreneurs with social values. In addition, there is a clear need for more professional and long-term support and investment, and there are limits to investment in this area and limitations of the government's institutional support. In order to activate social enterprises or social ventures, it is necessary to establish strict supporting system that can realize branding, marketing, facility investment and social value for product production. With My has enthusiastically planned and expanded business projects, but has faced such obstacles repeatedly.

Of course, With My had its own limitation because tt was not able to actively engage in Heyground community as well as local community to mobilize various resources. In contrast, some social enterprise at Heyground planned to start a business with more actively entering into the locals. It is BtoB. With sufficient research and knowledge about the area, it took a bottom-up approach to enter into the locals and to find out business items. The BtoB case shows a remarkable example of this strategy.

4.2. Case 2: BtoB[6]

BtoB case shows how mobilization of collective intelligence, rather than individual ideas, is much more innovative and effective. It started with a research project, not a short-term project preparation, and showed how ordinary people contribute to reconstructing and spreading 'social values' by participating in voluntary projects. It is noteworthy that BtoB has built app-based mobile services on a shared platform for three years. Although it is still an analysis of early activities, we chose it as an example because a social venture actively engaged in local community by innovative sharing of information and meaning collaboration. The Baby Box project began with personal interest and enthusiasm. Y. Kim, who led the baby box project, made a full-scale survey after hearing the shocking contents about the baby box. She analyzed 512 children who entered the baby box from 2010 to 2014. In particular, she tried to examine who the parents are and what situation they were in. According to the result, many media have incorrectly pointed out that the problem is "parents who have abandoned unwanted babies." Instead, 30% of parents revisited the shelter and took the babies back later. She highlights that we should be more concerned with structural problems such as youth poverty, residential instability, domestic violence, or broken families. Such social problems include unhealthy family, the disability of baby or parent, and the social prejudice and discrimination against the unwed mothers.

The help of Root Impact was very significant during the Baby Box project. Root Impact has conducted many social venture incubation projects, one of which is the Baby Box project. Heyground became a seedbed for BtoB. The 6th floor seminar room has become a valuable space for the Baby Box Project Research Marathon in which many volunteers enthusiastically participated. Y. Kim also emphasizes the accidental encounter between BtoB and Root Impact.

"I met d-Well Salon when it was in heyday and then I started the baby box project. That is lucky. I got the opportunity to share the project and got a great response. After that, I carried out 'Puum' project for single moms. But three years later, I was also in a personal slump because of skepticism that I could help myself future. At that time, Heyground was

a repository that provided me with new energy. The Heyground is a community that gives me new ideas and professional help. It is a healthy cooperation network that provides professional consulting for many start-ups." (Reciting https://brunch.co.kr/@heyground/16).

In this context, Kim planned to build and share information of social safety nets. For parents wanting to raise their babies but considering giving up them, they are collecting and classifying the information to share them with parents through the mobile web service 'Puum.' It easily conveys information to help parents raise their babies. The word, 'Puum' as pure Korean means the heart to be embraced. It contains the motto of "Baby Box Project." As babies need the goods of their parents, their parents need social support. The app service shares information on where to go for the parents, what goods and financial support they need to bring up their baby, such as diapers and powdered milk, and contacts. The most notable process in the BtoB case is the Baby Box Project Research Marathon, an open platform strategy that leads the public to participate directly from below. Only a small number of staff members were not involved in that project but rather many volunteers in the information search and classification process. This collaborative work made the participants raise their consciousness of legitimacy of the Baby Box project. This collective intelligence project, which took place two times, involved 50 people in the five meetings. With their dedication and enthusiasm, the project categorized information retrieval for 135 institutions and 23 items nationwide that provide housing for parents who do not have shelter. The volunteers who participated in the research projects highlight such important issues concerning the supporting system for the baby box projects. The following feedbacks should be noted as a 'social value creation process.'

"I had difficulty in knowing what to search for and what route to search for. Business support often provides fragmented information and does not last long. It is very complicated and long process to get financial support from the government. Social support for poor parents is less sustainable, less well known, and the support is concentrated in the metropolitan area. Nonprofit organizations have too much information and are not well organized. There is a great deal of trouble finding relevant information." (Reciting: The Baby Box project, Facebook Texts, 2018/11/22).

In short, BtoB succeeded in advancing to the local community by positively utilizing Heyground. Various people participated in volunteer activities and correctly understood Baby Boxes and then found alternatives. Anyone with passion and innovation as a change maker in Seongsu Alley can go into the local and jointly explore, value-sharing, demonstrates that they can succeed in starting a social venture. Beyond mobile app services, BtoB is now expanding to help its parents to the two hundred babies entering the baby box every year and the 4,000 children entering the nursery each year. This continuous innovation process is possible because it has engaged in local community.

5. Conclusions

It can be seen from the case analysis above that Heyground is clearly contributing to building a social venture ecosystem. Interestingly, However, With My left the space in a year, and BtoB went deep into the area, making full use of the space. The key to the difference is how aggressive the social venture is in engaging with the local community. In addition, in the context of social economy based on the 'catch-up' strategy of Korea, it can be seen that the social enterprise

focused on service provision has a relatively favorable condition for early social ventures. Whereas With My focuses on producing concreted products, BtoB is a provider of mobile app services with receiving more support. For the latter, it took a relatively short time to grow. In fact, the government support is often concentrated on service provision entrepreneurs because services are relatively easy to connect with local communities. Social enterprises face many difficulties in maintaining sustainability. For product producers, the process of innovation is much more complex and external obstacles are larger. Big business groups dominate the retail market, and it is difficult to mobilize capital investment to innovate production. In order to overcome this, the social economy organization should promote more active cooperation with the civil society. In a short time, however, it is not easy for them to build trust in civil society. For this reason, building trust requires a strategy to start from grassroots. This is because it is easier for service providers to approach easily local community than product producers. It will gain citizens' trust more quickly. In other words, from this point of view, the social economic activity based on the catch- up strategy can contribute to the building of the social economic ecosystem focusing on the provision of the service first, creating social value in the local community and spreading it and strengthening the trust.

Lastly, we would like to present a new challenge for Heyground. Heyground is a space for people exchange and is aiming at their community. Of course, they are aiming to go beyond community exchanges with local communities. Heyground was given the role of extending the social economic ecosystem, not the isolated Galapagos. In January 2019, the Impact Alliance as social venture association was launched over a period of one year to improve the quality of life of social entrepreneurs. This association has begun solidarity for growth beyond their survival. It aims not only to social venture but also social enterprise and further expands to the non-profit sector. It is a great challenge for the association not only to seek legal and institutional improvement toward the government in the future, but also to be able to attract government policy rather than requiring simple support.

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7. Biographical Notes

Suk-Ki is Kong is Research Professor of Asia Center at Seoul National University. He studied sociology and received B.A., M.A. from the Department of Sociology at SNU and his Ph.D. from the Department of Sociology at Harvard University. He is currently Adjunct Professor of Graduate School of Public Policy and Civic Engagement at Kyung Hee University. .His major fields of research are social movements, NGO studies, and political sociology. His recent publications included articles entitled: *Bridging the Gap between Neighborhood and Citizenship (with Lim, 2017),* "Measuring National Human Rights: A Reflection on Korean Experiences," *Human Rights Quarterly.* (with Chung and Koo, 2012). "Politics of Cosmopolitan Citizenship: The Korean Engagement in the Global Justice Movements." *Citizenship Studies.* Vol. 16 (1): 69-84. (2012)

Hyun-Chin Lim is Professor Emeritus of Sociology Seoul National University and Member of the National Academy of Sciences, Republic of Korea and Chairman of the Board of Directors, The Academy of Korean Studies. He served as the president of Korean Social Science Research Council. He is also Adjunct Professor, Asian-Pacific Studies Institute at Duke University. He received his B.A. and M.A. in Sociology from Seoul National University, and his Ph.D. in Sociology from Harvard University. He was previously the dean of Faculty of Liberal Education, the dean of the College of Social Sciences, and the director of Asia Center, all at Seoul National University. Dr. Lim was registered in *Who'sWho in the World* in 1991. In 2007, he was nominated as 'National Distinguished Scholar', the most prestigious award in the area of humanity and social science, by both the Ministry of Education and Human Resources, and Korea Research Foundation. He has presented papers at many professional conferences, and has given public lectures on crucial development issues. His publications include more than 50 books and over 250 scholarly articles on dependency, development, democracy, and civil society in East Asia and Latin America.

8. Notes

1 For more information, check out the website. http://www.socialenterprise.or.kr/cooperative/coop_present.do
2 For more information, check the website. (https://heyground.com/#/heyground/about)
3 For partners, Ashoka, AVPN, GSEN, GSBI, Sopoong (Seed investor for new social ventures), CoW & DoG (experimental space for social ventures), Crevisse Partners, Impact Square (Impact business accelerator), SEAM OFFICE (sharing office for social entrepreneurs), Patagonia, Doctor Brothers, Addlight, etc.
4 For each link as follows: https://www.facebook.com/heyground/; https://www.instagram.com/heyground_community/; https://brunch.co.kr/@heyground
5 The case study of WITH MY has been conducted with both interviews with a representative and site visits on October 26, 2017 and January 24, 2019.
6 The case study of BtoB has been conducted with document analysis of news reports, and interviews with a representative and text analysis of feedbacks among volunteers at Facebook in October 2018. For the information as follow: http://news.mt.co.kr/mtview.php?no=2018112118291682347&MTS_P; https://brunch.co.kr/@heyground/16; https://www.facebook.com/pg/onemorehappybaby/posts/

TRACK 2

Economy, Work and Consumption

Sharing Economy and Young People. A Qualitative Explorative Project[1]

Ariela Mortara[1] and Geraldina Roberti[2]

[1]International University of Language and Media (IULM)
[2]Università degli Studi dell'Aquila

Abstract[2]: *The paper aims to explore young people's perception, motivations and actual practices of sharing economy.*

Sharing and collaborative consumption are both growing in popularity leading to a shift of focus from good ownership to simple usage. Compared to more traditional sharing practices, the current one allows goods and services to be exchanged among strangers rather than among relatives and communities (Schor, Fitzmaurice 2015), thus the issues of trust and reputation become paramount. Some researchers have highlighted that especially young people are involved in sharing economy practices, e.g., they prefer sharing a car (carpooling or care sharing) than owning it (Belk 2014a). Since young people are both the most Internet savvy and the most prone to use smartphone apps, they are also comfortable in using services that are accessible through these devices (e.g., Car2go, Airbnb, Zipcar). In Italy, according to recent data (2018), Millennials are the main users of sharing economy services. Young people, from 18 to 34 years, have developed a culture of sharing and access to goods and services more than a culture of possession. Moreover, due to the economic crisis and many social changes, they have become more attentive to saving and more convenience oriented. For this reason, services such home or car sharing find less resistance and spread more easily among young people. Technologies and digital media enable to find ways to share resources, to connect people, to share objects, or to access sharing platforms. A deeper understanding of perception, motivations, and actual practices of sharing economy services should highlight future trends in collaborative consumption. Following a first quantitative study, the paper presents the results of four focus groups on the theme of the sharing economy inquiring perception, motivations and actual practices. The focus groups involved 36 university students attending a master's degree course at IULM University of Milan. Informants, of both genders, are coming from North and South Italy. Despite some confusion between sharing economy services and delivery services, informants demonstrate a quite wide knowledge of sharing economy platforms. Trust is the issue preventing them to experience more fully the potential of sharing services. Convenience, connecting with new people, and making new experiences emerge as the leading motivations in engaging with these practices.

Keywords: *Collaborative consumption, young people, trust, sharing platforms, social relations.*

1. Introduction

Deep transformations are affecting the consumption sphere, involving both the individual and the social/collective dimension of consumption practices. New consumption styles reduce the

value of the possession of a good/product, to the advantage of its simple use.

According to Russel Belk (2014b), in the *post- ownership economy*, social actors engage in shared practices originating new forms of collaborative consumption[3] (Hamari et al. 2015; Mittendorf 2018). Some authors place different kinds of non-ownership collaborative consumption in a continuum moving from pure sharing to pure exchange (Habibi et al. 2016). If an accommodation platform as CouchSurfing represents pure sharing, a car sharing service as Zipcar represents pure exchange. In between, there are platforms as Airbnb, proposing an intermediate model between sharing and exchanging since it charges the user for the service provided through the company website.

The spread of sharing platforms fostered the birth of a hybrid economy, which combines social and commercial interests together. As Daiane Scaraboto says:

> *"Whereas market economies have been largely characterized by the prevalence of market-based exchange, and nonmarket economies (e.g., gift economies, sharing economies) have been defined as those in which particular nonmarket forms of exchange prevail, hybrid economies can be characterized by the coexistence of multiple modes of exchange, guided by logics that only squarely fit those commonly associated with prototypical market-based exchange, sharing, gift-giving, or other familiar modes of exchange. Hence, hybrid economies operate at the interstices between market and nonmarket economies (…)."* (Scaraboto 2015:153)

Indeed, digital technologies facilitate sharing resources and services and most of the collaborative consumption practices takes place in a digital environment. Internet encouraged people to express their identity without actual ownership (Belk, 2014a) thereby promoting practices of collaborative consumption (Belk 2014b), inspiring consumers to co-create together with companies (Prahalad and Ramaswamy 2004; Payne et al. 2008), letting them become *prosumer* (Toffler 1980; Ritzer 2010)[4], and increasing consumers' active participation (Woisetschläger et al. 2008; Troye and Supphellen 2012).

In this context, the success of companies as Netflix and Spotify represents an ulterior step toward models of subscription economy enabling the leading role of consumers. Younger generations increasingly choose dynamic and flexible consumption methods, preferring access and/or use of always new and personalized goods and services.

2. Methodology

In order to gain a deep understanding of perception, motivations and actual practices of sharing economy, authors have decided to use a qualitative methodology such as the focus group. Despite being used as a research tool primarily in the field of market research, focus groups have been increasingly used in the social sciences, and in an eclectic range of other academic fields (Smithson 2007). Focus groups are aimed at prompting data from small groups of people on the meanings, practices, and normative understandings behind phenomena. Moreover, they allow researchers to have direct access to the language and concepts participants use to structure their experiences and to think and talk about a designated topic. As for any qualitative

methodology, the findings are not meant to be generalized on a wider population (Bloor et al. 2001), but are useful to achieving a depth of understanding of the phenomena.

As suggested by Morgan (1988) and Kreuger (1998), students attending the same course represent a homogeneous group, the appropriate unit of analysis for focus group. Moreover, according to several studies, young people are most prone to adopt a sustainable consumption style (see Hume 2010; Möhlmann 2015, Roberti 2017), choosing fruition models that favor exchange and sharing. Christoph Mittendorf (2018) highlights that Millennials are more empathetic toward environmental issues than other consumers' groups. Besides, as the main user group of collaborative services, "they grew up in a connected world, enabling them to access resources via the internet from anywhere at any time" (Mittendorf 2018: 379).

Researchers conducted four focus groups involving 36 students (9 for each focus) attending the same Master's degree at IULM University of Milan. From the 14 male and 22 female students, aged from 22 to 25, 19 were coming from the North of Italy and 17 from the South. The focuses have been conducted in Milan from 20 to 28 November 2018. Every organized group discussion around sharing economy has been moderated by a professional, recorded by researchers, and lasted three hours.

Since this qualitative project followed a precedent quantitative one, based on a survey (Mortara and Roberti 2018), researchers developed the focus group guide (Packer-Muti 2010) according to the questionnaire sections. As the quantitative step, researchers have administered a questionnaire using the Google Drive platform. They collected 283 questionnaires from students attending four different Italian universities (namely the University of Trento, IULM University of Milan, Sapienza University of Rome and the University of L'Aquila). The participating universities represented the North (Trento and Milan) and Centre (Rome and L'Aquila) of Italy. The main objective of the quantitative research was to assess the level of knowledge concerning the sharing economy among students and to verify the dissemination of the most common sharing economy practices.

Following the quantitative step, the qualitative part of the project focuses on the following areas: 1) level of awareness concerning the sharing economy; 2) knowledge of different sharing economy platforms; 3) motivations fostering the collaborative economy platform's usage or non-usage. Researchers have added a further line of inquire as the future development of sharing economy.

Transcripts of the focuses have been analyzed following a grounded theory approach (Glaser, 2001) in order to gather the main findings. Researchers manually coded and classified the main themes emerging from the discussions using content analysis to study the social phenomenon. This procedure involved reiterative reading of the transcript material in order to gain a systematic classification and to identify different conceptual categories. The next paragraphs present some of the gathered evidences including selected quotations, which shed light on some interesting consumption trends.

3. Findings

3.1. Level of Awareness and Knowledge of Different Sharing Economy Platforms

Confirming that Millennials are indeed the potential key users of sharing economy services (Winkle 2018), participants known quite well sharing economy and its services. Consistently with the results of the first research step, students spontaneously mention the most known platforms such as BlaBlaCar, Airbnb, Couchsurfing, all the Italian car- and bike-sharing services, some platforms used to rent sport garments as Sherwood[5], and co-working spaces. The girls mentioned also Depop, actually a global marketplace in which people can buy and sell, more than a sharing economy platform. Moreover, students indicate the most widespread food delivery services such as JustEat, Deliveroo, Glovo claiming that the social dimension of this kind of consumption, and the presence of customers' reviews, let them be collaborative practice. "Foodora it's sharing, gentlemen who bring us food" (Focus group 2, M, S)[6]. Much less common the knowledge of social eating platform, such as Gnammo, Eathwith, Wizeat that have gained a fierce media resonance in the last years (Mortara and Fragapane, 2018).

Sharing, innovation, renting, and economic advantage emerge as the first spontaneous associations leading to discuss advantages and disadvantages of engaging in sharing economy practices.

Finally, the concepts of reuse and recycle are also often spontaneously associated with collaborative consumption practices[7]. "It makes me think about a continuous reuse of goods and services" (Focus group 1, M, N). As Franklin (2011) points out, the individual motivations join the social motivations, transforming the choice to engage in the second-hand market in a consumption model with clear ethical and responsible implications.

3.2. Motivations Leading to Use or not Use the Platform

Confirming a previous study (Campbell Mithun, 2012), motivations leading to use the sharing economy platforms rely mostly on the possibility to save, to have new experiences, and to know new people. Hwang and Griffith's (2017) study on a sample of USA Millennials (mean age = 22) highlights three different value areas driving young people toward some sort of collaborative consumption practices[8]. According to the researchers, motivations leading to these practices are linked to: 1) economic/utilitarian values, 2) hedonic values and 3) symbolic values. As economic/utilitarian values, the likelihood of choosing a sharing service provides economic and utilitarian benefits by promoting sharing rather than ownership. As hedonic values, these refer to the opportunity to make new experiences, to know local cultures, and to use always-new goods/products. Eventually, symbolic values are related to altruistic and social attitude, "based on consumers' increasing awareness of the importance of sustainability issues in consumption (e.g. the consequences of consuming things like food (…), the importance of reducing environmental harms, the need for recycling resources and the benefits of purchasing environmentally friendly products)" (Hwang and Griffiths 2017:135). Actually, collaborative consumption practices are a fundamental form of prosocial behavior since the consequences are advantageous for the collectivity[9].

Focus groups participants, while thinking about motivations leading to use sharing platforms, mention spontaneously the recent economic crisis as fostering the development of sharing economy practices. The economic situation lets people redefine some of their consumption activities and spur a more thoughtful and conscious use of products and services. "The sharing economy has been initiated by the crisis and the sharing economy helps to overcome the economic crisis" (Focus group no. 2, Male, N). In this sense, sharing platforms help consumers transforming their personal values into behaviors.

Interviews perceive a real change in society whereas people are developing a general attitude toward more mitigate consumptions habits, thus encouraging sharing instead of objects possession (Belk 2014a, 2014b).

Savings is not only money related but also time related. The services offered by the collaborative platforms allow people to save time, thanks to the heavy use of technology.

Sharing a ride, a house, a couch or a meal is a way to enjoy new experiences and to meet new people. According to a project, carried out by the European Commission, on the spread of sharing economy among young people, fun and social interaction are indeed important drives leading to use sharing platforms:

> *"Participants highlighted how the human side of the sharing economy might provide value over traditional alternatives. For example, they reported enjoying conversations with drivers while ride-sharing or with hosts while couch-surfing. They also enjoyed the sense of authenticity which most sharing services provide. Travelling experiences in the context of sharing services are seen as more authentic, as participants benefit from a glimpse into local hosts' residences or means of transportation." (EU H2020:12)*

Engaging in new experiences is appealing mostly for male informants, since female are more concerned with the possible risks. "But you never know whose home you're going to" (Focus group no. 3, F, S).

Among the different practices, social eating is specifically mentioned as a way to eat in company and to socialize, even if there could be concerns regarding the products' quality. "However, I would like to be sure of the products that they use, the menu is not enough." (Focus group no. 4, F, S)

Informants, who have actually attended a social dinner, were not alone, since they prefer to engage in this activity with a friend.

Also co-working spaces, used as a place to study on a Saturday, become a space in which is possible to know new people. "It's a space open to all; Open[10] is made both for work and also for socializing." (Focus group no. 3, F, N)

Motivation leading to non-using the platforms concerns mostly the trust, or the lacking of it. Indeed, according to literature (Schor and Fitzmaurice 2015), trust has a key role in the rise of collaborative consumption as a possible new paradigm of relations between individuals, trading, and society. The luck of trust is often associated with the fear of meeting new people

or letting new people inside their home. "Trust, you must have trust and this is an obstacle" *(Focus group no. 2, F, N)*. *"I feel anxiety, no confidence, you do not know the owner, you do not know if he's a good person" (Focus group no. 3, F, S).*

Moreover, trust emerges as intertwined with the fear to be held responsible for eventual damages while using shared cars or bicycles. "If there is an accident they [people managing the car sharing services] are not responsible for anything that happens to you, only for the car" (Focus group no. 3, M, N).

Regardless of the high level of knowledge, interviewers are not loyal users of sharing economy platforms. Car-sharing and bike-sharing are the most widely used, consistently with being out of home students, living in a big city as Milan. Despite the recurrent fear concerning the insurance of shared cars, opportunity and convenience overrule it.

Trust issues arise also from the discussion about crowdfunding platforms with whose rules not all informants are familiar. "The risk could be that money are not enough, and the project does not start" (Focus group no. 4, M, N).

As other researchers point out (Schor and Fitzmaurice 2015), user reputation and peer-to-peer evaluations emerge as key factors in supporting interviewers' decision to use sharing platform and are mentioned as a way to reduce the perceived risk, i.e. in accepting a ride with BlaBlaCar or sharing a couch abroad. Indeed, trusting people involved in a portal depends on trusting the underlying platform (Hong and Cho 2011) in the same way as the consumer's trust in an intermediary influences strongly both attitudinal loyalty and purchase/use intentions. Thus, an efficient feedback system can enhance the platform's trustworthiness and facilitate a fair and useful exchange between consumers and providers. Mittendorf's (2018:385) study on Airbnb's users hypothesizes "(…) a trust transfer between trust in the intermediary and trust in the providers, while both constructs have a significant effect on the obtainers' intention to inquire about accommodations and to request a booking."

The discussion about house swapping platforms highlights a shared feeling of possession regarding the house. Informants could live in someone else's house but they are not prone to let other people live in their home. Moreover, for some of them the difficulty resides in not having an own house. "I would fill my house when I'm on vacation, now I couldn't because I do not live alone" (Focus group no. 4, M, S).

3.3. Further Developments

The possible lines of development of the sharing economy activities are quite blurred for the interviewees, since the selected students had some difficulty in identifying a shared horizon.

However, informants concur that the sharing economy will be thriving in the future, expanding in other areas. Among the suggestions, the future platforms could exchange health or sport related services. Another future development could targeting old people needing bureaucratic or legal services. "Maybe, some sort of help for old people who can't be autonomous … for bureaucratic matters" (Focus group 4, M, N).

4. Conclusions

Confirming the evidences of the project's quantitative step, qualitative findings highlight that informants seem to be well aware of sharing economy and its services. A sharing mindset about consumption experiences has been established among consumers. Sharing and consuming wisely are now perceived as cool and clever behaviors, since ownership is not a necessity anymore. The students in the sample often identify ownership as an obstacle forcing them to take care and do maintenance of goods.

Interviewers underline the key role of platforms and technology bringing together supply and demand, connecting people, and allowing a new form of economy benefitting all the players. Digital media have made it easier and cheaper for consumers to collaborate, share resources, express themselves, and increase the use of goods and services.

Thus, the overall evaluation is positive and the collaborative economy is recognized as an advantage for users but also for the other players in the market (see Erz, Durif and Arcand 2018). Indeed, despite the wide discussion about the "dark side" (Bowman 2016) of sharing economy leading to a progressive reduction of steady jobs and consumer rights by nurturing a growing class of workers in precarious form of employment (Olmeda 2016), the concept of gig economy and its negative meaning is sometimes mentioned but not really explained.

Students are able to spontaneously enumerate many platforms and correctly explain their functioning and their purpose. They are familiar with most of the sharing services even if they mostly use car and bike sharing. A sort of gray area concerns social eating, since the most famous company of food delivery are mentioned as social eating platforms. The possibility to order food to be consumed with friends and to choose the restaurants after reading the online reviews represent – according to the students' perception – the social dimension of the experience. The discussion about food related platform let emerge, marginally, also the existence of food sharing platforms[11], whose purpose is acknowledged just by some students.

Moreover, the qualitative step allows researchers to discover some more insights about the issue of trust, a crucial factor for the success of an online sharing platform. Informants perceive trust related to responsibility while using some shared god and to ownership while opening their houses to strangers.

Furthermore, the research highlights an element of great interest related to young people's styles of consumption. The proneness of new generations toward forms of consumption, which reside in a social and shared dimension, balances the push towards a growing individualism characterizing contemporary society thus freeing the social actor from the bonds of the community[12]. Millennials are more empathetic towards social and communal causes (Hwang and Griffiths 2017), they experience consumption as a way to engage in new social relationships (Shor and Fitzmaurice 2015), according to the *consume and collaborate*[13] paradigm. Thus, sharing economy practices have a brilliant future and further developments areas encompass the sharing of services more than products.

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6. Biographical Notes

Ariela Mortara is assistant professor at IULM University of Milan (since 2004), where she teaches Sociology of Consumption and Market research. She is also teaches regularly, in several Master degree curricula, Consumer behavior, Corporate Communications and Branding Strategies. Her research topics are consumer behavior, corporate communication, advertising, branding and new media. She has published many papers on national and international journals and chapters in national and international books; she has also co-authored some national books. Among her more recent publications Lavarini R., Mortara A. (2019), R. Lavarini, A. Mortara (2019), L'accoglienza turistica per un futuro sostenibile, Lumi edizioni, Milano; Mortara A. Roberti G. (2018), "The sharing economy and young people: an exploratory research project", in Cruz I., Ganga·R., Wahlen S. (eds.), *Contemporary Collaborative Consumption. Trust and Reciprocity Revisited*, Springer Vs, Wiesbaden. ISBN 978-3-658-21345-9, pp. 97-130.

Geraldina Roberti is Associate Professor of Sociology of Cultural and Communicative Processes at the Department of Human Sciences at the University of L'Aquila, where she teaches Sociology and Sociology of Consumption. In 2003, she obtained her Ph.D. in Communication Sciences, Advanced Research and Resource Management at the Department of Sociology and Communication of Sapienza University of Rome with a dissertation entitled: "Young people after 2000: cultures, styles, and media consumptions". She has mainly focused her interest on the fundamental aspects of consumption, youth issues and subcultures. Furthermore, in her research, she analyzed the link between young people identity and consumption practices. Among her works, *Vite da Millennials. Culture e pratiche comunicative della Generazione Y*, Milan: Guerini e Associati, 2018; "The influence of family socialization on consumer choices of young people. A case study of female university students", *Italian Journal of Sociology of Education*, 6(3), pp. 41-69, ISSN 2035-4983.

7. Notes

1 Corresponding author: ariela.mortara@iulm.it
2 The paper is the joint work of its two authors. However, following standard academic practice, it should be mentioned that Geraldina Roberti wrote paragraphs 1 and 2 and Ariela Mortara wrote paragraphs 3 and 4.
3 Hamari, Sjöklint, and Ukkonen (2015:2053) define *collaborative consumption* as "an economic model based on sharing, swapping, bartering, trading or renting access to products within a community as opposed to personal ownership."
4 The strong relationship between production and consumption, embedded in the term presumption, also emerges among some typical services of sharing economy. As Ritzer (2014:12-13) points out, such activities encompass "producing the rental of a Zipcar online (with the help of various technologies, of course) and then driving the car; producing the listings on Freecycle's website and, along with the person receiving the object, taking the various digital and material steps needed to transfer the object from giver to receiver; searching out and renting lodgings on Airbnb and eventually occupying the rented spaces in the homes of people in the locales to which one is traveling; (…)."
5 The discussion lets emerge that they just had a presentation of the platform in the precedent weeks.
6 Authors translated verbatim from Italian, trying to respect their colloquial language. Verbatim are identified by the focus group number (1 to 4), the participant's gender (Male or Female) and the

geographical provenance (North or South of Italy).

7 As Clark (2013) highlights, new generations are cool with bartering, sharing and buying used items, so that they actively participate in the world of collaborative consumption.

8 Value perception of a product or a service is a fundamental factor for explaining consumer's attitude toward that product (see Sweeney and Soutar 2001), so that value perception can involve not only objective cost-benefit analysis but also subjective sensitivity to the consumption experience.

9 As Hwang and Griffiths (2017:135) underline: "Millennials, who are concerned about the welfare of others, communities and the environment, are the most prevalent group of volunteers who participate".

10 Open, in Milan, is a creative ecosystem, hosting coworking and cultural events.

11 In Italy food sharing platform are used to reduce food waste. The first platform foodsharing.de, born in German in 2012, redeploys food that would otherwise be thrown into the garbage (Maccolini 2016).

12 On this topic see, among others, Giddens (1990), Beck (1992) and Bauman (2001).

13 According to Marco Böckmann (2013), this consumption model replaces the previous one based on the principle of "consume and throw away".

TRACK 2

Economy, Work and Consumption

Responsibilities of Sharing Economy Platforms for Cultivating Trust

Selin Öner Kula

Bilgi University

Abstract: *Trust is a double-edged sword in peer-to-peer (p2p) sharing economy, being both the foundation and a slippery ground of sharing resources with total strangers. The online platforms are the most influential actors in trust formation as they set the terms of sharing. How these sites can cultivate and sustain trust is the main question this research asks, which aims to contribute to a more structured evolution of p2p sharing platforms. This research proceeds through a qualitative investigation across ten sharing economy platforms, introducing a comparative understanding of middlemen's peculiar responsibilities and performances in nourishing trust. Mainly inspired by Giddens' (1990) abstract system approach, this study constructs a trust pyramid where trust is put in: (i) the internet, (ii) meaning/motivation for p2p sharing, (iii) the legal support for sharing; (iv) the platform (v) the peers. For p2p sharing to occur, trust in the foregoing systems is pre-requisite, which can be challenged through learning experiences mostly at the top two levels. Platform trust and peer trust are under platforms' direct influence and craft the center of this inquisition that benefits from online participant observation and case study research. The focal platforms are chosen based on leading roles in their categories such as Airbnb, Couchsurfing, Uber, Lyft, and Kickstarter, Indiegogo, Patreon, Crowdcube, Zopa and Wikipedia. Examination of site materials, news reports, and blog posts contributed to online archival research executed at the Internet, the habitat of sharing economy where collaborative actions become initiated. The accessibility and clarity of key information are treated as a measure of platforms' level of transparency enabling effective trust-formation. Collaborative consumption spaces like Airbnb, Couchsurfing, Uber, and Lyft fare stronger than studied crowdfunding platforms in peer trust with self-monitoring tools, while in terms of platform trust crowdfunding sites achieve higher standards. Yet, most of the studied platforms fall short of the openness this new ecosystem demands given a revenue-sharing partnership with users, which requires empowering users not only in financial but also in informational terms.*

Keywords: *Collaborative consumption, crowdfunding, platform, trust, uncertainty*

1. Introduction

"One of the most salient factors in the effectiveness of our present complex organization is the willingness of one or more individuals in a social unit to trust others. The efficiency, adjustment, and even survival of any social group depend upon the presence or absence of such trust." (Rotter 1967:651).

As Rotter rightfully claimed for any social group, trust also becomes a key necessity for any sharing and exchange to take place, hence also the backbone of sharing economy. Trust in the collaborative economy, if damaged fundamentally might affect the functioning of the whole

collaborative p2p ecosystem. Therefore, an inquiry on trust in the collaborative economy is essential for understanding how this rising p2p ecosystem can flourish in a sustainable way. As the middlemen, the online platforms create the grounds and the criteria on which peers can share tangible and intangible things with basically strangers. Platforms' capacity to absorb and present information makes them powerful actors, yet their economic viability depends on users' willingness to trust the platforms and peers who count on trustworthy spaces for collaboration.

This study aims to take a snapshot of this environment and asks whether the sites of collaboration facilitate trust relations in a sustainable fashion, looking at how much they really share information. This takes both a critical and constructive approach in exhibiting the loopholes for improvement and devising certain transparency standards for sharing platforms to foster the spirit of collaboration, respectively. Given their paramount potential of widening the forms of collaboration; it is worth rethinking how online platforms can function in the best way that does not waste its faculty. This is also important for keeping the sharing economy on its desired pathway of empowering users, not solely platforms.

2. Theoretical Background

Sharing has been prevalent since pre-industrial societies, traditionally being a reciprocal economic exchange among people who know each other to some extent as Mauss (1990) showed in archaic societies. This is distinct from how sharing widely occurs nowadays between like-minded strangers who intersect on a willingness to trust strangers. The distance between a person and the desired object is overcome in an economic exchange (Simmel 1978), now on an online platform which hosts the sharing society. This new type of coordination afforded by the internet requires a certain level of familiarity and trust vis-à-vis both peers and platforms.

Trust has been approached in social sciences such as communication, psychology, and sociology widely from numerous angles. Earlier, confidence and faith have been emphasized concerning the behavior of actors of social or commercial exchange in the desired way "rather than what is feared" (Deutsch 1973) or that the other party would return "expected gratifications" (Scanzoni 1979). Rempel, Holmes, and Zanna (1985) focused on predictability, dependability and (leap of) faith and differentiated between trusting one's actions and character with the attention moving from the first into the latter with repeating interactions. Also, in online commerce, trust requires continuity of platforms' ability – domain expertise –, integrity –reliability– and benevolence–good practice – (Bhattacherjee 2002).

Similarly, Giddens (1990) in his widely applicable work on expert systems, defined trust as "confidence in the reliability of a person or system," where users' confidence breathes faith in expertise and decency, however, on the interaction nodes with systems, access points as Giddens calls them, users may maintain or lose confidence in systems. Systems need to incorporate cross-checking devices to manage complexity (Luhmann 1979). Robust tools of security-oriented practices are important means to trustworthy systems, but full elimination of insecurity and uncertainty evades the need for nourishing trust entirely (Nissenbaum 2012).

In one of the first elaborations on trust in online settings, Hoffman, Novak, and Peralta (1998) found that US consumers had "lack of trust" in Web providers due to lack of control on the use

of their data (after 20 years still remaining relevant with rising concerns on platforms' protection of privacy). That was a time when everything about e-commerce was novel. Sites' online expertise was not well-tested yet. Amazon was just selling online books, music, and videos, and Napster was to be around only in two years. Consumers were hesitant on the purchase click (Hoffman et al. 1998) as using internet sites for shopping carried perplexity.

At that time (1998), around 74% of the US population had no internet access (Newburger 2001) compared to 11% reported offline now (Anderson, Perrin, and Jiang 2018), and worldwide internet users totaled only c.150 million (IWS webpage). Only the home-sharing platform Airbnb has now about 150 million users across the world (ETN News webpage), and people using the internet passed the 4 billion mark, while an average adult spends 5.9 hours a day with digital media (Meeker 2018). With platforms covering almost every aspect of daily lives, roaming through them has become ordinary, and the more unusual thing in sharing economy has been the online p2p exchange and trust.

Predictably, most elaborations on trust in sharing evolved on the same path: on trust between users like for instance, by Botsman and Rogers (2010) who advocated the elimination of the classical middlemen role by collaborative consumption. The intermediary is only a provider of the "right tools and environment" for interpersonal trust to form itself. The necessity of platform tools for p2p trust-formation is indisputable, yet we deem the intermediary role transformed with new responsibilities. Keymolen (2013) accurately reflected the technological complexity in Luhmann's system trust onto intermediated interpersonal system trust and regarded the website as a target of trust, too (Keymolen 2016).

This study shares the same reasoning, but it goes further by proposing a trust pyramid with all relevant levels and a simple framework for exploring the trustworthiness of online sharing platforms. This approach concentrates on responsibilities central for sharing eco-system, with emphasis on sharing information with users. This leaves, for instance, data protection as well as the technical and payment security infrastructure out of the scope of this research as generic responsibilities pertaining to all online platforms. Introducing a visible criterion to assess sites' transparency, this study also invites all stakeholders to ponder on special responsibilities of sharing platforms as peer partners and work on improvements where necessary.

3. A Multi-Dimensional Methodology on Trust

As a basis for this exploration, I propose a trust pyramid, where a user's sharing act entails trust is put in (from bottom to top): (i) the internet, (ii) the meaning/motivation for p2p sharing (economy), (iii) legal support for p2p sharing; (iv) the platform (v) peers. This layering, inspired by Giddens' abstract system approach, constructs that for trust to be present at a level; confidence in the preceding systems is a prerequisite. Users willing to trust peers proceed on trust in the foregoing layers which, however, can be challenged at access points. This also explains non-participants refraining from sharing due to lack of confidence in a preceding node; e.g. regulatory barriers such as Uber ban in a city affecting potential users' trust in the third layer or Airbnb-caused gentrification arguments eroding some users' faith in the second level, the motivation for sharing. Furthermore, negative experiences on a platform may disengage users from sharing platforms completely.
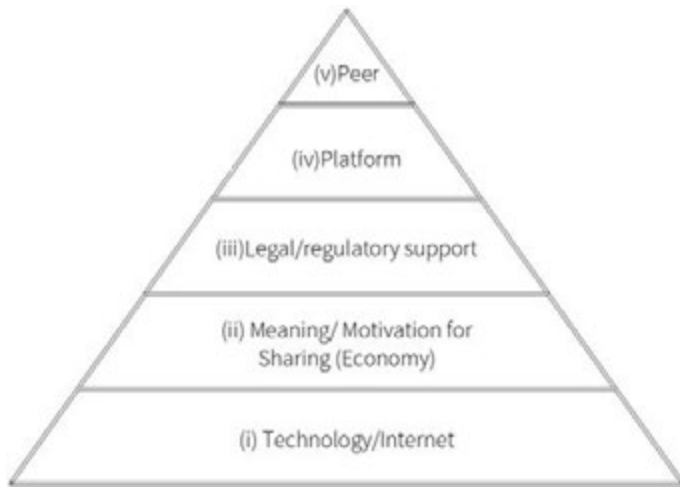
Figure 1. Trust Pyramid for Online Sharing/Collaboration
Note: This figure was elaborated by the author

All the layers are equally essential and demand further exploration in consecutive studies, that may also enhance the pyramid layering. Top two layers of the pyramid, platform trust (iv) and peer trust (v), are visible and worthwhile for research, also containing most of the learning. Peer trust is between users, while platform trust denotes the confidence in a platform's credibility and reliability.

The need for trust arises where there is uncertainty. Only when ambiguity is diminished to a certain threshold a response materializes. Considering trust as such a compass for riding through uncertainties (Luhmann 1979), this research links uncertainty management theories of communication– uncertainty reduction (Berger and Calebrese 1975), and anxiety and uncertainty management (Gudykunst 1988) – to an assessment on trust-building. Among theories' means to cope with uncertainty, we concentrate on self-disclosures and information-seeking for a methodological qualitative screening on platforms' performance in making information about users and themselves accessible.

This study personifies platforms as a stranger to users, too, just like peers. Cumulative experiences show whether trust in a platform is warranted. Platforms need to develop a character showing ability, integrity, and benevolence (Bhattacherjee 2002). We also attribute a novelty to sharing economy, a separate complexity to be handled responsibly by platforms requiring a higher level of info-sharing with users. Generally, we call this responsibility but particularly stress the responsibility of transparency.

Obviously, transparency standards can be applied to all peer-based online platforms. However, sharing economy sites are representatives of an alternative economic model that builds a revenue-sharing partnership between a platform and a user based on peers' resources. This peer-partnership[1] donates sharing platforms normatively an associated responsibility of higher transparency on operational information and working principles.

Platform	Made in Country	Born in city	Date	Exposure	Type	Monetary transaction betw. peers	Registered users (~ million)
Airbnb	US	San Francisco	2008	Global	Accomodation/p2p service	✔	150
Couchsurfing	US	San Francisco / Iceland	2004	Global	Accomodation/Home-sharing	✗	14
Crowdcube	UK	London	2011	UK/Europe	Equity-based CF	✔	0.7
Indiegogo	US	San Francisco	2007	Global	Reward-based CF	✔	>9
Kickstarter	US	San Francisco	2009	Global	Reward-based CF	✔	~16
Patreon	US	San Francisco	2013	Global	Membership-based CF	✔	2
Lyft	US	San Francisco	2012	US -going global	Ride-sharing/p2p service	✔	23
Uber	US	San Francisco	2009	Global	Ride-sharing/p2p service	✔	78
Wikipedia	US	Wales	2001	Global	Online encyclopedia	✗	35.7
Zopa	UK	London	2005	UK	Lending-based CF	✔	0.4
Source: Platform websites							

Table 1. Set of Investigated Sharing Economy Platforms

Note: This table was elaborated by the author using secondary data available
in the platform websites and data sources.

The sharing economy platforms for exploration (Table 1) were selected mainly from collaborative consumption and crowdfunding, based on their presence as the longest-operating and/or leading roles in sharing economy (Airbnb, Couchsurfing, Crowdcube, Indiegogo, Lyft, Kickstarter, Patreon, Uber, Zopa). Wikipedia as the champion of an online collaborative information sharing platform complements the list also due to its unique user-driven approach. This is not an inclusive list, leaving, for example, crowdsourcing out for separate research, but a first attempt in investigating the performance of renowned sharing platforms in trust-building.

4. Uncertainty Management for Establishing Trust in Online Platforms

At first glance, an online sharing platform creates an environment that imitates the offline space that can act as a marketplace, let's call it the street. However, online spaces can gather useful information which would not be available if people just met on the street, also visible in a shorter timeframe. With richer scope than the street, platforms can pose questions users willingly respond to for earning the trust of potential peers. On collaborative sites, the curiosity about a stranger's credibility becomes a norm rather than unwarranted skepticism. The stress of uncertainty reduction is transferred from users to the platform, whose ability in absorbing valuable info becomes users' capacity in building peer trust and platform trust. Only then users can claim the ownership of their decision-making.

4.1. Uncertainty Management Tools for Establishing Peer Trust

Collaborative consumption platforms in general and the ones explored in this study (Airbnb, Couchsurfing, Uber, and Lyft) rely mostly on a dual uncertainty reduction method for peer trust formation: profiles as self-disclosures and users' references as a cross-check. On different platforms, one of them may lead though. The decisions on picking a ride take instants, also due to the location-based matching algorithms and the rating stands out as the dominant tool. Couchsurfing, the precursor of Airbnb, necessitates more self-disclosures as it is built on a quality interpersonal exchange.

The Reference section gives peers the space to evaluate, rate and write reviews on each other's credibility on the p2p sharing–the subject of the trust-formation. Platforms generally let peers' evaluations pile up under positive, neutral or negative categories (CS) or with 1 to 5-star averages (Airbnb, Uber), showing detailed data like last-minute cancellation records in Airbnb or last login date and response rate in CS (to Couchsurfing requests).

Platform	User Profile View	Profile filler questions as guidelines	Organized Reviews by Other Users	Messaging channel between users?	Encouragement of SNS link on profile	User status upgrade
Airbnb	simple	✔ limited	✔	✔	✔	✔ Superhost
Couchsurfing	rich	✔	✔	✔	✗ quite optional	✔ Ambassador, Pioneer (previous)
Crowdcube	simple	✔ platform collects but limited info shown on display	✗ only comments on project page	✔	✗ quite optional	✗
Indiegogo	simple	✗	✗ only comments on project page	✗ after backing a campaign, but users mainly encouraged to comment on project page	✗ quite optional	✗ only number of campaigns created/backed
Kickstarter	simple	✗	✗ only comments on project page	✗ not an easy reach, users mainly encouraged to comment on project page	✗ quite optional	✔ x-time creator superbacker, etc.
Patreon	satisfactory	✗	✗ only comments on project page	✗ users can comment on project page	✔	✗
Lyft	simple	✔ limited	✔	✔	✔	✔ "Ambassador" but phasing out
Uber	simple	✔ limited	✔	✔	✔	✗
Wikipedia	simple	✔ limited	✔ contribution history, talk pages	✔ along with various boards for discussion between editors/collaborators	✗	✔ numerous
Zopa	✗	✗	✗ platform collects all the info	✗	✗	✗

Table 2. Platforms' Uncertainty Reduction Tools for Peer Trust

Note: This table was elaborated by the author using secondary data available in the mentioned platform websites

A similar mechanism does not exist in crowdfunding platforms. Reward-based crowdfunding is the only CF category with directly measurable performance, and KS and IGG facilitate commenting on project page but not an organized review on campaigners' (fundraisers/ project creator) delivery of rewards (perks). Most creators crowdfund one time which brings a one-off approach to projects. However, the absence of systematic statistics on creators' performance can mislead newcomers in the perception of uncertainties. With the increase of repeat campaigners, currently one-third of KS' creators (Kickstarter 100,000 Creators), a historical performance tool will likely gain significance going forward.

The other key instrument for peer trust is user profiles (self-disclosures), where CS stands out as the strongest platform with guiding profile questions. The placeholders demand information – such as on lifestyle, favorite music or hobbies – helpful to build familiarity, also facilitating other key grounds of uncertainty reduction theory such as similarity and liking. CS makes it possible to have a holistic impression on a peer, while user profiles on other platforms stay rather superficial. A valid comparison can be drawn on the platform founders' profiles. Airbnb co-founder Brian Chesky's and Kickstarter co-founder Yancey Strickler's profiles on their platforms are far simpler than Couchsurfing co-founder Fenton's profile. Fenton's profile demonstrates how revealing this self-disclosure can become, and sets an example for the CS community.
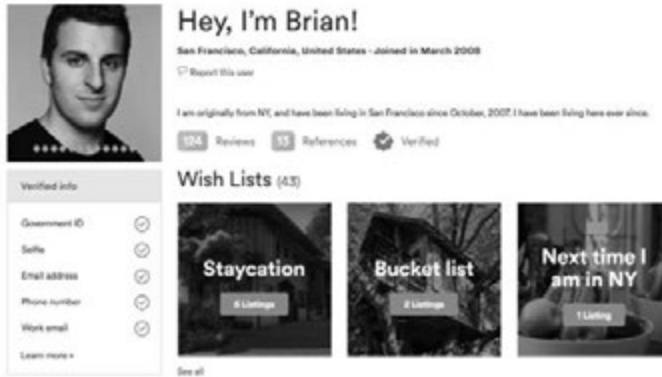
Figure 2. Airbnb Co-founder Brian Chesky's Profile Page on Airbnb
Note: This figure was taken from the Airbnb site https://www.airbnb.com/users/show/3 Retrieved May 15, 2018
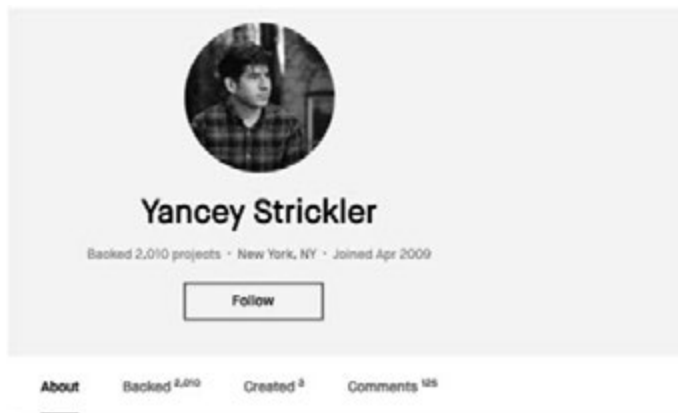
Figure 3. Kickstarter Co-founder Yancey Strickler's Profile Page on Kickstarter
Note: his figure was taken from the Kickstarter site https://www.kickstarter.com/profile/yancey/about
Retrieved May 15, 2018. As of April 12, 2019 the "About" section is empty.

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Figure 4. Couchsurfing Co-founder Casey Fenton's Profile Page on CS
Note: This figure was taken from the Couchsurfing site https://www.couchsurfing.com/people/casey
Retrieved May 15, 2018

Naturally, the emphasis of self-disclosures depends on the target of trust and the required degree of familiarity. On Couchsurfing, hosts' or guests' personal details dominate because of both online and offline quality exchange. On Airbnb that also started as a platform for sharing a home with a peer (but against payment), the qualities of the space lead the disclosures. Homes are listed and trusted from a guest's view rather than the hosts, also in line with the trend that shows guests increasingly use the Airbnb not for finding an at-the-same-time shared accommodation (with the host) but for renting a whole flat as Slee (2016) found. This is not distant from finding a trustworthy hotel, which makes Airbnb a replacement platform with p2p service, also reducing the need for bonding.

Naturally, in crowdfunding, the listing and content are dominated by the project, with less focus on who the project creators are. Hence, the peer layer of the trust pyramid can incorporate project trust. Nevertheless, projects do not complete themselves on their own, regardless of how great an idea appears. An educated trust-building approach suggests a more detailed presentation of peers, as trusting a project cannot go alone without establishing trust in the project creators, who will use the proceeds of crowdfunding.

4.2. Uncertainty Management for Establishing Platform Trust

Mapping the uncertainty reduction framework to platform trust indicates rich and easily accessible self-disclosures by sites that clearly communicate who they are and their functioning. Beside laborious policy documents, accessibility of key terms (i.e. risks and site commissions) on the homepage is essential to help newcomers build familiarity and to reaffirm repeat users' trust in a platform. Financial information such as revenues, business volumes, investments, and company disclosures on management-, board-, and shareholder structures (i.e. financial investors) and external funding would also exhibit a competent directness to share knowledge about the value created as a result of the peer partnership. Each side of the revenue-sharing has the right to know operating dynamics as much as confidentiality rules allow.

The first station of screening, About Us, is not even present in p2p ride servicing Lyft, despite some recent IPO remake on the site. Airbnb's homepage is designed like a shop window with hundreds of home listings including new areas like Airbnb Plus (premium), Experiences, and expanding bed&breakfast additions, making both About Us and management info hardly reachable (though some improvement occurred from 2018 to 2019). Also, the massive funding rounds bringing Airbnb's company valuation to US$31bn (Thomas 2017) in March 2017, and/or the investors are not accessible on the site. An Internet search may yield scattered pieces but cannot compensate for the absence of orderly site information.

The results of this screening are summarized below (Table 3). All platforms except Crowdcube, Uber, Wikipedia, and Zopa leave out information on shareholders, while the majority also fails in sharing board structure (i.e. independent members), funding and their valuation. Kickstarter, Crowdcube, Zopa[2] fare well in sharing detailed periodical statistics on crowdfunding volumes. Indiegogo recently started disclosing some cumulative figures yet is still much less transparent than its competitor KS that provides almost daily updates. No company in the sample is required to share financials, as they are not publicly listed but Uber started disclosing financial results in April 2017, which raises openness probably in preparation to an expected initial public offering. Similarly, Wikipedia and Zopa disclose annual reports, displaying further transparency.

Platform	User Profile View	Profile filler questions as guidelines	Organized Reviews by Other Users	Messaging channel between users?	Encouragement of SNS link on profile	User status upgrade
Airbnb	simple	✔ limited	✔	✔	✔	✔ Superhost
Couchsurfing	rich	✔	✔	✔	χ quite optional	✔ Ambassador, Pioneer (previous)
Crowdcube	simple	✔ platform collects but limited info shown on display	χ only comments on project page	✔	χ quite optional	χ
Indiegogo	simple	χ	χ only comments on project page	χ after backing a campaign, but users mainly encouraged to comment on project page	χ quite optional	χ only number of campaigns created/backed
Kickstarter	simple	χ	χ only comments on project page	χ not an easy reach, users mainly encouraged to comment on project page	χ quite optional	✔ x-time creator superbacker, etc.
Patreon	satisfactory	χ	χ only comments on project page	χ users can comment on project page	✔	χ
Lyft	simple	✔ limited	✔	✔	✔	✔ "Ambassador" but phasing out
Uber	simple	✔ limited	✔	✔	✔	χ
Wikipedia	simple	✔ limited	✔ contribution history, talk pages	✔ along with various boards for discussion between editors/collaborators	χ	✔ numerous
Zopa	χ	χ	χ platform collects all the info	χ	χ	χ

Table 3. Comparison on Transparency of Platforms' Self-Disclosures
Note: This table was elaborated by the author using secondary data available in the mentioned platform websites

The availability of fee information, the basis of the revenue-sharing partnership, forms the next step. Most platforms do not explicitly refer to commission rates explicitly in ToU (except Crowdcube, Kickstarter and Patreon) but in their Help or FAQ sections, which also makes announcing changes discretionary. The analyzed ride-sharing platforms are found as worst performers in sharing details and changes of fees.

Both ride-sharing platforms', Uber's and Lyft's website including ToU and Help Center present ambiguity on commission info. Lyft, for instance, openly describes its fees as "variable, meaning they can change" (Lyft Driver Pay webpage), although a Lyft blog post from 2016 (Lyft's Pay webpage) disclosed 20-25% commission on driver's pay until an update in 2019 that erased the information, excluding the service fee on the passenger. The two platforms were also observed as low-key regarding increases in their fee levels. Due to lack of regular information from the primary source, a wide range of secondary sources (i.e. user sites, comments under news reports) has compiled on the net (i.e. Uberestimator webpage), serving the purpose of uncertainty reduction by the users instead of the platform.

Platform	I - Commission % on transactions (from receiver)	II - Payment processing fees (r=receiver, p=payer)	III - Other fees on the payer	Revenue generating tool
Airbnb	Host service fee: "generally 3%" or higher	No extra fees: built-in in-house payments operation	Guest service fee: "0%-20%" (commission for the platform)	I & III
Couchsurfing	no transaction	-	-	Non-mandatory Verification Fee of [$60]
Crowdcube	7% + completion fee covering processing fees [0.75%-1.25%]	r: [0.5%-3.0%]	1.5% with a min. of £0.50 & a cap of £250	I
Indiegogo	5%	r: 3% + US$0.30 per pledge 3% + €0.30 per pledge	-	I
Kickstarter	5%	r: 3% + US$0.20 per pledge 3% + €0.20 per pledge	-	I
Patreon	5%	r: ~3-5% + US$0.35 per pledge	-	I
Lyft	[20-25%]	-	"Service fee": variable starting from US$1.55 Other surcharges if applicable, i.e. airport	I - III
Uber	[20%]	-	"Booking fee": variable starting from US$1.55 Other surcharges if applicable, i.e. airport	I - III
Wikipedia	no transaction	-	-	-
Zopa	[~2.4%] Loan servicing fee Administrative fee [depend on the loan amount&duration - no info provided on the range]	Other fees or charges that may be charged by the Collections Agency	-	I

Table 4. Overview of Commissions and Payment Processing Fees
Note: This table was elaborated by the author using secondary data available in the mentioned platform websites

The sustainability of site fees is left for a separate study; however, Table 4 shows the divergence across platforms. In line with their higher filtering of users due to the risk of physical harm, the collaborative consumption sites apply higher and also more variable rates than the crowdfunding ones.

The final critical examination on platform trust is on site principles, which require a consensus in the form of a contract between the platforms and their users regarding responsibilities. Checking the "I have read and accept these terms" box serves as the consent of the user. Yet, it is also known that users barely read the ToU (Obar and Oeldorf-Hirsch 2017[3]). The heavy and lengthy legal language of platform policies deters users from the reading effort (Elshout et al. 2016). The more the platforms try to make themselves immune from responsibilities, the less the average user stands fit to absorb the principles.

The length alone cannot be a real measure of users' digestion but as shown in Table 5, the word counts do not make it an easy read. Similarly, the wide variety of wordiness is remarkable. Airbnb tops the comparison with over 20k words in its ToU and PP. The median word count is above 10,000 in total for ToU and PP. Kickstarter and Patreon stay well below and provide a more user-friendly and practical design as well. Uber, Wikipedia, and Zopa achieve easier accessibility, too.

Platform	# Word count in ToU	# Word count in PP	# Word count in Community Guidelines	Latest update on ToU or PP	Any Simplification for users ?	Platform commission rate included in ToU
Airbnb	#13146 non-EEA version #11765 for EEA version	10,266 (vs.4980 by June'17 8283 by Nov18)	1,029	21.01.2019 (effective by 27 March 2019)	✗	✗
Couchsurfing	5,219	2,346	379	25.05.2018	✗	✗
Crowdcube	1,248 but 15,678 including all: Due Diligence Charter : 1075 Investor Terms : 5,615 Investee Terms: 7740	2,793	506	Sept-Nov18	✗	✔
Indiegogo	6,969	3157	1,702	25.05.2018	✗	✗
Kickstarter	4,295	2,766	325	25.05.2018	✔ User-friendly design & summaries	✔
Patreon	3,335	2,152	2,827	25.05.2018	✔ User-friendly design & summaries	✔
Lyft	10,925	3,173	354	Feb'18	✗	✗
Uber	5,715	6,199	5,800 including UberEATS&RUSH	25.05.2018	✔ User-friendly design&summaries only for PP	✗
Wikipedia	5,919	5,290	595 ('behavioral' guidelines) 12 separate 'Conduct Policies'	17.05.2018	✔ User-friendly design & summaries (site calls it "human-readable summary")	✗
Zopa	6,938	3,324	no guidelines	04.12.2018	✔ User-friendly design	✗

Table 5. Overview of Word Counts in Policies

Note: This table was elaborated by the author using secondary data available in platform policies, retrieved as of February 2019

Platform	Notification method	Period from update until changes take effect	Users' acceptance of changes	Showing exactly what changed?
Airbnb	on site and by email	✔ more than 60 days	automatically taking effect by registration or continued use	✗ Notification with summary of key changes, could be improved for further clarity
Couchsurfing	on site and by email	✔ 30 days	automatically taking effect by registration or continued use	✗ Notification with summary of key changes, could be improved for further clarity
Crowdcube	no notification, user "expected to check…"	✗ no clear heads up period	automatically taking effect by registration or continued use	✗ no explanation
Indiegogo	on site and by email	✗ 1 day	automatically taking effect by registration or continued use	✗ Notification with generic summary sentences
Kickstarter	on site and/or by email	✗ 30 days	automatically taking effect by registration or continued use	✔ **Website shows old vs. new policies compared with fully tracked changes**
Patreon	on site and/or by email	✗ 1 day	automatically taking effect by registration or continued use	✗ Notification email with generic summary sentences
Lyft	on site, by email or other communication	✗ not clearly defined	automatically taking effect by registration or continued usage	✗ no explanation
Uber	on site, app or email	✔ 30 days	30 days rejection period	✗ Notification with summary of key changes, could be improved for further clarity
Wikipedia	via the Project websites & via a notification on WikimediaAnnounce	✔ 30-60 days	-Terms and revisions in min.of 3 languages opened to community comments for at least 30 days (for major revisions min.of 60 days) -automatically takes effect by continued use	✗ Revisions opened to public but no comparison on the changes could be accessed retrospectively
Zopa	on site and/or email	✔ -Min.30 days' notice for unfavorable changes -Within 30 days of favorable changes	automatically taking effect by registration or continued usage	✔ **Website shows the revisions/additions**

Table 6. Overview of Transparency on Policy Changes

Note: This table was elaborated by the author using secondary data available in platform policies, retrieved as of February 2019

Overall, the study found that the studied platforms exhibited weaknesses of consistency in policy communications due to usually a discretionary approach in notifying and showing policy changes in an accessible format. Only Kickstarter and Zopa display exactly the changes in policies with fully tracked changes; while Airbnb, CS, Kickstarter, Uber, Wikipedia, and Zopa attain a meaningful notification process such as a room of about 30 days of notice before changes take effect. Wikipedia (Wikimedia) is the only platform opening the potential revisions to public opinion before finalization. Relatively, Patreon attempted a change in fee allocation that due to the substantial backlash of users was withdrawn (Patreon 2017), demonstrating a partnership approach. Then again, the platform does not allow user comments under site posts compared to KS where users can freely share their opinions on platform's announcements which also contributes to open sharing with users.

5. Conclusions

This qualitative study explored ten sharing economy platforms' performances in nourishing trust-formation. With a focus on self-disclosures for uncertainty management, the quality and consistency of basic information were evaluated through a comparative analysis with a desire to understand how much sharing economy platforms are really sharing with their users.

Collaborative consumption spaces Airbnb, Couchsurfing, Uber, and Lyft fare stronger than studied crowdfunding platforms in peer trust providing richer peer monitoring tools. Reward-based crowdfunding platforms, Kickstarter and Indiegogo, lack an organized peer review system that inhibits the accumulation of data on creators' delivery of rewards, which demands further attention in a separate study. Notwithstanding, crowdfunding platforms appear more consistent in sharing operational data and commission rates, while especially ride-sharing platforms Uber and Lyft lack openness on the fee structure and Airbnb keeps a widely flexible guest service fee between 0% and 20% of the booking amount.

This study acknowledges the special responsibility of a sharing platform as heightened transparency also making the financial basis of the sharing crystal clear. Sharing economy platforms carry a peculiar disposition for transparency as representatives of an alternative economic model that relies on peers' resources for sharing. A healthier and more dependable information-sharing by platforms is necessary to maintain both the platform trust and trust in the motivation for sharing (second layer of the trust pyramid). This would make users able to manage uncertainties and build trust vis-à-vis the peers and the platforms in an informed way, while also facilitating platforms' day-to-day filtering processes.

This is also of value for keeping the eco-system from becoming highly regulated in the future. It is critical for sharing platforms to find a workable balance between high levels of intervention and full laissez-faire, allowing educated trust-building where users are endowed with means to form their own conscious and knowledgeable choices.

This study was confined to a preliminary set of criteria; however, the complete exploration yielded more output than possible to cover in one piece, leaving topics such as platforms' methods and degrees of filtering, the sustainability of fees versus intermediation roles, valuation and ownership dynamics for separate studies. Furthermore, the other subfields

of sharing eco-system such as crowdsourcing and commons, are also important areas for exploring sustainability of trust in peer production systems.

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7. Methodological Appendix

This qualitative analysis derives its research material through online participant observation and comparative case studies on selected sharing economy platforms, based on examination of three key publicly accessible resources from (i) the platforms (site materials), (ii) the users (mainly user profiles and comments), (iii) third-party resources (news reports, expert- or user-blog posts). These layers constituted what we can call online archival research executed at the Internet, home of sharing economy. Profile designs, user comments, site principles, guidelines, management and founders' statements including frequently asked questions and platform dialogue with users at multiple "access points," as well as news sources and blogs form the investigated resources. The design, accessibility, consistency of information and site policies are treated as a measure of platforms' transparency. The research stretched from March 2015 to March 2019, while the snapshot comparative data points presented in tables are taken as of the latest available date.

"Sharing economy" is utilized in this study as an umbrella term encompassing different p2p sharing activities. It is far from being an ideal term for every structure, also given the evolution of some platforms like Airbnb and Uber into p2p service, yet it is wide enough to capture the spirit of this p2p model. The selected platforms can be counted as representatives of a certain field: Airbnb, Couchsurfing, and Uber, Lyft in home-sharing and ride-sharing respectively, Wikipedia in online collaboration; Kickstarter, Indiegogo, Patreon, Crowdcube and Zopa as the pioneering platforms in reward-based, membership-based, equity (investment)-based and lending(investment) based platforms respectively.

Throughout this study "platform" is particularly used to denote online sharing sites or applications that facilitate meeting up with like-minded strangers for sharing or collaboration. Particularly because of their aptitude of exhibiting the longest and the richest history both in terms of platform-user community dialogue as well as media coverage and publicity, the ten platforms are selected as the focal units of the study. Also, if site users were assumed to be distinct from each other, then the membership size would sum up to nearly 330 million users -a potential ceiling for the total user-base. However, as many individuals likely use several platforms simultaneously, it is safe to assume the total user number of the selected sample between 150 million (highest user number at Airbnb) and 330 million.

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b) Platform Websites

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Crowdcube. https://www.crowdcube.com/
Indiegogo. https://www.indiegogo.com/
Kickstarter. https://www.kickstarter.com/
Lyft. https://www.lyft.com/
Patreon. https://www.patreon.com/home
Uber. https://www.uber.com/at/en/
Zopa. https://www.zopa.com/
Wikipedia. https://www.wikipedia.org/

9. Abbreviations

~ Around		**IGG:** Indiegogo	
> Larger than		**KS:** Kickstarter	
CF: Crowdfunding		**Min.:** Minimum	
CS: Couchsurfing		**PP:** Privacy Policy	
EEA: European Economic Area		**p2p:** Peer-to-peer	
FAQ: Frequently Asked Questions		**ToU:** Terms of Use	

10. Biographical Note

Selin Öner Kula has recently completed her Ph.D. in Communication at Bilgi University, Turkey where she worked on collaboration, sharing economy and crowdfunding with a focus on intermediary platforms' role in trust formation. Though at the start of her academic career, she carries an interdisciplinary approach and background with 13 years of professional experience in finance and fundraising. She took key responsibilities in corporate finance, investor relations and equity research coordinating fundraising through conventional methods like equity investments, partnerships and debt financing, also working closely with traditional intermediaries. Her extensive exposure to financial markets and methods has helped her see the gaps in the markets that the emerging sharing eco-system can fill, and stimulated her Ph.D. with an enthusiasm for the internet's prospects in bringing a more holistic, equal-access funding universe and in facilitating sustainability beyond the traditional ways. She holds a BA in Economics (with a minor in Mathematics) from Sabanci University in Istanbul, Turkey and MSc in Finance from University Pompeu Fabra in Barcelona, Spain where she also taught practice classes in Economic Theory, Statistics and Financial Management.

11. Notes

This research is based on the author's Ph.D. study at Bilgi University. The author wishes to thank her dissertation supervisor, Associate Professor Erkan Saka who encouraged this exploration. Correspondence should be directed to Selin Öner Kula at selin.oner@gmail.com.

1 Platforms do not use this terminology, and especially peer-service sites prefer to frame users explicitly as independent, third party contractors (Airbnb ToU 1.4).
2 Zopa does not present a like-for-like case as it acts like a bank, pooling investments and offering to borrowers as combined loan packs, which makes the presented actual historical series of realized returns and default rates its own (investment) performance.
3 Scholars found that 86% of participants spent less than one minute on terms and on average about 14 seconds, hardly a minimum to understand a long text and translates into no readership at all (Obar and Oeldorf-Hirsch 2017:21).

TRACK 2

*Economy, Work
and Consumption*

Supporting Sharing Societies from Sociocultural Values. Basque Auzolan, Batzarreak, and Komunalak

Xabier Renteria-Uriarte and Jon Las Heras Cuenca

Universidad del País Vasco/Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea

Abstract: *The Sharing Economy has undergone significant growth, especially since the 2008 crisis, but modern scholarly literature tends to identify it with its modern digital tools, even in the case of the broader concept of Sharing Society. However, canonical researches on sharing and gifting societies strongly emphasized the historically grounded social and cultural engagement of sharing actors. What would they think about modern sharing actors on the issue? We here present some implications from the work of the Basque Cultural Instinct Team on the Basque Cultural Instinct (Euskal Sena), a study group within a grass-root platform that aims at connecting and coordinating dispersed social movements. The Basque Country (in the North of Spain and Southwest of France) maintains various practices of Auzolanak or sharing works, Biltzarreak or sharing decisions, Komunalak or sharing properties, and Pyrenean Right or customary sharing norms. In their analysis: a) those practices formed the Basque traditional economic system, which was a sharing society that may be called as Basque Communalism; b) this system was one of the centers of the 'Basque cultural instinct'; and c) the other centers of 'Basque cultural instinct' are Sharing Sociocultural Values in language, mythology and other culture expressions. Regardless of the beliefs that the Basque Cultural Instinct Team holds, it implies a reflection on social change and their related values, made by actors of social change. Present research builds upon a participatory action methodology that mixes study groups, engaging in web forums, organizing semi-structured interviews via email or in person, and observations collected in assemblies. Our research shows that social actors reflect and support the sharing economy and communalism through the identification and self-recognition with particular symbolic features of Basque culture such as language, mythology and other sociocultural values. They relate them to the Basque collective identity, and to its central concept of Burujabetza, interpreted as a hinge in between 'sovereignty' and 'liberty'. They also believe that sharing and communal practices can be strengthened through the 'circular exchange of roles' that improve management and emotional efficiency in organizations. We may conclude that, according to their vision, no modern sharing society may develop without learning from ancient sharing socioeconomic structures, and that we should foster sociocultural supports and frameworks for sharing economies, if we do not want that the achievements of modern sharing economies be watered down in the future.*

Keywords: *Sharing societies, Direct Democracy, Basque Country, Basque Communalism, Basque Cultural Instinct Team*

1. Introduction

The sharing economy has undergone significant growth, especially since the 2008 crisis (Selloni 2017), and modern scholarly literature tends to identify it with its modern digital tools. Even

the broader concept of Sharing Society has been defined as "an open economic and social system in which information technology is leveraged to empower [agents] with data that are shared, reused and transformed" (Jetzek, Avital, and Bjørn-Andersen 2014:65). However, sharing economy and societies are not something new, and merely digital. Surely, people have based production and exchanges on sharing practices since the beginning of primitive societies (Mauss 1924). Therefore, a precise and updated theorization should go beyond the tools and technological mechanisms in and through which it is organized. For example, "the Sharing Society revolves on the notion that access to a product is of greater value than the possession of the product [itself]", since it is "about sharing products with each other wherein the acquisition of the product is avoided as much as possible" (van Asten 2016:7). In this sense, "we can find identity and recognition in the process of sharing, and who we share with, rather than in what we consume" (Haas and Westlund 2017:329).

In the dialectic between values and tools, literature shows a kind of divorce between the historic, cultural and more technical aspects of sharing economies. The historically grounded social and cultural engagement of sharing actors that determines the form in which such practices take place seem somehow forgotten. However, anthropologists were the first to show that gifting, reciprocity and sharing form the basis of community relationships in diverse societies across the world (Mauss 1924; Sherry 1983), and a line of recent contributions follow this tradition widening its scope (Tomasello 2009; Waal 2009; Keltner, Marsh, and Smith 2010; Sennett 2012; Tudge 2013; Rifkin 2016). In this literature, sharing actions are inescapably linked to social and cultural values. Instead, modern researches on sharing economies tend to consider the relationship between sociocultural values and sharing as almost non-existent, in the technical focus set out (Cheng 2016; Codagnone and Martens 2016; Acquier, Daudigeos, and Pinkse 2017; Frenken and Schor 2017; Görög 2018).

To shed light on such controversy, we here depart from the recent work of a group of social activists immersed in sharing practices in order to show how society, politics and the production of discourses and symbols matter in the reconfiguration and spread of sharing societies. They call themselves the Basque Cultural Instinct Team (Euskal Sena Taldea). Their aim is to disentangle the sociocultural values that explain this 'Euskal Sena', which can be translated as the 'Basque Cultural Instinct'. They believe that one of its pillars is a certain view of doing economy, with a sharing and gifting focus, and that the current remnants of ancient sharing practices in the Basque Country point to an old socioeconomic system of grass-root democracy that can be termed as Basque Communalism. According to their view, the social values of this 'Basque Cultural Instinct' helped some remnants of this sharing system survive over millennia.

For the purposes of this study, it matters little whether this model of Sharing Society actually existed in the ancient Basque Country, or the degree of its current existence. Even the idea of Nation States is built upon the idea of imagined communities, which it is not something concrete, empirical, but is instead a real image of affinity that members of a society hold (Anderson 2006). For example, the welfare state has become an idea through which Nordic countries have imagined themselves as nations during the second-half of the 20th century, paving the ground for their curricular documents (Lappalainen and Lahelma 2016). And it is similar with social movements: they construct their collective identities upon Imagined Societies (Tejerina 2010); and so do the Basque people, a nation without a state, who demand their right to dream of an Imagined Basque Country as well (Leoné 2007). The work of the Basque Cultural Instinct Team

specifying the features, mechanisms and frameworks of the (likely real or at least imagined) Basque Communalism give us original suggestions for rethinking social change. It implies a reflection on social change, made by actors of social change.

More precisely, the structure of the article is the following: we will first present the 'abc' of Ancient Basque Communal Democracy and its remnants. Second, we summarize the interpretation by the Basque Cultural Instinct Team of the sociocultural keys that explain the functioning and the remnants of the system. Third, we discuss various topics in order to trace their limits and potentialities in a context of spreading sharing practices. We conclude with scholarly implications for the near future.

2. Locating Modern Sharing Practices. The Traditional Basque Sharing Society

The Basque Country is located in the western Pyrenees, with almost 3 million population (2,410,000 in Spain and 239,000 in France), and its culture has a well-documented historical tradition of sharing practices and communalism. Its fundamental expressions are Auzolanak, Batzarreak, Herri-jabegoak and Foruak.

An Auzolan (in plural, Auzolanak) is a donation of working service freely given by neighbors to their communities in order to maintain or improve infrastructures and carry out social projects. Traditionally they operated at the level of an Auzoa or 'neighborhood', sometimes regulated by municipal bylaws; were both optional and mandatory; and maintained or improved infrastructures like roads, bridges, fountains, waterfalls and waterways. Sometimes the neighborhood was also called to work to meet the needs of particular homes. Nowadays, both the towns and the neighborhoods are the conveners of calls, and their focus is shifting from infrastructures towards developing communal services and cultural expressions, with a renewed interest (Larretxea 2013; Santamaría and Ondikol 2016; Balmasedako Udala 2018; Tolosaldeko Ataria 2018).

The Batzarre (in plural, Batzarreak) is the assembly in open council of all the neighboring households or families ('fires' or 'houses') of a place (neighborhood, municipal district or valley) to manage and govern local issues (formerly the jurisdiction came to all sectors, including those that are nowadays considered general, such as military defense). Batzarre is an ancestral social institution of pre-Roman times (Azparren 2013). It represented neighborhoods in greater instances (of an area in the elizaurreak or 'anteiglesias', and of the territory in Regional Assemblies). Since the derogation of Basque laws after the Carlist Wars (1876), Batzarre´s lost the function of representation of neighborhoods in greater instances, but survived for local decisions. Where they survived best is in Navarra, in the center of the historical Basque countries, and other noticeable remnants are in Alava, in their Southwest (Sastre 2013).

The Herri-jabegoak or Komunalak, or 'the commons', that is, the natural resources with property of a given community, and for its benefit, have a long tradition in the Basque territories. To a large extent, the Auzolan´s were summoned for their maintenance, and the Batzarre´s for their management, so they were of great importance for the Basque-Navarre economic system. Today, despite feudalist and capitalist appropriations, the Commons

maintain a relevant weight in the Basque territories (Urrestarazu 1985). The current strength of cooperative networks in the Basque Country, especially in the Arrasate valley (Bakaikoa and Albizu 2011), has been considered as a modern form of this tradition. According to Basque law expert Lafourcade (2004), the "fidelity to this vision … would explain the exceptional success that cooperatives have achieved in the Basque Country" during the second-half of the 20th century.

The Pyrenean Right was, until the Spanish and French conquests, the normative framework that granted legal status to the system. It was 'customary' or 'consuetudinary', based on customs and foruak; that is, on the old 'forums' or popular assemblies. This model differs to a large extent from other European rights such as the Roman-German Law, assuming the power of communities in their collective dimension, not of some individuals in their private dimension, as in the period when European Law came from violence, robberies and rapes of kings and overlords (Bachofen 1897; Nabarralde Fundazioa and Martin Ttipia 2017). In other words, the Roman-German Law did not imply a Public Right, instead, it emerged for the management and political activities of powerful people and dominant classes (Poulantzas 1978); but Pyrenean Right is an actual Public Right for the life of the people. In recent times, only a few remnants of ancient Pyrenean Right survived, like the sharing of heritages that cannot be taken out of the Etxea or household.

Western political literature takes as milestones of early democracy the Magna Carta (1215) and the Bill of Rights (1689) that imposed some limits to the king of the moment, in just a single page on each case. It is praiseworthy, nevertheless, that the Basque country had already established much earlier a whole series of Foruak or 'forum jurisdictions' (that is, of assembly decisions) that kings had to swear on to be recognized by the people. The beginning of the Foru Orokorrak or 'General Jurisdiction' of Navarre, for example, makes it clear that the Community precedes the State that it creates by its own power, and that the king and his government are always subjects of (and to) this collective representation. And, as Nikolas (2019) highlights, the medieval Basques were able to face and even defeat the armies of the Franks and the Arabs, the most powerful of the period, and this demonstrates that Ancient Basque Communalism implied a powerful 'autochthonous structure of organization and defense', 'political reality' and forms of social reproduction and legitimation.

Contemporary social sharing practices in the Basque Country might be the remnants of an Ancient Basque Communal Democracy based on the four pillars outlined above, without mythologizing any past history. Surely there are no 'sharing societies' versus 'non-sharing societies', if it is not in the sense of societies where the motivations and practices of sharing are more present than in others. Regardless, such historical practices do not seem to be merely casual sharing practices that did not hold some structural force in culture and society. They would formalize a Direct Democracy with the Auzolan´s as the source of energy and inspiration; the Batzarre´s bring households together in assemblies to create rules; regarding the Commons as physical resource; and with Pyrenean Right as their regulatory guarantee. This issue is the interest of the Basque Cultural Instinct Team.

3. The Basque Cultural Instinct Team and its Understanding of the Basque Communalism

The Basque resistance, even the Basque Country itself, became known in the last decades in the international area mainly due to ETA, a popular armed organization. However, this violent reaction to Francoism and capitalist development was only one amongst others. An important percentage of the population of this Country has a long tradition in social resistance against both Spanish and French States, partly because they consider themselves simply as just Basques, that is, of a different culture, and feel excluded or repressed within them. However, in any case, Basque resistance has shown a wide range of different initiatives, not merely with the aim of being recognized as a legitimate subject of the right of self-determination, but to improve social justice as well (Olariaga et al. 2015).

Among them, Biltzarre (in Basque language, 'Assembly') is a recent platform to foster inter-personal contacts, political debate and building common ground-work between social initiatives with a sovereigntist aim, mainly with communalist and horizontal focus. The Basque Cultural Instinct Team (Euskal Sena Taldea), gathers participants of Biltzarre interested in unveiling the 'Basque cultural instinct' (Euskal Sena). This term means the 'common and collective sense' of Basque people, by which it implies an overall 'Basque Weltanshauung or Worldview'. As social activists from different organizations and practices, they think that traditional socio-economies of Basque people are in essence a model of sharing society, that their resistance and social action along millennia had the goal of maintaining them, and that the Basque Cultural Instinct supported (and still supports) those models and forms of social resistance.

Their Working Document (Euskal Sena Taldea 2019) has been recently completed. It would require a large space to delineate its points, so now we will mention only some answers that relate to the sharing economy.

What worldview, in ancient philosophical terms, coexisted with Basque Communalism? For the Basque Cultural Instinct, the meaning of society and individuals is to live attached to Nature, without any belief or fear in super-natural gods, and with absolute respect to other living beings. It may be called a 'Basque naturalism', with strong roots in Basque mythology and language. For example, Basque individuals are named with their Etxea or Household, or with the natural environment in which the Etxea is. The (traditional) Basque does not answer to the question 'who are you?' with the personal or 'first' name, but with the human and natural framework of its 'second' name. Other reference of this naturalism is Mari, as a main force of existence, badly translated as 'the main Basque Goddess', and closer to a personification of the totality and the cycles of Nature. Overall, this worldview implies a dialectical understanding of material/natural reality, without any super-natural beings or any hierarchical position among actors, as in Indo-European worldviews.

What attitudes to take in social life within the Basque Cultural Instinct and regarding what is left of Basque Communalism? They foster a positive human emotional background; for example, Basque people like to talk with assertive monemes (such as ba and bait-). They avoid competitiveness; for example, selfishness and greed are overcome with love (to twist the arm is amore eman or 'give love', and to give something for free is muxu-truk or 'in exchange for a

kiss'). And they extend the sense of belonging to a community to its greatest exponent: for the Basques, any known or unknown person is, by default, a friend (lagun or 'friend' is used to refer to any person).

What is the central operating key in the performance of Basque Communalism? Basque Cultural Instinct Team members identify the principle of 'circularity' as highly important. They knew the 'circular exchanges of roles' analyzed by anthropologists in communal practices and, in discussions of their Workshops, they noticed its role in improving the management of Auzolanak and to strengthen emotional ties between members of a community. In addition, they note that 'circularity' is present in other cultural manifestations: Basque dances and their reference to the circumference; or the morpho-syntactic structure of Basque language by SOV (or 'Subject-Objects-Verb') and its holistic circularity from the general to the particular.

Finally, what kind of individual is implicated in a sharing society? The Working Document highlights the burujabe or 'sovereign' person. Burujabetza is usually translated as 'sovereignty', or 'freedom of a country'. However, Basque Cultural Instinct Team members firmly state that, within the Basque cultural instinct, it is a much broader concept. It is interpreted as a hinge in between 'sovereignty' and 'liberty', and it implies initiative and work for collective purposes, with respect to other peoples. In this sense, as they propose, the Euskalsenduna or 'the person who has Basque Weltanshauung or Worldview' acts in union with Nature, without fear, seeking for sharing and democratic actions, with the related values of considering the life assertively and, by default, any person as a friend or lagun, etc.

4. Some Implications related to Sociocultural Supports of Sharing Practices

Regardless of the beliefs that the Basque Cultural Instinct Team holds on Basque communalism, and whether we may think these to be historically grounded or not, their Working Document and their people-to-people exchanges do provide us with the actual material to analyze contemporary forms of social change and their related values. The debates of the Team have diverse implications for scholarly literature but, for reasons of space, we only make observations in relation to the topics outlined above.

First of all, sharing practices are enhanced by a naturalist worldview framework, where people feel embedded in Nature like any other living being. How do we respond to the question of 'who are you'? It could be a good test. If we start with some social group or with the natural environment where we live, as in ancient Basque naturalism, it reflects a sharing attitude to life. A related topic is the consideration of supernatural beings in the worldview. Modern Western culture excludes their existence, except in the case of God, which may be appropriate for sharing practices. But the hierarchical mind is present in its vision of the world: God over humans, men over women, adults over infants, rich over poor. The Basque case shows that a dialectical understanding of reality (absolutely naturalistic), and the absence of any hierarchical position among its actors, contrary to Indo-European worldviews, better help a social predisposition to sharing practices.

The implications of the social attitudes considered are more easily understandable. A positive

emotional background, assertive language sentences, an avoidance of competitiveness that accepts selfishness and greed with love, and the sense of belonging to a community in its highest degree, should clearly help to adopt sharing practices, unlike the capitalist system, which can operate on the basis of a negative emotional background, belligerent language, and strong competitiveness, selfishness, greed, and individualism. What makes the Basque case special or worthy of attention? The fact that those features that help sharing practices are embedded in the Basque language structures and central expressions. A line of thought may emerge from this non trivial reflection. Perhaps modern sharing practices, if they want to survive in the long term, should be accompanied by certain modern international linguistic supports.

The central operative key in the performance of Basque Communalism may be even more surprising. The 'circular exchanges of roles' is identified as highly efficient in the management of sharing structures such as Auzolanak, unlike the principle of specialization in tasks, closely related to efficiency in the usual economic theory. This surely calls for a deep analysis; for example, specialization might be more efficient in the short time, but circularity more efficient in the long term (Ostrom 1990; 2009). In any case, we see again the presence of what seems to enhance sharing practices in other sociocultural dimensions, like dances or language.

Finally, for the Basque Cultural Instinct Team, the prototypic actor of Basque sharing society, the Euskalsenduna, is a burujabe or 'sovereign' person who shares and collaborates in collective actions, according to the 'Basque cultural instinct'. This model of person relates to the Basque collective identity, and reflects it. For this reason, it is beyond the homo economicus (of Neoclassical economics), but even beyond the different forms of homo socioeconomicus and homo eticoeconomicus of different (of Alternative economics); it is closer to the homo holoeconomicus (of Perennial economics) (Renteria-Uriarte 2016). This recalls the emphasis of a social and holistic view of sharing, and the degree of its presence in a given society, in the sense of societies where the motivations and practices of sharing are more present than in others, in which the power of subaltern subjects is more or less enhanced (Las Heras 2019).

5. Conclusions

Literature shows a kind of divorce between the values and the tools of sharing economies, that is, between their historic and cultural sides and their more technical aspects. However, taking as 'sharing society' the collection of sharing practices in a given society, it seems obvious that this 'sharing side' of a society will not be disconnected from its sociocultural values. The case outlined here, the view of the Basque Cultural Instinct Team, a team of sharing social actors interested on this issue in their society, supports this assumption.

Those social actors reflect and support the sharing economy and communalism through the identification and self-recognition with particular symbolic features of Basque culture such as language, mythology and traditional values. If their analysis may be extended, sharing practices are enhanced by naturalistic worldviews with dialectical understandings of reality and without hierarchical positions among actors. Positive emotional background, assertive language sentences, avoidance of competitiveness and the sense of belonging to a community clearly helps to sharing practices, but a central support occurs when they are embedded in the

language structures and expressions.

The Team also found the 'circularity in the exchange of productive roles', studied by anthropologists, in the main structure of Basque language and in other cultural expressions. But the highest correspondence between sharing and culture is seen in the person who materializes this dialectic, the 'Euskalsenduna', as the agent who shares and collaborates in collective actions, reflecting the Basque Cultural Instinct and identity sense. No sharing agent may be integral or consistent without a social and cultural sharing scenario.

This view might seem unrealistic, but it is the view of social action agents about what is a sharing society and a consistent sharing agent, so it might be taken, at least, as their chosen 'ideal type' in a Weberian sense (Weber, 1949). In this sense, those contributions support that modern literature focused on digital tools and technical aspects should be complemented with researches that follow the canonical assumption of the literature on sharing: that sharing and gifting is more social than strictly economic (Mauss 1924), that it was the essence of primitive and not capitalist socioeconomics (Polanyi 1944; Sahlins 1972), and that it forms as well the essential architecture of modern socioeconomics (Keltner, Marsh, and Smith 2010; Tomasello 2009, etc.).

We may conclude that, according to the Basque Cultural Instinct Team, no modern sharing society may develop without learning from ancient sharing socioeconomic structures, and that we should foster sociocultural supports and frameworks for sharing economies, if we do not want that the achievements of modern sharing economies be watered down in the future.

The Basque Cultural Instinct Team will begin soon the third phase of its project, with the intention to open conclusions to society, and create debates on the issue. It seems that this strategy will be productive, since the first attempt to open ideas, with regard to Basque Matriarcalism (Alaña and Vallin 2018), met with stiff opposition from some orthodox anthropologists (Diez Mintegui and Esteban 2019). If the Team reaches its intention to keep those debates alive in the Basque social fabric, any research like the present one should be at work on tentative conclusions.

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7. Methodological Appendix

This research builds upon a Participatory Action Research methodology. One of the signatories is a volunteer and active subject, and the other one acted as an external researcher. Data came from the Working Document of the Team, the web forum, observations collected in Workshops and brief questionnaires to main contributors.

8. Biographical Notes

Xabier Renteria-Uriarte obtained a Phd in Economics and Business Sciences, and is Professor of World Economy at the University of the Basque Country (UPV/EHU). He researches the implications of wisdom traditions, meditation, happiness, sharing and gifting for Western economics and science (see https://ehu.academia.edu/XabierRenteriaUriarte). He has been involved in social activism in different Basque organizations. He was Director of the School of Business Studies of Bilbao (2009-2012).

Jon Las Heras obtained a PhD in International Political Economy of Labour, and is Lecturer of World Economy and Sociology at the University of the Basque Country (UPV/EHU). He researches Political Economy of Labour and Industrial Relations, with micro applications in Trade Unionism, Communalism or Cooperativism, and with macro implications in the Political Economy of Spain and the Eurozone (see https://easynet.academia.edu/JonLasHeras). He has researched social activism in different organizations.

TRACK
3

Care and Co-housing
Solidarity networks for personal care; health care; age care; childcare; personal quantification movement; and cohousing

Pensar las comunidades compasivas: Cuidados, compasión y vínculos colaborativos[1]

Ana Aliende Urtasun[1] and Joseba García Martín[2]

[1]Universidad Pública de Navarra/Nafarroako Unibertsitate Publikoa[2]
[2]2Universidad del País Vasco/Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea[3]

Resumen: *Al amparo de postulados científicos y con la influencia de filosofías emergentes y espiritualidades orientales, el término compasión se ha convertido en un significante que vehicula una racionalidad más atenta a las relaciones entre el cuerpo, la mente y el comportamiento. Se trata, además, de una pregunta de investigación sobre lo laico-secular y el cuidado. En este marco, nuestro objetivo es reflexionar sobre la construcción y puesta en circulación de comunidades que, articuladas desde este concepto y mediadas socio-técnicamente, colocan la muerte y la pérdida en el centro de la vida, realizando acciones colaborativas para construir relaciones más acogedoras y sólidas. A partir del debilitamiento de los Estado del bienestar, las comunidades compasivas generan espacios de reflexión donde la articulación de nuevos vínculos y estrategias abre un importante debate ético-sociológico. En primer lugar, reflexionaremos sobre cómo se ha articulado el término compasión y sobre su relevancia para pensar el vínculo social. Después nos preguntaremos por el carácter colaborativo de las experiencias analizadas indagando en su potencial transformador. Para esto hemos realizado entrevistas en profundidad (4), grupos de discusión (2), observaciones (2) y una revisión virtual de los plataformas, agentes y colectivos más destacados en el ámbito de la espiritualidad, la salud pública, los cuidados y la dimensión comunitaria.*

Palabras clave: *Acción colectiva, comunidad, cuidados, secularización, compasión*

1. Introducción

Con el propósito de crear un movimiento que devuelva la *compasión* al centro de la vida social Karen Armstrong, académica especialista en religión comparada, pidió en 2008 ayuda a través de la plataforma TED. Movilizó a más de 150 organizaciones y a pensadores de las tres religiones monoteístas. En 2009 se creó la organización *Charter for Compassion* y una cátedra asociada. La *Carta de la compasión[4]* (Armstrong 2017:17) se publicó ese mismo año en sesenta lugares diferentes de todo el mundo; fue difundida en distintos espacios de culto así como en instituciones seculares.

Esta iniciativa hace "visible la búsqueda de relaciones sociales alternativas a la precariedad y la privatización de la vida neoliberal" (Draper 2018:167), remitiéndonos a la necesidad de organizar colectiva y colaborativamente la sostenibilidad financiera del trabajo doméstico, productivo y reproductivo, que haga frente al dolor, la vulnerabilidad, la dependencia y la necesidad de la ciudadanía para acceder a la salud y los cuidados de calidad de manera equitativa.

En palabras de Allan Kellehear (2005), la *compasión* es un imperativo ético para la salud. Esto implica, siguiendo también a Zygmunt Bauman (2013), colocar en el centro de la vida la preocupación por la pérdida y por la muerte, con su pluralidad de relatos, experiencias y narrativas, esto es, entendiendo la salud como un concepto positivo aun en presencia de la enfermedad, la discapacidad o la pérdida. Se trata, además, de una idea holística que implica una preocupación por la universalidad de la pérdida. De ahí que nos preguntemos en nuestra investigación sí la *compasión* genera vínculos colaborativos acordes con los cambios de nuestro tiempo —en ámbitos plurales y/o secularizados— en términos de equidad o, por el contrario, es en la actualidad un modo de mantener las instituciones del Estado del bienestar, externalizando funciones que ayuden a su sostenibilidad remitiendo el peso del cuidado al ámbito privado —religioso o no— con la ayuda de empresas y patrocinadores que lo gestionen.

Aunque las relaciones entre la compasión, salud y cuidado forman parte de un debate más amplio, decidimos estudiar los casos de la *New Health Foundation* (NHF) y de *Vivir con Voz Propia* (VcVP), situando deliberadamente al objeto de estudio en el "plano local" para —desde ahí— rastrear las conexiones a "escala global" y hacerlas visibles (Latour 2008:249-310) preguntándonos por los vínculos comunitarios y/o colaborativos, así como por las dinámicas de funcionamiento del cuidado compasivo en la actualidad. Esto nos conduce a que el objetivo del trabajo sea indagar en los estados, actividades, objetos y espacios donde se visibilicen los vínculos compasivos que hacen emerger la vida en toda su complejidad.

Para alcanzar este objetivo, en primer lugar, plantearemos el marco teórico en el que se sustenta el trabajo y unos breves antecedentes históricos. A continuación, rastrearemos cómo se ha articulado el término *compasión*, así como su relevancia para reflexionar sobre los vínculos y sus relaciones con la gestión de coyunturas de severa precariedad vital. Seguido, presentaremos experiencias actuales de comunidades compasivas para preguntarnos por su carácter colaborativo. Finalizaremos, abordando la discusión con responsables y voluntariado adentrándonos en la dimensión valorativa de sus acciones. Para comprender estas realidades hemos realizado el siguiente trabajo de campo:

	CÓDIGO	GÉNERO	INTERVALO DE EDAD	ORGANIZACIÓN	CIUDAD
ENTREVISTAS PERSONALES SEMI-ESTRUCTURADAS	E1	Mujer	35-45	New Health Foundation	Sevilla
	E2	Hombre	45-55	Vivir con Voz Propia	Vitoria-Gasteiz
	E3	Hombre	45-55	Vivir con Voz Propia	Vitoria-Gasteiz
	E4	Hombre	35-45	Mindfulness y compasión (instructor)	Madrid
	CÓDIGO	GÉNERO	INTERVALO DE EDAD	ORGANIZACIÓN	CIUDAD
GRUPOS DE DISCUSIÓN	GD1	5 mujeres	18-22	Jóvenes con Voz Propia (Vivir con Voz Propia)	Vitoria-Gasteiz
	GD2	4 mujeres - 1 hombre	40-60	Voluntarios Hospital San Juan de Dios	Pamplona
	CÓDIGO	TIPO DE OBSERVACIÓN	ORGANIZACIÓN		CIUDAD
OBSERVACIONES	ONP1	No participante	Getxo Zurekin, Ciudad compasiva		Getxo
	OP1	Participante	Pamplona contigo, Iruña Zurekin		Pamplona

Tabla 1. Síntesis del trabajo de campo

Las razones de haber realizado dos grupos de discusión responden a la necesidad de profundizar en las explicaciones que el voluntariado proporciona de sus vínculos con el dolor y con la pérdida, es decir, la "compasión hablada". Con estos grupos de discusión afloran las opiniones e imágenes más generales, más o menos compartidas por el conjunto de la población representada en el grupo. Por su parte las entrevistas personales se han realizado a responsables y profesionales de ambos proyectos. Son en torno a 80 las personas (diversos grados de implicación) que han participado en la investigación directa o indirectamente. También hemos realizado una revisión virtual de los agentes más destacados en el ámbito de la compasión profundizando especialmente en uno de sus nodos centrales, la NHF.

2. Estado de la cuestión

El término compasión ha hecho emerger un fecundo debate en torno a su potencial heurístico. Algunos autores consideran que el concepto ayuda a conformar nuevos discursos sobre "la vida" y "el estar juntos", contribuyendo a comprender y generar vínculos (Wuthnow 1996; Sennett 2003; Kellehear 2005; Béjar 2006). Otras propuestas, sin embargo, ubican la compasión del lado de las emociones, de la pulsión natural que el ser humano siente frente al sufrimiento (Nussbaum 2008; Camps 2011).

En filosofía se ha incidido más en esta segunda acepción, enmarcándola en las teorías relacionadas con las sensaciones y la fisiología, otorgando preeminencia a la deriva conductual o cognitiva. Se trata de explicaciones con un importante componente biologicista en el que la dimensión social en muchas ocasiones es minimizada. En sociología, sin embargo, la importancia de las emociones es destacada por autores clásicos como Émile Durkheim o Georg Simmel y tiene, en el desarrollo actual de la disciplina, un recorrido teórico destacado (Collins 2009). Además, las importantes aportaciones de la neurociencia contribuyen a ampliar esta mirada profundizando en las relaciones entre mente y cuerpo (Damásio 2001).

En su libro *El respeto* Richard Sennett dedica un capítulo a la compasión. En este texto trata de llamar la atención sobre la prestación de cuidados en los que distingue dos clases de compasión: "una forma sentimental y una forma no sentimental de la compasión, destinadas, respectivamente, a sentirse bien y a hacer el bien" (Sennett 2003:134). Estas dos vertientes remiten a un entendimiento de la compasión, como sentimiento o como virtud. Como sentimiento, la compasión se mueve hacia el dolor ajeno, conmueve y, en ese proceso, revela una sensibilidad al colocarnos en el lugar del otro para comprender su dolor. Entendida como virtud -como disposición surgida de una elección racional deliberada- la compasión emerge vinculada a la razón y la voluntad. Estas dos vertientes aluden a modos de proceder distintos. A partir de esta contraposición, teniendo en cuenta la inclinación individualizadora del cuidado -precario o no remunerado y con sesgo de género- y la debilidad inversa de la sociología tratando lo colectivo, podemos prefigurar un campo que es atravesado diagonalmente por un eje intensidad emocional-organizaciones (ver tabla 2).

	INDIVIDUAL	COLECTIVO
Intensidad emocional →		
RECONOCIMIENTO	Empatía	Familia-género-división del trabajo
DENUNCIA	Derechos	Servicios y mercado
		Organizaciones ←

Tabla 2. Campo según eje intensidad emocional-organizaciones

Elaboración propia a partir de Hennion (2002:24).

Por una parte, encontramos el reconocimiento de una realidad individual interpretada en clave emocional-empática, donde reconocemos y valoramos la dedicación y el sentimiento. Y en clave de derechos, donde sobresale la denuncia de lo sentimental, prevaleciendo lo profesional-experto como derecho. Por otra parte, la sociologización del cuidado como realidad institucional conduce al ámbito privado familiar, a la división del trabajo productivo y reproductivo y los roles de género, de la mano de las organizaciones del Estado del bienestar correspondientes y al mercado como proveedor de servicios. En clave de denuncia nos encontraríamos con la mercantilización de lo privado, la venta de servicios y sus consecuencias en la valoración que se realiza.

Con este marco, la compasión es una realidad compuesta, donde nos preguntamos por los operadores activos. Abrimos la compasión a las mediaciones propias del cuidado en su estatuto teórico y como realidades empíricas, para preguntarnos por su importancia como imperativo ético y "dar relieve a esa vulnerabilidad que nos constituye" (Kellehear 2005:42) con la pérdida y la muerte en el centro. Como dice Victoria Camps:

"Las relaciones interpersonales no se satisfacen con la frigidez de unas medidas justas; también reclaman la cercanía de la persona compasiva. Por eso, porque la justicia requiere el complemento de la compasión (…), se ha abierto paso (…) al valor del cuidado" (2011:142).

A partir de aquí nos preguntamos por el proceso relacional compasivo, fijándonos en su intensidad y duración a través de esta tipología (ver tabla 3):

	COMPASIÓN EN MOVIMIENTO: TIPO 1	COMPASIÓN EN MOVIMIENTO: TIPO 2	COMPASIÓN EN MOVIMIENTO: TIPO 3
PERCEPCIÓN DE VULNERABILIDAD	Aprecio puntual del dolor ajeno en condiciones difíciles para materializarlo en acciones de alivio.	Aprecio del dolor ajeno e implicaciones para aliviar el padecimiento. Una vez producido permanece la vinculación peer-to-peer.	Apreciación del dolor ajeno y generación de una conexión y tejido amplio que más allá del sufrimiento específico. Identifica un problema o insuficiencia y remite el tejido asociativo de la comunidad.
ACCIÓN (INTENSIDAD)	Hacerse puntualmente cargo: comprensión empática. Frontera entre empatía y compasión.	Procesos de institucionalización. Normas constitutivas.	Una pregunta por las instituciones/organizaciones y la capacidad colaborativa

Tabla 3. Tipología según intensidad y duración del vínculo compasivo

Fuente: Elaboración propia

En el primer tipo la compasión —y falta de compasión— emergen de manera puntual. Se aprecia el dolor ajeno y surgen dificultades para paliarlo: la frontera entre empatía y compasión es estrecha. A continuación, se produce la creación del vínculo, los pasos para aliviar el dolor ajeno. Una dimensión temporal básica que permite realizar un seguimiento de las conexiones emocionales que nos vinculan (tipo 2). El tercer tipo representa lo que queremos plantear: la creación de tejido en torno al sufrimiento y la pérdida. Una pregunta por las instituciones que reflexiona en un doble sentido sobre cómo "los individuos compasivos construyen instituciones que encarnan lo que imaginan; y las instituciones a su vez, influyen en el desarrollo de la compasión de los individuos" (Nussbaum 2008:449).

Es precisamente la creación de tejido institucional lo que nos habilita para hablar de "ciudades compasivas" para que la muerte y la pérdida —lo más universal y rutinario— sean comprendidas. El enemigo de la salud es la enfermedad, no la muerte. Ésta ha de formar parte de las políticas e iniciativas de salud pública para reflexionar sobre su importancia "en nuestra condición existencial" (Kellehear 2005:91) y en la configuración de formas de organización de la existencia humana para hacer la vida más vivible. O, dicho de otro modo: "cuando tratamos de crear un mundo más compasivo, debemos pensar también más allá de los esquemas vigentes, reconsiderar las categorías principales de nuestro tiempo y encontrar nuevas maneras de abordar los retos actuales" (Armstrong 2017:65).

3. Antecedentes históricos

En el emergente marco de burocratización, individualización y consolidación de la medicina como práctica institucional hegemónica (Seale 2000) destaca la labor realizada por Cicely Saunders, trabajadora social, médica y escritora anglicana en el ámbito de la salud. Sanders funda en 1967 el *St. Christopher´s Hospice* de Londres, considerado el primer *Hospice* moderno (Saunders 1996:317). Esta organización centra su labor, fundamentalmente, en los cuidados y la atención a personas diagnosticadas de cáncer incurable, con "modalidades de atención (…) que plantean nuevas sensibilidades en torno al final de la vida, críticas con los procesos de medicalización y tecnificación" (Luxardo, Alonso y Cruz 2013:118). Desde el apaciguamiento del dolor[5] y el sufrimiento físico del paciente se aborda la gestión holística (física, afectiva, espiritual) del proceso de final de vida. Su visión tuvo una rápida resonancia que influyó significativamente en las políticas públicas sobre la gestión de la salud implementada en el Reino Unido. En palabras Cicely Saunders:

> *"Me parece que muchos pacientes se sienten abandonados por sus médicos al final. Lo ideal es que el médico siga siendo el centro de un equipo que trabaje en conjunto para aliviar lo que no puede curar, para mantener la lucha del paciente (…) y para llevar esperanza y consuelo hasta el final" (En Seymour, Clark y Winslow 2005:9).*

En este momento cuando emerge el concepto de *compasión*, sustantivo en gran parte patrimonializado y puesto en circulación por religiosidades de distinto origen (particularmente: budismo, cristianismo e hinduismo) durante los siglos. La creciente presencia y visibilización en Occidente de espiritualidades orientales, imprime la dimensión laica y secular necesaria para que el concepto permee en sociedades plurales, crecientemente secularizadas, como las occidentales. Además, las importantes investigaciones científicas sobre las estructuras

neurales del cerebro acompañan a este proceso y lo nutren. Las prácticas compasivas se analizan a la luz del método científico (Ricard y Singer 2018), legitimando su puesta en marcha como un imperativo ético y saludable, vinculado al ejercicio de las espiritualidades orientales, en sintonía con estos presupuestos. Es en este sentido, las ciudades (Kellehear 2005) y comunidades compasivas (Weigleitner, Heimerl y Kellehear 2015) dan respuestas a la incapacidad de las instituciones públicas de gestionar el dolor, el sufrimiento y la soledad de las personas, al tiempo que abordan la pérdida y la muerte como parte central de la vida. Este enfoque ha ganado visibilidad e interés a partir de la publicación de *Health Promoting Palliative Care* (Kellehear 1999).

Sin pretensiones de exhaustividad presentamos en la tabla 4 un conjunto de plataformas y colectivos operativos que, desde la década de los ochenta hasta la actualidad, se articulan en torno a la compasión desde tres ejes: a) salud pública; b) espiritualidad; y, c) comunidad.

EJES DE ACCIÓN		NOMBRE DEL COLECTIVO	INDIVIDUO DE REFERENCIA
«COMPASIÓN» COMO EJE RELACIONAL	SALUD PÚBLICA Y CUIDADOS	Nour Foundation. Exploring Meaning & Commonality in Human Experience (1985)	Allan Kellehear (1999, 2005)
		Center for Mindfulness in Medicine, Health Care and Society (1990)	Jon Kabat-Zinn (2007, Kabat-Zinn y Williams 2018)
		Stanford Medicine. The Center for Compassion and Altruism Research and Education (2005)	António Damásio (2001, 2018)
	ESPIRITUALIDAD	Mind & Life Institute (1987)	Dalái Lama (2012)
		Karuna-Shechen (2000)	Matthieu Ricard (Ricard y Singer 2018)
	COMUNIDAD	The Compassionate Mind Foundation (2006)	Paul Gilbert (2018)
		Charter for Compassion (2008)	Karen Armstrong (2017)

Tabla 4. Colectivos de matriz compasiva más significativos según ejes de acción
Fuente: Elaboración propia.

La integralidad de las propuestas es el denominador común. El entrecruzamiento de estas dimensiones logra, como veremos más adelante, erigir espacios de encuentro colectivo y colaborativo donde la erosión de los vínculos sociales, la precariedad vital y el aislamiento, abran paso al cultivo de la atención y la consciencia necesarias para percibir el dolor y el sufrimiento realizando acciones para paliarlo.

4. Presentación del caso

Dentro de las iniciativas operativas se optó por estudiar los casos de la *New Health Foundation* y de *Vivir con Voz Propia*, por su relevancia en el campo. Las dos experiencias parten de una misma red e incluyen a otros agentes que multiplican las actividades y personas involucradas en estos proyectos. Compararlas y observar sus similitudes/divergencias permite verificar en qué grado se presentan las transformaciones para preguntarnos por los vínculos comunitarios y/o colaborativos, y las dinámicas de funcionamiento del cuidado compasivo.
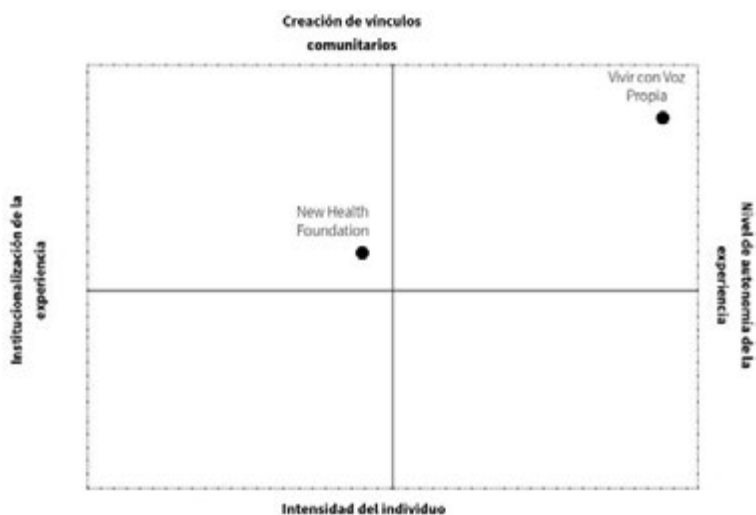
Tabla 5. Cartografía de las experiencias según ejes temáticos
Fuente: Elaboración propia.

La NHF y el colectivo VcVP son dos agrupaciones de distinta naturaleza estatutaria y práctica que cuentan con una dilatada experiencia. Ambas vinculadas a la producción de comunidad, los cuidados al final de la vida y el acompañamiento desde una perspectiva compasiva y colaborativa. En el caso de VcVP, además, la iniciativa posee un proyecto de arte terapia que incide particularmente en esta perspectiva. En la tabla 5 cartografiamos el espacio y los ejes que condicionan el posicionamiento de las experiencias en el campo.

1) La NHF[6] es una institución radicada en Sevilla que busca la optimización de los sistemas de salud y atención social y del entorno para mejorar la calidad de vida en los procesos de severa precariedad vital. Para llevar a cabo esta tarea, ofrece servicios de asesoramiento, formación y visibilización de las experiencias que se vinculan al proyecto[7]. Por medio de un método propio[8] se forma a miembros de organizaciones para que sean capaces de poner en circulación dinámicas de cuidados compasivos. El modelo propuesto está pensado para su articulación en red, siendo los agentes formados los que hacen de nodos e impulsen cambios a través de experiencias concretas.

El *Proyecto Todos Contigo* es lo más significativo de NHF. Enmarcado en un movimiento internacional (*Compassionate Communities*), promueve el desarrollo de comunidades

compasivas a nivel global[9]. Tiene como objetivo ayudar a las personas a vivir mejor la enfermedad avanzada y el período del final de la vida. De este acompañamiento compasivo surgen las *Ciudades Contigo*, actividad que requiere del compromiso de una organización local que ejerza en la ciudad de grupo motor. Desde ahí se explora la implicación de distintos agentes para su consolidación. La Fundación ofrece servicios de implementación para las experiencias, produciendo protocolos de divulgación.

2) La asociación VcVP[10] nace en Vitoria-Gasteiz para fomentar una vida autónoma en donde la importancia de las decisiones personales sea el eje axial. Ofrecen servicios psico-socio-sanitarios a personas con necesidades específicas de cuidados, dependientes o de edad avanzada. Su objetivo es fomentar el acompañamiento, el diálogo y la participación necesarios para generar vínculos compasivos. Enmarcados en el movimiento *Hospice*, proponen abordar a la persona en su integridad, es decir, atender a todas las dimensiones del individuo para, desde ahí, crear una gran red cuidadora.

Formado por un equipo interdisciplinar, impulsan espacios de formación, reflexión y diálogo abiertos a toda la ciudadanía. Desde el proyecto *Vitoria-Gasteiz, Ciudad compasiva* tratan de crear las condiciones para que los habitantes de la ciudad cultiven la atención necesaria para detectar lugares vulnerables en su entorno. Para ello realizan, por una parte, cursos de formación en *compasión* y, por otra, acciones colectivas (en ocasiones con otros colectivos e instituciones). Con este modo de proceder invitan a implicarse en el acompañamiento de personas que se encuentran en situaciones de alta vulnerabilidad vital y social.

La muerte ocupa un lugar central para el colectivo. De esta forma, se han creado *espacios de reflexión y diálogo* (el *Death Café* es la actividad principal) en donde los asistentes hablan, debaten, construyen relatos colectivos y reflexionan sobre la muerte y las acciones colectivas que conduzcan a normalizarla. También la muerte forma parte de su labor de *sensibilización en centros educativos*, realizando talleres con diversas dinámicas para ubicarla en la vida cotidiana (esta labor la realiza el colectivo "Jóvenes con Voz Propia" —con un grado importante de autonomía— que ponen en práctica el imaginario y las propuestas del colectivo).

5. Impactos

En este apartado reflexionamos acerca de los vínculos colaborativos que genera la *compasión* en las experiencias estudiadas, profundizando en los lazos que emergen cuando la precariedad vital, la pérdida y la muerte articulan el discurso y las prácticas. Todo esto nos ha servido para acercarnos a las dimensiones generales relacionadas con el rol de la *compasión* en la puesta en marcha de las experiencias. Heterogéneos relatos, miradas y experiencias que enriquecen el análisis de las "razones sociológicas para la compasión" (Wuthnow 1996:371).

Los colectivos analizados, según los identificadores que se presentan en la tabla 1, consideran que la introducción de este concepto —en general y en el ámbito de los cuidados— aporta un elemento diferencial que "mejora la eficacia y la eficiencia en las organizaciones y el bienestar de las personas" (E1). Además, en algunos casos, se considera que viene a dar réplica a una carencia objetiva y subjetiva "de que los sistemas sanitarios no pueden dar respuesta a la necesidad que hay y a la que va a haber" (E3). Por ello, a través de la coparticipación, el

"empoderamiento" (E1), el regresar la vida "al centro" (E2) la compasión adquiere un carácter transformador.

Estas afirmaciones remiten a un debate más amplio acerca de la asistencia social y sanitaria y están relacionadas, a su vez, con la dimensión transformadora y vinculante del modelo de Allan Kellehear (2005). A través de la *compasión,* más allá del cuidado a un sector específico, "la ciudad tiene que ser acogedora y tiene que asumir el rol de cuidado" (E2) para toda la ciudadanía. "No hay un modelo único" (E2) de ciudades compasivas, sino más bien una movilización que en cada lugar adquiere contenidos distintos. Los planteamientos son abiertos y ambiciosos, pensados para ser una "Ciudad Compasiva en general" (E2), sin ser un proyecto sectorial excluyente que deje de lado ("sólo para los de mi cuadrilla…") y que genera "un cierto conflicto interior…" (E2).

Formar parte de un movimiento de gran relevancia internacional (con la participación de la academia, de investigación e instituciones) es un gran elemento legitimador y cohesionador. Sin embargo, la autonomía de las experiencias imprime una diversidad considerable en las formas de colaboración y movilización (E2; E3). Es precisamente en este nivel de autonomía, donde la compasión emerge de manera colectiva y colaborativa, relacionada con nuevas formas de individualización (Beck y Beck-Gernsheim 2003) e instituciones, en donde radica, según los entrevistados, la novedad de la propuesta. Por una parte, alejándola de los contenidos "negativos" que connotan para algunas la relación con el catolicismo: "a veces, en algún foro, te dicen: «¡No, no, compasión es dar pena!». No tiene nada que ver…" (E3). Los agentes se desvinculan de la dimensión religiosa de las experiencias: "hay que quitarle esa connotación a la *compasión*, si no es algo que no se está entendiendo bien" (GD2). Y, por otra parte, ligándola a estudios científicos contrastados, que resaltan su importancia para el bienestar y la calidad de vida: "es cierto que ahora está saliendo estudios… Muchos… (…). Igual está bien para resucitar lo que ya éramos" (E2). De esta manera se busca instituir una nueva forma de comprender el concepto, "trabaja[ndo] la etimología de la palabra. Dá[ndole] fuerza desde ahí" (GD2), para construir una definición más vinculada al conocimiento, a la acción y transformación, que erija una nueva sensibilidad.

De acuerdo con el movimiento de las comunidades compasivas, la dimensión pública y laica de la *compasión* es compartida por todas las organizaciones. Sin embargo, en el modo en que se pone en circulación por medio del asociacionismo y, sobre todo, en las formas en las que se promueve lo colaborativo, existe cierta controversia. Concretamente, la labor de agrupamiento que realiza la NHF por medio de un mapeo (E1) facilita la comunicación y el desarrollo de las actividades. Esto hace que resulte más sencillo "trabajar en un mismo idioma, método y procesos" (E1) de acuerdo al nivel de compromiso que asuma la organización, ya sea "apostando por la sensibilización, (…) por las intervenciones o a través del voluntariado" (E1). Para ello, construyen un protocolo de identificación de los agentes involucrados en estas prácticas.

No obstante, este trabajo de concentración de experiencias genera unas estructuras operativas que, en ocasiones, entran en contradicción con las lógicas colaborativas: "al final es crear estructuras y que la gente se amolde a ellas" (E2). Esto produce tensiones sobre el modo de trabajar el proyecto: "¿desde dónde miramos el proyecto? ¿Desde la persona o desde las estructuras?" (E2).

La colaboración es buscada por parte de VcVP, construyendo líneas de actuación y fórmulas creativas y específicas para cada proyecto, analizando el entorno y las formas locales de abordar el problema: "el crear modelos iguales para cada ciudad no me sirve, yo creo que en cada lugar se debe ver qué es lo genuino" (E2). Es por ello que los protocolos de actuación, elemento diferencial y específico de la NHF, puede no resultar operativo según el colectivo: "que te tengan que venir a decir cómo movilizar a tus vecinos, pues probablemente no va a calar" (E3) además, "nuestra vocación es distinta" (E3). Actuar protocolariamente, sin asumir la especificidad del espacio en el que se opera sería, de nuevo, "quitar el protagonismo a las personas" (E2). A pesar de todo, la falta de estructura de algunas de las organizaciones operativas hace que soliciten protocolos de actuación en los que la dimensión colaborativa de la experiencia sea cercenada en aras de visibilizar la naturaleza y la dimensión del problema: esto se puede hacer "en sitios donde no estaba identificada esa necesidad" (E3).

A modo de conclusión podríamos decir que ambas iniciativas trabajan para generar condiciones de cuidado colaborativo donde la pérdida, el dolor y la muerte formen parte de la vida de la ciudadanía. A través de la compasión como eje de actuación se materializan dos proyectos con distintas visiones de lo comunitario, pero con una misma motivación: atender al dolor y al sufrimiento desde la atención y la escucha a la ciudadanía.

6. Conclusiones

La *compasión*, pensada desde una dimensión laica y secularizada articula vínculos colaborativos para gestionar la pérdida, la muerte y el dolor acordes a nuestras coyunturas sociales. Asimismo, canaliza nuevas demandas de la ciudadanía para negociar carencias que en los actuales Estados del bienestar. Vinculadas a la iniciativa privada (con las consecuencias que esto pudiera eventualmente tener en términos de equidad), muchas organizaciones han emergido desde estas coordenadas.

Podríamos, en este sentido, afirmar que la *compasión* es una lógica que impulsa a actuar. Aunque produce vínculos difíciles de mantener por la superioridad del donante y la insuficiencia del receptor de cuidado. Sin embargo, es transformadora cuando se produce entre iguales y se traduce en sentimientos colectivos que permiten el cultivo de la atención y cercanía necesarias para percibir el dolor y traducirlo en acciones encaminadas hacia su resolución.

Cuando el punto de partida para la organización de los cuidados es el dolor y la pérdida, se transforma —y amplía— la visión del bienestar centrada en la educación o la sanidad. Estar en sintonía con el sufrimiento modifica la percepción de la realidad. La condición primordial de la vida es la mortalidad y ésta es a su vez la fuente —en muchas ocasiones secreta— de todo sufrimiento. Lo colaborativo en la organización de actividades de cuidado, en los sistemas de asignación de recursos y en el uso compartido de conocimientos facilita la mirada compasiva.

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8. Abreviaturas

• **NHF -** New Health Foundation
• **VcVP-** Vivir con Voz Propia

9. Notas

1 Investigación enmarcada en el proyecto "*Sharing Society*. El impacto de la acción colectiva colaborativa" (CSO2016-78107-R) financiada por el Ministerio de Economía y Competitividad.

2 Universidad Pública de Navarra-Nafarroako Unibertsiatate Publikoa. Dept. Sociología y Trabajo Social. Email: ana.aliende@unavarra.es.

3 Universidad del País Vasco-Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea. Dept. Sociología 2. Email: joseba. garciam@ehu.eus. Beneficiario del Programa (FPI) del Gobierno Vasco/Eusko Jaurlaritza.

4 *La Carta de la Compasión* y sus diferentes propuestas y actividades pueden consultarse aquí: https:// charterforcompassion.org/. Último acceso: 18-02-2019.

5 Es interesante destacar la importancia que posee tratar el dolor científicamente para así poder aliviar el sufrimiento existencial que la enfermedad y el proceso de morir generan.

6 Página web de NHF disponible en: http://www.newhealthfoundation.org/. Último acceso: 26-02-2019.

7 Ayudando a construir nuevas estructuras organizativas (caso de *Getxo Zurekin, Ciudad compasiva*) o adaptándose a organizaciones ya constituidas mediante el asesoramiento en prácticas compasivas (caso del *Hospital San Juan de Dios*).

8 Más información en: http://www.newhealthfoundation.org/metodo-newpalex/. Último acceso: 03-02-2019.

9 Con proyectos en marcha en España, Irlanda, Argentina y Colombia.

10 Web de VcVP disponible en: https://www.vivirconvozpropia.com/. Último acceso: 26-02-2019.

TRACK 3

Care and Co-housing

Cohousing Experiences in some Italian Urban Contexts

Gabriele Di Francesco
Università degli Studi "Gabriele d'Annunzio"

Abstract: *The paper presents the phenomenon of cohousing, a new model of common dwellings at the rediscovery of social relations, cooperation and solidarity. Cohousers ideally renew traditional forms of neighborhood to build a better future, based on more rewarding social relationships and on compliance with the environment in a perspective of sustainable economy.*

Keywords: *Cohousing, social group, elective neighborhood, supportive living, sustainability*

1. Introduction. Cohousing and Housing Utopias

The term cohousing indicates a particular form of community cohabitation, or social group, in which private accommodation and communal services are combined so as to safeguard at the same time the private life of every single individual and the need for sociability, in other words to relate in significant terms with the other members of the social group, thus offering an effective and efficient response not only to certain practical issues of daily life, but also to the demand for security and solidarity.

The cohousing communities fuse the autonomy of the private home with the advantages of services, resources and spaces created and managed in community form: from the nursery schools to the do-it-yourself laboratories, from the car in common to the gyms, rooms for visitors to gardens and gardens, etc. The result is social and environmental benefits for participants who would enjoy better social relationships and a healthier and reassuring environment than the standards offered by contemporary society.

It is not only an answer to the needs of living, but takes on the specific contours of a pressing demand for certainties and reassurance in the precariousness of contemporary social relations. Like many social phenomena, cohousing is born as an innovative answer to some basic needs felt as urgent.

The creators and supporters of cohousing have made and refer to old and traditional forms of community life and neighborhood, so as to affirm:

"In many respects, cohousing communities are not a new idea. In the past. most people lived in villages or tightly knit urban neighborhoods. Even today, people in less-industrialized regions typically live in small communities. Members of such communities know one another's families and histories, talents and weaknesses. Traditional community relationships demand accountability, but in return provide security and a sense of belonging. Cohousing aims to provide the small household of today with a community

designed to foster such value." (Hertzman 1995:57-60)

Cohousing has as its fundamental objective that of favoring the individual a good quality of life, both individual and group, and a general psychophysical and social well-being through the rediscovery of old lost values and the enhancement of life in common, where individual well-being is linked to an excellent group life and to the sharing of socio-vital spaces. In fact, the key principle of cohousing communities is to live in community in order to develop a sense of belonging to the place through interaction and cooperation with the other.

The proposed principles and solutions seem to be rather idealized and make one think of those forms of community utopias devised and advocated by social philosophers and reformers, since the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries (Thomas More, Campanella, Bacon) who laid the foundations for those models of ideal cities designed by the Renaissance urbanists, on the other hand the Utopian socialists of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Owen, Saint Simon, Fourier), who advocated the realization of harmony and universal happiness dictating precise requirements for implement them.

Robert Owen, for example, promoted the creation of small communities composed of a maximum of 1200 inhabitants to be installed in the countryside as a solution to the problems of the industrial city. Industrial colonies located in the countryside (Leufsta in Sweden) had already been installed at the end of 1600, equipped with collective and relief buildings and surrounded by plots of cultivated land in common. (Benevolo 1966:242)

Fourier for his part imagined models of social planning to be realized in the passage of seven stages that represented the epochs of transition to the last stage of harmony.

The social order would have found expression in the social and constructive model called *phalanstère*, which had to contain, in addition to the individual apartments, many public relations rooms, called *Séristères*, or places for meeting and conducting the "passionate series" (Fourier 1822).

But it is the work of another utopian, Jean Baptiste Godin (1817-1889), who is perhaps closer to the current forms of cohousing, through the theorization and creation of the familistery.

Godin was the son of a blacksmith and he patented the use of cast iron for the stoves; in 1837 he founded a company for their production in Guise, France. Hence his social project, an experience that must be considered the happiest experiment, among those who were tempted in the nineteenth century by the theorists of socialism (Bravo 1974).

For the production needs but without forgetting the instances of social happiness and harmony on which his thinking was based, he gathered together the workers, who participated in a cooperative way to manage the company and to the company profits, arranging them in the familistery where he himself lived until death.

The familistery io differs from the phalanstery in two main ways: the productive enterprise is of an industrial character, and no longer an agricultural-craftsman like in Fourier, and, what is really fundamental, an autonomous accommodation is granted to each family. The totally

community life imagined by Fourier in the phalanstery is supplanted by family life, by the recognition of the value of the family as a private unit and to be protected, while maintaining the advantages ensured by shared services.

In these theoretical and social constructions, in many ways some basic concepts seem to be able to be read, which were then at the base of Le Corbusier's *unité d'habitation*.

Moreover, the utopian creation is recurrent in the history of civilizations and manifests itself essentially in periods of decline and passing away, or when profound changes in the social structure are more necessary (Mumford 2013).

Faced with phenomena of profound social hardship that characterize our era, such as occupational precariousness, the dissolution of the traditional family, the growth in the number of mononuclear families, or formed by a single parent and one or two children, cohousing has appeared an interesting answer, but in many ways a little too idealized.

2. Ethics and the Social Logic of Cohousing

One of the most interesting aspects, even if equally utopian, is represented by the idealization of the past, of that time gone, of the ways of living and of relating to the forms of neighborhood that distinguished the communities of the past. It affects inter alia the approach to the neighborhood as a possible flywheel to restore the relational mechanisms that have been broken. The basic motivations that lead to the desire for "co-residency" seem to be, together with the desire to reduce the complexity of life, stress and costs of managing daily activities, the aspiration to find forgotten dimensions of sociability, of mutual aid and good neighborliness. he articulation of the ideas of good neighborliness and mutual help, typical of the principles of cohousing, also reflects Max Weber's considerations on the domestic group and on economic and social relations. "The domestic group", he affirms, reiterating the central role of the family unit in economic life, "is the community that covers the regular need for goods and work of everyday life." (Weber 1922:57)

The two elements of cohousing are already well described by Max Weber: living closeness and the resolution of subjective or group interests. Neighborhood activity is carried out in situations of danger, when a common and collective defense is necessary, when there is a need for exceptional performance that cannot be met by the individual or his parental group. The vision is given priority to the rural world, to that "neighborhood of domestic communities located close to each other", but the neighborhood community can take on different aspects depending on the place of settlement.

Weber also removes all forms of sentimentality or solidarity from the neighborhood, reducing it to reciprocal exchange dictated by motivations of a utilitarian economic type, especially in a backward socio-economic context where economic life has not yet evolved.

The neighborhood, Weber observes, implies a contribution from each of the needy: the neighbor is the typical provider of help, and the neighborhood is therefore the bearer of the brotherhood, mainly ethical-economic. In the form of mutual aid in the event of insufficient

means of their domestic community, relief services arise in the neighborhood, through the "precarious loan", i.e. the free loan of used goods and consumer goods without interest, and through free "precarious work", i.e. emergency aid in the form of work in cases of particularly urgent need.

And this as a product of the original fundamental principle of the unsentimental popular ethics of the whole world: "like you to me, so I to you" (Weber 1922:59).

In terms of cohousing, in the light of Weberian thought, the reference to the neighborhood as to one of the desirable forms of 'return' to a past golden age, in which serenity and reciprocity reign, appears to be greatly reduced.

As we have tried to illustrate, in the face of a strong idealization there is no lack of risks and dangers of interpersonal and group conflicts, from which particularly harsh and lasting contrasts could arise.

This at least in the neighborhood that could be defined as contiguity, born from that proximity of the settlements that leads the domestic communities to be in close contact with the others. This typology could also be defined as an obliged neighborhood, as there is no way to escape from a sedentary contiguity that is based on housing settlement.

Very differently it should happen in the urban areas with a strong industrial characterization, the Weberians human hives. To escape from the cities, from the alienating hives that cause personal and social uneasiness, that arouse fear, can be at this point a need that would transform the neighborhood communities into something desirable.

The cohousing communities could in some ways also be seen as forms of "gated community", of golden ghettos, if they were not inherent in them the substantial connotation of open communities, in which they decide to enter and leave freely, electively sharing the approach, the planning, the decisions, taken in a collegial way, and in general all the main aspects of everyday life (Charmes 2005; Atkinson and Blandy 2006).

Among the characteristics of most cohousing communities are in fact participatory planning and voluntary characterization, of personal option, of elective neighborhood, of formation of a homogeneous social group according to the choice of living together.

The future inhabitants participate personally in the design of the "real village", ie the housing complex, in which they will live by choosing which services are to be shared and how they are managed and together they choose ideals, values, norms and objectives for the intangible "village" or intent, that is, that set of shared variables that underlie the new social group.

Cohousing communities are elective: they aggregate people from different experiences, who choose to form a promoter group and consolidate themselves with the formation of a shared common vision. It would not be a closed community or limited access, but open communities.

The group that makes its rules according to the emerging needs, and operating according to horizontal criteria of participation, in which everyone can and must participate in the

elaboration of the decisions that must be unanimously shared.

Moreover, nobody has the power to impose decisions because the organizational structure is not hierarchical.

In co-residential communities, responsibilities and roles are defined for the management of spaces and shared resources, but no one exercises any authority over other members. Decisions are made in relation to the needs, interests and competences of group members and approved on the basis of consent.

> *"There are leadership roles, but not leaders. The community is not dependent on any one person, even though there is often a "burning soul" that gets the community off the ground, and another that pulls together the financing, and another that makes sure you, the group, has babysitters far meetings, and another." (McCamant and Durrett 1994, 2011).*

The cohousing communities are intentional communities, managed by their residents. "Bach household has a self contained, personal and private home but residents come together to manage their community, share activities, eat together. Cohousing is a way of combating the alienation and isolation of many experiences today, recreating the neighborhood support of a village or city quarter in the past" (see www.cohousing.org.uk).

Each family unit has an independent, personal and private home, but the residents gather to manage their community, to divide the activities, to eat together. Cohousing is also a way to fight many contemporary experiences of alienation and isolation.

These are the elements that seem to characterize cohousing experiences and are presented as a formula not only to solve the housing problem and the management of the house, but above for the social needs of individuals to feel part of a social group.

3. Cohousing Experiences in Europe and Italy

The first attempt to build a cohousing community began in Denmark in the winter of 1964,

> *"When Danish architect Jan Gudmand-Hoyer gathered a group of friends to discuss current housing options. Over several months, this circle of friends discussed possibilities for a more supportive living environment. By the end of the year, they had bought a site on the outskirts of Copenhagen and developed plans for twelve terraced houses set around a common house and swimming pool. Although city officials supported the plan, neighbors did not and the group eventually sold the site without building anything. Gudmand-Hoyer went on to write an article entitled 'The Missing Link between Utopia and the Dated One-Family House,' in which he described his group's ideas and their project. When published in a national newspaper in 1968, the article elicited responses from over a hundred families interested in living in a similar community." (Milman 1994)*

The development by Gudmand-Hoyer of a cohousing hypothesis in terms of greater collective integration, called Farum Project (1968), attracted the attention of some designers active in the

field of social housing and non-profit. However, it will be necessary to wait until 1972 for the first real example of cohousing to be realized.

In 1971, the Danish Building Research Institute had launched a national competition for low-cost public housing and all of the winning proposals emphasized common facilities and participation in the design process, which were the cornerstone of cohousing. The race, well publicized, had a tremendous impact on the Danish debate about social housing. It soon became a very common construction typology in terms of social housing, so much so that, in 1982, twenty-two communities were built in Denmark (Milman 1994).

The underlying variables remain the same: the housing need in a context, possibly extra-urban, and with new and eco-sustainable methods; the need to reduce management costs; the usefulness of sharing services and environments; sharing decisions and moments of shared life to feel part of a supportive group. From 1972 to today more than a thousand cohousing communities have been born all over the world, proposing themselves as structures able to replace, at least in part, the affectivity and sociality once assured by the family of origin. First spread in northern Europe (it was the first Dutch experience in 1977) in the following eighties similar experiences have emerged in many other European countries and then in the USA, Canada, Australia and Japan.

Among the best examples of cohousing certainly stands out that of Munksoegaard, in Denmark, whose planning was started in 1995. The founder Mikkel Strange describes the history of this community in an interview.

The future vision that has united from the beginning all the aspiring participants in the project was that of wanting to build a community of one hundred houses, both for young people and for the elderly. A part of the housing had to be destined to who could afford a house of property, a part to who could support only a part of the loan and a part still destined to those people who could only afford a rent (Jackson and Svensson 2002).

In Sweden there are about 50 cohousing communities and among these, Stolplyckan is the largest, with 184 apartments grouped in 13 blocks, built with a system of walkways that connects them with each other. Promoting the idea was a group of women who launched the proposal by publishing an article in a local newspaper. To motivate the invitation was their experience of women, who had encountered many difficulties in combining the role of full-time workers with that of mothers, etc. The local administration supported the project, recognizing a high social value to the initiative and in 1980 the first lot was built in which people began to move (Lietaert 2007).

The peculiarity of the cohousing phenomenon in Sweden lies in the fact that most of the houses are public, owned by local administrations, which generally gather different experiences and services within a community. For example, in the community of Stolplyckan, public social and health services, in particular the day health center, the school and the elderly center are hosted in some common rooms.

As in other cohousing, everyone has his own apartment where they can enjoy their privacy, but among the typical activities of Swedish cohousing there is that of preparing and consuming

meals together.

This has the double advantage of facilitating the knowledge of your neighbors by giving a concrete answer to a practical problem, especially for those who work all day. The frequency of shared meals varies from once a month to four times a week.

The DIS-Indaco research unit of the Milan Polytechnic has carried out numerous investigations in the field of social housing and new forms of solidarity living in the Italian context among the first to be interested in the phenomenon of cohousing (Rottini 2008).

The same researchers thus gained the conviction that cohousing was one of the most interesting and promising cases for the development of community and solidarity metropolitan housing, calling it "an intelligent solution in the panorama of metropolitan living, an example of community" elective "able to co-design their own spaces but also their social relationships, mixing privacy and moments of sharing, daily pragmatism and desire for a better quality of living" (Manzini and Jégou 2003:176).

Other agencies, associations and groups livened up the discussion and reflection on these new forms of living. From this debate arise the experiences of Innocence partnership, an agency for social innovation that was proposing itself as a facilitator of new solutions related to the residence, and Cohousing Ventures, an association of promotion and planning of life in cohabitation, which in June 2006 develops the first cohousing experience in Milan, at Bovisa, a peripheral area in profound transformation.

In addition to the realization of this project, which has been given the name of Urban Village Bovisa 01, the Cohousing Ventures association has promoted and continues to promote other projects in Milan and in different parts of Italy.

The Cosycoh project, the first European example of cohousing for rent, and Corti di Nerviano, set up in an 18th century building with its internal courtyard, which ends up representing the heart of cohousing both from the point of typological view from the sociological one, as it will constitute the meeting place of the community settled in the building, as it had been in the past. The same association instead promotes in Tuscany the Infrascato Project, intended for ten families who have the opportunity to cultivate the land and live in terms of self-sufficiency (Sapio 2010).

Cohousing Ventures often chose to promote cohousing interventions in urban centers that are well connected to large cities and at the same time autonomous.

This seems to symbolically indicate the function of the cohousing project, established on the territory, in order to balance the tendency to commuting and too much subjection of the peripheral centers compared to the big cities (see http://www.cohousing.it).

Another association is CoAbitare, an organization engaged in the dissemination of knowledge about cohousing in Italy, which was founded in 2007 by a "group of people, united by the belief that cohabitation is a real life philosopher, through which it is possible the "free" exchange of resources, the availability of aid and time, the construction of a new social "knowledge."

An interesting experience is that which has developed in the area of the historic center of Lucca on the initiative of the Fondazione Casa Lucca, and which provides for the recovery of two buildings where disadvantaged people will also find their place.

The project is divided into a classical experience of building "social housing" and in a form of social cohousing in which the group of "neighborhood by choice" or "elective neighborhood" assumes the connotation of a project of physical rehabilitation and acquisition of relational and social skills (see www.fondazionecasalucca.it).

The Casa Lucca foundation presents various proposals for social housing. Among the different experiences we mention Co-Housing Del Moro, a new form of residence reserved for the elderly who has just been born in the historic center of Lucca. The project has been studied in detail for some time and has now become reality, thanks to the collaboration between the Casa Lucca Foundation, the Arciconfraternita Misericordia di Lucca and the Cassa di Risparmio di Lucca Foundation. It is a new way of living together, characterized by elements of great innovation for the territory of the province, such as co-habitation and the possibility of sharing spaces and services.

Another example is the experience of Collaborative Living, which concerns the recovery and renovation of public buildings (of institutions or schools) and private buildings (religious bodies) located in urban suburbs or in hilly areas adjacent to urban centers, for allocate them, with a rented rent, to a certain group of people in a state of discomfort.

This is the aim of the Collaborative Living project, officially presented in March 2017 and now in full implementation phase through the recovery of small rural and hill villages, and the redevelopment of buildings through restructuring measures aimed at saving energy, reducing the environmental and consumption impact, as well as the use of traditional building materials and the foundations of bio-architecture and green building (see https://www.fondazione-casalucca.it/portfolio/abitare-collaborativo-2/).

However, the forms of cohabitation communities in the various realities in which they have emerged and have been created have quite homogeneous characteristics, which can be summarized in three key words: solidarity, eco-sustainability and assisted integration. These seem to be the common features of an experience that unites young and old, families and individuals, children and parents in search of a better world.

Another interesting experience is the social cohousing project L'Alloro (ie The Laurel), designed in the city of Pescara. This project is to be implemented as established in the District Social Plan of the Municipality of Pescara for the three-year period 2017-2019, aims to provide an innovative solution to the housing disadvantage that affects more and more socially and economically disadvantaged people.

The project is part of the strategy for active aging, with the aim of guaranteeing the permanence of people in their living environment. Some social categories, specifically those over 65 in a state of poverty or economic disadvantage, can take advantage of a service that provides for the reception in shared houses, the light assistance of qualified operators who support the elderly in dealing with daily tasks. and which at the same time provides an animation service

(http://www.asp.pe.it/).

The experience of cohousing L'Alloro is an environment close to the community of origin, the rhythms of life, cultural activities and entertainment, allowing guests to customize the environment with their own furniture and objects, compatibly with the available spaces.

Love, courtesy, dedication, professionalism, respect, a sense of responsibility towards those who, despite appearances, could hold a treasure of ideas and projects. Their history, their interests and their psycho-emotional network are an integral part of their stay in the cohousing group. The permanence in the common home can be temporary and dictated by needs of relief for the family, or by the difficulties of a period of particular fragility of the elderly person.

The purpose of the service is still to offer welfare protection in a context aimed at enhancing the autonomy of the Elderly, to guarantee moments of sociality and reciprocity between people and fostering processes of social integration in the community.

Thanks to its versatile and flexible organization, it is able, according to the rules of good social living, to change according to the needs of the elderly to make them feel as unique, special and irreplaceable in their lives.

4. Conclusions

The main way to guarantee the life of a cohousing community is in any case the need to acquire relational skills that allow the development of a rewarding group life and above all without contrasts.

In order to avoid and prevent conflicts, it is generally considered important:

1. To identify and explicitly state what the community's vision and mission are, perhaps by adopting a specific written document in a clear and concise manner, so as to unify efforts and keep the group cohesive and oriented and offer a point of reference to address in case of confusion or disagreement (Lietaert 2007:78);
2. To choose a participatory and balanced decision-making process in which everyone in the group will have a voice to determine the decisions that will influence the life of the community;
3. To know and be able to manage communication techniques and group dynamics;
4. To select the members of the community that have the same ideals, to save continuous stress and conflict;
5. To foster formation of and to the community, that is to learn the techniques to manage "the heart and the mind" (Lietaert 2007:95).

The formation of a community is equivalent to starting simultaneously a business collaboration and an emotional partnership. This requires many of the planning and financial skills needed to embark on a business venture and confidence, goodwill, honesty and kind interpersonal communication.

"Society is now producing new forms of community that arise from the strong desire of

individuals, groups and families to experience places of sharing characterized by a strong ethos of solidarity", says Donatella Bramanti (2009), who conducted an empirical research on phenomenon highlighting its peculiarities. The alternativeness of cohousers groups is based on an awareness of ecological problems and on other and more profound ethical reasons, such as on respect for one's own integrity, social identity and one's own living environment.

"Political ideology has mostly been replaced by an ecological conscience, which has been the driving force behind the phenomenon of eco-villages [...] while in terms of cohousing and solidarity condominiums, these are often ingenious solutions to meet to the needs of work / family reconciliation or integration between different cultures of our society. The new fact, common to all these experiences, is that the solidarity of the family of origin has been replaced by an extended elective family, that is, by friends or more often by people who share our problems and our values. These new cohabitation experiments are generating throughout the Italian territory experiences, not ephemeral with a strong potential for social repercussions" (Bramanti 2009:161)

Solidarity, eco-sustainability and assisted integration that are manifested in the context of the new community families, which "express in full form the latent structure that confers the social identity of the family, but on the other hand they do, through community membership, the donative and generative dimension that today families alone struggle to achieve. Furthermore, by giving life to aggregated, flexible and agile realities, they are particularly able to respond, from a standpoint of solidarity, directly and without mediation, to a multiplicity of needs proper to those who meet.

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6. Biographical Note

Gabriele Di Francesco is associate professor of General Sociology, Dean of the Degree Course in Social Work at G. d'Annunzio University, Chieti-Pescara, Italy
Email: gabriele.difrancesco@unich.it

7. Notes

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Sharing Death as a New Thanatic Attitude. Contemporary Activity, Social Education and Communication to Accompany the Dying and the Mourning

Agnieszka Janiak
University of Lower Silesia

Motto:
You cannot teach a man anything.
You can only help him find it in himself.
Galileo Galilei

Abstract: *The status of death in the human awareness and culture is changeable. The article answers the research question of how to define the contemporary phase of the approach to death. In view of the subject of research, I use the non – positivistic paradigm, to which the qualitative strategy is assigned. The anthropological method in the sense of Sol Tax - "Action Anthropology" was applied, as well as the strategy of triangulation: the research techniques were as follows: interviews, case studies, autoethnography. Based on this research and social activity monitoring, the article describes the new phase in the understanding of and reacting to death, which can be called sharing death – learning how to accompany the dying and the mourning. Interesting examples of grassroots activity and social education for death sharing are: Death Cafe, Death over Dinner, End of Life University, Death Midwifery, Compassionate Communities, as well as the presence in the social space of so called teachers of dying, who now encourage and teach us how to face death. It is worth considering (reflecting), if these social initiatives are the symptoms of change in the attitude towards death, or, whether they are an actual or potential inducing factor.*

Keywords: *Sharing death, teacher of dying, accompany of dying*

1. Introduction

My friend Kasia unexpectedly learned, on 27th of December 2016, that she was incurably and terminally ill, and painkillers were all that modern medicine could offer her. Kasia died on 20th of April; she was 49. She died at home, conscious, prepared, holding her children's hands, in the presence of all those closest to her. I had the honor and privilege of constantly accompanying Kasia during her illness, dying and the moment of her death.

Kasia was very active, she also practiced nordic walking. Every day during her terminally ill I went to her, even for 15 minutes – to the hospital or her home -– on the so-called *stationary nordic walking*. I brought in a thermos for special tea and lovely cups; we had "picnics on the quilt." We treated the therapy with a laugh.

I dared our friends and neighbors - 62 people - to go to Kasia for a prayer of constant hours every evening. I organised volunteers to do shopping and healthful cooking, make short daily visits and take Kasia to the doctor comfortably by car. Kasia let us into her privacy; she opened her home and then allowed us into her intimacy - helplessness and tearing off the dignity of the disease. We were aware that we were attending something great, the most important stage of life.

That was possible for me only thanks to knowing how I should take an attitude *sharing death.* Thanks to the attitude *sharing death*, the objective tragedy became one of the most cultured and beautiful existential experiences I had ever had.

2. Meaning of *Sharing Death*

I define the term *sharing death* from two perspectives:

1. As a researcher in social communication, by *sharing death* I consider the appearance in the social space of many group activities relating to dying, accompanying and mourning, which perform functions focused on:

a. Helping the terminally ill, the elderly, the dying, the caregivers and the mourners;
b. Educating how to accompany the dying;
c. Changing the general awareness by improving social communication -making people accustomed, daring and equipped with the social communication tools effective and helpful in contact with the dying and the mourning;
d. Promoting social interest designed to facilitate the social interaction: the extension of the labour market, bridging the gap (careers in death), making testaments of will, end-of-life decisions, donating our body, funeral pre-planning, green funeral trends.

2. As a researcher in cultural studies, by *sharing death* I understand such an attitude towards dying, which can be called, following Tony Walter, *living with the dying*, taking into account and meeting the individual wishes of the dying and of the mourners. The animators and the promoters of this attitude are the teachers of dying. Thus, the term, the phrase *sharing death,* has got a double meaning: It means the desire to accompany the dying and the mourning, on their terms, focusing on meeting their individual needs and being opened to thanato-education -educational readiness, willingness to learn how to do it. This desire arises, or is likely to be implemented, thanks to the appearance, first of all, of the teachers of death and, secondly, of many social initiatives for public discussion of different aspects of dying, death and bereavement.

3. Social Actions for Education and Popularizing the Needs of Dying and Mourning Persons

In the social space we can now easily find many group activities relating to dying, accompanying and mourning. I consider their emergence, spreading and performing of socially important functions, as a new and interesting phenomenon. At this point, I would only like to identify and mention these activities not subjecting them to analysis.

a. Social actions and initiatives that fulfill the function of help for all those who are confronted with death - the terminally ill, elderly, dying, caregivers and mourners:

"In a Compassionate Community, people are motivated by compassion to take responsibility for and care for each other" – especially for people in crisis: the terminally ill, elderly, dying, and mourners. "We invite communities of all sizes to bring compassion to life in practical, specific ways through compassion-driven actions—in neighborhoods, businesses, schools and colleges, healthcare, the arts, local government, peace groups, environmental advocacy groups, and faith congregations." (Source: Compassionate Communities (https://charterforcompassion.org/communities)

"Death Doulas are people who support people in the end of life process, much like a midwife or doula with the birthing process. It is "a new non-medical profession" that recognizes death as a natural, accepted, and honored part of life." (Source: Death Midwifery, Death Doula https://deathdoulas.com/ and https://www.doulagivers.com/)

"Our Mission is to provide grounded presence, consistent companionship, education, coaching, and advocacy to individuals and families wanting support on their sacred walk to end of life. We also raise the conversation and consciousness of death, dying and grief by offering education, workshops and resources to the beautiful community around us." (Source: Death Midwifery, Death Doula https://deathdoulas.com/ and https://www. doulagivers.com/)

b. Social actions, initiatives which fulfill an educational function regarding how to accompany the dying and mourners:

*Seven tips for cooking for the bereaved (*https://cookerandalooker.com/cooking-for-the-bereaved/)*.*

"is a place to share the unspeakably taboo, unbelievably hilarious, and unexpectedly beautiful terrain of navigating your life after a death. Beginners welcome. […] Filled with stories of grief, mourning and death acceptance, Modern Loss is a repository of stories, essays, resources and information about dealing with loss." (Source: Modern Loss, https:// modernloss.com/)

"We're here to help when someone close to you dies. [...] We'll help families understand childhood bereavement, offer advice and support through an array of childhood bereavement services. [...] Through an array of dedicated bereavement services, we can help children and young people cope with their grief." (Source: Winston Wish, https://www. winstonswish.org/)

c. Social actions, initiatives that fulfill the function of changing general consciousness through improving social communication -taming and encouragement, equipping in social communication tools effective and helpful in contact with the dying and mourners:

"[August 8th is in] Australia an annual day of action dedicated to bringing to life conversations and community actions around death, dying and bereavement.

D2KDay launched in 2013 and has seen over 400 events and has sparked thousands of conversations about death, dying and bereavement." "Bringing to life conversations and community actions around death, dying and bereavement." (Source: Dying To Know Day, D2KDay, https://www.thegroundswellproject.com/dyingtoknowday/))

TalkDeath.com is the hub for a changing death-conscious public: "TalkDeath's mission is to encourage positive and constructive conversations around death and dying. Although our awareness of the issues and needs surrounding death is growing, it is still not considered appropriate 'dinner table talk'. Well, we think it is.[1] (Source: TalkDeath.com, http://talkdeath.com/)

"At a Death Cafe people, often strangers, gather to eat cake, drink tea and discuss death. Our objective is 'to increase awareness of death with a view to helping people make the most of their (finite) lives'. A Death Cafe is a group directed discussion of death with no agenda, objectives or themes. It is a discussion group rather than a grief support or counselling session." (Source: Death Café, https://deathcafe.com/)

Death Over Dinner is an organization that encourages people to pull up a chair, break bread, and really talk about the one thing we all have in common. They provide the tools to host your own dinner party where you and your guests can talk about death and dying. "Death Over Dinner has been one of the most effective end-of-life awareness campaigns to date; in just three years, it has provided the framework and inspiration for more than a hundred thousand dinners focused on having these end-of-life conversations. As Arianna Huffington said, "We are such a fast-food culture, I love the idea of making the dinner last for hours. These are the conversations that will help us to evolve." The founder Michael Hebb also recently released a book (October 2018): *Let's Talk about Death (over Dinner)* that offers keen practical advice on how to have these same conversations--not just at the dinner table, but anywhere.[2] (Source: Death Over Dinner, https://deathoverdinner.org/)

d. Social actions and initiatives that fulfill the function of promoting a social interest aimed at facilitating social co-existence:
d.1. Extension and filling the gap in the employment market, so-called 'careers in death':

-Funeral director, funeral celebrant or cremation technician:
Ask a Mortician (https://www.youtube.com/user/OrderoftheGoodDeath),

-Professional and popular blogs:
Confession of a Funeral Director (https://www.facebook.com/ConfessionsofaFuneralDirector/) (and book "Confessions of a Funeral Director. How the Business of Death Saved My life" by Caleb Wilde); Little Miss Funeral (https://littlemissfuneral.com/); A Good Goodbye (https://agoodgoodbye.com/); The Modern Mortician (http://themodernmortician.com/);

-Caring for others during times of griefs, grief support counselor:
"The role of a grief support counselor is to assist families in healing after experiencing a loss. Counselors will listen to their clients, identify tools and techniques to help their clients work through their grief, and provide continuous care after a funeral service is over. This job requires great listening skills, people skills and emotional strength. Many funeral homes employ grief counselors on site, while other people work through hospice, hospitals

*or independently. […] Training and certification is encouraged, […] but you do not need a psychology degree to work as a grief counselor." (*http://www.talkdeath.com/careers-death*/)*

d.2. Advance care planning: Five wishes (https://fivewishes.org/) and Aging with Dignity

"Aging with Dignity was founded in 1996 as a private, nonprofit organization with a mission to safeguard and affirm the human dignity of every person who faces the challenges and opportunities of aging or serious illness. Based on our founder's experiences working in Mother Teresa's homes for the dying, we wanted to ensure that every person facing the end of life is given the opportunity to talk about what matters most, and to ensure their wishes are known. With the help of the American Bar Association and end-of-life experts, and with support from The Robert Wood Johnson Foundation, in 1998 we developed the *Five Wishes* advance directive document. The document was designed to be accessible, legal, and easy-to-understand with the goal of helping people discuss and document their wishes in a non-threatening, life-affirming way." (Source: Aging with Dignity, https://agingwithdignity.org/)

d.3. End -of- life decisions:

End-of-Life University: "If you are interested in working in the end-of-life arena, curious about death and dying, hoping to lessen your fear of death, or longing to live life fully and fearlessly ... you've come to the right place!" (Source: End-of-Life Univeristy, http://eoluniversityblog.com/)

The GroundSwell Project: "Our vision is that when someone is dying, caring or grieving, we all know what to do. […] We reckon it's time for an upgrade on how we go about our dying matters." They even have own manifesto (https://www.thegroundswellproject.com/manifesto) that begins: "We want to live in a world where every person, every family and every community knows what to do when someone is dying or grieving", and ends: "We believe in the power of networks. Care networks that support people who are dying and grieving, professional networks that promote and support change. Funding networks that invest in disruptive innovation. We believe that research doesn't need to be nerdy or inaccessible, we use research to inform our practice, to measure our outcomes and to help shake things up. We believe in social movements." And Margaret Mead quotes: So… never doubt that a small group of thoughtful, committed citizens can change the world; indeed, it's the only thing that ever has. (Source: The GroundSwell Project, https://www.thegroundswellproject.com/)

Funeral pre-planing:

"Beautiful Dying Company is a Concierge Dying and Death Management Service assisting with preparation and consolidation of critical documents, coordinating in-home care, honoring faith-based traditions and facilitating all aspects of your dying and death experience so you can direct your finale with love, gratitude, purpose and empowerment." (Source: Beautiful Dying, https://beautifuldying.com/index.html)

d.4. Green funeral trends: (http://www.talkdeath.com/green-burial-canada/)

"Green or natural burial is the process of human disposition with the least environmental

consequences, while encouraging greater land stewardship. Bodies are not prepared using chemical embalming fluids, are placed in simple shrouds or biodegradable caskets." Nowadays you can easly find such offer: "Proudly offering at need services and community education for: Water Cremation (Aquamation); Greener Flame Cremation; Body and Tissue Donation Facilitation; Traditional Funeral Service Guidance I am pleased to recommend an exceptional Natural Burial Park in the heart of Texas." (Source: The Modern Mortician, http://themodernmortician.com/)

4. Contemporary Teachers of Death (Teachers of Dying)

People I consider to be contemporary teachers of death, teachers of dying, are those who work publicly and accompany the dying, or who are fatally ill themselves, those who propagate and (re)definine *ars moriendi.* Among them we can mention Elisabeth Kübler-Ross, Bronie Ware, Agnieszka Kaluga, Hunter Patch Adams, f. Jan Kaczkowski, Atul Gawende, Stephen Jenkinson.

Theoretical inspirations for the reconstruction of the figure of the contemporary death teacher are found in the theses related to the contemporary categories of compassion, reflexiveness and authority, especially among these concepts:

• The philosophy of Martha Nussbaum argues that contemporary democracies need compassionate citizens, and that the basic purpose of humanistic education should be to educate citizens to able to feel compassion. Compassion, understood as emotional disposition, allows for making one person's experience the issue of another.
• The sociology of Margaret Archer demonstrates in "Being Human: The Problem of Agency" that man is equipped with three emergent properties: reflection, emotion and agency. Reflection is the most important of the three, as it shapes individual and social life. It is human beings' ability and duty to reflect on their emotions and ways to work effectively in society.
• The pedagogy of Lech Witkowski - see two monumental and erudite books "Historie autorytetu wobec kultury i edukacji" and "*Wyzwania autorytetu w praktyce społecznej i kulturze symbolicznej*"- is devoted to pedagogical aspects of authority, understood as inspiration for in-depth reflection and mobilization to engage and inspire action which is a characteristic feature for sharing society.

> *"True recognition of authority requires that we become debtors, genuinely grateful for the impetus that we can appreciate in our autotelic value, but not in the sense of uncritical submission, blind imitation, or unadvised admiration or fascination, but in the sense of making an effort to understand the importance of his attitudes to our thinking, in some respects unique or unusual." (Witkowski 2009:695)*

In this paper, using biographical method, I wanted to point out (without analysing and discussing) at the three stages of the process of becoming a death teacher (experience, reflection, involvement) the situational factors, personality patterns and social competence needed to attain the status of a death teacher.

The people I consider modern death (or dying) teachers have become so through specific biographical experiences: intense professional contact with the dying and the mourning, upon

which they reflected and treated as an educational experience. (They came to realize that they had learned from the dying something significant, important and fundamental). Because of the importance of this experience and their conviction about its relevance, they became engaged in social education. This educational activity is related to the importance of accompanying in dying, the awareness of the needs of the dying and the mourning and the ways in which they may be satisfied, the patterns of behavior in the face of death.

In this case we can say that we have here a characteristic chain of alternation between educational and pedagogical roles: the dying (or mourner) becomes a teacher for the accompanying physician, caretaker or volunteer, and that student becomes a teacher for the community, finding an audience for his message in lectures, interviews, books, articles and blogs.

Kübler-Ross wrote in her autobiography: "My dying patients taught me so many things other than – what's the feeling when you die. They gave me a lesson on what they could have done, what they should have done, and what they did not do until it was too late (…). They looked back at their life and taught me everything that matters, but not in the contexts of dying… of living" (2000:172).

Another factor worth mentioning is complementarity, or bringing together formal and informal supervisors. The priest, the chaplain and the psychologist do not only complete the goals and duties set beforehand, and do it with full empathy, but they also work "extra hours. And the informal supervisors are treated as professional because of their experience.

> *"One day the Administration Director of the Clinic (Family Service Center, Psychiatric Clinic) saw that I was talking with some woman, and later gave me a speech on what He thinks about giving a free piece of advice to those who cannot afford it. It was as if he ordered me to stop breathing. I was sure that under no circumstances, would I stop helping out if I could. If they hired me, then you have to take me – with all of my views and methods. Following a few days, we were having lively conversations on this matter. While I was thinking that THE? A doctor is obliged to cure the needing patient regardless of their financial status, the Director was holding his position, stating that his establishment must be profitable. At the end we found the middle ground, allowing me to treat the patients for free but only during my lunch break. To make sure that I am not doing otherwise, and wasting valuable time. He made me check in with my ID on the control timer. No, thanks. I resigned and in the age of 46 I unexpectedly found time to throw myself into an unknown and exciting project, as I called my first workshop on the topic of life, death, and the transition from life to death (Life, Death and Transition workshop)." (Kübler-Ross 2000:197)*

Bronnie Ware is presented as a nurse, although formally she is not:

> *"I went through two quick courses. The first one taught me how to clean my hands, the second one how to help the sick and disabled to get up. That was pretty much all of my training before I became a nurse. Giving me a role of Stella's supervisor, my boss advised me to not tell my family that I only had experience with one palliative patient. She believed in me. So did I." (2016a:37)*

It is worth noting that the teacher of death is a kind of profession in which there must be multitasked engagement –even at the risk of losing the teacher's own family life. Nevertheless, the teacher of death's status is an open one, available to everyone but requiring some social skills.

Apart from the biographical experience and the attitude of *the reflective practitioner* (the concept of D. Schon and C. Arygyris), the status of the death teacher also includes personality patterns and social competence. The personality patterns often comprise such characteristics as independence, full autonomy (or even unconventionality) in thinking and acting, vigorousness and resistance to failure. Social competence necessary for the teacher of death consists of empathy, openness to meeting, accompaniment (and its derivative, patience), listening, and communication with a touch and a smile. Bronnie Ware (2016b) noticed:

> *"First of all, we need empathy. Patience. Gentleness. I have always been of gentle disposition. Maybe I was even too delicate, but these features have played out perfectly in this job. When, for example, I combed my patients' hair or applied cream to their hurting backs or feet, I tried to do it with great care. They loved it and this also built closeness between us. We very often talked during these routines. How many stories did they tell me! And we laughed so much! They really taught me how to listen. I realized that it was the greatest gift one can give to another human being. And particularly to those whose days are numbered."*

Listening:

> *"Listening I learned that all the dying patients knew they were dying. And it was not the question 'Shall we tell them?' or 'Do they know?' The only question we can ask ourselves is: "Can I listen to them?" (Kübler-Ross 2000:124)*

Communication with a touch:

> *"During consultations I would sit on the patients' beds, keep them by the hand, and we talked and talked for hours. I learned that there is not a dying person who would not need love, touch and talk. The dying patients did not like the safe distance, the doctors are used to keep in their presence" (Kübler-Ross 2000:124)*

A smile – an axiological declaration of friendliness and, at the same time, a meeting of faces.

> *"I am lost for words. What is left is touch and smile." (Kaluga 2014: w.p)*
> *"Smile, smile saves my powerlessness. And touch." (Kaluga 2014: w.p)*

This personality pattern and social competence prove necessary in contact with the dying, but they also determine the carrying capacity of later social learning activities.

These conclusions are based on books, personal testimonies and interviews with the people I consider the modern teachers of death.

What do the contemporary teachers of death teach us? What are their basic functions? The

most obvious thing they teach us is the ability and courage to accompany and the benefits of restoring the customs of mutual help.

My friend Kasia said that the time of her diagnosis was the best, most valuable and intense time in her life; never before had she laughed so much and felt surrounded by so many friends to whom she and her family felt important. Those who were a part of it consider their own presence in this as the greatest existential experience there is.

5. Conclusions

In the history of people's perceptions about death, it is evident that a change is happening, a breakthrough; a next episode is being unveiled. After the stages Philippe Aries named *death of the tame* and then *death of the wild,* we are nowadays finally experiencing humanizing of death which I called *sharing death* which worth noting and deeply analyzing its influence.

The status of death in human awareness and culture is changeable. In the history of its understanding and response to it thanatologists see a few clearly separated stages:

1. *Death "tamed"* (by Aries 1989), *traditional* (by Walter 1996) - from the ancient times to the first half of the 19th century. This time could be considered as an era of faith, with theology as a dominant discourse - focusing its attention on the death as an eschatological and social event. People in a sense "lived with death" - adopting an accepting and religious attitude, viewing death as the spiritual transition and key moment, often deciding about the eternal life, knowing full well through the existing rytuals - how to behave in the face of death.
2. *Death "gone wild"* (by Aries 1989), *medicalized* – from the middle of the 19th century up to the 80s of the 20th century there has been the period of denial of death, "the struggle, escape". In the spotlight there was the persistently treated disease. Lasting till the mid 1980s was the era of biology and hospital ideology, that held death under control. Death was no longer the liberation of the soul, but the disappointment of the body. Death is no longer inscribed in the theological, but in the medical discourse, and at the centre of attention is the illness persistently treated at the hospital. The strategy of dealing with the failure of treatment is silence. Treatment of death only as an embarrassing disease, which could not be cured, is accompanied by the attitude of repression, denial, negation and *tabooisation*.
3. And now, in my opinion, we are witnesses, participants and beneficiaries of a significant cultural change concerning reacting to death. We can call it a *postmodern death* (by Walter 1991), *re - discovered once* (by Vovelle 2004), *brought to the awareness* and *shared* (by Janiak 2019): from 1985 up to now there has been the era of accompanying the person. Support in dying and mourning is now at the centre of attention. The current attitude towards dying is what I call shared death – we no longer leave our relatives' dying to experts – but we try to stay with them by ourselves: we try to accompany the dying on their terms, listening to their individual needs. The more and more common attitude is *living with the dying*. In our presence there emerges a new cultural era of social reacting to death: of fulfilling the individual wishes both of the dying and of the mourning. Public and generally available now is the reflection on the intimacy of death, on the importance of the individual accompanying the process of dying, the effective tools of social communication in this respect as well as propagating the courage in taking up of this existentially important act of intimate being and

opening to the other person. Thanks to the publicized witness of so called teachers of death we now become aware of the needs of those dying and of those mourning. We are trying to meet these needs by looking for the helpful tools and places of education. And thanks to the informal social interactions, events and activities, the experience of dying and mourning is no longer an isolating experience, but brings back the sense of belonging and shows death as a common – not private – interest.

The teachers of death are breaking its taboo, although they are still not making it a public matter. Even though death is not something embarrassing, overlooked and denied, there is still a notion of emphasizing its individuality and intimacy. Death, then, is still not entering the stage of public interest, but is rather becoming a kind of *private death* (Walter 1996:7-24) The public, widely mentioned by the teachers of death and social actions for education and popularizing needs of dying and mourning persons is the contemplation of the intimacy of death. Kubiak writes about *placing an individual experience in the central place*. (2014:43). And the individual presence in accompanying the dying, as well as pointing out the efficient methods and tools of social communication and voicing the courage in this existential important act of being kind with someone and for someone.

It is worth being aware of the existence of death teachers available to us; it is worth paying attention to them, worth noticing them; perhaps it is even worth looking for them intentionally. In my opinion – the opinion of a researcher who focuses on dying and mourning – there are many of them. It is easy to find them in the social space, around us. They will encourage and help us accompany our loved ones in dying.

In my paper I do not undertake to answer the question if the cultural change in the attitude of reacting to death is an effect of Death Café , Grand Swell Project and a lot of other activities on behalf of learning how to accompany and support each other in the face of death; or if the universality of these activities and the message of the teachers of dying has attributed to / induced / is responsible for the change of the attitude from the death denied to *sharing death.* I cannot resolve this issue. I do not know if there exists an answer to this question and if it is important. What was vital was, that I and all the people close to my dying friend Kasia, knew how to accompany her. All of them -both the closest relatives and people she just knew- adopted an attitude of *sharing dying, sharing death, sharing mourning.* And it made us all happy and better people.

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7. Biographical Note

Janiak Agnieszka, Ph.D., Director of Culture and Media Program, Assistant Professor in Department Social Communication, University of Lower Silesia in Wroclaw, Poland; visiting scholar at Stanford University. Organizer of cyclic conferences "Visual and Acoustic Human Spaces. Audiovisual Anthropology as an Object and Method of Research". Fields of interest are sensitive communication, sensual communication, death studies, death education.

8. Notes

1 They published a very useful list that can be consulted online: Death Positive Websites and Blogs You Should Know, retrieved January 4, 2019.

2 https://www.amazon.com/Lets-Talk-about-Death Dinner/

3 Here is offered a list of websites that can be consulted about the subject:
https://charterforcompassion.org/communities/
https://deathdoulas.com/
https://www.doulagivers.com/
https://cookerandalooker.com/cooking-for-the-bereaved/
https://modernloss.com/
https://www.winstonswish.org/
https://www.thegroundswellproject.com/dyingtoknowday/
http://www.talkdeath.com/
https://deathcafe.com/
https://deathoverdinner.org/
https://www.amazon.com/Lets-Talk-about-Death Dinner/
https://www.youtube.com/user/OrderoftheGoodDeath/
https://www.facebook.com/ConfessionsofaFuneralDirector
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TRACK 3

Care and Co-housing

Childcare and Relationship of Trust. The Au Pair Experience as a Case of Transnational Collaborative Collective Action

Giorgia Riconda

Università degli Studi di Milano

Abstract: *In 1969, the Council of Europe defined the Au Pair program: "the temporary reception by families, in exchange for certain services, of young foreigners who come to improve their linguistic and possibly professional knowledge as well as their general culture by acquiring a better knowledge of the country where they are received (Stubberud 2015:39)". An aspect of this form of collaborative collective action (Tejerina 2010) particularly interesting to highlight is the relationship of trust that develops within the experience. In fact, in this case, trust– as an expectation of positive experiences for the actor, matured under conditions of uncertainty, but in the presence of a cognitive and / or emotional load so as to outbalance the threshold of mere hope (Mutti 1998:42) – is created in a very special process in which such a large number of elements cross each other that it is not possible to reduce the definition of its incentives only to extrinsic means.*

The research that - through two focus groups - focuses on the experiences of 5 mothers and 5 girls who participated in the au pair program, on the one hand aims to reconstruct the different phases that the protagonists have lived and on the other hand has the purpose of stimulating the construction of the meaning of trust.

First of all, the Au Pair program operates, to a certain degree, as a "second primary socialization" where trust is continually negotiated on the line of interaction, privacy and "almost coercive prejudice" (Simmel in Mutti 1998: 48) "which is reflected in the fact that the subject who receives trust does not betray it because he has to show that he is worthy of the trust granted.

Furthermore, if, at the level of generalized trust, confidence, tolerance and curiosity are the prerequisites for the protagonist's ability to have positive expectations towards strangers even in conditions of uncertainty; at the level of focused trust, the factors that determine the choice of partners are: on the side of mothers, personality, age, experience on childcare, language skills, degree of confidentiality, class and culture of the au pair girl and, on the side of the girls, mentality, age and number of children of the host family.

Lastly, as regards the means to be relied upon to participate in the program, referrals and specific websites are the preferred options. With regard to the agencies, it appears that the high cost is not adequately rewarded nor does it allow direct confrontation in case of problems, particularly since it is difficult for the Agency to be neutral when there is a different hierarchical relationship with girls and families.

Keywords: *Trust, social capital, family, relationship, social cohesion*

1. Introduction

Beyond the needs derived from work or other reasons related to lifestyle, the behaviour of families who use the help of strangers to care for their children comes from a concept that is the

basis of everyday life: trust. As Simmel (1984:263) points out, in fact: "society would disintegrate in the absence of trust between people. There are very few relationships that are really based on what one knows of the other in a verifiable way, very few relationships would last beyond a certain time if the trust was not so strong or sometimes even stronger than logical and even ocular checks."

Often - already after the first months of a child's life - families turn to what is called an intentionally constructed organization - such as day care - which, however, providing incentives only through extrinsic means such as the payment of a salary, has the problem of not being able to give certainty on how to produce altruistic interest in those who receive incentives (Coleman 2005). In this case, it can be assumed that mothers probably trust these organizations as they have the expectation that there will be "predictable, correct and cooperative behaviour, based on commonly shared norms, by its members (Fukuyama 1996:40)" within the community.

In any case, there are many alternatives to the classic organizations or figures that take care of the children, and among these a possibility is to join the Au Pair Program. Typically, these are tasks such as childcare and help in carrying out some household chores in exchange for a small reward: jobs that, often coming to be attributed to the female gender, mean that in most cases they are young people, unmarried women and without children (Øien 2009 and Stubberud 2015).

2. Theoretical Framework

According to Mutti (1998:42), trust is: "an expectation of positive experiences for the actor, matured under conditions of uncertainty, but in the presence of a cognitive and / or emotional load so as to outbalance the threshold of mere hope."

With regard to this definition, it should be noted that, at the moment when this threshold is exceeded, hope is not cancelled but maintains a dialectical relationship with trust and, in fact, through the hopeful trust one is able to give reason to trust in those risky contexts characterized by the absence of knowledge of others' reliability (Mc Geer 2008). In this regard, Brundia (2012:21): "hope does not imply the inability to recognize oneself as limited beings, quite the opposite: to hope implies recognizing the limit of each agent and recognizing at the same time in relationships with others, the origin of new possibilities of existence".

Secondly, Mutti (1998:42) points out that trust lies, cognitively, in an intermediate zone between complete knowledge and complete ignorance because, as pointed out by Simmel (1989:299), "whoever knows completely does not need to trust, those who do not know at all can not reasonably trust". The fiduciary expectation intervenes - therefore - on the uncertainty replacing the missing information, or reducing the complexity from excess of information, with a form of "internal certainty" that has the value of positive reassurance with respect to contingent events and experiences.

The *au pair* experience represents a form of collaborative collective action (Tejerina, 2010): "the group of practices and formal and informal interactions that take place among individuals, collectives or associations that share a sense of belonging or common interests, that

collaborate and are in conflict with others, and that have the intent of producing or precluding social change through the mobilization of certain social sectors." In this type of actions trust between subjects is at the center of the experience and, given the impossibility of developing the complete knowledge of the actors present, families adopt a fiduciary behaviour towards the au pairs on the basis of different factors (Brundia 2012): the traits of their personality (dispositional trust), the probabilistic calculation (knowledge-based trust), the convergence of interests (encapsulated trust). However, a hypothesis could be that families and girls who rely on the Au Pair Program are equipped, first of all, with the generalized trust that allows them to have positive expectations towards strangers even under conditions of uncertainty. And, what generalized interpersonal trust is?

Interpersonal trust is defined "as the expectation of *ego* that *alter* will not manipulate communication or, more specifically, that will provide an authentic representation, not partial or mendacious, of one's own role behaviour and identity (Mutti 1998:40)." At this juncture, we are in risk situations in the strict sense in which, unlike the situations of danger, the actor perceives that his actions may be responsible for positive, but also negative effects: indeed, these are situations in which there are the possibility of exit from the relationship and at least there exists the perception of being able to influence, with its own behaviour, on the events (Luhmann 1989). This seems to happen in the *au pair* experience: in fact, if *host families* can affect the situation through the rules that they establish, *au pairs* can influence through their own behaviour.

Furthermore, some researches point out that the people who say "most people are trustworthy" are basically optimists and their optimism is composed of various elements: a good level of self-esteem and self-confidence; the conviction of being able to control one's own environment and one's own future; an inclusive vision of the society according to which strangers appear trustworthy (Mutti 1998 and Pelligra 2007). In other words, we are within that social capital of reciprocity of acting according to conscience that derives from the circle of ethical recognition of the family (Mutti 1998 and Pizzorno 2001). However, Mutti (1998) wishes to clarify that even the socialization experiences subsequent to the primary one count.

In almost all cases, the relationship between families and au pairs does not develop directly but there is a third party that, in addition to relating them, often guarantees the reliability of both. The need for a third party is well pointed out by Coleman (2005), who recognizes the need for a third-party intermediary to allow the necessary closure so that "trust reaches the level corresponding to the reliability of the people on whom one must rely." For this reason, the so-called *spreaders of trust* (Mutti 1998) were developed. They are individuals and institutions, private or public, such as Au Pair agencies or specialized websites.

3. A Trusted Person. From Selecting the Partner to Building the Relationship of Trust

O'Neil (2003:31) writes: "To trust oneself does not mean to put oneself in the hands of others without criteria, but to believe or not to believe someone for valid reasons." But what are these good reasons to trust? Mutti (1998:47) points out that some concern the characteristics of the receiver and the one who grants trust and others the nature and extent (content and space-

time) of what trust relies on. Regarding the ascribed characteristics of the *au pairs*, some families look for young women of similar social classes who can offer the same level of education that the host family (Geserick 2012:52) while others rely on members of ethnic groups because they recognize them special gifts of caregiving (Macdonald 2012).

Then, one of the first steps in building the relationship of trust is the definition of rules within the houses and this happens because, as underlined by Mutti (1998:47), "the level of uncertainty characteristic of the relationship of trust depends not only on the existence of social contexts without regulatory structures, but also by the possibility of interpretative manipulation of the existing system of rules".

Cox (2010), in particular, has analysed the rules that are established by the English families regarding the au pairs' guests noting that 89% of au pairs can receive visits from friends, but the quota is considerably reduced if they are boyfriends (59%).

Eventually, we must ask ourselves what are the good reasons for not betraying the trust of those who have granted it.

In addition to instrumental reasons such as the presence of sanctions if the rules are not respected or that *enforceable trust* (Portes and Sensenbrenner 1993) for which the two subjects internalize rules for the instrumental purpose of maintaining a good reputation with a third party (feedbacks); there may be reasons that derive from the ethical recognition of the person, so therefore one would no longer recognize himself if he did otherwise (Pizzorno 2001). Then "the trust we receive, underlines Simmel, must be honoured because it contains an almost compulsive prejudice, and disappointing it requires a positive malice (Mutti 1998:48)."

4. Findings. Generalized Trust

Starting from the *Focus Groups*, one of the most evident aspects in people who choose to participate in the *Au Pair* Program is the ability to have positive expectations in conditions of uncertainty: often the girls leave without ever having spoken via *Skype* with the families, the latter often do not have systems of stable control of the trust granted. Furthermore, they consider this experience as a possibility to work on their own limits by developing tolerance in diversity:

> "[Mother E] And then she shows you your limits, because in practice I open and welcome in my house... but allowing the aupair to enter my intimacy I have to tolerate the its faults too."

> "[Mother B] We took it to F. (son) to teach him tolerance and the ability to learn from people of different cultures [...]. The fact that there are different people, with different habits and for us it is important that F. learn respect for others ... the other does not mean bad but something to learn from ..."

Secondly, while on the one hand the hypothesis that this optimistic view derives from primary socialization seems to be confirmed, on the other hand there is no evidence of a link with the

networks of relationships in which host mums are immersed, Mother D clearly says she is seen as a sore thumb by strangers to his family.

Thirdly, both from the point of view of host mums and au pairs, knowing new 'worlds' and new cultures through this experience is central. An interesting aspect that I noticed in the focus groups is the relationship that the linguistic exchange takes with respect to cultural exchange. In fact, for some host mums and au pairs the linguistic exchange is the center of the experience while for others the language is only part of the experience of cultural exchange. As Mother B points out: "A beautiful thing about the language, at least I saw with F. (the son), the nice thing is that he does not live the language as he could be at school but he really lives the culture."

Fourthly, the role of au pairs in the home is crucial. In fact, if, on the one hand, some mothers consider the girl hosted as their own daughter, on the other side other families recognize an adult role or at least try to assign it (Mother C says that she allows the au pair to reward her daughter).

But how do the girls live this role? There are those who feel oppressed by the host mum that, considering themselves as real mothers, invade their privacy and who instead, says that in her case the family has asked what rules he wanted to have respect for her personal space.

5. Findings – The Spreaders of Trust

In the two focus groups, with regard to the means to be used to participate in the program, the option to rely on word of mouth, websites and specialized Facebook groups are the preferred options. Indeed, according to them, it turns out that the high cost that involves the use of au pairs agencies is not adequately rewarded (the agencies are not useful in testing the feeling) or allows you to deal directly in case of problems.

In any case, the girl B claims instead that the high cost of resorting to the agency was rewarded by the tranquillity of her parents in entrusting to a person with whom they could interact face to face, even if she then pointed out that in the moment of difficulty within the host family she did not receive any help. All this demonstrates that the spreader of confidence to be a neutral mediator should not have a different hierarchical relationship with au pairs and host families.

Focused Trust

At the level of focused trust, in the focus group with the host mums, I found 7 characteristics that prevail in the choice:

• The age of girls (linked to the concept of independence): mothers choose more adult girls when they have babies or live in the countryside.
• Linguistic skills: there are cases in which the ability to interact and teach a new language is equated with the factor of experience but, usually, the latter prevails.
• The degree of confidentiality: mothers seem to prefer more extrovert girls.
• Culture and social class considered similar: if, on the one hand, the concern to choose girls

very far from their different culture and / or class is expressed in the doubt that they participate for other reasons beyond the cultural exchange (as, for example, reasons for immigration). On the other hand, there is the concern of the difficulty of integration (Mother D) within a "Catholic country where there is a lot of racism."

Moreover, the country of origin also influences: one of the host mums says that it would be difficult to host a girl from the same country from which another girl with whom she had had a bad experience comes from.

Eventually, the aesthetic profile. For example, Mother A says: "Ahahah I have always beautiful that the other moms at the park ask me how I do ... no ... really I maybe with a very nice au pair some problem I would have, that is having a model at home... and it would be impossible not to worry about my husband..."

As for au pairs, the criteria are:

• The age and the number of children: almost all seem to agree on preferring a reduced number of children, while in terms of age there are those who prefer younger children and those who are older.
• The presence of smokers in the family: only one person is indifferent to this aspect.
• The place of residence and the availability of a vehicle: girls tend to prefer being able to stay in the central areas of the city, but the availability of a vehicle seems to be even more important.
• Open-mindedness: two girls emphasize preferring a family where religion does not influence their choice.

The Construction of the Relationship

At the beginning of the experience both girls and mothers show that the tasks and norms are defined in a climate of mediation and mutual interest in deepening the knowledge of the other, in particular the girl E says: "I believe that to earn the trust of the family, it takes a bit 'of time ... I think that when you start the experience, it is important in the first weeks to invest in the family rather than in social life outside the home."

Regarding the rules in particular, the girls emphasize the importance of privacy: there are those who particularly appreciate parents who discourage children in drawing the attention of the au pair outside of work hours and those who instead feel invades his privacy when a family member enters his room.

The mothers are divided into the choice whether or not to enter the girl's room: In fact, if the mother C says they prefer to have the room managed independently by the au pair, mother B claims to consider the room as a part of the house and therefore have the room checked by the domestic assistant.

Furthermore, the mothers question two other rules: the use of the mobile phone and the visits of guests inside the house.

With respect to the first point, some point out that during the hours dedicated to babysitting the rule must be "hands free and eyes on the child (mother C)", mother A emphasizes that she always has the opposite problem: often the au pairs they keep the phone at the back of the bag and they never respond even when it would be essential for them to communicate with them.

As for the reception of guests, mothers - apart from one exception - agree on allowing people to be accommodated. However, there are discrepancies on the host's absence and if the guests are the boyfriends of the girls: Mother D prefers that the girl's boyfriend does not stay in his house while Mother C agrees on having already known the boy.

Betray Trust

From the first focus group it emerges that mothers do not systematically check whether girls betray the trust they have given them.

The betrayal by the girls is configured in terms of lies but also in the violation of established rules without recognizing the error:

> [Mother C] *"I arrive at the park ... the girl with the cell phone and G. in my hand and on the other side of the field my daughter ... then G. sees me and does all the field to hug me and the girl was still there chatting ... and I expected that at least she would have got up, not seeing the baby anymore ... that means you betrayed your trust..."*

It is also interesting to note that if mother C says: "however, we all take into account that at the beginning they can betray our trust a little bit", mother A disagrees. This perspective seems to be linked to the concept of generalized trust: because if it is true that we can trust that others do not betray our trust, we can also have confidence that, to a small extent, everyone can betray our trust.

Compared to au pair girls, however, a substantial part says they never had the feeling that the family betrayed his trust, but the girl A shows that even the omission of information such as eating habits of the family or the serious condition of psychological distress of one of the children can be considered a betrayal of trust.

Eventually, as previously described, the au pair say that there are good reasons for them not to betray trust: for example, because the one who receives trust (themselves) does not betray it because it must show that it is worthy of the trust granted. It is the case of the mother C who, assigning the au pair the task of rewarding her daughter, grants her authority greater than that which the au pair would expect and, in this way, discourages her to betray the trust granted.

6. Conclusions

What emerges from the focus groups is the desire and ability of mothers and girls to question themselves. Personally, I had the impression that trust can in this sense become a channel that allows the two subjects to know each other and confront themselves as if there could

exist a "second primary socialization": in fact, it affects the enormous self-critical capacity and tolerance that both sides describe in their daily interaction. Furthermore, mutual trust and the possibilities offered by the web of an almost 'face-to-face' confrontation between host mum and au pairs means that the agencies - traditional spreaders of trust - lose importance as mediators and this also happens because the relationship between the agency-host family and the agency-au pairs is often unbalanced in favor of the host family.

It is important, however, not to overestimate the desire and trust in hosting and being hosted by "someone different": hosting a person from another country that still comes from a similar social class sometimes means staying within that social class global (post-globalization) that does not present great heterogeneity.

Regarding the possible future developments of the research, it emerged several times from the conversations of the focus groups that the point of view of dad hosts could be different and therefore interesting in terms of heterogeneity of opinions.

Eventually, it would be interesting to evaluate in a subsequent research (through an ethnography) the relationship of trust that is established between the au pair and the children with whom they come into contact as well as to compare the au aupair experience with others in the field of sharing economy (for example: workaway).

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8. Methodological Appendix

Since trust derives from a set of emotional and rational components (Mutti 1998) I have chosen the qualitative method for its ability to grasp also the deep motivations that retroact to the fiduciary act. Indeed, attitudes to domestic space are subtler and more complex than dichotomies would suggest (Sibley e Lowe 1992).

Regarding the technique, I have chosen to organize two *Focus Groups* in Milan, of which one with a group of 5 mothers belonging to *au pair* local families and a second with a group of 5 *au pair* girls who have been welcomed by local families as well. I chose this technique because the interaction between the participants could provide information on the meaning of trust that each has and builds in relation to others: in fact, the group acts as "enhancer" and therefore allows to express opinions that may be previously at a level implicit (Corrao 2000).

In defining the empirical context, I decided to focus on two specific groups - mothers and au pairs - for several reasons:

- as regards the choice of mothers as representatives of host parents, one reason is linked to the fact that *au pairs* are predominantly managed by women in families (Pelechova 2015). In fact, it is important to clarify that, as Cox (2007) points out, there may be several reasons why *host dads* are induced to refrain from interacting with *au pairs*: often *au pair girls* are represented medially as strongly sexualized, and then as a threat to host mums and possible source of pleasure for *hosts dads* (Cox, 2007). *Host dads* may refrain from interacting due to nervousness due to being close to a young woman at home (Búriková and Miller, 2010).
- as regards the choice of girls rather than boys, my choice is more than anything related to a technical reason: I was not able to find any boy on the lists from which I drew.

In addition, I wanted to organize two separate focus groups to avoid the risk that the hierarchy relationships that live the subjects within the experience can reproduce within the focus group by inhibiting the interaction (Corrao 2000).

Eventually, regarding the sampling plan:

- in the case of mothers, I chose an intermediate mode between the nomination and the snowball sampling: after having contacted the administrator of a Facebook group of families who host au pairs, I asked her to show me people with the profile that I was looking for (between 35 and 50 years, with heterogeneous profiles), active in the group but strangers to each other.
- in the case of girls, after being admitted to a closed Facebook group of au pair who are doing their experience in Milan, I got in touch with some of them and I invited to participate in the focus group those had the profile I was looking for (between 18 and 26 years, with heterogeneous profiles).

9. Biographical note

With a background working as journalist (for more than 6 years), graduate in Political and Social Sciences at University of Turin and now a postgraduate student at MA in Sociology of the University of Milan-Bicocca, Giorgia Riconda had two study experiences abroad at the University of Seville in 2014 and Central European University in Budapest in 2018, where she further deepened her interests. Her research interests centre around: Sociology of Culture, Sociology of Education, Cultural Studies, Postcolonial and Decolonial Approach, Multiculturalism, Tourism, Race and Class.

TRACK
3

Care and Co-housing

Real Estate as a Commons. Collaboration between Communities, Housing Corporations, and the Local Government in Amsterdam East

Peer Smets[1] and Firoez Azarhoosh[2]
[1]Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam
[2]Independent community development worker

Abstract: *Since 2007, liquid communities have mushroomed in the Indische neighborhood in Amsterdam East. These grassroots organizations ask for a more efficient use of public real estate, especially buildings that are empty or underused. The communities and related legal entities have managed buildings that were used as community centers and playground complexes, or in other words, as commons. The challenge is to use a governance approach – involving the local government, housing corporation and citizens – in such a way that the strength of the life world of communities can be maintained and the system of the government and professionals does not intervene in collaborative activities in the buildings. This paper, which is based on qualitative research, shows how community development workers and communities interact and find ways to deal with the shared management of real estate. In addition, theoretical notions about the collaborative management of real estate, and commoning are explored.*

Keywords: *Liquid community, real estate, commons, commoning, governance*

1. Introduction

Since the industrial revolution, the privatization of property has grown and cooperation has been discouraged. Moreover, the role of the state and market has increased and the role of collectives has declined (Bruun 2015). Private property law has been seen as superior to collective property, which implies that economists and the state consider private property as fundamental for economic development (Ostrom and Hess 2000). This type of property regime is characterized by instrumentality, and it requires economic and political legitimacy. It also emphasizes rights and duties concerning protection against claims on benefit streams derived from property (Bromley 1990).

To understand how a property regime works, it is important to know what a property and a property right is. Bromley (1990) sees a property as 'a benefit (or income) stream,' (p.2) and considers a property right 'a claim to a benefit stream that some higher body – usually the state – will agree to provency through the assignment of duty to others who may covet, or somehow interfere with, the benefit stream.' (ibid.). Consequently a property should not be seen as an object, but as 'a triadic social relation involving benefit streams, right holders, and duty bearers' (Hallowell, in Bromley 1990:2). Those who have a right to access and use a property can gain benefit from the use of the property, but the unwanted are excluded (Gibson-Graham et al. 2013).

Although privatization of property is widespread, today there is renewed attention on property owned or managed by a collective such as a community. According to Alexander and Peñalvar (2010), two main theoretical approaches to property and community are law and economics' utilitarian theory and liberal contractarianism. These theories are too complex to fully explain here; therefore, we limit ourselves to the elements that are essential for our argument in this article. In both approaches, the individual is seen as superior to the community. Both approaches are rooted in rational individual behavior, which implies that a community approach is a derivate of individual behavior. This assumption is problematic because practice shows that successful communities have to join hands before benefits can be provided to community members. Individual sacrifices that generally go together with cooperation hinder a rational actor's investing in such cooperative efforts: the actor refrains from investing in a collective but aims for free ridership (Alexander and Peñalvar 2010:xxiii). An alternative theoretical approach comes from game theorist Axelrod (1997), who shows that the rational behavior of individuals can lead to voluntary cooperation. Cooperation becomes manifest in a tit-for-tat strategy in a repeated prisoner's dilemma.

In contrast to the use of rational approaches, Ostrom (2000) focused on human behavior in her research on collectives and commons, and she witnessed more cooperative efforts than rational behavior would promise. Alexander and Peñalvar (2010:xxiv) explain that human beings employ more cooperative behavior than the model of rational behavior assumes. Cooperative behavior, nourished by either nature or nurture, can be traced in a commons, where participants aim at obtaining the benefits of working together to deal with different collectively-shared resources. However, there is no property regime that best fits a commons, because its establishment and maintenance is time and place dependent, which implies that a process approach is required (Gibson-Graham et al. 2013).

Political projects of reclaiming the urban commons and resisting the enclosure – the border that keeps us out - of urban commons require discussions about ownership and property and a property's management (Blomley 2008; Noterman 2016, in Williams 2018:18). Such discussions focus on how ownership of property can be brought back to the collective. Therefore, it is important to look into 'who and what makes a community and what kind of actions are involved in sharing the commons in which community survival rests' (Gibson-Graham et al. 2013:137).

Commons and commoning are related. Commons, which are shared sources of many kinds, are managed by a collective whose goal is to gain the benefits of working together and its related economies of scale (Bollier 2014). Commoning, as a verb, is 'one long-term effort to reorient discourse and practice in terms of the public good and the redistribution of shared resources toward a more equal world' (Susser 2017:1). Citizens experiment with different kinds of cooperation by claiming, creating, and reinventing shared spaces. Commoning creates opportunities to meet new people and engage in negotiations that offer possibilities for developing different ways of sharing everyday life (Stravides 2016:1–2).

This paper focuses on the Indische neighborhood in Amsterdam East. It is a disadvantaged neighborhood with an ethnically-mixed population, most of whom have migrant origins. Most residents live in rental housing, but owner-occupied housing is on the rise (Samen Indische Buurt 2009:40). The increase in owner-occupiers is part of a process of gentrification (e.g.,

Boersma et al. 2013).

In the Indische neighborhood, communities have been developing since 2007. These communities often have difficulty finding sufficient space for meetings and activities. They therefore aim at a more efficient use of public real estate, with self-management as an option. The Dutch government promotes self-management, but it tends to combine self-management with severe budget cuts. Two views on these policies can be found. The first is that self-management means that citizens have to be re-educated and that they should learn to employ a do-it-yourself (DIY) culture in which they use their own networks. The second view is that the government has withdrawn from welfare activities and has let citizens down. In either case, the fundamental question is whether and how self-management should be combined with self-governance and how self-government can support citizens (Mehlkopf and Azarhoosh 2013).

In this article the focus of the DIY culture will be linked with communities and processes of commoning in relation to real estate commons. This brings us to the following research question: Which communities and ways of commoning are used for establishing and maintaining public real estate commons in Amsterdam East? To answer this question, we first discuss issues regarding the ownership of real estate and the nature of its maintenance. This will be followed by a description of three case studies in the Indische neighborhood: The Meevaart community center, the Evenaar, and the playground buildings. We then provide a comparison of the different kinds of commons and finish with a discussion and conclusion. Here different types of commons will be distinguished that offer insight in their mode of operation.

2. Real Estate. Ownership and Maintenance

Public real estate is controlled by the government. And public or semi-public organizations manage commons, such as neighborhood centers, on behalf of citizens and residents (Gibson-Graham et al. 2013:126). To understand how the government deals with real estate issues, it is important to look into how the governmental system works. State officials and professionals tend to look for and utilize blueprints. Thus, they tend to look for standardized solutions (techne) and refrain from incorporating local practices (metis), the implication being that professionals tend to employ top-down initiatives and refrain from enabling citizens to develop grassroots solutions. Instead, planners, policy makers and social workers focus on diagnosing social problems and removing pathologies. There is insufficient attention, if any at all, directed at overcoming stumbling blocks regarding issues of communication, culture, and power, which therefore hinders any consideration for local knowledge, values, and culture (Scott 1998).

During a cooperation, stakeholders can face frictions between techne and metis, a situation that largely resembles Habermas' (2001) system and life world. The system – characterized by rational behavior – can be traced in public sector organizations and traditional communities with a solid form, which is reflected in their well-developed organizational structures and their SMART (specific, measurable, achievable, realistic, and time-bound) approaches. In contrast, the life world is based on communicative action and can be found among citizens. It becomes manifest in, for example, liquid communities, which do not aim at establishing a fixed organization but instead focus on the process of networking, organizing, and doing. This process appears more prominent and available and is thus desired by the community, as opposed to

their enthusiasm over a final product (for a discussion of liquid modernity and communities, see, e.g., Blackshaw 2010; Bauman 2000, 2002; Smets and Azarhoosh forthcoming).

The system, however, is very stubborn and has problems adjusting to the life world. In the Netherlands, the government's performance is characterized by two paradoxes. During the last 50 years, the government has taken on tasks that they wanted to get rid of as quickly as possible. But, once these tasks were directed to other organizations, the government wanted to get control back. When non-governmental organizations take over social tasks, it often results in inequality or a low quality of services, which citizens and government both consider unacceptable. The government is seen as responsible for ensuring equal access and a certain level of quality in services. To achieve this, decentralization is required, but once problems emerge, centralization is the answer (RMO 2013b).

Trommel (2009) argues that the government has been increasingly involved in the life world of citizens. Citizen organizations are being made responsible for the implementation of governance tasks. However, the traditional vocabulary of governmental employees does not usually include words, such as 'empathy,' 'love,' and 'dancing,' that are commonly used by those running citizen organizations. The term 'improvisation' is more or less incorporated in government jargon, but it is understood to mean that one has to cope within the possibilities available (RMO 2013b). Such a narrow definition of improvisation differs from Boutellier's (2011) metaphor of improvisational jazz, which only has a few basic guidelines. An improvisational society requires many processes of adjusting to the environment, through which the social order of an unlimited world becomes manifest. Some governmental organizations can deal with the living world because they are more accustomed to it and can avoid system elements to a certain extent. For those organizations, it is important to keep communicating and collaborating with local power (RMO 2013b). The challenge is how the soft skills of collaboration can be linked with the ownership of property.

Ownership of a building – as a residence or workplace, or for another purpose such as employment, commerce, or recreation – often comes with a responsibility for the built and living environment (Riger and Lavrakas 1981:56). Those who have this attitude of responsibility are more inclined to invest in the building, which may lead to an increased property value (e.g., Herbert and Belsky 2008; Shlay 2006:513).

In considering issues of real estate ownership, Edelman and Suchman (1997) distinguish two ways of looking at the relation between law and organization: the rational materialist approach and the normative cultural approach. The rational materialist approach sees an organization as a rational wealth maximizer and the law as a system of incentives and penalties. Here, agency makes profit within the legal framework. The normative cultural approach, however, sees an organization as a follower of cultural roles. The law – a system based on moral principles, scripted roles, and symbols – prescribes a format of and for the organization, actors' roles within the organization, and the organization's related events (pp. 481–482).

The environments in which these approaches are applied play an important role. Distinctions can be made between four types of environments: facilitative, regulatory, constitutive, and metatheoretical. A facilitative environment provides managers who have a set of tools to deal with organizational issues, while in a regulatory environment, control mechanisms that

determine organizational behavior are regulated from the top down. A regulatory environment is confronted with more active regulations for issues such as anti-discrimination, health and safety, and environmental protection. A constitutive environment reflects a legal system that 'constructs and empowers various classes of organizational actors and delineates the relationships between them' (Edelman and Suchman 1997:383). Its focus is on definitional categories of organizations and how various organizations are born or die (pp. 482–483). All three of these environments assume that law is an independent variable and organizational events are exogenous. The fourth type, the metatheoretical environment, which includes material and cultural elements, 'highlights the endogeneity of both organizations and their legal environments' (p. 484). In this environment, 'organizations construct and configure legal regimes even as they respond to them' (ibid.).

When a building is not owned by the users, but they behave as if it is their own, the concept of psychological ownership becomes important. Psychological ownership refers to the feeling of being an owner of something, regardless of who legally possesses it (Pierce, Kostova, and Dirks 2011). Psychological ownership has two levels: (1) a symbolic level, which refers to values, thoughts, and context and (2) the reality, which includes the object and the rights linked to it (Etzioni 1991). Psychological ownership can be seen as a symbolic expression of identity and certain rights, such as the right to obtain information and the right to have a stake in decisions (Pierce et al. 2011). Psychological ownership – the feeling of being linked with an object – also creates a sense of feeling at home. In their discussion of psychological ownership in organizations, Pierce et al. (2011) and Van Dyne and Pierce (2004) report that feelings of ownership are connected with feelings of responsibility and attachment to an organization. O'Reilly and Chatman (1986) argue that internalization and identification with an organization are important for one's willingness to become involved in that organization. And such involvement is of greater importance than involvement that is rooted in instrumental exchange:

> *"Commitments based on internalization and identification are important correlates of subjects' willingness to expend time, effort, and money on behalf of the organization. (…) Prosocial behaviors requiring the expenditure of personal time and effort on behalf of the organization are most strongly related to commitment based on value similarity or pride in affiliation, and not to involvement rooted in instrumental exchange of behavior for rewards." (O'Reilly and Chatman 1986:497)*

When citizens do not have legal ownership, psychological ownership is of great importance for their self-management of a building. However, when the legal owner is involved as a stakeholder, both groups have to cope with any power differences between them. Gaventa's (2006) insights about the nature of the space where stakeholder interactions take place are very useful for such situations. He distinguishes between closed, invited, or claimed/created spaces. Closed spaces are characterized by the fact that decisions are made 'behind closed doors, without any pretence of broadening the boundaries for inclusion' (p. 26). When attempts are made to make closed spaces more open and create possibilities for citizen participation, those spaces become invited spaces. Finally, claimed/created spaces should be seen as opportunities, 'where citizens can act to potentially affect policies, discourses, decisions and relationships that affect their lives and interests' (p. 26). Less powerful actors claim spaces from or against the power holders, or create them autonomously. 'These [three] spaces exist in

dynamic relationship to one another, and are constantly opening and closing through struggles for legitimacy and resistance, co-optation and transformation' (p. 27).

3. Methodology

This article is based on qualitative research conducted during 2013–2014. The first author is employed in the Department of Sociology at the Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, and the second author works as an independent community development consultant. Both authors regularly discussed developments in the Indische neighborhood with residents in the community and attended many meetings with citizens or with citizens and government employees together that focused on neighborhood activities. This is what we describe as a conscious and deliberate effort to deal with the construction of insights derived from research and everyday practice in the field (see Berger 2015). Methods used for this qualitative research were (participant) observations and many informal talks with neighborhood residents, community members, and public sector employees. Both authors took field notes and discussed their findings from different perspectives to understand what was happening – that is, they reflected on their experiences in the field – which led to valuable insights. Scientific literature and policy documents were also studied. The authors therefore made use of what Bryman (2012) calls data triangulation.

4. The Indische Neighborhood

The Indische neighborhood in Amsterdam East was developed to house a large number of port laborers. In the 1960s, the port moved to the western part of Amsterdam, and the neighborhood became mostly residential. The Indische neighborhood has become ethnically mixed, with 67% of the residents having migrant origins. The largest migrant groups are of Moroccan, Turkish, Chinese, Surinamese, and Antillean origins. Housing in the neighborhood is mainly small, social rental units, but there is a growing amount of owner-occupied housing (Samen Indische Buurt 2009). By 2011, it was a low-income neighborhood with 22,806 residents (O+S 2011).

The local government had to deal with the bankruptcy of two welfare organizations working in the Indische neighborhood. As a consequence, many welfare activities were abandoned and others became privatized. In 2008, Civic – the new welfare organization – changed supply-led services into demand-led services. Many neighborhood centers were closed or changed into production houses with the assumption that meeting places were not sufficient for encouraging self-help. The idea was that residents should be stimulated to initiate and create activities such as dancing, homework clubs, and language classes. Civic's coaches supported neighborhood activities by guiding and facilitating residents in putting on such activities. Thus, the formal suppliers of support declined in number, potentially offering more space for grassroots initiatives.

Despite these changes, groups of residents still meet in other places, such as in clubs for playing cards or the mandolin and at migrant organizations. Migrant residents also now occupy the old playground and recreation associations formerly used by native-born residents. Although there

are very few sports organizations or clubs, the urban district organizes a lot of sports activities. Apart from these activities, residents established the Timorplein Community: a network of social and economic entrepreneurs, representatives of societal organizations, and creative residents such as artists, with the common denominator being the desire to create initiatives to improve their neighborhood. Entrepreneurs from this community stepped into the gap created by the loss of social welfare professionals who had worked for the now defunct, bankrupted local welfare organizations. The Timorplein Community's example has mushroomed, becoming a trademark for the development of other communities or network organizations organized around specific themes or interests in the neighborhood.

In another part of the neighborhood, the Karrewiel Community developed around a closed neighborhood center. Residents and artists succeeded in reopening the center and running it based on self-management. When the Karrewiel Community searched for board members to manage their building, they found them in the Timorplein Community. Thus, new networks were created out of existing networks, in turn spawning new places of inspiration and action. The Karrewiel Community was the neighborhood's first example of a community organized around a physical object – the neighborhood center – that was then managed and programmed by that community. The network of communities not only created opportunities to find volunteers who were willing to participate in neighborhood activities but also established a breeding ground for ideas for change or for the organizing of large-scale activities, such as the local neighborhood festival, *Indische Buurtfestival*, and small-scale activities, such as cooking or walking groups and movie evenings.

After the closure of the Karrewiel Community Centre, 'The Meevaart' – a larger (18,000 m^2) community center with a theatre and restaurant – opened in 2012. The Meevaart community, which encompasses all residents interested in the community center – producers as well as consumers of activities – manages this community center and tries to determine ways in which the center should be organized. They make use of the Karrewiel Community's experience of commoning, taking into account that more people of different ethnic and class backgrounds are participating. Financing for The Meevaart's maintenance and technology comes partly from a government subsidy and partly from, for example, renting space to non-community members.

5. Meevaart Community Center

The Meevaart is an old school building that was transformed into a community center in 2012. During preparations for establishing the center, discussions focused on whether the center should be managed by a professional welfare organization. However, due to budget cuts, professionals could not be employed and many volunteers had to be mobilized. Another option was a neighborhood center based on shared ownership in which residents would set up and maintain the center. The basic assumption was that initiatives concerning the neighborhood center would overlap with neighborhood and personal interests, which would thus offer the possibility of creating common ground.

The community center has a small theatre on the ground floor, as well as a living room with a bar and a community kitchen. The first floor contains a sporting hall and ateliers that can be

used for art, cooking, and creative activities, and the second floor has a work and education center with flex spaces, classrooms, and a large conference room. Some rooms can be rented out to make money that can be used for such things as welfare activities or investment in the building (see also Fiere et al. 2012).

The Meevaart Community has been organized around the self-managed neighborhood center. This community, which is fluid, horizontally organized, and non-statutory in nature, includes volunteers from the neighborhood center and citizens who organize activities in the center. Because the community is not a legal entity, the foundation Meevaart Development Group was established. The Meevaart Development Group negotiates with the local government and housing corporations about the management and maintenance of the community center. Thus, the Meevaart Community can focus on daily activities in a fluid way, and the Meevaart Development Group can create a space where community participants can employ their own activities. In 2013–2014, the Meevaart Development Group was supposed to be transformed into a cooperative, but this was not successful.

The Meevaart community and many other communities in the neighborhood are horizontally organized, but there are not enough community development workers who understand the importance of being organized in a liquid way. Moreover, their horizontal organization has a disadvantage in that these communities are not powerful stakeholders in the arena of urban governance. They also lack leadership, which has led to a mingling of liquid and solid kinds of organizations. This implies a shift from creating conditions for cooperation toward defining power positions. Smets and Azarhoosh (forthcoming) have labelled such communities as liquid communities, which are based on a rhizome network. In such communities, people may be active for a short period and then be replaced by other citizens.

6. Evenaar

Since the opening of The Meevaart, neighborhood residents have used the center, but increasingly, formal welfare organizations have also preferred to make use of it. However, preference is given to the citizens. During the summer of 2012, the district council and the Meevaart Development Group discussed the problem of formal organizations looking for a fixed space. This resulted in a fall 2012 search for a new location: a former school named the Evenaar.

During negotiations about city management, different public sectors of the urban district – social, education, and real estate management – were involved. These three domains were supervised by the same alderman. It was suggested that the school could be used for now, but it would have to be vacated if it was needed for educational purposes. This temporality conflicted with the Meevaart Development Group's aim to obtain long-term surety about the place they could use. In December 2012, the urban district agreed that the Meevaart Development Group could play an important role regarding the empty public buildings in the neighborhood.

The Meevaart Development Group made a cost-benefit analysis. The former school building had 12 rooms – 9 classrooms of about 40 m^2 and 3 smaller rooms – that could be rented out. The school was 1,200 m^2, and 800 m^2 could be allocated to tenants. The Meevaart Development

Group discussed three management options: management and maintenance by users; joint management and maintenance; or an extended management and maintenance, including programming of activities in the building. They chose the second option, which meant that a building caretaker had to be employed. Cleaning and coffee facilities would be the only common services in the building.

The operating costs for the entire building were 60,000 euros per annum. For insurance and service costs, the urban district asked for 1,500 euros per annum from the Evenaar's management. Each room needed to generate approximately 400–500 euros per month. Thus, for managing and promoting the school building, a commercial attitude was required, but one that could be combined with a neighborhood function. However, not all local organizations could pay the rent for a room. Therefore, the district council selected which organizations they wanted to subsidize by paying the rent. The district council also offered to pay deficits during the start-up phase.

Different types of organizations made use of the building, such as a childcare organization, Diversity Land (a project development and neighborhood enterprise), and three citizens' initiatives concerning community arts, handicrafts, and classical music. Activities in the Evenaar included language courses, informal care, and meeting places for Moroccan and Turkish elderly.

Each organization that used the building paid 300–800 euros per month. In addition, they participated in the maintenance of the building. The Meevaart Development Group managed the building, but it faced losses. The group succeeded in mobilizing 40,000 euros for the operating costs, and the district council added 20,000 euros. A local Moroccan-Dutch resident was put in charge of building maintenance. He was supported by a volunteer and an employee of a welfare organization called Pantar. The tenants had to clean their own rooms, and volunteers took care of the common spaces.

During summer 2013, the childcare organization, Partou, moved out of the Evenaar, and the public employment services organization DWI rented hat room for an employment creation project. After the DWI project was finished, the district council allocated the room to SIPI – an organization dealing with intercultural participation and integration - for free. The council said this could be done because the room was not included in the contract. This led to a conflicting situation between the urban district and the Meevaart Development Group. On top of that, the district council's real estate department provided SIPI an old school building elsewhere in the neighborhood. Once SIPI obtained this new building, it moved out of The Meevaart and the Evenaar. As a consequence, the Meevaart Development Group faced a loss of 2,000 euros per month in the Meevaart Community Centre and 800 euros per month in the Evenaar. The Meevaart Development Group had to find a solution for the budget deficit and finally succeeded in finding new occupants. Soon the empty rooms were rented to several organizations.

Such occasions harmed the cooperation between the local government and the Meevaart Development Group. Discussions became focused mainly on finance and complaints about building maintenance increased. In addition, the Evenaar caretaker – who received 500 euros a month for his work – was considered too authoritative, bossy, and inflexible. This caused conflicts with the users of the building. Here two different practices of community development

clashed. Once emphasis was put on financial management, the social component of community development got less attention. By paying less attention to the social factors, the fight for power positions became more manifest. Moreover, putting less emphasis on community development implied that residents should go back to the 'traditional' way of organization (a vertical structure) and its related rules and regulations.

For example, in September 2013, one of the community workers, who linked the different users, stopped his activities. There were also disputes about the building key. The question was whether only one person or more than one person should be responsible for the key. Another issue was whether the management of the building should be the responsibility of one person as caretaker or whether it should be community based. The choice between vertical or horizontal management systems often moves back and forth like elastics: when a community-based management method is chosen, there are often people who want to go back to the system they are used to because a vertical setup provides them with some certainty.

In the Evenaar, we see friction between renting spaces to formal welfare organizations and the formation of a community. The relatively short period of 3 years that the Meevaart development Group managed the premises did not allow efforts for community development to take place.

7. Playground Buildings

The playgrounds Batavia and Gerard Majella in the Sumatraplantsoen area are self-managed by playground associations that are over 80 years old. In the 1970s and 1980s, management was transferred to welfare organizations, but since the turn of the millennium, the active role of welfare organizations has declined or even disappeared due to public budget cuts. Still the playground associations stayed on the premises, but they could no longer maintain the playgrounds.

The playground associations, whose members are mostly older and white, still organize activities for elderly users such as bingo, card games, and playing mandolin and accordion music. Moreover, Saint Nicolas festivities are still organized for children. Although many members have moved to suburban areas during the last 30 years, they still partake in the activities in their old playground buildings.

The urban district was providing money for maintaining the buildings, but it also asked that the playground associations contribute to the finances. The Gerarda Majella association rented out spaces during the day, but the Batavia association was often closed in the daytime. The urban district proposed a more efficient use of the buildings, but the elderly users were offended by this. They lost access to the premises at moments that the premises are rented out.

The relationship between the elderly users and the playground associations became contentious. The Meevaart Development Group was therefore asked to take over the maintenance of the buildings. In addition, an intermediary spokesperson was appointed to negotiate between the playground associations, the citizen initiatives, and the urban district. Changes were made through community development over a four-month period. It appears that there was a lot of discontent in both playground associations. In September 2013, a

community development worker began negotiating between the local government and the playground associations. Gerarda Majella was seen as a 'sleeping' organization with three members and a board. Once a year, they organize a trip by touring car. In addition, a small, commercial dancing school for kids and a card playing group rent the premises.

Batavia is more rooted in the neighborhood. Its building is larger, and membership is not limited to individuals; welfare organizations may also join. This playground association can be seen as an association of associations, which are relatively well organized. At first glance, Batavia seemed like it would be the most problematic association entering the change process. However, in practice, negotiations were possible and different management options could be discussed. The option that was finally accepted was that the playground association would not have to pay for using the building, but it would be required to provide management and maintenance of the building during the day. This required volunteer workers. The association managed to rent out a room, generating an income of 5,000 euros per annum, which could be used for upgrading the playground and keeping it open. In addition, a community had to be established to run the children's activities. During these community development practices, animosity disappeared.

Both playground associations were owned by a housing corporation. In 2014, the annual rent was 14,000 euros for Gerarda Majella and 23,000 euros for Batavia. For the exploitation (including rent, energy, insurances) of both buildings, a yearly budget of 45,000 euros was available. Later on, the old playground associations aimed at serving again their original target group and wanted to use the income derived from the premises for their own people of the playground associations. This has led to a financial gap that was filled with finance of the Meevaart. Since 2018 the Meevaart Development Group has withdrawn from the management and facilitation of the playground buildings.

8. Real Estate and DIY Culture Reconsidered

The Meevaart Development Group facilitates citizens' initiatives and housing for welfare organizations, but it refrains from running activities itself. The organization started in the Meevaart Community Centre and extended its activities to other buildings in the neighborhood. Below, we look at the societal and theoretical implications for these buildings.

In The Meevaart example, we see the establishment of a buffer organization – the Meevaart Development Group. This organization negotiates with public and semi-public organizations to obtain a framework for the management and maintenance of the Meevaart community center. The organization's focus is mainly on Habermas's system or Scott's techne. This creates a platform for the center's community/ies, where Habermas' life world or Scott's metis can become widespread. Thus, the Meevaart Development Group is a buffer organization that keeps the system or techne away from the communities, thereby providing commoning opportunities for the liquid Meevaart communities. Here, the commons can be seen as a *community-driven commons*.

The Meevaart Development Group also took care of the allocation of classrooms in the Evenaar, and aimed at transforming the former school building into a commons for neighborhood

initiatives and welfare organizations. Their management of the commons was based on vertical relations. These relations were mainly dominated by financial incentives and, to a lesser extent, social incentives. In other words, finance was considered to be more important than community development. Here, the system or techne approach dominated, where the management of the premises was mainly based on vertical relations. This commons was therefore a *finance-driven commons*. This financial focus was needed for the financial management of the premises, but the relatively short period that the Meevaart Development Group took care of the premises hindered community development.

In the playground association example, white associations used to manage the playground buildings, but the associations decreased in size due to the fact that many members left the neighborhood and thus only visited the buildings and the neighborhood for specific activities. Funding came from the local government, but due to budget cuts, the association had to pay rent. Members protested against these changes, which resulted in conflicts between the association and the local government. The Meevaart Development Group acted as an intermediary and proposed that the association members did not need to pay rent for the building but that they should use the premises to make some income. This income could be added to a small subsidy, which would enable the association to upgrade the playgrounds. In this case, the association needed to redevelop so that the attitude of being dependent on the government could change into an entrepreneurial endeavor. Here, the commons can be seen as a *community redevelopment-driven commons*. For an overview of the characteristics of these commons, see Table 1.

	Meevaart	Evenaar	Playground buildings
Type of common	Community-driven common	Finance-driven common	Community redevelopment-driven common
Ownership by community	Long-term	Short-term	Long-term
Use by organizations	Just for activities (short-term tenure*)	For activities, offices (short- to medium-term tenure**)	A combination of short- and long-term tenures***
Users	Flexible core of users Mixed in class, ethnicity, gender, and age	Fixed Social entrepreneurs and welfare facilities	Growing Traditional volunteer groups
Ideology	Creating a home for the community	Emphasizing physical accommodation	Creating a home
Management and maintenance	Community-based approach	Hierarchical form of management and maintenance	Reinvention of community-based approach
Public subsidy	65%	33%	50%
Commercial income (rent)	35%	66%	50%
Organization	Horizontal	Vertical	Horizontal
Diversity of users	High	High	Low
Building size	Large (1,800 m^2)	Large (1,200 m^2)	Low (500 and 600 m^2 for Gerard Majella and Batavia respectively)
Inclusion	High	Low	Medium
Ownership	Housing corporation	Local government	Housing corporation

Table 1. Comparison between the Meevaart, Evenaar, and Playground Buildings (2014)
Note: * Short term tenure: maximum of one year; ** Medium term tenure: up to three years;
*** Long-term: more than three years

Self-management differs from management in the sense that management is done by others for a clientele, as in the Evenaar example. In the Netherlands, self-management is a hot issue, one that is combined with budget cuts. It is often propagated as a new pedagogic concept that implies that citizens have to learn a DIY culture, trusting their own power and using their own networks. Another view is that the government is withdrawing from welfare activities and letting citizens do the work.

In the Meevaart Community, discussions arose about how the Meevaart Development Group should work. The foundation had a small number of members, but people questioned whether a cooperative would be a better solution. The latter option would involve more community members.

A cooperative was ultimately established. It has a board similar to the Meevaart Development Group's, but it also has an advisory council. The board is composed of a group of residents. Each resident who wanted to participate in the board put his or her name on a leaflet. All leaflets were put in a hat, and names were drawn to decide who would become a board member. These people were seen as pillars of renewal. However, the council members behaved as if they were in a traditional association, that was, as if they had all the power. They tended to think and operate on behalf of the board members without consulting members of the cooperative sufficiently, if at all. The power politics of the board members are taking place in such a way that they may harm the operation of the liquid communities. This example illustrates one of the struggles in bringing liquid and solid organizations together. Moreover, it shows that although the Meevaart Development Group faced financial problems, it succeeded in fighting pauperization and vandalism in the empty real estate buildings.

9. Conclusion

For commons and related communities, it is important to have a space where people can meet or operate. Such a space is often part of a building, which has to face a property regime. That property regime can be rooted in a commons. However, property regimes are often linked with individual persons, links that were there before a collective.

In this study, the operation of the Meevaart Development Group is central. This organization deals with societal real estate in which property ownership is in hands of the local government or a housing corporation. This implies that the Meevaart Development Group operates as a kind of intermediary organization between the property owners and its users. Here, psychological ownership among the users is crucial. It creates a common feeling of ownership, which in turn leads to taking on the responsibility of self-management, that is, management by the citizens rather than by the government.

In the Netherlands, self-management is an important issue because of government budget cuts. It is often promoted as a new pedagogic concept in which citizens do things for themselves, relying on their own friends and connections to get things done. However, others see it as the government's attempt to withdraw from welfare activities, expecting that citizens will create initiatives to solve problems in their communities. In either case, the government still tries to control the how and what of citizens' initiatives.

The claimed spaces of the Meevaart and the Evenaar and the recreated spaces of the playground buildings, all of which were managed by the Meevaart Development Group, have led to three types of commons: a community-driven common, a finance-driven common, and a community redevelopment-driven common. In this study, we see that the Meevaart Development Group did not apply a wealth maximizer approach, but instead their focus was on a normative cultural approach (see Edelman and Suchman 1997), which implies that the organization followed the cultural roles within the organization. This approach was used in a metatheoretical environment in which material and cultural elements were included.

Apart from property ownership, psychological ownership plays an important role in a commons. This becomes manifest when the community treats a building as if it is their own and feels responsible for maintaining the premises. Such circumstances enable commoning practices. In relation to the commons, we found that the Meevaart Development Group claims or creates spaces for commoning in such a way that the governmental system is kept at a distance. One of their challenges is to find a balance between financial and social management. However, by working on a large scale – being active in more buildings – they have more possibilities for negotiating with the government and their overall position in negotiations is strengthened.

Finally, improvisation is crucial for creating a space where commoning is possible. Our study shows that the creation and maintenance of commons requires courage, especially in an environment that is dominated by neoliberal values and a greedy government, even when the courage is available for bridging system and life worlds. Such endeavors benefit from improvisations that link real estate property with local power.

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11. Notes

1 Department of sociology Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam. Email: p.g.s.m.smets@vu.nl
2 Independent community development worker. Email: r.azarhoosh@gmail.com

Cohousing. Solidarity Networks for Care from an Architectural, a Legal, and a Tax Basis[1]

Irune Suberbiola Garbizu and Alex Mitxelena Etxeberria

Universidad del País Vasco/Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea

Abstract : *The difficulties to access to property derived from the generalized crisis and the gestation of a new environmental and social awareness have led to the beginning of a change of economic paradigm from a model based on acquisition, to another based on access or enjoyment; a new model that, under the umbrella of a common denomination, the collaborative economy, brings together different realities, among them, that of co-housing. Although, this model is not a "social housing" in itself, we wonder to what extent collaborative housing can be used to respond to social needs in building solidarity networks for childcare or personal, health, age, and mutual care. Therefore, starting from international experience and the examples provided by our European neighbors, this paper analyzes the different models of existing collaborative housing, specially those who seek the establishment of networks for care, not only from an architectural point of view, but also deepening the underlying legal structure, the tax reality accompanying each of them, and the instruments with which the Administration should promote this new housing formulas. With this purpose, the authors use an inductive method to draw general conclusions from the studied casuistry and applicable substantive and tax regulations. Among these conclusions, the information gathered in these lines highlights the great opportunities offered by the different models of collaborative housing presented from an architectural, social, cultural, economic and environmental point of view. The experiences developed in Germany, Denmark or Sweden show that these housing solutions meet different needs and adequately respond to the shortcomings that a traditional property-based market cannot supply. Moreover, comparative experiences show that these new housing experiences respond more adequately to the weakness that conventional models present in relation to the establishment of care networks.*

Keywords: *Collaborative economy, co-housing, care networks, public policies, taxes.*

1. Introduction

The crisis of the last decade, the difficulties of access to property, and the generation of a new environmental and social awareness, have led to the beginning of a paradigm shift from an economic model based on acquisition to another based on access or enjoyment, which, under the umbrella of a common denomination, the collaborative economy, brings together different realities. The right to housing is no stranger to this new scenario: practices compared in more or less nearby environments offer numerous models of collaborative housing of different nature as the senior cohousing, with examples such as *Färdknäppen* in Sweden, *Oakcreek Cohousing* in the U.S., or *La Maison des Babayagás* in France; models promoted by collectives, such as the *Frauenwohnprojecte* driven by women in Germany and Austria; or models like the Danish *Andel*, the "*Federación Uruguaya de casas para ayuda mutua* ", "*La Borda*" in Barcelona, or

"*Entrepatios-Las Carolinas*" in Madrid, show that the so widespread experience in the creation of cooperatives for house constructions, can be extended to the creation of cooperative housing for coexistence and mutual care.

Thus, on the one hand, we will analyze those examples from an architectural point of view, and, on the other, we´ll frame them within a legal structure, since the legal configuration of these collaborative dwellings can be of a different nature depending on the organization that underlies.

Finally, the establishment of collaborative housing can contribute to the closest Administration, focusing on land use strategies through swaps or temporary assignments of dotational land. The community can also be organized to offer services to the surroundings such as nurseries, gym, spa, restaurant, bar, gallery, concert hall or events, or even apartments for victims of domestic violence or refugees. Therefore, it seems as well logical to examine how the Administration can promote these initiatives, also from a tax point of view.

2. Comparative Models of Collaborative Housing, Legal Regime and Their Importance in Care Networks

The housing policy of successive governments throughout the second half of the twentieth century has been characterized in the Spanish state by an exacerbated propensity to purchase instead of renting. In the dictatorship of Franco, a policy of ownership was implemented by encouraging the construction to pass from the hands of the State to the private sector[2]. After the years of developmentalism, the oil crisis and its financial difficulties, the arrival of democracy consecrated the right to housing in article 47 of the Spanish Constitution[3], which seems to want to neutralize those policies sanctifying the right but unspecifying the way to access to it. However, in practice, the trend has been the acquisition of home ownership, something that follows the path set by our European neighbors, since the latest statistics on housing tenure published by Eurostat,[4] indicates that in 2015, more than half of the population of each EU Member State resided in a dwelling occupied by its owners (from 51.8% in Germany to 96.5% in Romania), without any of the EU Member States registering a quota of tenants that was higher than that of people residing in housing of their property[5].

From this perspective, social economy, through cooperatives, has facilitated housing acquisitions (around 1,700,000 in the last four decades[6]) in structures in which the cooperative members directly acquire the soil and assume the role usually assigned to developers and private builders; to build homes for their subsequent adjudication and the liquidation of the created cooperative.

However, once again, the economic crisis, difficulty in access to the necessary financing, the change in family structures, and the growing interest in the environmental impact have led to the appearance of new models based on access or enjoyment, models that under the common denomination of collaborative economy agglutinate different realities of collaborative housing. The international sphere gives us significant examples. We find the first one in the *Andel*, born at the end of the XIX century in Denmark and specially implanted in the Scandinavian countries. In Denmark, in 2012 there were 125,000 homes under this regime, in a State with a

low population of 5,500,000.[7] This type of structure is based on a double transfer, on the one hand, the ceding of the ground on which it's built and, on the other, that of the houses built therein. Thus, the owner of a piece of land handovers its surface right to a tenants' cooperative that assumes the cost of the construction of the building or its rehabilitation (usually by means of an initial contribution and a loan that is monthly amortized in small installments that include also the expenses of the community, such as the consumption, maintenance and cleaning of the self-managed spaces). Once the construction / rehabilitation is completed, the dwelling is assigned to a person, holder of the right of use, who can designate a "coexistence unit" formed by his family or roommates. The holder of the right to use is a user but never an owner of the property. Therefore, if (s)he wants to leave the house, waiving it, (s)he will be reimbursed for the initial contribution, a contribution that, in turn, will be paid, as input to the cooperative, by the tenant who occupies the house again. In the same line, this right of use cannot be freely assigned to third parties, although it can be transferred to relatives or other members of the coexistence unit who have previously resided on the house. The internal operating regime of *Andel* is democratic; members of the cooperative have more rights than a traditional tenant, but cannot transform it into a conventional property since the model is based on indefinite use.

The Danish model has been extended to other countries such as Germany where, in 2012, there were about 2,000 housing cooperatives and approximately 6% of the population lived in them (Basque Observatory of Housing 2012:35). Their tenure regime is associated almost exclusively with rent or assignment of use in exchange for rent. As in the Danish *Andel*, in the German model the property of the building is attributed to the cooperative and the dwellings are rented to their users by means of a perpetual concession as long as the terms of the contract are fulfilled.

A model similar to the cession of use is also found in another Scandinavian country, Sweden, where 18% of the housing stock is managed through a system in which ownership of the houses belongs to the cooperative, while the residents are tenants of the same. In this case, the tenants, who are the cooperative members, finance a percentage of the cost (not more than 50%) and the rest is paid by the cooperative through financial institutions. The cooperative is responsible for the real estate and guarantees the tenant the right to occupy the dwelling (without time limitation) as long as (s)he preserves the one (s)he occupies. Unlike what happens in the Danish *Andel*, the right of occupation can be transferred freely, in inheritance or in sale at market price, although in newly built buildings, in the first three years, the sale of the right of occupation must be made to the cooperative with the updated cost price.

An emerging trend in recent years in the analyzed models is to include additional services and spaces of common use in which the coexistence of the co-owners of the cooperative takes preference. In the traditional model, the one that gives priority to property, common spaces are "burdens" that the purchase-sale product must assume. Therefore, it can be interpreted that reducing these common spaces to the minimum is an exercise in efficiency. However, it is forgotten that these spaces can be places for interaction with people living around us, something necessary to create a sense of community and belonging. In this tenure model, the common spaces lack of natural light, they have no references from the outside, they suffer from a privation of vegetation... they are unattractive spaces to meet strangers. The narrow corridors are not suitable if we carry trolleys or shopping, and in these situations, meeting with neighboring people can be uncomfortable and hostile. In the same way, accessibility problems make it impossible for elderly people to continue living where they want, where they may

have developed a sense of belonging or have established relationships with people in their neighborhood.

For all these reasons, these emerging models in which the use of common spaces prevails[8], eliminating the logic of privacy = property, make it possible to serve more generously the places of relationship. In addition, there are areas set aside for interaction, spaces for the relationship between housing and the community, and between the community and the environment that, as we said, can collaborate in the policies of the closest Administration, giving rise to models of collaborative housing of various kinds such as senior cohousing, female cohousing, the ones which aim to integrate foreigners...

In this sense, together with communities formed by those who decide to grow old together sharing mutual and professional care, we find examples such as the German *Frauenwohnprojecte* or the beguinages, collective housing whose inhabitants are essentially women. The latter have a long-established historical tradition in Belgium, Holland and Germany with an origin that goes back to the Middle Ages[9]. The model has now been rescued and new beguinages are being formed in Germany (Bochum, Dortmund, Bremen, Köln and Essen) that maintain a great organization of collective life both from an economic (seeking financial autonomy through the creation of companies with social, gastronomic, educational, craft-related purposes ...) and a personnel point of view, since women and their children are offered a place of retirement and protection specifically adapted to their needs, something especially significant for victims of domestic violence. Indeed, not being a social housing, this type of collaborative housing is more flexible and can be adapted more easily to the needs of certain groups; the rehabilitation of a victim of gender violence is quicker and more complete if it's carried out in an integrating community instead of in a place of isolation and with exclusive contact with professionals of the Administration. Likewise, these services could be extended to other groups as refugees.

In short, when it comes to the establishment of care networks, the examples analyzed show us that collaborative housing not only serves as a new paradigm in access to housing but, above all, as a tool to respond to the new social and family structures existing today, in a more flexible and inclusive way than the ones that have existed until now.

Let's move on next, to analyze the tax transcendence of these models and the tax incentives that could be used for their more widespread use.

3. Tributary Reflection of the Proposed Models

The model of possession of collaborative housing, ownership or assignment of use, limitations on the transmission of the rights that fall on it... necessarily affect the tax treatment that will be conferred to them. In the following lines we will try to analyze the different taxes that from the perspective of direct and indirect taxation pertain to the collaborative housing models analyzed up to now[10]. For this reason, we will leave aside the taxation that affects the owned housing cooperatives[11] or the one that concerns the housing in timeshare regime for tourist purposes, to focus on the one that directly or indirectly may affect the houses under the cession of use regime. At the same time we will focus on local taxation, for its special relevance in the projection of this type of housing solutions.

3.1. Direct Taxation

We will emphasis mainly on three taxes; the Income Tax, the Inheritance and Donations Tax, and the Corporation Tax. The study of the incidence of the Heritage Tax will be omitted because there is an exemption for the habitual residence limited to a maximum of € 300,000 and this type of houses, the profile of the constructions; their structure... seems to discard the incidence of this tax beyond the possible problems that could arise regarding its valuation[12].

The novelty of the phenomenon of collaborative housing in our land means that fiscal incentives in the Income Tax for Individuals for this type of housing solutions are not yet contemplated, as would be the case if there were benefits for the acquisition or transmission of their right to use... However, the current law includes a series of precepts that may be applicable in response to the income derived from the cohousing and in accordance with the regulations that govern each community.

Thus, for example, in the case that, as in the German *Frauenwohnprojecte* or the beguinages, there's a possibility to rent or assign common areas intended in principle to provide services to neighbors, the income obtained may be contemplated to be qualified as real estate or furniture capital returns according to whether or not entities are involved in the attribution of income as communities of goods. Equally, those obtained through the temporary cession of their rights over the property would be qualified as real estate capital returns in the event that the statutes of the community allow it and the use of certain dwellings is temporarily transferred to third parties and the income obtained is imputed to them.

In the cases in which the income obtained by the community of owners is distributed, cooperative returns could be obtained, for which the cohabiting partners would be entitled to a deduction of 10 or 5% depending on their consideration as protected or specially protected cooperatives. If the cohabitants proceed to the sale of the real rights over the dwelling, or, where appropriate, if it is the property community itself that transmits them by attributing the obtained to the cohabitants, references to capital gains and losses will be applicable.

On the other hand, if, as in the Danish *Andel*, it's possible to transmit the right of use, habitation or usufruct inter vivos or mortis causa, the Inheritance and Donations Tax would be applicable. The problems that could possibly arise would derive 1) from the valuation of the transmitted goods, and 2) from the lack of tax benefits that facilitate certain forms of transmission between, for example, people previously living in homes whose rights are intended to be transmitted.

In the event that the community of cohabitants is managed by a cooperative, Corporate Tax rules will be applied in order to determine:

• The value of cooperative operations at an amount that is not less than the cost of such services and supplies, including the part corresponding to the general expenses of the entity.
• The applicability of the tax benefits with respect to tax rates (20% for cooperative results compared to 25% for extra-cooperative profits); to the freedom to amortize the elements of amortizable fixed assets acquired within three years from the date of their registration in the Register of Cooperatives and Labor Corporations of the Ministry of Labor and Social Security, or, where appropriate, the 50% bonus on the fee for specially protected cooperatives.

As we can see, it is vitally important for the applicability of these fiscal benefits to consider the cooperative as a protected cooperative or specially protected cooperative. As pointed out by Lucas Durán (2017:16), "such a contrast does not make sense because the recipients of housing cooperatives are usually consumers of a certain product (housing), so that nothing prevents both conditions from being exhibited. In the same way it could also happen that the cooperative partner was an investor who does not hold the status of consumer." In this sense, although there is regional legislation that attributes to housing cooperatives the consideration of cooperative of consumers and users, the truth is that, as indicated by Bonet Sánchez (2012:8) and García Calvente (2016:227-228), it would be more appropriate for the rooting of this type of cooperative if this consideration had a general character.

3.2. Indirect taxation

Regardless the concerns the Value Added Tax deserves when it comes to the assignment of use of the property for the provision of services by the managing entity to the cohabitants themselves or to third parties, the most relevant for its purposes is the determination of the exemption for the acquisition of the use, enjoyment or ownership of the home, and, where appropriate, the determination of the applicable type for it. The answer to these questions depends on the legal nature of the business through which that acquisition has been structured. If what is given is a right of usufruct, use or habitation, the operation would be exempt since in application of the jurisprudence of the CJEU, similar situations must be treated in an equivalent manner, and, this equivalence exists between the assignment of use and the rent.[13] On the contrary, if the construction entity of the housing community transfers its property, the operation would be taxed at 10% (or 4% if it were officially protected housing).

On the other hand, the Transfer Tax and Stamp Duty is a tax made up of three modalities, the Tax on Corporate Operations, the Tax on Onerous Capital Transfers and, finally, the Tax on Documented Legal Acts. The first of them has little relevance in the subject that concerns us because the contributions of capital to companies are not subject to taxation. Meanwhile, insofar as the assignments of the use of real rights over co-housing are exempt from VAT, they must be taxed at the headquarters of the Tax on Onerous Capital Transfer at the rate established in the Autonomous Community where the property is located. In the event the rental of the real estate that makes up the community is allowed, it would be applied the applicable scale or type. In the same way, as long as it does not waive the exemption according to the provisions of VAT, or, without such possibility, in the case of specially protected housing cooperatives, when the society that manages the community acquires land to build the property, as well as in the transmission of property rights over homes and common areas, it will be taxed at the rates set by this tax.

Leaving aside the modality of Onerous Patrimonial Transfers, if this has been applied in the acquisition of rights of use over housing, such circumstance will not be taxed by the proportionate proportion of the Tax on Documented Legal Acts. However, if it's a firsthand house, and therefore it was a subject operation and not exempt from VAT, as well as in cases where the acquisition was financed by a mortgage loan, the deed of sale and the loan will be paid both for the fixed fee and for the proportional share.

3.3. Local Taxes

Within the existing taxation at local level, for obvious reasons of space, we will now refer only to those taxes contained in the Revised Text of the Local Taxes Regulating Law that may have an impact on the matter at hand. We'll start with Tax on Real Property, whose taxable event is constituted by the ownership of certain real rights and does not pose a major problem in the case of the purchase of the property or the usufruct of the home. Therefore, in the case of cooperatives for the assignment of use, the calculation of the quota will depend on the legal contract that underlies; if it is through usufruct, the usufructuaries will be considered taxpayers, whereas if other figures, the co-housing management company would be obliged to pay the tax. Regarding the applicable tax benefits, beyond the compulsory 50% bonus on the full installment during the three years after they are classified as equivalent and comparable protection housing, there's a possibility that the "City councils by ordinance may regulate a bonus of up to 95 percent of the full tax in favor of real estate in which economic activities that are declared of special interest or municipal utility because of social, cultural, historical or artistic circumstances are developed", something undoubtedly interesting for those cohousing examples such as the German *Frauenwohnprojecte.*

The Tax on Buildings, Installations and Works is relevant for the development of cohousing if we take into account that in this type of homes relevant adaptation, construction works... will have to be carried out. In this regard, the quota subsidies are considered as contemplated in article 103.2 of the Revised Text of the Local Taxes Regulating Law.

At the same time, article 104.1 of the Revised Text of the Local Taxes Regulating Law establishes that the Tax on the Increase in the Value of Urban Land is a direct tribute that levies the increase in value of these lands as a consequence of the transfer of their ownership by any title, or the constitution or transmission of any real right of enjoyment over the aforementioned land, which, in itself, also makes reference to the different legal businesses that underlie the various models of cohousing described so far. The aforementioned law includes a bonus of up to 95 percent of the full tax payment, in the transfer of land, and in the transmission or creation of real rights of enjoyment limiting the ownership of land, on which economic activities are carried out if they are declared of special interest because of social, cultural, artistic historical or employment promotion circumstances that justify such declaration.

4. Conclusions

What's collected in these lines highlights the great opportunities offered by the different models of collaborative housing presented from an architectural, social, cultural, economic and environmental point of view. The experiences developed in Germany, Denmark or Sweden show that these housing solutions serve different needs and respond adequately to the shortcomings that a property-based market cannot currently supply. Therefore, public institutions must adopt housing policies that contemplate the development of residential models based on the transfer of use.

Moreover, these housing policies should be extended not only to the urban sphere or real estate development; as we have seen, the tax policy applicable to these housing management

models can have an important relevance when it comes to boosting or slowing down their development.

Consequently, from this platform we advocate for 1) the development of social housing plans that promote collaborative housing, and, 2) a rationalization of their tax treatment, for example, by considering the management companies as consumer and user cooperatives; the recognition of tax benefits for the legal businesses that underlie the different cohousing models, the automatic application of the bonuses contemplated in the Revised Text of the Local Taxes Regulating Law.

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6. Methodological Appendix

Authors use an inductive method to draw general conclusions from the studied casuistry and applicable substantive and tax regulations. The fieldwork was conducted in the Basque Country and Spain during the last two months.

7. Data Sources

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8. Abbreviations

• **VAT:** Value Added Tax

9. Biographical Note

Irune Suberbiola Garbizu, PhD in Law is Lecturer of Financial and Tax Law at the Faculty of Law of the UPV-EHU. Most recent publications: "La trilogía Taricco, un análisis de la tutela multinivel de los derechos fundamentales en el ámbito tributario", *Estudios financieros. Revista de contabilidad y tributación: Comentarios, casos prácticos*, 429, 2018:47-76 and "La necesaria reconsideración del concepto de establecimiento permanente en la era de la economía digital: Especial referencia a los servicios de juego online", *Documentos* Instituto de Estudios Fiscales, (3), 2018. Second Prize of the Financial Studies Center 2018 in its taxation modality. Her research interests are taxation of social economy, Tax ADR, taxation and fundamental rights.

Alex Mitxelena Etxeberria, PhD in Architecture, is Lecturer of Architectural Design at the School of Architecture of the UPV-EHU. Most recent publications: "Compromiso social en la arquitectura: las competencias trasnversales a través del contexto de la cooperación al desarrollo en el Aula de Proyectos Arquitectónicos", *Compromiso social y otras competencias transversales*, 2018:195-206 and "From ecological architecture to biomimicry", *Journal of Sustainable Architecture and Civil Engineering*, 20, 2017: 86-74 His research interests are architectural and housing design.

10. Notes

1   This paper is developed in the framework of a collaboration agreement signed between the School of Architecture of the University of the Basque Country and the Department of Environment, Territorial Planning and Housing for the research in coexistence spaces. Correspondence should be directed to Irune Suberbiola Garbizu at irune.suberbiola@ehu.eus or Alex Mitxelena Etxeberria at alex.mitxelena@ehu.eus.

2   Sambricio, Carlos. 2004. *Madrid, vivienda y urbanismo: 1900-1960*. Madrid: Ediciones Akal: 407-408.

3   All Spaniards have the right to enjoy decent and adequate housing. The public authorities will promote the necessary conditions and establish the pertinent norms to enforce this right, regulating the use of land in accordance with the general interest to prevent speculation. The community will participate in the capital gains generated by the urban action of public entities.

4   See the available information in Eurostat 2018. "Estadísticas sobre vivienda". Retrieved February 19, 2019 (https://ec.europa.eu/eurostat/statistics-explained/index.php?title=Housing_statistics/es#R.C3.A9gimen_de_tenencia.).

5   By contrast, in Switzerland, in 2014, 55.5% of the population lived in rented housing.

6   See El Mundo 2017. "Las cooperativas siempre ahí". Retrieved February 19, 2019 (http://www.elmundo.es/economia/vivienda/2017/11/17/5a0eb7fb268e3ecc078b45bc.html)

7   See Basque Observatory of Housing 2012. "La política de vivienda y las cooperativas de vivienda en Europa", Retrieved February 19, 2019 (http://www.garraioak.ejgv.euskadi.eus/r41-ovad02/es/contenidos/informacion/ovv_a_pc_eu_002/es_ovv_admi/adjuntos/INFORME_Politicas%20Vivienda_UE_es.pdf)

8 On the diversification in the uses of these common spaces in collaborative housing see Ahn, Je; Tusinki, Olivia. Treger, Chloe. 2018. *Living closer, the many face of co-housing*. London: Studio Weave.

9 At that time, they served as a home for the beguines, hence their name, contemplative Christians who, without having given any vote, organized themselves to provide mutual and social assistance to the homeless ... For further information Muñoz Mayor, María Jesús. 1998. "Beguinas: esas otras mujeres del medievo." *Mujeres que se atrevieron*, Bilbao: Desclée de Brouwer:115-156.

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12 Lucas Durán, 2017:19.

13 Except in the case of leases with the option to purchase land or houses whose delivery was subject to and not exempt from tax, or when the lessor undertakes to provide any of the complementary services of the hotel industry.

TRACK
4

Arts
*Art and the commons; collaborative
art and new forms of creative
commons; and distributed design*

La investigación Prekariart. Una red colaborativa alimentada desde las prácticas artísticas

Beatriz Cavia[1] y Concepción Elorza[2]

[A]Unibersitat Oberta de Catalunya
[B]Universidad del País Vasco/Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea

Abstract: *El proyecto de investigación Prekariart —que se posiciona como postcolonialista y feminista— se propone como modelo de entrecruzamiento de saberes por parte de investigadoras de diferentes campos de conocimiento tomando como eje la actividad artística, que se basa en la indudable capacidad del arte para transformar el entorno social en el que se construye mediante la realización de proyectos que responden a retos reales.*

De este modo, hemos venido planteando una exploración multidisciplinar y transversal destinada a la profundización en el conocimiento generado desde el arte y sus posibilidades de transferencia a la sociedad. Trabajamos desde los modos específicos de presencia de la actividad artística como práctica e investigación, tratando de poner a prueba y desbordar constantemente su capacidad en la creación de imaginarios, su poder como lugar en el que explorar otras formas de ser y pensar, así como por su importancia en la construcción de subjetividades.

Por ello, durante nuestro proceso de investigación, en los últimos tiempos hemos repertoriado y puesto en valor una serie formatos y plataformas que proponen modos diferentes de existir de lo artístico en el seno de lo social. En relación a esto, estudiamos la centralidad de determinados dispositivos de mediación como el comisariado, la crítica y los procesos colectivos de aprendizaje surgidos desde el arte, a la hora de promover, crear o subvertir estos modelos.

Keywords: *Precariedad, mediación, arte, prácticas colaborativas*

1. Introducción

En esta comunicación vamos a plantear varias cuestiones: la primera, considerar que un diagnóstico de la centralidad de la precariedad contemporánea ha favorecido la creación de procesos colaborativos y nuevas prácticas en el mundo del arte; la segunda, profundizar en algunos dispositivos de mediación en los que se objetivan las consecuencias del diagnóstico anterior; una tercera, consistiría en la enumeración de algunos ejemplos de creación artística o *desde el arte*, en los que detectamos inquietudes y formas de trabajar con las que nos identificamos y con las que dialogamos y aprendemos; por último haremos referencia a las contradicciones que asumimos como sustrato que nos soporta y que sustancia nuestro trabajo.

En las últimas décadas se ha venido estudiando la precariedad como noción polisémica para interpretar y analizar lo social. Desde las ciencias sociales y las humanidades existe un consenso por el cual se acepta que la precariedad ocupa la centralidad de la vida social y que

lo que antes operaba como excepción o carencia, es ahora la pauta hegemónica que atraviesa la estructura social y la socialidad (Butler 2009 y 2017; Lorey 2006 y 2016).

Esta hegemonía de lo precario es compartida por el mundo del arte como un mundo social más, aunque también alimenta con características propias esta noción.

En el proceso de la investigación *Prekariart* hemos investigado acerca de las características y condiciones del mundo del arte, verificando un diagnóstico de precariedad estructural, en el que las instituciones, artistas y la variedad de agentes que lo componen desarrollan distintas estrategias de resistencia y producen diversas subjetividades.

Lo que la precariedad configura como identidades difusas, trayectorias profesionales discontinuas, experiencias vulnerables o situaciones vitales en constante proceso de redefinición, genera a su vez aspectos colaborativos de especial relevancia.

La multiplicidad de dispositivos de mediación que se han generado en las últimas décadas en el mundo del arte responde, por un lado, a las necesidades de un sistema neoliberal hiperproductivo que favorece la aparición constante de nuevos agentes, pero al mismo tiempo, es producto de la permanente gestión de las subjetividades contemporáneas y las formas en que desde condiciones materiales complejas (generalmente de escasez y competencia) se construyen de forma crítica.

2. Las consecuencias productivas de la precariedad

Una de las crisis más importantes de sentido en el mundo contemporáneo proviene de la pérdida de centralidad del trabajo para proporcionar las condiciones materiales de subsistencia, pero sobre todo, para explicar la vida social en los términos en que la modernidad los define vinculados a una trayectoria vital coherente, estable y constitutiva de la individualidad. Los numerosos estudios que ponen el énfasis en esta crisis del trabajo nos indican las transformaciones que en términos productivos han configurado un panorama caracterizado por la globalización y la deslocalización por una parte, y la flexibilidad y la precariedad por la otra. Y también nos indican que este mapa supone en occidente una grave crisis de sentido, que en relación con otras instituciones que también han perdido su valor en la definición de las identidades, obliga a los individuos a enfrentarse a la vida desde lugares y mediante estrategias no previstos. La precariedad es un concepto que desde distintos lugares ha funcionado como diagnóstico de lo social contemporáneo en relación al mercado laboral y al trabajo, pero también a nivel vital como se planteaba al hablar de la crisis de la idea de sociedad.

Como característica generalizable encontramos una situación que, desde el punto de vista del individuo, se ha denominado como "psicologización del yo" o "precariedad del sí" (Álvarez-Uría 2011; Lorey 2006). Estas perspectivas explican cómo se ha trasladado la responsabilidad en la subjetivación soslayando las seguridades y soportes que implican las estructuras e instituciones a través de las cuales se ha garantizado la ciudadanía y los derechos. Algo muy visible en el ámbito laboral, como explican Serrano y Crespo (2011) subrayando cómo las características actuales del mercado laboral (flexibilidad, adaptación, formación continua)

trasladan la responsabilidad de trabajar al individuo en la medida en que se ven erosionadas las seguridades sociales del empleo. Pero la forma en que asumimos la precariedad no puede limitarse a la carencia o a la falta, sino que también puede resultar productiva. Nos encontramos por tanto con que la precariedad es *vital* (Tejerina, Cavia, Fortino y Calderón 2013), no se refiere únicamente al ámbito laboral sino a todas las dimensiones de las relaciones sociales, y por otra parte, posibilita una gestión de lo social en la que apenas se está adentrando en investigar en la última década desde esta noción[1].

La precariedad permite adentrarnos en una doble vertiente, la relativa al trabajo, y la relativa a lo vital, que ha adquirido relevancia como correlato de otras explicaciones de crisis de la cuestión social. Se plantea una lectura con la época en que se sitúa, aderezado por la convulsión de una crisis coyuntural que ha tornado la precariedad en característica cotidiana y un recurso habitual de explicación de la situación social. Si la precariedad es una condición propia de lo contemporáneo, las posiciones que inciden en una desigualdad en el acceso y desigual distribución de los recursos acentúan su doble condición material y simbólica y las situaciones de discriminación que potencian estas situaciones de precariedad.

3. Dispositivos contemporáneos de mediación

A continuación, presentamos algunos de los dispositivos de mediación que nos han parecido significativos en las últimas fases de la investigación[2]. Comenzaremos presentando algunos ejemplos del ámbito pedagógico o educativo que trabajan en el amplio espacio de la mediación. Entre ellos Programa de Estudios Independiente (PEI) del Museu d'Art Contemporani de Barcelona (MACBA)[3], la Universidad Internacional de Andalucía (UNIA), la *Universidad Popular[4], desarrollada bajo el paraguas institucional del Centro de Arte 2 de Mayo (CA2M) de Madrid, la Universidad sin créditos[5] y el colectivo Sociología Ordinaria[6]*.

La principal aportación de los dispositivos provenientes del mundo de la cultura nombrados previamente, es que proponen partir de un cuestionamiento de la educación como modelo neutro y aséptico, para configurar aperturas en el modelo educativo que permitan *metodologías mestizas y saberes subalternos* (PEI MACBA, 2014). Esto significa partir de la crítica al modelo educativo moderno institucionalizado y cuestionar la división de las disciplinas académicas a pesar de incidir en la especialización ya que ambas son compatibles, la verticalidad profesor(a)-estudiante, la separación entre teoría y práctica o entre arte y política, la concepción del conocimiento como algo privado (y vinculado a ello todos los temas relativos a los derechos de propiedad intelectual), la gestión de la corporalidad, la arquitectura de las aulas y el diseño de los espacios… Y al poner todo esto en cuestión, estas pedagogías lo que defienden es que los espacios educativos deben ser redefinidos constantemente como espacios democráticos.

Para ello, se plantean formatos que han tardado en llegar a las metodologías empleadas en la universidad como los talleres, los grupos de lectura, la experimentación tecnológica, así como redes de colaboración entre diferentes instituciones a nivel de espacios e instituciones públicas; esto implica también una redefinición del uso de los recursos y de la financiación, por ejemplo a través del empleo de software libre o el uso de sistemas tecnológicos paralelos a los establecidos en las grandes industrias culturales (como los videojuegos). En términos de contenidos, se plantean aspectos cuya incorporación es más reciente, y no poco problemática,

como la inclusión transversal de una perspectiva de género o la introducción del debate sobre el *copyleft*, por ejemplo. Estos aspectos, que cada vez están más presentes en nuestro ámbito universitario, se han trabajado en estos "programas independientes" con anterioridad, y sus resultados deberían ser traducidos a nuestros ámbitos.

Además, es posible implantar metodologías y perspectivas que ya han sido analizadas, planteadas y experimentadas en contextos artísticos. Y, por último, es fundamental considerar la cultura, y el arte en especial, como campo educativo en el que la innovación y la creatividad a pesar de ser un lenguaje que ya nos suena tecnocrático, son sus pilares básicos.

4. Capacidades del arte

En este contexto y en relación a lo que, en términos de Fernández Polanco (2007) "puede el arte", desde la investigación que aquí presentamos nos planteamos dos grandes objetivos. Por un lado, entendemos como imperativa la revisión del papel de la actividad artística y, por ende, de sus sistemas de validación, así como la búsqueda de fórmulas no deudoras para con una cierta manera de entenderla, que asocia dicha actividad con la producción de valor simbólico para grupos corporativos, el entretenimiento o el gusto burgués[7] (Bourdieu 1979 y 1998; Cancio 2015; Elorza 2014). El arte es y tiene que seguir siendo capaz de existir en circuitos que permitan un despliegue de sus capacidades más allá de su faceta como objeto de consumo dirigido al mercado del ocio. Pues, si la actividad artística ha sido capaz de mantener, por encima de los más diversos obstáculos e imperativos, su capacidad para la reflexión y la crítica, entendemos que precisamente esta manera de existir debe de ser especialmente preservada y potenciada. Consideramos, por tanto, necesario construir estructuras que fortalezcan este modo de existencia, más allá de la dependencia del gusto, de la condena a la arbitrariedad. Afirmamos sin duda, de nuevo, con Fernández Polanco que en las proposiciones artísticas "cristaliza la relación del arte con la sociedad […] son 'historiografía inconsciente'" (Fernández Polanco 2007: 131). En este sentido, contemplamos también, siguiendo a Dewey, que "el material de la experiencia estética en el ser humano […] es social" (Dewey 1980: 369).

Por otro lado, como condición indisolublemente ligada a lo anterior, enfatizamos en nuestra investigación, desde la acción implicada, la denuncia por su inexistencia y la reclamación insistente para que se construya de una vez por todas -por medio de una legislación a tal efecto- un marco en el que lxs artistas como profesionalxs puedan contar con los derechos y asumir las obligaciones consustanciales al ejercicio especializado de su labor. Sin duda, si el arte ha de ser "cimentación fundamental de la seguridad y progreso futuros" (Dewey 2008: 33) tiene que producirse en las condiciones adecuadas. No es defendible bajo ningún punto de vista que tengan que ser lxs propixs artistas quienes soporten todo el peso del sistema del que forman parte y que paradójicamente debe a su vez proporcionarles los medios económicos de subsistencia (Perez y López-Aparicio 2017: 80).

Consideramos asimismo que lxs artistas tienen que asumir un papel activo en cuanto al desarrollo de estas condiciones imprescindibles y por supuesto integrar aportaciones que deberán sumarse a otras tantas procedentes de cuantos agentes participan y dan sentido a su actividad, entendiendo como tales tanto los diversos modos de mediación, como los públicos. No es posible trazar el presente que ideamos sin partir de la complicidad y responsabilidad

compartida por todas las partes.

De este modo, traemos a este texto a continuación un proyecto particular y varias líneas de trabajo, cada uno de los cuales señala parcialmente algunas de las preguntas principales que guían nuestro recorrido.

En el año 2003 el artista Martín Sastre creaba *The Martín Sastre Foundation for the Super Poor Art* con el eslogan "Adopte un Artista Latino", con la intención de visibilizar la desprotección y el abandono de lxs artistas latinoamericanos a lxs que, por medio de este trabajo, trataba de contribuir a visibilizar, fortaleciendo su acceso a ayudas económicas que suplieran la negligencia institucional hacia ellxs[8]. Sastre jugaba con el término apadrinamiento, tal como lo emplean las ONGs que ofrecen ayuda a distancia a colectivos desfavorecidos. Su trabajo habla de centros y periferias, de lugares hegemónicos que definen lo que es o no arte. Su gesto proyecta la dificultad o imposibilidad de acceso a ese reparto desde determinados puntos del planeta o desde determinadas condiciones económicas. De hecho, lo que no deja de ser elocuente, su recorrido como artista llevó a Sastre a desplazarse a Europa para así estar más cerca de ese lugar privilegiado al que su trabajo se refiere[9], esto es, Occidente y la concepción occidental de la cultura desplegada en un sistema complejo y casi siempre opaco, de relaciones, fuerzas y convenios.

Este planteamiento aproxima desde la práctica una parte importante de la problemática específica del campo artístico; por un lado, señala a la hegemonía del discurso en cuanto a la propia definición de la actividad artística, a partir de la cual lo que la excede o no encaja es considerado, si acaso, periferia. Por otro, pone de manifiesto algo que habitualmente se mantiene oculto, esto es, la invisibilidad o incapacidad de subsistencia del arte *súper pobre*. ¿Es posible ser artista en un contexto *súper pobre?* ¿Es posible ser artista *súper pobre?*

Otrxs artistas y colectivos han dado pasos más allá de la denuncia, y asumido una actitud de orientación colectiva, al tiempo que promueven y modelizan cambios significativos de actitud y evidencian la necesidad de movimientos estructurales que permitan superar el actual estado de cosas. Proponen respuestas desde el arte y la mediación vinculando lo ético y lo estético. Plantean indagaciones que implican el cuestionamiento y la desobediencia hacia formas de funcionamiento establecidas.

Enumeramos a continuación algunos de ellos:

• Zemos 98. Se autodefinen como "un equipo de trabajo que investiga, programa y produce contenidos relacionados con educación, comunicación y creación audiovisual" (http://equipo.zemos98.org/About). Una muy importante parte de su trabajo ha cristalizado en las sucesivas ediciones del festival ZEMOS 98, desde cuyo desarrollo el colectivo ha ido desplegando sus posicionamientos. Constantemente resitúan la importancia de la imagen y nuestro papel como productorxs, remezcladorxs y consumidorxs de imágenes. Una línea prioritaria en su quehacer la ocupa la educación, de modo que en los últimos años han desarrollado diversas colaboraciones y formatos enfatizando el trabajo en *código abierto*, nuevas formas de entender la cultura visual y la construcción de una sociedad más inclusiva y participativa.
• Colectivo InsultARTe. Colectivo que sitúa como eje de su actividad "la dignidad de

lxs trabajadorxs culturales" (https://twitter.com/insultARTE). Su trabajo se centra fundamentalmente en denunciar la mala praxis y orientar a artistas y creativxs en torno a aspectos relacionados con sus deberes y derechos laborales. Además de colaborar con lxs trabajadorxs creativxs en aspectos muy prácticos relacionados con el funcionamiento profesional en el día a día, desarrollan una importantísima labor en la difusión y propagación de las llamadas buenas prácticas y en la denuncia pública de los abusos.

• Superflex. Colectivo con base en Copenhague, fundado en 1993 por Jakob Fenger, Bjørnstjerne Christiansen y Rasmus Nielsen. Cuestionan el papel de lxs artistas en la sociedad contemporánea en conexión con los sistemas de poder y su despliegue en el escenario globalizado. Entienden su producción artística como herramientas, cuyo empleo esperan sea reapropiado y redefinido por lxs propixs usuarixs.

• Cabello/Carceller. Docentes e investigadoras universitarias, artistas y comisarias, Elena Cabello y Ana Carceller nos enfrentan a las construcciones de poder y su constante presencia en la totalidad de las expresiones culturales que nos rodean, así como a los imaginarios que desde ellas se crean. En sus proyectos, a menudo de índole colaborativa "subrayan la importancia de construir o reescribir las poéticas colectivas desde posiciones divergentes, recordando la necesidad de estudiar las experiencias intersticiales y alternativas, revisando las políticas sexuales y de género, […] y de cuestionar las narrativas propagandísticas […] a través de las que se promocionan las políticas neoliberales y sus modos de relación social" (http://www.cabellocarceller.info/cast/index.php?/info/). Interesa especialmente a nuestra investigación el comisariado por parte de estas artistas en 2010 de la exposición *Presupuesto: 6 euros. Prácticas artísticas y precariedad.*

• *Werker Collective***,** proyecto multifacético sobre fotografía y trabajo iniciado en Ámsterdam en 2009 por Marc Roig Blesa and Rogier Delfos. El colectivo empezó siendo un proyecto editorial por medio del cual han producido 10 números de una publicación contextual llamada *Werker Magazine*. Su punto de partida es el Movimiento de Fotografía Obrera, un grupo de asociaciones de fotógrafos aficionados que apareció en Alemania en la década de 1920, siguiendo los pasos de los primeros experimentos de fotografía socialista en la URSS que se extendieron al resto de Europa, Estados Unidos y Japón. Se interesan por las metodologías de trabajo basadas en la autorrepresentación, la autoedición, el análisis de imágenes y los procesos de aprendizaje colectivo. (http://www.werkermagazine.org/werkercollective/)

• Colectivo C.A.S.I.T.A. Se trata de un "colectivo artístico cuyos miembros permanentes son Loreto Alonso, Eduardo Galvagni y Diego del Pozo Barriuso. El significado de sus siglas varía según sus proyectos manteniendo el acrónimo" (http://ganarselavida.net/)**.** Interesa especialmente a nuestra investigación su proyecto *Ganarse la Vida: El Ente Transparente* (desde 2006), con el que proponían "la investigación sobre los modos de producción y sus condicionamientos sobre nuestros tiempos y espacios, especialmente en las nuevas divisiones del trabajo y la producción de subjetividad. Reflexionar sobre las consecuencias del cambio de paradigma productivo."[10]

5. Paradojas del arte en la academia. Paradojas del arte y la academia

Desde nuestra experiencia como docentes vivimos cotidianamente la radical paradoja de la separación entre una concepción del arte que tiene fundamentalmente en cuenta sus facetas más espirituales y/o críticas, "ficciones que crean disensos, […] objetos de una

'reflexión especial'" (Fernández Polanco 2007:130), en oposición a su existencia en el seno del sistema del arte, donde su importancia o valor asume términos absolutamente diferentes. Obviamente no es inocente nuestra posición en el seno de la universidad. De hecho, hace tiempo que el propio sistema universitario se encuentra inmerso un debate semejante. No en vano el planteamiento del papel y la función social de la universidad sufrió un importante giro en su definición, uno de cuyos momentos de inflexión más visibles cristalizó en el llamado Proceso de Bolonia (comenzado en 1999). De manera palpable a partir de este momento la *vieja* Universidad, lugar de reflexión y creación, basculaba hacia la búsqueda de una eficiencia medible en términos económicos (Sendín y Espinosa 2014; Puy 2017).

Por nuestra parte, asumimos la diferencia propia de las humanidades y la entendemos como un privilegio: preservar en el seno de la academia un espacio en el que favorecer la observación y la experimentación, así como la valoración de los procesos por encima de los resultados (Blasco 2013:30). Asimismo, desde nuestro planteamiento abogamos por desplegar un pensamiento ligado a su contexto, pegado a su realidad (Dewey, 2008).

Si nuestro lugar de observación es el arte, desde su hacer el artista Thomas Hirschhorn nos señala una posible dirección a seguir en sus exhibiciones Anschool 2005 —en el Bonnefanten museum de Maastritcht Holanda— y Anschool II —mostrada en el Museo Serralves (Portugal).

> "El espacio del Museo es transformado en lo que podría ser una escuela, con salas equipadas con sillas, bancos, mesas, globos, mapas, televisores y textos impresos. Anschool es un término creado por Hirschhorn para designar una "no escuela", que rechaza los principios de transmisión y formato del pensamiento, en la perspectiva de interrogar las posibilidades de accesibilidad democrática al conocimiento y a la experiencia."[11]

No hay duda, el arte goza de la capacidad de ser una plataforma de inigualable valor para las pedagogías críticas, plantea modos de comunicación que pueden alcanzar a los públicos de modos más directos y cercanos; sin embargo, al mismo tiempo, para alcanzar su propio proyecto, ha de ser una no-escuela. Pues sucede que el espacio del arte es el de las preguntas que eluden ser respondidas y su investigación se caracteriza por ser, en palabras de Dora García, "poco eficiente, o en realidad nada eficiente, circular, anti-lineal, temerosa de llegar a cualquier conclusión, desbocada en la búsqueda, que huye del final de la misma como de la misma peste" (García 2011:62). Este es el trasfondo que asumimos para Prekariart, una asunción primera de la especificidad de nuestra investigación que nos anima a revisar las lógicas aprendidas y los itinerarios trazados.

6. Conclusión

Por tanto, retomando un término empleado por Bourriaud (2008: 33) en el que resuena la voz de Guattari, queremos hacer de Prekariart una *máquina* capaz de generar encuentro, pensamiento crítico, sistemas de colaboración. Somos conscientes de que solo una profunda revisión que se interne hasta la raíz en el análisis y cuestionamiento de los modos de existencia del arte en el seno de lo social podrá generar nuevas formas de trabajo y, desde ellas, nuevos imaginarios.

Queremos aprender de todos y cada uno de los colectivos señalados en el cuarto apartado de este texto —Zemos 98, InsultARTe, Superflex, Cabello/Carceller, Werker Collective, C.A.S.I.T.A.— ser capaces de extraer consecuencias desde el camino recorrido por todos ellos, aplicarlas y proyectarlas al futuro. Nos identificamos con ellos y participamos de las razones que les mueven: el sentido de responsabilidad con respecto a la producción y difusión de imágenes; la voluntad de contribuir al establecimiento -de una vez por todas- de relaciones laborales dignas para artistas y creativxs; el abordaje de la actividad artística como consecuencia y -en cierto modo- partícipe del actual estado de cosas; la capacidad política del arte; el deseo de hacer del arte un instrumento de cambio; la necesidad de recuestionar la actual correlación de tiempos entre trabajo y *vida*.

Entendemos que el pleno desarrollo de propuestas críticas para con los planteamientos socioeconómicos surgidos del estadio capitalista en el que nos encontramos inmersxs ha de incorporar sin duda la revisión de todas las estructuras de la institución *Arte* y los modos en que determinan y perfilan la producción artística y sus modelos de disfrute y consumo.

En el breve periodo de desarrollo conjunto del proyecto Prekariart hemos establecido lazos y creado sinergias, sabemos que hablamos de elecciones y deseos compartidos. Algunas publicaciones dan cuenta de este desarrollo (VV.AA. 2018; Elorza, Martínez López y Claramonte, 2018).

Mas nuestra aspiración va más allá del estudio y análisis teórico. Idealmente deberíamos ser capaces de aportar, generar propuestas prácticas útiles, apropiables colectivamente. En este sentido, Prekariart es también y sobre todo un lugar de prototipado dialogado cuya más completa realización está en la acción.

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8. Nota biográfica

Beatriz Cavia es doctora en Sociología por la Universidad Complutense de Madrid, profesora en la Unibersitat Oberta de Catalunya y en la Universidad del País Vasco/Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea. Tiene una larga trayectoria como investigadora en sociología tanto en el ámbito académico como en la consultoría independiente. Ha publicado en distintos medios y revistas científicas de carácter internacional y ha realizado diversas estancias en centros internacionales, como el CNRS de París (laboratorio GERS-Género y Relaciones sociales), en la Universidad de Santa Cruz California (departamento de Sociología) y en la Universidad de Chile (CIEG-Centro Interdisciplinar de Estudios de Género). Desde 2010, combina su trabajo académico con su trabajo en la Oficina de Arte y Conocimiento Bulegoa z/b (www.bulegoa. org), premiada en 2018 con el Premio Gure Artea, por lo que sus líneas de investigación actuales

están situadas en la intersección entre el arte contemporáneo y las ciencias sociales.

Concepción Elorza es doctora en Bellas Artes y profesora titular del Departamento de Arte y Tecnología de la Facultad de Bellas Artes de la Universidad del País Vasco UPV/EHU. Ha realizado exposiciones individuales y colectivas tanto en el País Vasco como en el ámbito estatal e internacional y su trabajo ha sido incorporado a importantes colecciones (Museo Nacional Centro de Arte Reina Sofía y Lunwerg Editores, Fundación Telefónica, Universidad Politécnica de Valencia, Photomuseum de Zarautz). Paralelamente ha desarrollado una amplia actividad investigadora que se ha concretado fundamentalmente en la publicación de textos, comisariado de exposiciones, organización de talleres y seminarios, participación en congresos y dirección de tesis doctorales. Actualmente es investigadora principal del proyecto Prekariart [MINECO HAR2016- 77767-R (AEI/FEDER, UE)] y del Grupo de Investigación Consolidado de la Universidad del País Vasco UPV/EHU GIU18/153 *Gizaartea. Diálogos críticos arte/sociedad. El arte contemporáneo como espacio de conocimiento, laboratorio de lo social, dispositivo y realidad*.

9. Notas

1   La precariedad se ha construido como noción vinculada a lo laboral (Cavia y González, 2013), pero la centralidad progresiva con que se ha colocado en lo social en todos los aspectos de lo social, ha desplazado progresivamente su significado, algo que ha venido a extender su potencial analítico en cuanto correlato de la "crisis de la idea de sociedad" (Dubet, Bauman, Sennet, Castel) y por otro en las consecuencias estructurales que ha provocado la crisis financiera global desde 2007.

2   El análisis de algunos de estos proyectos puede encontrarse en Cavia, Beatriz. 2018. "Innovación y competencias en los márgenes de la institución". Pp. 77-88 en Inza, Amaia et al. *Compromiso social y competencias transversales*. Leioa: UPV/EHU

3   Folleto del PEI 2014-2015 del MACBA. Descargado en http://www.macba.cat/uploads/PEI/PEI%20 Castellano%20Web%2014%20Abril%202014.pdf. Introducción firmada por Beatriz Preciado, responsable del PEI en ese periodo.

4   La Universidad Popular comienza en Europa en el SXIX para responder a las demandas de la población que no podía acceder a la educación reglada, en especial a colectivos que carecían de la trayectoria educativa adecuada para ello.

5   https://programasincreditos.org/universidad-sin-creditos/

6   https://sociologiaordinaria.com/

7   Fernández Polanco nos recuerda que "la experiencia estética, como experiencia específica fue un invento de las clases ociosas". Fernández Polanco 2007: 128.

8   Ver: http://www.martinsastre.com/foundation/

9   Dice el artista: "En un vídeo que hice hace años utilicé una frase: "El Arte es un invento Occidental" y esto es una verdad absoluta. El Arte "Precolombino", por ejemplo, lo estudian los antropólogos, no los historiadores del Arte. Todo lo relacionado al Arte —Occidental y Contemporáneo— tiene como eje común la producción simbólica —y cultural— europea. Tener éxito en Europa es vital para el desarrollo de mi carrera y la de cualquiera. Ver: http://www.latinart.com/spanish/transcript. cfm?id=60

10   http://ganarselavida.net/ganarseLavida/ELPROYECTO.html

11   En https://www.serralves.pt/pt/actividades/anschool-ii-thomas-hirschhorn/.

In Dissensus, We Trust. Prototyping Social Relationships in Participatory Theatre

Elvira Crois
University of Antwerp

"If the culture of prototyping indeed prototypes hope, shouldn't we all hope for prototyping cultures more generally?"
(Corsín Jiménez 2014:382)

Abstract: *This paper discusses the potential of participatory theatre to rethink structures of society. More specifically, I examine how we can perceive this art practice as prototyping social relationships. The concept of prototyping (Corsín Jiménez 2014) in this paper is considered as a frame of possibility, that generates both modes of knowledge production and styles of exchange and interaction. While this definition of prototyping keeps the function of the surrogate that can be at once 'more than many and less than one', it announces as well a shift from creating artefacts to social relationships. I delve into this inquiry of participatory theatre prototyping society through an analysis of the work of the Belgian performing artist Katrien Oosterlinck who has developed a practice that facilitates meaningful contexts for being together. These meaningful contexts translate to interactive theatre settings in which the visitors engage with their own bodies, with others and with elements from their environment. Retaining to the notions of participation, bridging attitude (Otte 2014) and dissensus (Rancière 2010) as key aspects of the proposed view on politics, this paper analyzes the work Imagine Moving Rocks of Katrien Oosterlinck as a system of prototyping. Dissensus, coined by Rancière, refers to the conflict between sensory regimes and/or bodies, allowing for reconfigurations of a structure of sensory experience. While the strength of the proposed politics resides in its diversity, with difference taking root in its structure, trust needs to introduced as crucial element as well, as it provides a sense of common ground. This notion will not, however, be considered as trust in each other, but as trust in shared intention, providing the framework of spaces of trust rather than safe spaces. The study of the frame proposed in Imagine Moving Rocks uncovers the social principles engendering the practice of Katrien Oosterlinck. Through the idea of a bridging attitude this sociality holds the promise to become analogous to sociality in society, instilling a specific idea of politics. This disclosure of the social relationships becoming analogous to each other provides an analysis of prototyping, allowing the theatre practice of Oosterlinck to become a metaphor for a more responsible, available and co-creative society.*

Keywords: *Prototyping, participatory theatre, participation, bridging attitude, dissensus*

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1. Introduction

Imagine: rocks moving on a white canvas. Small artefacts made of white stones and bright colored tape drifting on a tiny stage of 20 by 20 centimeters. A circle of people you know (more or less) huddled around it. You move your rock in a choreography with eleven other people. Hands respectfully waiting, impelling, hovering, stirring. A miniature negotiation that lasts until every rock is content with its position both on the canvas and in relation to the other rocks.

This setting is a game that is part of the participatory performance *Imagine Moving Rocks* [*IMR*] by Belgian artist Katrien Oosterlinck; a game grid for eight to twelve people. The performance is made for a black box as it creates an aesthetic frame for collective play (performed by the participants) through light, sound and floor setting. It follows an explicit form of interaction wherein the participants are invited to bodily engage with each other; both through the miniature setting of the stone game and a human scaled playground in which the participants take in the position their rock holds on the tiny stage, in relation to the others. The interactive engagement between the participants transcends a one-to-one experience with a performer as it is lived collectively, amplifying sociality from a singular encounter to an event that is sensitive to group dynamics. Furthermore, while being entirely voluntary, the actions performed by the participants are instigated by the voice of Oosterlinck, who facilitates the play from the first moment the participants enter the black box until they eventually depart back into the world.

She invites and proposes; opens up possibilities by naming phases and next steps. She lays the groundwork for exploring your personal space, solidified by taping it down on a transparent pliable square. She provides the frame to engage with the other participants through their spaces (which might be yellow, pink or black; a closed off circle, a porous square or an unidentifiable, three dimensional shape); by touching each other's bodies in various positions or by acknowledging the space in between this amalgam of bodies, charged with potential. The play marks a cartography of social bonds, mediating social experience through the somatic. It prototypes relationships - as they are - as they can be perceived - as they may morph by encountering others.

2. Participation

"Imagine Moving Rocks is a play, an environment in which you can explore your interpersonal relations. It's a zone where you communicate with each other through body language and by making images. I will guide you step by step through this experiment. I present the rules, you play the game. I present options and you make choices. You make the journey by yourselves. Today, you are visiting this performance space, but not to watch me; to watch yourself and your company: each other." - Introduction to IMR, disclosed to the participants by Katrien Oosterlinck.

2.1. Participatory Theatre

Before we plunge deeper into this exposition, it might be convenient to clarify some vocabulary. While there is, for example, a vast difference between the notion of theatre and performance (performance stemming from the visual arts instead of the performing arts) I will use these notions as substitutes for each other. *Participatory theatre* and *participatory performance* therefore will be used interchangeably to talk about the proposed case study *IMR*.

In theatre studies, participatory theatre denominates a field that is intensely dynamic when it comes to form (Frieze 2016:3). As a matter of fact, the notion *participatory theatre* has been rendered inclusive due to people claiming the notion for a variety of theatre forms. The downfall to this inclusiveness is the conceptual confusion it instigates, as there is no longer a clear reference which people agree upon. Therefore, I do not use this notion to label a genre of theatre but rather as a way to explore the concept of *participation*. I will analyze this notion by looking into the politics of the specific participatory form elaborated in *IMR*. Furthermore, this case study serves as a framework through which I aim to 'read' an artistic practice with political potential.

2.2. Partaking

I do want to emphasize the specific sense how I adopt the notion of participation as, analogous to *participatory theatre*, there is a multitude of interpretations of this concept. In the first sense, I employ the notion of participation as people who take part in a theatre performance. This partaking in *IMR* can be thought of as interacting in a performance through active bodily engagement. The participation is specifically focused on the timeframe of the performance itself and should not be understood as 'non-professionals' taking part in the creative process. In that sense, *IMR* should not be understood as socio-artistic, socially engaged or applied theatre in which the underrepresented voice of minorities is integrated into the work (Bishop 2012).

The introductory text to *IMR* quoted above*,* is shared at the very beginning of the performance in a reception room. In this room participants meet each other, take off their shoes, put on fresh socks and meet the crew. It is a compression and decompression room that functions as an in-between zone between the outside world and the play world of *IMR*. It is the first phase in introducing a space of trust, a notion that I suggest instead of a safe space, and which we will return to later on. After entering the playground, the participants start off with a stone game, cleverly using language as a zone of transition.

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"These are the stones of Imagine Moving Rocks. Observe them closely. You can also take them and try to place them on different sides. Eventually, you chose one stone. Place the stone on your hand and watch it from all sides. It's as if you meet your stone. Can you recognize a character or a quality in it? What is specific about your stone? Try to capture this in one word. When you've found a word, show your stone to the others and say it." - Instructions for the first phase of the stone game.

2.3. Performativity

This game of looking and showing displays participants not merely partaking, but actually instating the personal through the social. Therefore, besides participation including interaction, we consider the ability to *perform* within a frame another major element of this notion. When *participating*, one always does this both in relation to a frame and to the other people who participate within the frame. The concept of performativity in this research thus expands the systems of the gaze (Mulvey 1975; Butler 1990) to the relationality within social relations and group dynamics. It reclaims the notion of *beholding* not solely as looking, but also as *holding* or *tending to*. Hence we can understand the capacity to participate as the capacity to relate to something; to simultaneously behold and *hold one's bearing*. I choose the word *bearing* in replacement of *position* as position reflects a static relationality whereas bearing incorporates a dynamic relationality.

The idea that a participant both beholds and holds bearing, arises early on in *IMR*: after naming the state of the rocks, the stones are spread out on the small canvas as if it were a Mikado game; randomly finding its place. The participants watch the situation, find their stone, its place in relation to the other stones and in relation to the game board. Participants are invited to share once more one word that describes the feeling of their stone in that specific spot, while pointing at their stone. Here already the participants' attention is brought to what it means to hold a position in relation to others and in relation to a space. In the next phase, the stones can explore different positions on the game board. One stone starts by taking in a new position, instigating the other stones to react by taking a new position as well. In two phases a sequence of movement follows until every stone has found a position that feels right.

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3. Bridging attitude

Participation in *IMR* is not the aim or the product, but a process which everyone commits to. Through engaging with the frame, the participants are introduced to each other and are provided with the opportunity to explore connections. The idea of connection is commonly posited as the establishment of a connection through similarity. In this paper we will however propose the idea of connection through difference.

3.1. Axes of Connection

In her doctoral thesis Dutch cultural sociologist Hanka Otte introduces the notion of *bridging attitude* as one approach to establish social cohesion. This approach is contrasted with a *binding attitude* in which engagement stems from recognition; a form that appears among people who identify with the same community. While in binding cohesive behavior, similarities are stimulated, bridging cohesive behavior encapsulates a capacity to be curious towards difference, inspiring to traverse dissimilarity (Gittell and Vidal 1998). It is a basic curiosity, a willingness to get to know the other and to embrace other opinions, perspectives and experiences.

Besides discerning binding and bridging connections, Otte differentiates between an *ideological connection* and a *relational connection*. A relational connection is established between people that physically encounter each other, while an ideological connection is centered around shared values or ideas and does not necessarily have to occur among people physically sharing space. Each of these connections can be more determinative for a relationship (Otte 2016:88). For example, performers who meet each other during a creative process have a relational connection as they collectively work on creating a performance. However, the very fact that they come together around a shared intention and collectively practice, may enhance their ideological connection.

Otte combines these two axes of binding-bridging and ideological-relational into a quadrant which represents different forms of social cohesion. For example, cohesive behavior in the relational dimension can lead to homogeneous (binding) or heterogeneous (bridging) networks. Within the ideological dimension this can lead to closed and segregative attitude (binding) or an open one (bridging). The question of durability can also be raised, as one cannot take for granted that the bridging attitude, felt during an event, will surely continue afterwards, when people go home, or in a next encounter. It is however exactly the attitude on the ideological dimension that determines the durability of cohesion and what forms of participation are possible (Otte 2016:91).

3.2. Hold Bearing

"What stays with me is the atmosphere and the feeling it evokes. How you engage with materials such as stones and tape and out of these elements are challenged to search for connections; to advance in connection physically with people you do not know - something you would never do outside of that space. And if I would see those people again now, I would carry the feeling that was created back then with me into this re-encounter."
- Reaction of a participant a year after participating in IMR (2019).

IMR is said to both lay bare the relations people have in daily life and help notice how versatile and mutable those relations may be. The aforementioned testimony could be regarded as such a mutable relation, brought forth through binding behavior - even though the participants did not know each other. The relational dimension *IMR* proposes can quite easily establish binding behavior, albeit not knowing each other. Recognizing that the audience of *IMR* certainly does not always have a different demographic background, bridging attitudes in the ideological dimension could still be explored. *IMR* does not, after all, only invite people to engage with each other; participants are also challenged to engage with the invitations of Oosterlinck; with the frame that is proposed. It is a constant negotiation in holding bearing. While a binding attitude is quite swiftly established through the relationalities among the participants, participants are also invited to explore their bridging attitude through holding bearing to the framework.

Though it is not the intention of Katrien Oosterlinck's work to instruct people how to interact with each other, it does embody the potential to impact how people approach, perceive and learn from their environment. This *approaching the environment* principally emanates from the proposed frames in *IMR*; the stone games, the exploration of one's personal space and that of the others, and the creative play in dynamically holding bearing to each other on the playfield. The bridging attitudes, explored through one's approach to the environment, are instigated by the element of *play* that is, in turn, sparked by the frame of *IMR*.

Hermeneutic philosopher Hans-Georg Gadamer describes *play* as a continual repetition of movement without clear goal (1977:48). He designates this with his renowned example of the play of waves or light, in which movement is the play itself. The participatory performance discussed in this paper provides a frame for exactly this sort of *free play* which focuses on the process rather than the outcome. By provoking free play, people are challenged to understand and generate new rules with which they have to create or perceive something new. This modality of free play inscribes theatre's potential to a bridging attitude as they both stem from a curiosity towards difference (Otte 2016:91). This claim builds on the assessment of Dutch researcher Hans Van Maanen that people who are able to cope with this challenging play or the playful challenges will be more open to other cultures. Playing with new rules and value systems in this specific setting might, after all, inspire and develop one's adequacy to understand cultures that stem from other rules and values than one's familiar with - or at least try to (Van Maanen 2009:191; Otte 2016:94).

4. Prototyping

Social cohesion operates on a micro, meso or macro level. An example of the micro level is a personal network of people, while the meso level is the organized environment wherein people perform. Lastly, the macro level covers the more abstract societal plane in which people relate to other people or groups without personally knowing or meeting them (Otte 2016:87). As a theatre scholar, I focus on the most practically feasible (micro) level of the participatory performance in which individuals, rather than groups, interact with each other. As Otte mentions, the cohesion between groups and people within society manifests itself in people's actions and behavior, making an analysis on micro level meaningful (Coleman 1990:6-10). This stance that an analysis of the micro level can provide insight into how people interact, resonates with the idea of prototyping.

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4.1. Prototyping Sociality

"We live in a society wherein scarcely anything is concerned with making connections. Somehow this simple setting however manages to evoke a societal dimension. It is astonishing what you can achieve with almost nothing, with such a small elements as stones, tape, invitations. In everyday life it rarely happens (or at least it is quite difficult once you have turned thirty) that you succeed in establishing akin connections." - Reaction of a participant a year after participating in IMR (2019).

In order to look into the notion of the bridging attitude, I do not take a stance that one theatre performance is transformative and fundamentally alters individuals. Rather I claim that *IMR,* as a participatory frameworks, holds the potential to prototype social relationships, through a binding attitude, but moreover a bridging attitude through the frame. The concept of *prototyping social relations*, coined by Spanish anthropologist Alberto Corsín Jiménez (2014), keeps the function of the surrogate, but introduces a shift from creating artefacts to sociality. He considers the prototype as a frame of possibility that generates both modes of knowledge production, and styles of exchange and interaction.

Corsín Jiménez formulates his interest in prototyping as "something that happens *to* social relationships when one approaches the craft and agency of objects in particular ways" (2014:383). This statement is applicable to the practice of Katrien Oosterlinck, in which the participants actively engage with others, with elements in space (such as the transparent squares or stones), but also with the offered frame. Prototyping then becomes a figure of possibility and suspension that functions in a conditional tense. It suggests a suspension of ordinary relationships in which there is often a formation of collectivity outside ordinary social structures while also symbolically recreating society. The individual is confronted with an ever present ecology, realizing it is part of something bigger even though one is not always aware of it (Tresch 2005:74-75). As such, the prototype is an analogical figure in which the cultural form is "capable of prefiguring its inherent transformative and inventive dynamic" (Corsín Jiménez 2014:389). Beyond this inherent dynamic that is generated through the frame, *IMR* does not make a claim to durably transform relationships. Neither does it have the patent on converting relationships, as Corsín Jiménez mention that "[r]elations are always turning themselves 'into' other relations, moving in and out of different social forms" (2014:389).

4.2 Prototyping Compossibility

As both a game and a trap are prototypes as well, we will consider entering the game structures in *IMR* as allowing yourself to be trapped. When trapped "[o]ur intentions come to a halt and our relationship with the artefact comes into full view" (Corsín Jiménez 2014:391) as the trap interrupts consensual expectations. It also puts participants "in a mode which gives the issue around which they are all gathered the power to activate thinking, a thinking that belongs to no one, in which no one is right" (Stengers 2005:1001). This time frame has the capacity for abduction (different from in- or deduction) that describes how an entity extracts meaning from the surroundings or social relationships in which it is located.

The futurity of the prototype holds an impetus that often leads to diverging scenarios which

are not experienced as necessarily destructive, but rather as an expression of the conditions of possibility of the prototype itself. These branches go in unsuspected directions as a creative act that displays the internal capacities of people at the same time as the external power of relationships (Corsín Jiménez 2014:393). Corsín Jiménez sees prototyping as a distinct form of analysis that places analysis itself 'in beta'. With this, he means that it produces scenarios of compossibility rather than comparison (which presumes scale) or compatibility (that requires partiality) (2014:385). This element of compossibility opens up a myriad of possibilities, which is embraced in the playground of *IMR*.

The frame of *IMR* stimulates interactions in which scenarios of compossibility are incorporated as a legitimate realization. There is a great freedom offered: to stay within your own space, to step outside of it, to search for connections; there is no obligation to do anything. For example, at the beginning, during the stone game, the option is given for the stones to take a break, at any moment, by resting outside the game board on the table or in the participant's hand. This option of *taking a break* granted to the stones is additionally given to the participants when they advance to the full body play on the big canvas. By giving this option to disengage with the suggested frames, participants are often strengthened in their tentative play and less insecure about doing anything wrong; which should be at the core of any participatory practice. This also gives an answer to the ethical issues which often arise concerning participatory theatre as critics ask how much participants are coerced or manipulated: as mentioned, participation in *IMR* is not the product, but a process which everyone commits to. It explores connections with others whilst also strengthening the autonomy of each individual, valuing the diverse opinions, perspectives and experiences.

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4.3 Prototyping Dissensus

The dismantling of the artwork into multiple potentialities can be linked to the aesthetics of politics of French philosopher Jacques Rancière (2010) who redefines the political potential of art as the multiplicity of an artwork. Opposed to the political intention an artist might want to convey, he understands the political as a redistribution of the sensible world, rather than an identifiable

(and activist) political position. In this sense, Rancière shifts, as many other philosophers do, the emphasis from party politics to metapolitics. He furthers on the tension and confusion between the autonomy and heteronomy of the artwork. The autonomy being the desire for art to be at one remove from means-ends relationships, while the heteronomy works with the blurring of art and life as art attributes its existence to the outside source of human interaction. He considers art to be a sphere both at one remove from politics and yet always already political because it contains the promise of a better world.

This better world is achieved through the concept of *dissensus* as politics, which does not designate a conflict as such, but rather a conflict between *sense* and *sense*. It is "a conflict between a sensory presentation and a way of making sense of it, or between several sensory regimes and/or 'bodies'" (Rancière 2010:139). Dissensus can then reside at the core of politics as the latter consists in "an activity that redraws the frame within which common objects are redetermined" (Rancière 2010:139). As such, politics as dissensus breaks with the sensory self-evidence of the 'natural' order that destines specific individuals and groups to occupy positions of rule or being ruled, that is to specific ways of being, seeing and saying. Politics is therefore suggested to invent "new ways of making sense of the sensible, new configurations between the visible and the invisible, and between the audible and the inaudible, new distributions of space and time - in short, new bodily capacities" (Rancière 2010:139). As such, the idea of dissensus accepts the autonomy of one's perception when engaging with another's perception, not aiming to reach consensus, nor conflict, but rather a *dissensual common sense*.

The idea of *dissensual common sense* proposed by Rancière as a potential politics, can, concretely, be established through individuals taking on a bridging attitude. This bridging attitude is the reason why I suggested at the beginning that we talk about a space of trust, rather than a safe space. While in a safe space you look to make connection in which you come to a consensus or an agreement, a space of trust can live with dissensus. When one has confidence in its bridging attitude, dissensus is not perceived as a threat, but rather as an enrichment. The frames of *IMR* can therefore be conceived as a mechanism for holding in suspension the political, which we can understand as an aesthetic effect.

The prototypical qualities of *IMR* then function on two levels, namely the relationality one holds to the frame as well as to others, through which you can be confronted with experiences of dissensus. To finish off, as the prototypical invests in open-endedness, oriented to employ political effect, the prototype aims for "events that summon their own openness to future tinkering" (Corsín Jiménez 2014:382). Prototyping, becoming a surrogate for processes of democratization or other new cultural experiences, has thus provided us with a language for a new political design directed towards a re-arrangement of equipment (ware) in space and time.

5. Conclusion

This paper has attempted to demonstrate how we can draw inspiration from Katrien Oosterlinck's participatory practice through the concept of prototyping. Connected to what Corsín Jiménez calls *prototyping its own recursion*, her practice creates the possibility for elements that emerge in a performance to reappear again in other contexts. While Katrien Oosterlinck often describes the aim of her practice as 'simply' showing the bonds that are present, I have argued that it also

sparks a bridging attitude that facilitates a sense of connection through difference.

This is established through holding bearing to both other participants who are committed to the participatory frame and the frame itself. When we consider the relationality with others, we can think of *Imagine Moving Rocks* as a prototype that is infused with the world views of the participants in which participants are confronted with each other's difference. Furthermore, rather than constantly reaffirming your own ideas and solely looking for binding experiences, the participants are challenged through the frame of the performance. The interaction with the frame instills a bridging attitude as new rules and value systems are introduced with which the participants have to creatively engage.

To relate back to the opening quote of this paper: the recursion of attitudes in daily life, prototyped in participatory performance, is as far as I want to go in the perception that prototypes generate hope. The effects not being the creation of new ideas or instituting change, but providing the opportunity to have impact 'merely' by being, acting and holding bearing through a bridging attitude. Hope, thus, not comprehended as longing but rather as prototyping "a figure of sociological promise and abeyance" (Corsín Jiménez 2014:385).

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7. Abbreviations

• **IMR:** Imagine Moving Rocks, participatory performance by Katrien Oosterlinck
http://www.spatie.info/index.php/home/imagine-moving-rocks/

8. Biographical Note

Elvira Crois (1992) works at the University of Antwerp on her research project 'The Connective Organism: towards a participatory approach to genetics in sensorial theatre' in preparation of a PhD dissertation. As part of this project, the research aims to identify training methods to aid performers in the development of their capacity to interact with participants in embodied interactive and participatory theatre practices. She employs a participatory research methodology through which she closely interacts with the performance practices of Carte Blanche (DK) (http://www.cblanche.dk), Myriam Lefkowitz (FR) and Katrien Oosterlinck (BE) (http://spatie.info), the proposed case study in the paper. In preparation of this project she (co-)published two articles in the peer reviewed journal Documenta (Ghent University) considering the role of sensorial theatre as presence effect in contemporary western society (2015) and exploring the importance of theatre criticism (2015). Elvira Crois holds an MA degree in Theatre and Film Studies from the University of Antwerp and worked as a socio-cultural worker in Schaarbeek, Brussels, from 2015 until 2017. Furthermore, she is part of Apaya Network, a European network of young researchers who explore the poetics of sensorial theatre.

9. Notes

E-mail of the corresponding author: elvira.crois@uantwerpen.be

TRACK
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Arts

Collaborative Collective Art Actions and Sensible Politics[1]

Cristina Miranda de Almeida[2]

Universidad del País Vasco/Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea

Abstract: *In the history of humanity there are several collaborative practices and actions based on sharing that, among others, generate deep social bonds: potlatch, reciprocal altruism, cooperatives, and mutualism. These practices are based on generosity and collaboration, rather than in competition. These historical links were broken by modernity and the expansion of capitalism and globalization. As a result, art also suffered from this rupture of bonds with society, transforming itself into an art whose end, in general, is situated in itself and in the market. However, there are countless examples of collaborative artistic action. We will explore 2 kinds of collective art strategies, those that (1) make visible the problems of the public sphere in postmodern and hypermodern society and those that (2) aim at creating new forms of common through art.*

The methodology used is mixed, based on a review of various theories of collective action applying them to art (LeBon; Blumer; Kornhauser; Smelser; Davies; Gurr; Morrison; Olson; Lichbach; Chong; Opp; MacCarthy; Zald; Benford; Snow; Diani; Jasper; Emirbayer; Cefai; Meg McLagan and Yates McKee) and a series of interviews.

Orsi proposed the concepts such as 'economy of sharing', 'politics of sharing' and 'practices of sharing' and of truly collaborative economy. The hypothesis is that the concept of Collaborative Collective Action (CCA) amplifies Orsi's concepts by posing that collaborating is more than sharing and, therefore, collaboration in art is more than sharing art.

CCA in art involves actively enrolling society in all phases of a process so that the ultimate goal is the development of a sense of belonging, a recovery of social bonds between equals, through a conscious commitment to the commons and society. Art, thus understood, would contribute to restore the bonds between subject and community lost with modernity from its specific creative processes, and emerge through collective practices generated by individual artists and collectives that focus on the relationship and the creation of bonds, not on the creation of objects for the market. Common strategies are, among others, the creation of platforms and events, actions of empowerment and education to recover the commons in the public sphere. When art is understood as collaborative collective action there are impacts in relation to various dimensions of the art system.

One of the best-known effects is the challenge it poses to the concept of authorship, what affects the relationship of artists with the art system. Another effect is the transformation of the processes and methodologies of creation, production, distribution, knowledge transfer and reproduction of art. Co-creation, co-production, remix, reuse, hacking and copy-left processes emerge. In synthesis, art collaborative collective actions make visible obscure areas of public sphere and address a possible reconfiguration of contemporary commons, personal and collective data sovereignty, and other kinds of open processes.

Keywords: *collaborative art, commons, sharing society*

1. Introduction

In 1990 Elinor Ostrom proposed these eight design principles for the governance of commons to avoid what, as early as 1833, Lloyd had called the tragedy of the commons (Hardin, 1968): (1) define limits on access to the common-pool resources (CPR); (2) create rules of appropriation and provision adapted to local conditions; (3) establish agreements that allow participation in decision-making; (4) monitor; (5) establish sanctions for those who appropriate the resources and violate the rules; (6) have mechanisms for conflict resolution; (7) allow official recognition of the community; and (8) agglutinate CPRs in multiple layers of nests, maintaining small local reserves at the grassroots level.

Similarly, Janelle Orsi (2015) proposed six essential principles for a truly collaborative economy, its policies and practices. Through her six principles she proposes sharing: (1) wealth and prosperity; (2) power and decision-making; (3) capitalization and risk; (4) resources and efforts; (5) knowledge; and (6) responsibility for the common good.

In this text, the set of principles proposed by Ostrom and Orsi is broadened by the 'collaboration' dimension proposed by the concept of *collaborative collective action* (CCA). According to Tejerina, "Collaborative collective action (CCA) is the set of formal and informal practices and interactions carried out between a plurality of individuals, groups or associations that share among themselves a sense of belonging or common interests, on the basis of collaboration and conflict with others, with the aim of producing or slowing social change through the mobilization of certain social sectors" (Tejerina, 2010: 19-20).

The research, the results of which are partially presented in this article, starts from this definition of the CCA and asks the following research questions: what is the effect produced by artistic collaborative collective actions (ACCA) on the revitalization, production and reproduction of the commons and social bonds? What effect do they have on art?

There are historical practices of creation and production of commons based on sharing that generate deep social bonds and that to some extent partially or totally comply with the eight principles proposed by Ostrom. These include potlatch, reciprocal altruism, cooperatives and mutualism. These practices, based on generosity and collaboration rather than competition, also form the basis of artistic creation in various cultures (e.g. Australian Aboriginal art). From this perspective, we consider art as a specific form of common pool of symbolic and technical resources; an art that creates a collective imaginary, is capable of making visible problems of the public sphere in order to increase social awareness about them and allows the revitalization of social bonds.

With the expansion of capitalism and globalization, this role of art, understood as a common pool resources (CPR) or a common reserve of specific resources, clashes with the privatization of authorship (intensified in modernity) and the capitalization of the work by the art system. Links with society are broken and, as a result, art becomes more and more individual, with an end in itself and subject to the rules of the market.

Despite the fact that art has distanced itself from society, different forms of artistic collaborative collective actions exist, and have been increasing both in quantity and quality in recent years,

especially since the influence of the Internet on art. As Lopéz Cuenca states, "artistic work has occupied an ambiguous place in capitalism, to say the least" (2016:7). It is a form of "(im) productive" relationship.

However, collaborative collective actions are not welcomed by all art agents. Bishop questions collaborative artistic practices understood as relational, socially engaged and collaborative art (Roche 2006) because she considers that aesthetics is sacrificed on the altar of social change. Relying on Bishop, we ask ourselves under what conditions artistic collaborative collective actions remain art.

Our hypothesis is that the effect of artistic collaborative collective actions on the production of the commons and on art is variable in relation to different phases of the artistic process.

We affirm that collaborative collective actions in art can be evaluated through a set of indicators combining the principles of Ostrom and Orsi with the phases of the artistic process (including pre-production, production, post-production and capitalization of results; see Figure 2). The identification of the results of collaboration as art depends to a large extent on the stage of the collaboration.

2. Objectives

The objective of the research is threefold:

1) Create the Artistic Collaborative Action Matrix analytical tool (Figure 1) to analyze artistic ACC;
2) Identify the effects of artistic CCAs on the production of the commons and the restoration of links between art and community; and
3) Identify some of the conditions for CCAs to continue to be considered art for their practitioners and other agents of the art system.

3. Methodology

The project is in process and is developed through a mixed methodology, direct and indirect and the application of the matrix. From the revision of theories of collective action, in particular the concept of collaborative collective action (Tejerina, 2010), theories of the common good, theories of collaboration (Himmelman, 1994), the main concepts are extracted to apply them to the analysis of artistic CCAs. They are contrasted with specific concepts of art, such as relational art (Bourriaud, 2006), collective and participatory art (Bishop, 2012).

At the same time, secondary data collected on different artistic platforms are analysed: texts, statements, interviews on social networks, blogs and videos.

On the other hand, we have 3 in-depth interviews, participant observation (LaAgencia[3]) and auto-ethnography (personal participation in previous CCAs such as in Introvisión[4] and On the Grapevine).

The collection of direct data was structured from a selection of indicators and axes of analysis common to the research group, but adapted to art. Subsequently, two in-depth paradigmatic case studies (Fair Saturday and Ideatomics) will be analysed.

4. Results and Discussion

We present 2 types of partial results.

The first type is the creation of the matrix and the second is a brief synthesis of the first reflections on its application to the cases of artistic ACC studied.

To understand the matrix, let's start by considering a system of 2 axes that cross in the center, forming a field with 4 areas (Figure 1).

The first vertical axis is that of autonomy versus collaboration. In the upper pole is located the autonomy of art and in the lower pole is located the collaboration in its most radical form, with a society is artist and generates art, according to the idea proposed by Beuys (Bodenmann-Ritter, 1995).

The second axis, horizontal, is that of the internal or external origin of the objectives of the actions. In the right pole is the objective of the actions proposed internally by each artist and, in the second, the socially negotiated objectives (external to each artist or group of artists). In some cases this pole corresponds to examples of commissioned or curated art.

In an ideal situation of collaboration between society and art there would be a coincidence between the 4 poles at a central point of equilibrium at which they would line up: (1) the autonomy of art and the collaboration with an artist-society, and (2) the objectives of the artist and the social objectives.

Let us also consider that these dimensions must be differentiated according to the phases of artistic creation (see Figure 2) and according to 5 phases of collaboration, understood as contact, cooperation, coordination, collaboration and convergence (Himmelman, 1994).

In order to apply the graphic to the analysis of artistic CCA cases, it is necessary to know how each case behaves, in each phase, during the artistic creation process, during the collaborative process and in relation to each area of the matrix. In this sense, specific matrices must be generated for each ACC, in each phase of creation and collaboration to analyse the effects on:

1) the creation of links;
2) awareness of social problems in the public sphere;
3) the creation of common goods; and art itself as a common good;
4) authorship;
5) the process of artistic creation and,
6) interdisciplinary knowledge.

Next, in Figure 1, we will see the graph of the matrix, its 4 areas and its 4 poles:
Vertical axis: art autonomous versus collaborative art
Horizontal axis: external objective negotiated with society versus internal objective of the artist.

Figure 1. Artistic Collaborative Action Matrix
Note: Elaborated by the author, 2019

In Figure 2 we present the phases of the analysis of collaborative artistic collective actions:

Preproducción   Producción   Postproducción   Capitalización

Figure 2. Phases of Analysis of Artistic Collaborative Actions
Note: *Preproduction; Production; Postproduction; and Capitalization. Elaborated by the author, 2019

Analyzing the selected case studies and taking into consideration the different phases of creation and collaboration, we observe that collective and collaborative action has effects on:

1) The creation of links: the ambiguous relationship between art and capitalism determines the modes of production, reproduction, transmission, dissemination and reception of art, re-configuring both the relations between art and society and the internal relations to the art world.
2) Awareness of social problems in the public sphere: in many cases the specific objective is to critically question the public sphere and its problems (climate change, gender, digital control, identity, lack of privacy and authorship among others) and to generate greater levels of consciousness in society through art, from the sensitive.
3) The creation of common goods and artistic creation itself as a common good: artistic CCAs

seek to reactivate the commons, working directly with society. This artistic reactivation of the commons takes shape both in relation to the content produced (images, sounds, texts) and with the tools and methodologies of production and circulation of know-how (processes, methods, techniques) and ideas. This last phase of the collaboration continuum is usually the most developed in digital collaborative art processes, in the creation of open artistic knowledge, or through the use of creative commons licenses for appropriation, remixing, and other collective creative strategies.

4) The process of artistic creation: this circulation of open knowledge reveals the impact of collaborative art on authorship and on the process of artistic creation, but this impact depends on the phase.

5) In the margins of this rich ambiguous territory arise diverse collectives and collaborative artistic platforms dedicated to *artivist* practices that work in local, national or international networks.

6) Currently the volume of artistic CCA is increasing: (a) exclusively located in physical spaces and with specific communities; (b) through delocalised networks organised in online platforms or (c) in a hybrid way (practices that take place in a physical way in specific places and at the same time supported in networked platforms. An increase in interdisciplinary collaboration is also identified.

5. Partial Conclusions

From the analysis of artists' declarations of intent and manifestos we observe differences in how these collective actions align with Ostrom's and Orsi's principles depending on the phase in which they occur. Proposals are produced that are understood more as a contact between artists and social groups outside of art -what Orsi understands as sharing knowledge and information.

Artistic collaborative collective actions question the identity of artists, based on the concepts of the autonomy of the subject and of production, destabilizing the relationship of the work with the artistic system, the type of works created and their distribution, the role of the community and the public, but the degree to which this questioning of identity is produced depends on the phase in which the collaboration takes place.

Other proposals correspond to processes of cooperation or coordination, as they function as agglutinating platforms for art collaborative collective actions focusing on problems in the public sphere. They tend to be proposals with a strong one-way tendency, in which participants are invited to contribute, but not always to generate ideas or capitalize on results.

In this type of collaboration, it is very common to find coalitions that usually perform functions such as convening, catalyzing, channeling, promoting, providing technical assistance, training, allying (being a partner) and facilitating projects.

The analysis of artistic collaborative collective actions in a few cases shows that similar goals are assumed by collectives of artists and curators who work as transforming agents in neighborhoods or communities. These collectives often assume the role of catalyzing, convening, or organizing discussion of public sphere problems in specific communities and places.

If artistic collaborative collective actions capitalize on content and results, limiting the role of participants to mere content generators, the framework of trust is broken and the artistic collaborative collective action begins to operate through a system other than collaborative.

Artistic collaborative collective actions are produced both at the level of local communities and in global networks. The cases analyzed are located at different points in the matrix in relation to co-creation, co-production and the questioning of the role of the author. There have been no examples of centrality between the axes at all.

In summary, the concept of artistic collaborative collective action proposes that collaboration is more than sharing, it expands the principles of Ostrom and Orsi and proposes that the phases of the creative process and the collaborative process should be included in the analysis of artistic collaborative collective actions. The production of a 'true' artistic collaborative collective actions would imply actively inscribing society in all phases of the artistic process, so that the final objective to be achieved would be the recovery of social bonds, through a conscious commitment to the common good and society through a kind of art that, without ceasing to be considered as art, gets as close as possible to the central point of the matrix.

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7. Abbreviations

- **ACCA** Artistic Collaborative Collective Action
- **CCA** Collaborative Collective Action
- **CPR** Common Pool Resource

8. Biographical Note

Cristina Miranda de Almeida holds a European Doctorate in Art (Universidad del País Vasco/ Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea, 2005), a Bachelor's Degree in Fine Arts (UPV/EHU) and a degree in Architecture (USU, Rio de Janeiro). She holds a Master's Degree in Industrial Design (DZ-BAI, Bilbao) and a Specialization in Urban and Territorial Planning (Fundicot Madrid/Universidad de Valencia, IBAM, RJ, Brazil). She is currently affiliated to the Faculty of Fine Arts, University of the Basque Country (UPV/EHU) where she teaches in undergraduation and in the Master in Contemporary Art, Increarte.

She had postdoctoral periods in the Digital Culture Research Program of the Internet Interdisciplinary Institute (IN3/UOC Barcelona); McLuhan Program of Culture and Technology, University of Toronto (2007-11) and École Nationale Supérieure de Beaux-Arts, Paris (2010). She is Research Fellow in Mediaccions / Open University of Catalonia and coordinator of the Mediated City Research Program, University College of London.

Her research focuses on issues related to (1) hybrid art (impact of the digital technologies and Internet on experience and new materialities) and (2) collaborative and interdisciplinary art.

She has participated in several research projects in competitive and commissioned calls (MINECO, UPV/EHU, BEAZ), some as the principal investigator. Among her publications are her PhD thesis "The Tree of Art: Trans-sensorial and intersubjective matrix for non-visual art and the silence of the artistic self" (UPV / EHU, 2006), The Point of Being (2014, co-edited with Derrick de Kerckhove) and several articles in specialized journals, book chapters and proceedings of International conferences. She has been guest and keynote speaker in Seville, Bilbao, Frankfurt and Prague among others. Founder of Universal Margin, her artwork (installations, performances, photography, video and drawing) has been exhibited both internationally and locally in museums, cultural houses and public exhibition halls as well as in museums and private galleries.

9. Notes

1 This article presents part of the research on collaborative art that is part of the project "Sharing Society. The Impact of Collaborative Action. Study of the Effects of Practices, Links, Structures and Mobilizations in the Transformation of Current Societies" (MINECO CSO2016-78107-R).

2 To contact with the author, please write to cristinamiranda.de@gmail.com

3 See more information about LaAgencia in : Laagenia. Retrieved April 10, 2019 (http://laagencia.net/laagencia/).

4 The author has been a member of different art collectives among which one of the most relevant was the art collective *Introvision Group,* together with Inmaculada Jiménez and Manya Doñaque, during 5 years (2000-2005) The collective worked and exposed its work regularly. For more information see: *Cristina Miranda de Almeida. Art Portfolio*. Retrieved April 10, 2019 (https://cristinamirandade.myportfolio.com/intro-vision).

ART TOGETHER HOW Collaborative Art Practices in the Crossing with Methodologies and Techniques Coming from the Social Sciences

Saioa Olmo Alonso

Universidad del País Vasco/Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea and Wikitoki, Laboratory of Collaborative Practices

Abstract: *Does contemporary art have social agency in relation to our present challenges? The article sets out what kind of contributions can art do to the problems that we currently have as society. It focuses on the relationship between persons and suggests that to face those challenges, we need to empower in ways of relating to others within collectivities. For that, it proposes examining the junction between the arts and the social sciences.*

Firstly, it frames the relationship between the social and the arts reviewing the functions that art has had across different ages, and advising, that even if what we consider as "social" could be taken under a wider frame (including the notion of the agency of diverse materialities) the article centers in interpersonal relationships in certain contexts.

Then, it presents art projects that practice collaborative processes, showing that sometimes, artists use concepts, methodologies, and techniques coming from the social sciences. To that extent, it lays out references of art projects that are carried out through group representations, group dynamics, surveys, simulations, audiovisual documentary tools, systematic observations, data visualizations, lab-experiments, communities of practice, force-field analysis and operational groups.

Finally, it explores the agency of collaborative art and, as a toolbox, it proposes three types of practical compilation of references, methodologies and techniques: a collection of art projects that deal with ways of relation, a collection of group dynamics and techniques to use in artistic processes, and a compilation of artistic mechanics to use in group work. These are more widely exposed in the thesis Transart. Collaborative art practices, relational technologies, and social performativity.

Keywords: *Collaborative art, relationships, agency, social sciences, tools*

1. Art

1.1. Art Functions

What art is and what art is capable of, have changed a lot throughout history, and probably we will see major changes in the 21rst century. If we analyze the function of art in the past, we will see that the conceptualization of art has been linked to the needs of each age, accomplishing imaginative, symbolic, magical, religious, economic, social, communicative, educational, political, experimental, therapeutic and aesthetical functions.

Today, the challenges that society is facing are among others, the exploitation of natural

resources, the economic globalization, the unbalanced distribution of wealth between countries, migratory flows, the power of large corporations, gender inequality. It seems necessary to pass from an individualist consciousness to a more collective one, to overcome these transnational challenges, because it seems that no change will be achieved if it is not pursued in a collective way. Intentionally or indirectly, several types of art initiatives pose ways of socializing, discussing clashes that appear when working in groups, choreographically playing with collective movements, practicing modes of consensus and disagreement, experiment with people's participation. Nowadays, if we think that one of the functions of art could also be contributing to social transformations, it looks like a good idea to consider how we can do art together *Art Together How*, that is, how we can relate among ourselves through art, to come to see unexpected paths at the crossroads that we face.

Figure 1. Tania Bruguera and The Association of Useful Art.
The Symbol of Useful Art in the Flags, since 2008
Source http://www.arte-util.org

1.2. Art Creations and Ways of Relation

Contemporary art sets multiple ways of relation. If we think about relationships, frequently what comes to our mind first are human relationships, even if we know that relationships can be thought in a much broader sense, among diverse materialities: organic, digital, mechanical, mineral. Relationships can be of multiple ways as well: formal, performative, conceptual, physical. Normally, neither elements nor relationships are of just one type, although often certain characteristic can stand out. At the same time, the types of agents and relationships are not fixed entities and may vary over time. The type of relationship shapes the elements and the characteristics of the elements condition one kind of relationship or other to happen. There are endless combinations in a dynamic and generative process.

Across the times, we have mainly considered contemporary art through the relational structure: artist-artwork-spectator. We have put artwork in the role of an intermediate agent, as an element that allows circulation. We have focused on the subjects when creating and when experiencing artworks: we have adapted artworks to satisfy our needs, we have mainly

made art in which we were the final receptors, (both tangible artworks and intangible artistic experiences) and even considering that in certain epochs and cultures, art could also be oriented to other beings, spiritual or natural ones.

The actor-network theory and the new materialisms in general put at stake humanity's centrality within the concept of society. Even if the actor-network is a social theory, it integrates persons and machines (or technical artifacts) without differentiating them as social and non-social, it is a theory of the assemblage of elements. The human is not isolated as the object of the gaze as anthropocentric perspectives may display. And anthropological studies of indigenous cultures such as Eduardo Viveiros de Castro's (2013) approach on the Amerindian perspective, questions the universality of Western cosmogony.

Even acknowledging the interest of the material turn, this article is especially centered on relational technologies among people, and we will leave other perspectives for following developments. We will reflect on collaborative art through the western way of thinking, perhaps, to remember something that we once knew but then forgot, and maybe reach to feel like just one entity together with the environment in which we live.

Figure 2. Pierre Huyghe, After ALife Ahead, Münster Skulptur Projekte, 2017[1]

2. Together

2.1. When "Together" Means Working as a Group. What Is a Group?

Lately, collaborative practices are becoming more and more common in contemporary art. This does not mean that before, artists didn't collaborate with or interact with other people, but that now, they are deliberately committed to collaborating, consciously and ideologically. Therefore, as choosing to collaborate is not by chance, and because there is a special interest in the process itself to be collaborative, there is also interest in making these processes more satisfying.

Social psychology has profoundly investigated group dynamics and organizational systems. In our argument, to frame the analysis of the functioning of the group, we will use some knowledge

coming from the social sciences in the crossing with the arts. In order to analyze what a team is like, which its powers are, and how we can work within this structure when doing art, we will examine the performance *Atlas* directed by Ana Borralho and Joao Galante.

This project is a participatory performance made with 100 people. The structure of the performance is based on a children-song that says: "If an elephant disturbs many people, two elephants disturb much more. If two elephants disturb…" The number continues to infinity. In the case of this performance, each participant walks from the back to the front of the stage, and instead of saying 'elephant', each one says her profession; for example, "if three carpenters disturb, four carpenters disturb much more …" The number of people in the front progressively increases, and their presence is important, as well as the personal phrases chosen to identify themselves. The motivation of the artists for arranging this performance is thinking that art should have an active role in society, which is in consonance with Joseph Beuys' core ideas "we are a revolution" and "we can all become artists."

Figure 3. Ana Borralho and Joao Galante, Atlas, 2011
Source: https://anaborralhojoaogalante.weebly.com/atlas.html

Often, when we see a lot of people together, we can wonder whether they are a group or just an addition of persons. What is exactly a group? In this performance, are we in front of a group, are they an addition of individuals or perhaps a temporary community?

People adhere to the groups mainly to fulfill a need, although quite often the team members do not consciously know what benefits they are getting. Within a group, we find accompaniment, security and survival, affiliation and status, power and control, achievements.

There are some conditions that people who consider themselves as a group fulfill: people have to be interdependent, there has to be social interaction and communication between the teammates, all teammates have to take themselves as team members, and they come together for achieving a common goal.

Thus, some definitions of group focus on the identity of the team members, others on

the interaction of members, and others on how they organize to carry out a function. In terms of identity, John Turner (2016) argues that from the point of view of the theory of the *self-categorization*, the group is an ensemble of individuals that consider themselves as being part of the same category, and that share emotional involvement. From the group's dynamic perspective, Kurt Lewin (1988) considers the group as a dynamic whole in which interdependencies play an important role. Another approach is thinking that an ensemble of people can have different degrees of grouping, and to differentiate them, some criteria by Joseph E. McGrath (1984) are used: size, interdependence, and time-frame. Lastly, for identifying a group, the concept of *entitativity* can also be helpful, that is, the conditions that something needs to fulfill, to be considered as an entity, and the consequences of this perception. To understand the group as an entity, having a common destiny, similarity and proximity are taken into account.

In the chosen case of the *Atlas* project, we can consider that the participants make up a temporary group. It is a large group (100 people on stage), and there are many types of people involved in it (different professions, origins, languages, ages, genders, skills…). Diversity is expressly requested in the submitted call for obtaining volunteers. Participation is voluntary and there is no financial benefit for it. Therefore, the aim of this group should be searched somewhere else: the experience of participating in an art project could be attractive; the ideology that the artworks may transmit matches with the participant's ideology; it could be that the affiliation to an artistic activity provides a desirable social state to the participants; perhaps they're looking for being accompanied by others; maybe some of them think that participating in the action and the learnings coming from the process will be useful for their own professional achievements. Being in a group can fulfill many needs, and the common goal would be bringing the performance to an end.

To achieve this goal, all participants and even the organizing team are interdependent. If some people fail to rehearse, or if the artists and their colleagues fail in the organization of the action, the team's goal is compromised. The group is formal; the objectives and rules of the artists and of the organizing institutions structure the behavior of the participants. In that sense, it's autocratic, and roles are also assigned that way. Even if the social contact can be a factor of attraction to the initiative, the process does not take place to respond to this necessity, though it takes advantage of the pleasure that the social contact provides for the play to be materialized in the best possible way.

For participating in the project, commitment to assist to the rehearsals is required. In a first phase, the team is divided into two halves, as in three-hour four-day rehearsals it is easier to work with half of the group; then, 5-hour two-day rehearsals are performed all together, and the show is played in two days. The initiative is pretty demanding for the participants in terms of time. In terms of size, interdependence and timing, the smaller the number of members, the more interactions between members, and the longer the duration of these interactions, so easier the constitute as a group.

In a show, the perception of the audience is essential. To ensure the public to perceive people on the stage as a group, entitativity plays its role. A group shows entitativity when it has a common destiny, when the similarity between its members is perceived, and when there is proximity. Closeness lies on the occupation of a common space, and that is facilitated by the boundaries of

the theater. Referring to similarity, the artwork itself demands diversity among participants, but at the same time, it uses a mechanism that uniforms all: the phrase and choreography that all repeat. The third point, the common destiny, is in the own framework proposed by the play: such a large and diverse group being able to accomplish a performance together, showing that when a diverse people come together, they are able to have and show a powerful presence. That's art's artifice and performativity: we do not know whether this group will come together again, or if their attitude will be performed somewhere outside the play, as the sentence "If you 99 people disturb, 100 people disturb much more" powerfully suggests. At the same time, watching it from the stalls and acting under the protection of the theater, can leave us satisfied enough, and with no desire to take that attitude any further. In any case, the *Atlas* performance offers a challenging fictionalized representation of the power of a large group, and we can consider watching and living it as transformative, even if it remains in the field of the fiction.

2.2. Ways of Thinking About the Group

There is something aggressive and intrusive about wanting to know about people, about researching people, about looking for other persons' reactions... Having an observing gaze on ourselves, can provoke our fear of being more controllable, more easily manageable, more vulnerable. That can happen both in the arts and in the sciences. On the other hand, the researching gaze can adopt a playful role, as the hidden cameras or audio recordings in tv and radio programs, and it can also have an onanistic nature, as in the psychological tests of magazines.

To study the characteristics, behavior, and performance of the groups, there are different types of studies in social psychology: field studies, laboratory experiments, field experiments, natural experiments and simulations. Likewise, in order to unify group data, some techniques are used: group observation, self-reports, and documentary techniques. There are also different types of group observations: participant observation and systematic observation. In self-reports, questionnaires, scales, reports, and sociometric tests are used. And, as documentary techniques are used: the observing method, the correlative method, and the experimental method.

Some artists interested in the way people socialize use those researches and techniques. However, the objectives are different, as well as the ways in which those techniques are applied, the consequences that are derived from them, and the effects on specific contexts.

For example, the artist Hans Haacke used surveys and polls to make institutional critique in the seventies. Politically controversial questionnaires, polls, and graphs were made under the form of art installations within renowned art institutions, as for example, at MoMA- Museum of Modern Art of New York, within the exhibition *Information* in 1970. In that case, setting out a question to the visitors of the exhibition through a voting, "Would the fact that Governor Rockefeller has not denounced President Nixon's Indochina Policy be a reason for your not voting for him in November?" tried to set under evidence the collusion of interest among politics, economics and culture, in that very exhibition space, as the own Nelson Rockefeller a major donor and board member at MoMA.

**Figure 4. Hans Haacke, The World Pool and Other Works,
All the World's Futures, 56. Venice Biennial, 2005**

Source: http://www.contemporaryartdaily.com/2015/05/venice-hans-haacke-at-the- central-pavilion /

If we look at documentary techniques, we could also mention the audiovisual work carried out by the Chilean artist Juan Downey with Yanomami tribes in the 70s. While living with them, he facilitated the Yanomami people to watch themselves and other Yanomami of close villages with an interruption of two or three days, anticipating current communication systems, and got to obtain very iconic images of the relation between "observer and subject of the observation."

Figure 5. Juan Downey, Yanomami Playing a with CCTV, 1976-77

Source: http://ensayostierradelfuego.net/field-notes/trans-america/

Referring to other techniques such as the systematic observation but modifying who is the analyst, and adding the data visualization, Pablo de Soto's *Situation room* artwork (2010) at LABoral Art Center is an interesting case. It proposes a similar kind of control rooms used in The 2nd World War, but it is the civil society who can have a panoramic view of the data. This room, similar to the screens that monitored the context, was used by artists, geographers, biologists,

economists, computer scientists, and spectators to create common knowledge, and it was like an experiment of simulation.

Apart from specific techniques, we can also pay attention to the types of group learning. Laboratory experiments are also common in the field of art, as well as artworks that expressly refer to laboratory experiments of social psychology. For example, Itziar Barrio's *The Perils of Obedience* is an experimental project of video-theater, inspired by Stanley Milgram's renowned experiment. In 1963 the psychologist showed that people used to follow more frequently the instructions of an external authority than her own ethics. Itziar Barrio invited some actors to perform scenes of a movie under the orders of a theater director, and from time to time actors were requested to go out of the space of the fiction and answer questions that referred to situations of the represented play and of their personal life.

Figure 6. Itziar Barrio, Obedience Risks (Bilbao)
Source: http://www.itziarbarrio.com/new-page

On the other hand, Artur Zmijewski's *Repetition* artwork (2005) repeats the experiment of *The Stanford Prison* by Philip Zimbardo. In 1971, Zimbardo collected 24 young people through some advertisements to make an experiment. In a closed space of the Stanford University, he emulated the conditions of a prison, assigned the role of guards to half of the group and the role of prisoners to the others (distributing uniforms and accessories, changing the names of the prisoners by numbers, giving rules...). Seven days later, earlier than what was planned, the experiment had to be finished, due to the degree of violence reached and because its ethic was put under question. Artur Zmijewski repeated the experiment, providing to the participants similar conditions to those of the original experiment, but 34 years later (a different temporal context), and with more video cameras placed behind hidden mirrors. In this case, the end was different, and all the participants agreed to abandon the experiment within a few days, which can take us to different reflections in the blurring field among art and social psychology. Apart from that, it is also interesting noticing that the experiment takes advantage of *the exemption space of the art* as nowadays proposing that kind of experiment from the social sciences, would encounter ethical difficulties.

Figure 7. Artur Zmijewski, Repetition, 2005
Source:http://www.polishculture.org.uk/visual-arts/news/article/artur-zmijewski-at-cornerhouse-manchester-58.html

Apart from laboratory experiments, field-experiments are also practiced within the contemporary art sphere. In this sense, it is interesting the project *In the Name of Place* made by the GALA Committee led by the artist Mel Chin, inside the TV program Melrose Place of the 90s. Artists, students, colleges and television producers made their way into the TV series producing artworks, artistic decorations and some adaptations of the script. The operation was not intended for commercial purposes, but to facilitate the transfer of art. They used about 200 artworks; some of them were shown at the MOCA museum, and then, all of them were put on an auction, giving the profits to a charity entity. The project can be considered as a case of subliminal information and we can connect it with the experiments from other fields of knowledge. In 1947, James M. Vicary put the term of subliminal perception into force, although the experiments that he made on subliminal perception ended up being a scam. *In the Name of Place*, played with the strategy of the p*roduct placement*, not to sell artwork, but to experiment with the possibility of greater dissemination of art in daily spaces.

Figure 8. Gala Committee, In the Name of the Place, 1995-1997
Source: http://melchin.org/oeuvre/in-the-name-of-the-place

As we have seen in the previous examples, art takes advantage of methodologies and techniques used by the social sciences to experiment with the dynamics of groups and with people's behavior. That is sometimes to think about a concrete matter, to provoke reactions in certain contexts, to affect people's experiences, and quite often for a mix of all those in different proportions.

2.3. Group, Art and Agency

Historically, it has always been claimed that art affects society. Referring to it, David Slater, artistic director of the arts company Entelechy Arts, agrees with this affirmation, but at the same time, he asserts it cautiously, because, although he considers that art has this capacity, he notes that it often does not do it (Olmo, 2018:part 1,178). When can we say that an artwork is affecting the social context? Could we say that artworks have agency?

From the point of view of the philosophy and the social sciences, an agent is one that intentionally has the potential to start a causal event in its immediate vicinity. Thus, the agency would be the capability of an agent (a person or another being) for acting in a certain context. In order to reflect on the agency of groups of human beings and their works of art, and specifically to realize on the agency of art made within a group, we can take under consideration several authors and examples.

From the perspective of social cognitive theory, Albert Bandura (2001) explains that some characteristics are assigned to the human agency: intentionality, planning, self-regulation of motivation and ability to self-reflect. According to this author, the agency can be carried out in three ways: personally, by representation and collectively. He also asserts that the unpredictable (precisely the management of the unexpected) is an element that must be considered. These features and abilities, the ways and circumstances to perform the agency, would set up human agency. Depending on these variables, the effectiveness of the agents can be evaluated. As the human agency is rooted in social systems, the personal agency is involved in a wider network of social impacts, and people and groups get the most out of their agency when their psychological orientation is convergent with the social structure of the system.

Alfred Gell (1998) allows us to take a step further in this discourse in the book *Art and Agency* because the matter of agency is placed in the artwork itself, as he also considers artworks as social agents. To do this, we need to overcome the "barrier of the intentionality". In this line, he argues that we also give agency to other beings, for example when we assign thinking and intentions to animals and material objects (as a child does with her doll or an adult with her car). This is easily understood when we explain that some agents –primary agents (those who have intentionality)– distribute their agency with secondary agents (things and artifacts). For example, the agency of a person who uses a weapon would be distributed between the person and the weapon, because that relation happens in a given context (for example, when a soldier puts an anti-personnel mine in a field). According to the author, artworks have agency in the proximity of an agent and in a causal context; therefore, the agency could be regarded as a contextual factor as a whole.

On the other hand, in society, as art functions in a micro level, when thinking about the

agency of art, it is interesting to know which kind of links are between what's happening in the micro and the macro levels. In this regard, sociologist Randall Collins (1998:242) argues that "micro-sociology is the most solid part of what we know about the social world, and that we understand the larger and more long-term patterns when we see how they are composed of such micro-situations".

Sometimes, the work done in a group (such as *The Perils of Obedience* or *Repetition* artworks), suggests links between what happens in a daily situation and more structurally, too. What happens in the micro can be a representation of what happens in the macro, and vice versa, which is represented in a micro level (as in the case of *The Name of Place*) can be found to have social effects in a macro level. Interestingly, Collins (1998:246) argues that this micro-machine translation, apart from being a single direction, exceeds specific cases and finds repetitive patterns that are structural in the social organization, and at the same time, "whatever macro principles may exist, are constrained to take that form because of micro explanatory principles".

Finally, to reflect on group agencies, we will use force-field analysis by Kurt Lewin (1998) to think about the West London Social Resource Project by Steven Willats and the Pichón Riviere's (1975) Operational Method in ColaBoraBora's *Hondartzan* project.

The method used by the British artist Stephen Willats is very similar to the modes used by the social sciences, and the *West London Social Resource Project* (1972-73) artwork that we will review, has similarities with the phases that Kurt Lewin raises in his force-field analysis. Kurt Lewin's theory can be useful to explain the transformation of a group, as well as to work as a guide for group transformations. Lewin considers the field as a specific moment of the psychological context of an individual or of a group, and establishes that in any field there are forces to motivate and to block people, and therefore to provoke changes in the field, so the whole situation should be considered. The force-field theory is the basis of Lewin's *formula for change*. The model is organized in three phases: phase of *defrosting*, the phase of *change* itself, and the phase of *refreeze*.

Stephen Willats uses tools from the social sciences in his projects, and the *West London Social Resource Project* was organized in similar phases to the ones of the *formula of change* of Kurt Lewin. For this project, the artist worked with four London residential areas; each area was a representation of a social group. He made an advertisement to look for the participants and those who wanted to participate had to describe the relationships with their context and their objects at home in a notebook. He showed these responses in the neighborhood's public library. Later, he sent a remodeling book to indicate how they would transform their home and the surrounding area. These were shown in the public, to receive feedback and vote, and then, the participants made the latest models. During that time, the results were shown in The Gallery House - Behavior Art Center, formalized in the manners of contemporary art. We can do a similar reading of the phases of the organization of this artwork: firstly, some of the features of the participants' lives were analyzed together with the participants, as well as with other participants. This helped to move the established situation (phase of *defrosting*). Then, the participants were asked to think about some possible changes (phase of *change*). And finally, a general representation, a synthesis installation was used, which was carried out in the field of art, a structure that joined the last proposals: it would be the moment of fixing and installing ideas (phase of *refreezing*).

Figure 9. Stephen Willats, West London Research Project, London, 1972
Source: http://stephenwillats.com/work/west-london-social-resource-project/

Another example of art-practice to collectively work and achieve transformations is the community of practice *On the Beach (Hondartzan)* that ColaBoraBora directed in Bilbao from 2010 to 2014. For this initiative, people who wanted to experimentally research on affectations in collaborative practices and learnings for accomplishing collective processes joined forces. They organized sessions together once a month the first year, and a bit more spatialized in time during the following years. Each session focused on a topic: tools for teamwork, knowing each other's projects, cohousing, the types of capitals, the fears... and some sessions called *Mareas* (Tides), were also organized together with the participants who wanted to propose specific themes. Some people attending the sessions were frequent members of the community, and others were more sporadic. People were attracted to the setup issues, as well as to the ways of working because they were designed to be creative, playful and through group dynamics. Likewise, tools of representation were used to create and make clear returns, as the open culture and the DIWO (do it with others) were basic principles of the philosophy of the initiative. We can consider *On the Beach* as a process close to Pichón-Rivier's works with operational groups. The operational group is a team theory and methodology for the group, which uses the team as a tool for change, focusing on the team's project. Participants experience significant relational situations while studying and discussing the evolution of the group. *On the Beach* initiative, focused on "working on the commons and the collaborative practices" while practicing them.

Figure 10. Stephen Willats, West London Research Project, London, 1972
Source: http://stephenwillats.com/work/west-london-social-resource-project/

3. How

Along these lines, we have put many examples of 'how's in collectively art processes and of "shaking" relationships using artistic strategies. Examples are useful to find out how to join different elements in a specific situation and from that concrete assembly of elements, which consequences happen. Putting these examples of art projects in relation to social theories and techniques let us looking at group matters and rethink them from new perspectives.

Further developments in the 'how' axis have been proposed in the thesis "Transart. Collaborative art practices, relational technologies, and social performativity" (Olmo 2018, part 2, pp. 165-203), with the intention of creating ongoing compilations of references, techniques and practical cases, like tool boxes to share with others, which in that publication have been called soft-technologies. Next steps will be given with the intention of organizing this knowledge even more systematically. First, with a collection of artworks centered on relationships; secondly, with a collection of group dynamics possible to be used in artistic processes; and thirdly, with a collection of artistic mechanics for its use in collective processes". In this sense, the *Everybody's Tools Box* website (2006), the *Hondartzan DIWO Kit* of ColaBoraBora (2014), Cristian Figueroa's Book *TejeRedes* (2016), *CTR- Composition in Real Time* by Joao Fiadeiro (2018), are interesting examples of this kind of collections of techniques and methodologies.

The are many possible 'how's that can empower us in micro-fields. The challenges of today's society are complex because of the scale, the implicated agents and the ways in which these agents are assembled. We know that complex challenges require complex solutions, but we also know that the micro can influence the macro, depending on the analysis, perspective and strategy over the situation. Does contemporary art have agency in current social challenges? It can be helpful, and for that, we can create, experiment, mix and share social tools and artistic resources and put them into practice.

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5. Methodological Appendix

The methodology followed in this article has been setting out an argument and bringing together examples that illustrate that reasoning.

6. Biographical Note

I am artist, associate professor in the Fine Arts Faculty of the University of the Basque Country, and member of Wikitoki-Laboratory of Collaborative Practices. My artistic practice deals with group behaviour. I propose situations where participants are given certain guidelines and then the event is open to their wishes, reactions and improvisations. I have been working about "cultural identity", "gender & feminism" and "mechanisms of desire" through collaborative and participative processes with the public. I pay attention to relationships from the disruptive field of art mostly to unveil the array of power relationships. I am also coming to delve into social behavior not only among humans but also in connection with other entities. After a wide artistic creation in the Basque Country on participatory art, I have recently concluded my PhD "Transart. Collaborative art practices, relational technologies, and social performativity". Related to it I have written articles such as: "Transart. Transactions, Transferences, and Transitions in Participatory Art", Brac Magazine (2018); "Mecánicas Transaccionales en las Prácticas Artísticas Participativas", Telondefondo magazine (2017); and "Tecnologías Relacionales en las Prácticas Artísticas Participativas", Ausart magazine (2016).

More info:
saioaolmo.com; transarte.wordpress.com; susurrandoelfuturo.wordpress.com;
tecnologiasblandas.cc; sobrelorelacional.wordpress.com; wikitoki.org

7. Notes

1 The artist created an artificial environment on an ice rink. In a space with resemblances with an extraterrestrial place, it combines several elements. The flooring is removed, and with the ground under the floor, a landscape is created. At the center, there is an aquarium with a poisonous sea snail that causes the aquarium walls to be transparent or opaque, and at the same time, it is connected to the openings in the ceiling, from where the bees from a beehive come out. Likewise, there is an incubator with cancer cells, connected to the intake of the visitors by means of sensors. Visitors can see some black shapes of augmented reality through their mobile phones, that were in interdependency with the incubator. It is an artificially connected ecosystem, that once arranged, the artist didn't interfere with.

TRACK 4

Arts

Comunidad estética. Un enfoque empírico del proceso creativo relacional

Jesús Osorio Porras
Universidad de Granada

Resumen: *Este artículo indaga en la interacción entre los aspectos estéticos y relacionales que tienen lugar en un proceso de creación colectiva, centrándose en el potencial transformador de crear juntos, no para el público, sino para el grupo de personas que participa activamente en el proceso creativo. El concepto romántico de artista genio, al que se le presuponen cualidades sobrenaturales para la inspiración y el arte reservadas sólo a unos pocos individuos excepcionales, ha sido desmantelado en el último siglo. El proceso creativo, antes oscuro y privado, se ha convertido en objetivo de investigación, y se han traído a la luz los misteriosos mecanismos humanos de la creación artística. El artista solitario no tiene que mantener su imagen mística y puede salir de su estudio cerrado y considerar nuevas formas de crear con otros. ¿Qué ocurre cuando colectivizamos un hecho creativo hasta ahora privado?; ¿qué beneficio pueden traer la discusión o el conflicto?; ¿cómo puede la creación estética generar comunidad relacional en torno a su propia génesis? Durante los últimos años han proliferado multitud de formas de colaboración artística, a menudo asociadas a movimientos de preocupación social o a comunidades ideológicas y alejadas de los circuitos institucionales, moviéndose entre nuevas posibilidades de autogestión y espacios alternativos de difusión. A fin de entender en primera persona cuáles son las implicaciones de la inclusión del "otro" en el proceso creativo individual, realizamos una experiencia auto gestionada de creación colectiva en Barcelona entre los años 2007 y 2011. Este proyecto implicó a más de cien personas, artistas y no artistas, en una experiencia de colectivización experimental. Objetivos: Determinar cuáles fueron los mecanismos que ayudaron a construir comunidad estética en la experiencia. Verificar la influencia que ejerció la creación colaborativa en la construcción de relaciones personales y comunitarias a lo largo de dicha experiencia. A través del abordaje empírico y el análisis crítico de los resultados demostramos que la colectivización y "relacionalización" del hecho creativo contribuyen a la rehumanización de la práctica artística, generando contextos de encuentro y diálogo; generando relaciones, red, equipo y comunidad; desarrollando idearios comunes, socializando los procesos, contextualizando los mensajes y proponiendo el diálogo como principal herramienta de creación.*

Palabras clave: *arte contemporáneo, creación colectiva, proceso creativo, colaboración, comunidad estética*

1. Introducción

El artista crea en soledad.
La mayoría de las veces, la creación, el hecho creativo, requiere de un estado de concentración e introversión que sólo es posible en soledad; no se trata necesariamente de una soledad física, de estar literalmente solo o sola en un espacio, pero sí de soledad mental, una suerte de aislamiento psicológico donde el artista puede entrar en su territorio de búsquedas y hallazgos

y que puede dar lugar a una idea.

¿Qué pasa cuando colectivizamos un proceso creativo que hasta ahora considerábamos completamente individual y privado?

La apertura de la experiencia artística al *otro*, la introducción del elemento relacional y colectivo en la práctica estética, modifica el proceso de creación en multitud de aspectos. En este documento nos centraremos en algunos de los mecanismos relacionales que tienen lugar durante el proceso de creación entre los participantes de una experiencia colectiva; específicamente, aquellos que más influyen en la construcción de relaciones interpersonales y comunitarias significativas a lo largo de una vivencia de crear juntos.

A fin de poder comprender este hecho en toda su profundidad, nos pareció imprescindible adentrarnos personalmente en una experiencia colectiva desde cero. Para que el experimento cobrase todo su sentido, debía ser desarrollado sin límite de tiempo y en una ciudad desconocida para nosotros, en la que no existiesen redes de relaciones ni profesionales previamente establecidas.

Con este propósito nos trasladamos a Barcelona en verano de 2007, ciudad que nos proporcionaba un contexto adecuado para el inicio de una actividad artística y asociativa. A lo largo de los más de cuatro años que duró nuestro experimento de colectivización, se sucedieron numerosas etapas. Durante los dos primeros años se establecieron principios y se gestaron redes, se maduraron conceptos y relaciones, al tiempo que desarrollábamos diferentes proyectos e intentos colaborativos.

En enero de 2010, pusimos en movimiento una propuesta de obra colectiva, cuyo proceso de creación se extendería hasta agosto de 2011. Durante este último período de un año y medio, pudimos trabajar con más de cincuenta personas –artistas plásticos, músicos, actrices, arquitectos, escultores, fotógrafas, *performers*, cámaras, diseñadoras, cineastas, escritores…– que participaron en uno u otro momento del proceso colectivo de la obra que llamamos "Suite del amor Dolido: ópera visual en 11 performances." Esta obra colectiva interdisciplinar proponía una reflexión múltiple sobre algunos aspectos del amor dolido o de las relaciones tóxicas a través de diversas acciones performáticas colectivas; se desarrollaron además una instalación colaborativa, un cortometraje, video-performances, algunos textos y series fotográficas, así como varias exposiciones que fueron mostrando diferentes etapas del proceso colectivo de creación.

Uno de los objetivos fundamentales que se buscaron durante todo el transcurso de la experiencia fue alcanzar la máxima horizontalidad creativa, es decir, los más altos niveles de colectividad posibles, siendo nuestro papel el de *facilitadores* en un principio y el de participantes al mismo nivel que nuestros compañeros en las últimas etapas del proyecto. También se buscó de manera intencional el desarrollo completamente altruista e independiente del experimento.

Al mismo tiempo que la obra se generaba, una *comunidad estética* fue creciendo y solidificándose en torno a la misma; esta agrupación relacional surgió directamente ligada al proyecto y en conexión lógica con cada una de las etapas de su desarrollo, y se disolvió tras finalizar el trabajo.

 A partir de esta experiencia real a modo de investigación empírica y del análisis de los datos obtenidos realizamos esta serie de notaciones sobre algunos de los hechos que consideramos interesantes en el asunto que nos ocupa. Exponemos a continuación algunos de los aspectos del trabajo colectivo que influyeron en el establecimiento y desarrollo de nuevas relaciones interpersonales y comunitarias.

2. La creación estética en colectivo influye sobre los participantes y su construcción relacional

2.1. Generando contexto de encuentro y diálogo

En la experiencia que desarrollamos en Barcelona pudimos constatar cómo compartir el hecho creativo a diferentes niveles facilitó numerosas oportunidades de encuentro y relaciones de confianza. Si la exposición o el evento artístico ya generan ese espacio relacional que Bourriaud (2013) llama *intersticio social* –un lugar de libertad, con un ritmo diferente al de la vida cotidiana y apropiado para las relaciones humanas–, compartir el propio proceso de creación proporciona, además, el contexto creativo y el lenguaje adecuado para establecer un diálogo constructivo. Las características específicas de este espacio de encuentro y diálogo generado en torno al desarrollo colectivo de una obra estética son las siguientes:

Tiempo Dedicado
Se han definido de forma consensuada franjas de tiempo destinadas al encuentro creativo, organizadas en un ritmo regular –una o dos veces por semana, por ejemplo– o condensadas en un período concreto –una jornada, varios días…–. Este tiempo dedicado, apartado de antemano para la realización de la tarea colectiva, genera espacios de concentración exclusiva que todos los participantes conocen y han decidido asignar para llevar a cabo dicha tarea.

Espacio de Confianza
Existe un clima propicio para la comunicación horizontal y abierta de los participantes, un ambiente apropiado para establecer el diálogo reflexivo que la creación colaborativa requiere. Es imprescindible, para que todos los implicados puedan expresar sus ideas con total libertad, que cada persona se sienta cómoda, segura y valorada por las demás. Si alguna de estas condiciones no se da, si no se logra un clima de confianza, es probable que el diálogo creativo horizontal y abierto no tenga lugar.

Voluntariedad
Todas las personas que participan en el proceso creativo colaborativo lo hacen de forma voluntaria. Es necesario que quien esté involucrado en el proyecto desee realmente estarlo. Cuanto mayor es el grado de colectivización asumido en el proceso, mayor es también la renuncia individual de cada participante, lo que lo hace difícil de sostener para quien no tiene convicción de querer experimentar lo colectivo. Como ya dijimos, en nuestro experimento tratamos de alcanzar los niveles más altos de colectividad, y decidimos eliminar aquellos elementos que pudieran ser un reclamo para el beneficio individualista y, por lo tanto, atractivos para la participación interesada. Las personas que aceptaron participar en la experiencia eran –en teoría– conscientes de las implicaciones de su participación y, aún así, decidieron voluntariamente suscribir la colectividad y el beneficio grupal por encima del propio.

Actitud de Apertura al *Otro*

La decisión de participar en una experiencia colectiva implica, entonces, un acto de voluntad de apertura personal hacia la inclusión del *otro*, hecho que evidencia una disposición individual hacia la relación y el diálogo con otras personas. Este estado de apertura puede ser fruto de una actitud natural de proactividad hacia los demás, de una curiosidad intelectual, personal o artística, o de la decisión improvisada de aprovechar una posibilidad sobrevenida.

Voluntad de Escucha

La intención de trabajar juntos en el desarrollo de un proyecto común implica necesariamente el interés y la voluntad de escuchar a los demás. El proceso colectivo de creación está basado en la relación, comunicación y negociación constantes, acciones fundamentadas en el diálogo, un intercambio comunicativo que requiere la correspondencia fluida entre la emisión y recepción de mensajes alternados; es indispensable dedicar tiempo suficiente y atención a cada componente del equipo, a fin de poder entender bien y valorar convenientemente las aportaciones de todos.

Aportación Personal

La creación colectiva tiene lugar cuando todos los colaboradores de un equipo quieren y pueden aportar sus conocimientos, ideas o habilidades en la concepción, desarrollo o materialización de una obra en común; dicha obra debe ser el resultado de la suma de las contribuciones de cada uno de los participantes que han trabajado en alguna fase del proceso de creación. La selección por parte de todo el equipo de las aportaciones que deben o no ser aprovechadas, puede ser origen de conflictos en el proceso de colectivo; la repetición de situaciones de aceptación o rechazo a las contribuciones de algún componente del grupo, pueden dar lugar a sensibilidades y suspicacias, y éstas a la retracción o –en los peores casos– el abandono de la persona, quien podría perder la confianza en el equipo al no sentirse útil o valorada.

Comunicación y Vulnerabilidad

Los participantes de una experiencia colectiva desarrollan su capacidad para expresar y defender ideas, para valorar las aportaciones de otros y justificar sus opiniones personales. El acto de comunicar, de transmitir pensamientos de la mejor manera, es un exigente ejercicio mental de construcción léxica de un discurso lógico que el artista individual no suele verse obligado a realizar durante su proceso creativo. La verbalización de una idea artística en equipo, nos expone a la mirada de todos, a su crítica o aceptación, nos hace vulnerables, y es uno de los elementos que nos hacen sentirnos enlazados a aquellas personas con las que compartimos el acto –antes privado– de la creación.

2.2. Convirtiendo el diálogo en herramienta creativa

La correcta comunicación entre individuos que realizan una actividad creativa en colaboración es fundamental para que ésta se pueda llevar a cabo. Cuando se colectiviza y *relacionaliza* el proceso de creación, el diálogo se convierte en principal e imprescindible herramienta de creación.

El artista individual establece su propio monólogo interior cuando genera una idea: se hace

preguntas, se plantea el problema, decide entre varias soluciones o planifica cómo ejecutar su obra. Podríamos decir que el diálogo creativo es la exteriorización y la colectivización de dicho soliloquio, lo que Marín (2007) define como "una forma de desdoblamiento de ese monólogo interior" que el individuo mantiene durante su proceso de creación. Colectivizar la reflexión creativa dificulta, sin duda, el proceso, añadiendo complejidad a la discusión y complicando la posibilidad de consenso pero, a la vez, enriquece las posibilidades de recorrido, proponiendo cada individuo nuevas opciones de respuesta inesperadas ante cualquier pregunta.

El diálogo tuvo un papel indispensable a todos los niveles en la mayoría de las etapas del proceso de creación de la "Suite del amor Dolido", sin embargo comprobamos que no estuvo presente con la misma intensidad y eficacia en todas las fases del experimento. Las etapas en las que el diálogo tuvo una efectividad mayor corresponden con aquellas en las que la colectivización alcanzó sus máximos niveles de horizontalidad. En estos momentos, no sólo fue un medio de transmisión de ideas, sino que fue también material constructivo, tanto a nivel de desarrollo estético de la obra como en la edificación de una estructura relacional sólida y estable.

2.3. Diluyendo intereses personales al eliminar la autoría

Dos de las razones que pueden resultar más atractivas para que un individuo decida participar en un proyecto artístico suelen tener que ver con dos tipos de beneficio que esta participación le pudiera aportar: el beneficio económico –que compensa el tiempo y esfuerzo vertidos–, y el beneficio de la firma y de la autoría, –que vienen a añadirse a los logros expe- rienciales del artista y a la evolución de su imagen y valor profesional–. En nuestro experimento decidimos eliminar ambos incentivos, evitando que estos pudieran influir en la decisión de cualquier persona de querer formar parte de la experiencia. Descartamos toda posibilidad de ganancia económica en cualquier nivel del proyecto, poniendo como condición indispensable la voluntariedad y altruismo de todos los participantes. Por otro lado, aunque ya contábamos con un nombre colectivo tras el que poder ocultar nuestras identidades individuales, decidimos desviar la atención hacia una identidad ficticia fuera de nuestro grupo, Z. Buenvirus, personaje irreal que firmaría la autoría de la obra.

Asumir el juego de la ambigüedad sobre la existencia del artista Buenvirus, y depositar en su nombre los méritos creativos de la "Suite del amor Dolido", nos liberó de buena parte de la carga autoral y resultó ser una herramienta útil para alcanzar una horizontalidad real en las etapas más avanzadas del proceso. Este hecho aportó libertad de expresión a todos los participantes del proyecto, y pudimos relacionarnos y aportar ideas como iguales.

2.4. Desarrollando idearios comunes

La obra individual surge de la búsqueda de una sola persona más o menos conectada con la realidad de su entorno; los temas que ésta desarrolla son los que más le interesan, sugieren, atraen o preocupan, y trata con ellos siguiendo sus propios criterios o intenciones. Como resultado de las distintas etapas de su trabajo de creación, el artista obtiene una propuesta única, su propia visión y desarrollo de una idea que ha sido filtrada y *formateada* a través de su

manera personal de entender, digerir y expresar.

El proceso de creación colectiva procura un consenso en cuanto al objeto de su indagación. Buscar un tema en común que importe a todos los miembros del equipo requiere, como ya dijimos, de la inversión de una cantidad suficiente de tiempo de diálogo y negociación en un clima de confianza. A fin de llegar a un acuerdo en esta elección colectiva, los participantes deben lograr expresar y defender sus ideas de una manera eficaz; la verbalización de cada propuesta contribuye a la propia comprensión y asimilación del problema que se desea desarrollar en equipo, al obligar al emisor a organizar su pensamiento creativo para poder ser comunicado.

La selección del proyecto sobre el que se desea trabajar en colectividad puede resultar, por tanto, una tarea compleja; llegar a un acuerdo dependerá del interés compartido por todos los participantes del grupo por un asunto o idea. Por lo tanto, podemos decir que para que un tema se convierta en el elegido por un colectivo éste debe ser relevante para todos los miembros de dicho colectivo, hecho que ya implica cierta amplitud y nos aleja del ámbito del gusto y el interés meramente individual y personal.

Figura1. Construcción Estética y Relacional de la "Suite del amor Dolido"

La elección del tema del *amor Dolido* en nuestro experimento surgió de una preocupación común a todo el colectivo, rodeados en ese momento de situaciones problemáticas a nivel de relaciones humanas e imbuidos en un ambiente de hostilidad afectiva. Todos los participantes que se fueron incorporando a la experiencia en momentos posteriores asumieron su propia comprensión y conexión personal con el tema, el cual resultó ser suficientemente universal para todos. El discurso inicial fue modulándose y contextualizándose a medida que más personas intervinieron en el proceso de creación, por lo que éste se hizo cada vez más comprensible y cercano para todos los que formaron parte de la experiencia.

Encontrar un sujeto de investigación que resultó ser relevante para todos los participantes en el experimento dio pie a muy interesantes planteamientos y conversaciones grupales y privadas sobre el asunto. Tanto el desarrollo conceptual del proyecto como sus múltiples implementaciones estéticas fueron un motor de reflexión y diálogo constantes y un caldo de cultivo idóneo para el crecimiento de amistades profundas y de un sentido compartido de comunidad.

2.5. Generando relaciones, red, equipo y comunidad

"La esencia de la práctica artística residiría así en la invención de relaciones entre sujetos; cada obra de arte en particular sería la propuesta para habitar un mundo en común y el trabajo de cada artista, un haz de relaciones con el mundo, que generaría a su vez otras relaciones, y así sucesivamente hasta el infinito." (Bourriaud 2013: 23)

Hemos podido verificar, a través de nuestra propia experiencia, que la creación colectiva favorece la conexión personal y el desarrollo de relaciones significativas entre los participantes.

A lo largo de las diferentes etapas del experimento, pudimos compartir distintas maneras de enfrentarnos al hecho creativo con un buen número de personas, en diferentes circunstancias y en diversas fases de evolución de las ideas. Comprobamos que la creación artística en equipo dispone un espacio de relación intersubjetiva, especialmente apropiado para el intercambio de ideas, emociones y conocimiento. Compartir el proceso creativo, que antes realizábamos en soledad y en la seguridad del estudio, con otras personas con las que coincidimos en un espacio-tiempo preciso, es un acto de apertura y de confianza que genera relación y cercanía. No obstante, son muchos los condicionantes que se ponen en juego –compatibilidad de caracteres, momento vital, objetivos personales…–, y no siempre se logra establecer una verdadera conexión artística y/o emocional.

Como toda interacción humana, la creación colectiva no es necesariamente el resultado de un trato fácil y fluido entre iguales; sería un error afirmar que trabajar con otros es siempre la manera más cómoda y satisfactoria de crear y relacionarse y, como pudimos comprobar a lo largo de nuestro experimento, la disensión y el conflicto también formaron parte esencial de nuestros procesos constructivos. Según Markus Miessen, "cualquier forma de participación es ya una forma de conflicto." (Miessen 2014: 97). Pero, a pesar de la complejidad de las relaciones entre personas, podemos afirmar que, en la experiencia que centra este texto, la colectivización del proceso estético dio lugar al establecimiento de numerosas interacciones muy positivas y significativas entre participantes en torno al proyecto.

En cuanto a las formas de agrupación de personas según la relación que se establece entre ellas, observamos diferentes tipos en distintos momentos del experimento:

Colectivo Difuso
Relaciones cercanas sin compromiso grupal. Muestra una estructura poco estable; hay un continuo ir y venir de personas que colaboran en momentos puntuales del experimento; se sienten atraídas por la idea del proyecto, por el ambiente relacional de los encuentros, o por la amistad o vínculo emocional con los participantes, pero no hay una decisión de asumir una responsabilidad regular con el colectivo. Fue una forma de relación natural que se generó desde nuestra llegada a Barcelona, con los primeros contactos, casi siempre en torno a nuestro apartamento, y que se mantuvo, con variable intensidad, hasta el final de la experiencia. El grupo creció especialmente a raíz de la organización de encuentros semanales de artistas y tuvo su etapa de menor actividad cuando estuvimos centrados en los grupos más comprometidos que expondremos a continuación.

Red
A partir de este *colectivo difuso,* y gracias a varias oportunidades de promoción e intercambio creativo, pudimos establecer contacto con una gran cantidad de personas que no conocíamos en un breve período de tiempo –de ninguna persona conocida cuando llegamos a la ciudad, a varios cientos de nuevos contactos en pocos meses–. Aunque sólo una parte de los nuevos enlaces acabaron por participar en el proyecto o por establecer una relación cercana con nosotros, muchos de ellos sí funcionaron como red de conexiones que, cuando fue necesario, permitió la propagación de información de manera casi inmediata.

En un proyecto colectivo, la red de contactos es igual a la suma de las redes de los participantes –siempre que éstos decidan enlazar su propia red a la red ampliada del colectivo–. Ésta, funciona como *altavoz* del grupo, conectando el proyecto con su entorno social más amplio.

Equipo
Una agrupación de personas comprometidas, trabajando juntas por la consecución de un fin común. A lo largo del experimento se establecieron varios equipos de trabajo diferentes, casi siempre de entre tres y seis personas, de composición más o menos estable; percibimos menor estabilidad cuanto mayor número de componentes. Casi todos los colaboradores de los equipos de trabajo provenían y seguían formando parte también de lo que llamamos el *colectivo difuso*.

Una de las dificultades del trabajo en equipo en nuestro contexto estaba en lograr equilibrar los tiempos dedicados al desarrollo estético y organizativo del proyecto, con los dedicados a su evolución relacional, ambos, elementos esenciales de este experimento. Algunos problemas que surgieron en este aspecto tuvieron que ver con la *sobre-relacionalización* –y la consiguiente ralentización– del trabajo en ciertas etapas, y, en el lado opuesto, con el excesivo enfoque en el desarrollo de proyectos o actividades, que pudo resultar en la pérdida de conexión personal entre colaboradores en otros momentos. La consecuencia negativa del trabajo en grupos con personas que también formaban parte de lo que llamamos *colectivo difuso*, fue la separación de algunas de estas personas de dicho colectivo por no poder dedicar tiempo a ambos encuentros.

Comunidad Estética
En el grado máximo de implicación estético-relacional, este tipo de agrupación consiguió equilibrar la balanza entre ambos elementos clave de nuestro estudio. Con la *comunidad estética* se alcanzaron los niveles más altos de colectivización y *relacionalización* del experimento, así como los resultados más interesantes, tanto a nivel social como artístico, por lo que consideramos esta forma de agrupación como uno de los mayores logros de nuestra experiencia.

Figura 1. Comunidad Estética

Definimos *comunidad estética* como una agrupación de personas que trabajan juntas por la consecución de un objetivo artístico común y comprometidas, tanto con la obra, como con las demás personas que componen el grupo.

Nuestra *comunidad estética* se formó como reacción a un período de caos organizativo en el desarrollo experimental de la *Suite del amor Dolido*, provocado por un aumento intencionado de ritmo de trabajo, unido a la falta de compromiso de colaboradores, participantes y otros voluntarios implicados. El nuevo equipo, surgido del acuerdo responsable de algunos de los colaboradores para establecerse como *núcleo duro* o *nudo* del proyecto, consiguió entender el problema y conformar su manera de trabajar a la identidad y necesidades de la idea. Se trataba de alcanzar una estructura de equilibrio, que permitiese el desarrollo colectivo de los aspectos estéticos de la obra y, al mismo nivel, el desarrollo integral de la comunidad humana que la llevaría a cabo, a lo largo de un proceso compartido.

Esta *comunidad estética* evolucionó en pocas semanas, y logró llevar a término el desarrollo de la "Suite del amor Dolido" después de once meses de recorrido a ritmo de dos encuentros semanales –uno relacional y otro estético–, que permitieron la configuración y culminación coherente de nuestro proyecto estético colectivo, basado en las relaciones entre personas.

Cuando investigamos el sentido de la palabra *comunidad* en relación a proyectos colaborativos, casi siempre la encontramos asociada al concepto de colectivo humano con características específicas, normalmente en estado de marginación. Recurriendo a la definición de Ramón Parramón, se podría definir comunidad como "conjunto de individuos que sufren una situación de agravio hacia el grueso más amplio de la sociedad." (Parramón, 2008: 14)

De toda la bibliografía consultada, sólo Miwon Kwon (2008) contempla la existencia de una *comunidad inventada temporal*, nacida en torno al desarrollo de un proyecto. Para nosotros, la definición de Kwon encaja bastante bien con nuestra *comunidad estética* efímera, creada y puesta en marcha exclusivamente para la realización de un proceso artístico, que desaparece al final del mismo y cuya creación se considera como parte de la propia obra. [: 60]

La autora relaciona el hecho de la temporalidad o continuidad de la *comunidad inventada*, con la condición del artista que genera el movimiento como *local* o *outsider*, considerando el

hecho de *ser de afuera* como circunstancia que suele limitar la perdurabilidad de la comunidad más allá del proyecto. Según Kwon, el artista local genera una situación relacional nueva, pero basándose en un conocimiento profundo de las personas, modos de actuación prácticos y entorno comunitario del lugar; los vínculos entre artista y comunidad son preexistentes.

Este planteamiento nos ayuda a entender, en parte, las implicaciones relacionales de nuestra experiencia *desde cero*, pero también nos reafirma en nuestra convicción de que, desarrollar nuestra investigación empírica de un proceso de colectivización y *relacionalización* como *outsiders*, nos permitió vivir el camino completo, desde antes del inicio, hasta después del final, y poder analizar en un posterior estudio cada una de las causas y efectos de nuestras actuaciones.

3. Conclusiones

Como consecuencia de esta investigación, y a través de nuestra propia experiencia vital en un proceso de colectivización y *relacionalización*, obtuvimos los resultados particulares que exponemos a continuación. A partir de estas conclusiones, intentamos acercarnos a algunas bases generales de un proceso de creación colectiva:

• El proceso de colectivización y *relacionalización* del artista individual pasa por el cuestionamiento de algunos paradigmas preestablecidos sobre su propia identidad como *creador*.
• Dicho proceso implica una serie de renuncias individuales –al *poder* de la autoría, al valor del beneficio económico, a la seguridad del espacio privado, a la libertad de crear solo…– en favor de un beneficio colectivo.
• En un proceso de creación colectiva, relación y estética son complementarios e interdependientes entre sí.
• La creación estética en colectivo influye sobre los participantes y en su proceso de construcción relacional, generando contexto de encuentro y diálogo; generando relaciones, red, equipo y comunidad en torno a la propia génesis de la obra; convirtiendo el diálogo en la principal herramienta creativa; diluyendo intereses personales al eliminar los condicionantes de autoría; desarrollando idearios e intereses comunes que facilitan la interconexión.

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5. Apéndice Metodológico

Nos acercamos al estudio de la creación colectiva a través de tres herramientas fundamentales: la experimentación artística, la doble narración crítica del experimento y el estudio teórico del contexto en el que nuestra investigación se inserta.

En una primera fase desarrollamos una investigación empírica que implicó una inmersión personal en un proyecto de colectivización desde cero, en un lugar nuevo y durante un periodo prolongado de tiempo. Esta fase comenzó con nuestro traslado a Barcelona en julio de 2007 y finalizó tras cuatro años y medio de trabajo colaborativo intensivo, a finales de 2011.

La segunda fase consistió en el estudio y análisis crítico de todos los datos obtenidos en el periodo experimental. Para esto separamos la narración de todo lo ocurrido en dicho período en dos niveles paralelos: el nivel del proceso de creación artística, y el nivel de las interacciones relacionales que tuvieron lugar durante todo el transcurso del experimento. La doble narración crítica nos pareció la mejor herramienta visual para comprender el aspecto específico de la creación colectiva que nos interesa: la interacción entre construcción relacional y creación estética en un proceso colaborativo.

Ambas herramientas se apoyan sobre necesarios cimientos teóricos, los cuales nos dan las coordenadas del contexto ideológico e histórico en el que nos situamos. Esta tercera fase se fundamentó intencionalmente a posteriori, tras la finalización del experimento y su posterior análisis, a fin de evitar cualquier idea preconcebida que nos pudiera alejar de la genuina vivencia del proceso y de su autentica narración crítica.

6. Nota Biográfica

Jesús Osorio. Málaga, 1975. Artista Plástico, Docente e Investigador. Profesor en el Departamento de Dibujo de la Facultad de Bellas Artes de la Universidad de Granada. Experiencia muy amplia e intensa en ideación, producción, dirección y gestión de obras, proyectos y eventos de cultura y creación contemporánea a nivel individual y colectivo, a lo largo de más de veinte años y en contextos heterogéneos. Experiencia profesional y vital muy vinculada al trabajo colaborativo y a los aspectos más sociales del hecho artístico. Generador de varias iniciativas experimentales de creación en equipo que han dado lugar a redes y comunidades de artistas. Investigación centrada en las implicaciones estéticas y relacionales de la creación colectiva y en su contribución a la rehumanización de la experiencia artística contemporánea.

TRACK 4

Arts

La acción artística en el espacio público como motor de cambio sociocultural

Raffaella Regina

Universidad del País Vasco/Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea

Resumen: *Tanto ahora como en las últimas décadas del siglo XX, la práctica artística que toma el nombre de acción es una de las mas difundidas y utilizadas por artistas de todo el mundo. A pesar de esto no existe todavía una definición clara y sus contornos aparecen cada vez mas lábiles. Desde la época en la que los happenings cubrían una necesidad de contrastar la soberanía del objeto y poner en su lugar algo efímero y cambiante, hemos llegado hoy en día a una visión mas social y lúdica del arte.*

El cambio social y cultural al que estamos sometidos hoy en día se refleja también en el campo de las artes. En el presente articulo se analizarán los hechos que pertenecen al ámbito socio-cultural y a la acción artística entendida como factor de mutación de las dinámicas públicas.

Las preguntas de investigación de la tesis de doctorado que dan origen a este texto son: ¿Cómo actúa el arte sobre estos problemas para aumentar la sensibilidad de las personas? ¿Cómo se posibilita una transformación social usando herramientas de acción junto con algunos recursos de tipo antropológico? ¿Es posible delinear una serie de reglas y estrategias para que el resultado pueda ser aplicado a diferentes contextos? En este texto nos centraremos en esta última pregunta para analizar algunas estrategias artísticas orientadas hacia aumentar la sensibilidad del público hacia el espacio urbano entendido como un bien común.

Uno de los objetivos del articulo será definir una nueva manera de utilizar la herramienta de la acción y postular algunas reglas generales para paliar la falta de participación, la anestesia perceptiva y el uso funcional que las personas hacen de su entorno mas próximo. Se analizarán acciones de algunos grupos artísticos que con su trabajo y sus obras desde el concepto de participación activa. La metodología empleada se basa en el estudio de 3 casos: Centro para las Artes y la Cultura, Macao, fundado en Milán en 2012; BaSe1, proyecto independiente dedicado a la reactivación de los espacios abandonados en las estaciones de trenes del Passante Ferroviario de la capital Lombarda, y el proyecto del grupo Artikistas, en Euskadi.

Se pretende observar ciertas características comunes y trazar un identikit del operador artístico contemporáneo y de un tipo de acciones artísticas que buscan la construcción del bien común público.

Palabras clave: *Acción, espacio público, cambio social, participación, bien común.*

1. Introducción

A principios del siglo XXI el arte se encontraba todavía en las galerías; florecían lugares de intercambio en los cuales se movía el artista como protagonista, escenógrafo de sus performances y acciones. En contraste con el happening de los años sesenta, se trataba de un arte que buscaba conquistar el público, la introducción de la acción como una forma de

provocación lúdica a un público que seguía siendo espectador sin llegar a ejercer una función más participativa.

El arte puede ocupar un lugar peculiar en el proceso de producción colectiva del bien común desde su propia naturaleza. La obra de arte enseña mucho de sí misma: su proceso de fabricación y producción, su posición en el juego de intercambios, el lugar que ocupa el observador y también la identidad de su creador. Esta naturaleza transparente de la obra artística, esta calidad que la distingue de otros productos de la actividad humana, puede ser entendida como transparencia social. Gracias a esta calidad, que le hace ser más que una simple presencia en el espacio, el arte se abre al diálogo, a la discusión, a una forma de negociación interhumana que Marcel Duchamp llamó de *coeficiente del arte*.

En cuánto a la acción como elemento activador de intercambios en contraposición con la estaticidad de la galería o del museo, nos dice Clemente Padín (2017):

> *"La calle y los espacios urbanos imponen un nuevo sistema de relaciones que la galería y los museos hacen imposible: no sólo cambian el marco locativo sino, también, el comportamiento de los espectadores y la índole de las obras. La relación que propone la calle impone una revisión de los esquemas y planteos estéticos y sociales. El sólo hecho de salir a la calle es ya una crítica y un cuestionamiento de la función del arte, aunque como ocurre en muchas ocasiones, las propuestas suelen reproducir los hábitos de consumo pasivo del arte galerístico. No se trata, entonces, de 'bajar a la calle' a colgar cuadros o a recitar textos como en las galerías o tertulias, llevando el 'arte al pueblo' y dar fe de un inconmovible compromiso social. Tampoco, sin duda, 'rebelarse contra el sistema' banalizando formas entrañables de la iconografía urbana, sin cuestionarlas." (Padín 2017: s.p.)*

Bajar a la calle hoy en día representa una forma de rebeldía aun tengamos que tener claro que las formas de acción artística contemporáneas deben necesariamente distanciarse de los tópicos y de los temas de los sesenta o setenta del pasado siglo y buscar su forma propia de arte social.

De acuerdo a un temprano ensayo de Néstor García Canclini, las actividades artísticas que responden al nombre de acción pueden agruparse en cuatro áreas:

> *"1) las que procuran modificar la difusión del arte trasladando obras de exhibición habitual en museos, galerías y teatros a lugares abiertos, o a lugares cerrados cuya función normal no está relacionada con actividades artísticas; 2) las obras destinadas a la transformación del entorno, la señalización original del mismo o el diseño de nuevos ambientes; 3) la promoción de acciones no matizadas, o de situaciones que, por su impacto o por las posibilidades de participación espontánea que ofrecen al público, inauguran formas de interacción entre autor y destinatario de la obra y/o nuevas posibilidades perceptivas; 4) el último modelo comparte con el anterior la producción de acciones dramáticas y de sensibilización no pautadas, pero busca actuar sobre la conciencia política de los participantes, y convertir las obras en ensayos o detonantes de un hecho político." (García Canclini 1973: s.p.)*

En este texto analizaremos acciones de los últimos años que pertenecen a la tercera y, en parte, también a la cuarta categorías, desglosando las características de cada una, empezando por los agentes que se dedicaron a su ideación, para llegar a las modalidades de participación de los transeúntes. Para llegar a delinear las pautas de una acción transformadora y el *identikit* del operador cultural instigador de estos procesos, empezaremos proponiendo un análisis de lo significa el bien común en este contexto, ya que es un concepto que tiene raíces en la organización social humana desde antaño.

2. Bien común

¿Que significa hoy construir el espacio común? ¿De que manera puede tener relación con artistas, arquitectos y urbanistas? Y sobretodo, ¿qué se entiende por bien común y porque se habla tanto de ello?

> *"En todas las grandes ciudades europeas, y en el resto del mundo, desde los primeros años de siglo XXI nacen nuevas maneras de vivir las ciudades, a través de experimentos sociales y económicos que miran a una conquista del espacio de una forma diferente, distante de las vitrinas de […] monopolios millonarios para a crear espacios físicos donde trabajar nuevas lógicas de inclusión. Los arquitectos empiezan a recurrir a las teorías de los bienes comunes privándolas de cualquier significado revolucionario. La construcción implica una tensión continua hacia la igualdad, una 'guerra' que por definición nunca se acabará." (Tozzi 2012)*

David Graber (2012) habla sobre la gran atención alrededor de las problemáticas del espacio como bien común en el periodo histórico en que estamos viviendo hoy en día. La crisis económica y la situación de abandono de edificios, espacios y áreas urbanas enteras ha levantado innumerables interrogantes acerca del valor de estos residuos contemporáneos.

Los desechos de una sociedad que ha fagocitado todo lo posible, desestimando lo viejo y lo no gestionable, ha creado un mundo paralelo hecho de esos restos que ahora alguien revindica con el fin último de transformarlos en posibilidades.

> *"Edificios residuales de una sociedad capitalista, precarios excluidos del proceso productivo, edificios de alto valor histórico abandonados y dispuestos para el desguace: estos son los desperdicios de nuestra sociedad. Estos nuevos excesos, frutos de las crisis económicas y sociales a las cuales todos estamos sometidos, son personas y lugares que aún estando a los márgenes siguen con vida y además nos enseñan nuevas formas de declinar nuestros recursos." (Graeber 2012:2)*

De esta forma han surgido experimentos de uso alternativo de los espacios, en Italia con Macao y todas aquellas experiencias que ponen juntos bien común y cultura.

3. Tres casos de acción artística en el espacio público

3.1. Macao, Centro para las artes y la cultura de Milán

El 5 de mayo de 2012 se crea el Centro para las artes y la cultura de Milán Macao, un colectivo formado por un grupo heterogéneo de personas cuyo origen fue el grupo Lavoratori dell'arte/ Trabajadores del arte. El mismo día de creación de Macao el grupo ocupó la Torre Galfa, un edificio situado entre las calles Fara y Galvani, en una de las zonas mas conocidas en el centro económico de Milán. Se trata de un rascacielos de 33 plantas cerca del Palacio de la Región Lombardia, abandonado desde el año 1997. Construido por la inmobiliaria Ligresti, Torre Galfa representa uno de los varios ejemplos de la especulación edilicia presentes en la ciudad de Milán.

El impacto mediático de la acción de ocupación fue enorme, la noticia llegó en pocas horas a redes sociales, telediarios y periódicos. De hecho, fue la primera vez que un colectivo del arte, teatro, gente del espectáculo y personas que estaban relacionadas con la cultura se juntaban y hacía una operación de este tipo y con impacto. Según esta nota de prensa oficial, cuyo texto fue leído públicamente el 5 de mayo de 2012, durante la primera asamblea ciudadana por ocasión de la ocupación de Torre Galfa en Milán, Macao fue un espacio de producción de arte y cultura construido de abajo arriba:

> *"Macao es un experimento de construcción desde el bajo de un espacio donde producir arte y cultura. Un lugar donde los artistas e los ciudadanos pueden reunirse para inventar un nuevo sistema de reglas para una gestión compartida y participada que, en total autonomía, redefina tiempos y prioridades de su trabajo y experimente nuevos lenguajes comunes." (Nota de Prensa 5 de mayo de 2012)*

Según la misma nota, el colectivo está compuesto de una forma interdisciplinaria desde el campo del arte y la cultura:

> *"Somos artistas, curadores, críticos, diseñadores, gráficos, performers, músicos, escritores, periodistas, educadores de arte y cultura. Desde hace un año nos estamos moviendo, reuniéndonos en asambleas donde debatir alrededor nuestra situación de trabajadores precarios en el ámbito de la producción artística, del espectáculo, de los medios de comunicación, de la industria, del entretenimiento, de los festivales y de la así dicha economía del evento." (Nota de Prensa 5 de mayo de 2012)*

El colectivo proponía una idea de cultura como sujeto activo de transformación social para la construcción del bien común:

> *"A esta lógica donde la cultura siempre mas está condenada a ser servil y funcional a los mecanismos de financiación, nosotros proponemos una idea de cultura como sujeto activo de transformación social, a través de la puesta en común de nuestras competencias, para llegar a la construcción del bien común. Abrimos Macao porque la cultura se reapropie de una parte de Milán [...]." (Nota de Prensa 5 de mayo de 2012)*

En su modo de operar organizaban debates, análisis y momentos de enfrentamiento alrededor

de la desigualdad y expropiación de valores:

> *"Tenemos mucho trabajo para hacer, debemos transformar estas palabras en prácticas reales, efectivas y constituyentes modelos alternativos a los que nos proponen, y todo depende de nosotros. No tenemos que dar por hecho nada y producir […] debates, análisis y momentos de enfrentamiento alrededor de todos los territorios que producen desigualdad y expropiación de valores, no dejando al margen las nuevas formas con las que el capitalismo se está empoderando."*

Con estas palabras empezaba un experimento artístico-social de re-apropiación del espacio urbano compartido que funciona como un taller activo y continuo, un sitio donde las personas, a través de la colaboración, tomaban su tiempo para construir una dimensión social con el fin de transformar las palabras en prácticas sociales, comunes y cooperativas.

Al inicio, los ciudadanos participantes se organizan mediante mesas de trabajo dedicadas a diferentes temas: bien común, artes visuales, arquitectura, programación, huertas urbanas, video, entre otros. Los ciudadanos tomaban conocimiento de las actividades realizadas en los espacios de Torre Galfa a través de los principales medios de comunicación.

Durante 14 días este edificio se transformó en un laboratorio continuo y abierto a cualquier persona que pasase en la cercanía. El compromiso de participación de cada participante variaba, desde un breve lapso de tiempo a un compromiso mayor.

Hoy en día Macao, Centro Para las Artes y la Cultura sigue en pie en un espacio perteneciente a Sogemi: el "Ex Borsa del Macello di Viale Molise en Milán. Se intenta que la propiedad privada del inmueble pase a manos públicas.

3.2. Acciones y proyectos en el espacio común en Milán 2012: BaSe1

Hablar de arte en el espacio público es hablar también del impacto que las experiencias colectivas de intercambio y fruición del espacio tienen en la ciudad y para las personas que viven y se mueven en ella. Experimentos como *Macao*, *Temporiuso o Oca* (otros ejemplos similares) han sido importantes para crear una conexión entre deseo de participación y responsabilidad públicas. Los activistas de *Temporiuso* trabajaron con estudiantes del Departamento de Arquitectura del Politécnico de Milán en la *Officine Creative Ansaldo* (OCA), para presentar el proyecto *Temporiuso X Milano*, que buscaba participar en los debates institucionales sobre sobre espacios, procesos de reutilización, reglas de acceso y autogestión, en colaboración con los artistas de *Hors Commerce*.

En este contexto nace el colectivo *Base1* con el objetivo de dar cuerpo a un proyecto ideado en 2012 para la estructura octagonal en el Passante Ferroviaro de la estación de trenes regionales Lancetti en Milán.

En los días del 7 y 8 de junio 2012 se desarrolló la acción *La casa di tutti* en el Passante Ferroviario de Lancetti. El espacio octagonal de la estación se transformó durante 48 horas en un espacio

concebido como una casa que los transeúntes podían utilizar como si fuera su casa, un lugar íntimo y privado. Una librería, un sofá y una cocina con comida a disposición de la gente que decidía entrar.

La idea era convertir un espacio construido para uso comercial en un punto de encuentro e intercambio creado para el transeúnte. Una estructura sostenible, para hospedar arte y, a la vez, ser útil. Una especie de *pit stop*, inspirado en los lugares aptos para el descanso de pasajeros en una estación de trenes.

> *"Y luego, habiendo identificado esta singular cáscara vacía situada en Lancetti, en el metro de Lancetti, rechazó su propia traducción de diseño bajo el nombre de Social Art, un singular ejemplo de arte social interactivo que, al final de la experiencia, tendrá un perfil inesperado, una identidad nueva y colectiva, construida simplemente por todos aquellos que participaron en la vida de la Casa." (Bellini 2012: 23)*

Una de las partes mas interesantes del trabajo hecho en Lancetti fue el diálogo con los visitantes y transeúntes que, durante su instancia en *La casa di tutti*, describían la vida en el barrio y las costumbres de sus habitantes, los cambios que habían sufrido sus calles a lo largo de los años y los problemas del día a día.

3.3. Experimentos urbanos en Bilbao: Acción Spider Web

Analizamos ahora otra experiencia realizada por el colectivo *Artikistas* en el espacio del Martzana, en Bilbao, el 12 de diciembre de 2015. Este colectivo está formado por personas pertenecientes a diferentes ámbitos de la cultura: arquitectos, artistas, ingenieros y operadores culturales. Se trata de un grupo heterogéneo que desde 2015 realiza acciones y instalaciones en Vizcaya.

Para la acción *Spider Web* el grupo invitó a las personas a jugar en el espacio de tres calles en el entorno del bar Martzana, usando 12 ovillos de algodón elástico de diferentes colores. Los ovillos desenredados por la acción de los transeúntes se ataban a elementos urbanos (poste de la luz, señales de la calle, barandillas) y al mobiliario de las calles adyacentes. Después de la primera fase, gestionada principalmente por componentes de *Artikistas*, los ovillos se daban a la gente que transitaba por las calles, o a los clientes de los bares adyacentes, que iban creando la red que formaba la acción *Spider Web*.

Poco a poco la ayuda de los componentes del colectivo solo era necesaria, para controlar las líneas generales del juego. La gente tomaba iniciativa y la acción pasaba a ser su responsabilidad. Los niños se pasaban el hilo entre ellos y jugaban a saltarlo. El juego de hilos y de colores creados por los ovillos y por el movimiento de gente en un espacio de tiempo muy limitado dibujaba una telaraña, en una acción dinámica que involucraba todos los presentes que llenaron la calle de hilos de colores. Las personas habían tomado la calle. El resultado fue registrado directamente por los transeúntes, saliendo del esquema planteado inicialmente por el grupo en fase de ideación.

Partiendo de pocos elementos básicos, en este caso ovillos, la intención ha sido despertar un

sentido de pertenencia al un espacio vivido bastante ausente en grandes ciudades: un espacio para quien lo vive, y calles que pertenecen a la gente.

4. Corto-circuitos urbanos crean una nueva manera de vivir las ciudades

¿Como es posible romper los esquemas preestablecidos del arte, salir de lo culturalmente aceptado y crear algo que pueda involucrar a la gente?

Hemos visto algunos ejemplos de formas de arte y organización desde el bajo que nos hablan de un arte que se sitúa fuera de lo que impone el mercado. Las acciones citadas se valen de elementos sencillos que sirven para facilitar la entrada en acción de las personas.

Hablamos del momento en el que algo inesperado pasa en la calle, se trata de un instante cualquiera de un día cualquiera. La gente circula por la ciudad siguiendo el fluir de su vida; de repente irrumpe una acción que rompe con la realidad contingente creando un escenario novedoso en un espacio compartido. El transeúnte podrá decidir si toma parte en la acción o si sigue adelante, ignorando lo que está pasando. Se trata de un periodo de tiempo decisivo y del que depende el éxito del acto: cuantas más personas participen mayor será el impacto en el entorno más próximo. La participación es la clave de lectura de estos tipos de acciones dado que todo está preparado para que la gente se acerque y use los elementos que se les proporciona, el éxito de la acción está casi totalmente en sus manos.

Los materiales utilizados sirven como una puerta de entrada. El juego es una forma *soft* de hacer entrar a los transeúntes en reflexiones mas profundas sobre su cotidianeidad y su espacio público.

A lo largo de la acción se generan preguntas por parte del participante, unas preguntas espontaneas acerca de la naturaleza de lo que está pasando y fundamentales para los organizadores. Estas preguntas podrían ser unas de las posibles claves de lectura en una fase posterior al momento del acto. El hecho que estas empiecen a hacerse preguntas alrededor de lo que está pasando en una calle, en una estación de trenes o en un edificio abandonado, representa una ruptura del orden cotidiano. A través de las observaciones resultantes de estos experimentos urbanos, los miembros del grupo organizador pueden apoyarse en la reacción de los transeúntes para pensar en nuevas formas de actuar en el espacio público.

Como resultado de este análisis delineamos un identikit del operador artístico-social que surge de estos experimentos. El operador artístico social es:

a) Una persona o grupo de personas que ponen a disposición su conocimiento para crear ruptura en el espacio y en los hábitos cotidianos de la colectividad.
b) Un instigador, un agente que proporciona unas herramientas, sean ellas físicas o aleatorias, y las dispone en un espacio.

Las características de las acciones son:

1) Todas las acciones parten de pocos elementos, sencillos y low cost. Esto quiere decir que potencialmente cada una de ellas podría ser desarrollada con presupuesto muy bajo y realizada por un numero de personas/agentes reducidos.

2) La gente que se involucra en la acción no se selecciona previamente, simplemente se convierte en agente porque, atraída por lo que está pasando en la calle o en un sitio concreto, decide de tomar parte en proceso.

3) Las reacciones de los transeúntes respeto a lo que está pasando en la calle son muy variadas y merecerían un capitulo a parte. Hay un discreto numero de personas que deciden no participar en la acción y quedarse al lado de la misma o directamente alejarse de la "escena". Aquí resultaría interesante investigar las razones de dicha decisión para poder tener un cuadro más claro de las posibilidades.

4) Una vez finalizado cada proyecto empieza la fase de recopilación: se apuntan los resultados a partir de las preguntas surgidas durante la acción. Se analizan las evidencias propias de cada caso y se ponen en comparación entre ellas. Una opción es coger ejemplo de otras acciones del mismo estilo realizadas en la calle.

5) El objetivo principal de las acciones presentadas es formar una conciencia sobre el bien común como entorno urbano.

6) Las acciones tienen un carácter intrínseco de juego y de diversión, aunque puedan contener elementos reivindicativos más o menos velados.

5. Conclusiones

Los proyectos analizados (*Macao* y *BaSe1* en Milán y las acciones de los *Artikistas* en Bilbao) representan un ejemplo de operaciones artísticas hacía la reapropiación del espacio público como bien común a través de estrategias que rompen la rutina de las personas.

Al analizar las características de las acciones podemos proponer un *identikit* de los artistas/operadores que recogen algunas pautas comunes entre ellas.

El presente estudio, que se pone como objetivo el de investigar la acción en la calle hoy en día y hacer luz sobre todos aquellos aspectos que emergen de un análisis detallada de dichos actos, está todavía en fase de desarrollo. Para estas razones hay que tener en cuenta su carácter experimental y de *work-in-progress*.

La respuesta social a esta llamada y la participación de la gente es un indicador de que las acciones encuentran resonancia en una necesidad social profunda, aunque poco identificada: la recuperación del espacio público como bien común. Esta necesidad se puede identificar como recuperar el concepto de bien común que es algo tanto ancestral cuanto actual en los espacios urbanos compartidos.

El arte tiene un rol en el despertar de esta necesidad. Apropiándose de las calles, operando en los intersticios y en los vacíos creados por edificios, situaciones y personas, a veces al limite de lo que está jurídicamente aceptado (como en el caso de *Macao, Centro Para las Artes e la Cultura* de Milán), el arte puede ser un activador del concepto de bien común en el espacio urbano.

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7. Apéndice metodológico

Para poder realizar la presente investigación fue necesario llevar a cabo una serie de acciones en Milán y en Bilbao. Dicho trabajo empezó en el mayo del 2012 con la visita y participación activa en el proceso constructivo de *Centro Para las Artes y la Cultura de Milán, Macao*. En esta ocasión fue central el análisis de los hechos desde mayo de 2012 hasta julio de 2013. En este espacio de tiempo la sede de Macao pasó por transformaciones: de rascacielos Torre Galfa, a Palazzo Citterio hasta lo que es actualmente: el *Ex Macello* de Viale Molise.

La experiencia de *BaSe1* se desarrolló en la estación de trenes *Passante Ferroviario*, Milano Lancetti, en los días del 7 y 8 de junio de 2012. Durante los días de la acción el espacio octagonal *Carosello* se abrió al público y fue preparado como un espacio-casa para el uso de transeúntes. *La Casa di Tutti* estaba compuesta por una zona descanso, estantería, sillas y zona cocina. Durante el tiempo de la acción se han llevado a cabo una serie de entrevistas a varios vecinos del barrio acerca de la situación precaria del mismo.

Para la acción titulada *Spider Web* en diciembre de 2015 en las calles del entorno del Muelle Martzana emplearon ovillos de algodón elástico. Los participantes y todas las personas que pasaban por estas calles entraban en la red y tenían la posibilidad de tomar parte en la acción. También en el caso de esta última acción ejemplificada en el articulo, se tomó nota de las reacciones y se entrevistaron algunas personas participantes.

8. Biografía

Raffaella Regina, artista, está afiliada al Programa de Doctorado Investigación en Arte Contemporáneo, desarrollando la tesis de doctorado titulada "La acción artística en el espacio publico como proceso y medio de interrelaciones", inscrita en el Departamento de Escultura Universidad del País Vasco. Su trabajo se dirige tanto a la acción en el espacio público cuanto

al estudio y desarrollo de posibles soluciones para mejorar la percepción social respeto al entorno más cercano con una atención especial hacia lo común.

Ha realizado exposiciones internacionales en España e en Italia, entre estas en el Museo de Arte Contemporáneo de Lissone, en Lombardia. Su ensayo "Site Specific" está publicado por la editorial Frullini, Italia. Colabora activamente con los grupos *Artikistas* y *Not a Soho* y viene tomando parte en varios procesos de acción-creación en el País Vasco.

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Arts

Liminality, Anti-Structure and Legitimation. Study of the Artistic Proposal *A revolta dos panos* [The Revolt of the Rags] (2016)

Natalia Vegas Moreno and Arturo Cancio Ferruz

Universidad del País Vasco/Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea

Abstract: *We initially base our communication on the symbolic analysis of A revolta dos panos [The revolt of the rags], an artistic proposal artist Arturo Cancio accomplished together with Coolabora CRL, a cooperative for social intervention, and more than 80 volunteers in Covilhã, Portugal, in 2016. To carry out such an analytic study, we first rely on the social and ritual anthropologic theory of Victor Turner and, more specifically, on his study on liminality and anti-structure. Besides, we count on Pierre Bourdieu's structuralist concept of habitus and on feminist theorization, as this artistic proposal featured a feminist background throughout all the phases of the project and followed participatory, horizontal and performative logics as supporting strategies (Antunes 2018). Furthermore, we refer to Ileana Diéguez (2009) who reclaimed the notion of liminality in her study of specific artistic practices within the contemporary Latin American context. By using this notion directly related to the form of social relationship called communitas, we understand Diéguez added complexity to the ongoing debate on the relationships between the political and aesthetic aspects of the practice of art (Kester 2004; Rancière 2004, 2008; Bishop 2006; Asselin, Lamoureux & Ross 2008; Bourriaud 2009a and 2009b; Gielen 2015). She used the term liminal to account for the constitution of anti-structures, which are opposed to structured and hierarchical modes of relationships in society. Besides, she distinguished between the artistic practices occurring in everyday life from those that are narrowed down in aesthetic spaces. We consider this separation entails, implicitly or explicitly, a different evaluation of their ability to perform political and aesthetic action to achieve legitimacy. In this communication, we present evidence of this fact and, by linking liminality to the notion of 'bad form' (Lyotard 2000; Badiola 1994, 2002), we conclude communitas is the highest legitimacy an artwork can achieve.*

Keywords: *Contemporary art, liminality, anti-structure, communitas, legitimation*

1. Introduction

In this communication, we will first introduce some particular aspects of *A revolta dos panos*. This preliminary approach resulted from a written set of questions author Natalia Vegas proposed Cancio to delve into the analysis of this artistic intervention and reveal some unacknowledged characteristics so far[1]. Besides, this study will imply the symbolic comparison between the artistic proposal and a singular piece of *kantha* embroidery, a type of needlework women traditionally make in Bangladesh. Subsequently, we will relate these previous analyses to Victor Turner's theories on liminality, in which we found key notions such as liminal and liminoid phenomena and the notion of anti-structure. However, we challenge Turner's theory by paying attention to some basic ideas derived from feminist theory.

Next, we will present Ileana Diéguez insights on artistic practices based on liminality and anti-structure, and on the social and aesthetical implications of art practices regarding the notion of *communitas*. Finally, we will sort to Jean François Lyotard's notion of '*bad form*' —as a feature of the postmodern condition which Txomin Badiola developed as a basis of his own artistic production— to evaluate the pertinence of *communitas* as a form of achieving legitimacy, regardless of other mechanisms of social and aesthetic validation of artworks.

2. *Kantha* Embroidery as a Trigger of *A revolta dos panos*. To do Similar Things other People do but for Different Reasons

As we previously mentioned, *kanthas* are a type of needlework women traditionally manufacture by hand in Bangladesh and which, besides existing as functional and domestic articles, are also recognized as a folk art form that has gained a legendary and symbolic character over time (Zaman 2000:13). To produce these embroideries, women cut up worn out saris generally and, after piling up several layers of fabric, join them together with colorful threads. Figure 1 below corresponds to an image of a *kantha* Parul[2] manufactured in 1952. The maker of this particular embroidery included, together with some recurrent symbolic motifs, a sentence in the Bengali language, which Nia Zaman (2000:65) translated to English as follows: "Gaya, Kashi, Brindaban are nothing to me / A woman's existence is at her husband's feet".

Figure 1. Image of Parul's kantha
Source: Zaman, N. (2000:65)

This *kantha* —and, more particularly, the second part of the sentence embroidered on it— was a fundamental reference and motivation which drove Cancio to produce, back in 2012, a plastic exercise and eventually trigger *A revolta dos panos* four years later. He argued the rationale behind his decision to produce the embroidered piece shown in Figure 2, resided in his awareness of the manifestation of a structural process of male domination over females in Parul's *kantha*. While Parul was reproducing this process, Cancio intended to denounce it through a singular artistic practice.

Figure 2. Presentation of Cancio's Banner in Coolabora CRL Headquarters
Source: Coolabora CRL

As articulating elements and procedures are concerned, used materials recycling —or upcycling—, individual handicraft, and a linguistic structure of common use —a proverb related to domestic and gender violence— constituted the main components of the artistic objects presented so far. Nevertheless, Cancio felt urged to share his perception, which aroused during the manufacture of the textile piece he sewed by hand himself, of the above mentioned structural process. This way, the decorative and reproductive wall-hanging would become a demonstrative and complainant banner. Moreover, we would also like to underline *A revolta dos panos* was rooted in his personal desire to transform an individual artistic practice into a collective and collaborative one.

3. On the Evolution of Symbolic Elements. The Efficacies of *A revolta dos panos*

The banner transformed the symbolic sense of Parul's kantha as a result of various aesthetic and political strategies. Regarding materiality, the use of worn-out saris in *kanthas* may lead us to relate them to a woman's —structurally oppressed— body. However, by using cleaning rags, we found the materiality of the banner became linked to a notion of not fairly paid and domestic labor, in the hands of women principally. This way, it combined the socio-political conception of male dominance with the socio-economic idea of class conflict and struggle, to merge in an artifact with a feminist working-class tone.

Besides, *kanthas* are usually displayed either as mats, blankets, or framed and unframed decorative domestic applications. None of these options would consider appropriate to show the reverse side of the embroidered pieces —the 'ugly' sides—, as the banner actually do. In the making of the prototype banner, Cancio sewed the red letters on the reverse side of the rags, because he considered their original patterns would have caused the sentence to become unclear, less easily readable. Moreover, as he was sewing the letters, the white thread used to do it left a hardly perceptible trace of the sentence in reverse, on the other side. He linked this particular feature of his work to his own awareness of patriarchal domination as a structure which is often invisibilized and needs to be reversed to be noticeable.

Furthermore, the banners would be preferably displayed vertically hanged in some public space, in a way people may appreciate both sides. In case of placing them in a private space, or an institutional place, they would be directly installed on the floor, horizontally, the red letters facing down. This arrangement would force anyone wishing to fully comprehend the piece, to either discover the trace of the white thread and try to interpret the reversed sentence, or turn the banner to be able to appreciate the red letters.

Figure 3. Display of the Banners in Coolabora CRL Headquarters during the Presentation of *A revolta dos panos*
Source: Coolabora CRL

The original proposal to transform his individual artistic activity into a collective one involved the group making of just one banner displaying a Portuguese versión of the sentence. Nevertheless, one of the political effectiveness of A revolta dos panos emerged from the partnership with Coolabora CRL. They provided the social network, willpower, and resolution to make real and amplify the initial brainchild. The more than 80 people engaged in making the banners assumed it was their own project, both as a personal and shared challenge.

Figure 4. Sewing Session
Source: Coolabora CRL

Another highly influential factor was the fact that the staff at Coolabora CRL were fully aware of the possibilities of art as a tool for social intervention. The way *A revolta dos panos* unveiled a pattern of domination against women through the use of a common language constituted one of these possibilities. Lia Antunes (2018:149), who was a highly committed collaborator,

stated *A revolta dos panos* was rooted in "a feminist background which was present in every phase of the project [and] born of horizontal and interdisciplinary feminist activism, organized in sessions of meetings, production, and debate, participated mostly by women". In this sense, the staff of Coolabora CRL wisely advised that the participants should decide which sentences they would sew in the rags, as an empowerment strategy. Besides, the title of the project — selected among other options the collaborators proposed during one of the sewing sessions— related to the idea of transforming the function of the rags and that of turning something over to give rise to a revolutionary societal change.

As we considered before, the aim of the prototype banner was to denounce the existence of internalized and incorporated structures of male domination. This denunciation became also consubstantial to *A revolta dos panos* and reached a critical point when people who were not directly engaged with the project found the nine finally produced banners exposed in the public space. Despite the private sessions for the production of the banners were very meaningful and deep, as they were meant to make people's different opinions on the project meet some agreement, the relevance of the public exhibition resided in its wider extensión and uncertain reception. While the former produced some common consensus, the display in the public space challenged this agreement and resulted in a revaluation of the banners. As a result, some voices claimed the chosen sentences were misogynistic, and it was rather unclear whether we were condemning or supporting a position. This fact constituted another aesthetic and political efficacy of the project.

Figure 5. Public Display of the Banners
Source: Coolabora CRL.

Finally, we would like to highlight the budget to produce the banners was close to zero, as the participants provided most of the material needs to produce the banners free of charge. Besides, no one received any wages as an economic reward to design or manufacture them. However, the University of Beira Interior, the Municipality of Covilhã and the feminist festival *Fem Tour Truck* —which included *A revolta dos panos* as a highly significant event in that context— supported the public exhibition both economic and logistically. Moreover, both the Commission for Citizenship and Gender Equality of the Presidency of Ministries Board of Portugal —through the prize *VidArte*: Art against domestic violence—, and the University of the Basque Country —through the prize for the dissemination of the image of the university by students— recognized the project as an outstanding contribution.

4. From the Liminal State of *Kanthas* to the Liminoid Condition of A *revolta dos panos*

The consideration of the notion of liminality[3] encouraged Turner to establish a decisive divisíon in his methodology of comparative analysis of symbols. He distinguished between symbolic systems and genres pertaining to cultures developed before and after the Industrial Revolution to avoid confusions in the theoretical treatment and the methodological operativity of his analytic discipline. Consequently, we found the term liminal associated to "tribal", "preliterate", "simpler", "small-scale" societies, and liminoid when he dealt with societies in which industrial processes were fully integrated, or even in the "industrializing Third World societies" (Turner 1974:62). Turner's distinction was another reason to take into account when assessing the way in which the symbolic contents of A revolta dos panos correlated with the Bengali embroidery.

On the one hand, we contextualize Parul's *kantha* in a time when West Bengal, before it conquered its independence to become Bangladesh in the '70s, was undergoing an important agriculture reform, which entailed the abolition of the ruling feudal system in the regíon (Baxter 1997:72). Hence, we are able to affirm the reference *kantha* belongs to a social context in which liminality more suitably manifests, despite at the time it was made -1952- the so-called 'first world' countries were more than fully industrialized. Besides, Turner stated it is not possible to unlink the symbolic contents of the ritual processes and objects in these societies from religíon, which permeates everything and from which it is impossible to voluntary scape.

However, when we pay attention to the first part of the sentence Parul embroidered in her *Kantha* "Gaya, Kashi, Brindaban are nothing to me", we find she referred to three sacred places (Harder 2011:214). She expressly relegated these symbolic religious sites with respect to the place she situated the existence of women, her own existence; under her husband's feet. Consequently, we understand Parul is comparing religion to a male-centered social structure. Bourdieu's concept of *habitus* helps us to situate this sentence in the category of structuring structured structure which is embodied trough a process of unconscious practical familiarization.

Through this conception, we dare to say the symbolic content of this *Kantha* allows us to unveil the existence of a structure of domination typical of androcentric practices which, according to Charlotte Perkins Gilman (1911), maintain men at the center of the way of perceiving the world of every person, culture and history, thus marginalizing women. In turn, and following Turner's differentiation between liminal and liminoid phenomena, *A revolta dos panos* was made in a large scale economic and social system, industrialized, rationalized, and bureaucratized (Turner 1974:68). Therefore, it would be considered a liminoid experience.

5. Chauvinistic Structure versus Feminist Anti-structure

We are aware of the ongoing debate on the processes to be considered feminist and the ones that do not necessarily carry this label. Some Authors (Spender 1983; Lerner 1993; Walters 2005; Kinnaird & Astell 1983; Witt 2006; Allen 1999) defended every movement destined to work for the conquest and defense of women's rights should be considered as feminist, even if those movements never auto-assigned —or auto-assign— such denomination. Other positions (Botting & Houser 2006) maintain the term feminist should be only applied in the case of the

modern feminist movements and its descendants. They also proposed the term protofeminism to describe earlier historical feminist movements.

In this sense, we understand *A revolta dos panos* is a feminist activist practice both for autoassignation and filiation, as we agree with Antunes when she stated this artistic proposal was born from the horizontal and interdisciplinary feminist activism[4]. One of the basic aspirations of feminism resides in the achievement of equal rights for every person which would imply the eradication of every androcentric manifestation. Therefore, as the reference *kantha* is a representation of that kind, we situated it in the context of a global system based on a structure characterized by the presence of male domination schemes.

Consequently, and regarding the context we propose, some of the protofeminist movements should be considered liminal in the strict sense as, at the same time, they were produced in preindustralized societies and propose anti-structures which had the objective of transforming the dominant social order. Likewise, *A revolta dos panos* also presented a liminal character —as every feminist movement in a normative androcentric society does—, even being a liminoid phenomenon within an industrialized society. In this regard, Turner warned about the difficulties to strictly delimit liminal and liminoid phenomena, as both notions maintain both similarities and differences. In fact, he stated both types of experiences coexist in complex modern societies, as forms of "cultural pluralism" (Turner 1974:86). To shed some light to this notion, we will analyze next how *A revolta dos panos* related to Turner's notion of *communitas.*

6. Linking Turner's Anti-structure and the Constitution of *Communitas* to Lyotard and Badiola's Notion of *Bad Form*

Turner formulated symbols as open sociocultural systems which change its sense and form over time. However, it is undeniable the function of symbols —understood, at the very least, from a point of view of art as a convening produce which joins people together as a community, regardless of the passage of time— generates the required permanent structures to steadily inhabit it. The permanence a symbol generates is also partly due to some part of its structure which remains immutable, or at least impervious to a particular context; an archetypical small element transported by means of an inscrutable knowledge which safeguards our own recognition as human beings. In artworks, this aural part as —Walter Benjamin named it— would be the one which would allow us to connect remote times and places, and give place to *communitas* in which a strong connection among peoples would be made real for an instant by the means of the creator's grace, as Turner put it.

Nevertheless, this stability finds many weaknesses in postmodern times, as they are filled up with constant ruptures and no-places in which we may detect the contemporary sicknesses related to constant angst and melancholy, many authors wrote about (Kristeva cited by Badiola 1994; Jameson 1984; Foster 1996). These instabilities are also byproducts of the mutability of the senses which finds a reflection in the structural openness of contemporary artistic objects –perhaps currently changing at a faster rate than ever—which drives us to return to the concept of liminality to recognize it as our no-site to be in and with today's uncertainties. Turner described this liminality as an uncertain and ambiguous state (Turner 1980:110), although he never meant it to be contradictory, but non-structured.

Regarding liminoid phenomena, we link them to Jean Françoise Lyotard's (1979) conception of "bad form", which Txomin Badiola (1994, 2002) subsequently revived to account for the open structures characteristic of contemporary art production. We understand the notions of bad form and Turner's antistructure somehow meet; Turner meant antistructure to be out of the dominant sociocultural system and constituted the liminal subjects' own form. Besides, we consider a bad form as the one which unveils a lack of norms or laws, and a one and only sense and truth.

According to Badiola (2002), the bad form he seeks in his artistic process is an incomplete, faulty, and scarce form which remains as an exuberant and overflowed one at the same time. Besides, it includes a narrative, even if it is just the sequence of fragments which generates it. Badiola refered to a narrative which does not restrain itself to a hermetic and inmutable story, but to one which flows and creates a tale constituting its own negation at the same time, and the sympthom of the radical lack of meaning that presides human existence.

Thus, we present liminality —a notion which symbolic anthropology provided us as an example of a no-place of contemporary artistic activity related to antistructure— as the impossibility of the existence of absolute truths in the actual artistic panorama, due to the absence of symbols, as Vegas (2015; 2016 –2017) already addressed in previous research. If we understand symbols as social togetherness, as a form to generate the permanences needed to be in *communitas*, lacking symbols and permanences, we head towards the dismantling of societies which would be joined at times by the means of small and ocassional ocurrences. The freedom to create generates the lack of a symbolic order[5] which makes artistic activity to become double and more difficult to maintain. As one would have to be aware not only to fall into personal ideals which would not allow us to properly channel one's desires —and, in this sense, we highlight the need for formative, and not productive, social encounters—, it would be also necessary to avoid getting the typical contemporary sicknesses arising from this state of helplessness.

Ileana Diéguez (2009) showed particular interest to study the territory of liminality, where she found some artists —or artworks— who fund and defend their practice in liminal states. These artists work by their own decision and do not surrender to the dominant systems of art production and dissemination In this sense, Pascal Gielen often pointed to particular art forms which only find their right to occupy a place in the sphere of professional art when there is a symmetry between community and art, or between the political and aesthetic features of artworks. These are, at times, related to terms such as visuality and relationality, as Cancio & Vegas (2018) discussed in a previous paper.

This symmetry finds its *raison d'être* not in the display of any shared interests, but when it succeeds to become assimilated in *communitas.* To avoid these contributions become meaningless, or as Claire Bishop stated, to preserve them from their instrumentalization and dissolution in the social sphere, in relation with the aesthetic realm, they would have to mantain the antinomy of liminal or liminoid work to the possible extent, for their own's sake. Thus, we find an interest to stand for those art professionals who despite working in the territory of liminality succeed to create *communitas*.

Regarding professionality, we find it usually described as an exchange based on economic retribution only. Regardless of the accuracy of this description, we opt for a possibility

to understand professionalization on the base of the immaterial rewards artworks may generate, and which would lead to a more reliable legitimation, compared to the monetary rewards. However, this possibility may be only evident with the passage of time and when the consequences of artworks in the social contexts become fully patent. We stand by this conception, as we belive constituting *communitas* is the highest recompense art is able to achieve.

7. Conclusions

As negative as this helpless postmodern situation we propose in this communication may seem, we believe contemporary artists should work according to the guidelines Lyotard anticipated and Badiola stood up for, as an incomplete but exuberant form, an antiestructure working in a not agreed territory in the quest of a not utopical freedom.

Given the fact that *A revolta dos panos* found its place outside the dominant and normative art system, or in its limits, it may seem this artistic proposal constituted a failure to a particular vision of the professionalization of artists exclusively linked to economic success. While those artistic practices subject to the regimes of distribution of the sensible that occur in the field of art can take their validity and legitimacy for granted, both socially and aesthetically, the ones happening in everyday life do not necessarily achieve an aesthetic legitimacy.

Consequently, we propose liminality, and more particularly the antistructures art generates in this particular field of action, as an optimal way to achieve *communitas* which constitute the most outstanding reward and artwork, and an artist can obtain.

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9. Methodological Appendix

This paper derives form a previous article realized by both authors, in which we studied the relationships between precariousness and the aesthetic notions of visuality, relacionality and liminality. In this communication, we have tried to sound out the relationship between *A revolta dos panos* and the notions of liminality, anti-structure to discuss their implication in the processes of validation and legitimation of an artwork which found its place outside the habitual channels of the art system. The methodology involved an in-depth interview Vegas proposed Cancio, which led to the symbolic comparison of this contemporary artistic with an embroidery made in Bangladesh in 1952. We also sourced from the analysis of a recent article by Lia Antunes (2018), who collaborated in the realization of *A revolta dos panos* and subsequently reviewed this artistic proposal. The analysis of other theoretical contributions, which can be found in the reference list, have also based our methodology.

10. Biographical Note

Natalia Vegas is a Doctor in Fine Arts (2015) at the University of the Basque Country UPV/EHU. The title of her thesis dissertation is: "Aproximaciones a una experiencia de malestar contemporáneo. Entre la ausencia de símbolo-arte y el encuentro con las malas formas en la obra de arte de Jon Mikel Euba" [Approaches to an experience of contemporary discomfort. Between the abscence of the symbol-art and the encounter with bad forms in Jon Mikel Euba's artworks"]. She is one of the main members of the artistic-musical band Elbis Rever. She currently works as a teacher and researcher at the UPV/EHU, and as an actress and singer for the next film by the artist Pablo Marte.

Arturo Cancio is a Doctor in Research in Contemporary Art (2018) at the University of the Basque Country UPV/EHU. The title of his thesis dissertation is: Art and Precariousness. Notions. Precepts. Bents. Contexts. Experiences. He is a temporary contracted researcher in Prekariart team at the UPV/EHU and also an intermitent artist. He is currently engaged as a volunteer at the NGO Nos Unimos [We unite] as a teacher of a sewing workshop in which a group of women of different origins and nationatities learn how to sew.

11. Notes

1 It is possible to find previous analysis of *A revolta dos panos* in Antunes, L. (2018) and Cancio Ferruz, A. (2017).

2 We are really grateful to Prof. Niaz Zaman, at the University of Dhaka, who confirmed this *Kantha* is part of the collection in the National Art Gallery of Bangladesh, and was meant to be used as a decorative wall hanging.

3 Turner based his study on liminality on Arnold Van Gennep's definition of the three phases in a rite of passage: separation, transition, and incoporation. "During the intervining phase of transition, called by Van Gennep "margin" or "limen" (meaning threshold in Latin), the ritual subjects pass through a period of ambiguity, a sort of social limbo which has few (though sometimes these are the most crucial) of the attributes of either the preceding or subsequent profane social statuses or cultural states" (Turner, 1974, p.57).

4 Lia Antunes also highlighted in her paper the scarcity of evaluation of this activity to understand both the negative and positive aspects inherent to its production, as well as the effective participation of the diversity of women and the dissemination among the citizenry, and the autoevaluation of the intervening parts (Antunes, 2018, p.161). Somehow, this communication responds to her recommendations.

5 The symbolic —or symbolic order— is a complex concept French psychoanalyst Jacques Lacan elaborated, and described through its link to the other two concepts in a triad he porposed; the real and the imaginary. The social and structuring part that refers to the human capacity to develop language would correspond to the passage towards the symbolic.

**TRACK
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Culture
Collaborative culture and open
culture movement

Sharing Expertise on Boosting the Use of Basque Language in Public Communication

Asier Basurto Arruti[1] and Eduardo Apodaka Ostaikoetxea[2]

[1]Soziolinguistika Klusterra
[2]Universidad del País Vasco/Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea

Abstract: *Since Basque language obtained legal protection some decades ago, spreading the knowledge of the language has been the main aim of the public support policies developed in the Basque Country. Nowadays, the perspective of language revitalization and normalization policies and initiatives has changed. Promoting Basque language's effective use is becoming the main point of most of them. 'Public communication' is understood as a type of communication addressed to broad audiences. The relation between performers and institutional audiences, community relations, corporate communication, public services, and so on, is an important language use sphere. Social performers, institutions and companies are referential agents in that sphere and their public language practices can be a key for the minority language social promotion. Having presence and visibility in public media and performers' communication may grant minoritised languages acceptability and value because they affect language ideologies (e.g. normative monolingualism) and they increase affective usefulness as long as information, consumer products or speaking models spread. Jendaurrean Erabili Praktika Komunitatea (i.e. Community of Practice on the Public Use of Basque) is a project being developed since 2015 by the Basque Sociolinguistics Cluster (Soziolinguistika Klusterra) and the University of the Basque Country (Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea) in collaboration. A Community of Practice (from now onwards, CoP) for the promotion of the public use of Basque language has been created to capitalize and share the knowledge achieved through the public use of Basque made by public and private institutions. Special plan, regulations or direct intervention have often been applied in order to promote minoritised languages in public communication. Conversely, in this case, an indirect strategy has been employed, approaching the paradigm of the Linguistic Governance. The CoP itself is a methodology to overcome the obstacles that may arise in public use and in projects to promote it, while it offers a common place for knowledge exchange and communication among partners. In this paper, we will explain 1) the context and the political-ideological frame of the project and of the intervention, 2) why, what for and how the CoP has been employed as a collaborative collective method, 3) the adaptation and the development of the CoP, and 4), we will finally introduce the upcoming challenges derived from the results obtained so far.*

Keywords: *Community of Practice, Network Governance, Basque language promotion, Public use of Basque, Sociolinguistics*

1. Introduction

Basque language revitalization and normalization policies and initiatives are living a changing phase. It has been long time since Basque obtained legal protection and since its first public

support policies were developed, being in most cases the spread of people's knowledge of the language the main aim. The necessity to go beyond knowledge has gently extended in policies and social initiatives to support Basque and the promotion of its use is becoming increasingly visible. Its effective use is becoming the main point of language revitalization initiatives.

In this context, public communication has strategic relevance. Hereby, the Basque Sociolinguistics Cluster and the University of the Basque Country collaborated to conduct an action research project at the end of 2015: *Jendaurrean Erabili Praktika Komunitatea* (i.e. Community of Practice on the Public Use of Basque). In essence, the main goal of the project has been to a Community of Practice (from now onwards, CoP) for the promotion of the public use of Basque language.

Special plan, regulations or direct intervention have often been applied in order to promote minoritised languages in public communication. Conversely, in this case, an indirect strategy has been employed, approaching the paradigm of the Linguistic Governance. The basis of the project is the aim of promoting a minoritised language, ensuring the commitment and actions of social performers, institutions and companies. As long as performers who also communicate in that language have enough experience and knowledge of it, they favored the option of creating a CoP in order to learn from each other and to make a combined effort together. Then, the CoP itself is a methodology to overcome the obstacles that may arise in public use and in projects to promote it, while it offers a common place for knowledge exchange and communication among partners.

The central idea of the CoP is to capitalize the knowledge achieved through the public use of Basque made by public and private institutions. The procedures and functions of the CoP have been determined by a Core Group that has been part as well as a performer of this community. In fact, it has been this team the one in charge of initiating the CoP. Thus, diagnostic work related to knowledge and science on the public use of Basque has been made (e.g. how to conduct this work, how to overcome obstacles, what to use, how to improve, how to promote). The context has also been examined: what and how to communicate in this minoritised language in the current context. In addition, the project has two more specific goals: 1) communication practices, styles and policies have been analyzed, compared and taken as models available for everyone for public communication in Basque or in two languages, and 2) for the participants of *Jendaurrean Erabili* project, the CoP is 'a context for promotion' and a referential performer in public communication.

2. Framework of the Action Research Project

After Franco's dictatorship and its language repression policy (Anaut 2013), initiatives for the promotion and revitalization of Basque have been presented as normalization since autonomous communities were established. In 1982 in the Basque Autonomous Community, the *Law for the Normalization of the Use of the Basque Language* was approved. According to the model established there, the policies for the revitalization of Basque have not been addressed to a small or monolingual community but on the spread of Basque to the whole population. In the Community of Navarre, those policies have had territorial limits since the *Basque Law* of 1986 distinguishes three language areas: 1) the Basque-speaking one, 2) the mixed one and 3) the Spanish-speaking one.

It can be said that the official language ideology has been bilingualism. Even though social initiatives, activist groups and sub-state public institutions have been and are often confronting one another, there has been an agreement on the idea that the normalization of Basque had to be in line with bilingualism, in some cases, as an unwanted but compulsory phase. As Gorter and Cenoz put it, "the official aim of the language policy is the equivalence of Basque and Spanish and the policy is basically bilingual, but at the same time there is the underlying idea that citizens should be given the opportunity to use Basque in their everyday life. Therefore, the aim for the minority language is to become a normal language of everyday communication" (Gorter and Cenoz, 2016: 235). In order to respect citizens' linguistic rights, the administration has had to become bilingual, which is an ongoing process. In addition to language learning policies and the 'bilingualization' of the administration and public media, Basque has also appeared and spread in the public sphere. Therefore, many communications in Basque are performed in front of people who cannot speak Basque, that is to say, making no distinction between audiences who can speak Basque and those who cannot. This leads us to the main problem that originated this project: how can a language be normalized in the public sphere when not everybody speaks it? Basque is frequently excluded in favor of bigger languages. But acceptability problems may arise when people who cannot speak Basque reject being addressed to in Basque. In short, Basque is regarded as a less valuable language in terms of communication.

For a long time, the conflict dynamics between power and counter-power that took root during the Francoism has characterized the Language Governance of the Basque Country. Pro-Basque movements and Basque public autonomous institutions have been working in a conflictive governance situation, although they have sometimes achieved collaborations and agreement. In the past years, on the contrary, things have changed and it is increasing the number of public institutions, activist groups, social and community associations and private companies that work together on initiatives and projects. There are two clear signs that indicate that the Linguistic Governance model is changing: 1) more and more efforts and initiatives to revitalize Basque are being carried out so that collaboration is created, promoted and developed, and 2) goals and means of Language Governance are being primarily assigned to increasing the language use, the effective use, and not so many to increase the number of speakers.

Among the factors that facilitate the change of the governance model it has to be considered the institutionalization and professionalization of the pro-Basque movement and the linguistic normalization attempts. In addition, the feeling that the language revitalization and spread based on learning and standardization have reached their limit has extended among experts and citizens: a pause period is mentioned and how to overcome it by means of 'activation', some initiatives have been carried out in order to activate the language use. In this kind of projects, it is essential to previously work on an extensive and varied legitimation, that is to say, it is essential to organize the Language Governance and more specifically a community governance to revitalize language, because the key for innovation might be there (Normand, 2011).

The change of language policies is also taking place because it depends on global changes from national monolingual perspectives to a diversity perspective that globalization offers (Wright, 2005) and from planning to governance (Loughlin and Williams, 2007; Walsh, 2012).

Language governance is related with the 'neoliberalization' of states and with the neoliberal models of the New Public Management, but governance is beyond privatization of state and public services—it is a resource for the participation of all social actors in public policies (in the case of Canada, see: Wallot, 2005; Cardinal and Forgues, 2015). In this sense, corporate groups, lobbies, communities and activist groups have the opportunity to grow their effectiveness and social responsibility. In short, governance is the result of the decay of the state-centric regulation (Loughlin and Williams 2007: 59–60). This is why there is not an only governance model, and, in the end, the participants in those policies will form the predominant nature of governance: conflictive, collaborative, agreeing, engaged, and so on.

Language Governance should work to properly join and manage the demands of activists associations (i.e. language revitalization and equality) and the interests of private performers according to the normative framework established by the public institutions (i.e. bilingualism based on voluntariness), so that, for instance, all of them, including companies and private groups, assume responsibility for respecting legal language equality and speakers' rights established in this framework during their work.

3. Learning Together and from One Another

Our main objective was to promote the use of Basque in a strategic sector. We wanted to spread the need to activate (i.e. to turn knowledge into practical use) the public communication of the minoritised language. To this end, we chose a common and shared leadership who should represent the actual actors of that change; they should be the ones in charge of creating, legitimizing and spreading this goal. And this is why we undertook the action research project called *Jendaurrean Erabili*.

The project has been a Participatory Action Research (from now onwards, PAR) right from the beginning, which is a research method based on the active participation of the analyzed subject. There are three main differences between the PAR and the conventional research: 1) shared ownership of research projects, 2) community-based analysis of social problems and 3) an orientation toward community action (Kemmis and McTaggart, 2007: 273). All of these aspects characterized *Jendaurrean Erabili*.

The characteristics of our CoP are revealed in the creation, development and results of the community itself. On the one hand, because the development of a PAR is not a mechanical sequence of steps but a spiral of self-reflective cycles of constant planning, action and testing again and again (Ibidem, 2007: 276). On the other hand, the success criterion is that the participants "have a strong and authentic sense of development and evolution in their practices, their understandings of their practices, and the situations in which they practice" (Ibidem, 2007: 277). We have searched the change in communication practices; to make them easier, better, more effective and more in Basque. Hence, as usual in PAR, we have initiated a project for the learning group to build some research knowledge and know-how. In short, the task of the project has been to provide a tool for the collective learning—a tool that offers the opportunity to learn from each other, to create new knowledge, to improve one's practice and a way to transform each one's linguistic environment. This tool is of course the CoP. The CoP fulfils the requirements of the PAR: it directly affects learning, it offers the opportunity to change

and to reframe social practices, it serves to analyze one's knowledge and to share it with others, and it provides the context to carry out transformation and change processes.

As it is well known, the concept CoP was created in the context of theorization on learning and knowledge spreading, initially related to social learning and shared knowledge creation (Lave and Wenger 1991; Wenger 1998). In brief, a CoP is a group of people who share a concern or a passion for something they do and learn how to do it better as they interact regularly (Ibid, 2015); or shorter, it is a 'social fabric of learning' (Wenger et al. 2002:28). In CoPs, experience and competence complement each other. They are regimes of competence (Eckert and Wenger 2005). In this sense, the goal of the project gets clear: expanding and promoting a 'regime of competence' (i.e. competence and knowledge for the public communication in Basque) means promoting the practice and activity itself (i.e. the public communication in Basque).

As stated by Wenger in his work, a CoP has three essential characteristics (Wenger 1998; Wenger and Wenger-Trayner 2015):

1. The domain: the community has an identity defined by an area of interest. Its members have a shared competence, they learn from each other.
2. The community: the COP is organized around a joint enterprise or common goal, common or similar interests and matters.
3. The practice: the CoP is not an interest community. Members practice, and from this practice, members create a shared resource repertoire experiences, stories, tools, usual ways to solve problems.

It has been more than three decades since the concept of CoP was created, and in this time span it has been applied, worked, transformed and criticized in lots of different ways. In general, it has apparently had a particular evolution, from a 'psychological model with the social as a context' into a 'model which is essentially social' (Barton and Tusting, 2005: 4). As explained before, considering the situation of Basque and the current context, we thought that the CoP could be a proper and effective tool to perform its function. Therefore, we conceived the CoP *Jendaurrean Erabili* as a tool for social transformation and, at the same time, as a social actor.

In October 2015, the CoP of the *Jendaurrean Erabili* project was initiated. More specifically, the core group that should be the seed of this community started to meet. Nine performers have participated in this group: Adegi, AEK, Athletic Club Bilbao, EITB, ELA, Getxo Town Council, Provincial Government of Gipuzkoa, Guggenheim Bilbao Museum, and the University of the Basque Country (UPV/EHU). We wanted to mix sectors, sizes and activities, but the two most important things were having special leadership in its sector and having notorious activity in public communication.

From November 2015 to June 2016, we deployed the first and most laborious phase to structure and form the CoP with that core group. Tests were conducted during the discussions in order to decide how our CoP should be. Concerning the structure, an adaptation of Lave's and Wenger's proposal was prioritized (Lave and Wenger 1991). According to these researchers, there are usually layers or participation levels in CoPs. In strong communities, there are central and outlying layers—there is a core formed by skilled performers of a high level of participation, and then beginners of a low level of participation on the outskirts. In our CoP, the community has 1)

a core group (i.e. coordinators and most active participants), 2) members who sometimes could participate in the events and activities proposed by the core and who are registered as friends in the community, and 3) those who participate as followers.

The process of structuring of the CoP has been dynamic. As the group formed, it was decided how the CoP would be as well as its normal functioning. In this initial phase, then, participants had some tasks: the community was structured. To this end, the community took part in an evaluative diagnosis in order to organize a shared repertoire on the common practice by means of some discussion sessions and narrative building exercises.

In 2017 the public phase of the CoP has been activated. A public presentation and a web page have been made: http://jendaurrean.eus/eu. This phase is the monitoring phase of the CoP: arrival of new members, enforcement of the CoP in the working sessions, expansion of the network, and strategic development.

4. From Multiple Experiences to Common Repertoires

In the first phase of the PAR, the core group made a shared diagnosis and repertoire to organize and structure the CoP. In the working sessions each participant and examined how they made their public communication in Basque, overcame the obstacles or could improve their activities. The group discussed about communication practices in their current situations, communication strategies and techniques, legitimation of social innovation, management of the communication types and the new technologies, leadership development in social innovation and language change processes, public services organization in Basque (e.g. health service). A shared repertoire was arranged in those working sessions. As soon as participants started talking about communication practices in Basque, common topics arose: the adequacy of internal and external audience differentiation, the limited effectiveness of the communication plans the need to constantly adequate and renew brokers, and so on and so forth.

The *techniques and tricks* that the participants make use of were also mentioned—the contents of the messages in Basque were special value, the channel was special, the form was remarkable, special or bilingual things on social networks, and so forth. Due to the close relation with journalists, the problems of the use of minoritised languages in press conferences were also commented (e.g. when journalists leave the place if Basque is used after Spanish).

Participants tended to associate the poor value of the public communication in Basque with an abnormal situation. In fact, when communication in Basque starts, strong established habits should change in private as well as in public communication. All performers have a specific behavior when it comes to language use. Some based on strong decisions and specific plans; others based on habits. However, all have made many decisions on the kind of communication, especially on the communication in Basque—for sure, it has been a difficult decision-making process. Nowadays the public space for communication is not the space of traditional media. Many performers interact with their communities directly; they choose their audience in an increasingly accurate way and their messages to their audience are increasingly specific. In other words, in some cases media is not always the first choice when communicating and,

in addition to this, audiences are segmented. These audiences vary in size—in some cases, they are worldwide. Consequently, more and more languages are used (i.e. the case for Athletic, Guggenheim and some others) and the criteria and policies of language use are more complex. In such a context, performers have to pay special attention to public communication in minoritised languages such as Basque.

Beyond what has been collected in the discussion sessions of the community, we included the views of all participants in the project, so that shared and heterogeneous knowledge was achieved. Thus, we summarized in a single document the knowledge and experience that participants offered to each other. We made a diagnosis of each participant's communication performance, of their communication in Basque and of the context in general. In our CoP, researchers and participants wrote a narrative (Balasch and Montenegro 2003), and all the texts were grouped in a single document. Later on, this collection of narratives has been used as a guide to go 'from multiple voices to common challenges' in order to decide prospective challenges and working lines of the CoP. The following are the core ideas that appeared when accounting for the practice carried out by the CoP in public communication in Basque:

- *Consciousness of the leaders' function*. Participants do know that big and popular associations, public or not, work as a driving force in public communication in Basque.
- *Basque, a positive characteristic*. It is already known that guiding institutions can transform Basque into a positive characteristic by means of its use, especially if this use is presented in sensible frames.
- *Need for coordination*. It is necessary to work with the actors in charge of the communication and the space of information.
- *Targeted and positive differentiation for Basque*. The participants of the CoP act like media and use direct ways to communicate with their audiences, and special target groups.
- *Legitimacy and normality*. In general, it is taken as accepted and normalized the inert use of Basque. However, there are also exceptions, and problems are linked to the acceptability and legitimacy levels.
- *A minimum protection for systematic bilingualism*. When working to achieve acceptability, it is important to highlight that often the performance in both languages is carried out in order to be lawful, especially for public institutions.
- *The capacity of the institution to communicate in Basque*. Finally, each institution or performer must know and use its linguistic resources well.

5. Conclusions

The main task of the project here presented is to create a CoP formed by performers that work on public communication in Basque. The goal is clear: the CoP must achieve the transformation so that the minoritised language is more frequently used in wide public communication. The central core of the project is practice, not attitudes on practice. The basic hypothesis here is related to the performance of practice—if a certain practice is about to be implemented, this must become attractive and comfortable. Practice must be visible and worth seeing in the near context, it needs the legitimization of the referential actors and it must be available for everyone.

The bottom line is that not only the communication and the language use of the public services must be taken into account, but also the technical aspects of linguistic management. A Language Governance model strengthens the methods chosen in order to create and share the knowledge on practices—a governance based on language equality and the shared leadership of the different performers. We have made lots of work, therefore, in order to enable the public communication in Basque, in order to legitimize the use of the minoritised language, so that indirect legitimization and community leadership of the referential authorities is achieved.

With regard to leadership, and in order to promote a new model of governance, it must be said that the *Jendaurrean Erabili* CoP is achieving significant outcome as a 'legitimization platform' and as a 'balanced model.' An example of this is the initiative *Gipuzkoa Berdinago* (i.e. 'More Equal Gipuzkoa', a declaration in favor of a more balanced public language policy). This initiative is a working line emerged from the *Jendaurrean Erabili* CoP and promoted by the Provincial Council of Gipuzkoa (2018).

The document shows what kind of steps they will take to make Basque more visible in their public performances—conscious and deliberate management, spokespersons will have to have a good communication level in Basque, they will be provided with training, Basque-speaking reporters will be sent to the public events, linguistic balance on discourses and speeches, and so on.

This project has had a social impact since it was started. It has shown that there are many motivated performers ready to communicate in Basque. In fact, they have enough experience performing this task. Hence, sharing this knowledge and experience they will transform the context, create new leaders and new kinds of leadership. Since the beginning, we have assumed that CoPs are safe places to share challenges, and we have tried to create an atmosphere of collaboration and confidence in order to face the common challenges and innovations of the project. In this sense, to some extent, we have created a new and motivating context in which participants have heard others' experiences and were given the opportunity to assess theirs. In some cases, some performers have seen others as driving forces.

In 2018 and 2019 the *Jendaurrean Erabili* CoP will continue working and facing the many challenges it has. Some challenges are internal, related to the management and development of the CoP. The internal life and collaboration density must increase since we have had clear limitations associated to the size, activity differences or even the individual positions of the participants. In brief, we have tested a method (i.e. a CoP) to create and manage knowledge in a difficult field (i.e. public communication performers of all types). The community will continue this way, redefining the pioneer work of the driving forces by means of their practice and, if possible, working on new commitments. At the same time, the CoP will keep playing the role of a partner for its participants, expanding its leadership and, finally, offering normalized, comfortable and easy models to perform public communication in Basque.

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7. Methodological Appendix

The main aim of the Participatory Action Research (PAR) project presented in this paper has been to create a CoP and to test the usefulness of this methodology in the sphere of language use promotion. Simultaneously with the creation process of the CoP, many tasks linked to knowledge sharing, a common diagnosis and looking for the design of monitoring tools have been developed. It is especially remarkable the use of narrative based techniques.

The first phase of the project, the creation and launch of the CoP was developed between 2015 and 2017. Nowadays the CoP is still working.

8. Biographical Note

Asier Basurto Arruti (Donostia/San Sebastian, 1985) is a research technician at Soziolinguistika Klusterra (Basque Sociolinguistics Cluster) (2007-2012, 2017-today). He was graduated in sociology at the University of the Basque Country (2007) and is a university specialist in Language Planning (HIZNET) (2008). He has been involved as researcher and project manager in projects related to young people's language use, quantitative data collection methodologies, linguistic criteria, organization of conferences and courses, etc. Between 2013 and 2016, he was the coordinator of the linguistic diversity projects in the European Capital of Culture Donostia 2016 as member of the Council of Social Entities of the Basque Language, Kontseilua.

Eduardo Apodaka Ostaikoetxea (Bilbao, 1965) is professor in the Department Of Social Psychology And Methodology Of The Behavioral Sciences at the University of the Basque Country. His main research interests include identity, psychologization, individualization, power relations, authority legitimation, linguistic praxis. He is the author of various articles in collective books and journals; i.e. Komunikazioaren gizarte psikologia (UEU, 2004), Norberaren autonomia krisian (Pamiela 2012) – Juan Zelaia Award –, Identitate eta Anomalia (Pamiela 2015).

TRACK 5

Culture

Ultras Utopia. Reclaiming the Spectacle

Ronnie Close

American University in Cairo

Abstract: *The research article proposes that the Ultras football fans of Cairo can be seen as a nascent counter-hegemonic force in opposition to capitalism and its commodification of culture. New football communities constitute marginal groups and this paper sets out to situate the Ultras fans use of cultural practice and events as political positions, holding the capacity to resist political order and its pallid neoliberal artifice. Key to this is the universal question of how aesthetic experiences can form community and activate human imagination in resistance to the contemporary media spectacle.*

Keywords: *Neoliberalism, ultras, dissensus, aesthetics, politics, spectacle*

1. Introduction

This article is concerned with the world of the Ultras football fans of Cairo as a counter-hegemonic force to capitalism and looks at how new football cultures constitute marginal communities. Such groups operate in the precarious age of global politics as the vision of the self becomes fragmented and shaped by austerity politics embedded in conservative economic agendas. Lifestyle models offered up by consumerist cultural life appear more codified than ever as many seek out aesthetic experience and a sense of authentic community. In the regulation of life and diminishing of labor value, capitalism has in many ways hijacked the notion of the utopian, reducing it to a banal managerial discourse or the technicity of the twenty-first century human. Contemporary economies often idealize the global flextime worker, whose renunciation and individualism are extended through digital information networks, thereby fused into everyday life.

Formed within their own cultural contingencies, the Ultras football collectives reverberate with alternate social relations, occupying marginal spaces and new ways of being. In this space, aesthetic experience is key to what engenders the communities' own visceral creativity; that is a form of the utopian impulse to dissolve work, play and art into the fabric and leisure space of daily life. For the Cairo Ultras this takes place in part through cultural practices and the communal force of Rancière's dissensus.[1] The Ultras speak back to power and shape new ways of being outside the new spirit of capitalism. Ultras groups across the world vibrate stadium terraces with imaginative displays to reclaim the spectacle event from the entertainment industry of sports media networks. This break with the representational form situates the body in motion to create a collective experience of the event.

This rupture with representation, in turn, questions the value of culture as a social practice and aesthetics can play a role to verify new emergent possibilities. The Ultras football stadia displays (tifos) disrupt the meditated spectacle in the stadium space that has been regulated by capitalist interests to defer between the world of representation and the world of possibilities. Such new relations come about through rituals of communal aesthetics as part of the ecstatic

event. Like other social phenomena in history this football subculture emerges from the margins to reorder the sensible and destabilize the perception of power so important to the upkeep of the capitalist spectacle. Twenty-first century grassroots activism has contested neoliberal values in recent decades. In the case of the Ultras in Egypt this not only offers alternative modes of community but also contests the corrupting influence of the patriarchal ruling order personified by military rulers and their cronies.

This paper makes use of visual culture theories to position the Cairo Ultras use of ritual practices and events as dissensual politics. Regardless of hegemonic state impediments against the Ultras, there remains the potential of open play and aesthetic experience to hasten the utopian impulse to recover political agency and move towards new social relations. Globalization has formed a complex interconnected world with new challenges for societies as new labor practices continue to alienate many in the populations. Dystopian visions of the short-term future include the automation of industrial production as many jobs become more precarious and technologically determined. Community and belonging are counterweights to the negative social affects produced by economic forces while creativity suggests new possibilities to offset this malaise. The Ultras groups across the world have engaged in leisure-based activism as a type of sporting community to organize units operating beyond the influence of capitalism. The cultural nihilism inherit in contemporary capitalism has been labeled 'zombie' by many writers and academics[2].

The cultural practices of Ultras football fans can be seen as part of a longstanding tradition of resistance, from anarchist-utopian folkloric temporalities stretching back to Caribbean pirate hideaways or the Ben Ismaels, a nomadic Muslim musical troupe in eighteenth-century North America. The football fan social phenomenon has helped sabotage the live spectacle from global media dominance and has broken with representational systems. In these unpredictable global times such models from the margins perhaps offer up hope and useful responses to the neoliberal state of austerity economics and democratic failure across the world. Moreover, the Ultras groups appear to embody something of a more visceral imagination, human and libidinal, and possess the potential to reshape community beyond the temporary consensus of late capitalism.

2. The Spectacle of Shock

One of the key street agitators in the 2011 ousting of the Egyptian president, Hosni Mubarak were the Ultras football fan groups, Ultras Ahlawy and Ultras White Knights. Although affiliated to different Cairo teams in the domestic league, they often joined forces in street protests in the capital that eventually brought down the corrupt rule of the National Democratic Party (NDP) and its towering leader for over thirty years. The subsequent tragic Port Said incident on February 1, 2012, when seventy-two Al-Ahly Ultra fans were killed in a violent attack at a football fixture in the port city, projected them back onto the political stage but this time as revolutionary martyrs. The motivation for this orchestrated attack, most likely with the involvement of the old regime, was in revenge for the key role some Ultras played in the protest movement in 2011. However, this attack was strategically designed to intimidate all revolutionary opposition groups and activists from demanding social change, thereby reasserting familiar outmoded vertical power relations.

The first Ultra group to appear in Cairo were the Ultras Ahlawy (UA07) who are affiliated with the country's most successful club Al-Ahly S.C. Egypt, who have a rich football legacy. "Al-Ahly" means "family" or "nation" in Arabic, and the club was founded in April 1907 during a period of anti-colonial struggle against British rule. Egyptian nationalist movements used football crowds to conceal political debate and self-organization[3]. A popular revolt against British rule in 1919 eventually led to conditional sovereignty from the imperial power and laid nationalist foundations for the later Arab republic in 1952. The rapid establishment of a football league in Egypt in the early twentieth century allowed British colonialists and the forces of monarchy to rival nationalist clubs, such as Al-Ahly. In order to curtail the nationalist sentiment and popularity of football, the pro-colonial forces founded their own club, Zamalek S.C. in January 1911, on Gezira Island in the middle of the Nile; under the British protectorate.

The UA07 adapted the core components of similar international football groups. It upheld raucous attitudes that are anti-authoritarian, collectivist and opposed to the commodification of sport. This fusion of bravado posturing and antagonistic displays was an explosive combination within a tightly controlled political state like Egypt, and the Ultras commanded the football terrace space through their visceral display of collective power. In Mubarak's police system, the regime perceived this new brash and youthful attitude as a subversive threat to state power. Enduring animosity with the police escalated over the early years. In one key incident thirty-eight members of the Ultras Devils (an off-shoot of the UA07) group based in Alexandria were arrested on for belonging to an illegal group. Over time, Ultras fans were arrested, harassed or tortured in Egypt's infamous police stations and intimidated from emulating Italian Ultras styled behavior. As a consequence of such oppressive obstacles and restrictions, the Ultras' appeal expanded across the Egyptian football league as rival groups were formed in other cities with the majority of the fans drawn from the lower social classes. There are in total twelve Ultras groups in Egypt, some affiliated to the same team such as in the case of Al-Ahly, the most supported club with over twenty million supporters nationwide.

The callous murder of Khaled Saaed in Alexandria in June 2010 while in police custody helped coalesce sentiments into opposition to the Mubarak regime, which eventually spurred the 25th January Uprising. Images of Saaed's battered, disfigured face spread throughout online communities and incited outrage over allegations that he was beaten to death by members of the Egyptian police force because of insubordination. A prominent Facebook group "We are all Khaled Saaed" was moderated by political activist and Google executive, Wael Ghonim, and focused attention on his death to embolden discontent with the regime[4].

The extraordinary events of 2011 challenged the Egyptian Ultras fan movement in new ways beyond their football mentality and influenced revolutionary politics and culture in the removal of the fraudulent military junta. Initially the Ultras organizations remained publicly ambivalent to the nascent street protests in Cairo and elsewhere, reiterating their apparent apolitical stance on social media platforms. Despite widespread claims to the contrary there is only circumstantial evidence to enable us to affirm their role in the political drama of the eighteen days (25th January to February 11th 2011) that played out on the streets of Egypt. Certainly, they had considerable reason to confront the security forces and -like the many of the youth population in society-, were, as individuals, moved to supporting, if not participating, in the new spirit of street revolt at this time. Ultras members were involved in the clashes with police and, as experienced and organized street agitators, were able to defend the protest

camp space around Tahrir Square from state violence.

Historical narratives are constructed in hindsight to determine the social composition of the popular uprising against Mubarak[5]. Fluid phases in history make it impracticable to establish beyond doubt the roles that particular groups perform. The popular notion of the Ultras as political beings, acting on long-held grievances like much of the youth population has shaped much of the 2011 revisionist post-revolutionary history of Egypt[6]. The historic removal of Mubarak in the eighteen-day drama of 2011 created a powerful cohesive bond through the simplified popular demand for equality that came out from years of state neglect and oppression. Publications on the rise of street politics across the globe at the time, drew comparison between the apparent similarities of Tahrir Square and New York's Zuccotti Park Occupy movement.

Political theorist, David Harvey, had already taken up Henri Lefebvre's earlier writings on the production of space in his 2012 book *Rebels Cities, Right to the City*. In this renewed socio-political context, the Ultra groups sudden appearance seemed to confront such ideals head on, albeit under a particular Egyptian calibration, demanding the right to protest space and freedom of expression in public space. Such unifying moments of global solidarity between the Western and Arab publics were mostly misleading if not foolhardy, however, as the deep-rooted, culturally specific circumstances and reasons for revolt were crucially contingent to each situation. Moreover, the use of social media technology to awaken the masses in Egypt and beyond was proclaimed prematurely to entertain a new dawn of people power through Facebook, Twitter and other social media platforms. Indeed, such technologies just as easily serve as the tools of globalization and agents of hegemony in an age of surveillance capitalism.

In Egypt this unifying moment was traumatically undermined over the course of 2011 in a catalogue of brutal attacks on large crowds of street agitators by the military state complex. Such repression targeted the Al-Ahly Ultras in particular when on February 1, 2012, approximately a thousand Ultras07 fans traveled from Cairo to the costal city of Port Said to play a mid-week national league match against the local team Al-Masry. This fixture was of no particular significance to the domestic league, but there was a history of fan violence between the clubs built up over intercity rivalries. As the match concluded Al-Masry were rather unusually ahead 3:1 when the home crowd invaded the pitch, armed with various weapons, including knives, clubs and guns. The ensuing violence resulted in the death of UA07 fans, broadcast live on the national broadcaster Nile TV to a national audience of millions. This violent rerouting of the football game, from sporting fixture to murderous vendetta, sought to prevent and deny of the political viability of the Ultras.

This single, traumatic attack had a devastating effect on the collectivity of the Ultras movement and inevitably displayed if not reminded the public of the brutality of the old military regime and the reactionary support of the local media. The unifying emotional response to the Port Said incident diverted the Ultras movement from becoming politically expressive as it acted as a blockage, serving the interests of hegemony. In the aftermath of Port Said the investigative process was flawed as, for instance, only four full-body autopsies were performed and the most preliminary forensic examinations carried out.

This profile of the Ultras in Egypt reveals an attempt to confront power in a direct transition

from the margins to the mainstream, from alienation to assimilation. In a society governed by vertical power relations and a chronic lack of socio-economic mobility, the Ultras football fan groups were formed around radical horizontal social relations, albeit compromised by gender issues in Arab cultures but nonetheless subversive to the status quo. In the book, *Disagreement: Politics and Philosophy*, Rancière identifies the political process with the establishment of 'the police' a term borrowed from Michel Foucault and describing the mode of government that originated in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. At the same time, Rancière also insists that the political process refers to "ways of doing, ways of being, and ways of saying" (Rancière, 1999: 29). Hence, the dramatic murders in Port Said can be seen as an extreme manifestation of police power, a trauma designed to prevent the Ultras and other radical actors from assuming a public role and envisioning political agency. The short-lived social emancipation of 2011 and sense of hope for a different future no longer exists even in the public imagination. Autocratic rule and emergency laws operate as the norm while the acquiescent media subdues, stifles and distracts public expressions of malcontent. Over their short lifespan Ultras groups attempted to emerge as political beings, self-aware and self-determined as communities to reinterpret the cultural parameters of what it means to be a football fan in Egypt.

3. Hooligans and Dissensus

The ostensible 'wrong thinking' of the hooligan mentality, associated with the notion of the football fan, is arguably a form of knowledge, formed in the margins and operating erratically. It is this network-like capacity for resistance that makes the Ultras social phenomenon potentially subversive to the dominance of neoliberal culture as propagated on media channels across the globe.

The appeal of the Ultras football communities can be attributed to the practice and lure of this indeterminacy, where life is unknown and unfixed. This collective logic is set against the consensual age, associated with the forces of cultural and political homogeneity. Activist bell hooks discussed this sense of potentiality in her vivid essay *Marginality as a Site of Resistance*. For her, the outsider space is the key to empowerment and emancipation, involving an identity emboldened through the marginal rather than diminished neither excluded nor inferior. She argues for radical perspectives that can only come about and be imagined as new worlds in opposition to the consensual center of mainstream political thinking. Dissensus nourishes resistance, shapes the new and is critical for alternative communities. She maintains, "I was not speaking of marginality one wishes to lose, to give up, or surrender as part of moving into the center but rather as a site one stays in, clings to even" (hooks, 1990:341).

The momentous eighteen-day period of Egypt's 2011 Uprising has faded from the popular imagination but those experiences and mental images are retained, vivid images of eidetic memory, abstract but still lucid to the real for many ordinary Egyptians. The anti-authoritarian stance of progressive Ultras groups across the football world, emerging within their own cultural contingency, can antagonize the police in the name of speaking to a utopian desire. In this position, politics is not a simple matter of what people receive or demand, for instance in the 2011 removal of Mubarak in Egypt, but what people wish for, in challenging the hierarchical order of social arrangements. Dissensus is to act out against the consensual, in order to work under the presupposition of one's own equality and such action, if it is political, will be more

collective rather than individual. Such new sets of social arrangements generally only concern people who have been presupposed unequal or marginal by a particular order, and by acting as though they were indeed equal to those above them, to disrupt the dominate social order itself. What is altered is not only the power relations of the hierarchical order, but more deeply, the appearance of 'nature' that the dominant order cynically assumes.

Dissensus is not merely a disagreement about the justice of particular situations or arrangements, although it is that as well; it is fundamentally the revelation of the contingency of the entire perceptual and conceptual order in which such arrangements are embedded. In this radical contingent position, the distribution of the sensible allows for aesthetics to play a role to challenge a partition of the sensible. The position of Cairo's Ultras, between political being and aesthetic actor, is a manifestation of a dissensus-based hooligan mentality, seeking to articulate a voice from the Global South. This collective address to the structure of hierarchical order through aesthetic experience and expression is a visceral vibration of the social order towards something new. It is a consequence of the spectacle system to recycle real events of authentic significance to the world and fuse them into a curiosity cabinet of sanitized gestures, weird excessiveness, exhibitionist performances or neuroses placed in neat consumerist packages. In this context, discourse and protest become devoid of lasting purpose, neutral and emptied out by the endless appetite for monotonous entertainment noise on global media networks. The contemporary face of the consumerist driven society is, what writer Mike Watson has labelled 'Botox Ghosts' (2016), a chiselled-out artifice from within a rigid expressionless cipher of neither happiness nor youth. In key cultural terms the new Ultras communities reverberate with alternative social relations in ways beyond rigid class distinctions to act as a locus for opposition to the monotony of consumer culture. The collective praxis of the Ultras exists as a model of a playful everyday life and community outside of the regimented control of work and the overregulated leisure time in modern society. Into this paradigm, the use of play is a central way to appeal to the notion of the utopian promise, what is possible, beyond separated modes of living. If art is based on creativity and is in essence play, communal creative practices can dissipate the work and life boundaries beyond the neoliberal consensus. In this sense, the Ultras fans have gathered in huge numbers to empower each other and embolden a younger generation to imagine that new social relations are indeed possible and importantly needed. In the Ultras' cultural practices the visceral energy of the body is channeled through choreographed dances and practiced routines, performed in collective unison, in football terraces and street protests

In the aftermath of the Port Said incident, the domestic football league prohibited fans from attending fixtures, as games are played in empty stadia. The curtailment of football fan expression in Egypt prevents the Ultras groups from attending the grandeur of Cairo Stadium that has an official capacity of 75,000 but regularly held 120,000 spectators in the past. The autonomy of the stadium space provided two key functions for the Ultras, to reclaim the media spectacle from capitalism and to break with representation through the intensity of the live event. In this way, the Ultras' displays can be understood as part of collective action that evokes other traditions in social art practices, in turn, questioning the locus of aesthetics in the Global South.

In their contestation of authoritarian rule in Egypt, the Ultras groups successfully adapted part of an international football subculture to create self-determined and culturally inflected

models of political life. The organic nature of this process had enabled a new generation to find a language of resistance and a voice to speak back to patriarchal power, and this becomes political within a contested society. The instinctive belonging of Ultras groups in Egypt is a communal one, involving an unbroken sense of aesthetic play that emerges as an alternative to suffocating hegemony. Across the football world, Ultras groups have emerged in recent years to challenge the capitalist logic of the spectacle and to offer alternative modes of being. The possible, also, reveals a potential for equality from within the hooligan mentality itself as it offers a previously undisclosed basis for confronting the neoliberal order. Hegemonic power holds back progressive politics as well as the imagination to believe in new possibilities, as perception management and appearance are key elements of change. Breaks with representation never simply interrupt the simulacra of the spectacle but also expose the space for political potential in fresh vibrations of potency. The Ultras are hardly faultless in many regards, but their impropriety comes from the marginal, vernacular position that contests the patriarchal autocracy in Egypt.

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5. Biographical Note

Ronnie Close is a writer and interdisciplinary artist living in Cairo, Egypt. His research interests look at the relationship between aesthetics and politics, in particular in the visual cultures of the Middle East. He has worked on a long-term research project on the Ultras football movements in Egypt, Brazil and Palestine and has produced a series of short films on these marginalized groups. Through visual research projects, workshops and written publications he looks at the role of the image object in the contemporary world. He is an Assistant Professor of Visual Media at the American University in Cairo. He has shown practice-based work in exhibitions some venues include: The Photographers Gallery London, The National Football Museum, Manchester, QUAD Art Gallery, Derby, Brighton Photo Biennial, UK. In 2010 he was awarded a

practice-based PhD in Photographic Research from the University of Wales Newport, UK for a dissertation on the visual culture surrounding the 1981 Republican Hunger Strikes in Northern Ireland.

He has published articles relating to contemporary issues on image media theory and culture in international journals, such as: MadaMasr, Architecture and Culture, The Philosophy of Photography. His new monograph book, *Cairo's Ultras: Resistance and Revolution in Egypt's Football Culture (*AUC Press, 2019) looks at the cultural practices of local football fans and the politics of representation. His writing features in three contemporary edited books: *Disassembled Images: Contemporary Art After Allan Sekula* (University of Lieven, 2019), *Architecture and Filmmaking* (Intellect Books, 2019) and *Photography Reframed* (I.B. Tauris, 2018).

Emails: ronnieclose@gmail.com/ rclose01@aucegypt.edu
www.ronnieclose.com
https://aucegypt.academia.edu/RonnieClose

6. Notes

1 Jacques Rancière's writings have used aesthetical positions to challenge hegemonic order and Dissensus is a key term in his philosophical discourse. For him, politics is not a matter of what people receive or demand. It is not a matter of the institutional creation of just social arrangements. Rather, it is a matter of what people do, and in particular what they do that challenges the hierarchical order of a given set of social arrangements. To challenge such a hierarchical order is to act under the presupposition of one's own equality. Such action, if it is political, is going to be collective rather than individual. It will concern a group of people (or a subset of that group) who have been presupposed unequal by a particular hierarchical order, as well as those in solidarity with them, acting as though they were indeed equal to those above them in the order, and thus disrupting the social order itself. What are disrupted are not only the power arrangements of the social order, but, and more deeply, the perceptual and epistemic underpinnings of that order, the obviousness and naturalness that attaches to the order. Such a disruption is what Rancière calls a dissensus. Described this way, one can begin to see its interaction with aesthetic concerns. A dissensus is not merely a disagreement about the justice of particular social arrangements, although it is that as well. It is also the revelation of the contingency of the entire perceptual and conceptual order in which such arrangements are embedded, the contingency of what Rancière calls the partition or distribution of the sensible.

2 Critical responses from Mark Fisher and Franco 'Bifo' Beradi, in particular, articulate positions that argue for more emancipated political culture and expose the hollowed out nature of the neoliberal agenda evident in the contemporary world.

3 Broad-based, nonviolent movement for the full independence erupted against British occupation forces and the colonial administration of Egypt in 1919 following the exile of popular pro-independence leaders. Organised at a grassroots level and using the tactics of civil disobedience nationalist leaders such as, Saad Zaghlul and the Wafd Party, enjoyed massive support among the Egyptian population. Wafdist emissaries went into towns and villages to collect signatures authorizing the movement's leaders to petition for the complete independence of the country. The newly formed Al-Ahly football club were instrumental in this period of revolution that eventually forced the British to declare limited independence for Egypt on February 28, 1922. The Wafd Party drafted a new constitution in 1923 based

on a parliamentary representative system but Egyptian independence at this stage was nominal, as British forces continued to be physically present. Saad Zaghlul became the first popularly elected Prime Minister of Egypt in 1924, however, Britain reserved several key areas for supervision and during this period King Fuad was installed a monarch against the popular will of the nation. Relations with the unelected monarch and Zaghlul were poor and further deteriorated after his son, Farouk, succeeded his father to the throne. A new quiescent treaty signed in 1936 by the King and the British alienated the Waft party as Arab nationalism rose as a political force in the 1930s through new organisations such as the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood.

4   In June 2010, Ghonim, a 30-year-old Google executive and online activist for Egyptian opposition figure Mohamed El Baradei, created an Arabic Facebook page called "We Are All Khaled Said," dedicated to the murder of a 28-year-old Egyptian citizen in police custody. In his memoir, Revolution 2.0, Ghonim describes viewing a photograph of Said's corpse posted online. Later, Said's mother suggested that her son was killed because he possessed a video on his mobile phone which showed local police officers dividing drugs and money for their personal possession. The Egyptian Ministry of the Interior, by contrast, claimed that Said had died of asphyxiation after swallowing an entire package of marijuana—which none of the three direct eyewitnesses reported observing. The ministry claimed that Said was wanted for dealing drugs, possessing a weapon, sexual harassment, and evading his military service. His mother later countered the final charge by producing a certificate of Said's completion of compulsory military service. For Ghonim, Said's death was emblematic of the brutality and impunity of Egyptian security forces. He created the Facebook page to protest against Egyptian police torture and financial corruption which would become a catalyst for activity during the anti-Mubarak protests of January–February 2011. Ghonim was imprisoned by state security forces on 27 January 2011, however the page was updated by other human rights activists.

5   The overthrow of Hosni Mubarak was one of the most momentous in the Arab Spring period of 2011. As dramatic and sudden as this seemed, it was only one further episode in an ongoing power struggle between the three components of Egypt's authoritarian regime: the military, the security services, and the government.

6   Criticism of state neglect and lack of freedom was expression is widely documented and a Human Rights Watch report published in 2010 outlines the chronic oppression and economic crisis in the nation under the Mubarak regime. It states "Egypt continued to suppress political dissent in 2009. The Emergency Law (Law No. 162 of 1958) remained in force, providing a basis for arbitrary detention and unfair trials. The government has never confirmed the number of those detained; Egyptian human rights organizations estimate that between 5,000 and 10,000 people are held without charge." https://www.hrw.org/world-report/2010/country-chapters/egypt.

TRACK 5

Culture

La construcción social del escritor de *graffiti* en Granada: Una aproximación cualitativa[1]

José Luis González Rivas

Universidad del País Vasco/Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea

Resumen: *Buscamos comprender la acción social de los escritores de graffiti en Granada. Partimos de la teoría del Etiquetaje de Becker quien propone prestar más atención a los contextos en los que se desarrollan las actividades que han sido etiquetadas por otros como delictivas. En Granada se ha pasado de una definición de la escena del graffiti como una actividad poco problemática, a otra situación donde se ha etiquetado con éxito a los escritores de graffiti como delincuentes. Nos planteamos como objetivo principal conocer el proceso por el cual una persona se convierte en escritor de graffiti, conocer sus normas y sus motivaciones. Accedemos a esa realidad social a través de entrevistas en profundidad. Tras el análisis de los discursos nos encontramos a un grupo fuertemente cohesionado con unas normas claramente definidas que guían su comportamiento mientras juegan a ser los más visibles de la ciudad, lo que les proporciona estatus entre ellos. Para los inicios de la dinámica, comprobamos la vigencia de la teoría de Sutherland quien observa la importancia de iniciar amistades con miembros más experimentados. Encontramos diferentes perfiles dentro del colectivo: unos se acercan más al mundo de la creación artística, otros reivindican su derecho a utilizar el espacio público para pintar y otros se mueven prácticamente al margen de toda norma y responden casi exclusivamente ante sí mismos y, en ocasiones, ante sus compañeros.*

Palabras clave: *Graffiti, Street Art, espacio público, ciudad, sociología política*

1. Introducción

Como en aquellas fotografías de larga exposición donde no es posible distinguir con claridad los objetos ni a las personas que aparecen en ellas, veo yo las ciudades cuando paseo por sus calles. El *graffiti* aparece en las paredes por las mañanas y no queda del todo claro quién ha sido ni cuándo. Las pintadas, simplemente, aparecen en la ciudad. Solo es posible sospechar, como en esas fotografías, una persona o personas en movimiento.

Ofrecemos aquí, parte de los resultados de una investigación más amplia. Analizaremos nueve entrevistas en profundidad realizadas a escritores de *graffiti* de la ciudad de Granada. Con el objetivo de comprender las motivaciones, aspiraciones y los significados que estos actores sociales dan a sus acciones. En primer lugar, haremos un repaso histórico de la dinámica y a continuación analizaremos los discursos de los entrevistados. Todo ello con la intención de avanzar en la comprensión de un fenómeno muy presente en nuestras ciudades y ofrecer así, información útil para diseñar políticas públicas acertadas que ayuden a mejorar la convivencia.

2. ¿De qué hablamos cuando hablamos de *graffiti*?

Es habitual encontrar textos en cuyo título se encuentra la palabra *graffiti* pero no siempre hablan de realmente de esta dinámica. Por lo que, dedicaremos algo de espacio para explicar que no todo lo que acaba dibujado en la pared es *graffiti*. Sin pretender ser exhaustivos diferenciaremos los tres tipos de pintadas más frecuentes. Sin olvidar tampoco que existe toda una gama de grises entre estos tipos ideales que presentamos.

La Real Academia Española incorporó el término grafiti (con una f) para referirse a cualquier pintada que se realiza, generalmente sin permiso, en la calle. De forma que etiqueta bajo el mismo nombre a dinámicas diferentes. Por un lado, lo que llamamos pintadas políticas que las consideramos simplemente participación política en los términos de Molina (1998), quien la define como una acción de un individuo o grupo que pretende influir en las personas designadas para tomar decisiones. Estas pintadas responden a una clara motivación política y, al mismo tiempo, una escasa preocupación estética (López 1998). De hecho, Gómez (2015) plantea que los primeros escritores de *graffiti,* se hacían llamar así, para diferenciarse de las pintadas políticas y para afirmar su autonomía subcultural, en mi opinión sería más apropiado referirnos a ellos como movimiento contracultural.

En un punto intermedio entre el *graffiti* y las pintadas políticas nos encontramos el arte urbano o *street art.* Es una actividad que le otorga mucha importancia a la imagen y también critica la sociedad. La gran diferencia entre el *graffiti* y el arte urbano es que, el segundo suele integrarse en el mobiliario urbano, buscando una interacción con el ciudadano (Noguera 2010).

Nuestro objeto será el *graffiti*, al que definimos en base a la lectura de Castleman (2012), como un juego experiencial originado a partir de 1965 en Estados Unidos sobre el que se construyen una serie de valores y normas. En esta cultura los actores inventan un nombre que van dibujando por la ciudad con la pretensión de ser vistos por otros escritores de *graffiti*. Pueden dibujar su nombre en forma de firmas (*tags*), pompas (*throw ups*) o piezas (*pieces*), en diferentes superficies de la ciudad, estando especialmente valorado entre ellos pintar el lateral de un tren.

3. La construcción social del escritor de *graffiti* como delincuente en la escena granadina

Como planteó Becker (2011) los investigadores no solemos tener una experiencia cercana a la dinámica que pretendemos estudiar. Sin embargo, gracias a una revisión bibliográfica podemos crear nuestra imagen mental de nuestro objeto de estudio. Esto, será lo que encontrarán en este apartado: una revisión de textos relacionados con nuestro objeto de estudio que nos ofrecen una aproximación al mundo en el que nos queremos sumergir.

Berger y Luckmann (2012) entendían la acción social como un proceso continuo de construcción de significados que los actores crean para dar sentido a sus acciones. En Granada, observamos la escena como un proceso en el que se ha etiquetado con éxito a los escritores de *graffiti* como delincuentes o *outsiders* en palabras de Becker (2010), quien explica que la conducta desviada no es una cualidad de la acción sino una etiqueta impuesta con éxito por terceras

personas que imponen sanciones. De forma que, propone prestar mucha más atención a los contextos donde ocurren las acciones.

De esta forma, un mismo acto se puede definir de muchas formas distintas. Manuel Castells explica como los escándalos relacionados con infidelidades de hombres no funcionan para atacar al rival político en España, pero sí son efectivos en los EE.UU[2]. Se construyen diferentes conceptos sobre lo moralmente aceptable en política, es decir, para un mismo hecho se construyen respuestas sociales diferentes.

Sabemos que en Granada existía una definición del escritor de *graffiti* diferente de la actual. Recordemos aquellos años dorados del *graffiti* en Granada (entorno al año 2000), cuando los escritores podían pintar con cierta libertad en la ciudad y eran tratados de forma amable tanto por las autoridades como por los vecinos (Pérez 2014). En estos años el *graffiti* no era definido como una actividad delictiva. En contraste, en la actualidad observamos una definición social del escritor de *graffiti* como un delincuente que perturba el orden social. Desde el año 2007 aproximadamente tenemos una escena caracterizada por la aplicación de duras sanciones a quienes pintan en lugares donde habitualmente se solía pintar con gran aceptación por parte de los vecinos y con el visto bueno de las autoridades.

Un conocido grafitero refleja estos dos momentos de forma nítida: "Claro está que jóvenes generaciones (como los 247 o los líbanos) se inclinan, lógicamente, más hacía el *graffiti* ilegal (…) pero los tiempos en los que Granada era un verdadero paraíso para un artista se acabaron definitivamente. (Fragmento de entrevista realizada por Pérez 2014). Nótese el uso de la palabra *artista* cuando etiqueta a las personas que pintaban durante los años dorados frente a las jóvenes generaciones que practican el *graffiti ilegal*. Es decir, consideramos que su discurso se ha visto impregnado de forma más o menos consciente por las características de cada una de las definiciones sociales. Por tanto, es capaz de comprender momentos distintos y nombrar a sus protagonistas de forma diferente.

Sánchez y Aix (2014) y Sánchez Cota (2014) plantean una coordinación entre los medios de comunicación locales y el equipo de gobierno de la ciudad para comenzar un proceso de criminalización de la actividad. Este proceso concluye con un endurecimiento de las ordenanzas de convivencia de la ciudad. De forma que, se crea una nueva definición social (en este caso menos espontanea que la anterior) de los escritores de *graffiti,* ahora etiquetados con éxito como delincuentes.

Pero, ¿por qué no se etiquetó a los escritores de *graffiti* como los artistas de nuestro siglo?, ¿por qué se les etiquetó como vándalos? La respuesta no parece sencilla. Spitzer (1975) señaló que las personas o conductas calificadas como delincuentes suelen ser actividades o dinámicas que obstaculizan el desenvolvimiento del capitalismo. De forma que, los escritores de *graffiti* dejarían de ser un problema cuando se conviertan en artistas profesionales (Figueroa 2014), ya que se integrarían en el sistema de producción capitalista. Recordamos aquella estatua que el equipo de gobierno de la ciudad instaló, a principios de los años 90, en un lugar que los jóvenes solían usar para bailar *break-bance,* una actividad que no contribuía a la actividad capitalista pero que de alguna forma cuestionaba el *statu quo.* Por otro lado, durante los mismos años en Granada existía una tienda que vendía pintura especializada para *graffiti* pero que no encontró ningún impedimento para continuar su actividad.

La ciudad como escenario. Para Foucault (1976) es el dispositivo por el cual se organiza y administra el ejercicio del poder. Sin embargo, Ortega y Gasset la considera un lugar para la conversación, la disputa y la política (citado en Alabart, 2011). Confesaré cierta sintonía con ambos enunciados, por un lado, el equipo de gobierno ejerce su poder a través de ordenanzas muy restrictivas, por otro, veo a los escritores de *graffiti* conversando y jugando con la ciudad.

4. Los primeros pasos de un escritor de *graffiti*

Para que un escritor de *graffiti* comience a pintar debe existir una importante inquietud artística, son personas especialmente creativas con mucha afición a dibujar cualquier cosa durante su infancia. A medida que crecen, sienten que su creatividad no es suficientemente valorada en el sistema educativo. Manteniendo esta circunstancia nuestros entrevistados progresan académicamente con resultados aceptables hasta completar en muchos casos estudios superiores relacionados con el arte.

Durante su adolescencia comienzan a escuchar música *hip-hop,* un elemento básico que les proporciona una base cultural de la dinámica del *graffiti*. Es importante señalar, que esta influencia musical puede ser sustituida por el contacto directo con algún escritor o por el impacto que les causa ver grandes murales en sus ciudades. De esta forma, se comprende que adquieran cierto interés por el *graffiti* como una forma de desarrollar su carácter creativo y su recién adquirido interés por la cultura *hip-hop.* Como resultado comienzan a hacer sus primeros bocetos. El informante E5 nos ofrece un ejemplo de la relación entre los comienzos del *graffiti* y la música *rap*.

> *"Más que el graffiti entra el Rap. En el 95-96 había un compañero raperillo en el instituto. El chaval este WXXXX tenía cintas de rap (...) y me gustaba eso y escuchando eso pues empecé también, en las cintas venían letras, es decir, el nombre del grupo, pero con letras así tipo graffiti pero antiguo. Me gustaron esas letras y empecé a hacer mis bocetillos, al principio con mi nombre" (Fragmento de la entrevista E5).*

En este trabajo, comprendemos que la música *Rap* solo es un elemento significativo en los comienzos de un escritor *graffiti* pero luego pierde relevancia. En otras palabras, una vez iniciados en el *graffiti*, la música *rap* será un elemento poco significativo, algunos continuarán escuchándola, pero otros no.

En este momento nuestros entrevistados ya tienen una fuerte inquietud por el *graffiti*. Para algunos es suficiente para salir a la calle a pintar de forma independiente o bien animado por otro compañero en su misma situación. Otros aun necesitarán la influencia más viva de un compañero experimentado que les enseñe algunos trucos para pintar con *spray*. Un proceso que nos recuerda la teoría de Sutherland (1988) quien planteaba que los inicios en cualquier actividad (él investigó a ladrones) están muy relacionados con la frecuencia con la que ese individuo se relaciona con otras personas que realizan la misma actividad.

Por último, destacar que es un error pensar que iniciarse en el *graffiti* forma parte de algún tipo de experiencia vital de exclusión social, o que se comprende exclusivamente en individuos de clases populares. Los entrevistados proceden de diferentes ambientes culturales y de clases

sociales distintas. Ninguno de ellos denotó carencias significativas en la cobertura de sus necesidades y han tenido acceso a una formación superior.

5. La dinámica del *graffiti* en Granada

Comprobamos como los escritores de *graffiti* son un colectivo con identidad propia, unas normas y unas pautas de comportamiento establecidas. Dentro de este colectivo encontramos diferentes niveles de reconocimiento entre sus integrantes. Este reconocimiento por parte de otros escritores se consigue participando en diferentes dinámicas, siempre cumpliendo ciertas reglas. Nosotros hemos distinguido tres dinámicas diferentes que otorgan distintos niveles de prestigio: la dinámica del bombardeo o *bombing*, el *graffiti* mural y pintar trenes. Estas tres dinámicas en su conjunto componen la escena del *graffiti* en Granada. Las tres actividades persiguen en mayor o menor medida la intención de hacerse ver en la ciudad (Castleman 2012). En la dinámica del bombardeo y de pintar trenes, las motivaciones más fuertes son sentir la adrenalina del momento y la aspiración de hacerse ver obteniendo así la fama y el respeto de otros compañeros. Por otro lado, en la dinámica de *graffiti* mural, toman más fuerza los conceptos de amistad y creatividad, ya que al llevarse a cabo en un espacio donde no esperan recibir multas, pintar ese mural se toma como un momento festivo. A continuación, nos apoyamos en dos fragmentos de los informantes E6 y E9 para reflejar la existencia de estas dinámicas y los distintos niveles de implicación.

> *"Es que es diferente porque estas con otro tipo de amigos porque no todos los que pintan muros pintan ilegal. Es otro rollo, es pasar más horas delante de un muro, es prepárártelo, hacerte un boceto previo bastante currando. Mientras que el bombing se suele improvisar o yo suelo improvisar… En lo otro te preparas una buena pieza o te preocupas de imprimir una foto… Te llevas una cerveza o te llevas la merienda y la compartes con el colega. Es otro rollo completamente diferente" (Fragmento de la entrevista E6).*

> *"Los trenes en el graffiti son el graffiti. La punta de la pirámide, son lo máximo. Nació allí y morirá allí. Pero hoy en día para ser trenero tienes que dejar tu vida a un lado y dedicarte solo a eso" (Fragmento de la entrevista E9).*

Podemos diferenciar dos propósitos generales para el conjunto de estas dinámicas. En primer lugar, un propósito explícito que consiste en competir con otros grafiteros por fama y respeto. Para ello, es fundamental pintar en los mejores sitios, es decir, los más visibles. Todo ello sin descuidar la calidad de sus obras. En segundo lugar, una intención velada o implícita pero igualmente compartida de querer existir en la ciudad, es decir, reivindican su derecho a pintar algunos muros. La informante E8 nos decía "si es público por qué no usarlo" (Fragmento de la entrevista de E8).

Los escritores de *graffiti* tienen muy arraigado este sentimiento de respeto hacia otros compañeros. Su forma de mostrarlo es cumplir una serie de normas que todos conocen y cumplen; si alguien no las cumple podría llegar a tener un enfrentamiento físico con la otra persona, aunque es poco frecuente. Una de las normas plantea que cada *graffiti* tiene un valor distinto y unos pueden ser pisados o tapados por otros, es decir, la *firma* o *tag* es el *graffiti* más básico y puede ser pisado por un *throw up* y este, a su vez, por una pieza, la obra más elaborada.

Otra norma propone la adquisición de un estilo propio, es decir, demostrar la originalidad de tus obras. Por último, los verdaderos escritores de *graffiti* pintan con asiduidad.

Entre ellos se nombran según lo avanzados que estén en la consecución de las mencionadas dinámicas y el grado de respeto hacía estas normas. Los novatos, nunca han pintando un tren, han pintando muy pocos muros, bombardean con poco estilo y, probablemente, no conocen todas estas normas, por lo que es posible que hayan pisado lo que no debían, se les denomina *toys.* Mientras que un grafitero experto ha pintado varios trenes, muchos murales y bombardeado con estilo propio, se le denomina *old school.*

Internet es un concepto que merece especial mención. Actualmente, ha reducido las restricciones impuestas por el tiempo y el espacio, ahora es más fácil seguir la actividad de escritores que viven en otras ciudades. Se convierte así en un elemento básico de contacto en este colectivo. Suele ser habitual que viajen a otras ciudades para pintar y una vez allí contactar, gracias a Internet, con escritores de esa ciudad para pintar juntos. El simple hecho de reconocerse como escritores de *graffiti* es suficiente para quedar y pintar juntos.

Sin embargo, algunos de ellos nos cuentan que lo importante es estar en calle, en los mejores sítios, es decir, los más visibles. En esta pretensión por ser famosos para otros escritores de *graffiti*, Internet puede ayudar, pero lo importante es que otros te vean en la calle. La fama adquirida exclusivamente a través de Internet no cuenta. En resumen, Internet es una herramienta útil y reconocida entre ellos para contactar y seguir sus trabajos pero no debe ser la forma principal de darse a conocer. E1 nos ayuda a comprenderlo.

> *"Sí pero no es lo mismo yo pinto en un sitio y la gente lo ve o ve el tren circulando o se habla de lo que he pintado pero por el boca a boca pero hay gente que pinta y casi antes de terminar ya están subiendo la foto a una revista o a un blog de Internet o algo de eso y a mi personalmente es una cosa que me da asco, es gente que solo pinta pensando en publicarlo, lo veo como trampa" (Fragmento de la entrevista a E1).*

Las tres dinámicas que hemos mencionado han estado presentes a lo largo de la historia del *graffiti* en Granada. Pero no todas se han practicado siempre con la misma intensidad. Recordemos esos dos momentos distintos que expliqué arriba. Esos dos momentos implican definiciones sobre qué significa ser un escritor de *graffiti* diferentes y esto puede observarse en los discursos de nuestros entrevistados. Los escritores más veteranos de Granada comenzaron a pintar en aquellos años dorados cuando era posible pintar a plena luz del día, los vecinos del barrio admiraban las obras y la policía no ponía ninguna objeción. Por tanto, estos escritores hablan de sus experiencias respecto al *graffiti* dedicando especial atención al *graffiti* mural. Resulta especialmente esclarecedor el testimonio de uno de nuestros informantes nacido en Barcelona. Este escritor se inició en el *graffiti* en Granada durante esos años dorados, sin embargo, pasaba los veranos en su ciudad natal, por lo que observaba allí una escena con un peso mucho más grande de dinámicas como el borbardeo, que ahora consideramos más propias de un contexto más restrictivo. Cuando este escritor volvía a Granada ocurría lo siguiente:

> *"I: Durante tus comienzos cómo era tu actividad.*
> *E5: Eran sobre todo muros legales pero sin permiso. Muros que había como una alegalidad,*

es decir, no había una normativa que dijera que no podías pintar pero los pintabas, igual venía la policía pero no pasaba nada, al principio no...
I: ¿Algo más?
E5: Mmm... no... yo también creo que al tener la posibilidad de pintar estos muros, no firmaba por la ciudad, no pintaba ilegal, porque como se podía pintar en esos muros... Yo lo que pintaba ilegal en ese entonces eran las carreteras, las vías del tren porque como eso no lo hacía aquí nadie [...] porque me llamaba la atención, sobre todo cuando viajaba a Barcelona veía que la gente pintaba ahí pero aquí en Granada no se hacía, yo creo que por eso, porque se podía pintar en aquellos muros... Pero yo lo hacía de haberlo visto fuera. Era muy complicado porque nadie pintaba conmigo, nadie quería pintar ilegal. Entonces tenía que engañar a uno, alguna vez, y me hacía un plata" (Fragmento de la entrevista a E5)[3].

En la misma línea, otro escritor de la misma generación nos cuenta su sorpresa o enfado al ser multado por pintar donde antes era posible, en otras palabras, al comprobar el cambio de contexto. También podemos deducir en el discurso de nuestro informante E4 como los conceptos de creatividad y amistad toman una gran fuerza, recordemos que son los dos conceptos clave del *graffiti* mural.

"I: ¿A parte de la del tren has tenido otras multas?
E4: Sí (...) estábamos haciendo un mural, se puso la cosa más seria con el graffiti en Granada y la administración quiso frenar el avance grafitero y nos multaron por un muro que quedo muy bonito muy bonito, la pared estaba hecha mierda (...) dedicamos cuatro o cinco horas de nuestro tiempo a dejar algo bonito, ya con cierta madurez, porque había estudiado ilustración, pensaba en los vecinos, ya no era para verlo yo, pero la administración en ese caso me frenó, como yo aprendo a base de palos, pues también me frené a la hora de pintar un mural, bombardeo ya olvídate pero murales menos, porque fueron 1000€ que todavía no los he pagado... que en realidad lo que costaría reparar ese daño son 30 o 40 euros. ¿1000€ de verdad, por eso?" (Fragmento de la entrevista a E4).

Frente a estos discursos, tenemos el testimonio de las jóvenes generaciones que entienden el *graffiti* en Granada de otra forma. De la lectura atenta del conjunto de las entrevistas se advierte la frustración de no tener un espacio en la ciudad para expresar. Esta frustración suele expresarse con más pintura, es decir, pintar más en los lugares que piensan que más puede molestar. También encontramos los que expresan su frustración pintando donde un verdadero escritor de *graffiti* lo haría, es decir, en el lateral de un tren. Encontramos un buen ejemplo en el discurso de E2.

"Pues pinto un banco, una papelera, cosas del Estado o de una multinacional, sitios donde digamos que no le va a ocasionar un gasto a una persona concreta sino a una gran empresa que se lo puede permitir..." (Fragmento de la entrevista a E2).

De esta forma comprendemos cómo los grafiteros dan un significado concreto a sus acciones y, por tanto, actúan de una determinada forma dependiendo de sus contactos (Sutherland 1988) y del contexto en el que se muevan (Becker 2011).

6. Conclusiones

El objetivo de este artículo ha sido avanzar en la comprensión de un fenómeno que genera mucha controversia en Granada. En primer lugar, hemos tratado de aplicar la perspectiva de Becker (2010), quien propone prestar más atención a los contextos donde se generan actividades etiquetadas como delictivas. Comprobamos como en Granada hubo una definición social del escritor de *graffiti* diferente de la actual, donde los escritores podían pintar sin ser multados y sin generar apenas conflictividad entre los vecinos del barrio. En este contexto poco restrictivo sus prácticas era principalmente las de *graffiti* mural. La situación cambia cuando a partir de 2007 los medios de comunicación locales empiezan a nombrarles como vándalos o gamberros, unido a esto el equipo de gobierno cambia la legislación vigente hasta ese momento endureciendo las sanciones. Esto provoca un cambio en las prácticas y los discursos de los escritores, expresando mayor descontento, practicando con mayor asiduidad el *graffiti* ilegal, rápido y menos elaborado. Unido a esto suele existir una reivindicación velada de querer participar en la construcción del paisaje urbano de su ciudad.

En segundo lugar, descubrimos que, al menos en Granada, los escritores de *graffiti* no se inician como parte de una experiencia de exclusión social, nuestros entrevistados provienen de diferentes clases sociales. Por otro lado, la práctica del *graffiti* tampoco es exclusiva de jóvenes, se inician en la juventud, es cierto, pero muchos continúan pintando durante años. Esto nos ayuda a romper, al menos en parte, con el estereotipo de que son jóvenes rebeldes en situación de exclusión o expresiones similares.

En tercer lugar, la música *hip-hop* juega un papel importante solo durante los comienzos, pero una vez iniciados en el mundo del g*raffiti* deja de ser un lugar común para ellos. De esta forma, conseguimos aportar algo de luz al debate planteado entre autores como Noguera (2010) o Reyes (2012), uno consideraba al *graffiti* como parte del movimiento *hip-hop* y otro afirmaba que es un elemento independiente.

Por último, Márquez (2017) plantea el enorme cambio que ha supuesto Internet en los modos de hacer de este colectivo, sugiere que pintar y compartir la obra en Internet se ha convertido en una actividad frecuente. Sin embargo, al menos hasta donde llega nuestra investigación, consideramos que Internet es importante para los grafiteros como un apoyo en la difusión de su obra, pero estos obtienen el respeto de sus compañeros, principalmente, al pintar en la calle.

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8. Apéndice metodológico

Hemos realizado nueve entrevistas en profundidad, entendidas como las explican Taylor y Bogdan (1987). A continuación, destacaremos algunos aspectos metodológicos que nos fueron especialmente útiles; algunos por considerarlos importantes para cualquier investigación basada en entrevistas, otros por tratarse de una investigación que aborda actividades ilegales.

Diversificar al máximo el perfil de los informantes para tratar de cubrir toda la gama posible de prácticas que componen la dinámica como recomiendan Taylor y Bogdan (1987), fue muy conveniente. Consideramos acertado contactar con nuevos informantes a través de escritores ya entrevistados, lo que nos ayudó a obtener su confianza. Por la misma razón, fue importante garantizarles el anonimato y buscar lugares apropiados para realizar las entrevistas.

Entrevistado 1	Varón, 26 años, clase trabajadora, vive en un barrio obrero, tiene estudios superiores, pero se gana la vida robando objetos que posteriormente vende.
Entrevistado 2	Varón, 29 años, clase trabajadora, vive en un barrio obrero, tiene estudios superiores, pero vive de robar objetos que posteriormente vende.
Entrevistado 3	Varón, 38 años, clase media, graduado en Bellas Artes. Se gana la vida como diseñador gráfico.
Entrevistado 4	Varón, 37 años, clase trabajadora con estudios medios relacionados con el arte. Trabaja en una papelería.
Entrevistado 5	Varón, 38 años, clase trabajadora con estudios medios. Trabaja como camarero.
Entrevistado 6	Varón, 25 años, clase media, estudiante de Bellas Artes.
Entrevistado 7	Varón, 37 años, natural de Alemania, con estudios medios, actualmente trabaja como camarero.
Entrevistado 8	Mujer, 26 años, clase media, graduada en Bellas Artes. Sin trabajo.
Entrevistado 9	Varón, 24 años, clase media, estudiante de Bellas Artes.

Tabla 1. Características de las personas entrevistadas entre 2016 y 2018

9. Nota biográfica

José Luis González Rivas es Personal Investigador Predoctoral en Formación con una Ayuda del Departamento de Educación, Universidades e Investigación del Gobierno Vasco para el desarrollo de su tesis doctoral afiliada al Departamento de Sociología 2, Universidad del País Vasco/Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea. Graduado en Sociología por la Universidad de Granada (2016). En 2017 finalizó un Máster en Problemas Sociales por la misma Universidad. Su investigación se centra en los escritores de *graffiti* desde una aproximación cualitativa. Para contactar con el autor puede escribir a joseluis.gonzalezr@ehu.eus

10. Notas

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2 Ver LaSexta. (10 de noviembre de 2015). Manuel Castells: "Lo que gana las elecciones es la capacidad de destruir al contrincante" – Salvados [Archivo de video]. Recuperado el 10/02/2019 en: https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HCXmnDccvwM.

3 Uno de los elementos más importantes que produce este cambio de contexto es la aprobación de una nueva ordenanza de convivencia que se aprueba en febrero de 2009. Durante la sesión plenaria que posibilita la aprobación de dicha ordenanza, la oposición acusa al equipo de gobierno de ese momento de haber copiado el documento, precisamente, de la ordenanza vigente en Barcelona.

Sharing Society in Old Cairo. Participatory Governance in Khalifa Neighborhood

Ghaidaa Kotb and Amr Sukkar
Future University in Egypt

Abstract: *As effective development requires the involvement of different stakeholders in the design of the development project, sharing control over development initiatives with different stakeholders is considered to be participatory development and governance. The impact of participatory governance is known to be promoting a sense of ownership, efficient activities monitoring as well as effective project implementation and collaborative action leading to the transformation to a cohesive society (ADB 2003, Schmitter 2002). Participation, in this regard is a sense of community engagement and cooperation between different individuals and entities.*

Athar Lina started as a participatory conservation initiative aiming for heritage conservation. However, the project was scaled to a full development project targeting social, cultural, economic and urban dimensions. In This research we aim to examine how participatory governance led to a social and cultural development in Khalifa Neighbourhood, focusing on Athar Lina School for Art and Heritage. This Study is based upon semi-structured interview and evaluation reports of Athar Lina Project. The research paper focuses on two pillars: the history of the project and how the project could be an example of participatory governance. There is room for exploring further this topic as it provides a value-added theoretical contribution with insights on how participatory development leads to the transformation of contemporary societies.

Keywords: *Sharing society, Old Cairo, participatory good governance*

1. Introduction

In rapidly changeable environments, the collaborative decisions and society network activities appears to be frequent (Mikulskienė 2015). Several social factors have been identified as contributing to increasing the susceptibility of participatory governance. The social developmental projects have the overall outcome of improving the quality of lives and building a more economically stable society. Invariably, the success and failure of these social projects in Egypt could be attributed to the establishment of relationships between policy actors and the creation of a supportive environment for stakeholder participation (Mikulskienė 2015).

In order to have a stakeholder inclusion, one may argue that aligning all societal projects is needed. Hence, with a full understanding, a meaningful contribution and participatory governance will take place. In this study, the concept of governance, as an emerged concept, will be regarded as a self-organising system through inter-organisational networks according to Rhodes (1996) as well as a process of place making through collaborative planning based on Healey (1997) theory. First, regarding governance as a self-organising system describes the shared characteristics of which Rhodes (1996) theorised as following: a certain degree of autonomy from the state, characterised by an interdependence between formal entities, and

interactions from the local community and different network member (Dekker 2006). Second, governance as a process of place making according to Healey (1997) leads to two processes of collaborative planning: hard and soft. The soft process is based upon the respectful relationship-building, and mutual learning to build social, political, and intellectual capital, whereas, the hard process is the phase where the challenges start to exist to maintain a politically engaged community with inclusive strategies (Dekker 2006).

These two approaches, regarding governance, position an important concept which is "participation". Participation is regarded in a sense of community engagement and cooperation between different individuals and entities. Participation is related to *participatory governance* where Philippe Schmitter (2002) explores the different parties involved in the governance, referring to them as "holders" who share resources or interest. Participant in the decision-making process or "holders" could be rights-holders, space-holders, knowledge-holders, shareholders, stakeholders, interest-holders, work-holders, and status-holders. This approach provides governance with an inclusive cloak of which participation might stand as the connection between social cohesion and governance processes.

Participatory governance is widely referred to as a value of a democratic society (Speer 2012). According to Mikulskienė (2015), the concept of participatory governance is related to collective identity which refers to how shared values, shared activities and a shared identity lead to social cohesion between societal stakeholders. In addition, he argued that good inclusion leads towards empowerment of stakeholders. One may argue that participatory governance in the society tries to merge both interconnected societal network approaches with the aim to balance interest representation and establish an environment for a better understanding of stakeholders' interests.

Researchers will find the outcome of the investigation as new learning to improve how participatory governance can affect social outcomes especially at the Egyptian society context. Researchers will benefit from the evidence as empirical knowledge for further research work.

The aim of this study is to understand the interaction between interpretive social science and participatory governance, and the corresponding interaction between public administrators, social scientists, and politics (Amit Ron 2016). Recently at the Egyptian context, citizens have forced decision makers to take into account issues related to the role of community actors and stakeholders in the process of decision-making and administrations.
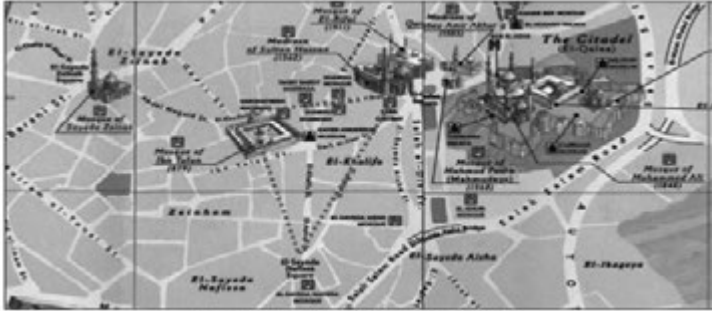
Figure 1. Location of al-Khalifa - North of S. 'A'isha Square and West of the Citadel
Borders marked: Al-Saliba Street in the north, Al-Baqli Street in the east, S. Nafisa Square and Cemetery in the south and Zaynhum Housing and Ibn Tulun Masque in the east. © mappery: http://www.mappery.com/maps/Cairo-Egypt-Tourist-Map.mediumthumb.jpg

2. Case Demonstration

The researchers decided to focus on Athar Lina as a participatory conservation initiative. The original main goal of Athar Lina Initiative was to view heritage as a resource of income instead of being a burden. However, when involving the main key holders, the goals developed and branched to different disciplines which will be explained subsequently.

Athar Lina was generated by "Megawra[1]", an architecture hub for young students and research. One of the missions of Megawra was to promote social responsibility in the built environment, which they tried to accomplish on Al-Khalifa Neighbourhood (Figure 1).

Athar Lina as a heritage conservation initiative believed that the community should be an active partner in the process of conservation which can be a vehicle for development if practised in a participatory inclusive manner. Therefore, since the start of the project, Athar Lina tried to include the community in the decision-making process. In order to enable the community to become an active partner, workshops and research projects have been developed and implemented to determine the priorities and devise strategies which are necessary steps towards implementation of feasible impactful interventions.

However, to incite the community and sustainability of interventions, the conservation goal has been associated with social development and tourist promotion activities. Moreover, the projects were inclusive to all ages with a stress on children as the main beneficiaries.

The Initiative started in June 2012 with a participatory design workshop. This workshop was focused on the Khalifa Neighbourhood which stretches from Ibn Tulun Mosque in the north to al-Sayyida Nafisa Shrine in the south and is known for its impressive, yet under-appreciated set of listed monuments dating from the 9th to the 19th century (Figure 2). The workshop focused on how to use the monuments in the area as resources which the community benefits from. As the community was active, they came up with the following three recommendations (Athar Lina 2013):

1) Identifying heritage nodes to conserve and rehabilitate for communal use.
2) Children as prime targets for heritage awareness activities.
3) Urban projects should link the heritage to the economic and social benefit, hence, upgrading public spaces and capacity building.

In this research we focus on the second recommendation which turned to the establishment of a heritage school for Khalifa's children. Athar Lina Children's Heritage School is a volunteer-led project, based in Shagarat al-Durr Primary School, a public school located in the area covered by Athar Lina Initiative. Khalifa Children School was composed of different artistic and cultural sessions aimed at the 5th & 6th grade classes. The sessions took place at historic places and specific monuments as the Drama Sessions took place in Shagarat al-Durr school; Art session in Gayer Anderson Museum; Crafts session in Ibn Tulun Mosque. The aim of the school is to make children aware of their heritage using the historical stories about the people who used to livgood and the significance of their neighbourhood (Figure 3).

Figure 2. Historical Landmarks Indicated on 1940s Survey Monument Map

3. Good Governance and Athar Lina

According to Manasan (1999) good governance indicators are considered to be the "End points" or the output indicators. Based on the literature, we have chosen some suitable indicators of

good governance in order to measure the influence of Al-Khalifa school effect on the local community.

The chosen indicators are the following: accountability and participation (Root 1995), freedom of information (Lander-Mills and Serageldin 1992), decentralised community-owned decision-making, and social development (Huther 1998, Shah 1994), results oriented governance (Osborne and Gaebler 1992).

From these indicators we were inspired and focused on five only when assessing Al-Khalifa School: 1) accountability and participation, 2) decentralised decision-making, 3) results oriented governance, 4) community owned governance and 5) direction.

We will further explain what these indicators imply and how to understand it through Athar Lina art and heritage School and the three main stakeholders: residents, government and civil society.

3.1. Accountability and Participation

According to Manasan (1999) accountability and participation refers to the evaluation and monitoring of efficient use of resources. This could be divided into macro-level and micro-level accountability. On the one hand, macro-level accountability includes making information available and accessible to all, which will be mirrored on the process of decision-making and accounting systems. On the other hand, micro-level accountability results from two basic factors: 1) the ability of the people to "exit" 2) the willingness and ability of the people to use their "voice" in order to provide better service and perform well (Paul 1991, Manasan 1999). Moreover, according to Lander-Mills and Serageldin (1992) political accountability should be added to this indicator as a mean to enhance the full participation.

In order to measure the accountability and participation indicator and relate it to Al-Khalifa school, we have divided it to three aspects: {a} transparency and freedom of information {b} participation (popular choice) {c} the willingness of joining or exiting + Expressing oneself clearly.

First of all, transparency according to Mansan (1999) implies the availability of project-relevant information to all stakeholders. One may argue that it is followed by a clear decision-making which reduces the uncertainty of implementation and interrupt any possibilities of corruption.

When regarding Athar Lina and Al-Khalifa school, one may argue that the three aspects concerning the accessibility and participation are available. According to Athar Lina initiative, the transparency has been present since the first day of their involvement in the area. Some members of the community have been employed by Megawra and hence, they have been able to access all information in a timely manner. According to the staff of Athar Lina, transparency has been a key core as the different stakeholders (like the Ministry of Heritage in Egypt) had certain rules which needed to be followed. For instance, the residents expressed their need for a nursery home to be built, however this would have caused a problem with the Ministry as building was not authorised.

Hence, transparency was a core concept in the communication between the different stakeholders.

Second, when discussing participation and popular choice, Serageldin (1992) implies that good governance depends on participation of the people and involving the different holders (according to Philippe Schmitter, 2002). Hence, good governance is an inclusive process which involves all "holders" whether they are rights-holders, space-holders, knowledge-holders, shareholders, stakeholders, interest-holders, work-holders, or status-holders. In the case of Athar Lina Initiative, one may argue that the participation was present since the participatory design workshop. Tackling how to use the monuments in the area as resources which the community benefits from, the community decided to focus on three main scope: Heritage rehabilitation; focusing on children and directing the heritage to the social and economic benefit of the community. Subsequently, the community and the different stakeholders have been part of the decision-making. According to Athar Lina Staff, the involved stakeholders and community came up with the business model which allows Al-Khalifa school to be sustainable with a stable revenue. Furthermore, Megawra as a project involves the different holders through its different project which accommodate different spaces and hubs for students, artists, space holders, knowledge seekers and interest holders through "*Maktaba, Ma3rad, Muhadra, Magmu3a, Marsad, Musabaqa[2]*".

Third, the willingness to express oneself and having the right to leave (exit and voice rights). According to Hirschmann (1972) exit and voice are intertwined in the daily interaction within an organisation. Stakeholders use them to provide feedback and criticism. Moreover, they provide indication of the attachment of the stakeholders and the status of the organisation. According to the reports and the staff, the community has been given the right of exit and voice. Furthermore, the community as a whole has been understanding and supportive of the stakeholders' decisions.

Figure 3. Captured by Athar Lina Art and Heritage School, Report (2013)

3.2. Decentralised Decision-making

According to Shah (1994), the decentralisation of the process of decision-making and specifically the fiscal responsibility could contribute to the efficient use of the local resources, hence, it could provide more innovation to overcome any problems in the organisation. The decentralisation of decision-making is correlated to the results-oriented governance which we will elaborate subsequently. In Egypt, the hierarchy has been followed in the decision-making process, hence, in order to make a decision, several administrative should be followed. According to the Athar Lina staff, the centralised decision-making was not followed in Athar Lina School for Art and Heritage, the curriculum of the school has been made according to the

constant community meeting with the parents and the children participation in the school. Furthermore, the decision-making has been decentralised as Athar Lina Staff insisted on the participatory dimension to all of its activities. Moreover, the School acted as a facilitator of what the parents wanted their children to have and what the children (main participant) wanted.

3.3. Results Oriented Governance

The indicator as Osborne and Gaebler (1992) illustrated it, promotes the creation of stakeholder incentives and alternative choices for better results. It stresses on the funding and monitoring of projects and outcomes rather than the inputs (Manasan (1999) citing Osborne and Gaebler 1992). Hence, when an organisation is results oriented and following the participatory governance, all stakeholders participate by coming up with innovative ways of creating revenues. Looking at Athar Lina Project as an example, Athar Lina staff wanted to involve the community in funding for the summer program (which was the start of the Khalifa School), hence, they organised a second-hand clothes exhibition with symbolic prices, and they clarified that the revenue will be directed to fund another summer school. When the people expressed their need for a prolongation of the summer program, the idea of the school was announced. The staff while coordinating with the community has proposed "Private School Program" to support the free educational activities for Khalifa's children. This paid program organises interactive play dates in Khalifa's monuments for private schools to educate them on their heritage in fun and exciting ways (Athar Lina 2013). The financial benefit of this program goes to Athar Lina Art and Heritage School. Hence, as the need for the program to continues, the community along to Athar Lina staff figured out a way to continue funding the activity of the summer school and even turned it to a permanent project which subsequently became to be Athar Lina Art and Heritage School.

3.4. Community Owned Governance

The community owned governance involves the stimulation of the community into action in order to mobilize the resources for the achievement of ownership. According to the Oxford dictionary[3], collective ownership is the ownership of means of production by all members of a group for the benefit of all its members. Collective ownership is intertwined with society-ownership which is encompasses public ownership, employee ownership, cooperative ownership and citizen ownership of equity. The above types of ownership focus on how the participation of the different stakeholders create a sense of community and possession towards the organisation. According to Manasan (1999), the ownership of the projects/ programs should be facilitated by the head of the organisation as it will help in the process of self-help and project's worth for the different society holders. The ownership of the stakeholders in Athar Lina was clear in the following three aspects: 1) Ownership of the Children; 2) Ownership of the locals and residents and; 3) Sense of security.

First of all, as for the children, they consider Khalifa School to be a turning point which changed their attitude towards the area. According to one of our interviews with Athar Lina Staff, the children became more invested in the preservation of their environment and Athar Lina Project as a whole. This was mirrored in the way they dealt with the place (place making). As

in the beginning their behaviour was distractuous, they did not care about the materials, the equipment of the school. However, after being invested and fully adherent to the school and its activities, their behaviour became more balanced and preservatory to the point that most of the adherent students expressed their wish to work when they grow up in Athar Lina Project. Moreover, the adherent children showed a protector behaviour towards the school when they thought there is a potential danger of an outer (someone who does not belong to the area).

Second of all, regarding the ownership of the residents: when they felt that the place of Athar Lina school is theirs and is community owned, they started to use it in a way that corresponds to their culture. They started to use the space as a place to host the newcomers to attend *Mouled*[4] and present food. It was turned then to a "Hostel". Hence, the residents used the space as a community owned one, in order to serve their needs and their prolonged community of friends and family, visiting *Mouled* from other governorates.

Lastly, concerning the sense of security: the residents of the Khalifa neighbourhood provided the security needed for those who work in the Athar Lina and Megawra project. Entering Al Khalifa neighborhood, as a popular area in Cairo where houses are closely built with narrow streets and a more cohesive community, it could be hard to access the community easily. However, after six years of constant work, Athar Lina Staff became part of the area, the community hence provided them with a status of security and protection. It acted out as a gesture of gratitude towards the project's effort.

3.5. Direction

According to John et al., (2003) mission/ vision are important to assess the projects /programs as it will help create awareness of why the project exist? And what are the intended end results? The future-orientation is a strong predictor for achievement, community development and happiness in life, the community and the different stakeholders, when given a chance, could have a wide and long-term perspective on community development. Athar Lina's projects has clear longterm directions for examples Cultural and social development and Urban interventions. Hence, the future-orientation scope is clear in their projects.

4. Conclusion

This study has argued that a governance perspective provides an organizing framework for social project founders. Its contribution may help provide a roadmap to the dynamic of participatory governance. It identifies and suggests clear indicators of good governance. It is a step stone which encourages researchers to tackle the participatory governance topics and to investigate the challenges in implementing a participatory governance.

The study worked to increase and promote collaborative and participatory governance in society projects to create a more sustainable and effective community, empirical findings as well as conceptual works showed that good governance affects the ability of participatory decision-making to deliver high quality community environment. To this end, findings from the study, based on the research and understanding of Athar Lina School. For Art and Heritage,

it emphasizes the importance of society and how it should be considered as the main player at community decision making process and in adapting the good participatory governance concept. This assumption assessed and proved by five indicators of good governance: 1) accountability and participation, 2) decentralised decision-making, 3) results oriented governance, 4) community owned governance and 5) direction.

As for the accountability and participation, the study revealed that Athar Lina School has been providing the community with three main aspects: the transparency and freedom of information needed, the active participation and the constant possibility to express oneself, to join the activities or to "exit".

Moreover, regarding the decentralised decision making and the results oriented governance, it has proven to be related closely in Athar Lina School for Art and Heritage. The creation of the school has been made upon the request of the community itself proving that the decision making is decentral and community based. Furthermore, the fund for this project has been a result of a participatory work between community and Athar Lina Staff. This has resulted in the creation of another project to create profit (Private School Program) in order to make the funding sustainable.

Finally, having the proper direction with a focused vision and mission, Athar Lina Art & Heritage School managed to gain the trust and credibility of the community. With a participatory approach, Athar Lina School based an ownership of the community which was reflected on children, resident and mirrored in the attitude of the locals overall towards Athar Lina initiative.

We may conclude that this paper has argued how participatory governance was portrayed in Old Cairo through Athar Lina initiative. Measuring it by the good governance indicators, we may conclude that Athar Lina is an efficient example of a shared society and a community based one.

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6. Biographic Note

Ghaidaa Kotb, Assistant Lecturer FEPS, FUE MA, Sociology. Mention: Intercultural Mediation, Wroclaw University; MA, Human and Social Sciences Mention: Territory and Mobility, Lille III University; MA, International migrations and intercultural relations, Cheikh Anta Diop University UCAD, Faculty of Arts and Social Science. BSc, Political Science and Law, Paris 1 University Sorbonne Pantheon; BSc, Political Science and Public Administration, Cairo University. Research interests are: Urban Sociology, Human Geography, Political Sociology, Participatory Governance.

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Email: ghaidaa.kotb@gmail.com

Amr Sukkar, PhD, M Phil, MBA. 2018/Present Full Time Adjunct Professor, Faculty of Economics and Political Science, FUE University. 2017/Present Visitor Adjunct Professor, Management department, Business School, University of Ligs Hawai, Honolulu, USA. 2018/Present Visitor Instructor MBA, at (AASTMT) and RITI institute. 2015/Present Visitor Adjunct Professor MSA University. 2016/2017 Lecturer, University of MIU. Research interests: Sustainable development, SMEs development, Corporate culture, Leadership, Organization management, Organization behavioral, Governance.
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Emails: amressamsukkar@gmail.com; amr.sokr@fue.edu.eg

7. Notes

1 Megawra is an architectural hub, operated by the Egyptian NGO. It is a platform created for holistic debate on the field of architecture and urbanism for young students and architects with a focus on art, theory, praxis and cultural heritage and its role in promoting sustainability and social responsibility in the built environment.

2 Megawra – Established professionals mentor students and advise them in their fields of specialization. Maktaba – A specialized architectural library with hands on orientation sessions and library help guides. Ma3rad – A space for exhibitions and shows with direct or indirect relevance to architecture. Muhadra – Lectures, workshops, seminars and training courses that respond to student needs. Magmu3a– Partnerships with groups and initiatives concerned with issues of the built environment. Marsad– Collaborative research and outreach and development projects on the built environment. Musabaqa – Competitions related to the built environment. Megawra Website. "About". http://megawra.com/about/. Retrieved 25 February 2019

3 Oxford Dictionaries. "collective ownership". Oxford Dictionaries. Retrieved 26 January 2016

4 The mouled is a form of celebration. This celebration is to celebrate a person (usually known of his good deeds to the society and his metaphysics skills) or of his relation to the family of the Prophet Muhammad. People come from different governorates in Egypt to be part of this celebration with no place to stay in.

TRACK 5

Culture

Biografías colaborativas: Construyendo la memoria colectiva a través del intercambio de fotografías

Carmen Rodríguez-Rodríguez y Elvira Santiago-Gómez

Universidade da Coruña

Resumen: *El punto de partida de nuestra investigación es rastrear los procesos colectivos colaborativos de construcción de la memoria de los pueblos a través de proyectos basados en compartir fotografías históricas de la vida de estos a través de internet y las redes sociales. Para estudiar esta aproximación a la construcción de la memoria colectiva, nos centramos en dos proyectos de este tipo que se llevan a cabo en la provincia de A Coruña, Fillos de San Marcos en Corcubión y Carballo na Memoria en Carballo. Se trata de analizar cómo estos casos intentan (re)crear el pasado y (re)formular la identidad común a través de procesos de participación colaborativa, ya sean de abajo a arriba o de arriba abajo, basados en la imagen fotográfica, en la instantánea como recuerdo, sirviendo las nuevas tecnologías de facilitadoras y posibilitadoras. Los objetivos son:*
• Analizar cómo a través del volcado de fotografías históricas en las redes sociales por parte de los vecinos de esas poblaciones se mapea un pasado desaparecido y se (re) construye la memoria del pueblo. PROYECTOS y PROCESOS
• Descubrir cómo se crean rutas comunes pero diferenciadas para el conocimiento del Nosotros. DINÁMICAS
• Conocer el impacto de esta dinámica en otros ámbitos, o cómo distintos ámbitos se retroalimentan de estos procesos participativos. IMPACTOS
En el caso de estudio "Biografías Colaborativas" se trata de investigar no solo el proceso, sino el impacto que tienen estos proyectos en la vida de las localidades, en su autopercepción y en su proyección y se rastrea cómo son herederos de una tradición anterior modificada por el tiempo y cómo colaboran en el fomento de procesos participativos en otros ámbitos.

Palabras clave: *memoria, fotografías, colaborativo, identidad, intercambio*

1. Introducción

En este artículo proponemos un acercamiento al caso de estudio "Biografías Colaborativas" que se enmarca en el proyecto de investigación Sharing Society (REF. CSO2016-78107-R). El objetivo principal del proyecto es analizar el impacto de la Acción Colectiva Colaborativa en la transformación de las sociedades actuales a través del estudio de los efectos de las prácticas, los vínculos y las movilizaciones, en un contexto de erosión del estado de bienestar y crisis del vínculo social en Europa.

En el caso de estudio *Biografías Colaborativas* se rastrean los procesos colectivos colaborativos de construcción de la memoria en las poblaciones rurales de Corcubión y Carballo, de la provincia de A Coruña, a través de la participación en las comunidades digitales *Fillos de San Marcos* y *Carballo na Memoria*, respectivamente. En estas comunidades digitales se intercambian noticias y fotografías antiguas y recientes del paisaje y la vida en estas localidades.

El objetivo es ver cómo a través del volcado de fotografías históricas en las redes sociales por parte de los vecinos de esas poblaciones se mapea un pasado desaparecido, se crean rutas comunes pero diferenciadas para el conocimiento del Nosotros y se extiende el impacto de esta dinámica en la construcción de la memoria de las localidades.

Se trata de analizar cómo estos casos intentan (re)crear el pasado y (re)formular la identidad común a través de procesos de participación, ya sean de abajo a arriba o de arriba abajo, basados en la imagen fotográfica, en la instantánea como recuerdo, sirviendo las nuevas tecnologías de facilitadoras y posibilitadoras. El caso de estudio *Biografías Colaborativas* investiga no solo el proceso, sino el impacto que tienen estos proyectos de Acción Colectiva Colaborativa de intercambio de fotografías en la vida de las localidades, en su autopercepción y en su proyección y se rastrea cómo son herederos de una tradición anterior modificada por el tiempo y cómo colaboran en el fomento de procesos participativos en otros ámbitos.

Por último se ofrece un primer análisis exploratorio de las entrevistas en profundidad realizadas al fundador de *Fillos de San Marcos*, el Cronista de *Carballo na Memoria*, un participante de *Fillos de San Marcos* y un participante de *Carballo na Memoria*. El análisis se estructura en cuatro bloques temáticos que tratan de identificar la historia y trayectoria de estas dos iniciativas; los objetivos, actividades y perfil de los participantes; las características de la iniciativa, la organización y el funcionamiento y por último la red de colaboración, los conflictos y el cambio social.

2. Planteamiento teórico

El objetivo de este artículo es analizar el uso de la fotografía, más que presentar un análisis sociológico de las mismas. Autores como Becker (1974), Barthes (1994), Bourdieu (1989) o Benjamin (2011, 2003) han analizado la importancia de la fotografía como producto cultural, objeto de estudio y herramienta de trabajo de la Sociología, pero aquí nos circunscribiremos al estudio de su uso colectivo posibilitado por la acción colectiva colaborativa (ACC), definida por Tejerina (2010) como el conjunto de prácticas e interacciones más o menos formalizadas, realizadas por individuos, grupos o asociaciones que comparten un sentimiento de pertenencia o intereses comunes, a través de la colaboración y el conflicto con otros, para producir o frenar cambios sociales a partir de la movilización.

Para estudiar ese uso compartido de la fotografía en contextos virtuales, partimos de las condiciones de la tardomodernidad. Un contexto donde el uso de las redes sociales y de las nuevas tecnologías se ha normalizado y éstas han sido incorporadas a lo cotidiano, a veces de forma directa y otras de forma indirecta. Se convierten en una infraestructura básica y omnipresente en lo personal y lo social, con ciertos límites marcados por las brechas tecnológicas territoriales, económicas y de edad, fundamentalmente.

Siguiendo con la cuestión del cambio tecnológico, podemos hablar de lo que A. Landsberg denomina *tecnologías de la memoria*, que permiten la circulación de imágenes y narrativas sobre el pasado. La transformación de las circunstancias, de las herramientas y de las perspectivas, genera problemáticas pero también aporta soluciones. La tardomodernidad hace posible y necesaria una nueva forma de memoria cultural pública, a la que A. Landsberg

denomina *prosthetic memory* (Landsberg, 2004). A partir de ella se toma conciencia de un pasado no vivido. Aunque éste no es exactamente el caso de nuestro trabajo pues muchas (la mayoría) de las vivencias que son retratadas son de un tiempo que no existe, pero que no queda tan lejos (del que quedan supervivientes, testigos y testimonios). Nuestro estudio no es solo un recordatorio pasivo, al usar las comunidades virtuales como repositorio, almacén, disco de memoria, biblioteca o álbum de fotos al volcar las imágenes allí, sino que hay cierta participación activa (o posibilidad de ella) a través de la acción activa colaborativa en la elaboración de estos álbumes fotográficos en red, su visualización, los comentarios y los "me gusta" colgados en redes sociales. Es una interacción mediada por ordenador, pero interacción al fin y al cabo.

Por otro lado, esa participación en las redes sociales, nos hace retomar las ideas sobre la sociedad de vigilancia (Foucault, 2004) y la sociedad del control (Deleuze, 1995) que permiten lograr cierta veracidad en esa memoria compartida. La identificación de lugares y personas, los recuerdos vividos compartidos, posibilitan corroborar las experiencias, compartir de forma real la narrativa que subyace a las fotografías. De esta forma, aquí se observa que "el control (o disciplinamiento) ha pasado; de interiorizar la vigilancia y 'modular' el comportamiento con relación a la misma, a hacer de la exposición y exhibición pública una nueva forma de control de la subjetividad" (Gómez, 2008:186). Esta exposición y la libre (re)visión de lo expuesto, suponen una confluencia de miradas y la puesta en marcha de la capacidad de colaboración colectiva para recordar y llenar lagunas ante una memoria que, a pesar de tener soporte físico en la fotografía, siempre es frágil, subjetiva e inexacta. Supone esto que la propia participación produce cierto control del recuerdo y de la memoria personal y colectiva.

La mediación tecnológica que supone el uso de las redes sociales online no solo se ha de entender como un cambio tecnológico aislado, sino como parte de un cambio social más general. Se ha de retomar la afirmación de Latour (2001) de que lo tecnológico es social, pensado reflexivamente el método, la relación con lo técnico y el uso de éste. De este modo, lo tecnológico no es un elemento neutro pasivo sino que se convierte en un elemento constitutivo (y constituido) por lo social. Elementos que permiten al grupo sobrevivir como tal, lo hacen a través de su representación online, de modo que el ciberespacio acoge y ayuda a dar forma a los relatos y narrativas que configuran la identidad de los participantes en sus comunidades. Así, "estudiar en el ciberespacio quiere decir que éste es propiamente un canal, un medio, el contexto, un nuevo "territorio" donde la vida social se desarrolla y no un objeto de investigación en sí mismo" (Ruiz, 2008:129).

Surge en este punto la idea de la dicotomía entre las comunidades presenciales *vs* las comunidades virtuales. ¿Existe separación o continuidad entre ellas? ¿Es posible que la deslocalización y desterritorialización que supone Internet colaboren a la supervivencia de la identidad colectiva basada en el territorio? En este caso observamos cómo los nexos online, no distraen, no retraen, sino que refuerzan los lazos offline, el no lugar reivindica la trascendencia del lugar y se territorializa. Se referencia un territorio concreto, que se localiza a través de la deslocalización y llega a todos, incluso a los que viven fuera en la emigración pero se sienten parte del territorio de origen. Se multiplican los vínculos a través de los espacios (no solo físicos) aprovechando las oportunidades comunicativas y participativas que ofrecen las redes virtuales y que sustituyen a espacios físicos que ya no existen o cuya influencia se ha visto mermada. Y esto resulta especialmente importante en un contexto territorial como el que

aquí se trabaja, de una ruralidad extensiva. Los espacios online colaboran a crear proximidad cuando no la hay y aun cuando la hay pero no se percibe, al vivir hacia dentro (aldeas), al no tener espacios comunitarios de convivencia (o al tenerlos limitados). Al vivir de espaldas al vecino por haber(se) destruido los espacios de sociabilidad con las lógicas tardomodernas.

La necesidad de mantener la continuidad de ciertos elementos sociales que cambian o desaparecen, puede provocar movimientos reactivos. Es evidente que el online puede ser un espacio de disidencia y resistencia, "el ciberespacio, con su capacidad de movilización social y su eficiencia comunicativa, puede ser usado por las resistencias culturales que se niegan a integrarse al orden hegemónico mundial. El nuevo territorio virtual puede ser una puerta a la inestabilidad ideológica y social, a través de la crítica y la discrepancia desautorizada." (Ruiz, 2008:130). Aquí se presentan estas actividades como una búsqueda de soluciones (que necesitan el previo reconocimiento de la existencia de un problema) con recursos limitados.

En un contexto adverso, se pone en marcha lo que Gil (2010) denomina "cultura de la solidaridad" en la que el individuo contribuye a la red para sentirse (no solo formar) parte de la comunidad. A través del compartir, se estrechan unos vínculos que pueden, o no, haber existido con anterioridad.

Las relaciones directas o indirectas en los espacios electrónicos, colaboran a establecer y estrechar vínculos sociales que tienen repercusión en la percepción de la identidad de los participantes (Ardèvol, Bertrán, Callén y Pérez, 2003). No son neutrales, no son inocuas, tienen repercusiones y muchas veces, son llevadas a cabo por las consecuencias que acarrean, que influyen en la causalidad.

A partir de la definición visual a través de la fotografía, nos visibilizamos, nos mostramos y nos definimos. Es una cuestión de presencia frente a la ausencia, de visibilidad física, aunque sea online. Y al definir esa presencia, colaboramos a configurar nuestra identidad, un concepto difícil de aprehender pues se caracteriza por su flexibilidad, multiplicidad y transversalidad.

La identidad individual resulta un producto que depende del entorno social y del contexto (Visa, 2011:5), configurándose a partir de tres elementos: la objetivación del sujeto, la interacción social y la construcción de significados compartidos. De este modo, se da una retroalimentación entre el individuo y el grupo, configurando identidades individuales y colectivas (Giménez, 2003). Y esa interrelación entre el yo y el grupo a la hora de configurar la identidad tanto de uno como de otro aparece como necesaria. Ya "McCall y Simmons (1966) concluyeron que la identidad social no viene dada como tal sino (sic) que existe a través del reconocimiento social. Somos quienes somos (dentro de la sociedad) a través del proceso de ser vistos mientras somos." (Cuervo, 2015:65).

Hablando de las fotos de perfil en Facebook, aunque siendo una afirmación extrapolable a nuestro caso, afirma Visa: "no olvidemos que estar en las redes sociales es una manera de hacerse ver, de ser visible socialmente, y que esto se consigue en parte gracias a la exhibición de las fotografías propias, con las que nos presentamos a los que ya nos conocen pero también a aquellos que hace tiempo que no vemos y a los amigos de nuestros amigos" (Visa, 2011:2). Las redes sociales permiten exponernos, contarnos, retratarnos, ofrecer características nuestras y de nuestras circunstancias, presentarnos al modo de Goffman (Goffman, 2006)

de una forma controlada (o lo más controlada posible), de una forma selectiva y pensada, sometiendo la naturalidad y la espontaneidad del directo al artificio de lo diferido. Así, "la imagen de nuestra identidad que ofrecemos a través de las redes sociales, aunque puede tener muchas características de nuestra identidad real, se crea y se transforma según la voluntad del usuario." (Visa, 2011:14). Al final elaboramos un yo online como individuos y como grupo que se aleja del yo real, porque "construimos nuestra identidad on-line partiendo de rasgos que componen nuestras múltiples identidades off-line; hacemos ficción en un contexto de supuesta "realidad"" (Gil, 2010). Algo, como ya hemos mencionado, controlado en parte, en este caso, por la vigilancia de los otros que conocen los lugares comunes, por un control grupal que produce cierto efecto de triangulación.

La auto-presentación en redes sociales se suele pensar desde la perspectiva dramatúrgica de la vida social de Goffman, pero implica algo más. Se trata de mostrarse, pero de mostrarse siguiendo un modelo con el que nos identificamos, demostrando lo cerca o lo lejos que estamos de los demás, porque al auto presentarnos nos presentamos como o contra. Por ello, a la hora de hablar del uso de las redes sociales, "estudios como el de Nadkarni y Hofmann (2012) plantean una vertiente alternativa a la hora de explicar y analizar dicho uso. Se trata de la cuestión de la pertenencia." (Carrillo, Puebla, Rodríguez y Bermejo, 2015:14-15). De este modo, la participación en redes sociales se relaciona con una cuestión de pertenencia, o justamente de lo contrario, de evitar la no pertenencia ante el miedo de quedarse fuera o perderse algo (el *fear of missing out* de Herman [2012]).

Se establecen conexiones dentro/fuera, no solo como comunidad, sino como comunidad online. La red se amplía en el ciberespacio y esa ampliación repercute en el mundo físico. Se establecen vínculos entre el online y el offline, más o menos intensos, no entendidos como realidades independientes, que lo pueden ser en otros contextos. Y esto puede influir en la participación y en el sentimiento de pertenencia con respecto al grupo. Este se basa en relaciones fundamentadas en lazos de distinta intensidad que pueden buscar, llegado el momento, otros espacios, instrumentos, herramientas de comunicación y de participación al margen (o no) del entorno digital para mantener el contacto y coordinar actividades.

De forma paralela, si la existencia y mantenimiento de las redes sociales es una consecuencia de la necesidad de pertenencia e inclusión en un grupo (o visto desde el ángulo contrario, de no verse excluido y apartado), la existencia y mantenimiento de las redes sociales online sirve para fortalecer estos vínculos frágiles, intermitentes y disueltos del nuevo panorama mundial marcado por la globalización. Es otra forma de poner en marcha *identidades de resistencia* (Castells, 1997). En este sentido, "Miller y Slater (2000) constatan cómo la gente utiliza Internet para reafirmar sus identidades colectivas y su adscripción a grupos étnicos, por lo que Internet constituye un espacio donde desplegar su identidad local más que diluirse en una cultura global" (Ardèvol et al., 2003:3). La desinstitucionalización y globalización no solo generan nuevas identidades sino nuevas formas de reforzar las antiguas. "Lo que sin lugar a dudas no se puede negar es que los nuevos modos de comunicación, las nuevas formas de construir identidades personales y colectivas, y sus estrategias reivindicativas; en fin, las nuevas prácticas de interacción social, van expandiéndose e inundando otros espacios tradicionalmente ocupados por las formas antiguas de socialización, basadas en un territorio geográfico" (Ruiz, 2008:122). Se trata de unir experiencias en una ruralidad fragmentada en la que los nexos, vínculos e instituciones tradicionales han sido diluidos por los procesos tardomodernos. Se

trata de la (re) construcción de lo común.

3. El Caso de estudio

A través de la visita a las páginas de las comunidades virtuales dedicadas a la recopilación de fotografías de las localidades de Carballo y Corcubión por parte de sus vecinos, se intuye un proceso de (re)construcción de la memoria y del recuerdo de las experiencias de estos pueblos, circunscrita a un territorio en gran parte ruralizado, que colabora al mantenimiento de la identidad de ese espacio, ya no solo físico, sino también constituido virtualmente en Internet.

Hablamos pues de un proceso colaborativo de construcción de la memoria común conformadora de la identidad colectiva usando la fotografía y las redes sociales como instrumentos. Así, en este trabajo, no es nuestro objetivo principal analizar los contenidos de estas interacciones virtuales sino observar las prácticas sociales en línea, por qué se producen y qué consecuencias tienen. La fotografía sirve aquí como excusa para crear nexos a través de la identidad, reconociendo fotos antiguas del pasado, y la identificación, reconociéndose en fotos modernas.

A fin de ofrecer al lector un primer acercamiento a las localidades objeto de estudio, Carballo y Corcubión, cabe señalar algunos datos de población. Carballo tiene una extensión de 186,09 kilómetros cuadrados y contaba en 2018 con 31.195 habitantes en las 18 parroquias que conforman el municipio. Carballo se caracteriza por su carácter rural, la dispersión territorial, la desaparición de la agricultura y la ganadería tradicionales y la emigración. Según los datos del Instituto Gallego de Estadística, Carballo tiene una densidad de población de 165,3 habitantes por kilómetro cuadrado. La edad media a 1 de enero era de 45,22 años, y el índice de envejecimiento de 129,32. El municipio de Corcubión tiene una extensión de 6,52 kilómetros cuadrados y 1.822 habitantes registrados en el Padrón Municipal de Habitantes en el año 2017. Corcubión tiene una densidad de población de 255,2 habitantes por kilómetro cuadrado, una edad media de 48,54 años y un índice de envejecimiento de 197,26. Para poder relativizar estos datos cabe destacar que la densidad media de población de la provincia de A Coruña es de 141,1 habitantes, con una edad media de 46,4 años y un índice de envejecimiento de 148,98.

Además, en 2017, en la Costa da Morte, región a la que pertenecen ambas localidades, la incidencia de personas en situación de dependencia era de 6,53% sobre la población total, lo que se traduce en 8.732 personas, frente a la media de Galicia de 4,40%. En cuanto a la penetración de las Tecnologías de la Información y la Comunicación (TIC) en el área de Costa da Morte, en 2017 el 58,9% de la población tenía ordenador, siendo la media de Galicia de 64,73, el 66,11% tenía teléfono móvil con acceso a internet, frente a la media de Galicia de 74,58, y un 23% tenía Tablet PDA o similares, de nuevo por debajo de la media de Galicia que se situaba en 33,78%.

3.1. Historia y trayectoria de *Carballo na Memoria* y *Fillos de San Marcos*

Carballo na Memoria es una iniciativa *Top Down* que consiste en una página web en la que se almacenan fotografías históricas de esta localidad. Además, cuentan con una página en Facebook, un perfil de Pinterest y recientemente se ha editado un libro que recoge algunas de las fotografías compartidas en este grupo.

> *"Tíñamos unha agrupación cultural que se chamaba e que se sigue chamando Lumieira, que é unha agrupación cultural que procede da transición, uns anos interesantes tamén para a propia localidade de Carballo porque é xusto neste momento cando se empezan a perder os referentes histórico e culturais da vida de Carballo. Entón alí, un grupo de rapaces, rapaces moi novos, pois tomamos un pouco conciencia de intentar recuperar esa historia a base de conferencias, de entrevistas, de como era aquel Carballo que tanto nos falaban. Había como unha especie de visión mítica dos anos vinte en Carballo porque moita de esa xente seguía vivindo[1]" (Cronista Carballo na Memoria).*

Fillos de San Marcos es una iniciativa *Botton Up* que surge de forma espontánea cuando su fundador Jano Lamas, vecino de Corcubión, comienza a utilizar las redes sociales como forma de entretenimiento tras su jubilación, desde su perfil personal de Facebook comienza a compartir fotografías antiguas de su archivo personal y fue creando así una red de amistades en esta red social. Ante el interés que despertaban sus publicaciones y el número de solicitudes de amistad que recibía de vecinos de Corcubión, y también de las localidades vecinas, se le ocurrió crear un grupo dentro de la red social en el que todos los participantes pudiesen compartir sus imágenes antiguas, y decidió darle el nombre de *Fillos de San Marcos* (San Marcos es el patrón de la localidad):

> *Gracias a mi nuera que me deletreó cómo era Facebook. Porque Fa-Ce-Bu-ook. Bueno, pues tecleé el ordenador, tal, y me fue muy fácil entrar. Y luego a base de las... Somos... Unas herramientas muy básicas. Y un día subí una foto. Otro día subí otra. Y bueno, fui haciendo amigos. Y bueno, juntamos un grupito. Entonces empecé a subir de mi archivo personal fotografías antiguas de Corcubión. Y gustaban, entraba una, entraba otro. Y vi que a los que más les gustaba eran a la gente de Corcubión o alrededores. Y empezaron a entrar más amigos y dije: «Ah, mira, en vez de ponerlo en Facebook, a ver si consigo hacer un grupo». Bueno, pues fui allí, grupos, tal: «Ah, qué fácil. ¿Y qué nombre le pongo? ¿Qué nombre le pongo?" Hombre, aquí todo el mundo se identifica con San Marcos. "Voy a poner Fillos de San Marcos" (Entrevista Jano Lamas).*

3.2. Objetivos, actividades, participantes de *Carballo na Memoria* y *Fillos de San Marcos*

El grupo *Carballo na Memoria* cuenta 428 usuarios registrados y almacena 1.937 fotografías históricas. Además, cuenta con una página en Facebook, un perfil de Pinterest y recientemente se ha editado un libro que recoge algunas de las fotografías compartidas en este grupo.

> *"De que diversas xeneraciós de carballeses poidan actuar e poden interactuar con*

todo este material que está a disposición de todos os veciños e de todo o mundo que queira colaborar que está neste programa que se chama "Carballo na memoria". Foi o concello quen tomou, digamos, éste como modelo cunha empresa de Carballo. Entonces publicouse este libro que non recordo, son aproximadamente unhas 400 fotografías e a partir de aí o que se lle pediu tanto nas presentacións do libro como a través da páxina web y todo esto é que a xente interactúe cas fotografías. É dicir, que faga comentarios sobre a foto para ubicalo, para contextualizar. E así, dunha maneira colectiva ir recuperando a memoria do que foi Carballo, do que é hoxe. E intentar algunha explicación de porqué pasou eso" (Entrevista Cronista Carballo na Memoria).

Fillos de San Marcos contaba con 2.106 participantes registrados en septiembre de 2018. De los participantes el 58% eran mujeres y el 41,9% eran hombres. En la distribución por edades se observa que el porcentaje de participantes entre los 18 y los 24 años era del 4,5%, entre 25 y 34 años aparecía 15,2%, entre 35 y 44 años representa el 21%, entre 45 y 54 años encontramos el 22,7%, el siguiente grupo de 55 a 64 años contabilizan el 20,6% y por último, los participantes de 65 años o más suponen el 18,1%. Del total de participantes, 392 dicen ser de Corcubión, 320 residen en A Coruña, y 287 en el vecino pueblo de Cee. Fuera de la provincia encontramos, por ejemplo, a 141 participantes ubicados en Madrid. Los días con más actividad son los lunes y los sábados y las horas del día con más actividad coinciden con las horas centrales del día.

"Pues yo creo que lo principal es la nostalgia, es decir, es casi una cuestión humana, de esta necesidad de renombrar el pasado de alguna forma y de mantenerlo, y bueno, evidentemente con una fotografía pues tienes una forma muy eficiente y muy fácil de poder generar documentación ¿sabes? De diferentes épocas... Y aparte que es un formato que pasado a digital, no, no cuesta un trabajo, es decir, no tienes que redactar ni tienes que, simplemente lo escaneas o le sacas una foto o lo subes y ya tienes ahí pues lo que quieras tener el archivo y yo creo que la principal motivación fue esa" (Senén, usuario Fillos de San Marcos).

3.3. Características de las iniciativas, organización y funcionamiento de *Carballo na Memoria* y *Fillos de San Marcos*

En Carballo, antes de que se pusiera en marcha la iniciativa, existía material fotográfico recogido de forma voluntaria por ciertos particulares de la localidad, ya fuese de manera individual o gracias al tejido asociativo que construyó la Asociación Lumieira. Estas fotografías, junto con los fondos obtenidos en un concurso convocado por el Ayuntamiento, constituyeron un sustrato visual del que se alimentaría el proyecto *Carballo na Memoria* La necesidad de recuperar ciertos recuerdos que se iban perdiendo, la degradación y dispersión del material fotográfico en papel, la utilidad que suponía el institucionalizar esa labor de recopilación que se realizaba de una manera informal, hacen que una empresa privada, Phottic, le plantee al Ayuntamiento de Carballo el proyecto *Carballo na Memoria* tras analizar (y probar) otras experiencias similares. De este modo se mercantiliza la organización de una práctica comunitaria.

"Vino alguien del Ayuntamiento y nos dijo exactamente qué es lo que era y nosotros nos dedicamos durante un tiempo a ir diciéndoselo a la gente y en las reuniones. Incluso

una junta, una votación que llamamos a todos los vecinos. Que acudieron bastantes vecinos, hemos quedado un poco sorprendidos de la participación de la gente, entonces le comunicamos lo de ese proyecto. Que había un proyecto de fotos y bueno, que las fotos no era entregarlas sino que cada vecino ya se llevaba su foto a casa y con toda seguridad" *(Usuaria, Carballo na Memoria).*

Fillos de San Marcos es una iniciativa particular de un vecino del pueblo de Corcubión que, tras sus diez años de historia, se ha consolidado como vehículo de intercambio e interacción entre los habitantes del pueblo y las personas con algún tipo de relación o vínculo con esta localidad. Es una iniciativa completamente desconectada de la actividad política del pueblo. El grupo al principio funcionaba como un grupo abierto que creció rápidamente y comenzó a atraer participantes de fuera de la comarca, incluso del extranjero, con algún vínculo personal o familiar con la localidad de Corcubión. Con el crecimiento del grupo y los primeros conflictos, el administrador inicial decide dejar la actividad y, ante la solicitud de los participantes de mantener viva la iniciativa, finalmente cede la gestión del grupo a dos de los miembros más activos y él continua participando como usuario.

"Cualquier persona puede hacer directamente la colaboración. Añadir una fotografía y, bueno, si quiere hacer un comentario que le acompañe. Lo que sí ponemos de vez en cuando, que es únicamente cosas de Corcubión, memorias de Corcubión" *(Entrevista a Jano Lamas.*
"Es algo muy comunitario lo que está pasando y no es como estas cuestiones que son más asociativas, ¿no? Las asociaciones siempre tienen una necesidad de generar y de generar cosas y de generar momentos e hitos y actividades y yo creo que esto es algo muy popular (…) Estar en contacto, mantener las raíces, que es lo que más aprecian la gente que vive fuera de Corcubión. Es decir, que a veces lloran, que se emocionan porque la añoranza de los que están lejos es muy grande. Entonces, está pensado para que compartir experiencias, recuerdos, que tengan la esencia de Corcubión y mantener la autoestima de… de su pueblo. Que le sigan queriendo, que sigan teniendo un vínculo" *(Senén, Usuario Fillos de San Marcos).*

3.4. Red de colaboración, conflictos y cambio social en *Carballo na Memoria* y *Fillos de San Marcos*

Carballo na memoria es un proyecto que pretende luchar contra la pérdida de la memoria a través de la digitalización de las fotografías históricas, identificando a las personas que en ellas aparecen, los lugares y la intrahistoria, lo que deviene en la construcción de un vínculo intergeneracional de los vecinos de la comunidad que contrarresta la pérdida de referentes de la vida comunitaria. Se rememoran, reactivan y reapropian los usos y costumbres perdidos con la desintegración de las actividades del campo, reparando los vacíos gracias al papel didáctico de la fotografía. En los consejos parroquiales llevados a cabo en este Ayuntamiento, constituidos como forma de participación política que pretende poner en práctica una democracia participativa y colaborativa, el proyecto fotográfico es un eslabón cultural que fomenta la participación política al colaborar a crear una cultura política (cimentando esa idea de la existencia de la comunidad, de un Nosotros activo en el que reconocerse y participar) y forma parte de la política cultural del Ayuntamiento (para la pervivencia, conocimiento y

transmisión de lo que ese Ayuntamiento es y hace).

> *"Carballo en la memoria está dentro de un proyecto que yo creo que es mucho más amplio que es el acercar ciertos medios que antes podíamos decir que tenían las ciudades, que tenían los pueblos y acercar eso a todas las parroquias. A la gente que vive en el campo en vez de trasladar la gente al pueblo pues llevar cosas buenas para la ciudadanía, llevarlas a las parroquias" (Participante Carballo na Memoria).*

En *Fillos de San Marcos* lo que se comparten son fotografías antiguas en las que aparecen grupos de personas, fotografías de paisaje actual y antiguo y noticias de la agenda de actualidad o de recordatorio de acontecimientos históricos relevantes. Además se intenta fomentar el uso de la lengua propia, el Gallego. Lo que se transforma (o no…) es la brecha en el acceso y uso de las TIC, la interacción en redes que sustituye los encuentros offline, la reproducción de las desigualdades sociales y la emergencia de nuevas dimensiones en el conflicto con la privacidad.

> *"Creo que es una forma de seguir en contacto con sus raíces o con un sitio que fue importante para ellos, en algún momento de su vida porque, hay... Yo veo también mucha gente en el grupo que es por ejemplo: "Es que yo di clases en el colegio de Corcubión durante 10 años y ahora estoy en...". Yo qué sé "Alcobendas o no sé dónde o en Suiza o en Italia". Y creo que tienen esa... Que te da esa posibilidad de volver hacer comunidad entre comillas y de... En base a ese recuerdo y a renombrar tiempos pasados y cuando ellos también eran jóvenes o cuando ellos vivían aquí." (Senén, usuario Fillos de San Marcos)*
> *"Organizamos comidas. Entonces había una que se encar...: "¡Yo coordino y tal y me encargo de tal!" Hicimos camisetas. Entonces, contrataba un catering, traía una carpa, traía mesas, sillas, tal y nos ponía allí en el campo de San Roque (…) Hicimos una exposición de fotografía que en principio era por una semana. Pusimos, ampliamos todas las fotografías que había... Pues cerca... Las más interesantes, claro... Cerca de 200 fotografías" (Jano Lamas, administrador Fillos de San Marcos).*

4. Conclusiones

En el caso de estudio *Biografías Colaborativas* hemos analizado cómo a través del volcado de fotografías históricas en las redes sociales por parte de los vecinos de las poblaciones de Carballo y Corcubión a través de los grupos *Carballo na Memoria* y *Fillos de San Marcos* suponen la mapificación de un pasado desaparecido y cómo se (re)construye la memoria de estos pueblos a través de la Acción Colectiva Colaborativa. En los grupos digitales de intercambio de fotografías analizados se crean rutas comunes pero diferenciadas para el conocimiento del Nosotros y se extiende el impacto de esta dinámica a otros ámbitos. En el análisis de las entrevistas realizadas a participantes y administradores de estas comunidades digitales se evidencia que la participación y la actividad en estos grupos transforma las condiciones de convivencia en los núcleos de población rural, co-produciendo una identidad colectiva basada en los contenidos digitales compartidos y disminuyendo la brecha territorial y generacional de acceso y uso de las TIC. No obstante, estas transformaciones no son ajenas al conflicto que para con la privacidad supone el intercambio de fotografías y a la reproducción de las desigualdades sociales en la construcción de la memoria colectiva.

Por último, señalar que está previsto continuar el trabajo de campo con una entrevista al Alcalde de Carballo y dos grupos de discusión, uno en cada localidad de discusión con participantes de *Carballo na Memoria* y *Fillos de San Marcos*. Además de la participación como observadoras en un Consello Parroquial en Carballo.

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6. Nota Biográfica

Carmen Rodríguez-Rodríguez es Profesora Interina de Sustitución en el Departamento de

Sociología y Ciencias de la Comunicación de la Universidade de A Coruña y Coordinadora del Máster en Sociología Aplicada: Investigación Social y de Mercados de la citada universidad. Acaba de publicar, junto con Elvira Santiago Gómez, "Tecnologías de la vigilancia: una mirada hacia la violencia legítima del Estado en cuestiones de seguridad y control" en el volumen 16 (2018) de la revista *Encrucijadas. Revista crítica de ciencias sociales*. Ha sido Primer Premio de Terminación de Estudios Universitarios de la Licenciatura de Sociología 2002-2003, Premio Extraordinario de Doctorado (UCM) 2010-2011 y becaria FPU en el Departamento de Sociología V de la UCM. Entre sus intereses de investigación están la Teoría Sociológica y la Sociología de la Cultura.

Elvira Santiago-Gómez es Profesora Interina de Sustitución en el Departamento de Sociología y Ciencias de la Comunicación de la Universidade de A Coruña y Coordinadora del Grado en Sociología en la Facultad de Sociología. Sus líneas de interés se centran en el análisis del compromiso público y la evaluación de la ciencia y la tecnología en el campo de la innovación. Ha sido Primer Premio de Terminación de Estudios Universitarios de la Licenciatura en Sociología 2006-2007, su experiencia en investigación pre-doctoral, durante el disfrute de su beca FPU en la UDC, y postdoctoral, con un contrato de investigación en el IPP-CSIC, se centró en el análisis de las políticas de seguridad en Europa y el conflicto con la privacidad en el uso de las nuevas tecnologías de seguridad basadas en la vigilancia. Sus publicaciones recientes pueden consultarse en las revistas Governance, Public Understanding of Science, Democracy & Security Journal, y Surveillance & Society Journal.

https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Elvira_Santiago_Gomez

7. Notas

1 Por respeto a lo expresado por las personas entrevistadas las citas y verbatins de las que se introducen en el texto son reproducciones literales de la conversación mantenida durante la entrevista, incluyendo los eventuales errores gramaticales propios del lenguaje oral.

TRACK
6

Science and Knowledge
*Collaborative forms of scientific
production and citizen science*

Movimientos sociales e intelecto colectivo. Teoría y praxis pública de movilizaciones intelectuales latinoamericanas en siglo XXI

[1]Alberto L. Bialakowsky[1], Gabriela Bukstein[1] y Luz María Montelongo[2]

[1]Instituto de Investigaciones Gino Germani
[2]Universidad Iberoamericana, México

Resumen: *En el campo intelectual, particularmente, en el sistema científico y tecnológico no es frecuente contabilizar movilizaciones protagonizadas por sus productores intelectuales en el espacio público, dirigidas a interpelar las bases del edificio ideológico hegemónico. Sin embargo, estas manifestaciones multitudinarias se han registrado con gran intensidad y amplitud en Latinoamérica en estos inicios de siglo XXI. Encarnadas masivamente por intelectuales, estudiantes, académicos, que se oponen al modelo de restauración conservadora del pensamiento neoliberal. Que apunta a sostener tres elementos claves de dominación, la privatización del conocimiento, el individualismo gnoseológico y la reducción del sistema científico tecnológico público.*

Palabras clave: *Movimientos al Intelecto Colectivo, América Latina, Colectivo, Coproducción, Conocimiento*

1. Introducción

La producción de conocimiento en América Latina se ha enfocado a dar respuesta a las presiones económicas y productivas que comienzan a interpelar la investigación científica como bien común. El marco teórico desarrollado se enmarca en el pensamiento latinoamericano, y contribuciones propias inscritas del enfoque de "coproducción gnoseológica". A lo largo del trabajo se presentan siete hipótesis que se enlazan y conforman un núcleo teórico para el análisis de los casos seleccionados.

La metodología aplicada se basó en las técnicas: análisis documental y entrevistas cualitativas a protagonistas y teorizadores en esta etapa de investigación (2015-2018). Los movimientos seleccionados fueron los movimientos Magisteriales y #Yosoy132 de México, Pingüinos y Confederación de Federaciones Estudiantiles de Chile (Confech), Cuotistas afrodescendientes de Brasil, Bachilleratos Populares y el grupo de Ciencia y Tecnología (CyTA) de Argentina. Los testimonios expuestos de Chile y CyTA son entrevistas a sus miembros elaboradas por el equipo académico. Para los demás casos se realizó una investigación histórica en archivos electrónicos.

Los resultados contienen el registro y el debate teórico sobre la innovación metodológica coproductiva, que en la "praxis de las calles" sostienen los movimientos intelectuales latinoamericanos críticos. Cuyos contenidos conceptuales conllevan socialmente una interpelación a la hegemonía del *general intellect*[2] dominante, y cuestionan los valores epistémicos de cosmovisión y modos de producción capturadas que sostienen el paradigma científico vigente.

1.1. Tres elementos claves de dominación sobre la producción de conocimiento neoliberal

Los componentes del paradigma científico se comparan metafóricamente con un árbol. Uno visible como las ramificaciones y hojas y otro en sombras o subterráneo, como las raíces de ese árbol. Pero, que sostienen y nutren el sistema. Lo visible se considera la ciencia, la teoría, la metodología y la empírea. De esta manera, el marco epistémico que se encuentra en las raíces y ocultas no se considera parte de la ciencia.
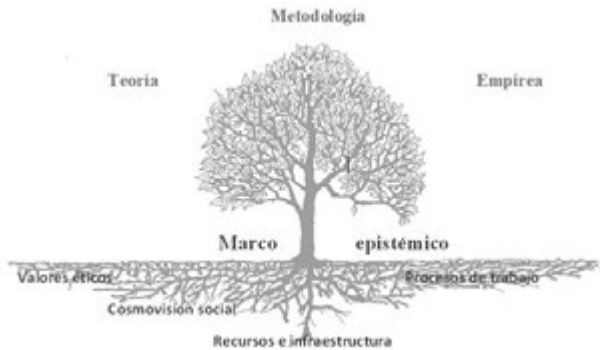
Imagen 1. Metáfora del árbol y los compontes de la ciencia neoliberal
Fuente: Intervención conceptual propia, 2019

Desde la política neoliberal la praxis científica y sus componentes son orientados por el diseño de su estructura para dar bases cognoscitivas, y cimentar la reproducción del orden establecido. De este modo, la investigación se considera un bien común,[3] que se troca en mercancía e insumo de un tipo de producción económica y social.

Por lo que, se observan tres componentes de dominación a la ciencia, la privatización del conocimiento, el individualismo epistémico y la reducción del Sistema Científico Tecnológico Público, para sostener el orden establecido.

1.2. La privatización del conocimiento

Hipótesis I
El avance del capitalismo en su fase superior neoliberal acentúa sus ligaduras con la producción científica; que se asimila al proceso social originario del capitalismo del cercamiento de tierras (enclosure) (Bialakowsky y Costa, 2017). De modo que la producción de conocimiento es utilizada como medio de producción y componente relevante en la formación del intelecto social (general intellect), por medio de los cuales se instrumenta el dominio planetario y regional sobre los bienes comunes. Dichas incidencias colocan en interrogante la hipótesis que el progreso natural de la ciencia y las "fuerzas productivas" conducirá correlativamente al progreso en la conciencia liberadora.

El paradigma científico, se centra en sostener la cosmovisión social y asegurar la reproducción del orden establecido. Sin embargo, tal como se desarrolla agotó sus posibilidades para

reconvertir el curso de su acumulación y concentración absorbidas dentro de un sistema destructivo. Cabe entonces, interrogar a la ciencia de modo crítico sobre su base social, o sea, el propio colectivo que la produce, su producción de conocimientos y el destino de ese conocimiento.

El sistema capitalista como estructura de poder, se sostiene sobre dos basamentos interconectados: control científico y colectivo. Donde, las concepciones sobre la formación de productores intelectuales quedan bajo la égida de los conocimientos como propiedad del capital, es decir, el valor de cambio sobre su idea como bien común y público. Así, como, dirigir la reproducción del colectivo productor y su dinámica en forma fragmentaria e individualista.

El proceso investigativo constituye un espacio laboral y productivo. Implica un proceso social de trabajo con métodos y distribución de productores; que conduce a una producción social de excedentes que pueden ser acumulados, concentrados y expropiados. Con bases homólogas al proceso productivo, los patrones de producción de conocimientos en el ámbito universitario connotan tres ejes básicos: división del trabajo extrema, posibilidad de extracción del surplus colectivo e instalación de la competencia entre productores. Lo que está en juego en última o primera instancia es la apropiación del colectivo y sus formas de producir.

1.3. El individualismo epistémico

Hipótesis 2
Se parte del supuesto de la absorción de la ciencia por el sistema capitalista colonial, facilitado por los caracteres de institucionalización del paradigma científico desde el siglo XVIII. Proceso que ha fijado su reproducción biopolítica (Foucault,1978) a través de la institucionalización de un "individualismo gnoseológico", que fija las normas de selección de sus productores, la oficialización de saberes y la conformación de organización colectiva fragmentaria, por especializaciones disciplinarias y por competitividad.

El método de las ciencias sociales se caracteriza por la acción individual, es decir, se establece una división vertical y horizontal entre productores supeditados a estas estructuras. Este individualismo gnoseológico define la metodología, los procesos reales de trabajo y la cosmovisión de los productores intelectuales, o sea, las técnicas, las formas reales y vivientes de producir y los valores de todo el proceso.

También, este individualismo contempla la formación de estas raíces del marco epistémico, que determinan los contenidos que usualmente no relaciona el hacer y el crear científico. Sino que, juntas teoría y empírea demuestran teoría bajo los supuestos de objetividad y neutralidad metodológica. De modo que, se ocultan las orientaciones sociales y económicas de la ciencia, las formas de trabajo.

De esta manera, "se conforma una visión de lo social fragmentario, abordando la realidad social a partir de la categoría de acción individual" (Bialakowsky et. al. 2013:51). Los problemas sociales se abordan desde una individualidad, o sea, los colectivos son comprendidos en la interpretación de los sujetos individuales. Pero, pensar que el individualismo disuelve el colectivo es un error. El individualismo es producto de un diseño social de colectivo que ha

conseguido colocar a los sujetos colectivos como sujetos individuales. En donde, se forma una colectividad anónima de fragmentados, sujetos con cementos de diverso tipo, pero anulando la conciencia de la interdependencia colectiva. De modo que, la hegemonía del saber se formaliza desde el pensamiento individual con desplazamiento e incluso segregación del conocimiento colectivo.

1.4. La reducción del Sistema Científico Tecnológico Público

Hipótesis 3
La ciencia normal (Kuhn, 1969) tiene sus crisis por cambio de paradigma, es decir, dentro de sus métodos se descubre que las teorías son falsificadas por la experimentación o bien por reemplazo de teorías que reciben nuevos consensos de la comunidad científica. Sin embargo, encontramos otro tipo de crisis que es al ataque a sus bases. Se trata de una crisis provocada a su expansión, una destrucción dentro de los componentes del marco epistémico (raíces), denominada cientificidio[4] (Giniger y Carbone, 2019).

Como metáfora de lo anterior, existe una combinación en las prácticas entre biopolítica[5] y necropolítica[6] en la ciencia para darle un cuerpo vivo y quitarle la idea cosificante de objeto. Por lo que, las crisis actuales causadas por políticas de reducción y desinversión en ciencia y tecnología, provocan desequilibrio en los sistemas científicos y académicos públicos regionales, en su sustentabilidad y desnudan los estrechos lazos existentes entre la progresión de ciencia y la expansión de sus bases productivas.

De ahí que, se descubre la colonización en contenidos y especialmente en su base epistémica. Especialmente, una división del trabajo, fragmentación de conocimientos, distanciamiento entre planificadores y productores, separación entre producción y difusión, asimetría entre disciplinas del conocimiento, desarticulación entre el saber científico y necesidades sociales, hegemonías de modelos y metodologías de producción, captura o pérdida del producto a través de estructuras verticales y desplazamiento del pensamiento colectivo.

2. Giro epistémico

Hipótesis 4
Se descubre que el marco epistémico[7] se sustenta desde un pensamiento eurocéntrico neoliberal, por lo que, se visualiza la necesidad de un vuelco epistemológico[8] (Quijano, 2009; Mignolo, 2007; Castro Gómez, 2011) a partir de la epistemología del sur (de Sousa Santos, 2009) y una crítica a la orientación neoliberal (Puello-Socarrás, 2011), que abren cauce al pasaje a una comprensión biopolítica de la ciencia y su giro epistémico.

Plantear un nuevo paradigma nace por su insuficiencia para afrontar problemas claves en lo social. Entonces, se exige su revisión en sus contenidos; en su curso o sentido hacia donde se dirige; sobre su distribución y su apropiación. Es pertinente emprender nuevos caminos en tres planos: la teoría, la metodología y el marco epistémico. Este último, contiene la cosmovisión, los procesos de producción científica, su transferencia, el cual queda opacado o fuera.

La ciencia, desde un giro epistémico, examina la forma y la praxis que inviste su sujeto productor; es decir, la ciencia aborda las formas materiales en que se produce conocimiento. Debe invertirse el orden de lo que se ilumina y no dejar en penumbra el marco epistémico, se necesita una metodología geométrica, un poliedro, que utilice técnicas y que construya colectivo. Por lo que se requiere una doble praxis científica.

Imagen 2. Ombú
Fuente: Guillermina Victoria (2018). Obra "Ombú". Intervención conceptual de los autores

Desde este enfoque, el conocimiento es un derecho de creación y un bien común construido en común. Esto llevaría en un futuro que todos reciban como derecho esta oportunidad de crear, que sería más cocrear y coinvestigar, coproducir. De este modo, se busca: "desmitificar la creación de conocimiento individual como condición suficiente, para pasar a dar lugar a un aparato tautológico, de creación y autogeneración gregaria sostenida, cuya meta consista en la vinculación entre conocimiento y colectivo" (Bialakowsky, 2013:59).

2.1. Coproducción

Hipótesis 5
La coproducción investigativa como una ampliación de la investigación individual. En sentido más amplio la coproducción no se reduce a una praxis de laboratorio o experimental sino a la creación de un derecho inalienable de producción de conocimientos como bien común y diálogo de descubrimiento entre sujetos coproductores.

La coproducción investigativa es una metodología dialógica transdisciplinaria. Como instrumento abarca e interviene en su praxis cognoscitiva a contenidos y componentes del marco epistémico del colectivo productor de ciencia y tecnología. De ahí que, la coproducción es una perspectiva geométrica o poliédrica, dinámica, integrada que permite revisar y crear conocimientos desde un enfoque y metodología integradoras. Por lo que, es un método o una técnica participativa que integra un cuerpo metodológico y epistémico desde un cuerpo teórico integrado.

Al ser una metodología integral abarca en un mismo método la producción del colectivo y de conocimiento. Así, se propone disolver el dualismo metodológico que divide los contenidos temáticos de su marco epistémico en la ciencia.

2.2. Teoría en las calles

Hipótesis 6
Con frecuencia se asocia la producción de conocimientos a espacios de clausura, en cambio la perspectiva coproductiva permite descubrir la emergencia de conocimientos en colectivos intelectuales que se expresan en los espacios públicos.

La teoría en las calles se refiere a una praxis colectiva intelectual, que emerge de expresiones de sujetos colectivos movilizados, que a través de narrativas y declaraciones cocrean teoría, teoría dentro de la teoría. Teoría que abarca el conocimiento y su marco epistémico. Por lo que, su importancia es que brindan recursos para la transformación teórica.

En esta praxis se plasma una confrontación dialéctica entre sus protagonistas como productores intelectuales. Que descubren en una misma acción colectiva el lazo social como condición de resistencia, y postulan el derecho a su soberanía intelectual. Componen un sujeto colectivo autodirigido "para sí". De modo que, realizan una praxis consciente por medio de la cual se resignifica el conocimiento como bien común.

Estos descubrimientos en las calles materializan una crítica radical que se considera un hecho epistémico, es decir, es un proceso social e intelectual que coloca en superficie la existencia de un conflicto subterráneo que atraviesa a toda la construcción científica y académica actual.

3. Movimientos al intelecto colectivo

Hipótesis 7
Los movimientos al intelecto colectivo del siglo XXI se integran por productores intelectuales que interpelan el intelecto social hegemónico. Prueba en su demostración en las "calles" despliegan una unidad entre contenidos científicos y su marco epistémico, y cuya confrontación queda al descubierto en la disputa en "juego de verdad" (Foucault, 1978). La ciencia encarnada como bien común que debe decidirse así por la reflexión e investigación del sujeto colectivo.

Los movimientos al intelecto colectivo compuestos por productores intelectuales, buscan reivindicar como sujeto colectivo en el espacio público, su derecho a la educación superior para participar en la producción de conocimientos científicos y tecnológicos. En su praxis y diseño rompen el aislamiento que impone el sistema de selección y mercantilización educativa y científica. Su finalidad ha sido visibilizar en ciertas prácticas colectivas la expresión del malestar de la exclusión intelectual y productiva.

También, evidencian las fisuras del modelo hegemónico neoliberal, que enfatiza el individualismo y la competencia entre pares como instrumentos forzados para la sobrevivencia y el dominio sobre la base social de las fuerzas productivas. De esta manera, su praxis tiene características de resistencia. Las demandas que plantean son inmediatas e impactan al ejercicio de la hegemonía, cuyo avasallamiento se discuten en términos de reivindicar la multiculturalidad, la inclusión educativa universal, el carácter de bien público, el derecho al intelecto como bien común (de calidad), en oposición a la imposición monocultural, selectividad social, carácter privado, valor como mercancía.

A continuación se analizan por país los movimientos sociales que se consideran dentro de la clasificación de Movimientos al Intelecto Colectivo.

3.1. Chile

El proceso de lucha inicio con los estudiantes secundarios denominados pingüinos desde 2006. En 2011, son los estudiantes universitarios que cuestionan la estructura del sistema educativo que permitía la privatización, el arancelamiento y la selectividad social. El eje destacado del reclamo gira sobre la igualdad de acceso gratuidad y calidad de la educación.

> *"… creías que las pruebas estandarizadas eran normales, que tenías las mismas oportunidades porque era la misma prueba, pero no, jamás voy a tener una oportunidad si se educa en una educación pública, que si se educa en una educación privada porque los recursos son considerablemente distintos. En 2009 o antes, cuando alguien hablaba de que la educación podría ser gratuita, era señalado como demagogo, de ridículo porque la sociedad no se había hecho este cuestionamiento: que otra realidad era posible." (Pablo, 2017)*

La comprensión del movimiento estudiantil chileno, remite a la historia de su país, interrogada y revisitada en tanto condición para la transformación.

> *"…el tema de la dictadura sigue pesando, … tenemos la misma Constitución. Los conflictos de educación que hoy existen tienen que ver con decisiones que se tomaron. … en todo el diálogo el tema de la dictadura… sigue estando presente." (Camilo Ballesteros, 2017).*

En este movimiento se observa la relación entre ciencia y neoliberalismo (hipótesis 1), en el sentido de que el *general intellect* abarca la forma en cómo se produce conocimiento. Se pensaba que la forma y las leyes eran naturales y no habría otro modo de concebir la política, la economía y lo social.

3.2. México

Las luchas magisteriales pusieron en debate social a la equidad y la soberanía educativa señalada por Modenesi como (2013): "la insurgencia magisterial mexicana frente a la imposición de una contrarreforma laboral enmascarada de reforma educativa […] en que la forma sindicato cobija una estructura organizacional fuerte y resistente, donde la dialéctica entre negociación, resistencia y rebelión cobra sentido político" (10).

> *"La "Reforma Educativa" por parte del Estado, impone un modelo ajeno a su contexto empírico y social. La reforma es ante todo una agresión a la escuela pública y a los derechos laborales de los maestros, dejándolos a merced de una doble reforma laboral disfrazada que busca despojarlos de los referentes pedagógicos populares en los cuales está basada la educación gratuita" (#Yosoy132, septiembre 2013).*

El movimiento #Yo soy 132, en 2012, ilustra una fractura de la lógica positivista usual en las

prácticas y en sus fundamentos epistémicos; destacando: la participación ciudadana, el respeto a la pluralidad y diversidad para formar una ciudadanía consciente y participativa en relación con el derecho a la información y la defensa de la libertad de expresión.

> *"Somos los que conjuran un mejor país, hombres y mujeres partidos en varias lenguas, en muchas culturas y pensamientos. Somos los desesperados, los que refrescan el timeline cada cinco minutos. Somos la nostalgia de revolución de nuestros padres. Somos la nostalgia de un futuro que podría ser. Creemos que la protesta pertenece al pasado, pero también creemos que la protesta contra el orden es el fundamento del orden nuevo. Somos un camino, una desviación. Somos #YoSoy132"* (Manifiesto #YoSoy132).

En estas narrativas se retoman posturas acerca de la construcción del conocimiento en la praxis misma de comunidades de diálogo, de interrogación e investigación, de sentido, de recuperación de la politicidad de la educación. Elementos presentes en la relación de contenidos y forma de producción de la ciencia se homologan al intelecto social capitalista (hipótesis 2).

Donde los componentes del marco epistémico se asemejan a los valores del capitalismo. En este movimiento la reforma educativa se dirigía a regular el trabajo docente y no a favor de la educación pública.

En este el movimiento #YoSoy132 se observa una coproducción en el movimiento, es decir, emerge en los movimientos intelectuales en espacios públicos la producción de teórica y colectivo (hipótesis 6). En este caso los estudiantes demostraron la construcción de conocimientos en espacios públicos que de manera creativa y renovada se posicionaron intelectualmente e interpelaron las narrativas del universo simbólico neoliberal.

3.3. Brasil

Las movilizaciones se dirigieron a interrogar la discriminación racial, y la lucha por la re-apropiación de la vida. Ya que, en 2008 el 74% de los estudiantes en las universidades pertenecían al quintil social más elevado y sólo el 4% al quintil más bajo (López Segrega, 2008: 269); y se crea una ley que busca reconocer la aplicación de cuotas- para el ingreso multirracial.

> *"Hay un gran debate, … muchos profesores que creen que el ingreso de alumnos negros a la Universidad …, haría que la Universidad cayese la calidad, pero no aconteció eso …, cuotistas son dedicados, concluyen todo el curso, en promedio no son reprobados y generalmente son los mejores alumnos de la Universidad… muy pocos dicen "Yo soy negro, yo soy preto" porque existe … una vergüenza, porque el negro era aquel que trabajaba para el Señor, entonces si usted es negro, usted está en el más bajo estatus de la sociedad brasileña, más bajo que el indio"* (Docente, Universidad Federal de Campiña Grande, Brasil, 2013)[9].

Se trata de una apertura a la democratización de la Educación Superior, y, a un descubrimiento más profundo y revolucionario "un hecho político epistémico" en que el desarrollo de la ciencia, de los científicos-técnicos y profesionales, quedaba fundado de hecho en una clasificación

social discriminatoria. Aquí se observa la crisis al ataque del marco epistémico, es decir, a las bases de sustentación productiva. Ya que, la crisis en Brasil llegó a la interrogación del marco epistémico, su cosmovisión social y los procesos sociales de trabajo. Donde se muestra las fisuras en la ciencia hegemónica para responder y satisfacer a necesidades sociales y ambientales.

3.4. Argentina

La lucha busca establecer un nuevo paradigma e interrogar a la ciencia normal; donde, los Bachilleratos Populares son un espacio alterno de participación contextualizando las necesidades e intereses del trabajador, que recrean los contenidos escolares en relación con sus historias de vida. La lucha se da desde los sectores que desean abrir la ciencia a su encuentro social; y una agrupación estudiantil expresa:

"Parecería que la única forma válida de enseñar es que los especialistas en cierto tema dicten una clase magistral, y las estudiantes aprendan acríticamente lo que se les dice. Como si fuese natural entender a la "Ciencia" descontextualizada/alienada del entorno social" (Colectivo desde el Pie, 2013)[10].

Los Bachilleratos Populares sustentan la coproducción en los movimientos (hipótesis 6), ya que, en un espacio alterno crearon vías colectivas de participación educativas, es decir, un espacio de coproducción en sentido más amplio. De modo que, se observa como la coproducción no se reduce a una praxis de laboratorio o experimental sino a la creación de un derecho inalienable de producción de conocimientos como bien común y diálogo de descubrimiento entre sujetos coproductores.

Por otra parte, en 2015 surge un grupo de académicos con el nombre de CyTA. La reciente degradación, las reducciones de personal, el incumplimiento en subsidios para la investigación y la cooperación internacional, y los fuertes ajustes presupuestales, llevó a la comunidad científica a organizarse para denunciar el grave contexto a partir de la realización de manifestaciones y clases públicas; considerando imperioso revertir dicha situación para resguardar el sistema científico y tecnológico. Las demandas de los científicos son acompañadas por los jóvenes investigadores, cuyo lema es ¡Sin ciencia no hay futuro!

   "[CyTA es] un núcleo donde se pueden discutir ideas, […] cómo expresar un concepto en una declaración y participar juntos en manifestaciones, sentir que aún en las pequeñas divergencias que puede haber somos un colectivo, donde cada uno de nosotros pensamos que hay que elaborar y militar en el ámbito que cada uno se mueve. […] o sea, de sentir que mis ideas no son individualistas, sino que, son de un conjunto" (Dr. Kornblihtt, 2018).

Un cambio que se está gestando en este grupo es la necesidad de construir colectivo y un conocimiento crítico de la realidad; y es a partir de las movilizaciones en la calle donde se materializa su crítica radical:

"hemos estado en todas las movilizaciones contra el presupuesto, es decir, no basta con quedarnos en nuestras oficinas o laboratorios y escribir lindo, sino que hay que estar en la

calle, este, y creemos que esas son formas de resistencia. Las otras formas de resistencia que las pensamos ir escalando es digamos, ser cada vez mejores en transmitirles todo esto no sólo a nuestros colegas sino a la población en general, es decir, nosotros pensamos que la ciencia y la tecnología no son interés solamente de los científicos y tecnólogos, sino que acá hay un país que necesita ciencia y tecnología. Eso es lo que pensamos y esa es nuestra forma de resistir (Dr. Ing. Dvorkin, 2018).

CyTA es un tipo de dispositivo "al intelecto social" de resistencia colectiva reducida que realizan manifestaciones públicas, a diferencia de los movimientos al intelecto social que producen movilizaciones multitudinarias en el espacio público. Se observa un crecimiento gradual que desde 2016 se conforma como un grupo de científicos y técnicos, y en 2019, como un dispositivo que busca sumar gente.

Su demanda se focalizaba en el ataque a la infraestructura del sistema científico y a la reducción del presupuesto nacional para el desarrollo de la ciencia y la tecnología.

Progresivamente, sus declaraciones se sostuvieron desde una lectura crítica de las políticas y del pensamiento gubernamental en sentido macro político-económico-social. Ejemplo de esto sería

"…el abandono de la infraestructura escolar […]; el cierre de escuelas nocturnas en Ciudad Autónoma de Buenos Aires; el desfinanciamiento y continua amenaza de cierre de las universidades del conurbano porque, gobernadora Vidal dixit, "los pobres no van a la universidad"; nos permiten afirmar que estamos frente a la destrucción planificada de la educación pública estatal argentina, de la que los miembros de CyTA somos producto y en la que ejercemos la docencia" (CyTA, 15/01/19).

Por último, la resistencia ante la agudización reductiva en la selección de becarios y de ingresos a la carrera de investigadores científicos como la retracción e involución presupuestaria para recursos e infraestructura.

"La resolución sobre ingresos a la Carrera del Investigador asesta un nuevo golpe al Sistema Científico Tecnológico Nacional, al determinar que solo el 17% de los presentados puedan ingresar a la Carrera del Investigador Científico del CONICET. El éxodo de jóvenes científicos es ya una realidad apremiante. Esta nueva resolución no hará más que agravarla, expulsando jóvenes que acreditan una rigurosa formación y emitiendo una nefasta señal al conjunto de la sociedad argentina: no hay lugar para el desarrollo científico y tecnológico en el país" (CyTA, 9/04/19).

El grupo de CyTA se adhiere a la convocatoria de diferentes colectivos que integran el sector de Ciencia y Tecnología, para: "poner freno a esta *barbarie* que compromete, no sólo el destino de científicos y tecnólogos, sino nuestro futuro como país" (CyTA, 9/03/2019)

La praxis de CyTA representa validaciones a las hipótesis desarrolladas que evidencian una crisis provocada en su base (marco epistémico). De esta manera, se visibiliza el peligro del andamiaje de la investigación científica. Ya que, se descubre el colectivo de la unidad sistémica existente entre los eslabones que componen la producción científica.

De modo que, ante esta crisis se coloca en primer plano la movilización en el espacio público. Pero, que aún no llega a plantearse en términos de método. Entonces, desde una perspectiva biopolítica queda abierta esta interrogación para disolver dicho dualismo epistémico en la praxis científica segmentada la necesidad de instalar una metodología científica coproductiva que abarque integralmente la producción científica como praxis vinculada explícitamente entre contenidos teóricos, metodología, demostración empírica y marco epistémico.

4. Conclusiones

Los productores de conocimiento como *movimiento social o en dispositivos* podrían ofrecer una alternativa, ya que, sus reivindicaciones impactan en la sociedad de tal manera que produce una fractura o un cambio en el intelecto social dominante, hegemónico que registra su agotamiento o crisis.

En este sentido, los movimientos presentados comprueban que la emergencia de movimientos sociales que denominamos al intelecto colectivo que su singularidad radica por una parte, en estar compuestos por productores intelectuales. Por otra parte, que interpelan al intelecto social (hipótesis 7). Asimismo, su praxis en las calles demuestra una unidad entre contenidos científicos y su marco epistémico, y cuya confrontación queda al descubierto en la disputa en "juego de verdad" (Foucault, 1978). La ciencia encarnada como bien común que debe decidirse así por la reflexión e investigación del sujeto colectivo. Pero, también crean conocimiento y crean colectivo.

La praxis intelectual en este enfoque conlleva a superar los enunciados de una oposición crítica, para apuntar también a la construcción del sujeto social como sujeto colectivo intelectual. Así toda vez que estos movimientos y dispositivos postulan cuestiones contrarias al intelecto individualista, para resistir la exacción de universalidad y autonomía cultural, ponen en crítica el basamento de aquel intelecto basado en lo privado, el conocimiento como mercancía, la selectividad y el lucro, diversas caras del poliedro cultural cementado. La expresión colectiva del colectivo pone en evidencia tanto el intelecto colonizado como sus fisuras. Se prueba con la observación de la emergencia contemporánea de colectivos sociales que se movilizan para expresar nuevos saberes y posicionamientos intelectuales en sustitución de significados y narrativas del universo simbólico que define los caracteres básicos del intelecto social hegemónico. Por ello, las movilizaciones de productores al intelecto social pueden comprenderse como formas de interrogación crítica para recuperar los objetos y sujetos sociales sustraídos.

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6. Notas Biográficas

Alberto L. Bialakowsky. Profesor consulto, docente de posgrado e investigador de IIGG d Facultad de Ciencias Sociales. Profesor visitante de Rhodes University, Sudáfrica. Honoris

Causa de tres Universidades Latinoamericanas.

Gabriela Bukstein. Doctoranda de la Universidad de Buenos Aires. Docente universitaria e investigadora en el IIGG.

Luz Montelongo. Candidata a Doctora en Educación por la Universidad Iberoamerica, CM. Docente e investigadora.

7. Notas

1 Los autores integran el Grupo de Trabajo CLACSO: Pensamiento crítico y prácticas emancipatorias. Eje Movimientos al intelecto colectivo.
2 Concierne a la vida de la mente pública, cuyos planos abarcan la relación entre la mentalidad subjetiva y la mentalidad social en reciprocidad. Entre sus contenidos se destacan la ciencia, el saber productivo y la conciencia general (Virno, 2003). Es un espacio intelectual de un campo de dominio.
3 La declaración de Cartagena (CRES-2018) reafirma el postulado de la Educación Superior como un bien público social, un derecho humano y universal, y un deber de los Estados; estos principios se fundan en la convicción de que el acceso, el uso y la democratización del conocimiento es un bien social, colectivo y estratégico, para la emancipación social y la integración regional solidaria latinoamericana y caribeña.
4 Se denomina cientificidio por su similitud a un acto homicidio (ecocidio, genocidio, etc.). Esta incidencia, intervención por medio de la reducción presupuestaria y política.
5 La biopolítica en la ciencia se refiere a la visión de biopolítica de la población, del cuerpo-especie, cuyo objeto será el cuerpo viviente (Foucault, 1972).
6 Por *necropolítica* se entiende a la cosificación del ser humano propia del capitalismo, que explora las formas mediante las cuales las fuerzas económicas e ideológicas del mundo moderno mercantilizan y reifican el cuerpo. Las personas ya no se conciben como seres irreemplazables, inimitables e indivisibles, sino que son reducidas a un conjunto de fuerzas de producción fácilmente sustituibles (Mbembe, 14-15).
7 Marco epistémico es el: "[...] sistema de pensamiento, rara vez explicitado, que permea las concepciones de la época en una cultura dada y condiciona el tipo de teorizaciones que van surgiendo en diversos campos del conocimiento" (García, 2002:157). Así el marco epistémico es identificado con una "concepción del mundo" (Weltanschauung) o "visión de la naturaleza", que se constituye a partir de factores socio-políticos y filosófico-religiosos, y que permanece implícito en las teorizaciones.
8 Este vuelco epistemológico advierte la necesidad emancipadora de esta dominación traducida en sus teorías, es decir, las crisis se encuentran registradas más en los contenidos y/o en las metodologías científicas (metafóricamente: follaje y tronco). Este giro epistémico refiere a la crisis que se produce por embates reduccionistas al marco epistémico (sus raíces). El resultado, es que dichas crisis abarcan al conjunto del sistema: contenidos y marco epistémico.
9 En, Bialakowsky, Alberto, L, Lusnich, Cecilia, y Bossio, Constanza. 2014. Pp 30-31
10 Ídem, 2014b. Pp 83

**TRACK
6**

Science and Knowledge

Mobile Solutions to the Mexican Kidnapping Epidemic (MAKE). Beyond Elite Counter-Measures towards Citizen-Led Innovation

Conor O'Reilly and Camilo Tamayo Gomez
University of Leeds

Abstract: *This paper presents an overview of the project Mobile Solutions to the Mexican Kidnapping Epidemic (MAKE): Beyond Elite Counter-Measures towards Citizen-Led Innovation. This initiative has charted the shifting topography of the Mexican kidnapping epidemic and examined various 'mobile solutions' that have emerged to counter it. The purpose of this research intervention has been to shed new light on this illicit industry and its effects, to provide a deeper understanding of kidnapping that informs and innovates citizen-led responses. The project has two aims. First, to engage with activists, victims and their families to explore the potential of citizen-led counter-kidnapping. Second, to track the complex mobilities triggered by kidnapping, examining those 'mobile solutions' that have emerged in response to it. Aware that activist-citizens are developing their own strategies to address this threat, this initiative not only sets out to document and to understand their approaches, but also to explore how everyday practices and technologies can be adapted into them. It spotlights how kidnapping both reiterates and exacerbates social and security inequalities, our analysing the strategies deployed by elites and subalterns, as well as the transborder and migratory effects of kidnapping.*

The key research question at the core of this project is: how do you counter kidnapping when you cannot access private solutions or rely on the state? Answering this question, we are working to develop a portfolio of counter-kidnapping resources that build community resilience and strengthen civic action against this pervasive threat to Mexican society. Working collectively with civic-action groups, victims groups, human rights defenders and technology specialists, this initiative is currently co-producing a counter-kidnapping toolkit that we will make available to ordinary Mexican citizens. This project is designed to not just build counter-kidnapping capacity in Mexico from the perspective of citizen-led innovation. Its ultimate aim is to leave a legacy of empowered Mexican citizens who will continue to collectively confront this threat, bringing forward much needed social change, and contributing to more sustainable security across Mexican society.

This initiative echoes ongoing Latin American debates about how social justice can be achieved 'from below", as well as how security can be achieved in states of impunity. In the realm of counter-kidnapping policy interventions, we are conscious of the 'hard' policy transfers of military tactics and security expertise that are flowing from Colombia to Mexico in relation to kidnapping. However, this project sets out to open new channels for 'soft' transfers; to facilitate and forge connections between civic activists that hold the potential to catalyse and inspire innovative counter-kidnapping approaches that are both citizen-led but also tailored to context.

Keywords: *Kidnapping, mobile solutions, citizen-led innovation, insecurity, Mexico*

1. Introduction

Kidnapping has emerged as a major source of societal insecurity in Mexico, with public authorities recording 1,698 kidnappings in 2013. However, despite this being the highest number on record, official statistics reflect only a small fraction of incidents and the majority of kidnappings go unreported. Police complicity, high levels of impunity, failure to uphold the rule of law; all have eroded public confidence in state capacity to combat this illicit practice. Thus the insecurity born of kidnapping pervades Mexican society and the so-called 'democratization' of this threat ensures that it is no longer just the rich who are exposed (Ochoa, 2012). This criminal phenomenon also manifests extra-territorial reach as its ramifications seep across the US-Mexico border.

In this context, the project *Mobile Solutions to the Mexican Kidnapping Epidemic (MAKE): Beyond Elite Counter-Measures towards Citizen-Led Innovation* is charting the shifting topography of the Mexican kidnapping epidemic and examining various 'mobile solutions' that have emerged to counter it. These include strategies such as internal/external migration, cross-border security services, escort security, and, even personal GPS locator chips. However, the ambitions of this initiative extend beyond these multiple mobilities and the protection of wealthy elites, to engage with innovative 'citizen-led' responses. Working with activist-citizens, NGOs and human rights defenders, this transnational academic collaboration is building capacity within Mexico by developing a portfolio of counter-kidnapping resources.

One of the principal aims of this project is to provide answers to the key question: *how do you counter kidnapping when you cannot access private solutions or rely on the state*? For this reason, and through Participatory Action Research (PAR) with activists and victims' groups, this academic initiative is exploring the potential of different resources to address the kidnaping epidemic in Mexico from a citizen led perspective. These resources included a counter-kidnapping handbook, a support-network that links the families of kidnap victims with civic activists, and a mobile-phone 'app' developed with various features, including the capacity to act as both a secret alerting system and also as a secure, confidential and anonymous reporting mechanism.

Harnessing the potential of new technological resources through our collaborators at the Artificial Intelligence Lab of Tec de Monterrey, the project *MAKE* is exploring new mechanisms through which to foster strategies of peer-to-peer security planning, to strengthen victims' independence and to improve their capacities to assist others. Within our project, we work to integrate new technology into citizen-led counter-kidnapping, fusing personal security protocols with technological advances to bring forth much needed social change. Whilst the connection between security and technology is often framed in terms of social or mobility control in academic debates, this research takes an alternate approach. The project examines how technology can facilitate, rather than restrict, mobility, as well as how it can both protect human rights and those who defend them.

By making smartphone technology available to participants and engaging and training them through the co-production of our counter-kidnapping app, this research initiates a feedback process through which socio-technical intervention is targeted towards the specific challenges of kidnapping in Mexico. Drawing on the research team's expertise in participatory action

research ('PAR') with a technological dimension, this project harness the transformative potential of PAR to innovate technology for social impact. Our project is ambitious in seeking to not only track this illicit phenomenon across Mexico's social classes and territorial boundaries, but also to harness deeper understanding of kidnapping to both inform and innovate citizen responses. By extending counter-measures against kidnapping beyond entrepreneurial private security solutions for wealthy elites towards wider societal benefit through citizen-led action, this project pioneers new thinking on how to guarantee security when states fail to uphold the rule of law. Furthermore, as kidnapping is a regional problem across Latin America, this research is not only building Mexican capacity, it is also providing a template that can be adapted for other contexts.

The paper is set out in three sections. The first part traces the illicit phenomenon of kidnapping across Mexico. It emphasises the challenges of delivering kidnapping research and the relationship between kidnapping, insecurity and (im)mobility for this particular context. The second part examines the aims, purposes, and methodology of this Citizen-Led Counter Kidnapping project. The final part concludes with some views on understanding how valuable avenues to counter-kidnapping exist outside the orthodox response channels of state interventions or private security actions (the citizen-led perspective), and proposes some recommendations for research-informed policy.

2. Kidnapping in Mexico. The Research Challenges[1]

Kidnapping has long been a neglected topic for academic research (Tzanzelli, 2006). However, this lack of scholarly attention rests even more surprising given kidnapping's contemporary prevalence across the Global South (IKV Pax Christi, 2008), especially in countries such as Mexico where the rule of law is weak and the rate of impunity high. Although there have been a number of thoughtful reflections on this phenomenon and potential ways to address it (Bailliet, 2010), these studies have tended towards broad analytical approaches that lack contextual nuance. Indeed, it is only in recent work by Ochoa (2011; 2012), on the self-protection strategies used by residents from a wealthy neighbourhood in Mexico City, that context-driven empirical analysis has been brought to scholarship on this illicit practice.[2]

Kidnapping is also bound-up with issues of insecurity and immobility. It entails deprivation of liberty but is also a crime threat that travels. It is a source of mass insecurity across diverse states where impunity reigns, but is also an emergent feature of smuggling discourse. In some cases, kidnapping represents a violent and parasitic by-product of irregular migration. It has been charted across transit routes through countries such as Mexico and Libya where migrants' precarious mobility leaves them vulnerable to criminal exploitation. The scale of this illicit practice is communicated in public representations of kidnapping that present its pervasive prevalence through terms such as 'epidemic,' 'industry;' and even 'business' (the latter reflecting how both licit and illicit private actors derive profit from kidnap and ransom scenarios) (Lakhani, 2017; Leutert, 2016; Yates & Leutert 2018).

However, despite the significant media attention that highlights kidnapping victimisation –whether in terms of domestic citizens or smuggled migrants– this phenomenon remains comparatively under-examined, under-theorised and neglected in terms of policy intervention.

Certainly, the increased incidence of violent, exploitative abductions –both in Mexico and across the globe– is acknowledged, but the sources informing debate around kidnapping are highly problematic and media representations are often characterised by a sensationalist focus on its violence. In terms of research attention, a tendency still remains to focus upon more orthodox kidnapping forms –kidnap for ransom of wealthy elites or the more politically and ideologically-oriented kidnappings conducted by terrorist organisations– to the neglect of other, more complex mutations of this illicit practice. Quite simply, kidnapping is an age-old criminal phenomenon but its contemporary manifestations are shaped by both local dynamics and global patterns.

Kidnapping has emerged as a massive source of societal insecurity in Mexico. In a context of fear, mass distrust of law enforcement, failed state initiatives and high-levels of impunity, the insecurity born of kidnapping has become pervasive and the country is viewed as a global kidnapping hotspot. As Ochoa remarks in one of the more empirically-robust investigations of kidnapping in Mexico City, it is 'Not just the rich' who are now targeted; victimisation having undergone a process of 'democratisation' (Ochoa, 2012). Whilst wealthy elites insulate themselves from kidnap risk through private security measures, as well as leveraging political and economic capital to enhance their protection, cash-rich (but mobility poor) targets from within the middle/lower classes are increasingly targeted– sometimes multiple times. The threat is such that many non-victims are aware that they may be kidnap prospects and take this risk into account as a matter of daily routine.

Of course, other contextual specifics also shape the topography of kidnapping across Mexico, not least ongoing narco-violence and the resultant insecurity, exacerbated by interventions such as the Mérida Initiative and its militarizing impact. Mexico's location as a transit country for Central American refugees and migrants travelling to the United States, has also witnessed them become kidnap targets for criminal groups and cartels such as Los Zetas who derive massive profits from migrant kidnapping. These abductions represent one of a range of predatory crimes to which migrants may fall victim during their arduous travel North (Vogt, 2018).

The entry point for much commentary on kidnapping is, all too often, disturbing statistics or graphic accounts of the human suffering it causes. Making a spectacle of kidnap-related violence and suffering, or promoting problematic statistical claims, are unhelpful entry-points to an illicit practice that remains poorly understood. We must look for stronger empirical foundations to better comprehend and address kidnapping. This is easier said than done. To pursue impactful research, we must first acknowledge the unique combination of challenges that are posed by kidnapping research.

Kidnapping is a highly-sensitive research subject. It is taboo for many Mexicans, who even if they have not personally experienced its effects, are aware of, and inhibited by, its threat. For those who have been directly affected –whether as a kidnap victim or their relative or friend– this is a heavily traumatic experience which they may constantly relive, but have little wish to re-visit. Even before engaging with research into kidnapping, we must recognise that many of those affected will not report this crime to the authorities: whether through fear of reprisal by kidnappers; through fear of law enforcement complicity; or, through the lack of confidence in state capacity to effectively address this threat. In the case of irregular migrants, they may also fear deportation. These concerns all render issues of access, consent and ethics especially challenging.

Underreporting inevitably renders statistical claims regarding kidnapping problematic. However, public commentary on kidnapping still betrays a desire for quantification and there are multiple attempts to impose form onto this opaque criminal practice. Albeit that to do so is, to try and measure the unmeasurable (Merry, 2016). Public security agencies, public research organisations, human rights NGOs, anti-kidnapping activists or private security companies, all compile kidnapping statistics. However, these diverse sources are marked by huge disparities, as well as methodological blind spots. For example, the 2014 collation of official reports by the *Secretariado Ejecutivo del Sistema Nacional de Seguridad Pública* placed the number of kidnappings at 1,395 whilst the victimisation surveys of the *Encuesta Nacional de Victimización y Percepción sobre Seguridad Pública* estimated 102,883 kidnappings for the same year. Figures from other groups fall between this range.

Official reports/statistics are also shaped by variable police reporting patterns. In Mexico, there are concerns about inconsistencies in reporting practices across the country, as well as general under-reporting. In the United States, domestic kidnapping statistics in Phoenix were manipulated and linked to exacerbated insecurities around irregular migration from Mexico (Sanchez, 2015). Even victims' families may intentionally corrupt kidnap statistics in their pursuit of missing loved ones who have disappeared without a trace; they may report a disappearance as a kidnapping to trigger police investigation. Kidnapping statistics must therefore be subject to significant *caveats* and more effective ways to collect/compile kidnap statistics explored. Kidnapping research must also account for the multiple, and mutating, manifestations of this criminal phenomenon. In the Mexican context, kidnapping is not a distinct criminal activity but one that both takes different forms and is also part of a spectrum of criminality. It may be carefully planned or it may be opportunistic. It may be a traditional case of extorting ransom, or it may be a form of revenge, threat or intimidation, a mechanism of extracting labour for the drug-trade or sex-trade, it may even be a mechanism of recruitment into cartel activity.

Moreover, there is a temporal dimension to kidnapping that must also be recognised; kidnapping events can have different endings (most commonly release; disappearance; or, death) and victim status may therefore evolve. This is manifest in the memorial-plaques to victims placed at the top of Mexico City's Paseo de la Reforma, some of which read '*Fui secuestrado y estoy desaparecido*' ('I was kidnapped and I am disappeared'). To truly understand the problem of kidnapping in Mexico, we must also consider the relationship between kidnapping and disappearance. Approached from a different angle, the boundaries between extorting smuggled migrants and kidnapping them may also be difficult to discern.

To sum up this first part, it is important to highlight that kidnapping cannot therefore be researched in isolation from other overlapping criminal activities. The patterns which these will take, inevitably, vary by context. For example, in the case of migrant kidnapping –and also speaking to aforementioned sensationalised media coverage– recent attention has focused on the linkage between migrant kidnapping and slave markets in Libya and other African settings. We also know little about the micro-economies that support kidnapping: victims must be held captive – housed, fed, secured; negotiations must be conducted; ransom payments must be made/transferred. Kidnapping has its own eco-system and again the research around this is limited.

3. Citizen-Led Counter Kidnapping. A Better Way Forward

Confronted with this dearth of academic research, the project *Mobile Solutions to the Mexican Kidnapping Epidemic (MAKE): Beyond Elite Counter-Measures towards Citizen-Led Innovation* is examining the range of 'mobile solutions' that have emerged to counter the problem of kidnapping (as well as its transborder effects in Mexico's northern borderlands). Across Mexico, activist-citizens are developing their own protection strategies (Shirk, Wood and Olson 2014), gathering kidnap-related intelligence and forging counter-measures against this threat. Such civic responses are already linking social media and GPS technologies in ways that have witnessed victims' relatives share knowledge and even uncover the tracks of kidnappers. In some exceptional cases, these efforts, which combine engagement with new technology and the determination to find loved ones, have even resulted in the liberation of victims (BBC World Service 2014).

Such sporadic successes rest in striking contrast to the limited impact of a decade of close cooperation between Mexican and US criminal justice agencies; their elite cooperation has not

translated into either kidnap-reduction or increased trust in public security agencies (Olson, Shirk and Wood, 2014). Indeed, current policy packaging of capacity building and technology-transfer has privileged a state-centric approach to this problem; a questionable move in a context where some local governments have strong ties to organised crime; as demonstrated by the 'disappearance' of 43 students in Iguana Guerrero following collaboration between local police and drug-traffickers in 2014. In this context, the project *MAKE* is giving citizen-activists the opportunity to reinforce their own security networks and to innovate tools to confront kidnapping. To deliver this, the initiative is working with new technologies such as panic button apps. Creating alternative knowledge infrastructures, outside the state, this collaborative project is offering new forms of political engagement and contestation to defend human rights and protect liberty.

By focusing on, and working to strengthen civic responses to kidnapping in Mexico, the project *MAKE* is connecting with wider citizen-led initiatives against crime and violence in Mexico (Schwartz-Marin and Cruz-Santiago, 2016). The project echoes ongoing Latin American debates about how social justice can be achieved 'from below", as well as how security can be achieved in states of impunity. The fact that kidnapping is a major regional problem also signals wider relevance of this initiative. Indeed, the focus on 'mobile solutions' is engaging with initiatives emerging from other Latin American contexts. Moreover, whilst the project is conscious that 'hard' policy transfers of military tactics and security expertise are flowing from Colombia to Mexico in relation to kidnapping, *MAKE* is opening channels for 'soft' transfers amongst civic activists that hold potential to catalyse and inspire innovative counter-kidnapping approaches tailored to the Mexican context.

3.1. Research Objectives and Methodology

The research objectives for this project are:

1) To explore diverse non-state counter-kidnapping strategies in Mexico; to identify what can

be achieved independent of state intervention in circumstances of impunity, weak rule of law and mass distrust of law enforcement agencies.

2) To develop a portfolio of citizen-led counter-kidnapping resources that both strengthen victims' independence and improve their capacities to assist others and bring forth much needed social change.

3) To test the potential for innovative deployment of modern technology in counter kidnapping by providing activist-citizens with smartphone tech and training in a co-produced counter-kidnapping app; to not only disseminate this tool, but to use it as a catalyst for peer-to-peer security planning and as a platform for developing a secure reporting mechanism.

4) To engage with both transnational security consultants and local counter-kidnapping activists to integrate knowledge from contrasting approaches to this threat; to facilitate exchange between entrepreneurial (private security), communitarian (social movements) and citizen-led (victims' groups) efforts to address this problem.

5) To trace the impact of kidnapping across and beyond the Mexican context, not least its transborder effects; to understand how a crime problem centred on deprivation of liberty catalyses multiple mobilities and 'mobile solutions'.

6) To further strengthen Mexican capacity to combat kidnapping by forging a transnational community to counter kidnapping; to connect with NGOs, human rights defenders and civic-action groups from other Latin American contexts.

Through a structured programme of participatory action research workshops, this project is providing a forum where a counter-kidnapping toolkit can be co-produce, where training can be provided and where knowledge-exchange can be fostered. These activities are helping to tailor counter-kidnapping to the needs and expectations of those most affected by it. Through a process of co-producing and co-governing counter-kidnapping resources, the methodology of this initiative is focusing on citizen-led intervention to assist those at the frontline of kidnapping response. This research is highlighting how valuable avenues to counter-kidnapping exist outside the orthodox response channels of state interventions or private security actions. To date such initiatives in the Mexican context, have centred on the emergence of activist-citizens, but they may also be detected in migrants' resistance mechanisms to predatory violence on migration routes through Mexico (Vogt 2013; 2016; 2018).

Through ethnographic inputs and engagement in the participatory elements of this research, users from Mexican NGOs and victims' groups concerned with kidnapping are both shaping, and directly benefitting from, the methodology of this project. Their involvement in the cycle of PAR events have ensured ongoing feedback into research design and execution. Their contributions to group work are facilitating knowledge-exchange on counter-kidnapping. In addition, their engagement in training exercises had stimulated peer-to-peer security planning. In other words, all these activities have contributed to the development of all three key non-academic outputs of this project: a citizen-led counter-kidnapping handbook, a support network for victims/their families, and, a counter-kidnapping smartphone app.

Whilst this project has relevance for those activist groups already engaged in the struggle against kidnapping, this project is also becoming relevant for Mexican federal institutions, as well as for international organizations actively combatting kidnapping in Latin America and further afield. Whilst the international community's efforts to date have focused on state action and/or international co-operation, our project is addressing calls for parallel efforts to promote

and strengthen citizen-engagement. Working with our collaborators from Mexican civil society and our consultant technology developers, this project sits at this nexus between human rights and technology. It offers potential benefits to both spheres and is highly relevant for groups exposed to risks of abduction, kidnapping and disappearance, for example, human rights defenders, humanitarian workers, and investigative reporters.

As a result, both experiential and technological elements of this research are taking interest of global risk professionals that are active in the kidnapping field. Security consultants, providers of emergency assistance, and insurance specialists are seeing value in our findings on Mexican kidnapping patterns. As our research agenda is raising awareness of what citizens can do in the face of kidnapping, the citizen-led approach, it is important to express that open access resources are integral to the impact strategy of this initiative. That is the reason why we are working with local communications experts to maximize project impact via a context-tailored website that is hosting our key findings, research briefings, project outputs, media information, and, a discussion forum.

4. Conclusions

Drawing upon ongoing research into kidnapping in Mexico, this paper has spotlighted the acute research challenges that confront those investigating this phenomenon, as well as potentially more effective means to respond to its threat (the Citizen-led approach). It has reviewed the main aims, methodology and characteristics of the collaborative project *Mobile Solutions to the Mexican Kidnapping Epidemic (MAKE): Beyond Elite Counter-Measures towards Citizen-Led Innovation.* It has been argued that this research seeks not only to shed new light on this illicit practice, but also to foster new strategies of intervention to counter and respond to kidnapping from a citizen and collaborative perspective. Whilst this project has been designed towards promoting more sustainable security in the face of kidnapping in Mexico, its ambitions have wider relevance. Promoting a more nuanced, less sensationalised, understanding of kidnapping; capturing more useful data regarding this evasive criminal practice; co-producing counter-kidnapping resources that assist those most affected by this insecurity: these objectives all offer new possibilities to shape effective policy responses towards kidnapping from a citizen-led perspective.

As explained in earlier paragraphs, this citizen-led project on kidnapping in Mexico is constructed around one key question: *how do you counter kidnapping when you cannot afford private solutions or rely on the state?* In a context of impunity and pervasive kidnap threat, this project is aware that both Mexican citizens and irregular migrants are developing self-protection strategies and collective resilience to kidnapping. In this citizen-led initiative, it is clear that rather than focussing upon collaboration with state-actors, we prioritise engagement with such activism. This is why the objectives of this project are to share the knowledge and skills that these actors have already developed in counter-kidnapping, as well as to co-produce a portfolio of new resources that can be disseminated more widely across Mexican society.

As a main conclusion, and recognising that kidnapping is a threat encountered in states of impunity and increasingly parasitic upon irregular migrant flows, the following recommendations for research-informed policy, from a citizen-led perspective, are proposed:

1) That kidnapping be recognised as under-researched, and counter-kidnapping as under-resourced, despite this illicit practice's prevalence, increasingly within smuggling contexts. 2) That policy attention to counter-kidnapping strategies be re-evaluated and consideration of increased resources directed to micro-strategies of counter-kidnapping, rather than macro state-focused initiatives. 3) That a forum for comparative exchange on kidnapping, not least as a predatory crime on human smuggling, be established to facilitate both deeper understanding of this illicit practice and how to best mitigate kidnap risk.

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Notes

1 This section draws upon the presentation 'Capturing (Im)mobility: The Challenges of Kidnapping Research' that was delivered by Conor O'Reilly at the UNODC/EUI workshop 'When Smuggling Goes Wrong: From a Crime Against State Sovereignty to a Crime Against Persons' at the European University Institute, Florence, Italy in October 2017.
2 Although it should be noted that there have also been recent works focused upon the issue of migrant kidnapping in Mexico which have shed important light on this dimension of the kidnap industry (see, for example: Slack, 2016; Vogt, 2013; 2016; 2018).

TRACK
6

Science and Knowledge

11 Theses on Citizen-Led Science. Insights from Mexico and Colombia

Ernesto Schwartz Marín

University of Exeter

Abstract: *Weakness and vulnerability lie at the centre of what we call Citizen-Led Science. Paradoxically the strength of weak knowledge production is to systematically start our activities and enquiries not with a position authority, or in the know, but in the margins of what we have considered possible, desirable and realistic so far. Citizen-Led Science begins in the what if?*

Nonetheless, Citizen-Led Science will hardly (if ever) become solely a thought experiment, a foundational principle is that it should be a matter of practice: citizen-led scientists learn by doing. Action -inside and outside laboratory settings- helps to reveal the boundaries, limits and unspoken rules of the status quo. Intervention is revelation.

Taking inspiration from Karl Marx's famous 11th thesis, I argue that all interpretations are interventions, but not all interventions are equal. In short, disrupting is not necessarily subverting, and subversion does not necessarily lead to justice. Citizen-Led Science embodies a critique to Citizen Science projects in which scientists call the shots, and participants provide free labour in exchange for the 'disinterested advancement of science' (or at least a great dinner conversation). Instead we experiment with alternative forms of governance in which research participants, are co-designers, volunteers/investors and governors of the research project/intervention.

Citizen-Led Science was born as a specific response to the dominant techno-political imaginations of the role that forensic science has in the pursuit of truth and justice in (post)conflict scenarios and humanitarian crises in Latin America. It is deeply rooted in the contemporary experience of Mexican families searching for their loved ones (38,000 disappeared according to the latest government statistics) since the 'War on Drugs' began in 2006. I support my argument with ethnographic insights product of seven years of research in Science and Technology Studies (STS) in Mexico and Colombia, and the creation of a unique DNA forensic database managed, co-designed and governed by relatives of the disappeared in Mexico since 2014. The creation of this 'anomalous' DNA database sheds light into the unexamined State-centric values and commitments embedded in contemporary forensic humanitarianism. My hope is that the eleven principles of Citizen-Led Science will open up the contradictions, challenges and shortcomings inherent in trying to make other worlds possible.

Keywords: *citizen-science, forensic science, DNA database*

1. Introduction

Weakness and vulnerability lie at the centre of what we call Citizen-Led Science. Paradoxically the strength of weak knowledge production is to systematically start our activities and enquiries not with a position authority, or in the know, but in the margins of what we have considered possible, desirable and realistic so far. Citizen-Led Science begins in the *what if?*

Nonetheless, Citizen-Led Science will hardly (if ever) become solely a thought experiment, a foundational principle is that it should be a matter of practice: citizen-led scientists learn by doing. Action¾inside and outside laboratory settings¾helps to reveal the boundaries, limits and unspoken rules of the *status quo,* and scientific practice. Intervention is revelation.

During my life as a student in Mexico City the 11th thesis of Karl Marx, was a shortcut to critique the relationship between thought and action. We had the time and the privilege to ponder the sometimes problematic, and sometimes absolutely necessary role that contemplation of, or intervention in, the world had in transforming the conditions of existence of a given society. Marxist ideas in Latin America have shaped religious movements such as 'La Teología de la Liberación' (Liberation Theology) as well as Participatory Action Research (PAR), also inspired by Paolo Freire's pedagogy for the oppressed (1970). The tensions and stakes between contemplation and intervention, became starker, since Mexico was in the middle of a bloody crusade against drugs, leaving on its wake tens of thousands of corpses, disappeared, kidnapped and publicly executed individuals (or what the former Mexican president Felipe Calderon called collateral damage).

The 'War on Drugs', could be narrated and analysed through the experiences of Mexican families searching for their loved ones (38,000 disappeared according to the latest government statistics), instead of the clash of the righteous government vs. the corrupted drug dealers. Our initial ethnographic enquiries uncovered that underneath the corpses piling in morgues, cemeteries and clandestine graves, new forms of citizenship were emerging in order to search for truth in a scenario characterised by the collaboration of the State and organised crime. Mothers, fathers, and siblings of disappeared persons —previously in office jobs, commerce and rural activities— were becoming leaders of experimental forensic teams, DNA collectors, and heads of community police (Cruz-Santiago 2103, 2017) something similar to what have happened in other Latin-American contexts such as Colombia (Schwartz-Marin and Cruz Santiago 2016 a, b).

In 2011 when the notion of *Citizen-Led Forensics (CLF)* began to take shape, my Co-Investigator Dr Arely Cruz Santiago and I were conducting fieldwork in the Colombian Forensic System (Instituto de Medicina Legal y Ciencias Forenses) following how forensic knowledge was produced, integrated and justified by expert witnesses. Colombia offered us a unique vantage point to understand a scenario that within fifty years of armed conflict had nonetheless managed to create one of the most robust forensic systems in Latin America., during the following months of ethnography at the forensic Colombian system (Schwartz-Marin et al. 2015) we continually thought and discussed that forensic DNA databases could be otherwise, for example they could be co-created and co-governed by relatives of disappeared persons. If such citizen-led arrangement became a reality, would it challenge the status quo, or will it flop and fail before it was even born? Arely and I did not have an answer, but we thought it was worth to try.

The story is illustrated with insights born from ethnographic fieldwork conducted since 2012, and one year of an intense PAR project (2014-15) done with collaborators of the NGO Gobernanza Forense Ciudadana A.C, and relatives of the disappeared working in different regions of Mexico to create the first forensic and DNA database managed, created and governed by relatives of the disappeared in a mid-conflict scenario. The PAR began in 2014, together with public national leaders looking for their loved ones amidst conflict; many of them with death threats hanging

on their heads (coming from organised crime, and sometimes from governmental authorities as well).

While this was a participatory project, it was built on some basic principles and rules. The three principles of action were: (i) *Natality*: thinking about political action as the possibility of bringing something new to the world (Arendt 1958); (ii) *Flexibility:* us and the world around us changes and transform, and so would this project (inspired by the work of British cybernetics, Pickering 2008 and Haraway 1988) and (iii) *Cooperation without consensus:* which meant working together without the need to agree on everything (Star 1989). We made sure to mention plenty of times that nothing like CLF had been done before, thus the project could fail, or implode at any moment. Participation was voluntary, and decisions would be subject to direct voting; the first year the technologies and governance mechanisms would be designed and operated in concert with the ESRC project research team, and then the governance body (exclusively composed of relatives of the disappeared) would take full charge of the operation and strategic vision of the DNA forensic database.

In the coming pages, I argue that by putting on its head common biopolitical tropes that link DNA with state surveillance; we open up new possibilities for intervention in mass atrocities. Biopolitical technologies such as the list (a forensic database), and a collection of DNA gain a new meaning when socialised and designed in ways that are not legitimised by the state apparatus. Such biopolitical technologies develop spaces for socio-technical innovation, that argue against justice; and sometimes even actively work against justice. This is important when justice is made in the image of the powerful, enshrining values and tacit epistemologies that silence alternative, conflicting or antagonistic enactments of the world. We gave ourselves the task to seize the means of production of scientific expertise, through non-violent ways, via the creation of an alternative platform of governance and data management.

It is not surprising that I have decided to couch my arguments as theses, that stand in opposition to another body of thought. However, my contemporary Feuerbach is not an academic, but a loose-knit set of practices, tacit norms and humanitarian ideas that borrowing from Sociologist Gabriel Gatti I will call 'The Banality of Good' (Gatti 2017). Gabriel Gatti sustains that a new subject, the victim, has gained preponderance in a moral economy of standardised pity and aid. The critique of 'the banality of good' is not directed against solidarity or our drive to help those in need, but against the modern machinery that standardises suffering and desensitises us from the larger political significance of victimhood, and the particular and specific conditions of those that have been made vulnerable. The following eleven theses question the older and more serious *dispositifs* of the era of humanitarian morality that revolve around the state, and the deployment of humanitarian aid, specifically forensics humanitarianism, via the experiences we gained trying to bring to life CLF. The story we tell is intertwined and responds to discourses of righteousness, dignity and due process linked with forensic humanitarianism, and its unquestioned assumptions.

2. An interpretation is Always an Intervention, but not all Interventions are Equal

In January 2017, the two final episodes of BBC1 Silent Witness series, entitled 'The Awakening

I and II' engaged with the humanitarian crisis lived in Mexico since the so called 'War on Drugs' began in 2006, and the work of Citizen-Led Forensics in Mexico, presented as Proyecto 'Reunido'. One year before the TV premier Arely and I were in the BBC studios advising them on their undertaking; they listened for two hours, asking for details, anecdotes, and impressions.

The BBC team contacted us due to the mass media coverage our ESRC funded project attracted during 2014-15 after the disappearance of the 43 rural students of Ayotzinapa, and the work relatives of the disappeared involved in CLF performed with the community police of Guerrero, to uncover dozens of clandestine mass graves for global mass media to see. The BBC story presented their heroes as 'white saviours' who then unexpectedly end up vulnerable and disoriented, in the middle of the Sinaloan desert and the 'War on Drugs'. The team took the ideas and experiences we narrated to tell their own story, for instance the leader of 'Proyecto Reunido' a mother of a disappeared youngster, who was identified in a mass grave, betrays their newly made British friends in order to get her remaining son back from the drug dealers that had kidnapped him. Due to this interesting plot twist we have preferred no to actively show the episode to the mothers of the disappeared that co-created CLF with us.

One of the comments appearing in the BBC1 twitter feed after the show, stated that this is exactly the type of propaganda that feeds Trump and his followers to build a wall. Other viewers found the mention of thousands of cases of disappearance (based on official data), an unfounded exaggeration. The tensions that silent witness audience expressed between a world out there, and the fictional interpretations of it, just go to show how interpretations are always in one way or another a form of intervention. The theses that follow will delve into the values and ideas that animate the interventions-insights that emerged from kick-starting and running CLF in 2014 to Jul2015.

3. Defiance is a Theoretical Intervention

Our intellectual enquiries start with defiance. Thus, we systematically think about what the world would look like if something we take for granted, was slightly differently. Then we poke the world around us and see what happens. Inspired by Andrew Pickering's (2008) ideas on performativity and Haraway's (1988) situated objectivity, our project challenged the idea that emotional work is to be written off scientific efforts. The gap between mourners (tainted by desperation and subjectivity) and experts (ambassadors of impartial and objective knowledge) was a tacit norm for all the forensic experts and civil society organisations (CSOs) that we talked with. In their view relatives of the disappeared have a key role to perform in pushing for government reform and the strengthening of its forensic capacities, however the 'serious' work of science should always be in the hands of experts, since the volatility of the families could not provide the solid foundations necessary for knowledge (as if scientist did not bitterly disagree). Thus, the constant enquiries, investigations and journeys of relatives of the disappeared were treated as 'searches', while similar work done by formal forensic experts was treated as 'science' (Cruz-Santiago 2013; Cruz-Santiago 2017). Would the lay/expert frontier be maintained if relatives collectively pulled their resources and data, to provide a bigger picture of atrocities this time accompanied by DNA? CLF made it possible to pose this question in the first place.

4. Citizen-Led Science brings back Uncertainty, Open-endedness and Self-governance to Citizen-Science

Citizen-Led Science embodies a critique to Citizen Science projects in which scientists call the shots, and participants provide free labour in exchange for the 'disinterested advancement of science' (or at least a great dinner conversation). Instead we experiment with alternative forms of governance in which research participants, are co-designers, volunteers/investors and governors of the research project/intervention. Citizen-Led Science was born as a response to the dominant imaginations of the role that forensic science has in the pursuit of truth and justice in (post)conflict scenarios and humanitarian crises in Latin America. The idea of CLF was to extend some of the privileges and 'curses' inherent to conducting scientific research to those that constituted the core of our project. For instance, the governors of CLF and us were able to experiment without having a clear set of results in mind, explore uncertain scenarios and fail, and then explore new mechanisms, and fail again. The final sin, or virtue, of our project was that mothers of the disappeared had to govern the product of their labour, once the PAR project came to an end. Breaking away with leadership and PI responsibility, can be mobilised and understood in many ways such as: in-built abandonment, an exit strategy, or a tactic to avoid reproducing the logics of representative activism. For us a citizen-science project that does not allow for self-governance, would mostly amount to getting free labour to conduct scientific research, without giving much (if anything) back to the communities fundamental for its creation. One of the privileges of scientist is to develop their research into new directions and govern its practice and outcomes.

5. 'Neutrality' is (Generally) an Endorsement of the Status quo

The idea that some kind of action is neutral, or apolitical, tends to endorse and further privilege those in power. Especially when such interventions are conducted in the name of the disenfranchised. Let me illustrate this point with some quotations of the friendly opposition of a team of international forensic specialists working in high profile cases in Mexico since 2001, who told us that a DNA forensic database would not be of any use without the proper sanction of state authorities- the message was clear: justice would not be served if it is not in the courtrooms, and to build a humanitarian database, would only bring false promises to the relatives of disappeared (Schwartz-Marin field notes, September 11th, 2014). Challenging justice is no doubt most difficult when it is invoked by friends and allies who share your own lofty goals, but constantly ask you to conform to the values and practices of the *status quo*.

The friendly opposition asked us to leave forensic science in the hands of forensic experts, allow for hundreds of victims to be represented and governed by professional activists, and demand the state for answers and investigation. However, for these premises to work, they need an infrastructure (and lots of invisible labour), the same way as any other technologies (Star 1989, 1991), and we thought the infrastructure (and the labour) was absent.

6. More Neoliberal than the 'Neoliberals'?

Freedoms are fundamentally asymmetrical. In some political systems we are free to be poor, free to work, free to get rich, free to love and be loved, but even in the most *laissez faire* environments we tend not to be free to gather evidence for a crime, or intelligence without spoiling it. Governmental agencies and state sanctioned experts are the guarantors of impartiality and fairness. Thus, we are seldom free to develop ideas and technologies that organise collective life in ways that challenge the monopoly of the state or the market to collect, organise and mobilise evidence. It is rare that technology does not conform to certain dominant logics of entrepreneurialism, efficiency, and profit, but is rarer that the legitimisation of evidence does not happen under the logics of state sanctioned systems of truth making and evaluation. Thus, we thought that to exercise new forms of radical freedom we need to emancipate ourselves from the widely accepted idea that technologies are there to be efficient, we need to be free from market logics and invisible hands, but also free from being legitimised only when operating inside accepted policy circles. When it comes to solidarity and new technologies, we constantly need to stretch the notion of freedoms and the responsibilities and norms attached to them.

7. From the Perspective of Action and Intervention there are Never the Right Historical Conditions

Once in Mexico City Zocalo, Adam Rainey from Al Jazeera news was asking us if our project might not be born under the wrong historical conditions. Civil society organisation was weak, lots of competition for the spotlight, and a non-receptive group of conservative audiences had historically preferred to turn a blind eye to injustice. In this context the national uproar for the disappearance of the 43 students of Ayotzinapa was indeed an exceptional occurrence, as suddenly millions of Mexicans expressed their inconformity and marched in the streets to demand answers for the execution of poor, rural, indigenous people. Rainey was right to point that protesting in the streets was very different from collecting your own evidence and DNA. However, as any good Marxist would know (it turns out that Adam Rainey's dad was a US sociology professor) action and the conditions of existence produce each other, and yet, it was clear that our conditions of operation were less than ideal. For instance, one mother promised 500 DNA samples to hundreds of relatives at the clandestine mass grave spotting excursions at Guerrero's mountain range, before we even got the design of the collection kit, such show of solidarity pushed the research team into a spiral of work and stress, to provide a six-month deliverable in just one month. Despite all our efforts, a month after these events our DNA swab kits were stuck in the Mexican border, and they would stay there for eight months. The delay was being used by the Mexican government to attack the reputation of the project. Somehow, the famous US based company that would deliver the DNA collection kits and analysis, and to whom we had already paid 20,000 dollars was unable to get their merchandise across the border. Unable to assess if we had hit an unintended bureaucratic wall, or if our service providers refused to enrage a potential more profitable costumer (The Mexican Attorney General's Office), we turned our garage in Mexico City into a production line of DNA collection kits. Fortune smiled at us as well, as one of our allies, helped us to negotiate a new deal with the Guatemalan Team of Forensic Anthropologists (FAFG). The result: a lower cost technology, less dependency on providers, and a south-south collaboration. If you are worried our garage made DNA kits have yielded a genetic sequence in 98% of the cases.

8. Deontology Sucks!

Trying to measure and judge the world from a pre-given ethical standpoint tends to be a bad idea. We can learn from history, but to assume that the lessons learned in one period of time, regardless of how similar they might look, can be transferred and applied to another period and geography is naïve to say the least. Nonetheless that was precisely what International NGOS had done for the last decade, bringing technologies and principles of good practice without much thought. For instance, the Ante-mortem/ Post-mortem database of the International Commission of the Red Cross, was rolled out in a national effort to standardise data collection in the country, without even researching if the forensic institutes had the computer equipment or personal to make the technology work. Not surprisingly, the 35 pages of AM/PM questionnaire, was given directly to the families to fill on their own time, instead of being administered by the trained forensic experts who supposedly knew how and when to make the important questions, who would then upload the information to a computer, or record it directly on theirs PCs. Some families had to fill more than 150 pages, describing in painstakingly detail the traumatic events that led to their whole family disappearing. Despite the pain and revictimization that this burden brought with it, relatives of the disappeared wanted to make the database useful. Consequently, they asked the ICRC to train them so they could continue doing it. The ICRC response was that only state sanctioned 'experts' would be capable of doing it. For all the neutrality of the ICRC they can only work through and with/the state apparatus, even if such apparatus is non-existent. If the banality of good has a techno-social incarnation, it comes in the guise of forensic technologies deployed by transnational humanitarian organisations handtied by values of 'neutrality' which nonetheless privilege the state, and thus refuse to train the unexpected users of their technologies: the victims of human rights abuses.

9. A Pedagogy for the Oppressed, when the Oppressed Reproduce the Logics of their Oppressor?

Families want a seat at the table, preferably with top governments officials. Some of the people we spoke with were the indisputable national faces of the search for the disappeared, travelling in the private jet of the presidential family, and having one to one meetings with the highest authorities in the land, and still after years and years of searching, all of them told us they were not getting any closer to the truth. So, why spend so many hours sitting through governmental meetings in these eleven years of search? We had many debates about this, some of the members of our team speculated that they were 'searching not to find', that search in itself was a form of therapy. When families confronted this issue, their explanation was that they were very happy receiving all the attention, monetary resources as well as bodyguards and chauffers' that kept them safe. Some families of course simply preferred to maintain their silence. The other issue was that finding the disappeared is not an easy task even with all the resources that top governmental officials have at their disposal. Regardless if we wanted to explain the constant engagement with the state as a therapeutic need, or as a form of material gain, or a combination of both, every time we accompanied families to top level meetings it was clear to us that they wanted to convince their interlocutors about the worthiness of their disappeared relative. Also, once we left, they shared with us the rumours circulating amongst government officials, telling us that this or that family was involved in organised crime, and

that we should take care of dealing with them too closely. After attending various meetings, it became clear that solidarity and care were expressed towards families of victims in open encounters, rumours circulated privately, and victim groups were constantly competing with each other for time, recognition and resources. All these conditions made it easier for government officials to disarticulate collective action or protest.

10. Why Breaking with the Monopoly of the State?

The State is a man in a run-down office near the Mexico/US border, afraid of dispatching his affairs near the window (in case of snipers), or be seen with the relatives of the disappeared. It is also the Jefe de Plaza, and the caritative soul that hands vital information, about the whereabouts of bodies and mass graves. Also, the Harvard trained operator that knows international law and organises CSOs around the table of international organisation that want to listen to their story, and according to classical political theory it is also composed of civil society, and every member of the polis. The State is the leviathan. However, the distribution of resources and voice privileges citizens organised around governmental institutions, and pre-existing rules of engagement. To create alternative forums for evidence evaluation, gathering and analysis means not only to include those 'vulnerable others' that need professional activists to gain a voice, but actually to create the forums in a different way, meaning that the infrastructure and ways to gather around matters of concern break with a mono-cultural version of engagement:

> *"The most important technology of Citizen-Led Forensics is its governance body (not only computers, their software or DNA analysis are technologies). The aforementioned governance body is constituted by the relatives of the disappeared organised to create a forum of ethical and technical regulation, which is the same that directs the strategic vision of the project…" (Information Sheet, available at: cienciaforenseciudadana.org/ preguntasfrecuentes)*

11. Vulnerability as the Foundation of Expertise… Emancipation without Closure

'I am one of the lucky ones, at least I have a place to mourn' (The Awakening: Episode 1, 2017) Even in the rare cases when families dignify and identify their loved ones they tend to continue fighting for human rights afterwards; spotting mass graves and collecting DNA in order to gather evidence for other families to identify their kin: disappearance even after identification is an open wound.

The unbreakable resolution and conviction to honour the dead, and the disappeared, open spaces for action foreclosed for the subaltern and oppressed, however is not necessarily a source of concerted action. CLF was built on the premise that some of those who have suffered the pain of disappearance are also those who will find ways to shift the balance of authority; through dialectic processes in which citizen-led forensic would become, one of many, pathways to overcome bondage, or victimisation. The people governing CLF are ready to challenge both experts and their laws, hoping to recover the bodies, but also the dignity of their loved ones even at the costs of their lives (Schwartz-Marin and Cruz-Santiago 2016 a, b).

12. There is no Issue Sacred or Profane, that does not Lend itself to Playfulness and Experimentation

The common denominator of academic critique and activism sustained: 1) that we need to humanise all the social arenas in which grave abuses of human rights occur, as if violence and abuse was exogenous to human experience. Constantly reproducing a form of patristic exegesis, in which you know the right answer, or interpretation from the beginning. 2) That the battle of activism is for social consciousness. Basically, activism is a question of gaining political support to deploy already well tested forensic specialists and technologies to the deal with humanitarian needs (thus bracketing the uncertainties and values embedded in technologies). 3) Any deviation from what has been proved 'successful' in other parts of the world is a betrayal of the trust and hopes that 'victims' have given you in good faith, and thus constitute 'false promises'. The advice we gave ourselves is that we should not take ourselves too seriously, if we really wanted to tackle serious matters.

13. Subversion Transforms the Familiar into the Uncanny

Subversion is not revolution, it is transforming the familiar into the uncanny. Needless to say, it is really difficult to be subversive. You can try it by adding a twelfth principle to your paper, when you promised eleven to your readers, but even when you are making a little joke, it is really hard to know what type of consequences your actions had, or if you have been successful in bringing a new uncanny version of a familiar thing, or idea, into the world.

Susan Leigh Star (1991) asks about the political enactments of possible futures, making emphasis on how costly it is to maintain a high-tension zone in which multiple memberships exist. By starting our research by defying tacit norms, our practical and theoretical labour only exists in high tension zones, that sit uneasily with other types of activism that rely on social pressure to make the state fulfil its duties.

Our CLF-project adapts to cycles of depression, sadness and heartache, media attention, and other NGOs pressure to comply with their form of activism, making it a precarious enterprise. Our fieldwork has shown us that identifying the disappeared did not changed the commitments of forensic citizens to fight for justice, identity and evidence (Cruz Santiago 2017). However, making space for citizen-led science was costly not only in terms of time and resources, but also in terms of alliances and support. On top of that to include futility and emotion in the design and practice of a technology means that time is an issue that does not follow any productive cycle, you do the most that you can but there is no way to pressure for result or deadlines.

One of the key issues that were constantly thrown against the project was its sustainability, what would happen when the project funding ended, and we left the field? The answer for many of CLF sceptics was that everything would collapse and dissipate, while it is true that there are lot less samples taken each year, and that the big national effort we launched, has transformed into many little projects rather than a big national movement, CLF has already survived 3 Attorney generals, 5 forensic teams, and 3 national plans to search for the disappeared. Instead of sustainability, we should start thinking of mutability. Thus, our goal is not to maintain the project, but to adapt to its unexpected consequences, and emerging properties.

For once, the boring and routinized practice of cheek swabbing and database collection that many relatives of the disappeared had experienced many times before, became a scientific form of civil disobedience. As well as a leverage to get governmental support, and sometimes the very act of collecting DNA was a way for families to break with dependency and dignify their loved ones. That was the case of Tita Radilla, who during our last meeting in Mexico City said to us:

"Forty years ago when my father disappeared, I never thought that we would be able to have our own DNA database… and I know that the abduction of key members of our community by the military will not be solved, not our parents brought back , they are too old to even be alive, but we display our DNA in our local museum-NGO, to show them that we can, and we did (June 6th 2015)!!"

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15. Biographical Note

Dr. Schwartz-Marin is a Lecturer of Sociology at the Sociology, Philosophy and Anthropology Department in Exeter University, UK. Schwartz-Marin has performed extensive ethnographic fieldwork since 2007 on the sociopoli-tical dimensions of biomedical and forensic research in Mexico and Colombia, including four years of laboratory ethnographies. Schwartz- Marin's publications have served as key referents in UNESCO shadow report dealing with science cooperation and openness in Latin America. Since 2015, he has served as a *pro-bono* consultant for the geno- cultural sovereignty network of Ecuador ('Red de Soberanía Genocultural del Ecuador'). Schwartz-Marin has led three ESRC funded projects since 2014 >1 million £, dealing with Citizen-Led Science in Mexico, Colombia, US and Canada, providing him with extensive experience in participatory action research and the instigation of novel relationships between science and society. For instance, in 2014-15 Schwartz-Marin co-produced the first forensic DNA database governed, managed and created by the relatives of the disappeared in Mexico. Presently he is involved in the co-production of new data governance regimes oriented toward justice in Latin America, the US/Mexico border and Canada.

TRACK 6

Science and Knowledge

Citizen Science in Spain. Social Impact of Science-Society Collaboration

Benjamín Tejerina

Universidad del País Vasco/Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea[1]

Abstract: *It is now 40 years since Paul Feyerabend published Science in a free society (1978) where he denounced the surprising prestige of science in the West and its incompatibility with a democratic society. Since then, scientific experiences based on the participation in various forms of numerous citizens have continued to increase both in Europe and in the rest of the world (Haklay 2012; Irwin 1995; Irwin and Michael 2003; Lewenstein 2004). This communication has three objectives: 1) to identify the different forms of participation between citizens and scientists (Lafuente 2013; EU 2014); 2) to try to respond to the characteristics, means, purposes, social impacts and resistances of this form of collaborative collective action between citizens and professional scientists; and 3) to present the current debates on the role of participation of citizens in scientific projects in the scientific field.*

Keywords: *citizen science, collaborative collective action, social impact, mobilization.*

1. Introduction

History of knowledge is riddled with cases where personal interest and motivation have been the motor of innovation and scientific findings by people who did not possess specialist training. Cases such as that of Anton Leeuwenhoek, the Dutch tradesman who made several discoveries regarding optics, biology and physiology in the 17th century are examples of a situation that has frequently repeated itself.

After that, scientist William Wheewell organised numerous people from different backgrounds in 1835, to map the Atlantic coastline tides, mobilising thousands of *volunteers* to gather information with the purpose of preventing maritime tragedies.

The 20th century stands out for the exponential growth of examples of citizen collaboration with scientific experiments, health-related programmes or as source of information and data collection on matters of scientific interest. During the last five decades, scientific experiences based on citizen and non-scientific agent participation in diverse forms have increased in Europe as in the rest of the world (Irwin 1995; Irwin and Michael 2003). However, scientific dissemination and the current technological facilities have placed this collaboration in a whole new dimension.

Based on a few cases of citizen science, we have the aim of examining the forms of collaboration between citizens and scientists, to find out what the social impact is in a world protected by a particular worldview (*weltanschauung*) as is scientific knowledge. The aim of this communication is to explore the participation of collective collaborative action in some exemplary cases, with the purpose of finding out what the effects are of opening the doors of

science to citizens' regular active participation.

With this purpose, we will delve into different forms of collaboration between lay people and scientists, between ordinary knowledge (Maffesoli) and specialist knowledge. On the basis of a text by Antonio Lafuente, we will explore the difference between the figure of the amateur, the activist, the hacker and the scientist. Later on, we will focus on some characteristics, social impact and resistance found in three particular cases of current citizen science.

2. Some Issues Regarding Definition

The collaboration between science and society has extensive antecedents, as in history it is possible to identify numerous examples of amateur scientists and scientists who self-funded their own science: Isaac Newton, Benjamin Franklin, Charles Darwin. On occasions, astronomers and other scholars of the natural world have been driven to build their own instruments of observation or fund their activities through patronage.

The figures who were half way between professional and amateur scientist played a very important role in the creation of the first associations that promoted scientific activities for people other than just members (astrophotography, observation of the stars, oceanography, ornithology, etc.). In recent decades, thanks to technology and the means devoted to science and nature dissemination, there has been an increase in the tendency to blur the boundaries between amateur and scientific dissemination.

Many public organisations and academic and research institutions have opened a space for public participation. However, we must not forget that, although the collaboration between science and citizens is very old from the praxis perspective, from the perspective of the role of science in a democratic society and the need to democratize science, it is relatively recent (Feyerabend 1982). The first use of the term citizen science can be found in the magazine *New Scientist* in an article about ufology from October 1979.

After the analysis of three cases of interaction between science and citizenship (the use of pesticides and agricultural workers, mad cow disease and consumers, and chemical plant accidents and residents), Alan Irwin identified the following issues as relevant for debate: the ignorance of the public, the role of science in the process of decision making, the role of science in the improvement of humankind, the absence of values of science, the impoverishment when citizen participation is excluded, and how a better scientific understanding among the public can lead to better acceptance and support of science and technology (Irwin 1995:26).

Alan Irwin understands citizen science as the task of developing concepts of scientific citizenship that highlights the need for opening science and scientific policies to the public (Irwin 1995). This process would have two main characteristics: 1) science should respond to the needs and concerns of citizens; 2) the citizens themselves should be able to produce reliable scientific knowledge. There are other less ambitious definitions, such as that of ornithologist Rick Bonney for whom citizen science is any project in which non-scientists contribute voluntarily with scientific data.

Other definitions of citizen science seem more productive, such as Bruce Lewenstein's and its three dimensions (2004), and Muki Haklay's with its three levels of participation (crowdsourcing –sensor-; participatory science -defines problems and collects data-; extreme citizen science –incorporating citizens in the analysis, on top of the two previous ones - (2012).

In 2013 the European Commission stated that

> *"Citizen Science has been used to define a series of activities that link the general public with scientific research. Volunteers and non-professionals contribute collectively in a diverse range of scientific projects to answer real-world questions. Both citizens' contributions and researchers' attitudes encompass a wide set of activities at multiple scales. We find massive occasional virtual interactions on a global scale, but also regular proactive involvement in local environments identifying new research questions." (EU 2014:21)*

The question of the definition of citizen science has attracted the attention of numerous researchers from different disciplines, and has generated broad consensus on what could be denominated 'the minimum conditions of participation (basic requirements of citizen collaboration between the general public and scientific investigations) and 'the strong programme of citizen science (conditions and degrees of involvement of participants in the stepping stones of the process: definition, planning, systematisation, analysis, interpretation, implementation and follow-up of research results). However, the issues related to how we understand participation of the 'general public' and 'volunteers' in the scientific process remain far from a correct clarification and therefore, far from a minimum consensus.

In the enlightening article entitled "Amateur, activist and hacker: three ways of being in science", Antonio Lafuente identifies three figures/itineraries that have blown up the validity of an imaginary line establishing a strict boundary, severely scrutinised and defended between science and society (Lafuente 2014:1). Including the *amateur* –as well as women and *criollos*- in the scenario of knowledge is a matter of historical rigour, a duty of social justice and a need to

> *"overcome the crisis of representation, incarnated by politicians (the elected) and incarnated by experts (the selected)." (2014:2)*

The second figure, neighbouring the first one, is that composed by citizens turned into *activists*. Both citizens concerned about the presence in daily life of

> *"an endless number of substances, radiations, codes and devices that we can ignore less and less. (…) [That] not only modulate us, but sometimes determine us" (2014:3)*

'and workers testing, who are the overwhelming majority of scientists', mobilise, empower, undertake fights and global actions, resist or rebel, turning into activists who "have in common being able to compete against the experts for the monopoly on scientific discourse." (2014:4)

The third figure is represented by the *hackers*, who "initially defended knowledge from corporative appropriation", and who have ended up becoming advocates for the culture of *Do it Yourself* (DIY), forms of cooperation, practices of *garage*, *maker* innovation, free software, *open access* and the vindication of the *creative commons*. As pointed up by Lafuente, hackers commit

to sharing, to "the culture of mending, reusing, repairing and recycling" (2014:6). Practices and manifestations of hacktivism can take creative forms (doing things among themselves or with others) and transgressor forms (WikiLeaks, Cablegate, Falciani's List).

Table 1 presents a provisional classification of the different roles that citizens can play in the intersection between scientific knowledge and society. The Table identifies different combinations between: a) the different degrees of knowledge, b) the different levels of mobilisation, and c) the different levels of commitment with the principles of scientific culture.

LEVEL OF COMMITMENT	LEVEL OF KNOWLEDGE		
	LOW	MEDIUM	HIGH
LOW	LAYPERSON	ENTHUSIAST	EXPERT
MEDIUM	COLLABORATOR	ACTIVIST	HACKER
HIGH	AMATEUR	MAKER	SCIENTIST

Table 1. Level of Commitment versus Level of Knowledge
Source: Own elaboration.

We cannot stop and explain in detail the differences between each one of them, a matter we shall look into another time. In the remainder of this communication we will focus on the effects of participation of people who have collaborated in some way in the three cases of citizen science. We intend to rethink and systematize the impacts of mediation (workshops and projects) as a means to make possible the interaction between lay people and scientists.

3. The Impact of Participation in Three Cases of Citizen Science

We tentatively define collective collaborative action (CCA) as "the set of formal and informal practices and interactions carried out between a plurality of individuals, groups or associations who share a feeling of belonging or common interests, on the basis of collaboration with others, with the purpose of producing or stopping a social change through mobilisation of certain social sectors" (Tejerina 2010:19-20). Citizen science (CS) can be defined as a collaborative collective action (Della Porta and Diani 1999) of a specific type, by which agents from the field of research, technology and a section of the community engage in collaboration with the aim of overcoming a limitation in the development or implementation of a scientific project in one or several stages.

All three cases selected respond to activities of the Ibercivis Foundation[2], practices carried out by BIOOk; Biology by & for the people[3], and the development of the Project Mosquito Alert[4].

In this section we will look into six aspects related to citizen participation in the three scientific projects mentioned: 1) difficulties in mapping the territory of the CS, 2) issues referring to the definition of CS itself, 3) what is participation for in CS, 4) how does participation happen, 5) effects and impact of participation, and 6) resistance to participation. We are especially interested in the social impact of CS as defined in the literature about collective action (Giugni,

McAdam and Tilly 1999; Snow, Soule and Kriesi 2004; Whittier 2004; Giugni 2008; Bosi, Giugni and Uba 2016).

1. Mapping the territory. In recent years the cases of citizen science projects have continued to increase, as has the importance of science and technology in the formulating of problems and solutions to risks and challenges that concern specific populations and areas as well as the whole of humanity. The current debate on Climate Change is just another case, although possibly a paradigmatic one, in this complex relationship between science, citizenship and daily living. It seems only logical to dare saying that CS is a growing field whose boundaries will continue to expand in the future. Today it is still a "frontier territory" (E1), a disputed space that on occasions is not clear as there are no commonly-agreed criteria and, therefore, there is a "grey scale" (E1).

CS has had a modest start (E3), and although it certainly has numerous historical antecedents, the *boom* has taken place from the first decade of 2000, a little bit later in Spain. The reason must be found in the combination of three elements: great research projects, social networks and mobile phones with computer applications (E1). However, there are some areas where development has been greater: environment, biodiversity and astronomy.

The practices being developed are shaping two extensive fields (that do not necessarily need to be apart), the great projects and dissemination (E1); the latter particularly linked to the school environment. Although there are clear differences between what is research and what is dissemination (which in turn is also a blurred concept), the latter is increasingly being incorporated into the first, as part of the development and sustainability of research projects[5].

In spite of these changes, it is safe to say that some projects have a more scientific vocation, while others are more oriented towards dissemination or communication (E1) and to the "promotion of scientific culture" (E2).

2. Definitions of citizen science. Participation of ordinary people in CS projects adds a new role to that of amateur. While the amateur is someone initiated who has shown great interest or curiosity and has a scientific *background*, the layperson lacks this background –in principle-. A loose definition of CS would claim that this is a type of science that involves people to do/try/ produce things using a scientific method (E3).

A very close definition to the previous one is that claiming that CS attempts to include the citizens for their contribution (E3). The question in this case is transferred to the levels of participation, as the participant can contribute to different degrees, moving up and down a scale of more or less involvement, both in frequency and commitment.

A step further in this sequence of collaboration may be given by the demand of a bidirectional communication between participants and scientists (E3). Bidirectionality requires the existence of protocols so that in the transmission of information the requirements of scientific process are safeguarded, information can be validated and, at the same time, the privacy of participants is guaranteed (E2, E3). A requirement often mentioned is the fact that CS should generate value for the community (E1, E2). The definition of CS which shares consensus among those interviewed is that suggesting the participation of different agents in the different stages

of the research process, generating value for the community and sharing the results with the rest of society.

3. The condition of sharing leads us to the 'what for' of CS. The general idea is that CS is necessary to "shake up science" (E3), to "incorporate persons who do not belong to the scientific field" (E2), which allows to "open a communication channel" (E1) with society.

It is interesting to pay attention to the verbs and metaphors used to refer to this process: "open the windows of the laboratory" (E1), "lay bridges to connect professional science and daily life" (E2), "open a can of worms" (E1, E3), "shift scientific method" (E2). Other ways of referring to the aims of CS are "share with the community" (E2), "to act as a listener to contribute" (E1) and "construct a virtual community" (E1).

In the background, a sort of counterpoint is underlying between normal science, practised by a professional scientific community who develop their work following the scientific methods behind closed doors, with its back to society, and CS, which is open to certain types of collaboration and to "awakening things we had previously put to sleep" (E2).

4. Some aspects related to participation. A recurring theme in participation has to do with motivation, which is hard to systematise, as there is a "diversity of motivations" (E1). In general terms it can be said that "people who suffer it get more involved" (E3). The literature on collective action has consistently pointed out the proximity to the problem as a source of motivation, what we know as NIMBY (*Not In My Back Yard*) mobilisation.

The key is to do it consciously (E1). The call may arise from the citizens, "people were starting to wonder and become interested" (E1), but to a greater extent it arises from science: "it is either done with the people or it is not done at all" (E1), that is, "we ask for help from citizens" (E1), which would involve a scientific motivation to solve their own problems. The result is that participation "reformulates our role as individuals" (E3).

If we establish a distinction between projects formulated *bottom-up* and those carried out *top-down*, almost all belong to the second category. The scientific world faces many problems to integrate citizenship into the scientific tasks, to the extent that there is important consensus in considering "*the problem* of acknowledging citizen participation" (E1). According to the testimonies of interviewed people, we are still far from a satisfactory response on how to proceed with citizen participation, integration into the process and acknowledgement.

5. The social impact of participation. The most visible effect of participation is the repercussion on the people, as "it changes your perception" (E2), it "empowers" participants (E2, E3), and some interviewees point out "the impact on the individual, the community and the environment" (E2). Participation "creates a fascinating community" (E1), although "the issue of personal data" is not easy to manage (E3) to comply with the legal requirements on data protection[6].

The most important effects, however, take place in the scientific field. First, on the role of the scientist, as "scientists also get transformed" (E2), "citizen science changes you as a scientist" (E3); it has "effects in scientific practice, which becomes more open to the unexpected, and it

is configured in a different way, non hierarchic" (E1). Second, citizen participation influences knowledge itself, as it "contributes to knowledge through more discoveries" (E3), and on occasions, "sharing improves the results" (E1). Third, citizen participation affects "the approach" (E3), introducing "greater complexity, which means more difficulties in management" (E3), it promotes that "projects become very transversal, and therefore you need a lot of experts" (E3); this brings greater "social return" as they are *win-win* projects (E3). Lastly, citizen participation forces the introduction of "methodologies for participation" (E1), resounding also in aspects such as "the legitimation of science in society" (E1), "the difficulties of funding science" (E1), and the "drawing up of public policies" (E1).

6. The participation of ordinary people in CS projects is not without difficulties, problems or conflicts. The most frequent is to come upon "barriers and resistance" (E2), situations that "generate conflicts", and "resistance in the system of scientific acknowledgement" (E1), as well as from part of the "scientific establishment" (E1), "in the use of social networks" (E3)

4. Debate and Conclusions

Field research has provided verified information about the limitations of participation of non-experts in the scientific process**,** ranging from validity and precision of the data generated by volunteers to legal and ethical problems linked to privacy. At present numerous projects are being carried out in the field of education, training and scientific dissemination, but with little evaluation of their social impact. Equally, we have little knowledge about the economic, social and cultural consequences of such participation.

Citizen science can be defined as the set of practices that take place on the basis of a shared curiosity, among science professionals and amateurs or activists concerned by a subject of public interest which leads them to get involved in the definition, planning, realisation, interpretation, dissemination and/or application of the results of a research project.

The joint exploration of the world around us has allowed to lay bridges and break down some differences between expert knowledge and lay knowledge, the distance between science and ethnoscience. Technology, for its part, has contributed to facilitating information exchange and data interpretation between the laboratory world and daily life. Without reaching a role exchange, the layperson can indeed come closer to the place traditionally occupied by the expert, and the expert, without ceasing to be an expert, can learn a lot from ethno knowledge.

Thus, different categories of actors emerge more clearly defined such as the *amateur*, pseudo-professionalised –DIY-, the *activist* both, from the point of view of the *scientist* as from that of the *lay citizen*, and those who claim greater participation such as the *maker* –who wants everyone to learn how to do science- or the *hacker* –those fighting for open science and its appropriation -.

Most cases of citizen science happen within the scope of the education system, an attractive arena to carry out collaborative experiments between teachers and students. Many examples of citizen science outside the field of formal education have a pedagogical and disseminating end, rather than directly scientific. The cases with a scientific end *per se* tend to concentrate collaboration in the process stage or in the post stage, rather than the design stage. However,

citizen science projects have a great impact in the planning of participation (Senabre, Ferran-Ferrer and Perelló, 2018), with the establishment of validation controls of the activities carried out by "nonscientific staff". In these cases, the scientific method adapts to the requirements of collaboration without relinquishing the verification of the correct implementation of "scientific objectivity".

From the significance for science, citizen science has not had a great impact in the scientific community (embedded), its repercussion has been greater among participants (embodied), and shows greater impact in the world of activism and social movements (actionable).

Based on the data provided by interviewees and the documental analysis from different projects referenced in the Report of the Ibercivis Foundation, it can be asserted that:

a) the biographical impact among participants of citizen science projects is remarkable (Lahire 2001; Martuccelli and De Singly 2009);
b) the repercussions on changes of organizational forms are scarce (Irwin and Wynne 1996; Rao, Morrill and Zald 2000; Novel 2013; Moore 2015);
c) the same goes for the emergence of scientific controversy and the role of science in social controversy, and in the redefinition of new rights (Gajardo 2015; Laval and Dardot 2015);
d) the emergence of new legal forms of regulation has not been observed (Hochschild 1997; Moreno 2012; Del Pino and Rubio 2016);
e) neither has the increase of resilience of certain groups (Sennett 2012; Conill et al. 2013; Tejerina et al. 2013; Della Porta and Mattoni 2014; Zarlenga 2015; Telleria and Ahedo 2016);
f) the scale of citizen interest in participating in scientific policy and in the democratization of scientific research and its results is very limited.

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6. **Methodological Appendix**

The information used in this communication comes from a) documentary analysis of various experiences, b) from the testimonies of strategic informants and experts gathered in individual interviews, and c) from the discourse of participating citizens in several cases with which different discussion groups have been made. Special attention has been paid to three cases of citizen science: the work carried out by the Ibercivis Foundation, the Biook, Biology by & for the people activities dedicated mainly to the dissemination of scientific culture, and the tiger mosquito project (Mosquito Alert) (https://www.gbif.org/dataset/1fef1ead-3d02-495e-8ff1-6aeb01123408/project).

7. **Abbreviations**

• **CCA:** Collective collaborative action
• **CS:** Citizen science

8. **Biographical Note**

Benjamín Tejerina is Professor of Sociology at the University of the Basque Country and Director of the Collective Identity Research Center. His research interests include collective action and social movements, living conditions and precariousness, collective identity, youth transitions, and sociological theory. Among his publications are Crisis and Social Mobilization in Contemporary Spain (edited with Ignacia Perugorría, Routledge, 2018); From Social to Political: New Forms of Mobilization and Democratization (edited with Ignacia Perugorría, BCUP, 2012); La sociedad imaginada. Movimientos sociales y cambio cultural en España (Trotta, 2010); Los movimientos sociales. Transformaciones políticas y cambio cultural (edited with Pedro Ibarra, Trotta, 1998).

9. Notes

1 This communication is part of the project CSO2016-78107-R funded by the Ministry of Economy and Enterprise (MINECO). It has also been funded by the Research Groups IT706-13 of the Basque University System. The author's contact e-mail is b.tejerina@ehu.eus.

2 Ibercivis Foundation was founded in Madrid, on the 14th November 2011. Ibercivis Foundation has as its goals to continue its collaboration work with research and to carry out dissemination activities to give visibility to research groups participating in Ibercivis. More information is available at http://www.ibercivis.com/

3 BIOOK is a non-profit association that aims to promote social innovation, creating ecosystems for citizens to participate and enjoy scientific-cultural production, eliminating borders between biology and other disciplines. BIOOK is based on the Do It Yourself Biology movement (DIYbio) and on Citizen Science. More information is available at http://biook.org/

4 Mosquito Alert is a citizen science observatory to investigate and control mosquito-borne diseases. It brings citizens, schools, scientists and managers of public health and the environment together to combat the tiger mosquito and the yellow fever mosquito, vectors of Zika, Dengue and Chikungunya. More information is available at http://www.mosquitoalert.com/en/project/what-is-mosquito-alert/

5 These changes can be clearly observed in the evolution of the relevance of the broadcast, dissemination and sustainability in the calls for research projects at a national and European level.

6 Regulation (EU) 2016/679 of the European Parliament and of the European Council of 27th April 2016 on the protection of natural persons with regard to the processing of personal data and on the free movement of such data, and repealing Directive 95/46/EC (General Data Protection Regulation).

Academies for Solidarity under the State of Exception in Turkey

Barış Tuğrul[1] and Evin Deniz[2]
[1]Hacettepe University
[2]Independent Researcher

Abstract: *This paper examines the Academies of Solidarity founded by purged academics who signed a peace declaration and local political agents as collaborative collective actions in a context of deepening authoritarianism in Turkey. For more than two years, beginning right after the failed coup d'état attempt (July 15, 2016), Turkey has officially been governed under the state of exception during which the government made statutory decrees that are subject to no auditing nor judicial appeal by any means. With the implementation of those statutory decrees, they have massively been purged from Turkish universities due to their leading role in an initiative by signing a petition for peace as the armed confrontation between the state security forces and Kurdish guerrilla. Additionally, those who have lost their job via statutory decrees can neither leave the country nor can they work at private universities as their passports are taken away and they are blacklisted. In the presence of these repressive and discrediting measures, those academics have decided to turn this severe situation into an opportunity to produce knowledge out of the limitations and competitiveness of highly neoliberalized institutions. To that end, they founded 'academies of solidarity' in different cities with different forms depending on the local dynamics of each city and the organizations that act in solidarity such as unions, professional associations, students, citizens, international organizations, and gathered in order to respond to the judicial processes and the political repression collectively under the umbrella of these academies. Given that these practices aim to transform academic relations and knowledge production processes with other participants in a collective way, converting it into a reciprocal learning process instead of a top-down relation, it is crucial to analyze their effects in terms of resistance against democratic regression within the local realities of each city. Through in-depth open-ended interviews in four cities (Istanbul, Ankara, Kocaeli and Mersin), we also scrutinize to what extent academies of solidarity have become influential political agents not only against the persecution of academics but also against the ongoing democratic regression in Turkey and neoliberalization of universities.*

Keywords: *democratic regression, political repression, academics for peace, academies for solidarity, Turkey*

1. A Brief Historical Background

Throughout the up-and-down history of the Republic of Turkey in terms of democratic rights and freedom of expression, academia has usually been subject to repressive measures put into practice by regimes with clear inclination towards authoritarian rule. The traditional role of military rule on civil politics, widely attributed the role of a modernizing institution (Harris 2011: 203), led to successive interventions in democratically elected civil governments in each decade from 1960 on. From the single-party period of civil politics, which overwhelmingly bases

on military heritage of the founding years of the modern republic (1933 and 1946) to post-coup period of multi-party era (1960, 1973 and 1981), reforms implemented on higher education institutions largely shaped the nature of freedom in Turkish academia. Constitutional and structural changes experienced through post-coup regimes, in this sense, leave their mark on the academic freedom and liberties whose last major example is observed after 12 September 1980 military *coup d'état*.

Deep structural changes on higher education were put into practice and legislative grounds were based on the principal law text of the country, Turkish Constitution of 1982. It assigns a regulatory duty to the Council of Higher Education (YÖK – *Yüksek Öğretim Kurumu*) established by Law No. 2547 dated 6 November 1981 in order to "plan, organize, administer, and supervise education provided by institutions of higher education." This constitutes a step which formally and definitely puts an end to relative institutional autonomy of universities nationwide (Kaya Özçelik 2010: 84). Measures brought about in order to regulate, organize and supervise higher education institutions soon led to dismissals and prosecution against faculty members for merely ideological reasons as well as inhibition of students (Seggie & Gökbel 2015: 17), converting YÖK into a mechanism of punishment by the state instead of a regulatory body aiming to promote intellectual quality in higher education.

Dissatisfaction with restrictions on fundamental rights and freedoms as well as anti-democratic practices and systematic violations of human rights led some of Turkey's intellectuals to take an action. On 15 May 1984, a petition titled "Observations and Demands on the Democratic Order in Turkey" edited by prominent writer Aziz Nesin along with the contribution of several academicians, was handed in to the Presidency of the Republic as well as the Presidency of Grand National Assembly of Turkey. Among a long list of demands considered crucial for a genuinely democratic country, one of the explicitly stated observation reflected by the intellectuals was about the vulnerable position of academia after post-coup re-structuration process. Having been signed by some 1300 intellectuals, among whom the number of academicians was considerably remarkable, the petition provoked outrage among the principal actors of 1980 coup who accused those 'so-called intellectuals' of high treason, opening the door for public prosecutors to make an allegation against signatories. The total number of those who left their position protesting YÖK system and those who were dismissed from the universities due to their ideological tendencies has affected the quality of higher education in Turkey for decades.

2. 32 Years Later. Return of the Authoritarian and the Emergence of Academies for Solidarity

Although the formation of initiative launched as Academics for Peace in Turkey goes back to late 2012, their voice has become louder since the declaration titled "We will not be a party to this crime" signed by 1128 academicians and researchers in January 2016 in order to protest the state's military intervention in Southeastern Turkey. The declaration provoked tremendous outrage among nationalist – conservative sectors, beginning with the President Recep Tayyip Erdoğan who labeled those 'so-called intellectuals' by accusing them of treason and 'being the fifth column' of foreign powers.

The U-turn of the AKP government in terms of democratic rights began from June 2015 general

elections on. The state of exception, de facto put into practice right after Erdoğan's failure to have lost absolute majority in Turkish parliament, has converted Turkey into a "lasting practice of government" (Agamben 2005: 7). Following the failed coup attempt on 15 July 2016, allegedly organized and orchestrated by Gülen Community, against Erdoğan's government in power, this state of exception acquired an official character through statutory decrees that are subject to no auditing nor judicial appeal by any means. Along with those who were claimed in connection with the Gülen community network, members of the initiative Academics for Peace as well as other alternative voices within the academia in Turkey were also turned into a target. With the implementation of a series of statutory decrees, they have massively been purged from universities. Those who found their names in long lists of dismissal could neither leave the country nor could they work at private universities as their passports were taken away and they were blacklisted. Additionally, some of them have also been taken to high criminal courts with terrorism charges, which has converted into a quite frequently repeated accusation to any oppositional voice in Turkey in recent years.

In the presence of these repressive and discrediting measures, those academics dismissed from their positions have decided to turn this severe situation into an opportunity to produce knowledge out of the limitations and competitiveness of highly neoliberalized institutions. To that end, they founded Academies for Solidarity in different cities with different forms, depending on the local dynamics of each city and the organizations that act in solidarity such as unions, professional associations, students, citizens, international organizations, in order not only to respond to the judicial processes and the political repression collectively, but also to create a common ground in defense of the democracy with the non-academic sections of the society.

Within the scope of this research, in order to examine the commonalities and differences of each case and observe the effects and outcomes they have produced, we have conducted open-ended in-depth interviews in four cities (Ankara, Kocaeli, Mersin, Istanbul) with leading actors taking part in these initiatives. By analyzing the qualitative data obtained through these interviews, we scrutinize to what extent academies of solidarity as collaborative collective actions have become influential political agents, not only as a collective response to the persecution of academics but also as a potentially transformative actors against the ongoing democratic regression in Turkey and neoliberalization of universities.

3. Preceding Activism and Engagement of Actors in Academies for Solidarity

Having analyzed four examples selected for this study, it would be correct to affirm that those who initiate Academies for Solidarity are dissent actors within the academia, and their involvement in the struggle for democracy was not limited to the peace declaration. Analyzing in-depth interviews made with representatives from all of four cities, indeed only Ankara and Kocaeli formally describe themselves as solidarity academies whereas Istanbul and Mersin differ significantly from them. While the former, designated themselves as *Kampüssüzler*, which literally means 'those who are without Campus', works alongside with other Solidarity Academies and forms part of *Birarada* (Together), an umbrella organization established in Istanbul under association status for communication and coordination of Solidarity Academies network country-wide (*A2*), the latter called *Kültürhane*, literally means Culture House,

established in form of a non-profit enterprise and public library project and currently has no organic relation with *Birarada* association. Although Academies for Solidarity significantly differ from one another in terms of the agenda, activities and methodologies they pursue, one fundamental point on which they all more or less agree is their critical position towards above-mentioned YÖK system and neoliberalization of universities. This is also reflected through their socio-political activities prior to peace declaration. For instance, in the University of Kocaeli there was a platform constituted by the very same academics called *What kind of a university we want?* openly criticizing YÖK mechanism and university administration process. *A2*, dismissed from Kocaeli University, confirms that members of this platform have also been active members in professional organizations as well as unions. They have also been actively participating in a variety of local movements. These organic relations with the local agents in each city enabled the foundation of the Academies for Solidarity.

Overt repression exercised on academics signing the Peace Declaration, in this sense, seems to have played a triggering role when it comes to take a step forward towards an organized collective counter-reaction which would lead to Academies for Solidarity. *A2* points that in Kocaeli collective reaction shown against police detentions and court process was carried out by all opposition groups with which they had already established close ties. *A4* also narrates a quite similar experience they experienced in Istanbul after first detentions had taken place. Repressive policies are observed to have prepared the grounds for more organized activism and, therefore, accelerated the process of exercising an idealized knowledge production and transmission process among those who had already manifested their dissatisfaction.

Additionally, as the dismissals and judicial processes affected hundreds of university professionals country-wide since January 2016, and the number has augmented increasingly through following months and years[1], similar initiatives emerge at different universities in different cities, which has apparently increased the awareness among those who find themselves in a similar position. *A1*, who had been an active participant in such movements in Eskişehir before she was dismissed from her position at Anatolian University and headed for Ankara where she was part of *Ankara Academy for Solidarity* (ADA) explains the trajectory she followed prior to ADA and the impact of this trajectory in relations with her social surroundings:

> "*Problems in relation with academia in Turkey didn't begin with our dismissal in fact. I've personally been involved in this struggle in different fringes. We'd established a platform called 'Academy will not fall silent' [Akademi Susmayacak] before, we organized Gümüldür encounters along with Unions, in cooperation with Eğitim-Sen[2], with academicians affiliated to Eğitim-Sen etc. We carried out activities like Supreme Education Office. I mean, for example, the question of those who are in 50D position, subcontractivism, commercialization of universities, forfeiture of us as university personnel, workers and components, we worked on these. Maybe we were few in number, however, in the end, these were the subjects on which we'd puzzled our head. Additionally, we've also got a repressive government in Turkey for years. But before too we always had concerns over education in Turkey, that's to say, we were already experiencing many problems in any part*" (A1, female, Ankara).

This organized initiative, launched as a collective reaction against a mass purge under the state of exception period, soon converted into a bigger project rooted in dissatisfaction with anti-

democratic higher education system and mechanisms which rarely have contact with society. As emphasized by *A3*, who was dismissed from Mersin University and initiated short-lived Mersin Academy for Solidarity, what makes this process crucial is the emergence of a common project through common objectives. Despite rather different *Kültürhane* project in Mersin, he celebrates this process as an opportunity for dismissed academics from different universities to get to know each other, which would be practically impossible otherwise due to highly closed structure of formal university system in Turkey. As claimed by *A3*, one of the founders of the initiative in Mersin, *Kültürhane* is more than a place of encounter, it is a threshold space (Stavrides 2016) for people from different segments of the society with different interests since it enables practices of crossing and bridging different worlds and it has an inherent transforming potential. The goal that the initiative seeks for, in this sense, is to create a public sphere for the city and people, as the interviewee affirms, "We want to develop skills to produce information on everyday life. There is this university-industry collaboration, ours is university-life collaboration".

4. Objectives, Qualitative Characteristics and Organizational Structure

In most cases, with the exception of *A3* in Mersin, the ultimate idea appears to create an alternative academy based on interdisciplinary knowledge production and transmission mechanism having far closer ties with the society and social questions. In this sense, the struggle carried out may well be summarized in three main dimensions: 1) Recovering the lost position and return to the university; 2) creation of an alternative and democratic academic organization by restructuring academic institutions and, finally; c) democratization of the country as the compulsory external political condition in order to have a positive academic environment (Bakirezer and Koçak 2017).

> "When we were at the university, we already dreamt of such an environment; I mean, an environment where there are no interdisciplinary boundaries, where we can think and produce together, where we break hierarchies as possible as we could, where we can establish direct ties in favor of society, city and people, where we aren't stuck in those closed boundaries. … If we manage to carry this on in a way and believe in it, we will be continuing once we get back to our institutions. We will even try to establish all these within institutions and we will be desiring to blow up institutions to the best of our ability and make such environments out of them" (A2, female, Kocaeli).

Having opted for a rather different mechanism -and pursuing no solely academic ideal, *Kültürhane* also converges when it comes to social contribution by creating an effective public sphere, as *A3* emphasizes through following words:

> "Our concern isn't about to provide with a cultural service, it's creating a public sphere. It's to provide with any activity which would make that publicness possible. Sure, I'm not saying this in a sense that we would invite those ideologies and political movements which we don't approve, nothing like 'you guys come too and perform an invocation here!' It's within a certain margin. In fact, others don't come either. […] With regard to our goal to be an Academy for Solidarity, probably it's the point which makes us different from the others; I think we identify ourselves with a rather social function" (A3, male, Mersin).

Given that, these practices aim to transform academic relations and knowledge production processes with other participants in a collective way, converting it into a reciprocal learning process instead of a top-down relation, it is crucial to examine their effects in terms of resistance against democratic regression within the local realities of each city. Bearing in mind limited financial sources, mostly consisting of their own savings and sporadically received funds, Academies for Solidarity vastly depend upon collaboration with a wide network, ranging from trade unions, associations to simple small businesses. All four examples, in this sense, confirm that they have received logistic support thanks to this collaboration network.

> "We don't have our own place. Until the association [Birarada] was founded, we'd gathered in fellow coffee bars in fact; we organized our own projects at home and public projects in coffee bars and alike. Now we've got the association, that's to say, locality of the association can surely be used, we've got two meeting rooms there, that has served us a good advantage" (A4).

Active collaboration, participation and integration of this diverse network of solidarity is a desirable expectation which Academies for Solidarity are eager to encourage. Although most of the time academics become dominant nucleus with their number and their role as initiative launchers (A1), participation and contribution of other initiatives are promoted when it comes to organizing activities open to public:

> "When we were inaugurating the first semester of the School of Life, we organized a workshop by calling all democratic, civil and political social organizations. We asked them 'what do you expect from this school, from these workshops?', and we wanted them to come well prepared. There were representatives from some 30 establishments, more than 50 people took the floor. They contributed like 'we want to know about this, we're curious about that, we're working on this', and we organized workshops in accordance with those demands. We're making efforts in order to develop and consolidate our organic relations further" (A2).

Logistic and financial sustainability is understood to have been a serious challenge as most members of Academies for Solidarity, especially those who have no regular income, have to earn their living while dealing with resource management for their social project. Most interviewees (A1, A2, A4) confirm that this vulnerability urged them to accept irrelevant projects such as technical translation works and alike in order to make their living, which seriously limited the time they could devote to Academies for Solidarity. Given these circumstances, some decided to transform the initiative into an association (KODA) whereas some others opted for cooperativism (ADA) in order to bid for carrying out projects so long as they comply with the common principles they share. Although they categorically tend to have an edge with the idea of involvement in profit-oriented projects in order to assure their own financial sustainability, A1 affirms that due to such challenges, this tendency of acquiring a legal status has become an obligation to pursue their principle agenda and activities:

> "There's a sort of tendency of converting into an association everywhere. Izmir Solidarity Academy too is making progress towards that direction as far as I'm concerned. Getting some funds etc. Because this is the point you eventually reach: You give lectures voluntarily, but after a while you face to [the risk of] disintegration. Because you give free lectures and, as I've said, you do other jobs in order to earn money, and you become to lose strength" (A1).

Underlining the same financial concerns, *A2* also emphasizes that having a formally legal status also provides with a relatively protective umbrella against police and judicial repression, which is considered a systematic deliberate attack by reactionary entities. This argument is also valid for *A3* who claims that they opt for a structure as transparent as possible in order not to catch attention of state authorities. *A4*, however, indicates that they are relatively free from both repressive measures and threats *Kampüssüzler* as they are not as big and publicly active as those of in Kocaeli and Ankara, and they are already in collaboration with a cooperative and have a close relation with *Birarada* Association which already possess a legal status.

In terms of quantitative and qualitative characteristics of their members, it must be emphasized that Academies for Solidarity consist of *a)* core members, who are mostly dismissed and, to a less extent, active academicians and; *b)* those who participate in such public activities as workshops, courses and seminars on the history of capitalist society, gender equality, public health, labor related question and urbanism organized by core members. It is observed that while the first group is mainly steady members who regularly and systematically take part in varying type of academy projects, the latter may differ significantly in terms of age, sex and educational background. Although certain profiles, vast majority of whom are higher education students and working-class people with leftist tendencies (*A3*, *A4*), tend to frequent the activities, continuing conditions of unjust rule of law countrywide appear to be a challenging threat for those who are concerned of being blacklisted or dismissed from their current occupations. Complaining about not having had enough support from their active colleagues, *A1* considers that this is a determining variable in people's stepping back when it comes to support the initiatives launched by their dismissed fellows. The interviewee reproaches to her fellow colleagues who are currently working at universities as they have showed limited support and contribution to Ankara Solidarity Academy, arguably due to the very same fear for being targeted by government repression. The dominance of those academics who signed the Peace Declaration is also confirmed by *A2* in Kocaeli as well as *A3* among *Kampüssüzler,* Istanbul. Confirming constant police presence and invigilation and its demotivating effects on participants through direct examples, *A2*, however, affirms that the presence of repression and threat also plays a unifying role among core members and consolidate the sense of togetherness on the basis of equality:

> *"We're working on it and we're also learning about the limits as well as deficiencies of each other. Because it is also something like that: Under the conditions of OHAL and repression -I mean, X under normal conditions and this X under these conditions are different, I'm having many other troubles as well, which is reflected in my sphere, it's the same way for other colleagues too. For that reason, we're learning, because we're well aware that we must stick together. I mean, in a way, we're a small nucleus of the society, and we're at least those who dare to speak louder against social problems, therefore we need to find out how to stay shoulder to shoulder despite our differences" (A2).*

Other initiatives also show a similar sort of decision-making mechanism in which policies and activities to be implemented are discussed among core members horizontally in hierarchical sense. In most cases, as underlined previously by *A2*, demands, comments and any other feedbacks by those entities or people who collaborate with academies are taken into consideration. As interviewees point, despite unavoidable issues due to personal disagreements, horizontal participation, in fact, has not been an overwhelmingly challenging

issue due to their more of less commonly shared ideological stance and criticism towards vertical intra-group relations among the members of formal academy.

5. Innovative Outcomes and Social Impacts

Making a general statement over social impacts and innovative outcomes of Academies for Solidarity in terms of collective collaboration with other social movements is a difficult task as both it is too early to observe -especially under the given conditions in today's Turkey, and the grade and intensity of collaborative relations highly depend on the characteristics of each context. Although all four examples selected for this study mostly coincide with one another in their quest for an alternative form of knowledge production and sharing, the grade and manner that they have articulated this quest with other collective actors vary significantly.

Apart from variables conditioning the resource mobilization, which are directly related to conjunctural political conditions and financial challenges, the city where social encounters among distinct collective actors take place appears to be both a significant determining element as well as one of the main subjects of interest for Academies for Solidarity. While ADA and especially *Kampüssüzler*, with comparatively quite limited active core members, remain relatively low-profile initiatives which do not come into prominence in metropolises with high population density and complex social realities (*A4*), KODA and *Kültürhane* are observed to have directly involved in urban questions and actualities of corresponding cities:

> *"I like to define here through the metaphor of vegetable garden! I mean, here's not a place that people come and their thoughts, vision towards the world or their solidarity patterns change right away. I don't talk about a place where people become wiser, more well-educated, more conscious, neither do we target such a place. Here's a place where another political culture and urban culture exist. -As I focus on urban studies, I tend to have an urban-oriented vision towards this process and I try to exercise activities within this scope. We founded City Library precisely for this reason. Each week we analyze the city agenda. We prepare a wall newspaper. I think that this way it'd gradually evolve into a concept of urbanity, a consciousness of fellow towns-citizen. However, it's something at long sight." (A3)*

> *"Kocaeli University is the only public university in town. When we say 'we don't abandon this city and our students,' that's to say we're the only academic environment to produce critical scientific knowledge, introduce it with the society and extend. We have no other choice. We're a lot of people working in quite different fields. That's what we think: Science people must contribute to the place they're present. Who else would come and research in Kocaeli and, at the same time, think and discuss along with the local?" (A2)*

In any case, transformative role of those initiatives is expected as a long-term accomplishment rather than immediate spot-on social effects. It does not mean, however, Academies for Solidarity are solely involved in actions and activities which seek for long-term goals. As exemplified by *A2* and *A3*, they occasionally intervene in such social activities and actions as environment, civil society and gender related questions. Establishing distinctively free spheres

where considerably disadvantaged and marginalized social sectors such as women and LGBTI people find suitable conditions (*A2*) or providing with voluntary services of consultancy and support to those individuals who hardly find any room in formal education institutions (*A3, A4*) fill an important gap in an extremely limited social environment. Whether these initiatives, which now opt for a more organized and coordinated structure through *Birarada* Association, will provoke greater social impacts by creating an alternative higher education model, which is far more integrated to the society, must be observed through future researches.

6. Conclusions

Given the political situation in Turkey in its deep democratic regression where the rule of law has been collapsed and collective action has been stagnated due to legitimate fear, Academies for Solidarity achieved to become a counter-power. Without denying its limited influence, we consider that they managed to preclude, to a certain extent, the attempts of silencing academic sector of the dissent. Their experience triggered the mobilization of university students and purged teachers. What needs to be stressed is that they did not limit their discourse to criticize merely the government, they also criticized the structural and historical limitations imposed on the country's democracy and universities.

Moreover, they have been able to reach to the sectors, organizations and individuals that they could not reach while they were within the universities. Although its scope varies according to each local context, they tried to find different methods in order not only to share their knowledge but also produce knowledge together with various segments of the society.

Collaborative nature of these academies both in their organizational aspects as well as their relations with other political agents stems from their emphasis on solidarity in a tough context within which solidarity is not an option but an absolute necessity. In due course, they have found the ways in which they work and organize better.

Academies for Solidarity are still at their initial stage and they are paving the path while they are advancing on the one hand, political turmoil of the country is unlikely to make any improvement on the other, it is difficult to make inferences for their future. However, it would be fair to highlight that they are creating the necessary common collaborative spaces from where a change from the bottom up can start.

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Abbreviations

ADA: Ankara Academy for Solidarity (Ankara Dayanışma Akademisi)

AKP: Justice and Development Party (Adalet ve Kalkınma Partisi)

Eğitim-Sen: Education and Science Workers' Union (Eğitim ve Bilim Emekçileri Sendikası)

KODA: Kocaeli Academy for Solidarity (Kocaeli Dayanışma Akademisi)

YÖK: Council of Higher Education (Yüksek Öğretim Kurumu)

8. Biographical Note

Barış Tuğrul is a researcher at the Faculty of Communication at Hacettepe University (Ankara, Turkey). He holds a M.A. degree in the disciplines of International Relations and Sociology from Complutense University of Madrid, and a B.A. degree in Communication Sciences from Ankara University. He is currently writing his PhD dissertation on intergenerational reproduction of political violence in the Basque and Kurdish conflicts under co-supervision regime at the Department of Sociology II at the University of the Basque Country (UPV/EHU) and at the Department of Political Studies at École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales (EHESS) His main research interests are political violence, collective traumas and identity studies.

Evin Deniz is an independent researcher. She has recently been a postdoctoral researcher working on a project titled "Outcomes of Urban Movements and Local Governance" financed by the Research Grants Council of Hong Kong (RGC). Her main research interests are urban social movements, housing movements, urban regeneration processes and municipalism. She holds a PhD in Sociology from the Autonomous University of Madrid (2017). She holds two master's degrees, one in labour and social policy from the Autonomous University of Barcelona and the other one on urban sociology from the Complutense University of Madrid. She has a degree in city and regional planning at Middle East Technical University (Ankara, Turkey). She worked as a part-time instructor in the Department of Urban Design and Landscape Architecture at Bilkent University of Ankara in 2013.

9. Notes

1 For relevant incidents and numbers, please *see.* https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/tag/turkey/

2 Abbreviation for *Eğitim ve Bilim Emekçileri Sendikası* (Education and Science Workers' Union) is a trade union with clearly leftist inclination.

TRACK 6

Science and Knowledge

Social (De)Construction of Disaster. Collaborative Knowledge Development and Action through PhotoVoice

Mieko Yoshihama

University of Michigan[1]

Abstract: *Disasters exacerbate pre-disaster inequalities and intensify the vulnerability of the socially marginalized. This distressing reality also can and often does incite affected individuals and communities and their allies to organize for collective action because disasters expose previously hidden—or overlooked—inequalities and injustice. The 2011 triple disaster of a 9.0-magnitude earthquake, massive tsunami, and nuclear meltdowns in Japan are a case in point. This paper examines the role of citizen participatory action research in collaborative knowledge development and collective social action aimed at improving disaster policies and program responses. The paper draws from an ongoing longitudinal (8+ years) project with disaster-affected women in Japan, which uses PhotoVoice as a core methodology. PhotoVoice is a participatory action research method grounded in emancipatory and feminist theoretical and epistemological traditions and citizen documentary. People affected by the issue under investigation serve as co-investigators through repeated photo-taking, group discussions, and creation of "voices" (written messages). Since 2011, in collaboration with local nongovernmental organizations, the project has engaged ordinary citizens, all women affected by the 2011 disaster, in ongoing collaborative investigations of the disaster. Over the years, the project has expanded from three sites to ten; accounting for mergers and termination of certain groups, the project currently operates in seven sites. Notably, participating members have expressed an interest and been instrumental in expanding the project. Data for this paper come from members' photographs, two types of narratives—group discussions and member-generated voices—as well as feedback from audiences that view the photographs and voices. Members' photographs and narratives over the last eight years expose various aspects of the disaster as socially constructed. Physical hazards, such as the earthquake and the tsunami, displaced many citizens. Then, in the name of reconstruction and recovery, neoliberal economic policies pushed those marginalized further out. While the disaster was a devastating blow to the area's economy, from agricultural and fishing industries to local small businesses of all kinds, certain sectors, such as large corporations in construction and heavy machinery, have profited from the booming "reconstruction economy." Facilitated group discussions over time have collectively pointed to the advancement of neoliberal policies and the erosion of the welfare state before the disaster, which became (more) visible after the disaster. The project has served to break down the monopoly of knowledge production as it has expanded what is considered legitimate or expert knowledge.*

Keywords: *Disaster, participatory action research, citizen documentary, women, vulnerability*

1. Introduction

This paper examines the role of citizen participatory action research in collaborative knowledge development and collective social action aimed at improving disaster policies and program responses. The paper draws from an ongoing longitudinal (8+ years) participatory action project with disaster-affected women in Japan, which uses PhotoVoice as a core methodology (Yoshihama 2019; Yoshihama and Yunomae 2018). This participatory action research methodology is grounded in emancipatory and feminist theoretical and epistemological traditions and citizen documentary. People affected by an issue under investigation not only serve as co-investigators through repeated photo-taking, group discussions, creation of "voices" (written messages), but also disseminate such knowledge to promote change. The project began shortly after the Great East Japan Disaster in 2011 as a collaborative effort of a national network of researchers, activists, and professionals. It has evolved and expanded over the last eight years into a self-sustaining organization in which ordinary citizens, all women, engage in collective, collaborative knowledge creation and dissemination.

2. The Great East Japan Disaster through Women's Lenses

On March 11, 2011, a 9.0-magnitude earthquake, the fourth largest in recorded history worldwide, struck the northeastern region of Japan. There were numerous aftershocks: 46 aftershocks over magnitude 6.0 and 254 over magnitude 5.0 within 24 hours alone (Japan Meteorological Agency 2012). The earthquake triggered an enormous tsunami, which struck a wide stretch of the Pacific coast, submerging 561 km^2 along Japan's northeastern coast (Geospatial Information Authority of Japan 2011). The combination of the earthquake and tsunami caused devastating damage to the Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant, located about 110 miles southwest of the earthquake's epicenter. A series of explosions released a high dose of radioactive material, a Level 7 (the highest) on the International Nuclear Event Scale.

This combined natural and technological disaster led to the evacuation of many residents; at its height, over 470,000 people were displaced. More than 51,000 individuals are still living in exile, the majority from Fukushima (Reconstruction Agency 2019). Over 122,000 houses were destroyed, and many more were partially destroyed or submerged (National Police Agency 2019). This cascade of disasters has caused (and continues to cause) destruction to human lives and the natural and built environment, claiming over 19,000 lives. Over 2,500 people remain missing (National Police Agency 2019; Reconstruction Agency 2018).

2.1. Initial Organizing Efforts

Disasters aggravate pre-disaster inequities and exaggerate the vulnerability of the socially marginalized (Enarson 2012; Wisner et al. 2003). In Japan, gender inequity is enormous. In 2010, the year before the Great East Japan Disaster, Japan ranked 94th of 134 countries on the Gender Gap Index (World Economic Forum 2011). Japan, a nation prone to experience a large number of disasters, including earthquakes, typhoons, volcanic eruptions, and heavy snowstorms, has developed extensive government-centered disaster prevention and management policies and response systems. However, women's experiences and perspectives were largely neglected.

Research paid scant attention to the social processes and mechanisms that contribute to the vulnerability of women and other socially marginalized groups in and after disasters. Particularly lacking was participatory investigation through the lenses of those affected by the disaster, especially those who were socially marginalized. Addressing these gaps in policy and research was urgently needed.

Soon after the 2011 disaster, concerned with the welfare and rights of women and other marginalized individuals, the author, a Japan-born, U.S.-trained social work practitioner–educator–researcher, contacted a number of professionals and activists in Japan to explore possible action. Together we began to strategize, and a series of discussions led to the establishment of a national network aimed at promoting gender-informed disaster response and policies, the first of its kind in Japan. This network, called Women's Network for the East Japan Disaster (Rise Together), began as a coalition of women's nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), professionals, researchers, and advocates. Within this network, we formed a research team. With support from an international humanitarian NGO, we set out to conduct a series of research projects aimed at informing and strengthening disaster policies and responses, one of which was a participatory action research effort using PhotoVoice methodology.

2.2. PhotoVoice Methodology and Theoretical and Epistemological Orientations

PhotoVoice methodology was originally developed during the 1990s by U.S.-based researchers as a participatory tool for community assessment and policy advocacy on behalf of, and from the perspective of, local women (Wang 1999; Wang and Burris 1994, 1997). While variations exist, a PhotoVoice-based project involves participants taking photographs of their lives and discussing issues important to their lives and communities in a series of group meetings, as well as creating "voices." Dissemination of photographs and voices can take various forms, such as any print or digital format or via exhibits in community venues.

PhotoVoice methodology is rooted in the theoretical and epistemological traditions of emancipatory and empowerment education, feminist theory, and documentary photography (Wang and Burris 1994, 1997). Predicated on Freire's education for critical consciousness (1970), PhotoVoice places group members—those affected by the social issue under investigation—at the center of discovery and analysis. Grounded in feminist theories, PhotoVoice recognizes women (and other marginalized groups) as authorities and legitimate creators of knowledge (Maguire 1987). Consistent with feminist and Freirian theoretical and epistemological traditions, PhotoVoice rejects a value-free "objective" knowledge and knower; through critical reflection and dialogue, participants in PhotoVoice-based projects engage in knowledge production in a reflexive, inclusive, and collaborative manner. Such collectively produced knowledge incites members to take action to improve the conditions in which they live. PhotoVoice is also a form of citizen documentary photography aimed at recording and analyzing community and social issues and advocating for change. PhotoVoice has been used in a wide range of fields as a participatory method of examining social issues, exposing injustice, and promoting action to improve social conditions (Bananuka and John 2015; Bell 2015; Hergenrather et al. 2009; Yoshihama and Carr 2002).

2.3. Engaging Diverse Women Affected by the Disaster

After several months of intensive planning and preparation, our PhotoVoice project with disaster-affected women began in June 2011 (Yoshihama 2018, 2019; Yoshihama and Yunomae 2018). The main thrust of the project was to engage diverse groups of women in collective, collaborative investigation and ongoing advocacy efforts to improve disaster policies and responses. Initially, we implemented the project in the three most severely affected prefectures: Koriyama City, Fukushima Prefecture; Sendai City, Miyagi Prefecture; and Miyako City, Iwate Prefecture (Figure 1).

Figure 1. Initial Project Locations in Relation to the Epicenter of the Earthquake in the Great East Japan Disaster of March 2011
From north, Miyako City, Iwate Prefecture; Sendai City, Miyagi Prefecture; and Koriyama City, Fukushima Prefecture. Adapted from http://catch4all.com/positive/2012/JapanEarthquake/3_14_2012/USAIDsupportmap.jpg.

In each locality, we established a collaboration with local women's NGOs. Members of the collaborating organization have played (and continue to play) a critical role in project planning and implementation. Together with the local NGOs, we recruited participants. In the aftermath of the massive disaster, participants were profoundly affected by multiple losses, suffering, and destruction in their lives and those of loved ones. Participants in Koriyama, who were recruited from an emergency evacuation shelter, were transitioning to next-level transitional housing, juggling difficult and demanding tasks. The tasks included attending meetings

held by the local government to learn about their rights and options; applying for temporary housing; visiting prospective housing units; and attending to homes damaged by the disaster or rendered uninhabitable due to radioactive contamination. Participants in Sendai were members of a local NGO and had regularly and continuously volunteered many hours to operate a domestic violence shelter, telephone counseling, and other support programs. After the disaster, they initiated yet another volunteer project, spending countless hours gathering, sorting, and packing donations, driving many miles, and delivering them to women in hard-hit coastal areas. These post-disaster efforts were above and beyond their regular paid jobs and/or ongoing volunteering for the domestic violence program.

Given the evolving, crisis-oriented nature of the post-disaster conditions, we did not and could not ask for a long-term commitment. In each location, we planned to conduct three discussion meetings with the option of continuing if members so desired.

2.4. Expanding, Becoming a Stand-Alone Project, and Continuing

Members of all three original groups expressed an interest in continuing the project beyond the planned three meetings; over the eight years since the disaster, all three groups continue to meet. The project has since expanded. Much of the expansion was initiated by group members themselves. For example, members of the original Sendai Group expressed an interest in creating an additional group in their city and another in Ishinomaki City, a coastal city that suffered devastating damage from the tsunamis. Following a series of trainings in group facilitation, two original members of the Sendai Group began serving as co-facilitators, and other members played various supporting roles in these new groups, which began in the fall of 2012. Later a member of the newly created Ishinomaki Group expressed an interest in initiating a group in a nearby town, Onagawa, and we began this new group in the summer of 2014. In an effort to reach out to young women, we collaborated with an NGO operated by and for young women in Fukushima to create a new group for young women. In addition, in 2014 we created two groups in the Tokyo Metropolitan Area, where the largest number of evacuees reside. In the summer of 2017, a member of one of the Tokyo groups expressed an interest in reaching out to women in Fukushima City, and together we created a new group there.

Over time, the two groups in Sendai chose to merge, the young women's group ceased to meet, and two groups in Tokyo also merged. Currently, the project is operating in 7 locations involving over 50 members: one in Iwate Prefecture (Miyako City), three in Miyagi Prefecture (Sendai City, Ishinomaki City, Onagawa Town), two in Fukushima Prefecture (Koriyama City, Fukushima City), and one in the Tokyo Metropolitan Area. All members have experienced varying degrees of loss and damage due to the disaster. In addition to experiencing the loss of loved ones and *acquaintances*, most participants had their homes damaged, and a significant minority had to evacuate to temporary housing. Eight years later, at the writing of this article, some remain displaced. Many have also engaged in collective efforts to assist other disaster victims as part of their regular employment or as volunteers.

The project as an organization also underwent transformation. While the shared goal of making disaster policies and responses gender-sensitive remained unchanged, epistemological and strategic differences grew, and we separated from the national network in the fall of 2013 and

became a self-sustaining program. This proved to be critical to the project's continuing viability as the network terminated its operation in March 2014. In June 2014, we registered our project as an incorporated nonprofit organization (NPO), a strategic decision for garnering societal recognition, legitimacy, and access to grant funding.

3. Creating and Disseminating Knowledge Collectively and Collaboratively

3.1. Photo-Taking, Group Discussions, and Voice Creation

On an ongoing basis now, members take photographs of aspects of their lives and communities and discuss their experiences, observations, thoughts, and feelings in a small group. At meetings, selected photographs are projected onto a large screen to aid discussion. The nature of the photographs varies from one member to another and over time within a given individual. While some photographs are descriptive, such as scenes of destruction caused by the disaster and various reconstruction efforts, others are symbolic and/or emotive.

Group discussions are highly interactive. The author and collaborators facilitate the meetings in a way that encourages moving beyond the one-way narratives of members explaining their photographs to the group. In these facilitated discussions, members are encouraged to collectively analyze the meaning of what they have experienced and/or witnessed; explore underlying sociocultural, sociopolitical, and sociohistorical factors and processes; and formulate strategies for bringing about change.

At various points, members create voices for the selected photographs. Voices are written messages that members wish to convey based on their experiences, reflections, and analyses. While some voices are descriptive accounts of what is captured in the photographs, many voices point to various social processes related to the disaster and its aftermath, often exposing the limitations of current disaster policies and responses and aspects of society that they find unjust, contradictory, hypocritical, or otherwise problematic. The creation of voices entails additional collaborative, collective knowledge creation. While members sometimes create their voices alone outside of group meetings, members increasingly choose to do so in a group setting where they share their draft voices, receive feedback, and clarify and tighten the messages that they wish to convey.

3.2. Exposing Social Construction of the Disaster

Members' photographs and narratives over the last eight years point to various aspects of the disaster as socially constructed. Members analyze neoliberal economic policies that push those marginalized further out in the name of reconstruction and recovery. While the disaster was a devastating blow to the area's economy, from agricultural and fishing industries to local small businesses of all kinds, certain sectors, such as large corporations in construction and heavy machinery, have profited from the booming "reconstruction economy." Ten-meter walls could not stop the tsunami. Yet the Japanese government has been busy building 15-meter walls across a wide stretch of the northeastern coast (Figure 2). Members repeatedly ask questions

like these: Is this the way to ensure safety? Whose safety is being protected? Who benefits? At whose cost?

Figure 2. The Wall We Can't Stand

There are lots of things we wanted to say. Nothing would change no matter what we said. We had no choice but to accept [the decision made]. But still…. It's been five, almost six years since the disaster. These concrete walls by the sea -- over 10 meters high (nearly 50 ft) -- will continue to stretch around the coast. We all will have to live within these walls.... New houses are being built one after another....Photograph (Miyako City, Iwate Prefecture, February 2017) and Voice by Emi

At group meetings, members discuss the causes and consequences of the nuclear accident at the Fukushima Daiichi Power Plant, critique responses of the government and the Tokyo Electric Company, and analyze the nation's energy policies and economic policies more broadly than before. Members who were affected by the nuclear accident and forced to evacuate examine their relationship to the nuclear power plant, the political and educational messages they have received, and discourse for and against nuclear energy. Members also discover and discuss the nation's welfare policies and programs. Of the many evacuees from Fukushima, only those from the designated areas around the Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Plant are recognized and compensated for their loss and suffering. Evacuees from areas other than the designated evacuation zone are relegated to the category of "voluntary" evacuees. The scarce assistance that existed for voluntary evacuees has been even further reduced (Figure 3). Members have drawn an analogy between aid to disaster victims, voluntary evacuees in particular, and aid to poor and single parents. Facilitated group discussions over time have collectively pointed to the advancement of neoliberal policies and the erosion of the welfare state *before* the disaster, which became (more) visible after the disaster.

Figure 3. Children are Growing Up – Don't Take Away Their Homes

I've lined up my son's shoes in the small entryway of my temporary housing unit. I have kept them as a reminder of how much he has grown. Children continue to grow up, but soon, the government will terminate housing assistance for voluntary evacuees. Where am I supposed to raise my son? I don't want them to force voluntary evacuees like us to go back to Fukushima. I want safe and secure housing where I can raise my son!

Photograph (Tokyo, August 2015) and Voice by Fukushima Nokaze

3.3. Disseminating Knowledge for Change

The initial dissemination of photos and voices took the form of exhibits in community venues, with the first one in Fukushima in November 2012. Thus far, over 55 exhibits have been organized across Japan and some abroad. At selected exhibits, a small group of members speak of their experiences, share their analyses of the disaster, and make recommendations for disaster prevention, risk reduction, assistance, and reconstruction. Verbal and written comments from the audience at these meetings point to the role of citizen documentary, as can be seen from the following response: "I felt the power of the photographs. It is important to keep a record. Photographs help us remember and continue to talk about what happened." The audience responses, in turn, serve to remind group members of the significance of their ongoing collective action.

Members' voices have been translated into English by students and faculty members of the Japanese Language Program at the author's university (limited French translation has also been made by collaborators). This allows dissemination to non-Japanese speaking audiences, including a presentation at the United Nations Committee on the Status of Women meeting (Yoshihama et al. 2013) and exhibits in the USA and France. In March 2015, the Third United Nations World Conference on Disaster Risk Reduction was held in Sendai, Japan. In addition to organizing an exhibit at the conference's NGO Forum and additional exhibits throughout the City of Sendai, PhotoVoice group members attended a workshop cosponsored by the National Women's Education Center and shared their experiences and perspectives (PhotoVoice Project 2015a). In addition, we have thus far published two compilations of photographs and voices

(PhotoVoice Project 2015b, 2018).

As the project has become more widely known, an increasing number of public and private agencies have sought out member photographs and voices as an important source of knowledge and wisdom necessary for more effective and inclusive disaster prevention, response, and reconstruction efforts. The National Women's Education Center has solicited the photographs and voices of group members for inclusion in its national archive of the Great East Japan Disaster. This national archive is linked to the Great East Japan Earthquake Archive of the National Diet Library (the equivalent of the U.S. Library of Congress), which is linked to various archives around the globe. This is an illustrative example of the recognition of the social significance of citizen-generated documentary carried out by our project. At the ministerial level, the Reconstruction Agency of Japan features our project as an example of innovative post-disaster action. Public libraries, universities, and public and private agencies working on disaster-related issues have acquired copies of our PhotoVoice books for their collections. Increasingly, local governmental and nongovernmental organizations are organizing PhotoVoice exhibits on various scales and inviting our members as presenters.

4. Conclusions

Using PhotoVoice-based participatory action research as a case example, this paper has traced the emergence, development, expansion, and continuation of collaborative, collective knowledge development and dissemination efforts over the last eight years since the 2011 Great East Japan Disaster. Begun as participatory action research of a national network of university-based researchers, activists, and professionals, the project unfolded in the context of a colossal disaster and evolved over time to become an independent, organized effort of citizens. The devastatingly immense losses and destruction affecting a large segment of society and the chaotic nature of the post-disaster context presented ethical and logistic challenges to organizing for collective and collaborative action. At the same time, the crisis also incited a sense of urgency for collective action. The group format, rooted in the epistemological traditions of critical, emancipatory, and feminist inquiry, has lent itself to collaborative action. When participating members saw the need for and meaning of this type of collective, collaborative action, they took the initiative and invited more women to join, resulting in the gradual expansion of the project.

In this ongoing endeavor, women, whose perspectives have not been conventionally incorporated in academic or policy discourse, have accumulated new knowledge and put it into action. Members serve as co-investigators and co-creators of knowledge, producing and collecting empirical data (i.e., photographs, voices, and group discussion narratives) and engaging in collective, collaborative data analyses through repeated group discussions and via the creation of voices. They also disseminate the knowledge we have acquired to inform policymakers, practitioners, and citizens at large and advocate for more effective disaster policies and responses. By handing a camera to women affected by the disaster and creating ongoing, collaborative space for collective examination and discussion, the project has captured and amplified the often neglected experiences and perspectives of women and inserted them into public discourse on important social issues. In so doing, the project has served to break down the monopoly of knowledge production by experts (Fals-Borda and

Rahman 1991; Hall 1977; Maguire 1987) and expanded what is considered legitimate or expert knowledge.

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6. Methodological Appendix

Upon approval from the respective institutional review boards, we recruited members in collaboration with local nongovernmental organizations using various methods of community outreach and communication suited to local conditions. In some localities, we visited and recruited members using flyers at evacuation centers while in others, we used email and word of mouth. Prospective members attended an orientation session to learn about project goals and procedures. After a detailed explanation of their rights as participants, interested individuals signed a written consent. The orientation session also included discussion on ethics and safety issues involved in photo-taking, as well as brief instruction on how to operate a digital camera.

While variations occurred, when possible, the first several meetings were held within a period of two months, with members taking photographs between sessions. Thereafter, meeting intervals and frequencies were determined by local conditions and needs. Currently, most groups meet several times a year. On average, meetings last for two to three hours; some last much longer. At meetings, selected photographs are projected onto a large screen. The number of photographs participants take varies greatly, with some taking over 100 between meetings and others, just a few. The number of photographs projected at meetings also varies. In general, each group member shares two to four photographs per meeting; when time allows, more

photographs are projected. The author and collaborators facilitate the meetings to promote interactive discussions. Along the way, members create voices—short written messages—to accompany selected photographs. Their photographs and voices are disseminated in various ways: in print, digitally, and through exhibits in community venues.

7. Biographical Note

Mieko Yoshihama, Ph.D., MSW, ACSW, is a professor of social work at the University of Michigan, USA, and also the codirector of the PhotoVoice Project in Japan. Her over three decades of research and professional activities focus on prevention of gender-based violence and promotion of the well-being of immigrants and other marginalized communities. Adopting a wide range of methodologies, both quantitative and qualitative, art-based, and participatory methods, she examines the intersectional influence of gender, race/ethnicity, immigration status, and other social positionalities on women's safety, rights, and welfare, while also innovating socioculturally relevant prevention and intervention programs. Her 2012 article on the triangulation of theory, research, and community in the development of a socioculturally relevant domestic violence prevention program in a local immigrant community received a *Best Violence Research of 2012*. Dr. Yoshihama received a *Wave of Change Award* from the Michigan Coalition to End Domestic & Sexual Violence for her contribution to social change efforts to end gender-based violence. Since the 2011 triple disaster of the earthquake, tsunami, and nuclear accident in Japan, Dr. Yoshihama has directed the PhotoVoice Project, participatory action research aimed at strengthening disaster policies and responses. This ongoing project received a *Social Design Award* from the Japan Society of Social Design Studies in 2018.

8. Acknowledgements

TRACK
7

Technology
*Maker and DIY movement; open
source technology initiatives;
network manufacturing; medialab
experiences; and hacktivism*

TRACK 7

Technology

Crosscutting Artistic Creations between Technology, Natural, and Social Sciences. Eco-Ethical Stakes and Challenges[1]

Emeline Gougeon[1] and Pierre-Antoine Chardel[2]

[1]LASCO Idea Lab, Institut Mines-Télécom (IMT)
[2]LASCO Idea Lab, Institut Mines-Télécom (IMT), Institut Interdisciplinaire d'Anthropologie du Contemporain, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique, and École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales

Abstract: *On many aspects of our post-Duchampian information societies, a transition from a culture of object to a culture of flux and interaction takes place. Or wouldn't we be in an in-between? Facing up to ecological and technological concerns entailed by mass production and consumption, and more recently by the growing presence of screens, algorithms and robots, not only do we apprehend differently the act of sharing and the idea of common good, but we also are pushed into reconsidering other related fundamental concepts and critical ways of living and being; in other words, our place, actions and impacts in the world. Which values and representations hypermodern societies assign to the idea of intelligence and humanness for instance? Which ethical and esthetic relations is it possible to maintain with life? What kind of thoughts and actions are allowed within the paradigmatic, sociocultural, and technoscientific frameworks in which we live? Since its emergence, what we call art has never ceased to participate in the experience of life in enriching our links to the world. In view of the transformation(s) of our contemporary societies, artistic creation appears to be a singular prism. Our proposal on the impact of collective actions in societal changes focuses on a selection of collaborative art at the intersection of technology and philosophy, natural and social sciences. The projects in question are: The Machine to Be Another by the collective Beanotherlab, the interactive Generative Visual Renku project by Fox Harrell and Kenny Chow, and EDEN by the artist Olga Kisseleva in collaboration with INRA and Orange Art Factory. Addressing the "acting and interactive subject", we will see to what extent these crosscutting artistic forms and dialogues accompany certain societal transformations in shedding light on the notions of humanness and otherness, but also on semi-visible representations and forces that are necessary to question. Therefore, how collaborative art can offer vital sidesteps and critical thinking spaces to create just as necessary horizons of meaning and actions. Finally, this paper aims to question the kind of meaning and actions it is possible to develop; in other words, the considerable eco-ethical challenges hold within our fast-changing societies.*

Keywords: *Art+technology creations, networks, sensitive interactions, ethics*

1. Introduction

On many aspects of our information societies, a transition from a culture of object to a culture of flux and interaction takes place. Or wouldn't we be in an in-between? Facing up to ecological and technological concerns entailed by mass production and consumption, and more recently by the growing presence of screens, algorithms and robots, not only do we

apprehend differently the act of sharing and the idea of common good, but we also are pushed into reconsidering other related fundamental concepts and critical ways of living and being; in other words, our place, actions and impacts in the world. Which values and representations hypermodern societies assign to the idea of intelligence and humanness? Which ethical and esthetic relations is it possible to maintain with life in a time when the dominant paradigms refer to principles of identity and identification? In such a context, more than ever, the arts need the social sciences to produce critical alternatives and "lines of flight".

In French documentary "Will artificial intelligence overtake us?" (L'intelligence artificielle va t'elle nous dépasser?) (Depardieu and Martin 2018), to the question of what will remain to humans with the expansion of artificial intelligence, Yann Le Cun, Chief Artificial Intelligence Scientist at Facebook AI Research, answered that, as "robots will manufacture everything that is material, (they) will allow us to concentrate on the really important things in general, it means human-to-human interactions, communication of emotions, art, art is the communication of emotions." (Documentary 2018).

Corollary to this presence of technologies, contemporary societies are marked by a kind of global however fragile and complex awareness. Human species, composed of individualities constituting a variety of communities, currently lives and inhabits, alongside a breadth of other living species, in fragile, limited and endangered ecosystems. Full of paradoxes and ethical tensions, we nonetheless tend to realize that coexistence and collective intelligence are among the most important keys to face these serious and fundamental issues. These concerns are linked to "the really important things" mentioned by Le Cun. Presuming that robots could manufacture everything the fact remains that there still is a long way to go to better understand "these important things" whereas ecological crises are already here. Human-to-human interactions, human-to-other species, and human-to-machine interactions are complex interdependences where biological, representational, cognitive, socio-cultural, technical and environmental aspects are intimately linked. And such combinations are precisely not without ethical consequences.

In this regard, Japanese philosopher Tomonobu Imamichi is careful to decipher a world which is increasingly defined by what he terms "technological cohesion" and which, by creating logics of interaction, enables a greater awareness of what links us to each other. This technological cohesion is however ambivalent (Imamichi 1984:4), because what links us virtually is also what tends to lead to our fall in moral terms. The virtual link can in fact give rise to a singularly strong dissolution of our sense of responsibilities. Because of the vast increase in the number of mediations, we are no longer in a position to clearly observe the consequences of our actions. Technological mediations lead to the building up of an invisibility which turns out to be detrimental to our awareness of the impact of our actions on others; they are thus likely to lead to a dissolution of the sense of morality because of the distance they tend to generate between oneself and others (Chardel 2013:18).

But what does it mean to be in the world and have an impact on it? Being in the world means allowing the other to be beyond oneself, and respecting the differences which irrevocably separate individuals, while recognising the importance of remaining anchored in the sphere of being. From this viewpoint, extension outside oneself is not a denial of the density of being oneself. On the contrary, it presupposes a certain degree of perseverance in being, which is the

true prerequisite for the possibility of opening ourselves up to others.

At this level, the concept of meditation plays a central role. Meditation is what prepares someone for the moment of action, the moment when you move towards the other. And it is important to be attentive at this prior moment, and to the "place" where the act is to be deployed. The reference to "place" is there to remind us that it is in the immanence of the world that the other reveals himself to us. It also refers to the possibility of sharing a "felt" and symbolic experience. It is thus by incorporating a reflection on the countless technological upheavals, which affect our mode of coexistence that we should now think about our relationship with the world. Wanting to live together is not just an ideal. It refers to material conditions, to mediations, and to primordial forms of technicity. If a community brings together people who share a certain territory, the sharing of common representations – which gives rise to a collective subjectivity, a mentality, an imaginative dimension – cannot be conceived independently of the material configurations assumed at each period by space and duration: "The practical regulation of our coexistences depends on technical modes of appropriating our environment" (Debray 2002:100). But our technological environments are not without creating very specific forms of withdrawal, of information bubbles. More than ever, art practices can intervene for more reflexive ways of interacting with technological innovations.

With its abilities to use the intellect, imagination, intuition and feelings; involving the body and the other, and more or less directly an environment; interacting more freely with other fields of knowledge, art is a singular prism. Since its apparition, at least from the traces we have, art has never ceased to participate in the experience of life, accompanying the consciousnesses, techniques and productions of societies; and this even though art is a concept that needs to be contextualized to be understood. However, and although collaborative actions are not a new practice in the arts, we will see through a selection of crosscutting art projects how they seem to bring useful inputs in approaching three ethical tensions at stake within our contemporary societies. In what sense are these tensions significant? What are their impacts on the understanding we can have of the present time?

2. Process vs. Identity. Being Present & Identification

Art History professor Grant H. Kester described a shift from a concept of art as something envisioned beforehand by the artist and placed before the viewer, to the concept of art as a process of reciprocal creative labour (2011:7). Wouldn't it also be the labour of consciousness, a process of awareness?

Among the issues that accompany the transformation of contemporary societies, one of the questions that underlies our paper is the meaning and the fact of being human. It is now the question of our humanization. According to paleoanthropologist Anne Dambricourt-Malassé, humanization is the combination of three elements: first, our verticality, which is also the verticality of the central nervous system; second, the idea of an ongoing process (organized, self-organized process that becomes more and more complex; process that, since, has never stopped); and the third feature is our consciousness. As the paleoanthropologist explained:

> *"Contrary to hominization that is determined, as embryonic origin of verticality shows, humanization is what is not genetically encoded. Humanization is what is not acquired, not determined. Humanization is fragile. It is the ethical relation and connection with life, which is impossible without understanding the environment and our links with it. (…) There is a deep affiliation with the history of the universe. This mechanism of evolution is within us". (Talk at the Egdar Morin Chair on complexity [Chaire Edgar Morin de la complexité] 2017).*

From this perspective, it is interesting to see to what extent being human resonates and how deep the idea of an ethical relation may be connected with what constitutes the world in which we live. Seeing and being aware of the living and the various environments in their richness and complexity is related to our thinking skills, and maybe more importantly our critical thinking. It is also our capabilities of perception, and the possibilities to have feeling, curiosity and intentionality. Thus, being able to build an ethical relation to life and the other largely depends on what Colombian-American anthropologist Arturo Escobar calls our "thinking-feeling process". This enables us and implies to (take) care about (of) the other, which is also the other per se.

'The Machine to Be Another' is an artistic collective project addressing the perception and comprehension of the Self based on the understanding of the Other with the aim to approach the relation between identity and empathy. Designed by Beanotherlab, interdisciplinary group of artists, researchers and activists, "the project merges performances with protocols of neuroscience experiments, in order to offer users an immersive experience of seeing themselves in the body of another person." (Bertrand et al. 2013). Supported by the Media lab Hangar and the Universitat Pompeu Fabra in Barcelona, the low-budget virtual reality system was tested in a series of experiments with local communities in Spain. Combining elements of telepresence and performance, the system generated the psychophysical experience of being present in the body of another.

"The users movements were coupled to those of the performer through head-mounted displays, head tracking, headphones, microphone and servo controlled cameras. The performer followed user's movements in an identical space." (Bertrand et al. 2013). Thus, they were able to interact with objects, their own body, as well as the internal narrative of the performer's thoughts and memories that were recorded. The team worked on mother-daughter relationships, on body extension, gender swap and empathy towards an immigrant. In this latter, as explained on the collective's website, users could see themselves in the body of Youssoupha, an immigrant from Senegal living in Spain. Youssoupha shared stories about his childhood, his love for dancing, and his immigration, according to the interaction of users with objects in the room. Such a dialectic is obviously opposed to the policies of inhospitality and suspicion that prevail today, by introducing particularly violent logics of separation and exclusion, of scrapping.

Figure 1. Youssoupha Letting the User See Himself through his Point of View
Note: This figure was taken from the paper published by the collective about the system
'The Machine to Be Another'

From all experiments, the group collected the statements from users that shared their newfound awareness and interest towards "the other". According to its designers, this hybrid and flexible approach "could be used in a wide variety of (social) embodied applications for performing arts, systemic psychotherapy, neuro-rehabilitation, and empathy research." (Bertrand et al. 2013).

Technology appears to be in such cases a powerful social tool. However, face-to-face contact, as we find in Emmanuel Levinas' thesis, is in a way irreplaceable in the experience we can have of others. While Levinas has not specifically written about new technologies, his lines of thought can alert us in a very useful way. He suggests for example that we should consider that the appearance of the face of the other marks the beginning of ethics. It is thus not just a face I see on a screen, but a face which comes to take hold of, and destabilise, my consciousness by constituting itself as such. By addressing the other directly, I expose myself to the risk that is inherent in all real interlocutions. "It is essentially through words spoken face-to-face that the ethical relationship is established, and that the Other destabilises the clear conscience that the self coincides with itself." (Levinas 1994:118).

Implicitly, Levinas warns us against the latent risk of losing faces or a certain degree of proximity, which is considered to be necessary for the development of a genuine awareness of others. With such analyses in mind, experiments as developed by Beanotherlab appear to be all the more necessary, especially as, additionally, they question us on how well we know ourselves, what do we know about the other, the "stranger", a friend, our family members; to which extent are we able to feel empathy through but also without technological systems. How do we create and maintain links?

With regard to technological systems, the incorporation of an aesthetic dimension in the relationship we have with technologies not only guarantees singular and heterogeneous uses, enabling the production of variations, but also reinforces the idea that technology does not systematically establish a relationship of provocation with regard to nature and human. Technologies refer to complex interactions that do not simply engage instrumental rationality, but invite us to be sensitive to what escapes us with the naked eye.

3. The Visible and the Non-visible

The potential and virtual displacing of the "I" is one of the actions towards an ethical relation to life that could accompany the transformations of contemporary societies. Which meaning do we give to the other, to living beings and non-living agents? How technological systems reduce, control and fix their objects and subjects? How do they make us reduce the other? How data and information are used and interpreted?

These questions include two sides, two responsibilities: on one hand the purposes of the decision-makers, programmers and designers, whatever they may be; on the other hand, the appropriations of the user, the viewer, regardless the application is. In the perspective of sharing societies, the game of exhibition and concealment has taken another dimension; and this at the exact heart of the technological systems. Whether this is "by nature" or done on purpose, some things are shown, others hidden; some of them are visible while others are simply non-visible.

In their own ways, the two following projects deal with this tension. Connected to data of the Internet, algorithms relate how and on which topic people may interact to each other the most. This was one of the objectives of the collaborative project Stalagmemes. Displayed at Palais de Tokyo in Paris in 2017 for the exhibition *The Dream of Forms* (*Le Rêve des Formes*), Stalagmemes was conceived by the artists Jonathan Pêpe and Thibaut Rostagnat and mathematician David Chavalarias. The interactive platform attempted to make traces of what is called "collective intelligence on the Internet" perceptible: "Our digital societies leave multiple traces on the web and social networks, which accumulation is the support of a collective intelligence." (Lecture Chavalarias 2017). Resembling stalagmites, the forms of Stalagmemes came from the data analysis of Climate Tweetoscope at the time of the Conference Of the Parties 21 (COP21). Developed by Chavalarias at the Institute of Complex Systems of Paris, Climate Tweetoscope collects and represents data that are exchanged on the web about climate change. Technically, the authors developed connectors and processing chains to adapt Tweetoscope's data to the installation using techniques from video game industry to transpose these collective phenomena into a poetic space. Through this interpretation, we are also reminded that all productions are biases, even aesthetic and formal appropriations. Just as the question of identity, it is always a matter of what is shown or visible and what is not, deliberately or not. Technologies are as powerful tools of visualization as they are ambivalent with regard to both the data that are used and shared, as much as their interpretations.

Because seeing and knowing facts don't seem to be enough. In the case of the ecological crisis, we clearly see that knowing facts doesn't stop us from destroying ecosystems balances. Manifestly, economical and political motives are at stake. However, as the doctor in neurosciences Sébastien Bohler reminds us in his book *The Human bug* (Le Bug Humain) (2019), short-term visions, contradictory behaviors and inactions may also find explanation with biology, more specifically with the striatum and the circuit of reward. As a component of the reward system, the striatum releases dopamine and is at the service of satisfaction. It is mainly the satisfaction of fundamental behaviors among which eating, reproduction and parental investment, and with time social status and accumulation of assets. These primary rewards are also driven by "the policy" of the least possible effort. Nonetheless, as highlighted by the neuroscientist "what is interesting is that we can reprogram the striatum and seek different satisfactions. One of

the ways of doing so is through consciousness; in being conscious of what we think and what we do". (Interview Bohler radio show February 2019). Being conscious is at the heart of the visible and non-visible tensions. It enables us to make visible the representations driving our meaning-making processes that will then lead to different behaviors.

In his book *Phantasmal Media*, professor of Digital Media and AI at MIT Fox Harrell tackles those non-visible and semi-visible representations he calls phantasms. Blends of cultural ideas and sensory imagination, these phantasms are at the root of our meaning making processes, influencing almost all our everyday experiences. The author attempts to question responsibilities of both programmers and users in making more visible and explicit the diverse ways of representing and manipulating content, and relationships between humans and computing systems. Playing a considerable role in our sharing societies, computers and algorithms have values and meanings built into their structures. "Technologies are produced in historical-cultural contexts (…). They play powerful roles in establishing, maintaining and transforming social structures as well as empowering and/or weakening individuals, groups and behaviors." (Harrell 2013:345). Stories are told through them.

An example of this work is the Generative Visual Renku project that emerged from the collaboration between AI professor and Kenny Chow from School of Design Hong-Kong University. The Generative Visual Renku was a generative multimedia poetry project "informed by the research into the interplay between visual characteristics (iconity) and underlying meanings (conceptual metaphor) by Masako Hiraga." (Harrell 2013:61). From these elements, the research workers designed Coding Landscapes, Crossing Metaphors, a platform into which a human character, composed by the system, transforms to adapt to the terrain over which it walks:

> *"The animated people are placed into a fanciful topography articulating the nuanced interplay between organic (natural or hand-created) and modular (mass produced or consumerist) artefacts that saturate our lives. (…) The animated people traverse the resultant topography and accumulate possessions based on the spaces they have journeyed through. The landscapes and character transformations (…) illustrate how visual meaning can also be subjectively represented in a manner that takes advantage of an underlying analogy-finding algorithm that structures meaning dynamically". (Harrell 2013:60)*
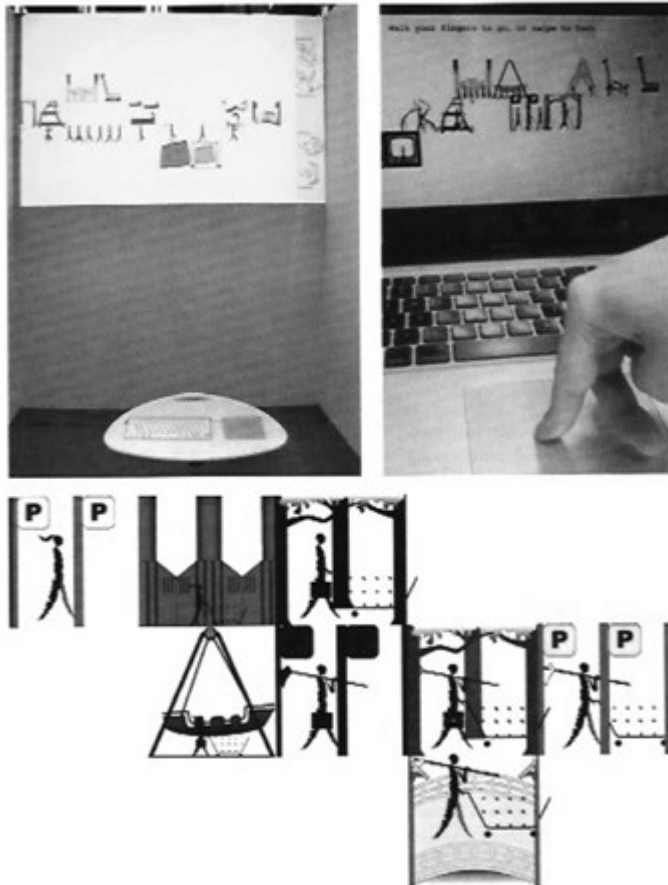
Figure 2. Coding Landscapes, Crossing Metaphors (Left); Walking One's Fingers along a Touch Pad Results (Middle); Character Walking across a Generated Landscape (Right)

Note: This figure was taken from the book of D. Fox Harrell titled Phantasmal Media
(2013:61) – section Imagining and Computing Phantasms

When developers build systems and users interact with them, all bring their own experiences and backgrounds. As reminded by Harrell in proposing a humanistic and interpretative framework, experience is at the root of human meaning making, also in computational media. Making socio-cultural representations conscious, deciphering meaning production, occurs in an ecology involving a variety of agents and cognitive phenomena.

And what we perceive through these collective artistic projects is the extent to which this complex ecology may be reassessed, at all levels. Establishing vital critical spaces and links, it is specifically in a "zone of questioning and indetermination", in reference to philosopher Henri Bergson, that the creative work can be developed, individually and collectively; and whose "expressive goals are of a different nature than usability or productivity-oriented goals." (Harrell 2013:56).

4. The Speakable and the Ineffable

Underpinned by important aspects; from the reassertion of the belief and value systems, to the meaning-making network, by way of the elasticity of meaning, discursive narration and vocabulary, this tension between visible and non-visible elements leads us to the third related resistance: what about "things" that cannot be expressed with words?

During a French radio show broadcasted on August 2018, Francis Hallé, biologist and specialist in tree architecture, explained how, in amazon rainforest, trees suffering from heat can call for rain. Trees emit a molecule that once in the air engenders the formation of storm and rain, specifying that this capacity may be generalized to other regions. Acknowledging that the essential remained to be discovered about the vegetal world, the biologist pointed out the limits of our linguistic system to truly describe it. To the question of knowing if plants were intelligent, he clarified that the word intelligence wasn't appropriated to qualify this green world. To him, the notion of intelligence, as we used it, would only reduce the abilities the plant world has developed to survive but also "to provide for" all the living beings depending on it, and of which we are part. May this help us to perceive to which extend our knowledge, as important as they are, remain limited on some aspects of life, especially maybe on the perception of the connection between non-visible and ineffable phenomena?

In collaboration with National Institute of Agricultural Research (INRA, Institut national de la recherche agronomique), Art&Science Sorbonne Institute and Orange Art Factory, media artist and associate professor Olga Kisseleva developed EDEN (Ethical Durable Ecology Nature). EDEN focuses on a new kind of organic network based on vegetal. With the aim to contribute to landscape protection, the project has been made possible by collaborating with scientists and the help of digital technology. The different devices built within this framework have enabled communication between different trees, and between trees and human. Among various installations such as with drunken forest in Northern Europe, Pines and Elms in Japan, the artist has also established communication with Kauri, endangered species in New-Zealand.

Figure 3. Olga Kisseleva. Installation Functioning Scheme and Sensor for EDEN (Left); Transcription of the Liquid Circulation Dynamics in the Trunk of the Tree (Right); Kauri, Waikato, New Zealand, 2018
Note: This figure was taken from the documentation of the artist presenting EDEN project

Technically, with the analysis of the data from the trees and through the installation, the team was able to connect the biorhythm of the plant with its surrounding world in using plants' expressive language: infrasound and vibration. The artist explains:

> "This network helped trees to optimize their vital mechanisms and to protect themselves from potentials aggressors, and especially from the kauri dieback. (…) Through the

contact with human body, the chosen tree acquires an organic sound identity in a form resembling a heartbeat. Interacting with the installation becomes a meditative moment, both collective and intimate, symbolically reflecting the viewer's own body." (Kisseleva 2017 unpublished document).

Figure 4. Olga Kisseleva. EDEN, 2018
Note: This figure was taken from the documentation of the artist presenting EDEN project

From scientific and artistic perspectives, and in a more interesting and sensitive way when shared, these collaborations show us that even though some communication are non visible and non speakable, they can be explored and established. This is another kind of listening, an art of listening differently. Referring to Michel Serres' work, it appears that we need different kind of dialogues and translations; a translation that consists in linking elements that are a priori immeasurable and incommensurable.

5. Conclusion

In the context of hypermodernity, we can say that with a lot of artistic experiments, we are more intensely encouraged to spurn the fascination which usually surrounds technical objects in the consumer society, by reinscribing them in a complex symbolic universe, made up of differences and shifts. It is probably in this way that new technologies become something through which we learn to see and interpret the world differently. Creations, which are associated with new technologies, act like processes through which singularities can be reasserted in a way that goes beyond the varied logics of standardisation conveyed by the mass media, advertising and marketing. They make possible to maintain the autonomy necessary to the critical amazement in a world in which technological innovation – with the risks it may generate from an ethical and ontological viewpoint – cannot reasonably be accepted as such.

As beings with feelings, people must continue to keep their moral awareness alert, despite the emergence of technological mediations that tend to neutralise the confrontation within which all veritable and authentic interactions with others must remain. This Eco-ethical perspective

suggests to us that the development of responsibility to future generations begins by continuing to pay attention to the quality of the relationships we establish with our contemporaries. There can be no "remote" ethics, that is moral responsibility assumed in relation to future generations, without an aesthetic of coexistence (Chardel 2013:23). It is by cultivating a certain degree of harmony in our relationships with others, and in the very perception we have of the many symbolic forms which nourish these relationships, that we can collectively deal with the problems that the hypermodern society will force us to resolve, by requiring us to make a commitment just as much with our understanding and our imagination as with our sensibility. It is through such arrangements that sharing areas can emerge and offer in our fast changing world some sources of consolation and meaning.

Looking towards the horizon of future democracy, it will be necessary to intensify heterogeneous reception modes of audio-visual media in order to provide citizens with ways of learning how to interpret the multitude of media flows. We will have to learn how to dissociate the technical time of instantaneity from the time of subjectivities, in order to reorganise our collective existence by taking into account ecological issues related to citizens' psychological and mental balance, and their ability to preserve a certain degree of autonomy of judgment. The short time frames of the networks must therefore be counterbalanced by time frames in which we strive to embrace the fate of subjectivities in the complexity of the situations in which they exist, but also the long time frame of our historical consciousnesses. In this respect, the experience of art refers us to a perception of time that is not that of hyper-connexion and instantaneity. This is one of the reasons why it is an incomparable experience both ecologically and ethically.

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7. Methodological Appendix

This joint research began in 2016 following a discussion at EHESS with artist Olga Kisseleva. Marked by several stages, our project was nourished, among others, by the artist's seminar at Sorbonne on "Interdisciplinary projects: art and science", and has, as methodological background, the interdisciplinary seminar "Subjectivity, corporeality and connected objects" organized collaboratively between the IMT, Lasco IdeaLab and ESAD.

8. Abbreviations

• **EDEN:** Ethical Durable Ecology Nature.
• **INRA:** National Institute of Agricultural Research (Institut National de la Recherche Agronomique).

9. Bibliographical Notes

Emeline Gougeon. Graduated from Pantheon-Sorbonne, and as visiting fellow at LASCO IdeaLab, Emeline Gougeon pursues her research on contemporary practices between art, sciences and technology that question the mind-body couple as integrative system, and the multi-level interactions developed with our environments. She participated in the collective book *(Du) Travail Collectif à l'Oeuvre* (Nouvelles Editions Place, 2017).

Pierre-Antoine Chardel is Full Professor of Social Sciences and Ethics at Institute Mines-Telecom Business School (IMT) and member of the Interdisciplinary Institute of Contemporary Anthropology (UMR 8177, CNRS / EHESS). He is the scientific coordinator of LASCO IdeaLab and Member of the scientific committee of the Ecole Supérieure d'Art et de Design (ESAD) of Reims (France). He has published and edited ten books.

10. Notes

1 The authors thank all the named artists. Correspondence should be directed to: Emeline at: emelinegougeon@yahoo.fr

Measuring the Social Impact of Maker Initiatives. Frameworks and Guidelines for Scaling the Assessment on Digital Platforms[1]

Massimo Menichinelli[1] and Alessandra Gerson Saltiel Schmidt[2]

[1]Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology (RMIT) University
[2]AGS Invest

Abstract: *The democratization of technology, education, content and community building brought by Fab Labs and other Maker laboratories increases the possibilities for designers to acquire more technological and practical skills, for makers to evolve their design attitude and capabilities, and for amateurs to acquire both technological and design skills. In this way, Open & Distributed Making and Design initiatives create collaborative collective actions: distributed among several actors, several approaches, several locations and laboratories. The Maker Movement is often based on community-based initiatives that can be found on three levels: 1) a global community local events like Maker Faires and laboratories like Fab Labs with a complex social structure; 2) local communities that form in and around local laboratories such as Fab Labs; 3) the communities that form around the development of projects, especially the ones that are shared with open source digital tools openly as Open Design.*

Furthermore, the ability of this phenomenon of bridging the local and digital dimensions constitute a reason for identifying such movement as a clear example of digital social innovation: people, projects and organizations that use digital technology to tackle social and environmental challenges with a leading focus on social or environmental impact over financial return and a dedication to openness, collaboration and citizen empowerment. What is the social impact of Maker initiatives? How can we assess their value in terms of collaborative action and social innovation?

Understanding their impact would help them in their awareness, communication and management towards sharing societies. We evaluated an existing dataset of 69 Social Impact Assessment (SIA) frameworks in order to understand how they can be applied and to which kind of initiatives. After this evaluation, we elaborated directions for future work towards compiling such framework into a composite index that the common elements of such frameworks in order to provide a simplified and standardized measurement tool with guidelines for its development into a digital platform accessible to Maker initiatives, for self-assessment.

Furthermore, we propose directions for future research, especially for the evaluation of such index and platform with an action research approach and the involvement of all types of stakeholders: civic society, research, business and policymaking. This approach would enable Maker initiatives (but also researchers, businesses and policymakers) to understand what they could have in societal change and economy and therefore improve the way they are organized, develop projects, do research, interact with stakeholders and demonstrate their value. This would, ultimately, help Maker initiatives in better define who they are as both individual makers and as communities of makers and labs.

Keywords: *maker movement, digital social innovation, distributed design, social*

entrepreneurship, social impact assessment.

1. Introduction

The democratization of technology, education, content and community building brought by Fab Labs and other Maker laboratories in the Maker Movement have increased the possibilities for anybody to acquire more technological and practical skills and for improve their design attitude and capabilities (Gershenfeld 2005, 2012; Menichinelli et al. 2015). Professionally trained designers, amateur designers, artists, citizens, are all empowered in their design and making initiatives both individually and with collaborative collective actions through not just technology but also to shared resources, spaces and knowledge.

The phenomena of Maker Movement, Open Design and Distributed Design are often based on community-based initiatives that can be found on three levels that are generated around local Maker laboratories such as Fab Labs, Makerspaces and Hackerspaces: 1) a global community emerging from the interactions and connections of of local Maker laboratories (Menichinelli 2016b); 2) local communities that form in and around local laboratories (Ghalim 2013; Maldini 2014); 3) the communities that form around the development of projects, that often emerges from Maker laboratories but also thanks to digital platforms and open source digital tools (Bonvoisin et al. 2018; Menichinelli 2017). Furthermore, the ability of this phenomenon of bridging the local and digital dimension constitutes a reason for identifying such movement as a clear example of digital social innovation: people, projects and organizations that use digital technology to tackle social and environmental challenges with a leading focus on social or environmental impact over profit and a dedication to openness, collaboration and citizen empowerment. The social dimension of such initiatives is therefore a crucial and structural one, so its assessment is also strategic direction in order to make such phenomena building blocks of the Sharing Economy, in design and manufacturing, in creating solutions and initiatives and implementing them in real life.

Such ability to implement ideas into concrete initiatives, test them, improve them is of critical importance for Makers and Designers, and it is what is transforming them into entrepreneurs, and eventually social entrepreneurs. Assessing such initiatives and their approach would enable makers and designers to act as social entrepreneurs, moreover, in understanding their impact, efforts can be improved and promoted at scale, creating awareness. The research question of this article is: How can we assess the social impact of Maker and Distributed Design initiatives? Understanding their value in terms of social innovation and their impact on the social dimension would help them in their awareness, communication and management. In order to answer this research question, we evaluated an existing dataset of 69 Social Impact Assessment (SIA) frameworks, organized them into clusters and mapped their main elements to categories of Maker and Open and Distributed Design initiatives in order to understand how they can be applied and to which kind of initiatives, more specifically with the focus of implementing them on digital platforms, in order to leverage the access to users, data, functionalities and connected services. Such strategy would work towards improving the Sharing Economy and scaling such initiatives.

2. Making, Design, Social Entrepreneurship Initiatives

The origin or official start of the Maker Movement is normally associated with the launch of the Make Magazine by Dale Dougherty in 2005 with the goal of promoting technology, creativity and fun (The Blueprint 2014). Dougherty defines makers as people who make things, thus all of us are makers (Dougherty 2011). This is a rather broad definition, that helped popularize the term and grow the movement, but not helpful for structuring it since it provides little insight about what makers do or are. Chris Anderson slightly narrows and improves the definition, and considers specific practices and principles, (still with a wide approach to characterize them) with three different features: a) the use of digital desktop tools for designing and prototyping artifacts; 2) the adoption of common cultural practices and collaborative processes of sharing these designs with their communities; 3) the production of artifacts with the use of digital manufacturing technologies, spaces and services (Anderson 2012). The adoption of digital fabrication tools is a key element of the Maker Movement (Gershenfeld 2005, 2012), sharing the projects is another one (Abel et al. 2011; Bakırlıoğlu and Kohtala 2019).

The Maker Movement is a phenomenon connected to the Design discipline since makers can be considered (and often are) designers or a new kind of designers, often working with open, peer-to-peer, distributed and DIY approaches (Abel et al. 2011; Bakırlıoğlu and Kohtala 2019; Menichinelli 2016a). Its preeminent characteristic of bridging the local and digital dimension and the often collaborative and social nature of its activities constitute a reason for identifying such movement as a clear example of digital social innovation (DSI) (Bria et al. 2015; Stokes, Baeck, and Baker 2017), a concept that further extends the definition of social innovation (Murray, Caulier-Grice, and Mulgan 2010): people, projects and organizations that use digital technologies to tackle social and environmental challenges with a stronger focus on social or environmental impact over financial return and a dedication to openness, collaboration, and citizen empowerment. Digital social innovation can be found in different fields such as healthcare, education and employment to democratic participation, migration and the environment, and maker projects can be found in all of them. This represents another connection between the Maker Movement and Design, especially along the reflections about how designers (both expert and non-expert, both formally trained and informal amateurs) are developing and spreading social innovation initiatives toward sustainability (Manzini 2015).

When creating and deploying social innovations both makers and designers can thus perform, at least partially, as social entrepreneurs, and the connection between design and social entrepreneurs have also been debated in positive terms (Agafonow 2017; Brown and Wyatt 2010). Social entrepreneurs are motivated to address social problems using an entrepreneurial approach, develop and implement their innovative solutions to improve communities and the world in which we live, playing an important role in addressing social, economic and environmental challenges. While defining impact models and designing social business initiatives, social entrepreneurs can support the achievement of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). These contributions happen from one or a small number of value chain activities or extend throughout them, and with a focused contribution or with a broad focus on advancing the SDGs (Littlewood and Holt 2018).

These three roles or profiles (maker, designer, social entrepreneur) are not always connected or overlapping, but at least conceptually they are related and a further promotion of this integration

holds great potentialities for both future practice and research, reinforcing any initiative in its design, making and implementation dimensions. On the research side, working on these three profiles and the literature and reflections about them or just even one of them, could shed light to all of them and provide an advancement. On the practice side, further collaboration among such profiles could be fostered, promoting thus an improvement of their initiative and more processes of peer learning and multidisciplinarity. We consider that these three roles are different sides of the Maker Movement, and their improvement could improve the Maker Movement as a whole.
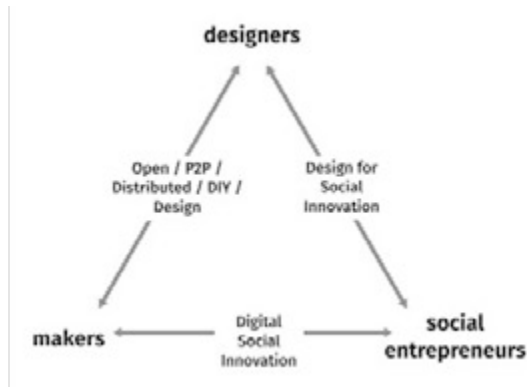
**Figure 1. The Maker Movement as the Integration of Three Profiles:
Makers, Designers, Social Entrepreneurs**

Within this context, one of the issues that has not been explored enough yet is the social impact of this phenomenon: the Maker Movement has a strong social dimension and also social purpose, but what is its impact? If the Maker Movement is a globally emerging rising phenomenon, how can we assess its impact and how many designers and social entrepreneurs could collaborate with it towards achieving social goals? And what is the impact of design for social innovation? Luckily, assessing social impact is an activity that has been already taken for social entrepreneurship, and both Makers and Designers could learn from it, and researchers adopt Social Impact Assessment (SIA) frameworks from it and apply them to the Maker Movement. Furthermore, social entrepreneurs can be considered as the connection between designers and makers especially towards the implementation of initiatives in the practice and then also for the analysis of their impact in the research dimension.

Assessing the social impact of initiatives, however, is not a simple task and it covers several elements: dimension (objective and not objective), threshold (limits), metric (shared consensus about how and what to measure), aggregation strategy (reference population, time frame, incidence, depth/intensity). Several components and approaches can be assessed for measuring the social impact, and therefore several SIA frameworks are available for this task.

3. An Exploration of Social Impact Assessment Frameworks for Maker Initiatives

In order to contribute to this topic and to provide some further insight about how to assess the impact of Maker initiatives, we evaluated an existing dataset of 69 Social Impact Assessment

(SIA) frameworks (Sbeih et al. 2018). The number of SIA frameworks can be high, and the dataset is a useful starting point for considering SIA framework for assessing Maker initiatives. The dataset was produced by the Horizon 2020 MAKE-IT project as a side product of one of its last deliverables (Sbeih et al. 2017) and as an elaboration of an extensive previous analysis of SIA frameworks (Grieco, Michelini, and Iasevoli 2015). Rather than performing a comprehensive impact assessment of the Maker Movement or of single Maker initiatives, this deliverable provided an entry point and guideline to the potentialities that the Maker movement holds for various stakeholder groups of the quadruple helix (Arnkil et al. 2010). No particular SIA model targets specifically Maker initiatives, so no single framework was considered to be most appropriate for Maker initiatives; the deliverable instead clustered the 69 SIA models by data typology (quantitative, qualitative, quali-quantitative), impact typology (holistic, people, environmental, social, economic), model complexity (basic, simple, complex, highly complex), target group (social entrepreneurs, volunteers, ...) and level of analysis (micro, meso, macro). The goal of the dataset was to provide a starting point for stakeholders to choose one or more SIA framework for their purposes, and the deliverable focused instead on providing potential impact of the Maker Movement at societal level through the Scenario Building of three possible directions: 1) making activities are embedded in public institutions (schools, universities, museums and libraries); 2) reshaping the economy through commons-based peer-to-peer production and widespread personal fabrication and 3) the Maker Movement is absorbed by established industries and focuses on start-up incubation and corporate R&D.

While being an extensive collection of SIA frameworks, the dataset can be a daunting tool for any stakeholder without experience in SIA frameworks, and the choice of one or more framework out of the 69 SIA can be problematic. This article therefore represents a first attempt at narrowing the selection of useful SIA framework for the Maker Movement, in order to understand how they can be applied and to which kind of initiatives. As a starting point, we can see how the majority of the SIA framework are directed towards social enterprises (and therefore social entrepreneurs), which is a relevant element for the context of this article that sees makers, designers and social entrepreneurs as the main building blocks of the Maker Movement.
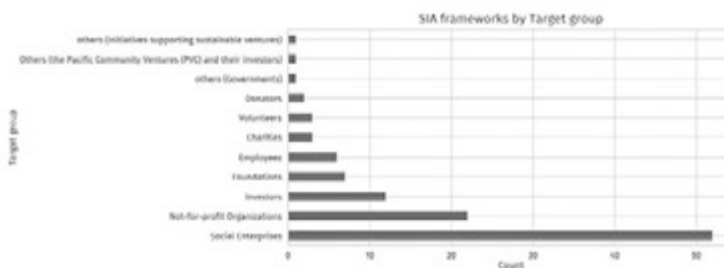
Figure 2. SIA Frameworks by Target Group

Given the fact that the focus of this research is to provide insights for implementing such SIA frameworks on digital platforms in order to make them more accessible and connected to other Sharing Economy initiatives, we narrowed down to frameworks that focus on quantitative data, because they are the ones that are more easily encoded into algorithms and automatized

on platforms. This selection thus consists of Co-operative Performance Indicators[2], LM3 (Local Multiplier 3)[3], MicroRate[4], Social Footprint[5], Social Return on Investment[6], Stakeholder Value Added[7].
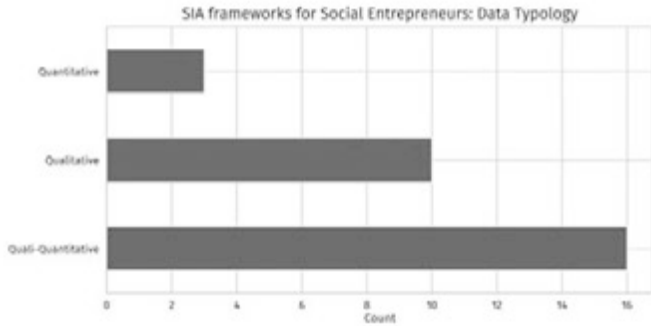
Figure 3. SIA Frameworks for Social Entrepreneurs by Data Typology

SIA Framework	Data Typology	Impact Typology	Model Complexity	Target Group	Level of Analysis
Co-operative Performance Indicators	Quantitative	Society, People	Simple	Social Enterprises	Meso, Macro
LM3 (Local Multiplier 3)	Quantitative	Society, People	Simple	Social Enterprises, Employees	Meso, Macro
MicroRate	Quantitative	Society, People	Simple	Not-for-profit Organizations, Social Enterprises, Foundations, Investors	Macro
Social Footprint	Quantitative	Society, People	Simple	Social Enterprises	Micro, Meso, Macro
Social Return on Investment	Quantitative	Society, People	Simple	Social Enterprises, Employees	Micro
Stakeholder Value Added	Quantitative	Society, People	Simple	Social Enterprises	Meso

Table 1. SIA Frameworks for Social Entrepreneurs and with Quantitative Data Typology

Given the fact that Maker initiatives can take place in communities at three levels and therefore different scales (local laboratories, global networks of local laboratories, global digital projects), we further narrowed down the selection of SIA framework towards those proposals that can provide more than one level of analysis, making thus possible to apply them to several communities from the same context. Narrowing down to multi-scale frameworks, the final selection of SIA frameworks consists of Co-operative Performance Indicators, LM3 (Local

Multiplier 3), Social Footprint.
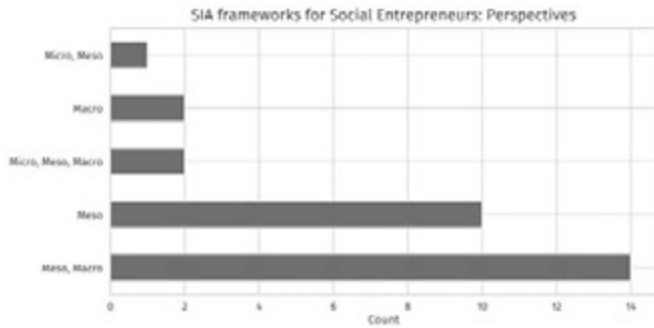
Figure 4. SIA Frameworks for Social Entrepreneurs by Level of Analysis

SIA Framework	Data Typology	Impact Typology	Model Complexity	Target Group	Level of Analysis
Co-operative Performance Indicators	Quantitative	Society, People	Simple	Social Enterprises	Meso, Macro
LM3 (Local Multiplier 3)	Quantitative	Society, People	Simple	Social Enterprises, Employees	Meso, Macro
Social Footprint	Quantitative	Society, People	Simple	Social Enterprises	Micro, Meso, Macro

Table 2. SIA Frameworks for Social Entrepreneurs and with Quantitative Data Typology and with Multi-Scale Level of Analysis

4. Discussion

This first exploration of the dataset provided preliminary results of 3 out of 69 SIA frameworks to be applied to Maker initiatives. Testing all the SIA frameworks with the same cases of Maker initiatives would require critical resources, and this first exploration of the dataset was a first attempt at finding the most promising frameworks in an easier way, and the next sections elaborates also potential future research for overcoming these limitations. In this section we elaborate some reflections for the implementation of the SIA frameworks on digital platforms. This is a more practical implementation but that could also generate more directions of future research, and it is importance can be found in these elements:

• a digital platform would enable the data gathering of Maker initiatives in an easy way, and it could also integrate relevant data from other online platforms or datasets;
• a digital platform would be easy to use for stakeholders and especially Makers, and would thus democratize access to SIA;
• these functionalities could also be integrated to already existing digital platforms for Maker

initiatives (directly or externally through APIs), contributing thus to the ecosystem of Maker services.

The importance of a digital platform has then led to the choice of quantitative-only SIA frameworks. One way for implementing SIA framework on a platform is through a composite index that integrates elements from SIA frameworks and other measurements into a simplified and standardized measurement tool that is easier for the general public to interpret (rather than several indicators at once). A composite indicator compiles individual indicators into a single index on the basis of an underlying model, and together with a digital platform it could help to systematically observe impact at scale by aggregating single Maker initiatives to provide a bigger picture, but also enabling single initiatives to assess themselves and see their place in the overall Maker Movement. OECD and JRC elaborated a handbook and ten steps for developing a composite index (2008):

1. Theoretical framework: provides the basis for the selection and combination of variables.
2. Data selection: based on the analytical soundness, measurability and relevance.
3. Imputation of missing data: to provide a complete dataset.
4. Multivariate analysis: to study the overall structure of the dataset.
5. Normalization: to render the variables comparable.
6. Weighting and aggregation: following the underlying theoretical framework.
7. Uncertainty and sensitivity analysis: to assess the robustness of the composite indicator.
8. Back to the data: to reveal the main drivers for the overall results.
9. Links to other indicators: to correlate the composite indicator (or its dimensions) with existing (simple or composite) indicators.
10. Visualization of the results: to enhance interpretability.

In order to integrate several framework and a digital platforms, we propose a new process that extends this one, and that could be a further direction for this research:

1. State of the art: research and comparison of existing SIA framework with real-life cases.
2. Theoretical framework: provides the basis for the selection and combination of variables.
3. Data ontology: integration of the SIA framework into a first structured data format that connects them.
4. Data selection: based on the analytical soundness, measurability and relevance.
5. Imputation of missing data: to provide a complete dataset.
6. Multivariate analysis: to study the overall structure of the dataset.
7. Normalization: to render the variables comparable.
8. Weighting and aggregation: following the underlying theoretical framework.
9. Uncertainty and sensitivity analysis: to assess the robustness of the composite indicator.
10. Back to the data: to reveal the main drivers for the overall results.
11. Links to other indicators: to correlate the composite indicator (or its dimensions) with existing (simple or composite) indicators.
12. Visualization of the results: to enhance interpretability.
13. Implementation: development of the software functionalities for data entry (user interface, database), analysis (algorithm, computing services), visualization and discussion.
14. Validation: testing the resulting digital tools and platforms with stakeholders and real-life cases.

5. Conclusions

The social dimension of the Maker Movement is a crucial and structural element and its assessment is therefore strategic. Makers could be better understood, we argue, if we consider them as a mix of three different profiles: makers, designers working on social innovation and social entrepreneurs. Addressing the social dimension and especially the impact of these actors would improve the role of the Maker Movement as a building block of the Sharing Economy, in design and manufacturing, in creating solutions and initiatives and implementing them in real life. This approach would enable Makers' initiatives (but also researchers, business and policymakers) to understand what they could bring to society and economy and, therefore, improve the way they are organized, develop projects, do research, interact with stakeholders and prove their value in a clearer way for the ecosystem. This would, ultimately, help Makers (and designers and social entrepreneurs) in better define who they are as both individual makers and as communities of makers and labs.

In order to contribute to this topic and to provide some further insight about how to assess the impact of Maker initiatives, we evaluated an existing dataset of 69 Social Impact Assessment (SIA) frameworks provided by the MAKE-IT project (Sbeih et al. 2017, 2018). The dataset has the goal of providing a starting point for stakeholders to choose one or more SIA framework out of 69 options. Within this article we operated a first exploratory analysis with the goal of finding what are the potential SIA frameworks for makers, designers and social entrepreneurs, identified three main frameworks and elaborated some guidelines for implementing them on digital platforms.

This article contributes a first exploratory analysis, and therefore it is limited in scope. An important constraint is the work on an existing dataset with its own limitations, so future research should address also other sources as well. The possibilities given by a dataset structured in this way are also limited, more clusters and categorization should be added in order to make it easier for stakeholders to choose a framework. Furthermore, the exploratory analysis should be then improved with the application of the chosen SIA frameworks to real life cases for a better understanding of the pros and cons of such frameworks. Qualitative frameworks have been excluded since their implementation on digital platforms could be problematic, but their adoption and how to implement them on digital platform could represent a relevant direction for future research, especially considering the role of human actors in the assessment and in the digital platforms, coupled with machine learning and data analyses. Prototypes of the composite index, interfaces and algorithms for encoding the SIA framework into software functionalities should be developed and tested. Finally, the evaluation of the composite index and the digital platform functionalities should be validated with an action research approach and with the involvement of all type of stakeholders: civic society, research, business and policymaking. This validation should take place with Maker initiatives at the three levels (micro, meso, macro), if possible by selecting each of them from the same locality and by comparing them with different localities, and with digital platforms or prototypes.

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7. Methodological Appendix

1. Analysis of existing dataset of SIA frameworks.
2. Browsing the dataset for SIA frameworks for social entrepreneurs.
3. Further browsing the dataset for SIA frameworks for social entrepreneurs and quantitative approaches.
4. Further browsing the dataset for SIA frameworks for social entrepreneurs and quantitative approaches and with multiple level of analysis.
5. Development of reflections about the potential SIA framework for digital platforms.

8. Data Sources

Sbeih, Janosch, Bastian Pelka, Marthe Zirngiebl, Jeremy Millard, Elisabeth Unterfrauner, David Langley, Bart Devoldere, Christopher Graetz, and Mathias Cuypers. 2018. 'WP6 SIA Model Matrix Dataset'[8].

9. Abbreviations

• **SIA:** Social Impact Assessment

10. Biographical Note

Massimo Menichinelli, research fellow at RMIT University and doctoral candidate at Media Lab Helsinki (Aalto University), has investigated, lectured, published and worked on the connections between Design and Open Source, Peer-to-Peer, Fab Labs and the Maker movement since 2005.

Alessandra Schmidt, head of AGS Invest, a consultancy firm focused on social and environmental development initiatives, supporting communities' pathways for social innovation. Graduated in Business, with a master in Social Development Practice at UCL. She is a former Chevening scholar at the Foreign and Commonwealth in the United Kingdom.

11. Notes

1   massimo.menichinelli@rmit.edu.au
2   The framework can be accessed here: http://www.nefconsulting.com/our-services/evaluation-impact-assessment/
3   The framework can be accessed at http://trasi.foundationcenter.org/record.php?SN=95 and http://www.pluggingtheleaks.org/resources/plm_lm3.htm
4   The framework can be accessed at http://trasi.foundationcenter.org/record.php?SN=92 and http://www.microrate.com/products-ervices/mfi-ratings-and-evaluations
5   The framework can be accessed here: http://www.sustainableinnovation.org/
6   The framework can be accessed here: http://www.redf.org/
7   The framework can be accessed here: http://www.uni-lueneburg.de/csm
8   The dataset can be accessed here: http://make-it.io/open-data-api/

TRACK 7

Technology

Makerspaces as Knowledge Infrastructures for the Factory of the Future

Raúl Tabarés Gutiérrez

Fundación Tecnalia Research & Innovation

Abstract: *Makerspaces, hackerspaces and fab labs have becoming widespread during the last years all over different cities of the world. These kinds of collaborative spaces equipped with digital fabrication tools and other technological equipment have gained in importance lately because of its potential for renovating education practices, fostering collective open innovation and promoting community resilience.*

Several stakeholders have adopted particular strategies at the policy level for supporting makerspaces throughout different initiatives in countries like USA, China as well as in the European landscape. The trend towards the institutionalization of maker culture in these countries has been focused in aspects such as education, entrepreneurship and innovation, while stressing the opportunities for transformation that the maker movement can help to flourish. In addition, other initiatives have been also encouraging the collaboration between these communities with established professionals such as designers, artists, artisans or manufacturers. The promotion of these alliances is rooted in the premise that maker communities are composed by a subset of individuals that holds a combination of expertise, attitudes and values that can be beneficial for speeding up innovation cycles, extending their networks and testing new businesses approaches.

These open source communities rely on physical spaces as well as digital infrastructures, that host a growing number of shared resources for developing technological artefacts. These assets that are freely available on the Internet and the Web have been commonly argued as representatives of digital commons, which represent knowledge connected infrastructures that these communities use, help to maintain and to grow up.

In this paper, diffusion of makerspaces across the international geography is analyzed as well as the spread of digital platforms oriented to DIY ethos, and the growing popularity of maker culture in society. The author focuses on the increasing interest of institutions and policy makers in this field and how different hybridization between these communities and other stakeholders are encouraged for promoting and speeding up innovation.

For achieving this goal, partnerships between makers and manufacturers funded by the OpenMaker[1] project are examined in a cross-case analysis. The author reflects on the role of makerspaces as knowledge infrastructures that are widely dispersed but connected throughout digital technologies, and how different projects cultivated in these spaces are proposing alternative itineraries and incentives to the current R&D systems. In this sense, development of future forms of work based in advanced skills, specific knowledge and digital commons are critically examined.

The author proposes the metaphor of "Factories of the Future" to critically asses how new forms of work are rising throughout digital platforms, urban labs, and alternative forms of organization, in a transition to a more entrepreneurial and innovative citizenship.

Keywords: *DIY, P2P, innovation, digital commons, maker culture*

1. Introduction[2]

As society is being continuously reshaped by the development and expansion of digital technologies, new digital cultures are rising in relation to the social groups that are affected and transformed by them. Some communities are also fueling alternative cultures as a response to the technology-driven approach that is being pushed by the logic of the market and the valorization of IPR. In this sense, alternative forms of technological appropriation are being popularized thanks to the quick spread of FLOSS software and open hardware, that belong to the digital commons domain. These counterculture movements are also developing alternative paths to the R&D ecosystem, demonstrating that innovations can be also developed outside of the academia and industry. For this reason, there is a major need for providing a critical inquiry about the development of spaces such as makerspaces and its role in promoting alternative itineraries to the current R&D systems.

2. Maker Movement Evolution

Digital fabrication labs such as makerspaces, fab labs and hackerspaces have become common during the last decade in several cities in the developed world (Kostakis et al. 2015; Niaros, Kostakis, and Drechsler 2017; Ramella and Manzo 2018). These spaces oriented to promote experimentation, prototyping and collaborative learning, have largely benefited by the popularization of the maker movement in society (Dougherty 2012; Hatch 2013). Although the term "maker" (Anderson 2012) is relatively young, this recent branch of the DIY philosophy is also a continuation of previous marginal communities that were interested in technology experimentation, prototyping and tinkering (Tabarés-Gutiérrez 2016). In this sense, pirate radio broadcasting (Haring 2008), the Tech Model Railroad Club (TMRC) of the MIT (Levy 2010) and the Chaos Computer Club (CCC) (Maxigas 2012) are some of the precedent examples of this DIY ethos in technology engagement. Makers also shared several values that have been also forged by these previous communities and are commonly known as the "hacker ethic" (Himanen 2002). This mindset stresses the role of openness, sharing, collaboration, creativity, critical thinking and resilience at the level of community in the development of open source collaborative projects (Dellot 2015; Tabarés Gutiérrez 2018).

This new wave of DIY is mainly driven by the expiration of several patents in 3d printing and microelectronics, as well as the irruption of different low-cost open source innovations such as Rep Rap, Arduino or Prusa that have also helped to consolidate what has been commonly known as "open source hardware". These kinds of artefacts possess an open-design that permits a public access to their specifications and diagrams and allow to share and to replicate them under free licenses (copyleft) (Lindtner, Greenspan, and Li 2015; Smith et al. 2017; Tabarés Gutiérrez et al. 2018). These innovations have opened up new opportunities for cultivating STEM education, innovation and entrepreneurship in citizenship. In addition, the emergence of several digital platforms such as Thingiverse, Hackster.io and Instructables among others, have facilitated accessing to 3D designs, diagrams, documentation, tutorials and other resources of great value for maker communities. These kinds of collective digital infrastructures are also part of what has been also framed as digital commons (Fuster-Morell 2010; Gutiérrez 2018), and in combination with the emergence of the physical spaces have allowed to develop several technological objects that doesn´t belong to the classical models of innovation (Echeverría

2008; von Hippel 2017). Moreover, the organization of different events such as maker fairs, mini maker fairs, and other dedicated workshops or trainings have also helped the maker movement to gain visibility to the general public but also to reinforce and extend the personal connections of the individuals that identify themselves as makers (Tabarés Gutiérrez 2018).

Last, the media exposure that have received these communities of open source innovators by some publications such as Make magazine have contributed to the development of a technological hype about the potential of the maker movement in different sectors (Sivek 2011). Something that has been also criticized by some authors in relation to the educational barriers that need to be overcome for accessing the knowledge that is required to take part on it (Morozov 2014), as well as the lack of plurality that can be founded on the individuals that are part of these communities (Whelan 2018).

3. Institutionalization of Maker Culture

The diffusion of the maker movement has drawn the attention of many stakeholders and policy-makers across the globe (Niaros et al. 2017; Tabarés Gutiérrez 2018; Tabarés Gutiérrez et al. 2018). The perceived potential of this philosophy to reinvigorate different areas such as education, innovation and entrepreneurship for facing the challenges that the Industry 4.0 paradigm (Fuchs 2018; Gutiérrez and Ezponda 2019) is posing in classical industries, has led to different institutions to develop some specific programs or bridges with the phenomena. In this sense, one of the most popular initiatives that has received a lot of media coverage was the "White House Maker Faire"[3]. An initiative promoted by the Obama administration in 2014 and embedded in the "National Week of Making"[4]. This event was also one of the most visible efforts of the past policies of the former US government for promoting STEM disciplines, throughout the public and private founding (philanthropy) of several fab labs across the country.

This strategy was also part of the "Educate to Innovate" programme that made possible a significant number of projects to foster maker culture and "learning by doing" approaches in the educational sector across the country (Ramella and Manzo 2018). Obama administration also supported other initiatives out of the educational sector such as the "Maker Cities" alliance which involves more than 100 cities that have committed to support maker communities in many ways. City councils that are part of this coalition are helping to these individuals throughout funding, restoration of abandoned buildings, organization and promotion of events, and other related activities[5]. Although the Trump administration is not following the path initiated by his predecessor, several stakeholders are still working in these kinds of actions and some significant companies such as Google or Chevron are also funding them (Tabarés Gutiérrez et al. 2018).

Another important reference in this trend towards the institutionalization of the maker movement is China. Several cities of the Asian giant have supported makerspaces during the last years. In this sense, Shanghai was a frontrunner supporting the opening of these spaces (Lindtner and Li 2012) that in Chinese language are known as "XinCheJian" (new workshop or new factory). Later on, other cities in the country such as Nanjing, Beijing, Hangzhou and Shenzen have also contributed to the development of makerspaces throughout the country. The last one boasts of a significant importance as this small village has quickly become one

of the biggest technological hubs in the world where companies like Foxconn or Xiaomi have located their headquarters (Lindtner et al. 2015). These worldwide companies are also famous for having adopted P2P practices form maker culture as a way to remain competitive, reducing costs and establishing collaborative innovation ecosystems (Lindtner 2015). Something that's been an identity sign of Chinese manufacturing since its very beginning (Lindtner and Li 2012). The development of these networks of makerspaces has been backed up by the Chinese Government for favoring the diffusion and popularization of disruptive technologies such as 3D printing, AI or IoT in society (Li 2014), which have been considered of critical importance for the future of the nation.

The EC has also funded several projects that try to understand the impacts of the maker movement in areas such as education and industry throughout programmes like Horizon 2020 or Erasmus+. Some names of these funded projects are Make-It, Making Sense, OPENMAKER or OD&M. In addition to this, it has also showed its institutional support to events like European Maker Week[6] or other corporate events such as "Makers Town"[7] (Tabarés Gutiérrez 2018). Of particular importance, it has been the development of the SWAFS sub-programme in Horizon 2020, which has allowed also to allocate funding to several projects that deal with citizen science, STEAM education, RRI and other elements that are present in the maker culture.

Other countries like Australia are also betting in the support to makerspaces throughout ambitious plans for reinvigorating manufacturing such as "Queensland Advanced manufacturing 10-Year Roadmap and Action Plan"[8], as well as promoting dedicated events such as "BrisMakerFest"[9]. These actions try to encourage stakeholder involvement and are oriented to promote makerspaces as places where industry and makers can meet.

Finally, other initiatives at the city level such the "Xarxa de Ateneus de Fabricació"[10] in Barcelona or the Maker Mile[11] in east London have been oriented to establish synergies with citizens, associations and other groups for generating a more community-oriented impact (Tabarés Gutiérrez 2018; Tabarés Gutiérrez et al. 2018). The promotion of these collaborations lies in the idea that maker communities can have a positive impact in different spaces, as these individuals share several values that can facilitate and accelerate innovation processes. Moreover, their expertise with disruptive technologies such as 3D printing or IoT, can facilitate the development of prototypes, as well as their network-based organizations (digital and physical) can help also to flourish new ideas, share information or accessing to new knowledge.

4. Methodology

For examining the role of makerspaces as knowledge infrastructures, this contribution explores the 22 collaborative innovations between makers and manufacturers funded by the OPENMAKER project[12]. This initiative championed prominent attention as 135 applications all over Europe were received to apply for a 9-month period of acceleration and receiving 20.000€ of funding for developing a functional prototype. Projects dealing with 3D printing, robotics, AI, circular economy, waste recycling, housing and others, were selected through a competition known as PSS[13] and mainly supported by 4 LES located in Italy, Slovakia, Spain and UK[14]. These partnerships have provided significant insights about the different motivations and values that can be found in makers and manufacturers and what are their attitudes towards the digitalization of industry and

the introduction of open source technologies. The analysis of these partnerships has been carried out throughout the documentation analysis (Olabuénaga 2012) of the technical and business reports that those alliances between makers and manufacturers were committed to send every 3 months during the 9-month period that have been funded, accelerated and supported by the project team.

In particular, this contribution provides a cross-case comparison of 3 awarded pilots and delivers some particularities about how these open source technological projects are developed. Information about the pilots, collaboration with different networks, use of specific technologies, modes of organization, motivations to innovate and other characteristics are delivered in the next section. These findings are also exposed in a graphical way (Table 1) to provide a comparison between the 3 pilots analyzed in this work. Data collection has been mainly centered in reporting and self-assessment questionaries' filled by participants in collaborative innovations. This material has provided extensive and detailed documentation about the dynamics of the collaborations for facing technological and diffusion challenges.

5. Case Description

Three cases have been selected to be presented in this section. The cases have been purposively chosen for their international connections, their collaborative development, their social goals, and the social challenges that are aimed to tackle. A brief description of the pilots selected is provided below.

5.1. Aquapioneers

This pilot aims to promote sustainable urban farming in households, offices and schools with a process called Aquaponics. This is a very ancient cultivation technique used by several pre-Columbian civilizations to cultivate on water, without soil and making use of fish excrements as fertilizer. It is 100% organic, twice as fast as traditional agriculture and saves 90% of water compared to traditional agriculture. Aquapioneers kit uses the power of digital fabrication to turn any 50L aquarium into a self-sustaining aquaponics ecosystem[15]. The partnership has allowed to develop a general improvement of the kit and it design as well as adding an open source monitoring system.

5.2. FENPS

Fall Early Notice and Position System (FENPS) is oriented to allow early detection for disorientation or fall of elders and dependents. A warning on any of its devices will be sent to relatives, institutions or associations concerned about their wellbeing. Such devices will be developed to detect problems and report incidents through a wireless network specifically designed for the Internet of Things (IoT) due to its ease of installation, coverage area and price[16]. The partnership has permitted to test and improve the initial idea for delivering a working prototype. In addition, platform functionalities have been also extended.

5.3. Jet Clay

JetClay is an open source platform that explores the world of 3d printing and ceramics, relating the digital and the analog, tradition and technology, makers and ceramists. This pilot seeks to develop a dry clay extruder for ceramics and 3D printing, accelerating European innovation at the crossroads between digital fabrication and the ceramics sector, which accounts for EUR 27.8 billion in production value. They have developed their own tools to make unique pieces of ceramics at the crossroads among industrial design, architecture, interior design and sculpture[17]. The partnership has allowed to upgrade the efficiency of the feeding and force system as well as the extruder. These advances have permitted to improve the efficiency and efficacy of the system, reducing the use of water and clay.

5.4. Cross-case Analysis

The analysis of the collaborative innovations developed between makers and manufacturers offers a very wide kind of collaborations but with certain patterns. Most of the makers involved in the pilots were male, as only two from the 22 were led by a female maker. The majority of them have completed a university degree in engineering or science related fields but individuals with a background in arts, design and handcrafts were usually present too. Projects were also developed in the discretionary time of makers, as they are usually employed or have their own business or income sources. These findings also confirms previous studies in this matter (Dellot 2015; Niaros et al. 2017; Tabarés Gutiérrez et al. 2018; Whelan 2018).

Moreover, the pilots also show a great variety of industrial sectors (metal, textile, toys, architecture, design) as well as different kinds of artefacts, services and products, involving very different technologies (robotics, AI, 3d printing, IoT). At the same time, the majority of the pilots are aimed to provide solutions to pressing social problems that affect particular communities or groups. That´s why topics such as waste recycling, housing, education, ageing, sustainable production or urban design can be found on the description of them.

In the table below (Table 1), it is provided a characterization of key observations in the selected pilots, regarding access to knowledge, technologies involved, collaborations and societal challenges that are aimed to contribute. A specific column has been deployed in relation to the United Nations (UN) Sustainable Development Goals (SDG)[18] to show the interrelation between these pressing challenges and the aims of the selected pilots. Based on these observations and further analysis, several findings emerge that are also discussed in the next section:

• Open source innovations are collaboratively developed.
• Makers rely on disruptive open source technologies for promoting social welfare.
• Collaborative projects that are developed by maker communities depart from the classical incentives and market logic of innovation.
• Makerspaces are alternative places to produce innovations outside the traditional R&D ecosystem.

Pilot Name	Innovation domain	Technologies	Makerspace support	Networks	UN SDG
Aquapioneers	Urban farming	Aquaponics and digital fabrication	Fab Lab Barcelona, Valldaura Self-sufficient Labs	Fab Lab Network, Green Fab Labs	3,4,12,13
FENPS	Aging	IoT	La Caja Makerspace Salamanca	LORA Network	3
JetClay	Ceramics	3D printing	Fab Lab León, Espacio Open	Fab Lab Network, Wikifactory, CREFAB	9,12

Table 1. Key Observations in Selected Pilots

6. Towards an Alternative "Factory of the Future"

After presenting the cross-case pilot analysis, this section is aimed to provide a discussion of previous highlighted points. First, and as it has been shown in the text, the majority of the collaborations between makers and manufacturers have been supported by a makerspace or a maker community that has provided different kinds of resources (talent, machinery, networks, assessment) to the development of the project. This support has been provided through physical interactions but also throughout virtual interactions as these spaces are intensively and widely connected by numerous digital platforms and channels (Niaros et al. 2017; Tabarés Gutiérrez 2018). In fact, the three cases exposed in this contribution are branches of international open source projects. The development of these collaborations between makers and manufacturers have provided monetary resources for developing specific components of the overall innovation that is pursued, as well as new connections and opportunities, but the goal of these projects are far beyond this specific realm. Open source innovations rely on collaborative, distributed and decentralized P2P practices.

Second, makers that have led the development of these pilots trust in disruptive technologies for producing beneficial social impacts throughout their projects. These are some of the values that are also embedded in the hacker ethic and the values that lie in the open source movement, and that have been inherited by the maker movement (Himanen 2002; Levy 2010).

Third, collaborative innovations that have been analyzed here as well as the ones that are developed in makerspaces don´t have the same incentives that can be found in the classical conception of R&D systems (von Hippel 2017). This is due to the different motivations and attitudes to innovate that can be found in the individuals that are part of makerspaces. These individuals and communities aim to provide solutions to social problems that are not properly addressed by the logic of market and the classical mantras of economic development.

Last and most important, the emergence of makerspaces and maker communities encompasses a new approach to innovation that is not currently considered by the classical

conception of R&D systems (Tabarés Gutiérrez et al. 2018). The participatory approaches used, the trust in open source technologies and the different incentives that are considered for innovating in these communities defies the classical Schumpeterian vision of innovation. As it has been shown in the text, the majority of the pilots developed are aimed to provide solutions to current social challenges that are not at the forefront of economic development agendas. This fact confirms that alternative itineraries to the current R&D roadmaps that the main actors are designing are possible, and probably, desirable.

The term "factory of the future" is usually associated with the image of an automated, connected and smart kind of factory where robotics, IoT, AI and other kind of digital technologies will displace the role of humans in production processes. This vision is also aligned with the digitization of industry and what is commonly known as Industry 4.0 paradigm (Gutiérrez and Ezponda 2019). But as it has been shown, there is also an alternative "factory of the future" that is emerging outside the traditional innovation systems in the form of collaborative and shared spaces that are led by these maker communities. In this sense, makerspaces can offer new opportunities and formulas for aligning innovation policies towards societal demands, as well as promoting and enabling technological diffusion, acceptance and appropriation. These capacities will be much needed in coming years, for preventing inequality, polarization, disinformation and many of the problems that technological externalities can introduce throughout a new industrial revolution.

In addition, makerspaces are also offering opportunities for the renovation of innovation policies in relation to the current pressing challenges that society is facing. These open spaces to citizenship can be act as hubs where different experts can work together towards the development of collaborative solutions to multi-complex problems.

7. Conclusions

As it has been discussed in the text, the rising of makerspaces across the international geography has drawn the attention of many policy-makers regarding their innovation potential. For this reason, many of them have developed several kinds of initiatives with the aim of creating bridges between these communities and other kind of established organizations. But these bridges demand new approaches to R&D policies as well as specific languages, dynamics and incentives to meet their particularities. As it has shown in the text, motivations to innovate that maker communities have, differ from the ones that are pushed by the classical market incentives. This classical Schumpeterian vision of innovation is not aligned with alternatives forms of innovation such as social innovation (Echeverría 2008), which demands a major reconfiguration of current innovation policies for exploring and capitalizing on the current pool of talent, ideas and abundant knowledge that lie outside of the traditional innovation ecosystems.

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9. Methodological Appendix

The research context of this contribution has been framed in the collaborative innovations that have been funded by the OpenMaker project. The primary data collection methods have been focused in the self-assessment questionnaires, technical reports and business reports that the participants in these pilots were committed to deliver for receiving the funds. These pilots happened from February 2018 till October 2018.

10. Data Sources

The primary data sources used in this contribution have been gathered throughout the fieldwork carried out in the OpenMaker project

11. Abbreviations

- **AI:** Artificial Intelligence
- **CCC:** Chaos Computer Club
- **DIY:** Do It Yourself
- **FENPS:** Fall Early Notice and Position System
- **FLOSS:** Free Libre Open Source Software
- **IoT:** Internet of Things
- **IPR:** Intellectual Property Rights
- **LES:** Local Enabling Spaces
- **MIT:** Massachusetts Institute of Technology
- **PSS:** Pilot Supporting Scheme
- **R&D:** Research & Development
- **RRI:** Responsible Research & Innovation
- **SDG:** Sustainable Development Goals
- **STEM:** Science, Technology, Engineering & Mathematics
- **STEAM:** Science, Technology, Engineering, Art & Mathematics
- **SWAFS:** Science with and for Society
- **TMRC:** Tech Model Railroad Club
- **UN:** United Nations

12. Bibliographical Note

Dr. Raúl Tabarés is senior researcher at Fundación Tecnalia Research & Innovation. He comprises an area of expertise that combines Digital Culture, Social Media and Social Studies of Science, Technology and Innovation. Raúl achieved his PhD after writing a Doctoral Thesis that mapped out how Web 2.0 phenomenon has influenced the technological development of HTML5 web standard. Raúl has published several papers in journals like *Telematics and Informatics*, *Minds and Machines* or *Arbor*. He has also contributed to several conference papers and book chapters and has been a speaker in different seminars, lectures, workshops and events related with his fields of interest. He has provided trainings in different organizations and he has been involved in different international collaborative research projects such as PLUS (Horizon 2020), IAMRRI (Horizon2020), Openmaker (Horizon 2020), New HoRRIzon (Horizon 2020), InnoSI (Horizon 2020) or OD&M (Erasmus+). He is also a member of 4S (Society for the Social Studies of Science), EASST (European Association for the Study of Science & Technology) and Red esCTS (Red Española de Estudios Sociales de Ciencia y Tecnología). Nowadays, his research is tightly related with issues such as platform economy, digital culture and Responsible Research & Innovation.

13. Notes

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2 This contribution has been possible due to the OpenMaker project funded by the European Commission under Horizon 2020 program and contract number 687941 and by OD&M Erasmus+ project funded under contract number 575063-EPP-1-2016-1-IT-EPPKA2-KA. The author would like to thank all the makers, manufacturers and other highly passionate people in the maker movement that have unselfishly participated in this research for sharing their time, views, ideas and experiences.
3 https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/blog/2014/06/18/president-obama-white-house-maker-faire-today-s-diy-tomorrow-s-made-america
4 https://nationofmakers.us/
5 More information about the kinds of activities delivered by this network of cities can be founded at http://manufacturingalliance.us/wp-content/uploads/2016/06/Mayors_Challenge_Launch_Letter_.pdf
6 https://europeanmakerweek.eu/
7 https://makerstown.eu/
8 http://www.statedevelopment.qld.gov.au/industry-development/hackerspaces-grant-program.html
9 https://absoluteevents.eventsair.com/QuickEventWebsitePortal/brismakerfest/info
10 http://ateneusdefabricacio.barcelona.cat/directori-dateneus/
11 http://makermile.cc/
12 http://openmaker.eu/
13 For a more detailed explanation of the competition see https://openmaker.eu/pilot-support-scheme/
14 For a detailed explanation of LES see https://openmaker.eu/accelerators/
15 For more details check http://aquapioneers.io/es/
16 For more details check https://fenps.alfaiot.com/about
17 For more details check www.jetclay.com and http://www.cioestudio.com/jetclay.html
18 For a full explanation of these goals and their ambitions see:
https://www.un.org/sustainabledevelopment/sustainable-development-goals/

TRACK
8

Politics
*Collaborative forms of political
and institutional governance;
networks of cities, institutions
and citizenship; participatory
democracy; participatory budgeting;
open government; and collective
intelligence for democracy*

Sharing Social Identities and Solidarity. A Study on the Example of Polish Civil Protest Movements

Adam Bartoszek and Rafał Cekiera

University of Silesia in Katowice

Abstract: *We will discuss the theoretical mechanisms of behaviour that constitute a form of "sharing society" and are defined as "identity sharing". The authors propose to identify factors that induce some people to an act of social solidarity with excluded or culturally marginalized people under the pressure of dominant political practices. In the empirical aspect, the project is inscribed in the specific determinants of cultural homogeneity and Pols national ethnocentrism as the foundations of the political conservatism of the ruling right wing in Poland. In these conditions, we can operationalize indicators of "civic solidarity" and manifestations of practices of "identity sharing" that characterize the attitudes of people protesting against neo-authoritarian attacks of the power camp on free media, independent courts, or cultural minorities (including refugees) in their politics. Do the manifestations of "identity sharing" have the ability to overcome the social fears of people who are divided by differences in worldviews – or maybe they strengthen them? These problems will be theoretically analysed using a conceptual framework referring to the following: motives of R. Girard's mimetic rivalry theory; theories of J. Haidt's social morality and ethical intuitions; the effects of sharing identity in the inclusive social networks (R. Putnam); dramatic models of the public scene and the role of a stranger for social actors (E. Goffman); the symbolic experience of a community of values for structuring the conflict of identities (A. Giddens, Z. Bauman). The conclusions will be illustrated by examples of local (Polish) acts of solidarity initiated spontaneously by the participants of civic forms of protest against the language of cultural domination and political stigmatization of cultural opponents. We will examine the hypothesis – important for the final conclusions – that "identity sharing" requires the presence in a common space of actors making gestures of "solidarity" and social media are a secondary and necessary but not sufficient tool to generate such practices.*

Keywords: *sharing identities, solidarity, social movements, civil protest, Poland*

1. Introduction

This study presents the base for a theoretical discussion on the mechanisms of behaviors constituting the form of "sharing the society" defined here as "sharing the identities." The paper delves into the factors encouraging people to initiate public solidarity acts with excluded people or groups who are culturally marginalized under the pressure of the dominant political practices. Even though, social exclusion may be considered as a form enhancement of community group identity, which focuses on the primary cultural environment to protect its value. The investigation dissects variables politically exploited by the rulers in the discourse of power, which are used in crossing the barrier of the symbolic domination over the civil, ethical and worldview rights of minorities. This discourse, in the conditions of media politics'

networking, is aimed at profiling the electorate's attitudes towards opposition community as identity foreign and narrative hostile to the interests of the majority.

It is essential to highlight in the empirical understanding that the analysis of "sharing the social identities" civic attitudes is set in the conditions of cultural and national ethnocentrism, marking the Polish society. Poland as a post-communist country is symbolized by a solidarity social and political upheaval towards freedom and democracy from the eighties of the former century. However, it also constitutes a peculiar social and cultural organism in the European Union. The Political system unitariness, mono-ethnicity and cultural homogeneity, 97% of the population are the ethnic Poles and Catholics (Rykała 2011), constitute the basis for the Right' conservatism currently rules in Poland. Recent studies of social awareness in one of the small Polish towns have substantiated the belief that right-wing neo-authoritarianism refers to a deficient perception of democracy. It is described as the law of the political majority, for governing a society subordinated to a vision of its leader, establishing a political community of simple Poles towards foreign influential groups and elites (Gdula 2017:34). As a result of the media narrative, the government combines "patriotic moralism" with a sense of threat to shared national values and interests by foreign patterns. The neo-authoritarianism of political discourse shapes the social beliefs that one do not needs to feel solidarity or compassion for foreigners. The authority gains its legitimacy from staging the social drama, referring to anti-elitism and the dignity of ordinary people rather than from the populism (Gdula 2017:36-38). Acts of "civic solidarity" and manifestations of "sharing the identities" practices are becoming a form of protest against the neo-authoritarian politics, practiced by excluding the minorities and stigmatizing the ruling party's opponents as the enemies of Polish patriotism.

In the context of right-wing neo-authoritarianism attack on liberal social environments, the practices of sharing the identities are essential not only for shaping a participatory civic culture. The activating forms of civic protest are the expression of a clash of inclusive attitudes, open to customs and worldviews, with the local community's cultural conservatism, closed on multicultural patterns.

2. Theories of Social Identity and Deficits of the Bridging Capital in Poland

The Polish society, as Central and Eastern Europe post-communist country, is an example of problems with a consolidation of democratic political institutions. There are numerous disputes regarding the tensions scale in the systemic transformation process; the extent of economic and social exclusion; "winners" and "losers" division in the social structure as the consequences of the "vacuum" in the social bond (Pawlak 2015) and its impact in in shaping the "generic distrust" attitudes in the collective mentality of Poles. Piotr Sztompka, who studies this cultural syndrome on the Polish society states: "If distrust is rooted in rational evidence (even if subjectively exaggerated or biased) and spreading in society as a culture of suspicion, the changing of such a condition, weakening distrust and rebuilding trust is very hard" (Sztompka 2015:130). Deficits of generic trust in people belonging to different groups and levels of social structure are barriers in activating the bridging social capital.

Referring to the research by Robert D. Putnam team on the traditions of Italian democracy

(1993), it can be concluded, that Polish society demonstrates a significant similarity to the southern Italian regions. It is characterized by a high level of ritual Catholicism, a dominance of familiar binding capital and low resources of bridging initiatives and social support for non-governmental organizations. The conservative government of the Law and Justice party uses the passivity of society towards the associations and organizations activities which defending the civil rights. The attitude of the governmental authorities was reversed towards civil society: they reduce the civic dialogue, have the reluctance to support part of the third sector and has occurred alongside the limitation of financially support from the EU funds (2016 Report:93).

When comparing the resources of binding and bridging social capital in the European Union countries Claire Wallace and Florian Pichler, distinguished five types of countries, ranking the links between informal social networks, social support, and participation in association organizations. The first type is Denmark, Sweden, and the Netherlands; societies with high bonding capital and high bridge capital; the second including Greece, Portugal, Bulgaria is characterized by high bonding capital and low bridging capital; while Poland (and Spain, Malta, Romania, Italy, and Hungary) belongs to the fifth type with low bond capital and low level of bridging capital (Wallace, Pichler 2007:46). The problem of social vacuum in defining the civic identity may be linked with significant deficits of involvement in activities for the common good, through the forms that go beyond the micro-scale of the primary groups' bonds.

Instrumental relations shape the individual's identity in the public bond space based on a limited trust in the legal regulations and institutional practices. As a result, people with low cultural or social capital resource experience a strong ontological security deficit and embrace the attitude of civic passivity or political apathy towards the principles of democratic participation Anthony Giddens, the author of the concept of ontological security as an element of the social identity of the individual, defines it as an emotional phenomenon that includes "the confidence that most human beings have in the continuity of their self-identity and the constancy of their surrounding social and material environments of action" (Giddens 1990:92). Giddens indicates significant participation of religiosity in building trust in the normative regulation of social practices while analyzing the process of constructing the social identity in the conditions of institutional pressure and threats in the sphere of post-modern culture (Giddens 1991:243). In the classic theory of the social constructing the individual identity, Henri Tajfel and John C. Turner assume adaptive settling in the participant of social networks in group relations through the mechanism of its cultural categorization. The identification effect imposed on its primary group and external groups provides an individual with a reference system for different statuses and values. Its emergence in the social environment triggers the individual's readiness to distinguish and favor the "own" group and discriminate against traits and representatives of the "foreign" group (Tajfel, Turner 1979:42-43).

Presently, the identity of individuals is preferably saturated with the process of self-identification then with the assigned status. This conclusion stems from the theory of the liquid modernity by Zygmunt Bauman, who paid particular attention to the problem of taking root in the new cultural structures of people migrating between different societies. The dynamics of economic migrations, which are also a common experience of Poles leaving for work in the countries of Western Europe, is growing. Only in the UK in 2016 there were 984000 people of Polish origin (Hawkins, Mouses 2016:3). Furthermore, as a result of pre-polarization, the social status of the part of the younger generation from middle classes is decomposed. It is therefore processual

or, following Stephanie Taylor and Karen Littleton biographically and reflexively shaped, in a discursive-structural context (Taylor, Littelton 2006:26). The discussion of these phenomena leads to the question concerning the importance of interactional and situational factors in the construction of individual social identity. The issue is the discursive space for building the identity of individuals rooted in a culture saturated with a sense of distrust to the socio-economic system institutions. They feel numerous threats to their social security, from neoliberal work and marketing agencies, strengthening the economic exploitation of human capital.

3. Social Identity and Competition of Ethical Institutions and Mimetic Lust

Linking the individuals' identity with the resources of their social capital appeared to be a significant research perspective. John B. Davis, among others, drew attention to it, analyzing the significance of capitals forms for reducing identity conflicts resulting from cognitive dissonance (Davis 2014). The author analyses the premises inducing individuals to cross the boundaries of instrumental categorization of partners and build trust in pluralistic axiological relations. He wonders: "Why are people, who are different, able to trust one another and cooperate? In 'self-categorizing' themselves in role terms, they see themselves according to how their roles connect rather than in terms of individual interest" (Davis 2014:103). He indicates two levels of conflicts important to the participant identity in social groups. Regardless of the instrumental reasons for rivalry as well as conflict definition of goals, the individual refers to the conflicts of groups activated in her environment, which motivate one to take actions to reduce its significance for own membership in the preferred groups. Hence social conflicts are transferred to the level of internal conflicts as well as solved thus support maintaining trust and readiness to cooperate with the members of the group with whom the given identity identifies oneself.

Building the identity in conditions of inter-group normative conflicts, experiencing the effects of stigmatization denotes a dynamic connection of the axiological and emotional dimension of moral bonds shaping the partners' obligations to mutual loyalty. It is propounded to refer to Jonathan Haidt's theory of moral intuition in the diagnosis of the strength of these ties and their significance for the rationality of ethical choices. According to it, the foundation of the social morality of individuals is located in the emotional reactions of the body, which reacts to ethical offenses against cultural behavior patterns. According to Haidt, human moral sensitivity and ethical assessment are not the domain of purely rationalist argumentation; it is downright the opposite. A pictorial metaphor describes the social-intuitionist model, comparing a moralizing organism to a dog guided by emotional intuition: "Moral justifications are like the tail waving a dog guided by intuition" – since "intuitions appear as the first and strategic reasoning – the second" (Haidt 2014:81, 83).

The inclusion of moral intuitions is influenced by the individual's belonging to a specific cultural community. Social rooting is the foundation of personal identity, since the essence of communal beings, one gains protection and psychosocial well-being by being with others. However pragmatic conclusions from J. Haidt's theory may appear controversial, they present a settling in normative practices. The strength of individual's identity identification with the community renders that "we are ready to believe almost everything that speaks for the rightness of our group" and "we lie, deceive and justify so convincingly that we honestly believe

in our integrity" (Haidt 2014:120, 124).

The identity practices of categorizing and joining into the communities rationalizing the conflicts of groups, and their political representations, are one of the forms of organizing the cultural tensions. There are other mechanisms of regulating competition between people pointed by the anthropology of social conflicts. For instance, the theory of mimetic rivalry developed by René Girard appears as a particularly important and universal diagnosis of these mechanisms. It applies not only to the phenomena of axiological-ideological or political confrontation. Whole contemporary culture with its commercialization and consumption pressure activates the imitative mechanisms of imitative competition around the desire of various goods. The dynamism of the rival imitative parties engages others excluded from the access to the yearned products and increases the normative chaos in the conflicted community (Girard 2006:61-80). Losing confidence in others, perceived as aggressive and manipulating ethical commitments rivals, leads to assigning them the foreign values, hostile identities and finally activates the mechanism of the scapegoat. Inability to achieve the social exchange on the satisfactory level, beneficial to groups considered as unauthorized, directs collective emotions on the culturally "strangers", perceived in the public discourse as the perpetrators of social evil, injustice or existential threats to the common good. Various social environments label and present "scapegoats" of their anger and resentments in discursive figures: a leftish, homosexual, Jew, Gypsy, post-communist, immigrant or other concealed conspiracy power to explain the intricacies of social life to frustrated people. Images of "scapegoats" stigmatize "strangers" and indicate who threatens the symbolic unity and existential prosperity of the national, religious or ideological community. Girard writes that imitative desire is the basis of social violence directed at every culture, especially towards the marginalized (Girard 1987:21-33). Girard perceives the problem of moral purification from the mimetic desire as an opportunity to understand the collective nature of the sources of rivalry and personal responsibility for blaming other people for motivations that lead ones to hurt their neighbors.

This motive may be the base for the practices of sharing social identity in the process of civil protest against acts of stigmatizing the individuals pointed out by politicians as a threat to the national or religious community while fulfilling the instrumental function of "scapegoats". It appears as the moral and social attacks of the weaker, excluded from the rights to equality, dignity or t justice and support. It creates a morally competitive rivalry and does not allow the civic community to understand the evil resulting from collective aggression.

4. Sharing the Identity as the Civic Sensitivity to the Common Good

Mechanism of sharing the social identity will be derived from the acts of inter-group or intercultural interaction. They lead individuals to compassionate moral foundations and motivate them to solidarity gestures with excluded or stigmatized victims of collective aggression. The practice of civil resistance will be presented by a few examples of spectacular action in response to both political pressure and media discourse imposed on the public by the conservative government ruling in Poland.

The actions taken in various places, including the territory out of cities, connect by the belief

in the ethical imperative of undertaking them; vary by the specific content and the number of people involved. It includes one-person, dramatic gestures. One of the tragic examples is the self-immolation of Piotr Szczęsny in Warsaw, who called for reactions to the direction of policy pursued by the rulers, made a dramatic act of self-annihilation, leaving a manifesto with the words "I, am a simple man, one of the crowds like you, call you all – do not wait any longer" (OKO.press 2017). The message has been taken (and put on a banner) by another person whose protest has echoed in Poland to a great extend – Gabriela Lazarek from a small Cieszyn, 36 000 inhabitants, the owner of a hairdressing salon. She goes every day to the city market, frequently alone, protesting against breaking the constitution and allowing the hate. This protest has a symbolic significance – through its determination Lazarek is a testimony for many who agree that society is not entirely passive and apathetic (Karpiński 2017). An ethical imperative of reaction to the dominant aggressive political discourse also had a mass character conducted in the Internet. Following the assassination of the Mayer of Gdańsk, Paweł Adamowicz during the charity collection of the Great Orchestra of Christmas Charity, one of the Internet users proposed a fundraiser via Facebook, for which the president was killed. Its effects have been surprising to all observers: over a few days more than 264 thousands of people engaged in the fundraiser, paid about 3.8 million Euros. The initiator, Patrycja Krzymińska, launched a different collection a few weeks later in consultation with the Gdańsk authorities – to redeem the founding of the European Solidarity Center. The Ministry of Culture and National Heritage deprived this institution, for political reasons, over one-third of its budget. Consequently, it was successful – almost 1.5 million Euros has been raised in an instant. Implications have been made, that the donations did not result only from understanding the need, furthermore exposed a manifestation against the political pressure of power on an independent culture.

The spontaneous movements, following the migration crisis, present the forms of actions, applying in particular into the outlined theoretical perspective of sharing the social identities. Their generator was, on the one hand, ethical discord to be closed to the drama of the newcomers in Europe, searching for salvation and improved decent living conditions. On the other hand, it displays the protest against a categorical politics of closing to the adoption of solidarity policy and attacking the refugees as culturally alien by Polish authority. Not only has the politically efficient fear management contributed to the victory of the right-wing camp in the parliamentary election of 2015 but also dramatically changed the attitude of Poles towards those fleeing war and persecution (Cekiera 2017). However, the anti-lingering narrative imposed by the authorities triggered counter-reaction in several environments. The opposition to the process of infiltration of refugees, i.e., describing them as "'slightly less human' than the members of their group" (Tarnowska 2011:169), combined in the shared activities of the leftist circles with people justifying their protest with the faithfulness of the Catholic doctrine. This phenomenon is confirmed also in the described Girard's theory.

An example of the organization combining all of the above types can be the Civic Initiative Witaj established in Bielsko-Biała (originally called "People from Bielsko-Biała for Aleppo"). Its creation is a consequence of participation one of the residents (Szymon Kułakowski) in Civil March for Aleppo at the turn of 2016 and 2017. Under this banner, several people managed to organize a large concert in the city market during which the dramatic situation of the Syrian fleeing the war was highlighted accompanying by the fundraiser was made. It is important to emphasize the span of the support incorporating several circles, from the anarchist provenance of "Food not Bombs" to Caritas of the Bielsko-Żywiecka Diocese (Cekiera 2018:139)

supported the event. The spontaneously formed group began to co-organize successive events familiarizing the local community with the refugees' problems going beyond the migration crisis. Resistance was expressed against the governmental policy "no refugees" and refusal of the authorities to accept the refugee family in Bielsko-Biała. Simultaneously, other potential areas of activities were sought. To present just a few examples out of many, the action "To Women's Refugees on Women's Day" was organized –the collection of cosmetics and hygiene products for women and girls staying in refugee centers in Poland (03.2017); money for refugees during amateur theatre groups was collected (11.03.2017). In parallel with these activities, the educational activities were conducted organizing the lectures of experts (22.02.2017, 9.04.2018) or workshops for volunteers (24.11.2017).

Once the group has been formed and experienced in organizing numerous events, it changed its name "People from Bielsko-Biała for Aleppo" to "Civic Initiative Witaj." It was not just a matter of nomenclature. This entailed reformulating the accents on what is possible and available in the immediate surrounding. As one of the founders of the Jadwiga Jarosz Initiative said, "changing the name brings with it a focus on the needs of the local community. We cooperate with foreigners living in Bielsko-Biała to know their needs" (bielsko.biala.pl. 2017).

The manifestation of the attitude transformation from ethical commitment, by recognizing the needs of emigrants at the level of human and social solidarity to a willingness to meet their representatives. This form of active "sharing the identity" of the citizen and the inhabitant of the city has been an organized party together with a large group of immigrants from Ukraine in Bielsko-Biała. Firstly they organized a multicultural picnic in a city park (20.05.2018) and traditional Ukrainian holiday "Kupała Night" on the city market (6-7.07.2018). Concurrently, an educational activity was not neglected, an example of this is the invitation to Bielsko-Biała Banina Foundation with the performance "Kyiv, Ukraine" with Ukrainian student, Solomija Mardarovych and coming from Syria Radwan Al Johmani performing the script is based on their war experience and leaving of their countries. At the end of 2018, The Initiative Witaj invited over 50 people from Chechnya (including 40 children) stays in a refugee center in the east of Poland for a few days filled with attractions to Bielsko-Biała, To co-organize this event the Initiative managed to invite the President of Bielsko-Biała, local enterprises, the Auchan hypermarket, Razem Party, Caritas of Bielsko-Żywiecka Diocese. Additionally to the direct consequences of these actions, the concern about people in a difficult situation, such events facilitate intercultural education; contribute to overthrow the stereotypes and construction of the meeting culture – instead of the imposed culture of fear.

For social movements, the critical moment is to transform the feeling of solidarity into action (Castells 2013:25–26). The Civic Initiative Witaj may constitute a great exemplification of efficient sharing the social identity and successful transformation from emotional reaction to the function of social change motors. The example of the Initiative may also be an excellent illustration of the thesis that contemporary social movements are "not only movements of protest and indignation, but they are also above all the producers of new meanings, symbolic systems, and values that are the basis for cultural change" (Kubicki 2015:27).

5. Conclusions

The presented mechanism of sharing the social identities constitutes the original analysing proffer of the unit and group actions resisting against the dominant discourse of state authorities, perceived as a violation or cultural minority rights. They appeared to have the characteristics of authentic civic dissent based on the reflexes of solidarity and moral intuition rather then follow from the unproven political strategy of the opposition. Citizens' acts of resistance are forms of spontaneous reactions to the stigmatization of certain groups or social environment in Poland, political instrumentalised by the rulers to perpetuate their dominant position. The movements of civic protest formed spontaneously in defence of various social environments who were given the role of scapegoats.

The presented cases of measures to support the attacked minorities by creating forms of "sharing the identity" in the public space are a kind of reaction to the feeling of limiting the influence of citizens on the rules of state management. It is an attempt to overcome passivity and powerlessness stemming from the sense of superficiality of democratic governments. They are the micro-social initiatives of civic groups against the neo-authoritarian violation of constitutional safeguarding the rights of equality and justice. The effectiveness of such a formula of resistance should also be analysed by mobilizing the dormant invisible and silent resources of civil society.

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7. Methodological Appendix

The presented study was based on the method of a qualitative research. The presented theoretical framework was used to analyse the case study of civic resistance practices and activities, that were assigned the character of "sharing the social identities". The case selection was made by – on one hand – their social significance and indicators characterizing the types of actions defined as "forms of civic resistance" referring to the aspects of social identity. The research material was the body of press texts, the references of which are in the empirical part.

8. Biographical Notes

Adam Bartoszek – sociologist, the professor at the University of Silesia in Katowice; chairman of the Katowice Department Polish Sociological Association. He is a researcher of public opinion and social communication, ethnic identities, and socio-cultural capitals. He is the author and co-author of books as: Social and Cultural Capital of the Young Intelligentsia and the Demands Towards the Market (2003); Identity of Young Silesians. Between Local Patriotism and Europeanism (2009); Polish Elderly Housing Environment in Multi-Disciplinary Research (2013); and articles at last: Responsibility as a Societal Identity and power game. In: Responsibility. A Cross-Disciplinary Perspective, B. Bokus (ed.), Lexem. 2013; The Crisis of the Public Debate in Polish Democracy and Pop Politics. In: "Przegląd Socjologiczny" Vol. 67 No. 2 (2018) Łódź.

Rafał Cekiera – PhD in social science, lecturer in Institute of Sociology, University of Silesia. Author of books "The pitfalls of emigration lightness – the experience of temporality in the narratives of young Polish post-accession EU emigrants" ("O pułapkach emigracyjnej lekkości. Doświadczenie tymczasowości w narracjach młodych polskich emigrantów poakcesyjnych", NOMOS, 2014) and „The worries and the hopes. A sociological analysis of the entries to votives' book in the St. Wendelin chapel in Rudzica" ("Zgryzoty i nadzieje. Socjologiczna analiza wpisów do ksiąg wotywnych w kaplicy św. Wendelina w Rudzicy", TMR, 2016). He is interested in the sociology of migration, religion, and culture.

**TRACK
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Politics

Activismo barrial, acción colaborativa y reconstrucción del lazo social. La experiencia actual del sitio de memoria creado en el ex "Olimpo" (Buenos Aires, Argentina)

Mauricio Chama[1] y Mora González Canosa[2]
[1]Universidad Nacional de La Plata
[2]Consejo Nacional de Investigaciones Científicas y Técnicas y Universidad Nacional de La Plata

Resumen: *Este trabajo analiza la experiencia actual del sitio de memoria creado en el ex Centro Clandestino de Detención, Tortura y Exterminio (CCDTyE) "Olimpo", ubicado en el barrio de Floresta, ciudad de Buenos Aires, Argentina. Se analizan las características del sitio de memoria (el tipo de prácticas, formas organizativas y mecanismos de toma de decisiones, así como los sentidos atribuidos por los actores a la experiencia) y su impacto social desde la perspectiva de la acción colectiva colaborativa. Para ello, seguimos una estrategia metodológica cualitativa que combina análisis documental (sitio web, redes, fotos, informes de actividades y demás documentos del sitio), entrevistas en profundidad y observación participante.*

Palabras clave: *sitio de memoria; lazo social; territorio; acción colectiva.*

1. Introducción

En el marco de un proceso general de proliferación de emprendimientos memoriales sobre las violaciones a los derechos humanos durante la última dictadura militar argentina (1976-1983), este trabajo analiza la experiencia actual del sitio de memoria creado en el ex Centro Clandestino de Detención, Tortura y Exterminio (CCDTyE) "Olimpo", ubicado en el barrio de Floresta, ciudad de Buenos Aires[1].

Se trata de un caso especialmente interesante, cuyas características distintivas radican en el activismo barrial que, junto con el accionar de organismos de derechos humanos, familiares de desaparecidos y sobrevivientes, signó los orígenes del sitio; en su constitución mediante un proceso de "abajo hacia arriba" que luego permitió una relación compleja y de considerable autonomía respecto del Estado, y en la inserción territorial que desde entonces signa los sentidos, prácticas y modos de funcionamiento del lugar.

En términos generales, es una experiencia donde se despliegan prácticas de acción colaborativa de carácter abierto, horizontal y participativo, en el marco de estructuras de interacción de tipo deliberativo y asambleario, y donde los sentidos puestos en juego por los actores se orientan a la elaboración del pasado represivo para configurar una "memoria ejemplar" (Todorov 2013), capaz de combatir las violencias del presente con un horizonte democratizador. Su impronta particular, en relación con otros sitios de memoria, es sin dudas ese proceso de creación de

"abajo hacia arriba" y su inserción actual en el entramado barrial del predio, reflejada en las formas en que se piensa el sitio, en el perfil de quienes asisten a las actividades, pero también en el de quienes dictan los talleres e integran la conducción del espacio. Ello ha permitido que además de ser un sitio de memoria, actualmente el "Olimpo" sea vivido como un lugar de pertenencia y sociabilidad; constituyéndose en un espacio capaz de canalizar las ansias de participación comunitaria y donde se configuran renovadas memorias e identidades barriales.

Dadas las características distintivas del caso, situamos el análisis en la intersección de dos campos: el de los estudios sobre la construcción social de la memoria (Halbwachs, 2004; Huyssen, 2002; Pollak, 2006; Jelin, 2002, entre muchos otros), con énfasis en la creación de sitios de memoria en Argentina (Messina 2010a, 2011 y 2016; Guglielmucci 2013; Larralde Armas 2017; Cueto Rúa 2018) y el de la acción colectiva (Tarrow 1998, Melucci 1999, Della Porta y Diani 2011), atendiendo a la perspectiva de la acción colectiva colaborativa (Tejerina 2010).

Nuestra pregunta más general gira en torno a una problemática constitutiva de la sociología, particularmente en su vertiente francesa: la cuestión del lazo social. En este sentido, nos interesa indagar los vínculos sociales que se están creando justamente allí donde la dictadura había buscado la deshumanización total, quebrar todo lazo de solidaridad a fuerza de torturas y de diseminar el terror tanto dentro como hacia afuera de los campos, mediante el régimen de visibilidad-invisibilidad y las formas de saber-no saber que signaron sus relaciones con la sociedad (Calveiro 2004: 78). Máxime en el caso de un ex CCDTyE como el "Olimpo", enclavado en medio del tejido urbano. Es decir, nos preguntamos por el tipo de vínculos sociales -por las prácticas que los sustentan y los sentidos que los cementan; por las formas de cooperación y conflicto que los constituyen- que se están gestando en el sitio y, también, por sus lazos con el entorno. Esto es: ¿qué relaciones tiene hoy el "Olimpo" con el barrio y sus actores? ¿cuáles son las potencialidades, pero también las tensiones o dificultades de la experiencia en este sentido? ¿qué ocurre en estos sitios bajo un gobierno percibido como políticamente adverso al tipo de memorias que se busca configurar?

Más específicamente, habiendo valiosos antecedentes sobre la *trayectoria* del caso -es decir, la historia de su constitución como sitio de memoria- desde una perspectiva antropológica ligada a los estudios de memoria (Messina 2010b, Guglielmucci 2013), aquí nos proponemos profundizar en sus *características* actuales y en su *impacto* desde la perspectiva de la acción colectiva colaborativa. En este sentido, analizaremos las *características* del sitio prestando atención tanto al tipo de prácticas, formas organizativas y mecanismos de toma de decisiones desplegados, como a los sentidos atribuidos y los debates generados sobre el contenido, las funciones y las actividades a desarrollar. Y, también, el *impacto* generado por la iniciativa, tanto a nivel subjetivo, como social, cultural, político y jurídico.

2. El ex "Olimpo": actores, prácticas y entramados relacionales

La historia de constitución del "Olimpo" como sitio de memoria se remonta a las acciones de repudio realizadas desde mediados de los noventa por distintos colectivos barriales de base. En un contexto signado por las políticas de olvido del gobierno de Carlos Menem (1989-1999), el activismo vecinal fue decisivo en dos sentidos. Por un lado, los vecinos impulsaron

un vasto "repertorio de confrontación" ("escraches", festivales, movilizaciones, actos públicos, pintadas y "abrazos" al predio) con el propósito de visibilizar lo ocurrido y exigir el desalojo de la policía del lugar. Por otro lado, el activismo barrial fue fundamental en la gestación de un vasto entramado relacional que conectó a los vecinos con sobrevivientes y familiares de desaparecidos del "Olimpo", militantes de organismos de derechos humanos y de partidos políticos (Entrevista N° 6). La demanda de este heterogéneo colectivo unificado en torno a la consigna "que se vaya la policía" cobró nuevos impulsos primero, al calor de las experiencias asamblearias tras la crisis del 2001 -que en el caso de Floresta y Parque Avellaneda fueron muy importantes[2]- y, luego, en el marco del contexto de repolitización propio de los primeros años del kirchnerismo. En 2005, ya bajo el gobierno de Néstor Kirchner (2003-2007), la policía fue desalojada del predio, iniciándose un complejo proceso de institucionalización del lugar como sitio de memoria (Mesina 2010a y b).

Desde entonces, la estructura organizativa del sitio cuenta con dos órganos de gestión. Primero se creó por decreto la "Mesa de Trabajo y Consenso" (MTyC), espacio de articulación política encargado de definir colectivamente los lineamientos del sitio, evaluar el desarrollo de las actividades y recepcionar nuevas propuestas. En la actualidad, la Mesa está integrada por representantes de los colectivos barriales y políticos que realizan actividades en el sitio y, en menor medida, por miembros de organismos de derechos humanos, quienes en los inicios de la experiencia tenían una presencia cotidiana y hoy mantienen una participación más bien formal, "a título honorario" (Abuelas, Madres Línea Fundadora o la Asociación de Ex Detenidos)[3]. A esta variación en la composición de la Mesa -que al decir de una entrevistada reafirma el carácter "plebeyo" que el sitio siempre tuvo en relación con otros espacios de memoria-, se suma un recambio generacional producto de la significativa incorporación de jóvenes en los últimos años (Entrevista N° 1).

En coordinación con la Mesa funciona el Equipo de Gestión, que desarrolla proyectos educativos, de investigación y lleva adelante la administración y comunicación del sitio. Actualmente está compuesto por 18 personas que forman parte de la estructura estatal (a diferencia de los integrantes de la Mesa), varios de ellos profesionales de las ciencias sociales que combinan su *expertise* profesional con su compromiso con la causa de los derechos humanos. Justamente, contar con ambos tipos de capital fue decisivo en la selección de los coordinadores del Equipo. Por otra parte, esta combinación de perfiles (profesional, militante, trabajador estatal, etc.) expresa el carácter "hibrido" de los actores que allí intervienen[4].

Si bien en el modelo de funcionamiento proyectado la Mesa debía encargarse de la dirección política del sitio y el Equipo de las cuestiones administrativas y profesionales; en la dinámica cotidiana esta división no resulta tan nítida, ejerciendo el Equipo una suerte de "direccionamiento político" sobre la Mesa. Según el diagnóstico de algunos entrevistados, esta situación se fue cristalizando en los últimos años debido tanto a la composición de ambas estructuras, como a una especie de "amesetamiento" de la Mesa, resultado de la falta de debates sustantivos (Entrevistas N° 1, 2 y 6).

Por su parte, el tipo de relación que el sitio mantiene con el Estado sigue una modalidad de co-gestión. La misma fue adoptada tras un intenso proceso de deliberación no exento de tensiones y conflictos internos, donde primó el argumento de que era el propio Estado -en el pasado responsable de la represión ilegal- el que debía sostener material y simbólicamente

políticas públicas de memoria[5]. En los hechos, esto implica que el sitio depende formalmente del organigrama estatal -hoy del Ministerio de Justicia y Derechos Humanos de la Nación- y recibe financiamiento público (para gastos generales y salarios del Equipo), al tiempo que, en términos políticos, intenta preservar márgenes de autonomía sobre la dirección del espacio y el contenido de las actividades, evitando injerencias del poder estatal y/o de los gobiernos de turno, con la intención de construir un espacio no partidizado y abierto, "un lugar para todos" (Entrevista N° 1). Según las entrevistas, esta modalidad de co-gestión puede sintetizarse en la fórmula "financiamiento público" y "autonomía política" (Entrevista N° 6) y, en la práctica -dadas las escasas posibilidades de supervisión del Estado- termina siendo muy autogestiva[6].

La exigencia de que el Estado financie el sitio con recursos públicos coloca al modelo de la co-gestión en las antípodas de emprendimientos memoriales financiados mediante recursos de fundaciones privadas, como en el caso chileno. Sin embargo, en el "Olimpo", ello hace que la falta de recursos sea un problema constante, por lo cual en ocasiones los miembros de la Mesa se han visto en la necesidad de aportar dinero propio, recaudar fondos a partir de eventos especiales y recurrir a la venta de comida o productos realizados en el marco de algún taller (como el de Telar Comunitario).

En cuanto al modo de funcionamiento del sitio, se despliegan prácticas de carácter horizontal, participativo y asambleario, que aspiran a gestar relaciones internas abiertas y democráticas. A su vez, desde los comienzos los actores asumieron el consenso como herramienta fundamental para la toma de decisiones, considerando que la deliberación y no la imposición de posturas (por mayoría o mandato de asamblea) debía regir el funcionamiento del espacio. Ahora bien, si este instrumento tiende a horizontalizar y legitimar las decisiones adoptadas, también presenta algunos inconvenientes. Por ejemplo, algunas entrevistas han destacado que la demora hasta alcanzar el consenso a veces puede derivar en una suerte de deliberacionismo poco conducente, al tiempo que, como plantea Guglielmucci (2013: 277), no todos los actores de la Mesa cuentan con el mismo capital simbólico, cultural y político para lograr imponer sus argumentos al resto.

En cuanto al vasto repertorio de acciones desplegadas, un repaso por el Informe Anual del sitio evidencia que en 2018 se ofrecieron de manera gratuita y abierta a la comunidad una multiplicidad de actividades por las que circularon, sólo durante ese año, unas 27.000 personas. Entre ellas, los talleres de Telar Comunitario, Historia Económica, Literatura, Teatro Físico y Antropológico, Tango Crítico, Sikuris, Danza Comunitaria y Murga; otras actividades como muestras artísticas, ciclos de cine, charlas, presentaciones de libros, obras teatrales y actos conmemorativos, y los talleres educativos que se realizan para alumnos de nivel inicial y primario. Además, el sitio cuenta con una Biblioteca Popular, la Radio "Presente", muestras permanentes ("¿Aquí hubo nin@s?") y los proyectos de investigación realizados por el Equipo, como el de "Historias de Vida" o "Memorias de Vecindad". Asimismo, en 2018 casi 6000 personas (estudiantes secundarios, terciarios y universitarios, miembros de sindicatos, otros colectivos sociales y público en general) realizaron la visita guiada al "pozo". Generalmente, ese recorrido finaliza con una charla que repone la identidad y trayectoria personal, social y política de los militantes desaparecidos en el "Olimpo". Dichas trayectorias -realizadas en el marco del Proyecto "Historias de Vida"-, están sintetizadas en decenas de cuadernillos elaborados colectivamente por familiares, amigos y compañeros quienes, de modo colaborativo, fueron aportando datos biográficos, fotos, cartas, manuscritos y documentos de cada desaparecido.

Se trata de un proyecto cuya factura ejemplifica el accionar colectivo y colaborativo que signa las actividades del sitio (Ex CCDTyE Olimpo, 2017 y 2018; Mendizábal y Portos, 2014; Mesa de Trabajo y Consenso, 2012; Mendizábal et. al., 2012).

3. "Construir memorias para el futuro": Algunos sentidos compartidos

Inescindibles de las prácticas, aunque analíticamente distinguibles, los sentidos que los actores le atribuyen a la acción colectiva son, como se sabe, múltiples, heterogéneos y están en permanente construcción (Melucci, 1999). Aquí nos referiremos brevemente a unos pocos núcleos de sentido que cementan los lazos sociales forjados en el lugar y nos permiten aproximarnos al tipo de memorias que se busca configurar. Para ello, podemos recuperar algunos fragmentos donde el sitio enuncia sus propósitos básicos, tanto en sus redes como en documentos, en la cartelería del predio o en discursos públicos. Así, en la presentación del espacio en sus redes puede leerse:

> *"Una vez recuperado el sitio, las organizaciones participantes de la MTyC consideraron que era necesario referenciar el lugar no sólo con el pasado sino también con el presente, generar un puente entre lo conmemorativo y lo combativo, un espacio que habilite discursos sobre las violaciones a los derechos humanos en el pasado y en el presente" (AAVV, 2018 y s/f.).*

En la misma línea podemos citar las palabras de un sobreviviente (Julio Lareu) dispuestas en el cartel de ingreso al predio, bajo el título "Para que no ocurran nuevos Olimpos":

> *"Construyamos una memoria para el futuro en nuestra medida potenciando la libertad y la igualdad. Que lo nuestro sirva para traer a la memoria la actitud de los que desaparecieron reivindicando en toda su dimensión el significado de la militancia en aquellas circunstancias. [Ocupémonos] en nuestra medida, de acercarnos a los mismos destinatarios que tuvieron ellos para su acción […]. Estamos convencidos que los contenidos últimos siguen siendo los mismos" (Observación N° 1).*

En estos fragmentos aparecen ya varias de las ideas-fuerza que queremos destacar. En principio, la convicción de tender puentes entre pasado, presente y futuro para configurar una "memoria ejemplar". Es decir, la necesidad de elaborar el pasado represivo en función de las luchas contra las violaciones a los derechos humanos de ayer y de hoy, con vistas a un horizonte de expectativas democratizador, relacionado con la ampliación de derechos de los sectores sociales más vulnerables. Construir "vallas contra el autoritarismo" (Mesa de Trabajo y Consenso 2012), para que "no ocurran nuevos Olimpos" constituye el sentido preciso que hilvana todas las actividades de formación del sitio y que explica su énfasis en la transmisión intergeneracional de la memoria, como se evidencia en las numerosas visitas y talleres que realizan con alumnos de distintos niveles del sistema educativo. Del mismo modo debe entenderse su intervención decidida no sólo en las luchas contra la impunidad de los crímenes de la dictadura (aportando evidencia en los juicios por delitos de lesa humanidad, movilizándose contra las recientes iniciativas por flexibilizar las penas a los represores ya juzgados[7]) sino, también, contra la violencia institucional actual (como en los casos de López,

Arruga o Maldonado, en situaciones de "gatillo fácil", etc.[8]).

En segundo lugar, ese vínculo entre pasado, presente y futuro también se establece en relación con las luchas sociales y políticas de los desaparecidos. Con ello hay una intención explícita de transformar un régimen de memoria basado por años en su caracterización como "víctimas inocentes" -lo cual contribuía al borramiento de sus identidades políticas-, como puede verse específicamente en el Proyecto "Historias de Vida" (Mesa de Trabajo y Consenso 2012; Mendizábal y Portos 2014). En ese sentido, desde las actividades del sitio se insiste tanto en reponer las identidades y trayectorias políticas de los desaparecidos, como en la necesidad de seguir luchando por las mismas causas (entendiendo por ello, genéricamente, cierto horizonte utópico ligado a la transformación social en un sentido igualitario) y en favor de los mismos "destinatarios que tuvieron ellos", los "excluidos" (Entrevista N° 1). En efecto, puede observarse que el sitio ha ido constituyéndose en una suerte de espacio de intersección de demandas progresistas, cuya articulación se relaciona con aquel horizonte ligado a la ampliación de derechos (actividades contra la violencia institucional, la discriminación, en defensa del derecho a la identidad, la niñez y la igualdad de género) y, como veremos en el apartado siguiente al profundizar su inserción barrial, con la apuesta por vincularse con los sectores más vulnerables y sus luchas (trabajadores despedidos en conflicto con un laboratorio de la zona, trabajadores de talleres textiles clandestinos, pueblos originarios, pacientes de un neuropsiquiátrico).

En tercer lugar, cabe destacar que actualmente, bajo un gobierno políticamente adverso al tipo de memorias y sentidos que se intentan configurar desde el sitio, el lugar es vivido por los actores como un "refugio" y también como una suerte de trinchera o espacio de resistencia. En ese sentido pueden leerse las palabras de una de las coordinadoras, en ocasión del festival por el cierre de las actividades del año 2018:

"Hace 13 años atrás no nos imaginábamos que íbamos a encontrar en lugares como éste refugio para las construcciones tiernas, compañeras, solidarias, necesarias cuando el Estado deja de ser el propulsor de las mínimas políticas para la inclusión social, cuando se vuelve a implementar impunemente la violencia policial, cuando se nos estigmatiza, cuando sentimos que estamos a la intemperie. Estos lugares, pensamos humildemente, tienen que servir para cobijar y construir un sentido ético y político."

Luego, continúa la coordinadora:

"[…] Y decir estas cosas de todas las formas que podamos. Algunos lo dicen tejiendo, otros con la radio, otros con un taller de tango, nosotros, desde el Equipo, en las visitas y encuentros. No existe ninguna de las actividades que se realizan aquí que no tenga una vinculación sensible y absoluta con lo que sucedió en este lugar y quizás sea eso lo que lo hace tan especial. Que la gente participa sensiblemente en la promoción de los derechos humanos, todos participamos, todos tenemos voz acá. Y quizás eso sea un poco plebeyo…Y nos gusta… [risas] Entonces, darles la bienvenida a este festival y aceptar el desafío de construir colectivamente, porque actualmente todo atenta contra las construcciones colectivas, absolutamente todo." (Observación Nº 1).

Por último, como se ve en este fragmento, en muchos documentos y en todas las entrevistas,

la idea de que en el sitio todo se debe intentar construir de modo colectivo, abierto y horizontal (desde la gestión del espacio, hasta la modalidad pedagógica de los talleres); tendiendo puentes entre diversas generaciones (desde las memorias que se configuran hasta la Mesa de Trabajo) y, como veremos a continuación, privilegiando la participación comunitaria y la inserción barrial.

4. "Memorias de vecindad": el "Olimpo" y su inserción barrial

Hemos mencionado ya que algo característico del sitio es su impronta territorial; desde el activismo vecinal que signó sus orígenes, hasta la composición de su Mesa de Trabajo y su inserción actual en el entramado barrial. En esa línea podemos citar el siguiente testimonio que, además, entiende la particularidad del "Olimpo" en relación con la ESMA:

> *"-Cuando se hizo la muestra de actividades en diciembre se habló del carácter plebeyo del sitio. ¿Se refieren a la cuestión barrial? ¿al lugar más consagrado de otros sitios, como la ESMA u otros?*
> *Y sí, claro, porque es otra lógica. Esto es trabajo territorial, comunitario, proceso popular y la ESMA es el Estado, el máximo interés político estatal en plena vigencia…*
> *-Si vos tuvieses que definir la particularidad de este sitio lo dirías en esos términos…*
> *Sí, totalmente, carácter popular, participativo, territorial, comunitario, activismo, totalmente. Así se estructuró desde los orígenes, eso fue lo que le dio sentido. Y además porque no estaban puestos todos los intereses acá, hubo que remarla para que la gente viniera. No es que abro y digo: 'acá estoy, vengan a participar', no es así el trabajo comunitario, lleva muchísimos años" (Entrevista N° 4).*

El tipo de proyectos del sitio, así como la variedad de talleres desplegados -a los que asisten y también coordinan vecinos de la zona-, son otro indicador de esta impronta del "Olimpo" que, como muestran las entrevistas, ha logrado convertirse tanto en un lugar importante de la sociabilidad barrial, como en un ámbito capaz de canalizar diversas formas de militantismo y politización (Entrevista N° 3 y 7). Ello hace que, tal como señala una de las coordinadoras, el espacio pueda pensarse hoy en su doble faz de sitio de memoria y "centro comunitario" (Observación N°1). Entre esas numerosas actividades, queremos destacar aquí el proyecto "Memorias de Vecindad", que consistió en la realización de encuestas y entrevistas en profundidad a gente de la zona indagando en las memorias barriales sobre el lugar cuando funcionaba como CCDTyE, así como en las percepciones de los vecinos sobre el sitio de memoria y en sus expectativas sobre los usos actuales del predio. Los resultados de esa labor fueron socializados en el barrio a través de informes y reuniones e, incluso, algunos recuerdos de los vecinos fueron incorporados en la señalización del sitio y en los relatos de las visitas guiadas. Todo ello les permitió entrar en contacto con vecinos que no conocían el espacio e invitarlos a participar, así como relevar -a partir de la encuesta- el interés por sumar espacios verdes al barrio, dando lugar a un proyecto de parquización de una parte del predio actualmente concluido (Mesa de Trabajo y Consenso, 2012; Mendizábal y et. al., 2012). Por último, en términos de actividades, también corresponde señalar aquí que una de las iniciativas más características del sitio, la llamada "Marcha "Olimpo"-Orletti" que se realiza en cada aniversario de la última dictadura militar, no se dirige, como es usual, a Plaza de Mayo -epicentro de todas las movilizaciones políticas del país-, sino que recorre diversos lugares

emblemáticos para la memoria barrial.

Por otro lado, observar la red de conflictos y colaboraciones del sitio con los actores del entramado barrial también es un modo de aproximarse a esta voluntad de inserción territorial, con los alcances y las dificultades que conlleva ese tipo de intervención. En esa línea puede mencionarse la colaboración que el sitio siempre decidió prestar en favor de diversos actores de la zona en conflicto. Entre ellos, los trabajadores despedidos del Laboratorio Roux (ubicado en el barrio cercano de Villa Luro) quienes, tras el vaciamiento de la empresa, en 2018 buscaban hacerse cargo de la producción gestando una cooperativa; organizaciones en defensa de los derechos de los trabajadores de los talleres textiles clandestinos descubiertos en Floresta y alrededores; o activistas de pueblos originarios que han buscado su apoyo; así como los vínculos que también mantienen con el club deportivo All Boys, a través de su comisión de cultura[9]. Al mismo tiempo, no pueden dejar de señalarse los ataques que el sitio recibió por parte de Bandera Vecinal, un partido nacionalista y neonazi, cuyo local -Casa Patria- se encuentra ubicado a sólo tres cuadras del "Olimpo". Ni, tampoco, las dificultades que todas las entrevistas señalan para lograr que más vecinos se acerquen, conozcan y se involucren en las actividades del lugar.

Esta opción por la construcción comunitaria y territorial también se ve reflejada en el caso de aquellos que eligieron constituir su identidad activista como "vecinos" o "militantes barriales" y no desde su condición de "víctimas" directas o indirectas del "Olimpo", es decir, como familiares de desaparecidos o sobrevivientes del CCDTyE. Al menos este fue el caso de Gabriel Matheu (militante político en los setenta y hermano de Abel, desparecido en el "Olimpo"), quien a mediados de los noventa se mudó al barrio promoviendo el activismo vecinal para desalojar a la policía del predio; una historia que para varios organizadores del sitio funciona como marca de origen que de algún modo prefiguró la impronta del espacio. En el mismo sentido se pueden citar las palabras de una sobreviviente y actual coordinadora del sitio, cuando rechaza definir su identidad a partir de su condición de víctima sino es en la esfera judicial: "Nosotros, el grupo… olímpico, digamos [risas], siempre tuvimos una mirada diferente por ahí al resto. Nosotros no nos consideramos víctimas, salvo cuando vamos a declarar, que tenemos que ser víctimas para la justicia". Para concluir, resta añadir que esta problematización de la condición de víctima (directa o indirecta pero individual) como lugar privilegiado de enunciación y legitimación de la palabra militante, fue algo particularmente debatido en el "Olimpo". Una problematización que, al enfatizar en los efectos colectivos de la represión y en la presencia del ex CCDTyE en el entramado barrial, buscó habilitar especialmente la voz de los vecinos para decidir las orientaciones del sitio:

> "Bueno, también sucedió en esta historia que la voz legitimada para hablar de estas cosas siempre era la de las víctimas directas y después las víctimas indirectas, familiares, etc. Y, en realidad, acá lo que se hizo fue trabajar mucho con la idea de genocidio y de transformación de las prácticas sociales. Entonces si te parabas desde esa idea, tenías que abrir un poco más el juego. Al estar inserto en un barrio, rodeado de casas, negocios, lugares de trabajo y edificios, era inevitable que hubiera afectado a todo el barrio. No es como, no sé, La Perla, que está en medio del campo. Esto era en el medio de un barrio de trabajadores, movilizado, súper activo históricamente" (Entrevista N° 4).

5. A modo de consideraciones finales: Balance e impactos de la experiencia

En este trabajo hemos analizado las características y la dinámica actual del sitio de memoria creado en el ex "Olimpo", cuya impronta distintiva es la participación comunitaria y la inserción territorial. Desde una perspectiva centrada en la acción colectiva, con especial atención a las acciones colectivas colaborativas, abordamos las prácticas sociales desplegadas (de tipo horizontal, deliberativo y consensual) y los sentidos que los actores le atribuyen a las actividades desarrolladas, orientados a la configuración de una "memoria ejemplar" capaz de favorecer las condiciones para la participación colectiva en las luchas por los derechos humanos en el presente.

Dado que el espacio es vivido no sólo como sitio de memoria sino también como lugar de pertenencia, sociabilidad y politización, el impacto de la experiencia es multidimensional.

Por un lado, involucra aspectos de orden subjetivo e identitario, vinculados al sentido reparatorio que tiene para los sobrevivientes y familiares participar del espacio. Reparación subjetiva que, según los actores, al lograrse gracias a la participación en un emprendimiento colectivo, les ha permitido eludir la "autorreferencialidad" y la constitución de identidades ancladas exclusivamente en el lugar de la víctima del terror estatal (Entrevista N° 2 y 6). En este sentido, si como otros activistas de derechos humanos han logrado reconvertir -al menos en parte- el sufrimiento individual en una causa colectiva, esta experiencia incorpora otros matices: el cuestionamiento a jerarquizar su posición en el campo del activismo a partir de su condición de víctimas. A su vez, para todos los participantes, la experiencia también impacta en términos de la adquisición de cierto "capital militante" por parte de los activistas del sitio (Poupeau, 2007). Es decir, el aprendizaje de un saber-hacer organizativo y militante propio del ejercicio de la acción colectiva, como la "forma de organizar una asamblea", de hacer una "lista de oradores" o "informes de reuniones", la capacidad de "escuchar a los otros" (Entrevista N° 4). Por su parte, en relación con quienes han asistido a los talleres, no puede dejar de señalarse el impacto generado en términos de formación, adquisición de saberes específicos y aprendizaje de oficios.

También pueden destacarse impactos a nivel social y cultural, vinculados con la gestación de lazos sociales y la recreación de identidades, memorias y sociabilidades barriales. Por un lado, en el sitio se constituyen lazos propios de un tipo de sociabilidad fuerte, casi familiar, que se vuelven especialmente vívidos en un espacio marcado por la deshumanización y la destrucción de todo vínculo solidario (Entrevista Nº 4). Además, el sitio impacta en la dinámica barrial, recreando identidades y posibilitando nuevos espacios de sociabilidad, que incluyen desde talleres de acceso libre, eventos culturales, hasta un espacio público parquizado. Incluso para quienes no se acercan a participar, el espacio no resulta indiferente. Según las palabras de un entrevistado, en un barrio marcado por el estigma de lo sucedido, la presencia del sitio "incomoda", impidiendo la normalización del horror (Entrevista Nº 2).

En términos políticos los impactos también son múltiples y se relacionan con la promoción de los derechos humanos y sociales, con su apuesta por la transmisión intergeneracional de la memoria y la formación de sujetos críticos, sensibles a las desigualdades sociales y dispuestos a comprometerse con transformaciones en sentido emancipatorio e igualitario.

Finalmente, no pueden dejar de señalarse los impactos jurídicos de la experiencia, vinculados con la producción de pruebas materiales, testimonios y demás evidencia en los Juicios por delitos de lesa humanidad, en particular contra represores del Circuito "Atlético", "Banco" y "Olimpo".

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7. Apéndice metodológico

En este trabajo hemos seguido una estrategia metodológica cualitativa que combina el análisis documental, con la realización de entrevistas semiestructuradas y observaciones participantes efectuadas durante el trabajo de campo, que realizamos entre los meses de noviembre de 2018 y febrero de 2019. En cuanto a las fuentes documentales analizamos el sitio web y las

redes del "Olimpo", fotos (propias y las que el sitio sube a sus redes), informes de actividades anuales, libros, ponencias y otros escritos elaborados por los organizadores del lugar. A su vez, realizamos siete entrevistas semiestructuradas que incluyeron a integrantes del Equipo de Gestión y de la Mesa de Trabajo, de las organizaciones sociales, políticas y de derechos humanos que la componen, familiares de desaparecidos y sobrevivientes del "Olimpo", vecinos que coordinan y/o participan de actividades y trabajadores del Estado. Perfiles, todos ellos, que en muchos casos se superponen en los mismos entrevistados, tal como se detalla en el siguiente apartado. Finalmente, realizamos dos observaciones participantes: una durante el "Festival por la Memoria y los Derechos Humanos" en diciembre de 2018, donde se realizó la muestra anual de actividades de la Mesa de Trabajo, y, la otra, que consistió en una visita guiada al "pozo" del ex CCDTyE en enero de 2019.

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Entrevistas y observaciones participantes:

- Todas las entrevistas fueron realizadas por los autores en Floresta, Buenos Aires, Argentina.
- Entrevista N° 1: socióloga, coordinadora del Equipo de Gestión. 23/01/19.
- Entrevista N° 2: hijo de detenidos-desaparecidos en el "Olimpo", miembro de la MTyC. Empleado estatal con pase al sitio. 23/01/19.
- Entrevista N° 3: taxista, vecino del "Olimpo", coordinador del Taller de Historia Económica, miembro de la MTyC. 23/01/19.
- Entrevista N° 4: museóloga, activista de la Asociación de ex Detenidos-Desaparecidos, ex miembro de la MTyC. 30/01/19.
- Entrevista N° 5: Vecino, referente de la organización política "La Cámpora" en el barrio y miembro de la MTyC. 30/01/19.
- Entrevista N° 6: sobreviviente del "Olimpo", coordinadora del Equipo de Gestión. 06/02/19.
- Entrevista N° 7: panadera, vecina del "Olimpo", participante de las actividades del sitio. 06/02/19.

• Observación participante Nº 1: "Festival por la Memoria y los Derechos Humanos". Muestra anual de las actividades realizadas por las organizaciones de la MTyC del "Olimpo" (08/12/18).
• Observación participante Nº 2: Visita guiada al "pozo" del ex CCDTyE "Olimpo" (01/18/18).

9. Notas biográficas

Mauricio Chama es Magíster en Ciencias Sociales (FLACSO) y Profesor Adjunto Ordinario de Sociología General y Teoría Social Clásica de la Facultad de Humanidades y Ciencias de la Educación de la Universidad Nacional de La Plata. También es Profesor de la Maestría de Trabajo Social en la misma Universidad. Desde hace 6 años es Vicedecano de la Facultad de Humanidades. Su campo de investigación es el análisis de historia argentina reciente, en particular los procesos de politización de los años ´60 y ´70 y los estudios sobre la memoria.

Mora González Canosa es Doctora en Ciencias Sociales (UNLP), Investigadora Adjunta del Consejo Nacional de Investigaciones Científicas y Técnicas y docente de la Facultad de Humanidades y Ciencias de la Educación de la Universidad Nacional de la Plata en el Dpto. de Sociología. También es Profesora de la Maestría en Historia y Memoria, Trabajo Social y Paisaje, Medioambiente y Ciudad en la misma Universidad. Se especializa en el análisis sociohistórico y sociopolítico del pasado reciente argentino, investigando procesos de protesta social y radicalización política en los años sesenta y setenta, así como las relaciones entre memoria, historia y política en las últimas décadas.

10. Notas

1 El predio donde funcionó el "Olimpo" -denominado así por los represores, aludiendo a un lugar donde se consideraban dioses- se ubica en el centro de Floresta, un conocido barrio porteño de clase media. A principios del SXX fue terminal de tranvías, luego estación de colectivos y para 1976 era sede de la División Automotores de la Policía Federal. El lugar funcionó como CCDTyE entre agosto de 1978 y enero de 1979, y se calcula que durante esos meses estuvieron secuestrados en "el pozo" (ámbito destinado especialmente a esos fines) alrededor de 500 personas. De ellas, la mayoría continúa desaparecida, sobreviviendo alrededor de la quinta parte (nos basamos aquí en la labor de investigación del propio sitio de memoria -ver su página web exccd.olimpo.org.ar-, aunque como se sabe se trata de números en permanente construcción). Las fuerzas de seguridad con base en el "Olimpo" (Policía Federal, Servicio Penitenciario, Gendarmería y Ejército) dependían del Primer Cuerpo de Ejército y, a su vez, el CCDTyE formaba parte del circuito represivo compuesto sucesivamente por "Club Atlético", "El Banco" y "Olimpo". Como mencionamos, la experiencia actual del "Olimpo" se enmarca en un proceso más amplio de constitución de sitios de memoria en ex CCDTyE. En Ciudad de Buenos Aires, pueden mencionarse además los casos de "Club Atlético", "Virrey Cevallos", "Automotores Orletti" y la "ESMA", quizás el más conocido de todos ellos.

2 Según el comentario de una de las coordinadoras del sitio, mientras que en otras asambleas se discutía cómo cambiar el mundo, en la de Floresta una de las principales demandas era el desalojo de la policía del predio (Observación N°1)

3 Entre los colectivos barriales que hoy integran la Mesa se pueden mencionar a los de Telar Comunitario, Tango Crítico, Historia Económica o Radio "Presente"; entre los grupos políticos a La Cámpora y la Agrupación Simón Bolívar y entre los organismos de derechos humanos a H.I.J.O.S Capital.

4 Puede pensarse que esta "hibridez" está en la base de una nueva identidad tanto laboral como militante que sería interesante indagar: los trabajadores de espacios de memoria. En este sentido, por ejemplo, miembros del "Olimpo" fueron pioneros en la constitución de una Junta Interna en la Asociación de Trabajadores del Estado que nuclea a los trabajadores de sitios de memoria.

5 Durante la gestación del sitio se perfilaron dos posiciones sobre el tipo de relaciones a mantener con el Estado. Algunos plantearon una posición en favor de un modelo totalmente autogestivo, sin intervención estatal de ningún tipo. Otros, en cambio, apoyaron el modelo de co-gestión que finalmente se adoptó, frente a lo cual el colectivo barrial "Vecinos por la Memoria" y agrupaciones de izquierda decidieron retirarse de la MTyC. Sobre estos debates véase Messina (2016) y Guglielmucci (2013).

6 Refiriéndose al modelo de co-gestión señala una entrevistada: "Ahora, eso mismo termina siendo, en la práctica, muy autogestivo, porque a ninguna Mesa van funcionarios del Estado, en su calidad y rol de tales, a discutir los objetivos ni la política cotidiana" (Entrevista Nº 4).

7 Entre esas intervenciones puede señalarse su participación en los Juicios contra represores del "Circuito ABO" ("Atlético", "Banco" y "Olimpo"), aportando evidencia y difundiendo las audiencias por Radio "Presente"; en el escrache contra Alfredo Omar Feito, ex represor del "Olimpo" y el "Banco" que aún vive en el barrio, cuando en 2016 le concedieron la prisión domiciliaria; y en la multitudinaria movilización de 2017 contra el beneficio del "2x1" para represores condenados (un fallo -luego revocado por la Corte Suprema- que habilitaba la reducción de sus penas).

8 Jorge Julio López desapareció -por segunda vez- en 2006, tras declarar como víctima y testigo en el Juicio en que se condenó a Miguel Etchecolatz a prisión perpetua. Luciano Arruga, joven de sectores populares que se había negado a robar para las fuerzas de seguridad, estuvo desaparecido desde 2009, cuando fue detenido por la policía bonaerense, hasta 2014, cuando se halló su cuerpo enterrado como NN en un cementerio. Por su parte, Santiago Maldonado desapareció en agosto de 2017 tras ser reprimido con balas de plomo por la Gendarmería Nacional en el marco de una protesta mapuche en la provincia de Chubut. Meses después apareció su cuerpo y se determinó que había muerto ahogado, aunque las circunstancias nunca fueron esclarecidas.

9 Esta red de colaboración con actores barriales se suma a otro tipo de vinculaciones mucho más usuales en esta clase de sitios, es decir, aquellas mantenidas con otros emprendimientos de memoria a escala local, nacional e internacional.

TRACK 8

Politics

Multi-Scale Intersections of Collaborative Collective Actions in Urban Regeneration. Insights from the ROCK Project in Lisbon[1]

Roberto Falanga and Mafalda Corrêa Nunes

Instituto de Ciências Sociais, Universidade de Lisboa

Abstract: *Collective collaboration between NGOs, associated and non-associated agents can capitalise knowledge, experience and expertise in initiatives for social change. This contribution focusses on forms of citizen engagement funded by international and local agencies for urban regeneration. Focus on the city of Lisbon allows to shed light on the multi-scale intersections between the international project "ROCK - Regeneration and Optimisation of Cultural heritage in creative and Knowledge cities" funded by the European Commission, and the programme for urban regeneration "BIPZIP - Bairros de Intervenção Prioritária Zonas de Intervenção Prioritária" promoted by the municipality of Lisbon. The international project and the local programme aim to engage foster collective collaborative actions for urban regeneration, with cultural heritage as the main driver in the ROCK project and socio-territorial cohesion as the core issue in the BIPZIP programme. Zooming in on the specific urban area of intervention between Marvila and Beato neighbourhoods, this contribution retrieves some inputs from the empirical knowledge collected within the ongoing research conducted by the authors in Lisbon. We argue that the lack of an integrated management between the project and the programme can be considered as emerging burdens due to limited multi-scale intersections between the project and the programme.*

Keywords: *Urban regeneration; cultural heritage; socio-territorial cohesion; Lisbon*

1. Introduction

Worldwide, models of local governance are required to adopt new social, political, and economic strategies to tackle emerging challenges (Sassen 2002). Zooming in on growing inequalities and disparities in urban contexts, the governance of deprived areas raises the interest of scholars and international agencies, who reinforce the need for inclusive processes of urbanisation (Power 2000; Fraser 2008). Accordingly, public measures for the regeneration of urban areas that suffer from socio-spatial inequalities have been promoted by public and private agencies at multiple levels, with emphasis over the engagement of local communities in the design and implementation of innovative practices (Gaventa and Barret 2010). This global trend aligns with the wider attempts to incorporate values and mechanisms of citizen engagement in urban policymaking. However, concerns about the risks of manipulation through citizen engagement have been early posited by Arnstein (1969) and more recently by Cook and Kothari (2001). The instrumental use of CCAs in urban regeneration equally echo some of these concerns (Garcia 2004; Ferilli et al. 2015), as these may lead to the depoliticisation of communities' struggles and the over-emphasis over the implementation of politically irrelevant projects (Taylor 2007).

In Europe, the promotion of common values and mechanisms of citizen participation in urban governance tracks back to mid-1980s with the European Charter of Local Self-Government (CoE, 1985), and reaches greater visibility with the White Paper issued by the European Commission in 2001 (EC, 2001). More recently, the European Union and the United Nations have aligned on the promotion of a new Urban Agenda, which aims to foster greater citizen participation and multi-actor partnerships in local governance (Aitken, 2012). In parallel, international funding and programmes have aimed to enhance participatory tools through a wide array of opportunities (e.g. URBACT, Urban Innovative Actions – UIA, as well as funding provided through the framework programme Horizon 2020 and Erasmus plus). Against this backdrop, the implementation of collaborative collective actions (hereafter CCAs) in urban regeneration is seen as an opportunity to gather multiple actors around common issues to be solved with higher consensus in deprived areas, as well as boost the international competitiveness of contemporary cities.

While the coming together of different agents and agencies can be seen by decision-makers and governmental institutions as a cost-effective strategy for urban governance, concerns on participatory processes often lead citizens to look for alternative and antagonistic ways to reclaim their 'right to the city' (Groth and Corjin, 2005; Parnell and Pieterse, 2010). Against this backdrop, CCAs cannot help but account for the inherent tension between invited (or government-led) and spontaneous (or bottom-up) forms of participation. Complementarity and friction between different forms of CCAs stands at the origin of contested settings of participatory governance. Focussing on invited participation, scholars have abundantly discussed different ways through which these practices can be designed. For instance, sharing power between governmental institutions and citizens can be oriented to either one-way or two-way forms of deliberation, with the former providing narrower degrees of power to citizens when compared to the latter (Roberts, 2002). Related to that, the recruitment of participants further informs about the design of citizen participation, as it can be either open to all or selective and constitute the so-called 'mini-publics' of deliberation (Barnes et al., 2007).

Overall, Smith (2009) argues that major attention should be paid on the ways through which participatory initiatives address key democratic challenges, such as inclusiveness, popular control, considered judgment, and transparency. Therefore, deeper understanding should be fostered on whether "these designs actually promote rather than undermine the realisation of the goods we associate with democratic institutions" (ibidem, 14).

This contribution focusses on CCAs in urban regeneration promoted by international and local agencies through projects and programmes that aim to engage NGOs, associated and non-associated citizens. According to the main literature and evidence in this field, the constitution of local partnerships among multiple actors is aimed at reinforcing their "social capital", as Putnam (2000) put it, by fostering the opportunity for community members' 'bonding' along with opportunities to 'bridge' deprived areas with other sectors of society (Davies, 2002). Acknowledging that local partnerships refer to a specific institutional design that is being increasingly adopted by local and supra-local agencies, we consider it as a form to design and implement government-led CCAs. Both the EU-funded project ROCK and the BIPZIP programme promote the development of local partnerships and their action coincide in the urban area between Marvila and Beato neighbourhoods. However, when considering this territory, inputs retrieved from the ROCK project shows that some burdens emerge due to limited multi-scale

intersections with the BIPZIP programme.

Empirical knowledge collected by the authors of this contribution is part of an extensive research conducted within the ROCK project at the Institute of Social Sciences (University of Lisbon). Light on the multi-scale intersections helps identify two main burdens that are discussed below. First, the risks associated to the effectiveness of governance in the urban area; second, the risks of self-selection and overrepresentation due to the overlapping of human resources in the field.

2. The ROCK Project and the BIPZIP Programme in Lisbon

The ROCK project is funded by the European Commission within the Horizon 2020 framework, and started in 2017 by drawing on the model of "creative cities" (UNESCO, 2005) towards cultural heritage-led urban regeneration[2]. The international consortium involves ten European cities, composed of seven role models – Athens, Cluj-Napoca, Eindhoven, Liverpool, Lyon, Turin and Vilnius - which share their 'best practices' with three replicator cities – Bologna, Lisbon and Skopje. In the replicator cities, the project aims to bring together local residents, public and private agents into local partnerships organised through the so-called 'living labs' understood in this contribution as specific CCAs.

In Lisbon, the urban area of the project was selected by the local council because of its exceptional cultural heritage between Marvila and Beato neighbourhoods. Multiple historical layers range from the XVIII century "quintas" (villas) to the more recent industrial period, and compose a unique landscape for the goals of the project. Moreover, despite being close to the city centre, this area is characterised by significant physical barriers that have created a separation with the rest of the city. Public transportation is particularly undersupplied, and there are two railways crossing the neighbourhood that make internal mobility difficult and unattractive for visitors. More recently, this area has undergone great social and urban transformations that have contributed, in some cases, to improve living conditions and basic infrastructures in the area. In other cases, the massive intervention of big capitals has reinforced socioeconomic inequalities between the riverfront, with new entrepreneurial activities in the old factories and stores paired by financial fluxes in private housing investment, and the local communities living in social housing (Borghi et al., 2018).

Since 2017, the design and implementation of CCAs in the ROCK area relies on a wider and longstanding context of promotion of mechanisms of citizen participation on both local and national scales (Falanga and Lüchmann, 2019). Playing a leading role in this field, Lisbon inaugurated the first participatory budget implemented by a capital city at the municipal level in Europe, in 2007/2008. The local council has placed principles of citizen participation as a northern star of the political agenda and, together with the participatory budget, goals of citizen engagement have been incorporated in the BIPZIP programme, which is the most important participatory initiative for urban regeneration in the city[3]. The BIPZIP programme is based on the identification of 67 priority areas, showing critical trends in the socioeconomic, infrastructural, and/or environmental areas (fig.1). The municipal department of local housing and development issued the 67 areas into four typologies in the city master plan: social housing; historical centre; illegal housing; and other/mix[4].
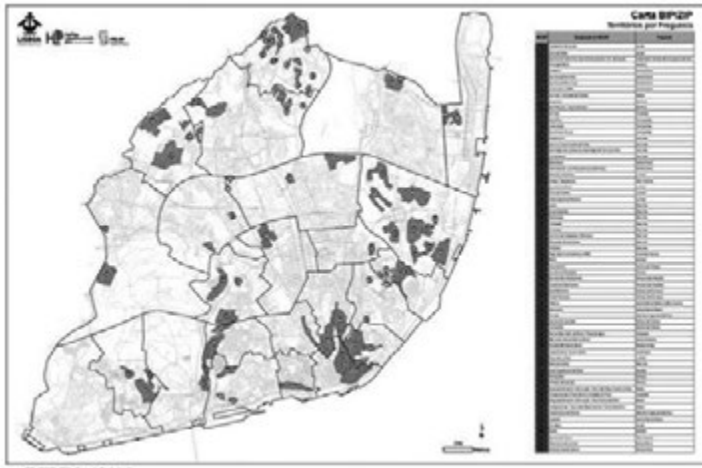
Figure 1. The BIPZIP Chart
Source: Municipality of Lisbon

The BIPZIP programme was initiated in 2011 in face of long lasting socioeconomic inequalities exacerbated by the impacts of the global sovereign-debt crisis that erupted in 2009 (Falanga, 2018). Its main goal is to promote socio-territorial cohesion by supporting the implementation of short, middle, and long-term initiatives in the identified priority areas through funding local partnerships composed of NGOs, associated and non-associated citizens, and parish governments. While the programme is ongoing, the main outputs of the programme until 2017 conveyed 1015 local partners (out of 2159 local partners applying to the Programme), 270 initiatives, and almost €15 million provided for the implementation. A first look at the achievements suggests that the programme has become a main source of public funding for local partnerships in urban regeneration initiatives with some cases of successful international networking.

The design of the local partnerships is similar to the CCAs promoted by the ROCK project, which raises our interest on the potentialities of multi-scale intersections. In addition, some of the priority areas identified by the BIPZIP programme are included in the ROCK area, namely the "Quinta das Salgadas/ Alfinetes"; "Marquês de Abrantes"; "PRODAC"; and "Marvila Velha". Despite this, however, multi-scale intersections between the project and the programme is limited and raises our major interest as researchers in the ROCK project.

3. Discussion. What Multi-scale Intersections?

The discussion retrieves inputs from the empirical knowledge collected within the ROCK project by the authors of this contribution. Considering the coincidence of the project and the programme in terms of institutional design (similar CCAs) and area of intervention (Marvila and Beato neighbourhoods), our reflection focusses on two main burdens emerging from limited multi-scale interactions.

First, CCAs depend on the capacity of the sponsors to provide adequate conditions to local actors

to achieve goals of urban regeneration. On the local scale, the municipality of Lisbon is the main sponsor of both ROCK project and BIPZIP programme. Despite the differences in funding and strategies of action, the adoption of an integrated management plan in the coincident urban area is expected to capitalise the opportunities provided by the ROCK project and the BIPZIP programme. Considering that the ROCK project is managed by the municipal department of culture, while the BipZip is managed by the department of local development and housing, the reasons for limited intersections seem to rely on the political and organisational articulation. As Ferrão (2010) put it, the implementation of urban policies in Portugal often reflects weak efforts to connect administrative units and provide a more consistent model of governance. Likewise, this case shows associated risks to the limited attention to the design of integrated management plans that, in turn, could foster a more efficient use of the public resources provided through the project and the programme in the same urban area.

Second, limited multi-scale intersections leads to the emergence of an additional burden on the field. The overlapping of NGOs, as well as associated and non-associated citizens invited to participate to urban regeneration initiatives through similar institutional designs is expected to find significantly compacted human resources and local experts in the same urban area. Considering that the ROCK project and the BIPZIP programme call for CCAs to promote greater citizen participation, risks of self-selection, such as active citizens selecting themselves in detriment of wider community engagement are coupled by risks of overrepresentation of some local agents and agencies. At best, local communities can take advantage of a wider set of initiatives addressing multiple aspects of urban regeneration; at worst, local communities experience limited public regulation of the public resources provided for urban regeneration.

4. Concluding Remarks

Empirical knowledge on the limited multi-scale intersections between the ROCK project and the BIPZIP programme in Lisbon, which similarly fund CCAs for urban regeneration, shows the emergence of specific burdens. Focus on the ROCK area between Marvila and Beato neighbourhoods, with four of the 67 priority areas addressed by the BIPZIP programme, helps highlight two main burdens. First, risks for effective governance of the urban area due to the lack of an integrated management plan in the urban area; second, the overlapping of human resources on the field invited to participate to similar CCAs for urban regeneration with associated risks of self-selection and overrepresentation.

These burdens are discussed by taking advantage of the ongoing research conducted by the authors as members of the ROCK project at the Institute of Social Sciences (University of Lisbon) and will be further explored and validated in the next months. Towards this end, contributions on similar cases as well as wider debate on the role of multi-scale funding of CCAs in urban regeneration can help us improve the analysis and understanding of the inputs retrieved from Lisbon.

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6. Notes

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2 More information at: http://rockproject.eu
3 More information at: www.bipzip.cm-lisboa.pt
4 The programme received an award from the International Observatory on Participatory Democracy in 2013, for being a 'good practice' of citizen participation. Since then, the interest in this programme has grown at both national and international levels.

TRACK 8

Politics

Conflict and Collaboration in Contentious Events. The Case of the 1-O in Catalonia

Ferran Giménez Azagra[1] and Hans Jonas Gunzelmann[2]

[1]Universitat de Barcelona
[2]Scuola Normale Superiore and Centre on Social Movement Studies (COSMOS)

Abstract: *Internal conflict frequently divides social movements into several groups and factions. However, their ability to promote social change depends, among other things, on whether they are capable of synchronizing goals and means of collective action. This paper represents an empirical analysis of the Referendum on Catalan Independence held on October 1, 2017 (1-O) as an exceptional case of collaboration. In this moment of aperture towards unforeseen forms of contention, various social actors beyond the independentist sector aligned to organize and guarantee the vote on Catalan self-determination. This includes numerous grassroots groups, large organizations such as ANC and Òmnium Cultural, but also the independentist political parties and the Catalan government. How did these diverse actors overcome their disagreements and collaborate in the realization of the referendum?*

Our hypothesis is that this exceptional case of collaboration is an outcome of a discursive and cognitive transition from the master frame of the "right to decide" towards an adversarial framing of the Spanish State as the enemy. This discursive construction is intrinsically linked to chain of repressive events in the weeks prior to the 1-O as well as on the same day of the referendum. Moreover, through the intervention of Spanish police in Catalan autonomous institutions, the role of institutional politics diminishes, while the contentious sphere gains weight in this period. Thus, we identify two central elements: the "right to decide" as a normative foundation, and the repression of the Spanish State as an external antagonism. Yet, we argue that the mere presence of these factors is not sufficient - whether social movement actors collaborate or not depends on common interpretations of these factors. Once the referendum is held, conflict among movement actors reappears as interpretations of the right to decide and state repression become ambiguous. While one part of the movement pushes for civil disobedience and unilaterality, the other part settles for autonomism and negotiations with the Spanish State.

These findings are based on an original set of qualitative data of various types: activist-produced documents, in-depth interviews with activists and experts, participant observations of protest events and activist assemblies. Through process tracing of the period of intense contention between September and December 2017, we reconstruct the dynamics of collaboration and conflict in the Catalan Independence Movement.

Keywords: *social movements, contentious politics, independentism, referendums, Catalonia*

1. Introduction

Binding referendums on secession in well-established democracies are quite rare (Dion 1996; Della Porta et al. 2017: 30). When they take place, it is usually in accordance with the host State, such as the most prominent cases of Québec and Scotland. The referendum on Catalan Independence on October 1, 2017 (1-O) represents an anomaly to this pattern because of its contested legitimacy. The Spanish government not only denied the binding character of the referendum, it actively intervened to prevent Catalan authorities from holding the referendum. Despite judicial action (prohibitive injunction, raids, etc.) in the weeks prior to October 1, as well as massive police intervention on the very same day (Balcells et al. 2018; Barceló 2018), 2.266.498 voters participated in the referendum[1]. How did pro-independence actors in Catalonia manage to organize a referendum on secession against the Spanish State?

Besides the cooperation of institutional and civil society actors in the preparation of the referendum, micro-processes of collaboration represent a central factor in understanding the 1-O as an outstanding event. At the local level, groups in many polling stations spontaneously self-organized to guarantee the holding of the referendum. Since many polling stations were schools, this includes parents' associations, but also the newly emerging CDRs. In this article, we address the question of how these unforeseen forms of collaborative action emerged.

We argue that collaboration is not simply explained by that fact that all of these actors share a common goal, that is the independence of Catalonia. In fact, a shared goal is merely a precondition for collaboration, a constant that does not have explanatory value. Hence, we explore a political context in which the goal (independence) is already agreed upon, but not the means how to achieve it.

Drawing on triangulation of three types of qualitative data (participant observation, semi-structured interviews and activist documents), we identify two central elements that facilitated collaboration in the Catalan Independence Movement: the "right to decide" as a normative foundation, and the repression of the Spanish State as an external antagonism. Yet, we argue that the mere presence of these factors is not sufficient - whether social movement actors collaborate or not depends on common interpretations of these factors.

In the following, we briefly describe the concept of collaboration (2.) and our research design (3.). The remainder of the article (sections 4.-7.) are dedicated to the empirical analysis of the collaborative process in the period of time around the 1-O. In the conclusion, we summarize our findings and discuss their relevance for the study of social movements.

2. Theoretical Framework

Collaboration does not represent a clearly defined concept in social movement studies[2], but i only used in the common language sense of the word, meaning working together[3]. Turning to organizational studies, we find more precise definitions of the term. According to Roschelle and Teasley (1995: 70), collaboration "is a coordinated, synchronous activity that is the result of a continued attempt to construct and maintain a shared conception of a problem". This definition is composed by two elements. First, it emphasizes that collaboration describes actors taking

part in a synchronous activity. Hence, as Roschelle and Teasley point out, collaboration must be differentiated from cooperation, which refers to actors working on a common problem but maintaining a division of labor among them. Second, collaboration presupposes a shared conception of a problem. However, the problem does not represent a stable object, but is the outcome of a constant process of social construction.

Bringing together this definition with literature from social movement studies, we can conceptualize the shared conception of a problem as a collective action framework. From the seminal work of Benford and Snow (2000), a collective action framework is defined as a guide for action and organization of the experience with the intention of mobilizing potential participants and demobilizing the antagonists. It is the result of three dimensions of framing processes. First, diagnosis, understood as attribution of responsibilities in terms of blaming, defining problems, causes and agents of the situation that is the object of the claims. Sometimes, through this process it happens that an adversary framework is constructed, a story of the contentious action between protagonists and antagonists (Gamson 1995), between an oppressed collective actor and his oppressor. Second, the prognosis function allows activists to design a strategic action plan aimed at solving such a situation of grievance or injustice. Finally, the motivational framework must provide a vocabulary that encourages action, i.e. the agency component of the collective action framework.

Despite this analytical separation, elements of the three dimensions, such as the purposes of the movement, the motivational vocabulary or the blaming, frequently appear intertwined in the discourse and associated with concrete practices of the action repertoire of the movements, such as demonstrations or occupations. In this sense, it is necessary to admit the presence of a process of affective framing (citation) in which a part of the discourse is intended to generate a certain emotional state in the audience, thus being an exercise of strategic dramaturgy (McAdam 1996).

On the other hand, the effectiveness of such framing processes on mobilization purposes is related to the capacity of the framework to broaden the identified problem to other social concerns, thus increasing its flexible and inclusive nature. Sometimes, its amplitude and inclusiveness are such that master frames emerge, which are frames of collective action that go beyond the scope of the social movement environment, reaching a "cultural resonance in its historical milieu" (Swart 1995: 446). The notions of adversary framework, affective framing and master frame are essential to understand how activists construct a shared conception of a problem, which is an integral part of collaboration. The following section briefly describes how we applied these conceptual tools to the case study of the 1-O.

3. Normative Foundation. the Right to Decide

The 1-O is a result of cooperative and collaborative action between several collective movement actors. As outlined above, both cooperation and collaboration presuppose that actors share a common problem, which in the Catalan case was how to organize a referendum in the face of Spanish interventions. Our definition stresses that problems are not given, but socially constructed. How did the idea of organizing a referendum come about?

In this section, we first describe how the master frame of the right to decide emerged and allowed for a shared understanding among movement actors. Second, we suggest that the right to decide represents a basis for the emergence of collaborative rather than merely cooperative action in the 1-O.

First, while the idea of self-determination is certainly not a new one, we can consider to the foundation of the Platform for the Right to Decide (Catalan: Plataforma pel Dret de Decidir, short PDD) at the end of 2005 as a starting point (Vilaregut 2010). At that point, the PDD represented a minoritarian issue, as the political arena of Catalonia was dominated by autonomist politics. Within the course of the next ten years this changed dramatically and the right to decide evolved into the master frame of Catalan politics. This discursive shift is intrinsically linked to the Spanish Constitutional Court decision on the Catalan Statute of Autonomy in 2010, which was seen as a roadblock to autonomist politics (Basta 2017).

Around the same time, the first local unofficial referendum on independence in the town of Arenys de Munt was held on September 13th 2009. In the following two years, more than half of the Catalan municipalities followed the example of Arenys de Munt and organized local non-binding referendums (Muñoz and Guinjoan 2013). In July 2010, the right to decide was fully established as a master frame within the movement, as over a million people protested in Barcelona, claiming "We are a nation. We decide" (Catalan: "Som una nació. Nosaltres decidim"). By that time, it was shared by all major civil society actors and soon swept the institutional sphere: Catalonia's long-time governing party CDC shifted from an autonomist to a secessionist stance. On November 9th 2014, the Catalan regional government organized a non-binding referendum, which can be seen as a rehearsal for the yet to come 1-O.

Our data suggests that the right to decide as the central master frame of the movement provides a basis for the cooperation and collaboration. We find strong references to the right to decide in official documents from all major civil society organizations and pro-independence parties. Between 2012 and 2015, all movement actors rallied around the goal of holding a binding referendum, despite their ideological and organizational differences. After the 2015 regional elections, the committed to organizing a referendum within 18 months. What follows is a largely a cooperative process with a clear division of labor between institutional actors providing the official organization of the referendum and civil society actors massively campaigning for it.

In the next sections, we show how this institutionally-driven cooperation reached its limits once the level of repression of the Spanish State intensified in September 2017 and sparks a discursive shift towards adversarial frames. However, this does not mean that the right to decide as a master frame disappears in the weeks prior to the referendum. In fact, for the collaborative action that emerged in the wake of the 1-O, the framing of the problem remains pretty much the same. Interviewees from CDRs, AMPAs and other local groups involved in collaborative action stated that the goal was absolutely clear to them: guaranteeing and protecting their right to hold a referendum from the intervention of the Spanish police.

The high degree of unanimity in collaborative action is a result of the dissemination of the master frame of the right to decide beyond political and civil society elites. The role of the PDD, as well as the spread of local referendums suggest that the right to decide largely emerged from civil society rather than as a strategic device of political elites (Crameri 2015; Della Porta

et al. 2017). Finally, the interplay of ideas and practices in the process of frame alignment ultimately benefited collaborative action. On the one hand, the right to decide contains a strong normative element, as it eludes to fundamental democratic rights. Interviewee data suggests that it did not only create unity among actors by concretizing the goal of action, but it also represented a strong motivation for resistance in the face of physical violence. On the other hand, the right to decide has never been just an idea. Local referendums and the 9-N put these ideas into practices. This has a prefigurative effect increasing the efficacy of activists. Actors already had experience of organizing a referendum - albeit not under the circumstances that we describe in the next section.

In sum, the emergence of the right to decide as a master frame represents the social construction of an understanding of a problem that is shared among actors of the Independence Movement and beyond. As such, it represents the basis for cooperative and collaborative action in the 1-O.

4. State Repression

In this section, interest is focused on the effect of repression on framing processes, considering that equally participates in the construction of the collaborative event of October 1. In this framework, following the proposed analysis, the sovereignist mobilization cycle, initiated in 2009 with popular consultations and overlapped, at the beginning, to the cycle of anti-crisis protests 2007-2015 (Portos 2016), is conditioned, the weeks prior to the celebration of the referendum, by the intensification of repression by the State. This period spans from the Catalan parliament sessions in September 6th and 7th to the police violence on October 1. It is a series of legal, executive, legislative, and police actions of the State, that have a direct impact on the perception of the conflict on the part of the challengers. Beyond an impact analysis of these events, this is a selection that is justified by its greater media public diffusion. These are actions carried out by security forces of the State, who obtain publicity manifested in social media and networks, with the presence of protesters and that relate to the preparation of the 1-O referendum.

4.1. Repressive Sequence

The first week of September 2017, the approval of the laws of the referendum and political transience, in the plenary session of the parliament on September 6 and 7, as previously explained, institutionally certifies the objective of carrying out the referendum on independence. From this date, repressive events that are taking place have the purpose of preventing the referendum, but, above all, of creating a collective framework for illegality and therefore the impossibility of such a referendum. This sequence also entails a countermovement framework to confront that of the right to decide.

The first is the search of the Weekly El Vallenc (Valls, Tarragona) on September 9 (Dani Revenga 2017). The civil guard detains the director and accuses him of disobedience, embezzlement and prevarication. This search is widely disseminated by TV, radio, press and networks, and there are a dozen people protesting against the action of the civil guard.

Second, the attorney general, on September 13 (Issac Meler, Oriol March 2017), cites 712 mayors (948 in total in Catalonia) for their alleged collaboration in the preparation of the 1-O referendum. This entails a series of demonstrations in several cities and towns as a sign of popular support to these municipal offices. The attorney general also presses charges, retrospectively, against the Catalan government for organizing the non-binding referendum in 2014. Third, on the 19th, the raid of the shipping company Unipost, in Hospitalet de Llobregat, followed by a similar same development of dissemination and protest. Searches are also carried out in Manresa and Terrassa. 45,000 envelopes are confiscated with the generality logo (Redacció 2017).

Fourth, September 20 (20-S) represents the most significant event in the series. On this date, three cruises arrive with 5,400 riot police arrive in Catalonia as part of the so-called Copernican operation (Jesús Rodríguez 2018), which aims to prevent the referendum from being carried out. Two of these boats dock in the port of Barcelona and a third in Tarragona. On the same day, there are 41 raids and 14 arrests in Catalan public bodies of in Barcelona. In the municipality of Bigues i Riells (Eastern Vallès), 9 million ballot papers are confiscated in an industrial warehouse, in the middle of a protest in the town and where two arrests are made. Simultaneously, searches are carried out at the headquarters of the Ministry of economy in Barcelona, in the so-called Anubis operation (Drets i llibertats 2018), and an attempt to search, without judicial order, by the national police at the headquarters of the CUP in the Catalan capital, which is impeded by protesters.

These two last situations cause an informal protest call through social networks, telegram and Whatsapp groups, by individuals as well as entities such as Òmnium Cultural and ANC, as well as parties such as ERC and the CUP.

The consequence is a concentration of thousands of people throughout the day at the Ministry of Economy and the headquarters of the CUP, where thousands of people protest against police actions.

Fifth, on September 26, the Civil Guard blocks more than 140 websites related to the preparation of the referendum and also of sovereignist entities, such as the ANC (EFE 2017).

This concatenation of events produces an intensification of the mobilization and a collective reinterpretation of the situation faced by the challengers. That is to say, repression contributes to a transformation of the mobilization, from its public protest form, to the set of collaborative practices that allow to develop the referendum day. The master frame of the right to decide is based on a shared problem, the referendum, which is in itself the manifest purpose of the framework. In addition, the process of blaming, built on an adversary framework, in which Spain is the enemy, is reinforced by the experience that brings the repressive sequence.

This translation of mobilization towards collaborative practices is reflected in the creation of the Committees of Defense of the Referendum, CDR, that arise in actors of civil disobedience. These are constituted in the form of rhizomatic activism (Feenstra 2015), especially from September 20 onwards. Their purpose is to keep open the schools that will be polling places from the afternoon of Friday, September 29th, with the campaign Open Schools. It is not so much about microstructures of mobilization - because this is not its main function -, but collaboration, organized around the schools that will be polling stations. These are affinity groups and informal

and militant promotional groups that manage family activities in the voting spaces. Tasks are shared, they carry out a schedule of activities for those days, responsibilities are distributed, places are enabled, materials and resources are obtained, from sound equipment, books, food to sleeping bags, flex lamps or warm clothes. Organizational tasks are accompanied by other groups of collective care, especially of minors.

5. The 1-O Referendum

The physical violence against peaceful voters on October 1 represent the peak of repression. The form and distribution of State violence seeks to produce a moral shock (Jasper 1997) in the mobilized population to deter its participation in the vote. However, this phenomenon of police violence has unforeseen effects. The first is the extension of the CDR as collaborating actors, from keeping schools open to become responsible for the maintenance of the voting day and the correct work at the polling stations. The most committed voters, those early in the morning, join these collaborative structures, either volunteering as officials in each polling station, or as experts for their technical knowledge or logistical capacity (lawyers are organized, sanitary, computer and hospitality, among others) and also for their activist knowledge (informal lectures on anti-repressive issues are carried out, they are collaborated in the counting).

Secondly, the effect of victimization, that is, the impact that images of those injured by police charges cause, in terms of call to arms to people not linked to the social spaces mobilized. They also go to defend with their physical presence the schools and to offer help in some of the collaborative forms outlined before.

Finally, the celebration of the referendum embodies a hybrid model of cooperation of actors and collaboration of individuals. In the first case, there is cooperation between institutional actors and social actors, namely, between the political authorities, together with the Association of Municipalities for Independence (AMI), the ANC and Òmnium mainly, in addition to the sovereignist political parties (ERC, JuntspelSi, Democrats, CUP). It is a division of tasks and competences formalized and regulated in large part, with actions ranging from the promulgation of the referendum law to the management of the electoral roll and the voting spaces at the county and municipal level.

In the second case, an amplification of the previous collaborative functions of CDR occurs. Their initial purpose was to keep the schools open until the referendum but, through the voting journey, their main function becomes to maintain polling stations open, as it has already been explained. Individuals that come to participate during that day no longer form part of the previously mobilized sectors, at least not in their entirety.

6. The post 1-O Situation

The moral shock produced in a large part of the population in Catalonia by the images and testimonies of police violence allows the intensity of the mobilization to be prolonged a few more days, with massive protests such as the "country stop" on October 3 (Roger Tugas 2018) a kind of general strike but called and participated by government.

In the aftermath of October 3, however, the collaboration that had been drawn around the schools and the CDR declines. The CDR reconfigure themselves as Defense Committees of the Republic whose purpose is to maintain the mobilization until the effective proclamation of the Catalan Republic. In that sense, protest replace the collaborative practices that we have described before. We suggest that this is the result of a process of frame disalignment: the shared conception of a problem among movement actors breaks up and it becomes impossible to generate a new collaborative framework. This process of disalignment puts into question the common interpretations that we have described before. First, the master frame of the right to decide has become ambiguous after holding the referendum. Our data suggest that there is disconcert whether the referendum has binding character for the declaration of independence or whether it represents merely an act of massive civil disobedience. From these two conceptions differing strategies: seeking immediate rupture from Spain by all means, or incremental change and, eventually, a binding referendum. Thus, there are differing diagnostic and prognostic frames that break up the strategic unity of actors.

Second, a new sequence of repressive events takes place, from the imprisonment of civil society leaders on October 16, until the dissolution of the Catalan parliament and the application of article 155 that suspends Catalan autonomy. This contributes to maintain the adversarial framing. However, the suspended declaration of independence and the self-exilement of political leaders also creates conflict within the movement, making cooperation and collaboration more difficult.

7. Conclusions

In this paper, we have explored the collaborative action that enabled to carry out the referendum on independence on October 1, 2017 in the face of State repression. We use an original set of qualitative data to explain how social movement actors transgressed organizational boundaries and cooperative practices to join in a single collaborative practice. Drawing primarily on the framing literature in social movements, we suggest that collaboration in the 1-O is the outcome of a twofold process of frame alignment. First, the right to decide emerged as a master frame helping to define the shared problem of movement actors. Second, the chain of repressive events prior to the 1-O strengthens the adversarial framing of the Spanish State and enhances the internal cohesion of the movement. This interpretation is supported by the fact that once these frames become ambiguous after the referendum, collaborative practices decline. Our approach emphasizes the importance of constructing common frames and interpretations as a basis for collaboration in social movements.

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9. Methodological Appendix

This case study is based on three types of qualitative data. First, we conducted participant observation in assemblies and organizational meetings of a CDR and a polling place in a city in Catalonia. Second, we conducted 45 in-depth and 10 informal interviews with core activists and key informers, previously selected according to their participation in the preparation of the referendum and their organizational affiliation (ANC, AMPA, CDR, Òmnium Cultural, unaffiliated). Third, it is completed with documents of materials produced by civil society actors (ANC, Òmium Cultural, CDR) and political parties (CUP, ERC, JuntspelSí).

We used data for two operations. First, we distinguished collaborative from cooperative action by identifying synchronous activities. This allowed us to focus on the activities transcending organizational boundaries in the 1-O. Second, we traced the construction of a shared problem among social movement actors through a frame analysis of the data. In the sections 4. and 5, we outlined the processes of frame alignment that enable collaboration in the 1-O, described more in detail in section 6.

10. Data Sources

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11. Abbreviations

- **AMI:** Association of Municipalities for independence
- **AMPA:** Association of mothers and fathers (school)
- **ANC:** Catalan National Assembly
- **CDR:** Committee of defense of referendum
- **CDR:** Committee of defense of the republic
- **CUP:** Candidacy of Popular Unity
- **ERC:** Republican left of Catalonia
- **PDD:** Platform for the right to decide

12. Biographical Notes

Ferran Giménez is an associated lecturer in the department of Didactic and Educational Orientation at the University of Barcelona. He makes this compatible with his high school teacher position in Sabadell (Barcelona). He obtained his PhD at the University of the Basque Country, with a dissertation entitled "Social Movements and the Construction of Subjectivities. The Cases of PAH and CUP Movements", defended in September 2017. As a PhD candidate he enjoyed a research stay at the Centre d'Analysis et d'Intervention Sociologique, CADIS (Paris), in 2017. His research interests are oriented to the social processes of construction of collective action and protest, subjectivation processes and collective identities.

Hans Jonas Gunzelmann is a PhD Candidate in Political Science and Sociology at Scuola Normale Superiore in Florence, Italy, and a member of the Centre on Social Movement Studies (COSMOS). Currently he is working on his dissertation on organizational change in the Catalan Independence Movement under the supervision of Donatella Della Porta. Jonas has been visiting researcher at the University of Barcelona and the University of Gothenburg. Before his doctoral research, he obtained an M.A. in Political Science from the University of Marburg and received a Hessen-Wisconsin scholarship to study at the University of Wisconsin-Madison.

13. Notes

1 Generalitat de Catalunya (2017): Referèndum d'Autodeterminació de Catalunya. Resultats definitius. Available at: http://estaticos.elperiodico.com/resources/pdf/4/3/1507302086634.pdf
2 There is no entry in the Wiley-Blackwell Encyclopedia of Social and Political Movements (Snow et al. 2013) on collaboration. Neither the Oxford Handbook of Social Movements (Della Porta and Diani 2015), nor the Blackwell Companion to Social Movements (Snow et al 2014) devote chapters to it. Della Porta and Diani (2006) in their introduction mention collaboration five times without elaborating on it.
3 From the Latin verb *collaborare*.

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8

Politics

Post-Resettlement Refugee Collectives in the United States. Processes of Emergence and Transition

Odessa Gonzalez Benson and Mieko Yoshihama[1]
University of Michigan

Abstract: *Scholars have problematized the bureaucracy, limitations, and commodification inherent in the retracted welfare state and its policy structures and social service provision, including those pertaining to refugee resettlement in the United States. Priorities and processes of resettlement policy and practice often do not speak to the localized and specific interests of resettled refugees and their modes of belonging and place making. In response, local refugee communities are pursuing collaborative, collective action, and mobilizing into grassroots groups or organizational entities with varying degrees of formalization. This study joins discussions of refugee community collectives (RCCs) upon resettlement by delving deeper into the processes of formation or emergence and development, about which not much is known. Data are from 40 key informant interviews, four focus groups, participant observation, and 23 written surveys of RCCs in different cities across the United States, focusing on a Bhutanese refugee community as a case study. Findings illustrate rich, complex processes of formation, presented in three aspects. First, pre-resettlement structures of leadership and community-building experiences make their way into modernized and technologized organizational processes in the United States. Second, informants' perspectives shed light on the challenges of becoming a formal organization formalizing with technocratic processes and mandates. Finally, informants report on the actors, neighbors, and institutions that offer assistance through volunteerism and allyship as well as those that do not. Theoretically, this study considers how a refugee collective emerges and embeds itself into the specific institutional governance structure of refugee resettlement in the United States. Also, this study aligns with literature that rethinks conventional social services and moves to participatory approaches with refugees and immigrants.*

Keywords: *refugee collectives, resettlement policy, formation of collective action, political and institutional governance*

1. Introduction

Refugee resettlement policy and its implementation have been richly and critically examined in terms of the processes, consequences, and compromises inherent to privatized, technocratic, economy-focused modes of governance (Trudeau 2008; Shutes 2011; Darrow 2015, 2018; Gonzalez Benson 2016). In the United States, federal refugee policy, formed in tandem with the earliest efforts to restructure social policies more broadly in the 1980s, is characterized by an institutional structure that is decentralized, privatized, and focused on management-oriented outcomes and employment as a condition for public assistance (Gonzalez Benson 2016). Practices in the nonprofit sector of resettlement, mirroring shifts in the social welfare domain, excessively or solely prioritize cost efficacy, service outcomes, and administrative

processes (Smith and Lipsky 1993; Soss, Fording, and Schram 2011). Trudeau's (2008) analysis of federally-funded resettlement agencies[2] in Minneapolis-St. Paul reveals the compromises that caseworkers and administrators must make to comply with policy and funding mandates while addressing community priorities and needs. Findings by Darrow (2015, 2018) illustrate how practitioners in resettlement NGOs in Chicago become "indentured" to administrative and policy structures, even as there remains the option to contest them. Turning to welfare-to-work policies impacting resettled refugees in the United Kingdom, Shutes' (2011) study reveals how these policies contradict service provision that is responsive to the unique needs of individual refugees.

These market-based, privatized policies yield gaps in service provision, gaps that refugee-run community groups (RCCs) seek to fill (Gonzalez Benson 2017). RCCs are locally based, grassroots groups formed by and for refugees themselves and do not fit traditional definitions of the typical "modern" organization. RCCs are often loosely structured, have limited or no financial base and no infrastructure, and emerge out of communitarian ethics and solidarity. Some studies and reports have pointed to the various activities and functions of RCCs (Owusu 2000; Piacentini 2012; Clarke 2014; Lacroix, Baffoe, and Liguori 2015). Nawyn's (2006) study provides lengthy enumeration to illustrate how the "wide array of services provided by [RCCs] are boundless" (Nawyn 2006:1521). Services mentioned include the following:

> *"employment counseling and job training, juvenile offender counseling, advocacy with local schools and police, offers men's and women's support groups, a children's choir and after-school program, translators for individuals who are ill and need assistance navigating the medical system, liaison with a local university, food pantry, financial literacy, family literacy." (Nawyn 2006:1521).*

Other studies address RCC activities in education and training (Clarke 2014), poverty alleviation (Piacentini 2012, 2015), employment, housing, and financial competency (Owusu 2000). RCC activities and priorities are directly related to gaps in policy in terms of who is served and how, when, and where services are provided. RCCs provide a range of assistance, including case management support, crisis management support, outreach, sustained programming (i.e., ESL classes, citizenship classes), cultural and social activities, and advocacy (Gonzalez Benson 2017).

A small body of literature offers a foundational knowledge base on RCCs, but there is only a fleeting reference to RCCs' range of activities in broader academic and policy discourse on refugee resettlement (Clarke 2014), particularly in the United States. In other words, existing literature on RCCs is not lacking in empirical documentation of their wide range of activities, but that empirics are undertheorized in academic research. Moreover, most studies examine refugee organizations as static entities rather than dynamic entities evolving over time (Piacentini 2015).

In this study, we examined processes of emergence and development in RCCs. Drawing on data from two joint studies focusing on RCCs of Bhutanese refugee communities resettled in the United States as a case study, we examined 42 RCCs in different U.S. cities, conducting 40 key informant interviews, four focus groups, participant observation, and 28 written surveys that inquired about organizational life.

2. Case Study. Resettled Bhutanese Refugees

In the 1990s, the government of Buddhist-majority Bhutan conducted ethnic and religious persecution targeting the Nepali-speaking ethnic minority group that practiced Hinduism and lived in the southern region of the country (Rizal 2004). State violence began with the "One Nation, One People" policy that banned cultural practices other than those of the ruling Buddhist majority and persecuted those who did not comply. Fearing violence and persecution, more than 100,000 Nepali-speaking Bhutanese fled to neighboring Nepal, where they lived for two decades (Rizal 2004). After several failed attempts at repatriation, third-country resettlement started in 2008 and was completed a decade later in 2018. The majority of Bhutanese refugees, about 83,000 currently, are resettled in the United States.

Bhutanese refugees present as a unique case study due to their exemplary experience of collective action and organizing their communities during their two decades in refugee camps. The seven refugee camps in Nepal were run mostly by Bhutanese refugees themselves. They came to be widely recognized by the United Nations community as a "model of best practice" for "care and maintenance" and were considered "exemplary" (Muggah 2005:156). With United Nations funding, Bhutanese refugees administered schools, justice systems, distribution of food and supplies, and other aspects of life in the camps. Camp management was organized with different committees in charge of various functions such as social services, counseling, administration, delivery of food and supplies, health projects, justice programs, cleanliness programs, and relief assistance (Muggah 2005). Elections for committee officials were held regularly. Political organizing was also common in the camps, and political groups were critical in organizing efforts for repatriation and against human rights violations by the government of Bhutan. More than 70,000 children attended schools in the camps with about 10,000 Bhutanese teachers providing education, and school enrollment in the camps was at 100 percent. Literacy rates in the camp refugee population were so impressive that they were higher than those of the Nepalese, Indian, and Pakistani populations surrounding the camps. Mortality and morbidity levels in the Bhutanese camps were also lower than those in adjacent countries (Muggah 2005). This exemplary experience of collective action for two decades while in the refugee camps was unique to the Bhutanese refugee community, thus presenting as an ideal case in which to examine the transfer of such actions upon resettlement.

3. Emergence. Early Formation and Retention of Pre-Resettlement Forms

Since Bhutanese resettlement in the United States began in 2008, RCCs have emerged across the country in nearly every city with a large Bhutanese population. The cultural background specific to experiences of solidarity and the cooperative systems of Bhutanese refugees while in the camps served as the foundation for collective actions upon resettlement. Bhutanese RCC leaders in our study drew upon shared cultural backgrounds. Interviewees reported on how their collectives organically formed to provide mutual support, as they continued in their shared journey of violence and protracted exile and on to new territories of resettlement. For one participant, "The purpose [of our collective] was basically to keep everything and everyone in the loop. I mean, staying together, helping each other, maintaining the culture, maintaining the language." For another participant, the collective was a space of belonging in an unfamiliar

national space, to "uplift our society about how to exist in America—how to deal with the people here [because] our people are different from the people in the U.S. We have a different culture, we have a different language, and we have different norms."

Formation of collectivities also occurred among relations bound by cultural ties: family structures, kinship relations, social networks, and long-established leadership structures. In terms of leadership, many of the same individuals who participated in refugee camp management activities became the founders and leaders of their groups in the United States. Their roles as camp administrators, school administrators, teachers, workers, and volunteers while in the Bhutanese refugee camps transitioned into leadership roles in the United States. They capitalized on strong kinship and social networks and managed to retain and reconfigure those networks in places of resettlement to generate a strong collective will to establish their RCC. Bhutanese leaders who arrived first were able quickly to identify and connect with other leaders among themselves. Sufficiently familiar with basic organizational structures and programming processes, Bhutanese leaders thus were able to initiate collaborative collective actions and community building in places of resettlement. In addition to building community in the refugee camps, many Bhutanese RCC leaders had education, skills, work experience, and English proficiency. Many had been teachers, college students, business and farm owners, government workers, agricultural laborers, and medical professionals in Bhutan. Although not permitted to have employment, some managed to work informally as laborers, teachers, and doctors in communities surrounding the camp in Nepal (Muggah 2005), thus substantially increasing their work experience.

To further illustrate this emergence of RCCs and transition from refugee camps to resettlement in the United States, we offer details on one group specifically, named the First Bhutanese RCC (1BRCC) in this paper. For the 1BRCC, conversations about forming an organization happened within days of arrival of the very first two Bhutanese refugee leaders in a local area in 2008, according to study informants. One of the two founding leaders held a professional role (as a teacher) in the community, and the other had served as manager in the refugee camps. In subsequent months, the two leaders contacted two others, and the four individuals formed an Interim Committee that would later officially found the BCC. The 1BRCC Interim Committee drafted the first documents that identified three broad goals of the fledgling organization: education, culture, and advocacy. Those documents served as foundations for the later drafting of official documents and bylaws of the organization. The Interim Committee established an Election Committee, tasked with organizing an election to determine the organization's leaders. Social networks facilitated the flow of information; the Election Committee contacted community members to pool candidates for positions and to circulate information about the elections. Within a year, the first elections were held in 2009, and more than 800 individuals voted out of the 1,200 individuals resettled in the area at that time. The first leaders were elected. In its first year, despite lack of funds and organizational experience, the 1BRCC organized an event to celebrate a traditional cultural-religious holiday. The event featured traditional Bhutanese food and musical performances and was attended by hundreds of members of the Bhutanese and mainstream communities, including the state refugee coordinator and local city officials. The formation processes of the 1BRCC were similar to those of the other RCCs in our study, as reported by informants, as well as different in terms of timing and specifics. Some RCCs did not elect leaders officially until years later. Others did not hold elections at all and instead retained an unstructured leadership pattern.

3.1. Collective Actions

In the 10 years since Bhutanese resettlement started in 2008, Bhutanese RCCs around the country conducted a range of activities: English as a Second Language classes, cultural-religious events, recreational activities (e.g., soccer tournaments), citizenship classes, community meetings for outreach and awareness programming, case advocacy, Nepali language and cultural arts classes, and consultations with for resettlement agencies, according to study participants. Case management was a key service provided by RCCs, wherein volunteers provided one-on-one assistance for individuals and families to address a variety of issues, such as interpretation and translation, legal problems, evictions, job searches, gender-based violence, school or education problems, and crises (i.e., death or injury). Some Bhutanese RCCs collaborated with other groups, such as the police department, a local university, and state-funded resettlement agencies, in a limited number of programs and services. RCCs served as sources of information, points of referral to public services, and places to obtain translation and informal support. Such activities were organized by RCC leaders on a voluntary basis with no or very limited funding. Programs and activities were commonly paid for by the leaders themselves or from community donations that were informally collected. RCCs did not have office space and operated in living rooms, borrowed spaces, and public areas such as apartment lobbies, parks, and libraries.

4. Transitioning into Technocratic Processes. "We didn't know the formal ways"

What was challenging, as reported by some informants, was translation of pre-resettlement experiences and priorities into the organizational systems of the U.S. resettlement policy-practice domain. RCCs had informally formed and structured themselves, but there was soon consensus that recognition from peer organizations would only be attained through formalization, according to informants. That is, becoming a "formal organization" entailed developing acceptable forms of organization, which meant, first and foremost, official registration into the national database of the Internal Revenue Service as a legal organizational entity with nonprofit status, termed 501(c)(3) status in the United States.

Formalization, however, was a challenge for RCCs. As expressed by one informant, "We didn't know the formal ways." Several informants explained that their RCCs needed help with the technical aspects required in official registration. "Our one challenge was that we were not able to register our organization; we had to face so many steps and we had to do so many processes and procedure to get our organization registered," said one informant. Two informants explained the many unknowns: "How can we initiate registration about the organization? How can we get tax exemptions and legal status?" "How can we register as a non-profit? What actually is a 'nonprofit'? Very few people know."

In efforts to address these challenges, RCCs simply sought each other out and talked, drawing upon kinship and pre-resettlement social networks. Formalization was speedy for some RCCs that had strong leadership capacity; for instance, in the case of the 1BRCC, formalization as a legal organizational entity happened one year after the first elections in 2009. Other Bhutanese RCCs sought out and consulted those Bhutanese RCCs in other cities and states around the country that were first able to fill out legal documents and gain official status. Documents were

shared, as well as resources and information about what to do and what not to do. Bhutanese RCCs used their kinship and social networks to obtain information about technocratic processes. Several RCCs took a number of years to officially register as an organization; one RCC, for example, registered as an official organization only in 2017 even though informally it formed in 2009. Some RCCs never became formal organizations, while others dissolved as Bhutanese communities and eventually relocated to other cities with a larger Bhutanese population.

Over the years, a handful of Bhutanese RCCs gained funding via competitive grants from the federal government. Some informants shared critical observations about the funding requirements and how they were not aligned with their own priorities.

> *"So, we were given grants, but they have strict guideline and protocols. They would only accept only for certain kinds of social activities that must be made. So, when we apply for grants, for example, we cannot include Nepali language classes, our fundraising, our cultural programs. They [the funders] may realize that those must not be needed for them. They have their protocols, they need to have their kind of issues that they need to address."* (RCC leader)

Thus, because the activities that the community wanted to conduct were not allowed via grants, the RCC resorted to their own efforts. "So, in terms of those activities [that we wanted to do], we had our fund-raising fund and so what we did was we actually created a cultural program one time and we had a ticket system," an informant said, explaining that funding was raised using ticket sales.

Moreover, administrative processes in the United States were different compared with those in the refugee camps. There were structural and procedural aspects to systems of camp management and school administration that Bhutanese refugees had conducted while in the camps, as discussed above. However, they were organized manually by hand and handwritten and were administered differently. These processes were used by RCCs upon resettlement; however, recording volunteer hours, outcomes, and attendees was not done or was done only minimally. RCCs generally did not use data management systems and electronic forms. Furthermore, Bhutanese RCCs had leadership structures based on sociocultural structures of familial and kinship status or elections, but U.S.-based organizational leadership hierarchies were typically based on appointed positions and required the participation of experts and consultants outside the Bhutanese community. To accommodate to such differences in leadership structures, Bhutanese RCCs generally retained their kinship and community-based leadership structures, and those RCCs that became formal organizations included a few outside consultants who were not Bhutanese. These were challenging transitions into U.S.-based technical and formal protocols from organizational practices in the refugee camps.

To navigate these tensions in organizational transitions, RCCs seemed to take a middle way. That is, in one sense they became formal organizations, achieving legal nonprofit status and developed leadership structures that were mandated of such legally recognized organizations. In another sense, they retained pre-resettlement forms and ways. They did not fully adopt electronic and data management systems nor did they adopt a culture of documentation. Instead, they retained a more informal, ad-hoc process to manage day-to-day activities.

Regarding leadership, RCCs retained their own culturally-based hierarchies but also engaged a few experts and consultants from outside the Bhutanese community.

5. Neighbors' Volunteerism and Allyship. "We had a good friend"

In the crucial formative stages, no support systems or funding streams were in place for organizational capacity building, technical assistance, and support for RCCs. The U.S. Office of Refugee Resettlement, the federal institution with oversight over refugee resettlement, provided "technical assistance" for RCCs through an organization but that support was done through online trainings (U.S. ORR 2018); none of our study informants reported being connected to that resource or organization. Also, the program that provided monetary grants to Bhutanese RCCs, discussed above, emphasized service delivery and did not prioritize organizational capacity building; only two Bhutanese RCCs in our sample were able to sustain themselves and acquire further resources after the 2-year federal funding period intended as a seed or start-up grant. Further, no RCCs in our study acquired support from other government agencies, at either the state or city level, for building or strengthening their group or organization. Resettlement agencies, meanwhile, which were federally funded to implement refugee resettlement services, provided limited forms of consultation for some RCCs; they shared information and references with RCCs but rarely did they move beyond meetings, events, or collaborations that were one time or small in scale.

Instead, it was non-state actors that were supportive in organizational development for RCCs in our sample. Several RCCs in our study reported that leaders and members of local churches were helpful and served as sources of practical information and advice. RCC leaders said that individuals in the community coming from varied locations or occupations became volunteers and allies. For one RCC it was a high school coach and for another, a high school teacher; a third RCC talked about getting support from a resettlement agency volunteer. A fourth RCC leader discussed in detail how allyship evolved, saying, "We had a good friend of our leaders. She helped connect us with stakeholders and there were very good people who helped us. She was working in the state (government). . . . and that's how she got connected to [us]."

That individual first worked with the RCC officially as an employee in a public agency but then went beyond the mandates of the job to volunteer on her own time to help write grants and provide consultation to the RCC in program development and organizational capacity building. In the absence of institutional resources and supports, organic, bottom-up group formation thus entailed Bhutanese community leaders utilizing those few resources and personal connections.

6. Conclusions

Building upon existing studies that examine RCC activities and functions, this study sought to provide details and illustrate the emergence and development of RCCs, a form of solidarity among refugees as a precarious and vulnerable group in places of resettlement, specifically in the United States.

Drawing from the three sets of empirical findings detailed above and moving toward theory, three domains emerge as constitutive of the processes of emergence and development for refugee collectives upon resettlement: cultural, technocratic, and personal. First, the cultural domain relates to pre-resettlement historical, social, and community factors that are retained or reflected in collectives of refugees upon resettlement. For Bhutanese RCCs, regarding emergence, pre-resettlement structures of leadership and community building experience reflect cultural foundations that make their way into modernized organizational processes. Second, the technocratic domain relates to the technologized, bureaucratic, documentary, and legalistic mandates that define and delimit collective formation for refugees and with which RCCs must contend. In our case study, Bhutanese RCC informants' perspectives shed light on the challenges of technocratic mandates that stifle organic processes and restrict their finding a "middle way" for compromise and accommodation. The third domain is the personal: Individuals, neighbors, and institutions lend support, volunteer, and become allies at personal and interpersonal levels, while other individuals and institutions do not. Collectives, after all, are personal at their core and thus this element manifests as salient for refugee collectives.

The cultural, technocratic, and personal domains are salient in forming and developing collectivities and solidarities among resettled refugees, but they may manifest in varied and different ways for refugee groups in different contexts. RCCs may conform and enact a process of adjustment or assimilation into organizational norms, perhaps in ways that individuals and families conform, or resist and navigate to cultural norms upon resettlement. Thus, examination helps open lines of inquiry into what's gained and what's lost with these processes of transition.

RCCs emerged upon Bhutanese resettlement, despite the lack of institutional supports and despite challenges to transitioning into more formalized and technocratic ways of organizational life in the United States. Our findings point to issues of social justice, as formalization and technical processes in effect delegitimize refugee collectives and exclude them. Given the economy-focused, neoliberal underpinnings of U.S. resettlement policy (Gonzalez Benson 2016) that limit service provision by state-funded agencies (Trudeau 2008; Darrow 2015, 2018), refugee collectives emerge as filling in the gaps that result from those delimitations. Institutional supports and monetary resources as well as empowerment and legitimacy are thus critical for creating inclusive mechanisms that address both the economic and political dimensions of resettlement (Toledo 2015), to facilitate refugee collectives in their capacity to self-sustain and continue to provide autonomous actions, decision-making, and service delivery for their own communities upon resettlement. Particularly within the context of heightened nationalism and restrictionist border policies, it would not only be inclusive but also more effective to have refugee policies that facilitate refugee collectives as coproducers of public social services and highlight meaningful participation of refugee communities upon resettlement.

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8. Methodological Appendix

Data are from two joint research projects focusing on RCCs of the Bhutanese community in the United States. The first was a qualitative study consisting of 40 interviews and four focus groups with key members or leaders of Bhutanese RCCs in 35 U.S. cities. Snowball recruitment was used, starting with four primary contacts, who then drew from their social network to identify key members as interviewees and focus group participants. Interviews were semi-structured and conducted either in person, by telephone, or by Skype and audio-recorded and transcribed. The interview protocol was developed using the Guide for Organizational Profile Interviews by Anucha and colleagues (2006), which has been used to examine refugee organizations (see

Lacroix et al. 2015). Data collection was conducted in 2016. For this manuscript, informants were not identified by their city or state to maintain confidentiality; quotes were revised for grammar. We used theory-guided content analysis using a structured process that utilizes informing or sensitizing concepts identified a priori from previous data analyses. Analysis of the transcribed data was conducted using the qualitative program Atlast.ti.

Building upon that first qualitative study, in our second study, we took a quantitative approach using written surveys administered at Bhutanese RCCs in 23 U.S. cities. The survey, developed out of qualitative findings from the first study, inquired about activities, use of space and resources, links with other institutions, and organizational development. Data collection was conducted in 2018 in Columbus, Ohio, using a retrospective design in which informants provided data about RCCs of which they were leaders or key members in previous years. Participants in the second study were not the same informants that participated in the first study.

9. Biographical Notes

Dr. Odessa Gonzalez Benson, Ph.D., MSW, is an assistant professor at the School of Social Work and a faculty member at the Detroit School of Urban Studies at the University of Michigan, USA. Her areas of research are forced migration, refugee/migrant-led organizations, participatory approaches to social services and urban governance with migrants, state-civil society relations, critical policy studies. Currently, her work is place-based research on migrant-run grassroots groups in Grand Rapids and Detroit, examining institutional links, activities, and use of resources and urban space. She is also pursuing research with migrant advocacy organizations in Tunisia and service provision for climate displacement in the Philippines.

Mieko Yoshihama, Ph.D., MSW, ACSW, is a professor of Social Work at the University of Michigan, USA, as well as codirector of the PhotoVoice Project in Japan. Her over three decades of research and professional activities focus on prevention of gender-based violence and promotion of the well-being of immigrants and other marginalized communities. Using quantitative and qualitative, art-based, and participatory methods, she examines the intersectional influence of gender, race/ethnicity, immigration status, and other social positionalities on the risk and consequences of gender-based violence, while also innovating socioculturally relevant prevention and intervention programs.

10. Notes

2   A resettlement agency is an organization annually contracted by the U.S. Office of Refugee Resettlement to implement resettlement policy and provide services for refugees, including procurement of housing, youth education enrollment, health assessment, cultural orientation, and job placement.

From Claims-Based Protests to Solidarity Initiatives. Tracing Transformations of Collective Action in Athens, 2010-2017

Hara Kouki

University of Durham and Open Hellenic University

Abstract : *Austerity measures imposed upon the Greek population since 2010 by both national and European and international institutions have been detrimental. Still, already since its eruption, the so-called 'crisis' triggered a massive, variegated anti-austerity movement that spread throughout the country engaging all sectors of the populace and paralyzing public everyday life. Demonstrations, occupations, strikes and square assemblies protested loudly against the sociopolitical status quo, while at the same time a wave of grassroots solidarity initiatives provided support to those in need at the local level. After 2012 and while street protests started to relent, this the network of soup kitchens and social clinics, solidarity schools and pro-refugee centers expanded hugely.*

Ten years after, how can we make sense of this transformation of collective action? Has all this been simply a reaction to the crisis? Why people turned from the street protest to prefigurative practices? Was this reflecting movements' defeat or their development? This paper does not depart from reading the solidarity movement as commons' culture but seeks instead to attend to the process of its coming together and dispersing, to its multiple potentialities and restraints. For this reason, it embarks upon extensive ethnography in different spaces across Athens (2010-2017) so as to come up with 'thick description' of the shift in collective action. At the same time, it draws from infrastructural studies and assemblage thinking so as to read the solidarity movement as emerging from fieldwork. There are three distinctive elements that emerge: to begin with, shifting towards solidarity, protest politics have been feminized putting emphasis on an ethics of care; at the same time, improvisation, informality and innovation have been drawn from communitarian traditions and a repair ecology dominant in the country for long; and, lastly, commons culture emerged on the ground as a desire to be in common that was the product of urgent material needs and an equally urgent need for change.

Keywords: *Athens, crisis, solidarity infrastructure, social movements, urban commons*

1. Introduction

Harsh austerity policies, imposed since 2010 by international and European institutions in Greece and adopted by domestic governments, provoked a series of massive, confrontational anti-austerity protests: general strikes, marches, occupations and disruptive protests, along with the 2011 square indignados assemblies paralyzed the country. At the same time, the country experienced a huge wave of grassroots solidarity to socioeconomically deprived people organized at the local level; especially after 2012 and while street protest started to relent, soup kitchens and social clinics, solidarity schools and pro-refugee initiatives expanded, all functioning within a mentality of self-organization and horizontality.

This thriving mobilization of people across the country appeared as unexpected by academic and journalistic pieces that hailed grassroots initiatives as sites of innovation and resilience and as urban commons based on solidarity and direct democracy. Real people's democracy was celebrated as opposed to governors' oligarchy that were to blame for the European moral crisis: solidarity's mass appeal turned Greece from a scapegoat to a her. But not for long. What seemed to be a gradual overcoming of austerity after 2015 has shifted attention to different suffering places, while at the same time the solidarity movement is becoming since less and less active. Ten years after, how can we understand what happened? Has this mobilization been a mere reaction to the crisis? Was this shift from 'the street to the kitchen' part of social movements or a sign of their decline? Can we refer to an emerging commons' culture? How is this connected with social change in the country and beyond?

Faced with ongoing transformations in the cities that have shattered what for long we took for granted, including our research toolkit, this paper strives for an alternative interpretative framework. It does not seek to read the solidarity movement as a resultant product, but, on the contrary, to attend to the process of its coming together and dispersing, to its multiple possibilities and temporalities. On the one hand, thus, research immerses itself into civic initiatives and draws from extensive and long- term fieldwork in different spaces across Athens (2010-2017); On the other, drawing from social movement and commons literature, the paper reads grassroots mobilizations through the lenses of infrastructural studies and assemblage theory. These conceptual methodological tools allow us to account for the emergence of urban spaces and processes of solidarity, while considering their sociomaterial nature and affective dimensions and shed light, thus to new encounters and ways of inhabiting our everyday urban life in the Greek urban landscape.

2. State of the Art

Since the alleged outset of the 'crisis' in 2010, Greece experienced the most severe recession experienced by an established democracy in the postwar era, one that has taken a horrendous toll on Greek society. Citizens reacted promptly giving rise to a complex and variegated anti-austerity movement including massive demonstrations, general strikes, rioting along with indignados' assemblies that paralyzed the country attracting much international coverage. Social movement scholars responded directly reading this mobilization as a 'distinct cycle of protest', which spread throughout the country and was populated by broad sectors of society (Psimitis 2011; Kousis 2013; Karyotis and Rudig 2014). The subsequent explosion of solidarity initiatives with hardly any demands was rather unsettling for movement studies that nevertheless read this as part of contentious action during crisis: new classifications were introduced, such as "direct social action" (Bosi and Zamponi 2015) or "alternative forms of resilience" (Kousi and Paschou 2014).

Anthropologists, instead, analyzed the movement by re-launching solidarity as an analytical category that can account for the transformative potentials of such mobilizations (Cabot 2016, Rakopoulos 2014). Academic attention has also shifted towards the field of social solidarity economy and the so-called 'alternative economies and spaces' (Kavoulakos and Gritzas 2015) and, most importantly, to the commons concept that has been gaining momentum as a constitutive creative political resistance (Kioupkiolis 2016; Arampatzi 2018). Stavrides sees "acts

of sharing as well as bonds of solidarity' as 'commoning practices (that) become reinvented in today's metropolises in acts of collective everyday survival" (2016: 60).

Social movement studies in general are grounded on the assumption that protests are mounted by marginalized groups in order to demand from the state the satisfaction of claims that would render democratic liberal regimes more inclusive. This results into a focus on organization and institutionalization, rational strategic action and state centered perspectives. Mobilization is measured according to its institutional and policy impact, which may end up in the overshadowing of the role of solidarity practices. It is for this reason, that perspectives drawing from movements literature often fail to read the grassroots mobilization in Greece beyond the contingencies of the crisis: how to account for its evolution and dispersing after 2015, if not as a failure? And how to interpret the fact that at the same time municipalities and institutional actors are gradually adopting the 'solidarity discourse' as part of their welfare policy reforms?

At the same time, literature on commons' pool resources has dwelled on local, bounded and homogeneous communities that remain autonomous, independently of the structures of the market and the state. Still, a "romance of solidarity" (Papataxiarchis 2016) runs the risk of idealizing strategies of survival, exoticizing the periphery of Europe and recasting austerity as a platform of moral prosperity (Mattern 2018). Both the solidarity and commons' claims are positive aims that attract mass appeal as solutions to the problem of structural social antagonism at the heart of this crisis; they often read, thus, as a wish list and as programmatic principles instrumentalized in a 'pro-or-against' capital relations battle (Kioupkiolis 2014). This reading, though, on the one hand fails to attend to the hegemonic formation of societies in which these communities are embedded, as social change is seen not as conflictual, but immanent. On the other hand, they overshadow the very complexity of interdependence among people who are flawed, in societies that remain imperfect and capitalist. Being in solidarity and commoning means living with some loss of assurance as to one's or one's community's place in the world (Berlant 2016). Can we find ways to see and narrativize our world as it being formed, or parts of it, as contingent and thus open to change?

3. Theoretical and Methodological Framework

This paper focuses on the liminal case of the solidarity movement in Athens that emerged from street politics to grow into local, self-managed initiatives providing support to thousands of deprived people at a time when the country was experiencing a "normally abnormal" period of serious structural failure (Green 2017).

This sum of practices, people, spaces, materials, values and affects ended up being an *infrastructure* in its own that kept the urban world alive and together. In order to make sense of this transformation of collective action and understand what made it function against the odds, we read this solidarity movement as an *infrastructure* through the lenses of *assemblage thinking*.

Infrastructure is most frequently understood in physical terms, as complex systems of roads and highways, water pipes and sewers, wires and cables. During the last few years, and while

infrastructures have become all the more visible due to their splintering (Graham and Marvin 2001), the term has been resuscitated by social scientists and humanists moving away from deep structure so as to analyze the mix of materials, ideas, people, technologies and practices that make up for what sustain the daily fabric of our (Star 1999; McFarlane 2011; Harvey et al. 2017).

Assemblage thinking, on the other hand, provides the analytical, conceptual and methodological apparatus that enables us to see, describe, and analyze infrastructure. Originating from the works of Deleuze and Guatarri (1981, 1986), the concept was further developed by De Landa (2006, 2016) as a descriptive term that signals a relational process of composition: rather than a resultant formation, it emphasizes emergence, becoming, processuality. Materiality is taken seriously, and the same applies to affect and desire.

Understanding the world through *assemblage* means blurring divisions of social–material, near–far and structure–agency (McFarlane and Anderson 2011) in an attempt to remain open to the social in formation. Far from just another concept, *assemblage thinking* offers a broad orientation and a means of problematising origins, politics, ethics and, of course, research (McFarlane 2011). Methodologically, it draws from *Actor-Network Theory* (Latour 2005), and calls for a qualitative approach, where explanation emerges through "*thick description*" (Gibson-Graham 2006). Research attunes to practice, materiality and everyday politics and listens carefully to its informants so as to understand how they produce their environment and are produced by it. We follow actors and spaces through their everyday politics and historical trajectories through time and space.

For the present paper, we adopted this sort of approach in what concerns transformations of collective action in Athens. Fieldwork was conducted during two periods: during the first (March to November 2015) we explored the shift from claims-based protests to commons-oriented initiatives from 2010 to 2015 (participant observation and 29 semi structured interviews); during the second, (September 2017 to June 2018), we conducted participant observation into four solidarity initiatives, where we also conducted 53 semi structured interviews.[1]

4. From the Street of Protest to the Kitchen of Solidarity

4.1. Infrastructuring Solidarity

While countless people plunged into unemployment and poverty due to austerity measures, solidarity structures and networks started multiplying across cities as the dominant locus of resistance: a civic drive towards self-organisation swept the country between 2011- 2014 with the informal establishment of more than 400 self-managed spaces, social centres, workers' collectives and community initiatives. According to an estimate mapping - that always lags far behind registering informality in real life - 40 solidarity clinics and pharmacies were operating throughout the country with an average of 46 volunteers per clinic attending to 2000 people per month; 47 self-managed food banks and 21 solidarity kitchens with around 56 volunteers per group which, only in 2014, distributed 4318 parcels of food monthly; 45 without-middlemen distribution networks with more than 5000 tons of distributed products, and around 30 solidarity education structures (S4A 2015). After the summer of 2015, these were complemented by pro-

refugees' initiatives and self-organized hosting centers (Temple et al. 2017).

Greek political culture is defined by strong politicization and collective mobilization that is traditionally organized around trade unions, left and radical left-wing parties, and authoritarian/ anarchist groups that resort to strikes, demonstrations, occupations and rioting. In 2011 this state-centered perspective to protest changed: from loud and conflictual protests across symbolically loaded streets and sites in the city centre, contentious action moved towards decentralized middle-class neighborhoods in unparticular spaces hosting solidarity actions. Following this development, we focused our attention on five sites: a solidarity clinic located in a middle-class neighborhood in the east of the city centre, staffed with more than 250 volunteer doctors, dentists, pharmacists, and support staff, which has provided since 2011 free medical assistance and medicines to thousands unemployed, uninsured and poor and; a solidarity school in a district in the south of the capital that provides since 2013 additional tuition to more than 150 pupils per year, along with foreign language and music lessons, operating within a time bank system and on the basis of joint meetings of parents, students and teachers; a 'Without Middlemen' food cooperative in a residential neighborhood in the north of Athens, which is run by over 30 volunteers linking directly urban consumers and local producers with no extra in-between costs; lastly, a broad 'social support' network situated since 2011 in a working-class district: this started as a collective kitchen and food bank run by over 250 volunteers who collected food from farmers, central markets, and supermarkets. Operating through an alternative currency, the group grew to include a solidarity school and a clothes bank and became a key agent in the 2015 pro refugee mobilization.

All these initiatives have been self-organized, collective attempts that aimed at operating along the principles of direct democracy and horizontality. For this reason, they invented for themselves a corpus of decision-making processes and organizational principles: regular assemblies and time banks, alternative currencies and crowdfunding bazaars, working teams and complicated rotations defined mundane operations in a painstaking and tedious way. Still, hundreds of people have been voluntarily engaging with the management, maintenance and cleaning of these spaces on a daily basis for years, in order to provide support to people who are ill, homeless, or cannot afford to eat, buy clothes, pay for the rent, education, people who are left alone to deal with hardships that exceed their skills or energies. In many cases these volunteers have been people in need in the first place who had no prior activist or militant education. They were furious and resisting austerity, but were not demanding change. They were instead acting directly, creating from scratch what was needed, through improvisation, informality and collaborative work. The 'usual suspects' of protest, members of left-wing and anti-authoritarian groups have participated in, but did not set the tone of such initiatives, which were inundated by 'ordinary' middle-aged men and women, often pensioners, who had strong ties to the neighborhood. Talking, asking, touching, relating with individuals and families was the way to learn about their needs and deal with their shame of not having enough, of losing: these spaces became the point of reference for innumerable households and volunteers. All these different groups, practices and services revolved around things: what was needed and fought for was food, vegetables, oil and bread, cans and milk, clothes and blankets, shoes and heating devices, pencils and school books, medical examinations and drugs, boxes, shelves and tables to put stuff, cars and vans to deliver it. People receiving, offering, participating, and mobilizing around issues of survival filled these small, ordinary places situated in sites previously empty and silently occupied by the groups, and 'tolerated' by municipalities.

Walking in Athens, one would have never noticed these buildings or heard all these voices or exchanges, as this entire world albeit thriving it somehow remained invisible and silent.

4.2 Findings

The solidarity infrastructure has been exactly all these things and the relations developed between and around these things, beyond institutional settings, political groups' priorities or predefined ideological goals, but instead through relationships of equality, trust, commitment and care. This flowing movement of people, values, services, products, and affects has been rightly celebrated as such. But is also unique in bearing particular characteristics that are generative of new processes and relationships.

4.2.1. Ethics of Care and the Feminization of Politics

What has been telling -even if undocumented- is the overwhelming presence of women in these spaces.

> *"We are mostly women participating, yes, even during the days of the [without middlemen] markets. Men were needed, of course, to carry and deliver all this stuff, but we had talk to the people, to understand what they need, to explain them what this is about, and women can do this kind of job!" (56-year old woman, member of food cooperative, September 2017)*

Purchasing goods, preparing and serving food, repairing clothing, providing care and emotional support to kin and community: solidarity movement was about maintaining life (Mattern 2018), which became an act of resistance during crisis. Sustaining cities at a basic level of functioning is built upon questions of social reproduction and, thus, upon women (Federici 2019). But, setting apart the apparent need to acknowledge women's work and their presence in the movement, gender was not just an add-on variable to this radical flow of practices, but its constitutive part:

> *"What has been exhausting during those two years is that everyday tasks, like cooking, become political. We have to decide who will cook, at what time, for how many, what… What has changed now for, is that I cannot set apart my personal time from what is political, I cannot rest not even when I go to the supermarket…!" (32-year-old man, ex member of radical left organization, member of solidarity group, March 2018)*

From a claim- based mobilization, that was loud, visible, confrontational and argumentative, protest culture in the urban landscape gradually shifted to decentralized, prefigurative politics. This entailed relational practices focused on supporting people in need at the local level, in an invisible and caring way that did not need to persuade anyone or become bigger than it is. Street politics and ideology-driven political confrontation has normalized a male-dominated understanding of resisting power that during those years moved towards an affective and caring way of doing things. While it is hard to challenge dominant (gender) structures, this ethics of care and maintenance managed to mobilize skills, values, individuals and groups that were previously invisible broadening the terrain of political participation.

4.2.2. Communitarian Traditions and Repair Ecologies

The solidarity movement is frequently identified as 'commons' which refers to some sort of common pool of resources that is shared, used, and accessed by communities that set for themselves the rules of this process (de Angelis 2018), while challenges neoliberal hegemony by recasting the ways through which subjects are constituted in relation to power (Kioupkiolis 2016).

"I can only associate this [solidarity in the clinic] with my childhood memories, from our village in the North…we were poor back then, hungry, but when a man's house was burnt, the whole village worked together to construct a new one, when woman and mother of 4 lost her husband, the whole village took care of them, collecting food and clothes, keeping them company. No one was alone…" (62-year-old woman, volunteer in social clinic, June 2018)

This infrastructure of solidarity materialized due to countless people who participated in and sustained its functioning without having any prior engagement in protest: this 'commoning' did not parachute from theory or from elsewhere, but has been instead historically and contextually-specific, produced from within a community and re-inscribed in it. A fascination with ruptures overshadows continuities and cannot account for diverse cultures of protest and communitarian traditions.

"No, I have never participated in politics or movements before, no, no… I worked in the ships and I when I was back in Piraeus, I would just go and take care my aunt. I still visit her, I cook for her, I take her to the doctors. She is not my aunt, you know, she is a woman who took care of my sister when she was sick and until she died, I was away in the sea. And I owe her. I cannot leave her alone, she has no one, nothing, and she helped us." (64-year-old man, volunteer in solidarity group, September 2017)

This infrastructure was built upon feelings of anti-authoritarianism, communitarianism, informality, improvisation, and self-management: yet, these are also constituent parts of a 'survival strategies'' toolkit that lay people in the country have been utilizing so as to deal with broken, unreliable or inexistent infrastructures and power inequalities. The huge gaps in service provision, welfare state and urban life have been filled through a giant system of improvisation (Graham and Thrift 2007). This 'ecology of repair' (Mattern 2018) that has been running in parallel with official infrastructures for long has actually been a constitutive part of the celebrated solidarity culture.

4.2.3. Desire to Be in Common

What constituted the infrastructure of solidarity has been different people, materials, principles and values, spaces and localities in the periphery of the city, but what kept for so long all these elements tightly together in a way that none could have ever predicted or planned? Assemblages cannot be thought of without affect.

"How did I end up here? The crisis destroyed my life. A friend told me I could find clothes for my son at a food bank, so I came one night, this volunteer told me to go to the loft and pick

up whatever might be good for my son. And he apologized for the messiness…Well, I took some stuff and I then I came back to tidy up, and, here I am, three years afterwards…I was unemployed back then, and this place helped people through, run by a group of friends, so instead of staying at home… It's my family now…." (49-year old woman, member of a food cooperative, December 2017)

"I'm tired but I am not going to quit this place. I was a hairdresser before, when they fired me I could not stay at home. I have learned so much working in the communication team I feel much more confident than before, there are so many problems coming up every day, we have to find solutions immediately, to act, we could run a giant business by ourselves now!" (43-year-old woman, member of a solidarity group, October 2017)

Berlant notes: "Just because we are in the room together does not mean that we belong to the room or each other: belonging is a specific genre of affect, history, and political mediation" (2016: 3): in Athens, the urgent needs of millions of people who were rushed into recession due to austerity measures met with an equally burning rush to change, to be there, to contribute, to participate, to care, to do something. The role of such affects brought these sociomaterial relations into being and produced a desire to in common so as to change oneself. The infrastructure of solidarity emerged out of and stored within it forms of imagination, potential and desire to change and be in common that exceeded its purely technical function (ibid), as it has rather been a potential toward which people moved in the process of engaging (Knox 2017).

5. Conclusion

Drawing from social movement and common studies, this paper shifted towards infrastructural thinking and assemblage theory so as to reflect upon the extraordinary phenomenon of the solidarity movement that emerged in Athens during the years of the "crisis": A horizontal, spontaneous, grassroots and radically democratic web of social clinics, food banks, cooperatives, solidarity schools, pro refugee centres and community support groups operated for years so as to maintain life in the city; while street protests were loud, conflictual and angry in demanding change from power representatives, solidarity was all about prefigurative politics, about people performing change in a silent and invisible way. This was done without the aid of any institutional or parties' support or the existing skills, ideologies and hierarchies of left wing or anti-authoritarian militants.

Reading this shift in collective action through infrastructural studies and assemblage thinking enables us to attend to the materiality, relationality and processuality of the formation of solidarity and move beyond either its exoticization or its interpretation as a mere and brief response to the crisis. What emerges from this analysis are the constituent characteristics of this shift that can be transformative and generative themselves of new types of sharing practices and ideas in the years to come: on the one hand, solidarity spaces are run through an ethics of care and affection that feminized protest politics; at the same time, solidarity emerges as built upon communitarian traditions and a culture of repair that has been for long dominant in the urban life of the country. 'Commoning' is not used a priori to explain those processes, it is instead produced with and through them as an overwhelming desire shaped by the urgency

of material needs as melted with the need for change. This assemblage kept our urban world bound to itself obliging us also to revisit our research methodologies and vocabularies.

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7. Biographical Note

Hara Kouki, Junior Research Fellow, Department of Geography, University of Durham and Adjunct Lecture, Open Hellenic University, is working on social inequalities in the cities and how people come together and form (more or less visible) communities in urban space. She has studied at the University of Athens (BA, History), at the University of Kent at Canterbury (MA, Film Studies), and at the European University Institute in Florence (MRes, History and Civilization), and received her PhD from the Law School at Birkbeck College (University of London). Hara has worked as a research fellow at the Robert Schuman Centre for Advanced Studies (European University Institute) and as an Adjunct Lecturer both at the Department of Sociology of the University of Crete and at the Hellenic Open University for the MA in Social Solidarity Economy. She is an affiliated researcher with the Centre on Social Movement Studies at Scuola Normale Superiore in Florence (COSMOS) and a core member of the design initiative Open Lab: Athens. Her publications include the co-authoring of 'Movement Parties against Austerity' (Polity Press, 2017) and the co-editing of 'European Modernity and the Greek Crisis' (Palgrave, 2013) and 'Protest Beyond Borders: Contentious Politics in Europe since 1945' (Berghahn, 2011).

Notes

1 Information on the interviews, the sites and participant observation can be provided by the author upon request.

TRACK
8

Politics

What is the "No más AFP" Movement? New Activisms in Contemporary Chile

Natalia Miranda

Centre de Recherches Interdisciplinaires, Démocratie, Institutions, Subjectivité, Université Catholique de Louvain and Social Movements in the Global Age (SMAG)

Abstract[1]: *In this poster, I would like to answer the following: What is the "No more AFP" (No más AFP) movement? For the last years, the movement has been struggling against the current pension system in Chile, based in the idea of individual capitalization, which was imposed by Pinochet's dictatorship in 1981, stressing from the connection between the neoliberal model and the funds, to the low pensions given by the funds administrators, proposing a particular PAYGO model to solve this.*

After extensive fieldwork in Chile, I argue that the social movement is an articulation among 2 different 'activist cultures': (1) 'classical trade-union, (2) 'neo-civic'. Then, both activist cultures begin a cross-fertilization process.

This articulation shows a good example of how two different worlds of activism can find things in common, build bridges, and finally make encounters in order to produce a social movement.

Keywords: *activism culture, pension funds, trade unions, online activism, neoliberalism*

1. Introduction

This research aims to analyze the "No more AFP" movement, which has massively emerged as a central social force in Chile during 2016. I focus on how the movement produces its activism as a social resistance from the post-2011 era.

Briefly, the movement claims the ending of the current pension system, which is completely based on individual capitalization. The claim began to develop in 2013, as a result of a national union assembly, creating a common front for this issue. Three years later, the movement reinforced itself when the claim spilled in social media platforms.

2. Methodology

A qualitative approach:

• 50 interviews (activists of the movement)
• participant observations in demonstrations
• review of "posts" (news, conversations, debates) in some of their Facebook groups
• material produced by activists (online and printed) + analysis of some mass media coverage about the movement.

3. Research question

What is the "No more AFP" movement, as a social resistance belonging to the post-2011 period in Chile?

4. Hypothesis / Argument

The movement is possible from an articulation of two activist cultures (Juris and Pleyers 2009; Pleyers 2010, 2017), that is, a set of logics of action comprising coherent and consistent normative orientations, conceptualizations about the world and social change, practices, ways or organization and protesting, its role in society, and their manners of defining and relating to adversaries.

These two activist cultures are (1) trade-union, (2) neo-civic. Both operate as specific ways of *being* and *doing* activism, who are expressed by the movement. Later, they meet each other, which involves encounters, tensions, and learnings from both cultures, and in the end, for the movement itself.

5. Results

(1) TRADE-UNION ACTIVIST CULTURE
It emerges from the collective work of unions from the public and private sector, creating in 2013 a platform organization called the "Coordinator" (Coordinadora), in order to centralize the discussion against the pension model.

This is the brain and the experience in this activist culture, structuring a particular struggling agenda (technical/economical, and political/moral arguments) with a clear proposal, placing the worker as the main actor of social change, with high political knowledge, experience (from previous struggles, dictatorship), and strong face-to-face commitment with the movement.

Being a member of a union is crucial for the personal biography, and placing trade-unions at the core of any political form of organization with enough and legitimate abilities to coordinate collective forces for social transformation.

(2) NEO-CIVIC ACTIVIST CULTURE
It is produced from the gathering of members of different Facebook groups, which became popular in 2016 under the tag "Indignant" (Indignados). They started online discussions about different 'outrages', focusing later in the pension model, placing the date for the first national massive manifestation.

These are the massive broadcasters and the spokespersons to the average citizen in this activist culture, with strong heterogeneity among their members, a flux engagement with the movement, with no previous political formation, little political participation and knowledge, and a great mistrust on it.

They place cyberspace as a valid place for meeting, for organizing the malaise and coordinating massive collective action, and for their identity. In addition, it presents a "citizen" approach, trying to reconfigure the issue in non-political terms, using examples of injustice from daily confrontation.

(3) THE ENCOUNTER (some episodes)
First meeting (2016) and prejudices:

- The Coordinator criticizes the Indignant, about the non-political education and full reliance on social media as the main activism.
- The Indignant are unaware of the Coordinator and are surprised by their disconnection with average Chilean people.

Who owns the movement? (before the first national rally)

- The Coordinator made the claim and started the technical/political discussion.
- The Indignant asked for permits and made the online call and massification.

Recognizing potentialities from the other:

- The Coordinator admits that the Indignant could help to connect the movement with more people and massify it.
- The Indignant understand how to take advantage of the experience, political expertise and historical knowledge from unions and the Coordinator.

EXAMPLE:

- 24J | THE FIRST NATIONAL MASSIVE RALLY:
- July 24, 2016
- 750 thousand people
- No political flags, bare-faced and family-oriented
- An urban carnival: parents, children, pets, people dressed as heroes, hooligans, and unions
- The issue became a mandatory issue until the present time: in the public sphere (news, parliament, government), but even in the private sphere (lunch, barbecues, work, family and friends' gatherings)

It reveals a profound critique against Chilean neoliberal values

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WHAT IS THE 'NO MÁS AFP' MOVEMENT?
New activisms in contemporary Chile

NATALIA MIRANDA
PhD Student | SMAG | CriDIS – UC Louvain
natalia.miranda@uclouvain.be

SHORT ABSTRACT

In this poster, I would like to answer the following : What is the "No more AFP" (No más AFP) movement? For the last years, the movement has been struggling against the current pension system in Chile, based on the idea of individual capitalization, which was imposed by Pinochet's dictatorship in 1981, stressing from the connection between the neoliberal model and the funds, to the low pensions given by the funds administrators, proposing a particular PAYGO model to solve this.

After extensive fieldwork in Chile, I argue that the social movement is an articulation among 2 different 'activist cultures': (1) 'classical trade-union', (2) 'neo-civic'. Then, both activist cultures begin a cross-fertilization process.

This articulation shows a good example of how two different worlds of activism can find things in common, build bridges, and finally make encounters in order to produce a social movement.

KEYWORDS: Activist culture, pension funds, trade unions, online activism, neoliberalism

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What is the "No more AFP" movement, as a social resistance belonging to the post-2011 period in Chile?

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Briefly, **the movement claims the ending of the current pension system**, which is completely based on individual capitalization. The claim began to develop in 2013, as a result of a national union assembly, creating a common front for this issue. Three years later, the movement reinforced itself when the claim spilled in social media platforms.

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The movement is possible from an articulation of two activist cultures (Juris and Pleyers 2009; Pleyers 2010, 2017), that is, a set of logics of action comprising coherent and consistent normative orientations, conceptualizations about the world and social change, practices, ways or organization and protesting, its role in society, and their manners of defining and relating to adversaries.

These two activist cultures are (1) trade-union, (2) neo-civic. Both operate as specific ways of being and doing activism, who are expressed by the movement. Later, they meet each other, which involves encounters, tensions, and learnings from both cultures, and in the end, for the movement itself.

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This is the brain and the experience in this activist culture, structuring a particular struggling agenda (technical/economical, and political/moral arguments) with a clear proposal, placing the worker as the main actor of social change, with high political knowledge, experience (from previous struggles, dictatorship), and strong face-to-face commitment with the movement.

Being a member of a union is crucial for the personal biography, and placing trade-unions at the core of any political form of organization with enough and legitimate abilities to coordinate collective forces for social transformation.

MEETING

2. NEO-CIVIC ACTIVIST CULTURE

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3. THE ENCOUNTER (some episodes)

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Recognizing potentialities from the other:
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CONCLUSIONS

The meeting of both activist cultures was key for effectively producing the "No más AFP" movement, mixing the political and technical experience with the massification-resonance and intensive use of technologies.

This is beyond a simple alliance. When encountering and working together, they have to surpass differences, critiques, and focus on what unites them, building bridges. Thus, an articulation (Laclau and Mouffe 2001; Hall 1996) comes to the scene.

Finally, they get into a cross-fertilization process by which they transform themselves when being in touch with each other and learning together, which is significant for producing the social movement.

Sharing Society Project

6. Conclusions

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7. Notes

1 This is a short version from the original (the one I sent for applying to this conference), since it already contains the same elements of the introduction, methodology, research question, and hypothesis/ argument.

Reciprocity of News in the Context of Disaster. News Sharing, Blogs and Collective Actions over Time

Stephen F. Ostertag[1]

Tulane University

Abstract: *Recent scholarship on news and journalism has begun to engage questions about news sharing and reciprocity, noting the role of journalists as community builders, involved in the building of trust, bonds and social capital among readers and community members over time (Holton, Coddington, Lewis, and Zuniga 2015; Belair-Gagnon, Nelson, and Lewis 2018). How might we understand the role of reciprocity and news sharing as an emergent social phenomenon? Under what conditions might it emerge and thrive? How might reciprocity and news sharing inform the development of a broader collective news discourse? How might it inform physical world collective actions? To address these questions, I examined the emergence of news bloggers in the wake of a "natural" disaster. Using post hurricane Katrina New Orleans as my case, I draw on a multi-method project involving interviews with blog users, attendance and observations from physical world collective actions they organized or took part in, and analysis of their blog content spanning a period of 28 months (August 2005—December 2007). Results indicate that people turned to blogs to share and consume news at a time when local news was nonexistent and national news was not useful. Sharing news allowed people to express personal frustrations and suspicions with the recovery and rebuilding work, drawing on anticivil codes and referents to frame news on federal and city government agencies and agents, and civil codes to frame each other, other residents and some local journalists. Consuming news helped people alleviate the fear and anxiety of unknowns associated with the recovery and rebuilding periods. In so doing, news sharers earned validation and moral pride by providing important information for those in need, while news users alleviated fear and anxiety by consuming news that helped make the unknown more known. Together, they built a shared system of mutual support and dependency that manifested in a broader collective discourse, an emotionally-laden discourse of cultural codes and referents. This discourse was to become an important resource that informed and motivated the cultural structures (Alexander 2006) that manifested in their physical world contentious and non-contentious collective actions for several years after the city flooded.*

Keywords: *news, reciprocity, blogs, disaster, collective actions*

1. Introduction

In the months and years that followed hurricane Katrina's devastation of New Orleans, with the city's infrastructure in tatters and recovery and rebuilding efforts subject to widespread controversy, a number of unacquainted citizens used blogs to share news about the city. With this news, they created a collective discourse and took part in a variety of physical world collective actions focused on addressing the recovery and rebuilding work. They organized their participation in a massive march on city hall to address the city's growing rate of violence.

They organized and participated in a smaller, contentious protest against former District Attorney Eddie Jordan. Most lasting, they organized an annual conference, bringing together bloggers, city leaders, and others agents of civil society to address ongoing controversies and problems of the extended recovery and rebuilding work. Underlying their collective work is a shared meaning-system of culturally specific codes and enduring emotional motivations that energize and orient their action. Drawing on interviews with news bloggers, analyses of their collective online discourse (blog content), and observations from their physical world collective actions, I uncover 1) the motives and meanings of their work in the context of disaster and extended disaster recovery; 2) the formation of reciprocal relationships of support and dependency between news sharers and news consumers; 3) the emergence of several physical world collective actions geared toward the post-disaster recovery and rebuilding work over a multi-year period.

2. Theoretical Framework

Reciprocity and the social relationships that emerge from it is fundamental to voluntary collective action. It is a common quality of social interaction and relations across societies and throughout human history (Gouldner 1960; Molm 2010). While past scholarship emphasized material exchange, more recent work has noted that reciprocity is an internalized social norm, in which the act in itself can be seen as a social goal (Perugini, et al. 2003). Molm (2010), and her colleagues (Molm, Collett, and Schaefer 2007) argue that reciprocity is not only a personal norm but is structured and variable across different forms of exchange, with consequences for social relationships and the emergence of trust and solidarity. Benefits of reciprocity need not only flow unilaterally, but may also flow bilaterally, and they may be direct or indirect. Indeed, people may benefit from the simple sense that they did the "right" thing, without anyone's direct involvement. This is important for the study of voluntary actions, and actions that take place outside of an immediate, direct exchange environment. Recent scholarship on reciprocity is useful for understanding news, especially voluntary news work that might emerge organically and under conditions of extreme duress and difficulty.

2.1. Reciprocity and News

Several scholars of news and journalism have built upon a renewed sociological interest in reciprocity to offer innovative ways of thinking about news in a digital environment and context of concentrated media ownership. Lewis, Holton, and Coddington (2014), for example introduce the term *reciprocal journalism*, noting the role of journalist as a community builder, involved in the building of trust, connectedness and social capital among readers and community members over time. Here, the value of reciprocity is both instrumental, in the form of goods, and symbolic, in the form of "positive thoughts, perceptions, and behavior that may be communicated by reciprocation or observed by others" (Lewis, Holton, and Coddington 2014:232). Through these mutual benefits, reciprocal journalism contributes to the building of social relations over time. Subsequent research further verified the concept of reciprocity as not only the "'starting mechanism' through which social relations can be initiated and perpetuated" (Gouldner 1960:177; Lewis, Holton, and Coddington 2014:229) but as a motivator for news consumption and creation (Holton, Coddington, Lewis, and Zuniga 2015: 2529),

and the development online communities (Holton, Baek, Coddington, and Yaschur 2014; Harte, Williams, and Turner 2017). How might we understand the emergence of news sharing through a lens of reciprocity? In other words, when people are not paid and the barriers to communicate and consume news are high, why do they do it? Under what conditions might such reciprocal news work emerge and thrive? By extension, how might reciprocity and news sharing inform the development of a broader collective news discourse? How might it inform cultural structures and the physical world collective actions of political and civil societies?

2.2. News as Relational Social Practice

As a form of reciprocal collective action, news may be understood as a *relational social practice*. It reflects a symbiotic relationship between sharer and consumer around meaningful content. This is why some form of news can be found in every society studied and under the most trying, challenging, and risky of environments. The context of post-disaster recovery, where vast numbers of people suffer severe disruption to life, and ongoing fear and uncertainty about the future may illuminate how and why reciprocal journalism emerges, including the semiotic codes it expresses and how these inform physical world collective actions. This is the case not only in the immediate aftermath of the disaster, but also in the extended disaster recovery (Ostertag and Ortiz 2015), the following months and years of the recovery and rebuilding process that commonly go unstudied in disaster research (Frailing and Harper Jr. 2015). Under these conditions we may witness *relational news practices* emerge among regular citizens, their manifestation in a collective news discourse, and use in informing physical world collective actions related to the recovery and rebuilding periods (Ostertag and Ortiz 2013; Ortiz and Ostertag 2014; Ostertag 2016). This was the case in New Orleans, over the months and years that followed from hurricane Katrina.

Long-term disaster recovery and rebuilding is characterized as an extended period of unsettlement where the familiarity, regularity and predictability of everyday life is replaced with their oppositions. Here, we see the cultural emergence of relational news practices manifesting from mutual motivations around a shared system of meaning (Patterson 2014). News consumers are motivated to consume news in an effort to avoid ontological insecurity and alleviate fear and anxiety linked to pragmatism and questions of social reality and understanding. News communicators are motivated to report news in an effort to demonstrate their moral worth, social belonging, and enhance their sense of self, all qualities of normativity. News consumers and news communicators come together around the content of news, because it is news content that allows both the consumer and sharer to satisfy their needs. The news has value for consumers in its utility in reaffirming social reality and providing answers to uncertainty. It has value to communicators in the form of self-enhancement, a resource in demand that, when extended to needy others, earns one social validation, moral pride and a sense of social belonging. Reciprocity provides a lens to understand what each offers the other with news, how their mutual rewards foster ongoing, voluntary social relationships around news, and how these relationships may materialize a collective discourse and physical world collective actions focused on shared problems and concerns.

3. Blog Use and Collective Actions over Time

In the months and years after hurricane Katrina struck New Orleans and the US Gulf Coast, a number of unacquainted individuals living in and around the city turned to blogs for much needed news and information. In the process, they began interacting with each other, starting new blogs to provide their own news and commentary and commenting on other blogs. They hyperlinked to each other's posts and included them in their blogroll. A digital and cultural network of blogs emerged, linked to each other through the connective affordances of the blog platform and the shared cultural discourse they created and maintained as news bloggers. They began to build social ties and ongoing social relations based on shared understandings of the flood, authority figures, and ways to rebuild anew.

Over time, many felt compelled to meet in person. They took advantage of the city's carnival culture to do so, using Mardi Gras to initiate first meetings. Later, several bloggers hosted "geek dinners", informal, potluck, social gatherings where bloggers could meet in person and further cement their ties and relations. From here, several decided to organize a conference in an attempt to "actually do something" rather than just complain on their blogs. In July 2006, one year after the city flooded, they got to work organizing the first of what would become a yearly conference designed to highlight ongoing problems with the city's major institutions (e.g., education, journalism, crime, politics, housing, etc.). A month later they hosted their first conference, and continued to do so for nearly a decade after. The Rising Tide[2] conference, as it was named, was the most organized and consistent example of their collective action. Yet, many of these bloggers also took part in other collective actions. They organized their involvement in a massive contentious mobilization on the steps of city hall designed to combat the city's growing problem with violent crime. They protested in the French Quarter, the removal of a controversial and incompetent District Attorney. A few worked along with non-bloggers in various capacities to address controversial issues having to do with city hall and the rebuilding work. One worked with a local television news reporter on the city's housing program, uncovering how federal monies was being channeled into city agents and homes were being demolished without notifying the owner. Their work would win them a number of journalism awards. This blogger was then able to use the social capital she earned with her investigative blogging to start a local, online news organization (Ostertag and Tuchman 2012), which, now roughly a decade later, has a budget of almost $1 million dollars (US) and 8 full-time employees. It's consider the "go to" news site for information on city politics and institutions, and has won numerous awards for quality, investigative reporting. Another blogger converted his documentary skills to investigative blogging and, working with his readers, uncovered political graft at city hall in the months after hurricane Katrina, resulting in the arrest and imprisonment of a key city contractor, and ultimately leading to the arrest of former Mayor Ray Nagin.

This was their collaborative collective actions. Some involved work with other bloggers and others involved work with non-bloggers. They were possible because of the sharing among these blog users; sharing information, news and social support, and validation of agreed upon meanings and feelings. This allowed them to cultivate the bonds of trust and encourage ongoing social relations that were necessary for them to work together over extended periods of time. This collective work would not be possible had blog users not shared in the reasons they started using blogs (as readers and writers), the news and information they shared, and the discourse they constructed.

3.1. Emotional Motivations

The context of post hurricane Katrina New Orleans was one of not only mass destruction and disruption, but also of mass confusion, uncertainty and anxiety. This was a context of extended collective trauma linked to the national media, federal and then local authority figures and agencies, and the private interests of insurance companies and contractors. Many people turned to blogs for news and commentary related to these topics, as the local news was incapacitated and the national news was worthless. People were desperate to learn news and eager to communicate the news they knew. They consulted blogs for news that might alleviate their anxiety and posted news on blogs as an outlet to vent their growing anger and to share with others who must also be anxious, scared and angry. Blogs were to become coping tools. Fear, worry, and anxiety motivated people's action to consult blogs for news. They were desperate to learn anything about what happened and what was happening as the city recovered and rebuilt with little oversight or transparency. Anger, pride and joy motivated people's actions to post news on blogs. They were incensed with the anticivil actions of key authority figures and agencies and needed a place to "get it out", and they were proud of the civil actions of their fellow residents and could enhance their sense of social belonging, civil duty and self by sharing news of these with desperate others. These were the emotional motivations that energized people's collective actions around blogs. By consulting blogs as a resource for producing news and for consuming news, people were able to address their emotional needs, fostering reciprocal relationships between news consumers and news sharers around the content of news. What did that content look like?

3.2. Cultural Codes

Democratic societies are narratively structured (and constructed) through a system of shared civil and anticivil codes (Alexander and Smith 1993; Alexander 2006). These codes inform an expansive discourse focused on three related areas—the motives of actors, the relations they may form from their motives, and the social institutions they may create out of their relations. In the context of post hurricane Katrina New Orleans, and its collective traumas, civil and anticivil cultural codes found expression in the news of blog content, fomenting a collective discourse that spanned this local blogosphere. Here, we see the specific leaders, decision-makers, cultural critics and institutions as the cultural referents, the objects of collective, civil-minded attention. They populated the cultural codes. In New Orleans, popular cultural referents were both local and national in scope and included George W. Bush, Michael Brown, Anderson Cooper and Fox News, Ray Nagin, the Army Corp of Engineers, city residents and authority figures, and other bloggers. The news on most authority figures, such as then Mayor Ray Nagin, former president George W. Bush, FEMA and its director Michael Brown, and Fox News was often framed in anticivil ways. These referents were seen as passive and irrational in their motives, deceitful, secretive and self-interested in their relations with the city and its residents, and rebuilding local institutions that were arbitrary, exclusive and based on bonds of loyalty. The majority of blog news reflected these themes, as these were the sources of the ongoing trauma residents experienced over the recovery and rebuilding periods. Yet, some blog news expressed civil codes. This was especially the case for news about local residents and journalists. This news highlighted active motives and altruistic, honorable and trusting social relations that were inclusive and based on equality.

This collective discourse was also emotionally-laden, emotionality being tightly infused with the cultural codes and the motives to use blogs in the first place. Anger was the most common. This is not surprising given the ongoing collective traumas and anticivil meanings associated with key authority figures and the recovery and rebuilding work. Blog users built bonds upon their shared anger directed toward agreed upon figures and topics and their framing in anticivil terms. Yet, they also built their bonds by showing their empathy, sympathy, gratitude and respect for each other. Bloggers extended these emotions towards some city figures, but especially towards each other. They did so in their blog posts and in the comments they left for each other as well.

Together, the shared system of meaning rooted in civil and anticivil cultural codes and the shared emotions motivated and oriented people's movement to use blogs and manifested a shared collective discourse. This discourse was a useful tool to share in their collective commiseration and validation toward agreed upon topics and figures. It became a key mechanism in their building of trusting social ties with each other and cultivating ongoing, voluntary social relations. It was also an important tool in sustaining shared meanings and feelings that compelled users to meet in person and eventually take part in a variety of collective actions directed towards the city's rebuilding work. Reciprocity is fundamentally important to this process.

4. Reciprocity as Social Support. News Blogging in Long-Term Disaster Recovery

Blog users were able to work together and take part in a variety of physical world mobilizations because of the social ties and relationships they established through blogs. In providing news and constructing a shared discourse of emotionally-laden cultural codes and referents, blog users created an online social support network of mutual support and dependency. Reciprocity was key to these developments, as blog users shared information, feelings and meanings with each other in ways that nurtured their bonding and supported their physical world collective actions. Here, we may consider bloggers as citizen journalists and blogs as sources of much needed news in the context of ongoing disaster recovery that was riddled with uncertainty, suspicious decision-making, and a lack of trust in key authority figures.

Reciprocal journalism refers to the relationship between journalist and consumer/community and how this relationship is one of mutual benefit. Reciprocal journalism is rooted in the notion of news as relational social practice. Here, like rumor, gossip and other forms of informal moral communication, the news is "pulled and pushed through society…the uninformed anxious to obtain news, the informed eager to give it away" (Stephens 1988:20). Reciprocal journalism and the relational social practices of news upon which it is built take certain shape in the context of disaster, manifesting a collective discourse based on shared cultural codes and emotions, and informing physical world collective actions based on shared grievances, angers, and anxieties.

This is a process, however, one in which desperate people need to know what happened, how to respond in the immediate, and how to move forward in the future. Life is full of instability, risk and unpredictability. Decisions are being made with little transparency or competence. People need news and information and they use whatever tools they can to find it. News helps them

alleviate their fears and anxieties, at least temporarily, and with great appreciation. Through blogs, relationships between news providers and news consumers develop, relationships that on a local level and among amateurs do not adhere to the boundaries of the profession and therefore do not structure these relationships in a hierarchical order. The hats of news sharers and news users are interchangeable, everyone is desperate for news and everyone has some news to share. In so doing, people earn validation and support for helping others and they extend validation and support to others for the help they offer. An informal, voluntary network develops, people build trusting social ties around shared interpretations of what happened, who's to blame, who to trust, what to celebrate and what to fear, and how to move forward. Sharing in their appreciation for the city and participation in city life, blog users may wish to meet in person, strengthening their social ties and ongoing relations, encouraging continued interaction and, should the trauma of uncertainty, risk and anger continue, perhaps organized physical world collective actions to engage these issues. These collective actions may take various forms, some being contentious, others less so. Some being temporary one-offs, others more lasting. Some involving other blog users, others extending beyond toward concerned citizens and/or agents of other institutions with similar goals. This was the case in the months and years following hurricane Katrina in New Orleans.

5. Conclusion. Reciprocity, News and Civil Society in the Wake of Disaster

Disasters are collectively experienced, potentially traumatic events that often produce a variety of psychological, emotional and social consequences. They create widespread unsettlement and instability that may take years to address. As people seek to return to settled times, they confront a variety of shifting questions and problematics. They ask questions about the causes of the disaster and subsequent trauma; who or what's to blame; how to rebuild and move forward. Trusted news is essential in this time of extended, heightened need. Under these conditions, people might use the communication tools at their disposal to communicate and consume news. Doing so provides an outlet to express shared grievances, address collective anxieties and frustrations with uncertainty, and build solidarity among those who suffer from similar experiences. Over time, as a region seeks to recover and rebuild, sporadic, scattered citizen may begin to develop reciprocal relationships with each other as they share and consume news across social media like blogs. They may create a larger collective discourse composed of emotionally-laden cultural codes and referents, further fostering their solidarity. As this discourse continues and grows, it may turn into an important cultural resource that foments physical world cultural structures in the form of contentious and non-contentious collective actions geared toward city agents and agencies, the federal government, and private interests. In this way, news sharing and the reciprocal relationships of support and dependency that emerge in the context of extended post-disaster recovery may play important roles in how citizens come to participate and seek to influence over local civil and political societies at a time when dominant institutions and practices were particularly vulnerable.

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7. Methodological Appendix

My primary sources of data are from interviews with many of these bloggers (N=27), which I collected from 2010-2013. By interviewing bloggers I could learn about their motivations and reasons to blog, what topics they blogged on, how they got started and where they are now. Through reflection, interviews allowed me to extend my analysis back in time, to when they

first started blogging and how they got involved within the context of a post hurricane Katrina New Orleans and the months and years of rebuilding and recovery work that followed.

To complement interview data, I also attended, observed, and participated in several events organized by and for these bloggers and other users of social media, all of which have the flood as the initial impetus. This included attending three annual *Rising Tide* conferences (2011, 2011, 2012), one of which I was invited to be a participant on a panel titled "Social Media, Social Justice" (*Rising Tide 6*, Saturday August 27, 2011). Organized by "Katrina Bloggers", this conference started in 2006 and continued every year until 2014. It is a day-long event designed to provide a platform for bloggers and other users of social media (and the general public), to discuss city progress, regress and other storm/flood related issues and concerns associated with the recovery and rebuilding periods. Each of the three years I attended drew around 200 participants. I also attended several events the city organized for the 5-year anniversary (2010) of the storm in which bloggers were key speakers and/or panelists. These observational data allowed me to witness the social formations these bloggers created years after the flood, and the social ties and relations they formed with each other and that were essential for their offline collective actions.

Finally, and with my colleague David G. Ortiz, I analyzed blog content, including posts and comments. This involved a close, qualitative analysis of blog content, where I sought to investigate the morals, emotions, archetypes and collective trauma expressed in the posts. I examined 7 blogs (selected due to the importance of the blogger in this local blogosphere), using the paragraph as the unit of analysis. In total, I examined 2,234 paragraphs associated with these blogs. The dates range from August 2005, before the storm hit New Orleans, through December 2007. This 28-month period allowed me to capture the growth in blogs as a means of communicating and consuming news, information and commentary on the storm and its aftermath, the shifting topics and questions as they emerged over time, the creation of a richly meaningful, emotionally-laden collective discourse, and the networks of interaction that developed among blog users. The blog content provided an invaluable digital archive for examining these phenomena, as well as a useful tool for verifying and clarifying statements from the interview data.

While these data were collected over a span of just a few years, 2010-2013 being the most active period of data collection, they allow me to examine a much longer period of time, capturing shifting questions and concerns as the city went from settled, to unsettled, to settling, and back to relatively settled. Interviews with bloggers and blog readers allow for a retrospective account of people's movement into blogging, including the motives to read/write, and the process of developing relationships (and tensions) with others through digital social media. Observations and participation in collective events allowed me to witness how bloggers mobilized and organized years after hurricane Katrina, and to develop some sense of their impact on the city. Analysis of blog posts provided a digital archive of content and digitally-mediated interaction over time, as blog content often remained accessible years later. Together, these sources of data provided a rich pool of empirical information that allowed me to monitor and analyze how blogs were used over an extended period of time, including why people used blogs to share and consume news, the social relations that users forged, and the physical world collective actions they organized out of their blog use.

8. Notes

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Politics

The Case of Open Government in Madrid and its Relationship with MediaLab Prado

Margarita Rodríguez-Ibáñez

Asociación Demetra[1]

Abstract: *This study aims to analyze the role of MediaLab Prado and its collaborative collective action for the acquisition of methodologies and tools applied to meet the commitments of the Madrid City Council Government has both with its constituents and with the Open Government Partnership.*

The Open Government Partnership (OGP), created in 2011 by eight founding countries and civil society, proposes a change of political paradigm, the voluntary opening of governments towards citizen participation and action and their commitment to the construction of more efficient and transparent institutions.

This study focuses on three axes of interaction: the MediaLab Prado citizen laboratory and its Collaborative Collective Action; the actions carried out by the Madrid City Council to achieve the challenges established by the OGP and the influence of technology in all these processes.

Technology is an opportunity for governments because of the quick, easy and direct possibility of interaction between citizens and the participative proposals that governments make, which has led to a first phase of technological governance (2015-2017) which disallowed physical participation, to move on to a second phase of hybrid democracy. Technology applied to deliberative democracy must be seen as a matter of opportunity, but also of challenges and inconveniences for governments.

On the other hand, the influence of the participative policies that are born from the City Council of Madrid, has provoked succinct changes in the logic of the MLP laboratory, as it has been used as a government laboratory, influencing its motivations, objectives and idiosyncrasies.

Keywords: *open government, MediaLab Prado, Madrid City Council, tech-democracy*

1. Introduction

This study values the interaction between the governmental actions carried out by Madrid City Council Government (MCCG) to adhere to the strategies established by The Open Government Partnership (OGP); the intervention of the citizen laboratory MLP to achieve these purposes; the citizens' involvement with these two institutions and the technology as the fundamental basis for such interaction.

The OGP pretends the opening of governments towards a greater transparency of their actions through data open to citizens and the opening to a more active participation of citizens, proposing an evolution of democracy that is generally favored by technology. This techno-politics is developed fundamentally with citizen laboratories because they have the free thought and the baggage of collaborative and collective work aimed at the political common good.

There are government laboratories that have been created expressly because of the need to meet these government challenges, but some of them, such as the MLP in Madrid, have a great history and international prestige.

The actions of governments within the framework of the OGP include state and municipal engagements, with separate strategies and dynamics. In particular, this study focuses on the actions of the Government of Madrid, which in 2016 became part of the sub-national pilot programme of the OGP, relying on the mechanisms and productivity of a laboratory of the importance of MLP, turning it into its large part, a government laboratory.

The methodology used to carry out this study included thirteen interviews with people related to MLP and the leadership team of the Government of Madrid, as well as a discussion group. On the other hand, it has collaborated as a participating observer from 2009 to 2017.

2. MediaLab Prado Madrid

MediaLab Prado (MLP) is a cultural center and a citizen laboratory designed for collective experimentation researching common good. It has an international projection due to the social innovation it proposes by including citizens as authentic protagonists of the laboratory through collaborative and interdisciplinary work and the creation of prototypes in open source. It is a laboratory where collective experimentation is practiced, in controlled environments and where error can occur at no cost, analyzing its results and the feasibility of application. In this process, collective intelligence is of vital importance, which must be understood as the way of processing information not only collectively but effectively (Lévy 2004:20), cultural encounter (ethnographic and gnoseological) and subjectivities (experiences, learning and affections).

MLP Began with another name and its activities in 2002, but with its strategy and current location since 2007. It emphasizes the exhibition and the union of science-technology and critical analysis of the social. A more ambitious process began in 2003, suggesting that in addition to being a space capable of connecting disconnected disciplines (such as free software, biology or anthropology) it should be able to promote interdisciplinary research and co-production.

In 2005 "the movement of physical computing, rapid prototyping and the irruption of Web 2.0, implied that all future transformations were going to be resolved on a screen." This provoked the need, to extend their essays to a preferably physical framework of action, essence of the current spirit of MLP: "calls for projects with a duration of two weeks, with free software and the union of collaborators as the granularity of the network (interdisciplinary participation, intense/weak/punctual, with variable commitment, expert or not), and with an informal system but at the same time organized, making the maximum manageable diversity a reality, and where all that interaction was meaningful, concrete, viable and expository" (Interview nº. 5).

It is a cultural center functionally dependent on Madrid City Council and the public company Madrid Destino[2], so there is a clear financial dependence and subordinate to a metropolitan framework of intentions for its hierarchical and functional dependence, but has had freedom of action and a more international expansion due largely to the social innovation it raises.

It is open and free to access whose objective is to promote and activate the human and intellectual value of citizens in the construction of a cultural, social and political order that adapts it to their contemporary needs and to the emergence of technology.

The user profile is mainly with a high level of instruction, 20-50 years old and mainly technological skills, which makes it a *glocal* platform for learning, practice, meeting and exchange of knowledge and experience, responding to the excess of current specialization that results in disciplinary isolation and impoverishment.

The mentality on which MLP is based for an effective collective work is: seeks social improvement and the commons, without forgetting own benefits (Kassan and Orsi 2012:7), changing the concept of consumption for others like activity (Hamari, Sjöklint and Ukkonen 2016:3) and process (Belk 2007:126), with an ethic of production and anti-consumption (Ozanne and Ballantine 2010).

In all this process, the important thing is access, opportunity of use and co-production, a concept broader than the user who enjoys a final product, thus giving much importance to the presence of the individual, essential requirement to be able to work in the first stage of projects in the installations of MLP.

Therefore, it develops hospitality (with strategies of care) as a vehicle to generate affection, economy of gift and trust between the actors and with MLP, necessary material for collective work, and potentially powerful to create feelings of solidarity and bonds (Belk 2010:717; Donati 2018:173) which in turn, favors the continuity of the project outside the center.

It mainly uses technology information, due to the ease offered by the medium to syncretize disciplines of a hybrid nature, exchange information and disseminate content. It only uses open source, transmitting non-appropriation.

The open source movement also meant a reformulation of the feeling of expropriation that was turned over to other instances, mainly to those that had to do with the validity given by the institution on what should or should not be understood as knowledge and culture. A process of claiming "free culture" and "freedom to create it" began by appropriating the processes and reinventing social production, political economy and forms of organization (Estalella, Rocha and Lafuente 2013; Carrillo 2018; Claramonte 2011) through the common (that which unites us) or by-it-and-with-it (between all).

MLP by the exposed mentality, supposed a center of welcome for technological and political activists that taking refuge to the resurgence of the commons, in a way helped to boost the citizen self-organization. Many of these activists were a fundamental part of the 15M movement.

One of the factors that attracted them to MLP was fundamentally its *prototype* concept, that ceased to mean a beta product in the production phase, to expand towards services, institutions and networks and "open it to citizen participation, local problems and the gift economy", defining itself as "leaving the results open to the interference of others" (Lafuente and Alonso 2013:46). *Prototyping* also refers to modes of relationship open to citizen experimentation, to the way in which this relates and does it with the environment, causing "other ways of

organizing socially, of regulating intellectual property, of intervening in society" (Estalella 2012).

From this point of view, prototype would be the way in which the common is manifested and therefore, has the capacity to mutate permanently. The concepts of *commons* and *prototype* are allied and understood as a dynamic structure adaptive to the motive that triggers it (social, cultural or political processes), the object it pursues (decent housing, social streets, open school, gender violence, a place to raise), of its nature (technological, physical or hybrid), or of the agents that participate in it (community, commonwealth, nation, region or world), varying its meaning according to the space-time to which it refers, the people who attend it and the action that takes part in it. In all their aspects both the commons and the prototype inscribe collective and collaborative actions and depend on them.

3. Open Government Partnership

In September 2011 the United Nations Assembly was faced with a complicated agenda of continuing and growing threats (war, global warming, new technologies and citizen protests[3]), which implied a rethinking of governments to create meaningful strategies towards sustainability and partnership, and the creation of institutions that were effective, transparent, accountable and democratic towards the paradigm shift of public governance.

The United States and Brazil lead an action that proposes to the United Nations General Assembly the program Open Government Partnership (OGP) being the first organization with a steering committee shared by state governments and civil society organizations.[4]

Open Government comprises four actions that operate according to standards designed by OGP: transparency of information on the economic actions of governments through open data; public participation and co-creation for a redistribution of power through accessible channels; accountability that refers to the rules, regulations and mechanisms in the exercise of public power and their expenditure; and finally open source data for its use.

Note that technology is the main tool of all these processes and that it constitutes in itself the power and the bridge between organizations, citizens and collective actions. We are not only talking about openness to the citizen, but also about the creation of "a powerful data monopoly capable of structuring and homogenizing".[5]

This open technology, the demand for citizen action and the imperatives of Open Government, suggested the need to create citizen laboratories created by governments with a fundamentally technological context in order to arrive at conclusions that can be traced, assessed, applicable and shared.

For this purpose, governments needed existing citizen innovation laboratories or created government laboratories that fulfilled the objective of generating public value, identifying challenges, collaborating and co-creating with civil society (Rodríguez 2017:14). In particular, we can highlight the existence of GovLAB in New York, MindLab in Denmark, the Hacker Laboratory of the Brazilian Chamber of Deputies, the Government Laboratory in Chile, the LABICs of the Ibero-American General Secretariat, and stress that most Latin American

innovation laboratories arise within the framework of the Open Government agendas of their respective countries (Acevedo and Dassen 2016:28).

4. Open Government in Spain

The countries adhered to the OGP, work from different territorial institutions (state and municipality) and they do it on objectives that they consider most important to them.

Spain began its commitments to the OGP in 2011, and in the 2012-2018 period, it has carried out three Action Plans[6]. Transparency[7] is the core of its actions, appreciating the possibility that each government can activate the mechanisms it considers in accordance with its own idiosyncrasy.

As of the date of this writing, the State of Spain has fulfilled 30 of its 42 commitments[8].

On the other hand, it should be noted, that there is an open government action from the Federation of Provinces and Municipalities[9] of Spain, which are currently in a phase of formulation and development. Regardless of this Federation, some municipalities work on their own open government projects. In Spain, innovation laboratories have been set up to improve the requirements of the OGP programme.

			Laboratorios de innovación	
CASO	SEDE	AÑO DE CREACIÓN	SITIO WEB	OBSERVACIONES
MediaLab Prado	España	2000	https://www.medialab-prado.es	-
Innobasque	España	2007	https://www.innobasque.eus	Organización sin fines de lucro
Barcelona Urban Lab	España	2008	http://www.22barcelona.com/content/view/698/897/lang,es/	-
Zaragoza Activa	España	2010	https://www.zaragoza.es/ciudad/sectores/activa/	Agencia gubernamental
Ciutat Beta	España	2012	http://www.ciutatbeta.org	-
MediaLab UGR	España	2014	http://medialab.ugr.es	-
NovaGob Lab	España	2016	https://lab.novagob.org	-
Laboratorio Aragón Gobierno Abierto	España	2018	http://www.laaab.es	-

Table 1. Innovation Laboratories in Spain
Note: this diagram was elaborated by Rodriguez, E. (2018:17)

The case of MLP is particular because it existed before these policies of openness, so in addition to establishing itself as a laboratory of Government and for the Open Government, continues to perform other functions primarily linked to production and social and cultural creation, thus uniting public innovation and social innovation to obtain optimal results in the development of the Open Government project of the City of Madrid.

5. The Open Government in the Municipality of Madrid

In 2016, OGP launched the Subnational Pilot Program, understanding that local governments should have a greater role in the management of public services and attention to the real

needs of citizens in the daily and direct. Formed by 15 regional and local governments in which Madrid City Council participates.

In terms of participation, in Madrid, the Government Plan implements a system of direct, individual and binding participation through the Decide.Madrid platform, which was born from the old Labodemo[10] tool that was applied in the digital participation strategies of the Podemos party[11] and which later became the Consul tool (Bria and Lucarelli 2016:6) through the D-CENT project[12]. Consul has the ambition to be the largest digital participation space in the world (Interview nº 9).

In the Action Plan developed in 2017 by the Madrid City Council (MCCG) [13], there was a commitment to promote both the transparency and traceability of citizens' decisions, with the will to implement measures established in rules that make them durable over time, that is, once citizens have had the power of decision, in the event that another government came to the City Council, it would not have the capacity to return to the previous state of non-governance. (Interview nº 9).

In 2018, at the meeting of the sub-national programme the Madrid City Council took on a leading role[14], highlighting the Councillor of the Area of Citizen Participation, Transparency and Open Government (AGCPTOG), that the role of the OGP has been instrumental in meeting the objectives of MCCG (2015-2019) and proposing its digital platform Madrid Decides (Decide Madrid) through the free software Consul, a model to be implemented anywhere and at all decision-making levels (local, regional or state) and help to adapt it according to the needs (Interview nº 9).

The MCCG uses MediaLab Prado[15] to achieve its objectives: to improve its tools for citizen participation, to debate its functionality, actions, difficulties and solutions, to improve physical and digital processes (hybrid democracy), to know what the citizen needs and apply it for greater success and to continue improving and studying the possible improvement of democracy (Interviews nº 7, 8 and 9).

6. Government Strategies of Madrid City Council and its Action in MLP

Since the arrival in government of the political coalition Ahora Madrid in 2015, strategies and technologies have been developed to facilitate democratic participation, as promised in its political candidacy.

The first was to create the Area of Government of Citizen Participation, Transparency and Open Government (AGCPTOG) in October 2015, and develops actions for this purpose relying on MediaLab-Prado laboratories, called innovation (InciLab, ParticipaLab and DataLab) in order to improve citizen participation methodologies, transparency systems and institutional development towards new frameworks of relationship with civil society.

In addition, the Area of Territorial Coordination and the General Direction of Innovation, within the City Council itself can request the services of MLP to carry out their policies (Interview nº 5).
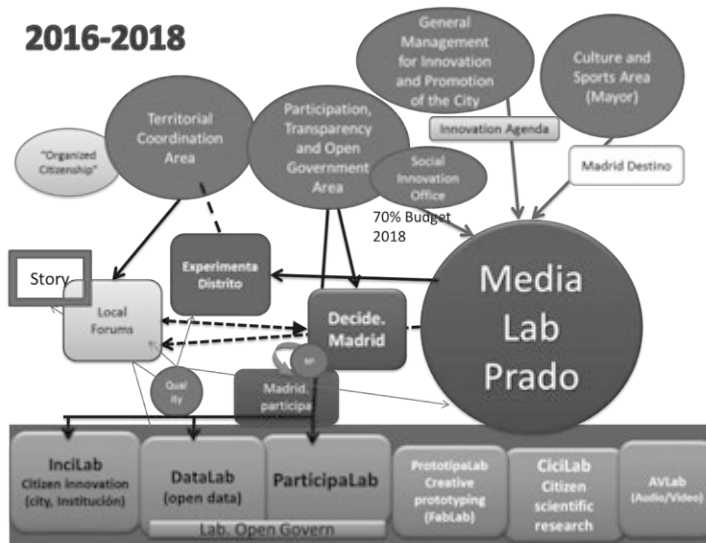
**Figure 1. Hierarchical-Functional Structure of the Town Hall
and MediaLab Prado, October 2018**

Note: This diagram was elaborated by the author.

The AGCPTOG has been increasing its strength in a significant way mainly due to its actions, which are having great international echo. In fact, during 2018, it has financed MLP by 70% (Interview nº 8) and has a direct functional and hierarchical relationship with the laboratory by redesigning it in June 2018 and converting MLP in large part into a government laboratory (Interview nº 7). Specifically, the Madrid City Council Government (MCCG) plain the contents of three of the six laboratories currently in existence: InciLab, ParticipaLab, and DataLab, (the so-called Citizen Innovation laboratories) (Interview nº 4):

InciLab < This laboratory represents one of the Government Laboratories, with a clear increasing tendency of MLP to deal with socio-political production from diverse projects, and mainly from a physical plane. Is dedicated to search innovative processes and design how to implement them.

During 2017-18, it has worked on initiatives such as, Madrid.Listening (Madrid.Escucha[16]) an interlocution between city council officials and citizens to improve the service; Experience the District (Experimenta Distrito[17]), aims to bring the MLP way of working closer to a territorial instance, with the aim of determining the neighborhood needs and their solution; "Mobility Cultures" (Culturas de la Movilidad), which redesigns the city of Madrid to make it more "liveable".

The other two MLP innovation laboratories (DataLab and ParticipaLab) are the so-called Open Government Laboratories (Interview nº 5).

DataLab< has more independence because it continues to bring together data visualization processes and *hacktivism* with an international projection. Within it, there are programs of important trajectory in MLP such as "Visualize" (Visualizar) and "Data Journalism" (Periodismo de datos).

ParticipaLab< Is the Collective Intelligence Laboratory for Democratic Participation. It is the main Laboratory of the AGCPTOG, and researches and develops hybrid participation (virtual and face-to-face), and is the central axis of the institutionalization of MLP. From an Open Government Laboratory perspective, it works specifically on how to improve the participation tools developed by AGCPTOG and its key tools Madrid Decides (Decide Madrid) and Madrid Participates (Madrid Participa).

The participation tool Decide Madrid begins its activity on July 7, 2015 and allows citizens to propose actions that can be carried out by the City Council either in the 21 districts that the city has (giving more budget to lower average income district), or throughout the city of Madrid. All proposals exceeding the 1% support threshold (260,000 votes) and the technical and budgetary monitoring phase are included for a second vote under Madrid Participes.

Madrid Decides tool also makes it possible to propose rules and regulations, as well as to vote on those already presented by the government team. It also has the option of Participative Budgets.

The hybrid democracy to which today's society is exposed, presents the need for the inclusion of physical logics. For which reason strategies have been developed in two senses: enabling ballot boxes in previously informed places[18] for the Madrid Participes citizens' votes; and the establishment in 2017 of Local Forums, assemblies of people who care more about politics, avant-garde activists, who meet for tables of interest to transfer their pretensions into the tool Madrid Decides. In addition, its vote with the quality of specialized people committed to civil affairs has a greater weight in the tool (Arana 2018c).

MLP works conceptually on the tool that supports technological participation, Consul, open source software, which also supports all the participation tools that the municipality has in place (including debates at the physical level, because they are then virtually implemented for improvement).

Consul has received the United Nations Award for Public Service and is being used according to the latest data[19] by 33 Countries, 100 Institutions and 90 Million citizens and always growing. It is a free instrument, adaptable, safe and continuous support by staff of the City Council who travel with technicians to the place that requests it to adapt it to their needs (Interview n°.9).

7. Conclusions

In Spain the situation of Open Government has different results: the actions carried out at State level and by the Association of Municipalities and Regions, are carried out with greater difficulty than those established by the MCCG, and it is appreciated that it is not only a question of dimension, but of action and urgency: openness to governance was within the electoral plans of Madrid City Council, which was elected for a period of four years (2015-2019), forcing it to act quickly and skillfully, and the way he does it is effective.

There is a clear influence of Madrid City Council on MediaLab Prado, for its use as a laboratory of Government for strategic and political purposes, undergoing an important internal restructuring

and a functional change that has led to concentrate largely on political production, limiting the logic of operation of open and changing prototypes to which it was intended.

In MLP in this dedicated political guideline, strategies have been designed for the platform Decide Madrid both physical and virtual, which have resulted in an improvement of hybrid democratic processes to address quantitative logic (technological with the Madrid Decides network platform) and qualitative (physical, with the application of experiences such as "Experience the District", Local Forums, and "Madrid Listens").

Note that this hybridization enables the empowerment of sectors interested in the resolution of socio-economic or political objectives, using various strategies of "viralization" within the Madrid Decides tool, such as the possible manipulation of votes by power groups, by the distinction of quality vote of the Local Forums.

There are activists who do not share the marked axes of action of participation policies, because they do not promote social self-organization or because they limit citizen actions to programmed and restricted strategies (interviews nº 12).

The MLP way of working is determined towards the objectives of improving already imposed mechanisms, thus leaving not much scope for new proposals of those already conceived, to determine what is meant by common good in politics.

On the other hand, the success of the actions of the Madrid City Council Government as a pilot program of the OGP for the design of its policies and free software, has positioned it to be one of the most replicated standards in all places where the Consul tool is implemented.

The fundamental reason for this expansion is the influence that technology has for the governments attached to the OGP, due to its ease of adaptation, installation and implementation, the image of innovation and openness that it entails and the ease of use by citizens, in addition to the facilities offered by the MCCG for the tutoring of its free tool.

The OGP with its objectives, set towards governance, encourages and promotes the use of easy-to-implement technologies like Consul, but at the same time, it is forgetting "the political practice that convokes" this technology, "the terms in which it does so (how and why it links us and relates us), and the individuals with whom it qualifies these terms" (Corsin 2007:31): that is, we are witnessing the institutionalization of social movements such as the 15M and their placement at the center of the globalization process and the constitution of the global political order, proposing a new relational paradigm and a new theoretical analysis (Hardt and Negri 2000: 235).

As a result, we can obtain that governments fundamentally appreciate technology as a system without ideology, representing only an access mentality, narrowing the political spectrum to a unified technological thought.

For all that has been said, it is understood that there is a lack of appreciation and valuation of techno-power because technology itself distorts the ideological processes from which it starts in favor of access.

Bearing in mind the favorable stage in the reception of tech-democracy in which we find ourselves, future lines of work should identify ideological parameters in these processes.

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9. Methodological Appendix

For this study, bibliography, articles and government documentation have been consulted. Thirteen interviews were conducted with agents involved in, the management of MediaLab (3), collaborators (4), mediators (1) and external participants (1). There have also been interviews with Councilors (2) and directors of the Madrid City Council (2) and a discussion group has been carried out. We have worked as a participating observer from 2009 to 2017, with different degrees of activity.

Note that the action exercised as a participant in a collective and collaborative action study object proposes new critical approaches to social science research, for which the PAR (Participatory Action Research) study method is proposed, which seeks to obtain reliable results through participation in the collectives to be researched (Alberich 2002:76, Marti 2000), suggesting the possibility of interacting in decision making to appreciate their mechanisms and consequences. This case has a discursive (researcher) dimension of a mobilizing dimension (MLP and GAM actions), obtaining a descriptive dimension (consequences for MLP to be an Open Government Laboratory, influence of technology on democracy).

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11. Abbreviations

- **AGCPTOG:** Area of Government of Citizen Participation, Transparency and Open Government
- **MCCG:** Madrid City Council Government
- **MLP:** MediaLab Prado
- **OGP:** Open Government Partnership

12. Biographical Note

Margarita Rodríguez-Ibáñez holds a PhD in Communication Science (Art and Network) from the Universidad Complutense de Madrid (UCM). Researcher of social, cultural and artistic processes. President and co-founder member and of the association Demetra, which aims to include citizens in cultural production, of which the VotAndo project is part (www.votAndo.es). Member of the IODP international jury editions of 2014, 2015 and 2018. Member of the research group "Sharing Society" and collaborated in Museum I+D+C project (Spain). Guest lecturer at the Master´s Audiovisual Communication for the Digital Age (UCM, 2014 and 2015) and Associate Lecturer at Nebrija University (2006-2011). Currently live in Rome (Italy). Some publications are:(2018) "Citizen Participation in Madrid: reflection on Virtual and face-to-face Platforms" EAC Madrid. https://goo.gl/hfxJD1 ; (2018) "The Technified Medioevo and the Urban Renaissance: the case of Barcelona." Arte y Ciudad. October 2018. https://goo.gl/BLrQCU ; (2017) "Collaborative Economy situation 2017", September 2017 https://goo.gl/kQqsgZ ;(2014) "The localized culture as a social response to the network: the example of the Tabacalera factory in Madrid." Revista del Patrimonio. No. 14, July 2014. ISSN 1988-7213. http://goo.gl/cgiUQI

Research interest are collaborative projects and actions, art, culture, anthropology, urban management, influence of technologies on humans.

13. Notes

1 The authors wish to thank Marcos García, Alejandra de Diego, Antonio Lafuente, Jordi Claramonte, Pablo Soto, Miguel Arana, Gregorio Planchuelo and the MLP staff. Correspondence should be directed to Margarita Rodríguez-Ibáñez at margarita.demetra.org@gmail.com

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TRACK 8

Politics

Reclaiming the Commons in Precarious Times

Carl-Ulrik Schierup[1] and Aleksandra Ålund[2]
Linköping University

Abstract: *The paper explores movements for social transformation in precarious times of austerity, dispossessed commons and narrow nationalism. The authors contribute to social theory by linking questions by critics of "post-politics" to precarity studies on changing conditions of citizenship, labour and livelihoods. They discuss an ambiguous constitution of precariat movements in the borderlands between "civil" and "uncivil" society and "invited" and "invented" spaces for civic agency, and posit that contestative movements of today are drawing intellectual energy from past movements for democracy, recognition and the common. The paper addresses the emergence of a young justice movement in Sweden emerging from the precariat in this formerly exceptionalist welfare state's most disadvantaged urban areas. It is reconstructing commons with roots in the working class movement of the early twentieth century. The question posed is whether this incipient movement harbours a transformative potential for the imagineering of a sharing, egalitarian and non-racial democracy?*

Keywords: *Precarity, social transformation, civil society, commoning, neoliberalism*

1. Introduction

In the beginning of the 1990s neoliberal globalisation could still be imagined as a fortunate final stage of history. Yet, this new great transformation of economy and society came with the cost of a *commodification of the commons*, targeting all communal or common under the authority of states or civic communities, or as Bourdieu (1999) contends: "an immense *political operation* … aimed at creating the conditions for realizing and operating … a *programme of methodical destruction of collectives*". Under the banner of "flexibility" *politics of precarity* (Schierup and Bak Jørgensen 2016) has posited contingent employment and fragmented livelihood – without, security, protection and predictability – as a new global norm. However, an extended condition of precarity has been accompanied by a contestative countermovement of the precariat querying commodification, and carrying emancipary imaginaries of "realisable utopias" (Lambert 2010). It resonates with an emancipating reimagineering of democracy and the common. This may take different modalities at a historical juncture where the "subjective dynamics of denationalization at the heart of globalisation have not yet dispensed with the declining national imaginary", and in which "both the global and national stimulate people's deep-seated understandings of community" (Steger 2009: 9). It implicates that visions and practices, i.e. imagineerings for "realisable utopias", must be scrutinised in a perspective of discursive and institutional path dependency.

From this perspective we relate - after an introductory perspectivation of *commoning* in a postpolitical age, and the ambiguous constitution of precariat movements in borderlands between "civil" and "uncivil" society - to the case of a Swedish neoliberal state's "justice movement" emerging from the precariat in this formerly exceptionalist welfare state's most

disadvantaged urban areas. We ask whether it harbours a transformative potential for the imagineering of a sharing, egalitarian and non-racial democracy?

This is a question that needs to be posed in the context of a wider discussion on how the prevailing political hegemony could be discursively and institutionally challenged.

2. Theorising an Epoch of Contention

Trapped in a consensus-based, market driven "post-politics" (Mouffe 2005), old political parties have deserted visions of solidarity, equality, and social justice, and are loosing popular legitimacy. This poses the challlenge to social theory on how to "imagine and to theorise … forms of collective political identity and agency that might lead to the creation of new, ethical and democratic political institutions and forms of practice" (Gill 2000: 137).

The concept of *commoning* is at the centre, conceived (following Bollier 2015: 2) as "acts of mutual support, conflict, negotiation, communication and experimentation that are needed to create systems to manage shared resources". Practices of commoning rest on the principle that the relation between social groups and social and physical aspects of the environment envisioned as commons "shall be both collective and non-commodified – off-limits to the logic of market exchange and market valuations" (Harvey 2012: 73). Far from being a mere academic reinvention, the old idea of the commons, understood as loci of defiance against a new *enclosure movement*, re-emerged as central formula for movements across the globe, which during the last three decennia have struggled for alternatives to neoliberalism (Laval and Dardot 2005: 21). What "commoning" as social practice stands for, and what it could possibly be, has been theorised by numerous studies in the 1990s and 2000s, contending that "state" and "market" are not the only systems of governance possible. Fraser (2013), for one, posits an array of contemporary civic agency as a "tripple movement" in an ambivalent double bind in relation to, but which may also challenge, the double squeeze of market and state.

We have argued elsewhere (Schierup and Bak Jørgensen 2016; following Waite 2009) that predicaments of the present's logic of market and related commodification of labour and livelihoods can be captured theoretically through a *bifocal conception of precarity*: as a structurally-grounded "condition" of dispossession, yet a springboard for "resistance" and emancipation as well.

Precarity, as as increasingly widespread *social condition* of life and work, without security and predictability, encompassing imperatives of "flexibility", "availability", "multilocality" and compressed "mobility" across time and space, is a "constitutive element of the new global disorder, to which it is very functional" (Ricceri 2011: 68). Precarious conditions of work and citizenship arrive in tandem with a transformation of a redistributive welfare state into a neoliberal "regulatory state" (Majone, 1997. Seen from this perspective, the state is "not anymore … the mediator or "the shield" protecting society from the tensions between capital and labour—through … redistributive policies" (Sommer-Houdeville 2017: 162). It is a transformation by which innumerable new regulations are tailored to undermine citizenship, the capacity to mobilise collective resistance and to form political constituencies. It holds implications for the role of civil society. In the global North as well as the South, renegotiated social contracts,

signified by state marketisation and the expansion of "participatory governance", are matched by growing prominence of a reconfigured, professionalised and NGOised civil society, with a role as service providers rather than as a mobilising force in politics. It has been depicted in terms of a "stealth revolution" (Brown 2015) which spells the end of liberal democracy by casting its very moral reason and institutional foundations in the moulds of market rationality; an "undoing the demos".

In this hiatus it is essential to link questions posed by critics of post-politics, concerning contingences for democracy and politics of civil society, to those of precarity studies, denoting the precariat as a potentially game-changing political actor for the 21st century. Socially insecure and identity-seeking segments of today's precarious populations are obviously being mobilised by neo-fascist gestations of a contemporary countermovement, ostensibly confronting neoliberal globalisation. Yet an alternative precariat movement which may represent a more challenging prospect seen from the perspective of the present dominant hegemonies, in both North and South, are potentially uplifting radically democratic and egalitarian alternatives from the margin to the centre (García Agustín and Bak Jørgensen 2016). It concerns a multifarious activism of movements with radical imaginaries of a deepened non-racial democracy and harbouring transformative vistas of commoning. At the dawn of the new millennium it has come in many varieties and at varying scales – the neighbourhood, the city, the nation, the region and the globe.

Contrary to being conceived as footloose and without sense of history and identity, the imaginaries of today's contentious movements have alternatively been depicted as drawing intellectual energy from past movements for democracy, recognition and the common good. Milkman (2016), for one, concludes that post-2008 movements in the United States - contesting a racialised and gender discriminatory precarity of work, livelihoods and citizenship - are fusing an intellectual heritage of the working class movements of the 1930s, centred on labour and class politics, with that of the new social movements of the 1960s and 1970s, focused on emancipation through the recognition of identity (cf. Fraser 2013).

As Funke (2014) argues contestative movements of a global precariat - represented as history-cognisant and intellectually-rooted - stand forth with potentially system-transformative dynamics. Funke designates a spectrum of movements, initiated by the Zapatist surge in the 1980s and, including the movements of the 2000s, constituting a "distinct and integrated arch of mobilisations"; a historically particular "epoch of contention". Although movements are diverse – and can be understood as distinct "cycles of protest", their commonality rests in a shared logic of claims for democratic participation. While diverging from both the "old" class-centred labour movement and parties, as well as the "new" movements of the 1970s, the dominant logic of contemporary movements has been to amalgamate core characteristics of both (Funke 2014: 30). This is a logic which can accommodate diversity and a "multiplicity of struggles and possible futures [of] loosely linked organizations, groups and movements" (Funke 2014: 29).

It is a theoretical baseline from which the emergence and development of a multitude of diverse movements and networks can be studied with an emphasisis of linkages, cooperation and coalition dynamics within civil society. In pursuing this endeavor we find it methodologically important to develop two, ostensibly dichotomic, twin concepts integratively: "Uncivil" *versus* "civil" society *cum* "invented" *versus* "invited" spaces.

3. Uncivil versus Civil Society

In scholarship on civil society, "uncivil society" figures habitually as an antonym with a moral-political tint of *uncivilised*, associated with intolerance, violence, political extremism, undemocratic values and anti-modernism; an "evil twin" of a "civil society" imbued with democratic and liberal values (Glasius 2010). In contrast, our ongoing research is informed by an alternative de-colonial scholarship defining "uncivil society" as a "politics of informal people" (Bayat 1997: 57), initiating "molecular changes" by the inventive creation of informal commons; corporeal as well as digital. Yet, our understanding of "uncivil society" transcends a perspective of "defiance", positing it as activism for social justice and emancipation from the state of precarity, in terms of a progressive social transformation, potentially challenging the conditions that shape it (cf. Hallward 2014).

This does not validate a simplistic ideotypical dichotomy contraposing a "bad" civil society, pursuing its state or market centred sectional interest within the orbit of established governance, to a "good" anti-systemic uncivil society pursuing democratic transformation opposing market and state interests. While mainstreamed NGOs have become key players in the expansion of market principles embedded in "public-private partnerships" it is nevertheless important to recognize the persistence of a critical value driven activism (Kaldor 2003). At the same time, argues Neocosmos (2011), if the mode of rule in a marginalized uncivil society is such that it enables the distortion or extinguishing of the very meaning of citizenship, they "face extraordinary obstacles when they attempt a movement beyond their political place; for their political existence is outside the domain of rights" (Neocosmos 2011: 377). Hence, if they shall be heard as citizens, beyond circumspect spheres of informal commoning, proponents of a contestative, but non-recognised, uncivil society may be forced to seek "the mediation of trustees" – usually in the form of established NGOs speaking for them in state authorised spaces of civil society, involved in participatory governance – "for it is only there that the rule of law operates reasonably consistently".

This transversal dynamics between civil and uncivil society can be productively elucidated through application of the notions of "invited" and "invented" spaces, as they were developed by Faranak Miraftab (2004). She applies the notion of *invited spaces* in her analyses of local governance in Cape Town, South Africa. She defines invited spaces "as the ones occupied by those grassroots and their allied non-governmental organizations that are legitimized by donors and government interventions" (Miraftab 2004: 1). "Invented" spaces, Miraftab points out, are in contrast those also occupied by the grassroots and claimed by their collective action, but directly confronting the authorities and the status quo. However, she stresses a need to avoid a rigid conceptual barrier between invented and invited spaces as grassroots strategies are flexible and in their collective actions move between these spaces in order to advance their cause.

Miraftab criticises in line with this any approach operating with a rigid separation of informal political actions. She (2009) further discusses struggles for citizenship through the Gramscian notion of "hegemony", seen as related to normalised ideopolitical relations, and uses the notion of "counter-hegemony" to describe practices and forces that destabilize relations of power in neoliberal "inclusive governance". She illustrates how grassroots movements use the hegemonic system's political openings to determine their own terms of engagement and

participation. Either through inventing new spaces or re-appropriating old ones or by moving between these spaces, grassroots movements employ counter-hegemonic practices in order to "expose and upset the normalized relations of dominance" (Miraftab 2009:34). Or spoken through a Gramscian terminology: They launch a "war of position". But, a hegemonic move of state authorities that institutionalizes participatory development can also result in de-politization of contestative activist movements, as their struggles are caught up in state-market led processes of "NGOisation".

This calls for a critical contextualisation of the icon of "civil society" as ideological tenet in austerity driven, incrementally unequal and racialised societies. The critical relevance of its vilified, but assumably more original, second self, "uncivil society", may appear obvious relating to "townships", "favelas" or "shanty towns" of the South and the racialised urban "ghettoes", "*banlieus"* or *"förorter"* of the North with numerous migrants and post-migrant generations among its most dispossessed, who inhabit culturally stigmatised, and economically and politically marginalised spaces. Here, the "state of exception" – theorised by Giorgio Agamben (2005) as an immanent condition of contemporary societies through which civil, political and social rights pertaining to citizenship are truncated by governments – can be observed to rule in the most "naked" forms. It is contingent on, as well as conditions, urban unrest in disadvantaged multiethnic communities across the global North and South. It constitutes a rule under which new activist political subjectivities and movements are shaped among the most disadvantaged. Yet, the post- (2008) crisis trajectory of anti-austerity precariat rebellions suggests that the outlaw status of contestative civic movements, in effect movements outlawed to the domain of "uncivil society" without the right to demand rights, has a bearing on the fate, opportunities and contingent strategies of contemporary precariat movements, more generally.

Indeed consecutive precariat mobilisations for democracy and the commons can be read as ending in "disaster" (e.g. Occupy Wallstreat, The Arab Spring, the democratic mobilisations in Turkey sparked in Gezi Park, Syriza's left populist challenge to "the Troika"); temporarily "defeated by ideological and media forces, by the police, and by the ruling institutions" (Hardt 2017). Their stigmatisation as outlaws beyond the pale of a respectable "civil society", and the institutional (often violent) repression from which these and other post-2008 insurgent movements have repeatedly suffered in the North as well as the South – for example, lately represented by militarized action and unconstitutional laws on public demonstrations directed against the Yellow Vests - point at the value of integrating the idea of "uncivil society" into a wider theory of social movements and civic action in the global North as well as South. From this perspective, there is a need to develop a critical scrutiny of challenges and opportunities of alliance-building, and the dealings of movement relays potentially bridging the uncivil-civil divide and the gap between invented and invited spaces, between precarians of the most disadvantaged *banlieus*, *favelas*, *barrios*, townships and racialised so-called "ghettoes" and a wider, forcibly "flexibilised" and vulnerable, precariat in general.

4. Oases of Organisation

Let us set out to illustrate the argument by relating in some detail to a social situation, the time and space ramifications of which we have been following in our ongoing research (León Rosales

and Ålund 2017; Schierup, Alund and Kings 2014). It is embodied in riots, provoked by repellent police violence, that raged across Stockholm's most precarious multiethnic districts in May 2013. The fervent character of the revolt, matched historically only by clashes of working class rioters and police in the 19th century (Berglund 2009), struck the Swedish political establishment with awe and took the international community with "blazing surprise"(Editorial 2013). However, only three years later, in 2016, we found ourselves participating (as observers) at an event in the very same local Stockholm community of Husby, where the 2013 riots started: the opening of a local "House of the People" (named *Husby of the People*). "House of the People" (*Folkets Hus*), in the following simply 'HP', alludes parabolically to past politics of commoning, embedded historically in numerous citizens driven community centres; an essential cornerstone of Sweden's legendary labour movement. Yet, flying a logo, recalling the Zapatist imagination of a 'rainbow that is also a bridge' (EZLN 1996), branded it as product of a locally-grounded coalition spearheaded by Sweden's multitude of young, racialised, post-migrant subalterns – *The Megaphone* (Swedish: *Megafonen*) – emerging invigorated out of the time-hole blasted by the 2013 Stockholm rebellion. Speaking truth to power earned the Megaphone the status of an emblem of an incipient Swedish urban justice movement (León Rosales and Ålund 2017): the socalled *suburban movement*, with connotations of the Swedish word for 'suburb', *förorten*, matching the social, cultural and racial inferences of the internationally more wellknown French idiom of the *banlieu*. The Megaphone's evocative slogan with anti-imperialist connotations, 'A united suburb will never be defeated!', denotes a platform for glocal solidarity.

In 2013, The Megaphone was still treated in mainstream media as an ephemeral exponent of an untrustworthy 'uncivil society's' insurgent activism (e.g. direct action against gentrification and the sham renovations of public housing), and vilified for its efforts to publicly *explain* the wider structural-institutional *causes* and predicament of the riots (Schierup, Alund and Kings 2014). Today the organisation has metamorphosed into a network of alliances led by young post-migrant 'organic intellectuals' with their backgrounds mainly in the Middle East and Africa (León Rosales and Ålund 2017). It includes alliances with organisations of civil society with roots in the Swedish labour movement, human rights movements, critical thinktanks, as well as with movements of the precariat in other parts of Europe, the United States, Latin America and Africa.

Husby's HP stands out as a significant 'invented space', contraposed to subordinated 'participation' in 'invited spaces' of neoliberal governance; which in Sweden, as elsewhere, tends to reproduce rather than challenge a post-political condition of suppressed, or appropriated, civic agency. It represents a local hub for a multiplicity of autonomous commoning, beyond the double squeeze of market and state. This includes, among other, building a local library of movement relevant literature, critical youth and adult study circles, councilling on social and judiciary matters. The HP has also become a 'nursery' for 'organic' movement intellectuals, introducing young racialised post-migrant Swedes to critical antiracist and decolonial scholarship. Other commoning includes critical poetry slams, interactive artistic events, etc.

HPs' reimagineered commoning spaces of and for disadvantaged communities constitute vital *Oases of Organisation*', posit Al-Khamisi, Rezai and Ishi Aidid, long standing community activists and auhors of a forthcoming report (2019) on achievements and concerns of HPs in Husby, and in Rinkeby, another among Stockholm's most disadvantaged urban neighbourhoods. An ambitious commoning mission for the future is put forward, targeted at strengthening local communities' self-confidence, identity and capacity to influence public-political

decisionmaking. This includes, among other: independent media-production; broadening the mission of HPs further in civic education in collaboration with universities, and other centres of learning; strengthening networks of collaboration between HPs across local communities; boosting the houses' capacity as centres for broad collaborative networks of relevant actors, with power to influence strategic decisionmakers; extending a multitude of non-commodified border crossing meeting places targeted at strengthening anti-racist social solidarity across communities and generations. It implicates raising collective power to engage citizens in anti-austerity protests and public manifestations against, for example, privatisation of public housing and gentrification, and questioning a stigmatising media discourse. It involves consolidating shared integrated platforms for citizens' influence on education and the labour market. Finally, but not least, it implicates the organisation of HPs as hubs for 'social movement lawyering'.

Thus the HPs are projected to become hubs for turning jurisprudence into a popular educative subject, included in the social and political mobilisation which these meeting grounds are already deeply involved in. This links up with a particularly innovating commoning experiment built by activists of the Megaphone, with a young lawyer, Rami Al-Kamisi, as pioneer: the Academy for Social Movement Lawyers (*Akademin för rörelsejurister*). The academy constitutes an autonomous educational common for the training of 'social movement lawyers' which draws on the experience of Black Lives Matter in the United States as well as that of lawyers and movements linked to Brazil's *favelas* and South Africa's precarious *townships*. Principles for the Academy were first laid out in a major report in 2015 (English version in Al-Khamisi 2017), in terms of crafting jurisprudence and the practice of lawyers into a proactive catalyst for social change in liason with contestative social movements. It is targeted at making inequality and precarious conditions of citizenship, livelihoods and work visible, and at defending the rights of groups with a truncated access to democracy and the judicial system. It addresses individuals' and communities' experience of precarity and discrimination in a context of excessive inequality and racism and engages committed lawyers in collaboration with social justice movements. It problematises normatively sanctioned relations of power, in particular between the judicial profession and precarious social groups, with the lives and conditions of which lawyers are intricately involved.

5. Conclusion

The suburban movement transpired as a new political subject in the 2000s through its focus on social justice, presence as a critical public voice in mass media, public manifestations and consciousness raising (León Rosales and Ålund 2017) - while still following in the footprints of old popular movements as schools of democracy. It challenges the racist politics of a reactionary nationalist populism as well as the reforming hegemony management of a so-called "progressive neoliberalism" (Fraser 2017), including essentialising identity politics of movements of civil society embedded in it (Fraser 2017).

The Megaphone's declared aim to struggle for a just and egalitarian society "without racism, sexism and class oppression" (Megafonen 2013) and for a participatory democracy echoes in a sense what was once, by the mid 1970s, a social democratic promise of a progressive social transformation (Ålund and Schierup 1991). Yet, it resounds as pioneering in post-political times of neoliberal precarity. Moving forward through the past it evokes also qualities similar to the

legendary *Rainbow Coalition* in Chicago of the late 1960s, which still stands out as exemplary today (Williams 2013). That is: a community mobilization embodying the intersectionality of race, class and gender, fusing variable forms of identity politics into one movement, amalgamated by one ideal form of identity; an identity transcending differences while focusing on commonalities, with precarity as its collective unifier.

Organisations like the Megaphone forge translocal alliances with other civil society actors, and articulate goals and visions in broad public contexts. The case of Houses of the People discussed above illustrates how an institution with historical roots in the Swedish labour movement of the early 20th century - now embodied in reimagineered spaces across Sweden's most disadvantaged communities - may function as hubs for the production and sharing of resources through which collectively developed commons, "take shape and shape those who shape them" (Stavrides 2016: 7). But it also involves an alliance between the new "suburban" movement and one of the popular movements of past working class struggles for equality, justice and democracy, *Folkets Hus och Parker* (the *People's Houses and Parks*). This movement remains today an important actor in Swedish civil society, and with ambitions to found a network of socially mobilizing People's Houses across the nation's most disadvantaged communities (FHP 2019). The Academy for Social Movement Lawyers, in turn, is sponsored by *Arena Idé*, an independent think tank, based on a donation by the still powerful Swedish blue collar federation, the LO.

Accordingly, the case of the Megaphone illustrates the importance of being able to maneuover flexibly between invited and invented spaces. Their identity work and activism include a "glocal" vision of a broader identity across a multitude of racialised places, and across borders. But, in doing so, they also raise the issue of the spatial forms of political struggle, local governance, and consequently the issue of institutionalisation. Today we see increasing representation of formerly vilified youthful rebels among established NGOs involved in public-private development partnerships. This faces us with challenges in terms of theory and empirical research. What is in the making? Co-optation, and appropriation by disciplinary governmentality? Or, to speak with Gramsci, a more mature stage in the short history of the new justice movement in terms of an incipient "war of position"? Do we see a new transformative strategy in the making as activists forge networks and new alliances across a broader civil society?

So far, based on our ongoing research, we posit that, through its rejuvenating practices of commoning, Sweden's urban justice movement represents a pioneering heir to the nation's old popular movements. Reimagineering a realisable utopia under new conditions it has contributed to make alternatives for social transformation visible. This stands out as crucial in today's crisis of political legitimacy, exploited by a collusion of socially fragmenting neoliberal austerity and an exclusionary right wing nationalism.

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7. Methodological Appendix

Qualitative interviewing, participant observation, netnographic participation on social media, secondary sources. The authors have studied movements for urban transformation in Stockholm since the mid 1990s.

8. Biographical Note

Carl-Ulrik Schierup is Professor Emeritus at REMESO, Linköping University, Sweden. Numerous publications on civil society, social transformation and the common. A recent publication: Politics of Precarity, 2017 (with Martin Bak Jørgensen).

Aleksandra Ålund is Professor Emerita at REMESO. Numerous publications on migration, gender, youth and urban justice movements. A recent publication: Reimagineering the Nation, 2017 (with Carl-Ulrik Schierup and Anders Neergaard).

9. Notes

1 carl-ulrik.schierup@liu.se
2 aleksandra.ålund@liu.se

TRACK 8

Politics

Environmental Solidarities between Local Solidarities and Transnational Solidarities

Gilles Verpraet
Université Paris Nanterre

Abstract: *The purpose of transnational solidarity is to challenge the social frameworks of sharing. National solidarity is organising social differentiation around the institutions of the 19th and 20th centuries that developed the institutions of army and finance, schooling and social security (with the mutualisation of risks). Post-national solidarity is more difficult to organise within institutions. The idea of transnational solidarity presupposes the existence of some effectively regulated international institutions (such as transnational diasporas). In the panorama of uncertainty, social networks become a substitute for solidarity; a virtual solidarity. Through a typology of the existing transnational solidarities in international relations we will specify three dominant approaches: relations between States with common interests and partnerships established through contracts within the framework of inter-State relations; multilateral relations within the framework of the United Nations, made up of common goods, networks and social associations such as UNEP and UNDP, and the diversity of Internet relations linking individual exchange (such as social networks) and cultural exchange (such as the free-expression website).*

Transnational solidarity on environmental issues can be analysed as a community of issues, as a politicization on common issues and problems; as an interconnection of issues and a cosmopolitanism. The examination of environmental actions and political processes for a sustainable policy in France frames the distribution between the levels of social action and their interdependencies:

· Self organised local solidarities (eco farming, recycle energy).

· National solidarities around energy politics combine solidarity of production and distribution with solidarity for new frameworks inside an economy of energy such as Networked Climate Actions/ Réseau Action Climat, Cop 21.

· Transnational common concerns to save the earth as a community of issues: WWF, Green Peace, Attac, Cop 21.

Transnational solidarities and the purpose of a sharing society, are moving in process. These developments require new connections between peoples and countries, new assemblages between communities, political community and the claims of justice. Voluntary solidarity requires the development of the communities of issues overcoming the functional communities.

a) The first question concerns the change of meaning of public sphere inside globalization processes. Globalization processes and media connexions challenge the notion of public sphere as a legitimized arena for public exchanges and for public argumentation.

b) The second step focus on the place and meaning of collaborative actions inside transnational relations and a public sphere. The change of meaning for production cooperatives and for service cooperatives can be specified by local surveys. In relation to France, we developed the case of Nantes Metropoles and Plaine Commune 93).

c) The third question envisions a progressive reconstruction of multilevel mobilizations and environmental solidarities, by examining the coupling and decoupling between mobilization and conflict, between cooperation and distance.

1. Civil Society and Public Spheres in the Social Theories

The first issue intends to clarify the concept of civil sphere, as different from the incorporated notion of civil society. These clarifications are useful and required to face the extension of the notion of transnational solidarities. Socio-history brings up some results on the different meanings and constructions of civil society, as public spirit (Hegel), as public domain (Dewey) and as public space (Habermas). Axiology frames these different relations and combinations between local and global norms, between cognition and capability, but in a national domain.

Another concern identifies the components of civil society, the different activation processes shaping the dialogical contents between globalization and civil society, between global transfer of information and technology (Castells), financial transfer (Chase Dunn), but also counteractions for civil and social rights, for example, active citizenship (Barber). The study of social forums sets the new connections between the constitution of a public domain (social forum) and the shaping of a collective identity.

This new configuration in value shaping challenges classical sociological reasonings such as technological development, modernization, social movements and institutional regulations. The axiology for a global civil society can be set up in a more dialogical framework between passive and active processes, between technological and public domains, between information circulation and public deliberation, previous to be normative (between local, national, global institutions, between economic rules and moral order, between civil rights and institutional power), triggering important challenges for political liberalism.

2. Social Differentiation, Public Space and Communicative Action

The foundation of the theory of communicative action was a response to Luhmann's arguments constituting a social system based on differentiation and functional communication. Habermas framed social sciences inside a theory of communication (as Mead and Pierce) related with the forms of "inter-comprehension". He quotes the generalized other:

> "The concept of a norm of action that we have reconstructed relates, thus far, to the collective regulation of the authority of participants in the interaction, which is coordinated by their actions through imperatives charged with sanctions and thanks to the mutual satisfaction of their interests." (Habermas, 1987: 46).

Habermas sustains a double structuration of processes between system integration (Luhmann) and social integration (Durkheim and Giddens): "But to the extent that the structures of the lived world will differentiate themselves, the mechanisms of social integration will also separate. This evolutionary process provides the key to the weberian problematic concerning the rationalization of society." (Habermas, 1987: 180). To Habermas (1988) when systems theory considers social and systemic integration as functional equivalents, it renounces to the criteria of communicative rationality. We have to introduce the forms of mutual understanding.

For Cohen and Arato (1992), the return of civil society combines different sociological

operations, the discourse of civil society, the dissent on civil society, the reconstruction of civil society, by social theory. But these autonomous reconstructions of civil society, could come only after strong civil social mobilizations, such as Solidarnosc in 1981 (Touraine et all, 1981; Sztompka, 1991).

2.1. Offentichkeit between Facts and Norms

Habermas's essay on the place of right in democracy requires some specific analytical examination between facts and norms. He examines the genealogy of the law system, and comes to a paradoxe: The rising of the individualism and the subject sustains a claim for the autonomy of right, who decides above the isolated individual (Habermas, 1992). So, the relations between public autonomy (law) and private autonomy (the subject) can be analyzed; the tensive extension between human rights and popular sovereignity, which requires a procedural concept of democracy.

In this enlarged analytical system between law and democracy, between subject and law (Gauchet), the notion of public space (*offentlichkeit*) appears as a response to the uncertainty of the civil society, as a structure of communication, with a recognition of the social differentiation. Habermas reassesses how the public domain in a complex society constitutes a mediation between political systems and private sectors, between the segmentation of specified action systems. The key question to be formulated is how to restore democracy in face of the social differentiation that is the specific contribution of public deliberation.

2.2. Legal Solidarities and Mediation of the Public Domain

In the debate concerning political liberalism (Rawls), Habermas reconstructs the place of rights and law so to specify the relations between private autonomy and public autonomy. The classic hegelian and gramscian oppositions between civil society and political society are mediated by the new configuration of the public domain (*offentlichkeit*):

"In complex societies, the public space is an intermediate structure that mediates between, on the one hand, the political system and, on the other, the private sectors of the lived world and the functionally specified systems of action. It is a very complex fabric, branched into a multiplicity of overlapping arenas, both international and national, regional, municipal and subcultural; articulated, in substance, according to functional points of view, central themes, political sectors, etc., generating more or less specialized public spaces, but still accessible to a lay public." (Habermas 1992: 401). These constitutive rights of the liberal public space give a potential for auto-transformation.

This composition of large open public spaces could refer to the process of the European constitution, combining democratic cultures and an economy-based citizenship. It can also refer to the alter-globalization new spaces of deliberation, social forums and arenas. Sociological analysis can specify the current history of the social practices that combine global networks, national democratic cultures and arenas for dissent in alter-globalization processes.

2.3. Postnational State and Public Sphere

The thematic of deliberative democracy seems to cover the thematic of public domain. Rawls argues for an axial neutrality inside the political liberalism. "There is no public justification of a political society without a crosscutting argument inside a reasonable consensus", such a justification linked with the idea of legitimation" (Rawls, Habermas, 1997). The methodology of crosscutting arguments through the research of consensus can be successful, when philosophy can develop its argumentation its view point inside the societal practices (Habermas, 1994: 179). This philosophy of praxis, based on republican citizenship is a support for deliberation.

2.4. Republican integration Sustaining Postnational Arrangement

By creating a new mode of legitimation, Nation State make possible a more abstract mode of social integration. So results a double encoding of citizenship between civic rights and belongings. The concept of Nation state is struggled between the universalism of the legal community and the distinction of historical community" (Habermas 1998: 203). So, the claims emerge, as Europe needs a constituency and its specific argumentation: "So to keep the substance of social State and to avoid the segmentation by an underclass, appears the necessity to create some supranational instances, with the capacity to develop an internal world politics". (Habermas, 1998: 203)

In the process of State withdrawing and the dissolution of public institutions, we may notice a diversification of different social dimensions in the emancipation of the civil society; the expansion of markets and business, the development of a community of associations and civil implications, the development of professions and corporate identities, the fragmented return of diversified religious feelings (Leger, Taylor), and the expansion of public space and communicative actions (Castells).

We may consider how ecological agreements (Artic protection, UFCC gaze reduction) and the development of transnational solidarities require purposive transnational negotiations and conventions, such as European agreement (Aalborg Convention, 2004) and UN agreement (Cop 21 and Cop 24).

3. Differentiation in the Public Sphere and New Styles of Actions

This crossed affiliations and definitions that emerged during the 1930's and the 1990's, questioned the basic sociological supports of the public domain: The separation and interference between the public and private domains (Tocqueville, Dewey, Habermas). Expanded relationships between individual and social practices are conceived as a cultural pragmatism, communicative action and responsive actions (Dewey, Habermas).

3.1. The Critical Transformation of the Public Space

Global networks increase the opportunities for direct relationships between subjects such as the community of practices inside enterprise (Amin and Cohendet). We can distinguish the internet connections that occur between media systems, corporations and consumer behaviours from those that develop in alternative social networks of connection in which mobilization is based on community issues.

The privatization process of corporation networks, of social networks can be deeply questioned in terms of value shaping, learning processes, and of new combinations between public and private values. The public sphere is set up between distortion and transformation. Environmental solidarities can be developed as intermediary solutions between global networks and privatized corporations.

The constitution of enlarged networks of knowledge may diversify the modes of knowledge access through iconic and cognitive relations (Castells, 2001). Knowledge access requires the acquisition of some specific conventions on the part of potential users.

3.2. Dynamics between Learning and Belonging: Symbolic Actions and Pragmatic of Performance

The learning process move the community's belonging between several repertoires (family and school institution, children's community and teacher's community) (Tönnies 1977). Plural dimensions of learning can be shaped: between communities and society:

- How to learn inside the community following the shared values and the endogenous orientation of this community (Mead).
- How to learn between different communities in reference with a public space and a recognized secularism (Durkheim). The community conformism confronts with the social competition between communities.
- How to learn universal knowledge by the teaching mediation. This universalist proceeding supports the idea of emancipation by education.
- How to learn as independent subject (not autonomous) by the channel of information networks, and media network. This procedure keeps relevance for teenagers. The schooling question transforms diversified information into structured knowledge with assimilation.

In a postmodern society, with knowledge inflation (school + media + networks), the reference to communities takes a plurality of meanings (Taylor) in relation to knowledge selectivity, to the support of learning, and to knowledge appropriation. So, different learning processes are implied (Morin 1999).

In contemporary learning processes, we may question the community of references that organize the fixed point of learning, those who organize the positioning and the identification in learning (Harré 1999). In the 1950's, Merton made a strong distinction between the group of belonging and the group of reference, not only in relation with the status of achievement, but also in the communication process (local /global). In the contemporary period; the notion of

interpretative community (Walzer) shapes enlarged dimensions. The suggested frame(work) of differentiated learning processes, recognizes the different notions of value, between the anchoring values on fixed points, the value of representation and the value of codification. These analytical frameworks have consequences on the differentiation of public spheres.

3.3. Learning and Belonging inside Cooperative Communities

The classic cooperative is conceived as a collaborative work process (mutualism) sustained by collective properties and management. It supposes to articulate plural ethical values, such as ethics of creativity, ethos of solidarity, universalistic ethics and ethics of responsibility (Desroches 1976). The industrial cooperative of Mondragon underlines the main issues of training and education so to frame a relevant cooperative culture and an efficient model of production (Garcia 1970).

Ecologic cooperatives reply to these basic features of cooperatives. The purpose is to develop mutual labor relations and cooperatives that suspend the constraints of big profits, but have to endure and respond to the constraints of market such as product quality and responsiveness. These action margins sustain the time for cooperation and internal collaboration, defending the combination of collective property and internal democracy as a collective immaterial patrimony (Lamarche et al. 2013).

3.4. Internet and Public Spheres: Value Shaping and Political Practices

The analysis of sociabilities in digital connections and linkings, divide connections between bridge and link (Welman and Casilli 2009), between connexion and linked value (Verpraet 2009). These virtual practices may interfere with the ordinary practices of labour as work services at distance. The social influence of these networks requires to specify their pragmatics and performance (Castells 1999; Alexander 2004). These forms of interactions can be considered as speech acts, as deliberation forms. Cardon details three forms of speech acts, personal (within a restricted public sphere), amateur (web is a practice between clarity and conflation) and professional public space.

The opportunities of deliberation without clear definitions of issues are framing the incompleteness of the virtual polis, where the multiplicity of assembly set question to the arbitration judges and to the political strategies. The enlarged connections of the internet society do not make equivalence with a new polis. The purposive question comes more adequately on the scenarios of social, cultural and political subjects inside the new game of accelerated information.

4. Ecological Cooperation and Public Connection in France's Cases

In the case of Nantes and Plaine commune, the development of ecological sensibility, the

development of metropolitan politics of sustainability are supported by important cooperative actions. Cooperative development and open public space are sustaining each other. The city of Ile St Denis (93), incorporated inside Plaine Commune welcomes biocooperatives (food, direct distribution, cantina) and training cooperatives for building requalification with economy of energy.

The region of Nantes, is a traditional site for cooperative development in the agriculture domain such as Terrena (15.000 associate employees) and Oceane, cooperative of fruits and vegetables (1500 affiliated farmers, 80 stable employees for logistic). The metropolitan politics of sustainable development supports the active mobilizations of innovative cooperatives. Ecopole is a permanent center sustaining solidarity projects in the Nantes Region. The purpose of a "Meridienne association" is to preserve and develop the scientific heritage inside this region. The mutualist tradition is still vibrant and creative. 16% of employment in the region are concerned with social and solidarity economy.

A new polis intends to frame the link between cognitive networks and cultural cosmopolitism. Internet networks provide new learning processes, new practices on the value of connexion. The cosmopolitanism in confrontation with the nationalist incorporation bring up some new forms of shared value, a new balance between shared value, link value, connexion value (Verpraet 2008). Cosmopolitanism shapes a specific form of cultural exchange between global repertoires and urban / national contexts (Saito 2015). The margins of interpretation of the same message occupy the space between standardization and diversity. These cosmopolitan communications imply different forms of cultural pragmatism (Alexander 2005; Verpraet 2009).

A multiscale approach specifies different repertoires of cosmopolitan discourses sustaining new environmental solidarity discourses: the ethical, the nationalistic, the repertoires of cooperation, the internationalist repertoires. The discourses of cosmopolitan environmentalism constitute two meta narrations between message circulation and incorporation processes. Their contextual and cultural combinations have to be specified on the development of environmental solidarities (sharing societies).

5. Transnational Solidarities and Public Spheres

The framing of transnational solidarity sets questions. In the 19th and 20th centuries, according to Durkheim's, Luhmann's and Simmel's teachings, national solidarities organized social differentiations around institutions that developed army, schooling and social security, within a framework of mutualisation of risks. The idea of transnational solidarities presupposes international institutions based on effective regulation (such as transnational family in Vertovec; transnational diasporas). Within this uncertainty, social networks reinforce substitutes for solidarity, by virtual solidarity and media affects (Langmann, 2003)

A typology of the existing transnational solidarity will specify three dominant approaches:

• the relations between State with joined interest and cooperation partnership by contracts.
• the multilateral relations within UN framework composed of common good, networking and social partnership.

- the diversity of internet relations linking individuals (such as social networks, and cultural exchange (such as free expressive website).

A first solution for a pragmatic empirical methodology intends to differentiate and to cross-cut the criteria of community between social networks, diasporic communities and national community, considering the debate between Tönnies and Durkheim. It is possible to crosscut the criteria of community inside the stable and bounded international networks (UN and UNESCO partnership) and to analyse the intersections between the criteria of justice in different political communities (as divergence and convergence in Walzer) before determining the conditions of convergence and solidarity (Latour and Boltanski). This procedure supposes a democratic iteration between different political communities. This methodology can be performed in the North / South relations, in the relationship between Europe and Maghreb, and in the relationships among European countries (the so call European solidarities).

This methodology successively examines the transnational solidarities as community of issues (Arendt), as politicization on common issues and common problems (Tassin, Beck); as an interconnection of issues. Our research insists on the difference between transnational space and public space, between transnational social space and cultural circulation inside cosmopolitism. We present some case studies:

Reporter Without Frontiers (SRF) is an international association promoting the rights and the defense of journalist, specifically war reporters jailed or killed, in authoritarian situations. It develops two main levels of action. The public campaign publicizes the reporter situation as jailed or killed, based on a table of records by countries. The policy campaigning develops the pressure on specific governments upon the dangerous situation, on the legal and purposive protection of journalists. These two levels of actions mobilize all dimensions of the public space such as public opinions, governmental policy, and as international campaigning.

5.1. Multilevel Ecological Solidarity

Ecological solidarities can be envisioned as multilevel combination of initiatives between actions of protection and action of cooperative at the local levels and more global mobilization on strong issues (as global warming, nuclear power). The examination of the network Global Climate Networks can specify these combinations of actions.

The network Global Climate action started in 1996 by assembling European and international networks of 1.100 community members. It addresses the thematic of climate deregulation, sustainable transportation, energy production, farming, housing (on the basis of a substantial and horizontal definition). The processual steps focus on the blockages that the ecological transition faces due to the pressures of large networks and molecular mobilizations. The network produces purposive statements towards a just transition. It organizes regular mobilizations and called for climate marches in 2018 and 2019. Now young academics respond to this style of mobilization based on the power of pressure and call on public opinion. The federations of networks and community associations support these extended mobilizations.

Cooperative actions can be developed in each specific association such as Greenpeace, WWF,

French Natural Environment. They can be combined with local actions and transnational networks. The examination of environmental actions and policy processes for sustainable politics in France frames a distribution of social collaborative actions among different social levels and equations:

• Self organized local solidarities (eco farming, recycling energy) and local cooperatives in Nantes and Ile Saint Denis;
• National solidarities as federative mobilizations and conflicts are developed around energy politics, cf. Action Climate Network/ *Réseau Action Climat*, Cop 21. The French crisis of ecological solidarity is framed by the weakness of energy transition policy, underlying conflict of interests and vision on energy production and energy priorities. Mobilization of "gilets jaunes" in the periphery comes also from this policy weakness;
• Transnational common concerns to save the earth as a community of issues. Action Climate Network Cop 21 is developing a bottom up and cooperative mobilisations to develop the relay of global agreements.

6. Conclusions. Transnational Solidarities in Process

Our analysis envisions transnational solidarities, not only as communication networks and as communication and intersection between communities, but also as communities of issues and as a politicization of these issues.

Facing the sociological weakness of cosmopolitanism, Calhoun insists on transnational solidarity as the most coherent object: "We should, I think, join in recognising the importance of transnational relations and therefore of transnational politics, movements, and ethics. We should try to belong to the world as a whole and help it to be just more and better organized. But we should not imagine we can do so very well by ignoring or wishing away national and local solidarities." […] "We need to be global in part how we are national. And we need to recognise the ways national – and ethnic and religious – solidarities work for others" (Calhoun 2008).

Transnational solidarities can be envsioned within this framework of cosmopolitan values. We distinguish between functional solidarities related to trade and technological interdependencies, partnership related to interstate relations, and social networks developed within these relations (such as transnational professional groups).

Transnational solidarities refer to the voluntary actions of active groups related to these communities of issues that have hypothesis on the continuity of civil rights. Their development requires new connections between peoples and countries, new assemblages between communities, between professional community, political community and the claims of justice. Voluntary solidarism requires the development of the communities of issues that overcomes functional communities (Durkheim 1895; Desroches 1979).

Cooperatives are characterised by solidarity of action, by mutual exchange networks that are less visible in the market society. Transnational networks give broad and widespread visibility to global problems and threats. They are calling for local multiplication and coordination actions.

The values of environmental solidarity are distributed in two repertoires: interdependence and risk, cooperation and mutualism. These two repertoires converge in environmental activism and their different practices. This convergence requires new processes of interconnection and convictions.

Global/local actions can be conceived as a combination of coupling and decoupling between local and global actions, where criteria of opportunity and criteria of disruption criteria can be framed between identity and control matrix (Whyte 2003). It is possible to imagine how the development of the Internet sustains a community of problems and stabilizes the connection between local communities through interdependencies by extension. But it is necessary to specify the intersection of solidarity within mediated governance (Hajer 2009). The federation of issues has to consider the resistance of the micro-worlds, how the contingency could fix some points of reluctance and the new combination due to the fractalization of issues (Chateauraynaud 2015).[1]

6.1. Interconnected Public Spheres and Transnational Solidarities

Our socio-political methodology specifically examines transnational solidarities as a community of issues (Arendt), as politicization of common issues and problems (Tassin 2002; Fraser 2006; Beck 2006) and as interconnection of issues (Hajer 2005). We refer to the specification of three public spaces based on three regimes of encounters (local, national and transnational). The analytical question addresses the modes of connection between these three public spaces, their differentiation and their specific forms of coordination (Simmel). We can recognize different regimes of public spaces:

• The classic public space is framing the shared value, the civility and the incorporated civil society (Simmel, Alexander) such as cooperatives of production and communities of protection.
• The modern public space develops its argumentation of the public sphere, between State society and democratic society, between social mediations and media systems (Habermas, 1988).
• The new public space within the internet networks develops new forms of collective issues, new forms of public-private deliberation, more or less converging. We may notice a dispersion between internet collectives.

Transnational solidarities are designed by and between political communities. The coherence of the public sphere can support and facilitate some transnational solidarities. The public sphere is one of the conditions for transnational solidarity. Transnational solidarity cannot be mixed with the public sphere. The emergence of transnational solidarities depends on the permissiveness of the public sphere (tolerance, openness, cosmopolitanism, closeness, segmentation). But the consistency, resilience and maintenance of transnational solidarities depend on the interstate system, on the political space.

A new phenomenon to be considered refers to the new articulations between local, national and transnational public spheres. Transnational solidarity arises from the articulation of these different public spheres. Changes within political subjectivity can be visualized within this

framework, from the act of discourse to a more global theme. We induced some insights on the social relations bounded between global interdependence, multiple identities and collective expression (Verpraet 2006). The French yellow jackets revolt (*gilets jaunes*) in December 2018 was first envisioned as a resistance to carbon tax and sustainable development. In a context of income and energy precarity, a new demand of social justice can be framed, sustaining the continuity of energy transition.

7. Methodological Appendix

How to explore and to construct the environmental solidarities between local levels and global levels?

a) The first question concerns the change of meaning of public sphere inside globalization process. Globalization processes and media connexions challenge the notion of public sphere as a legitimized arena for public exchanges and for public argumentation.

b) The second steps focus on the place and meaning of collaborative cooperation actions inside transnational relations and public sphere. The change of meaning for production cooperative for service cooperative can be specified by local survey. For France we developed the case of Nantes Metropoles and Plaine Commune 93.

c) The third methodological question frames a progressive reconstruction of multilevel mobilisations and environmental solidarities by examining the coupling and decoupling between mobilization and conflict, between cooperation and distance. This methodology examines the transnational solidarities as communities of issues, as politicization of common issues and common problems (Tassin, Beck) as interconnection of issues. So, a typification between different trajectories of transnational solidarities can be framed. The new configuration of environmental solidarities can be linked with reconfiguration of environmental issues.

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9. Biographical Note

Gilles Verpraet, Sociologist at the University Paris Nanterre (Sophiapol) has been leading researches on ecological mobilizations and conflicts (as great canal Rhin Rhône, on the

policy implementation of sustainable development and on the blockage of environmental governance). He is currently developing researches on the construction, diversification and stabilization of environmental solidarities. Publications:

Verpraet Gilles (dir), (2007) *Développement urbain durable et Gestion des risques, Les politiques communautaires de développement durable*, CNRS PIDDUD, 260 pages.
Verpraet, Gilles (2005) "Two models of decision for Luda take off: The stop and go, the sustainable model"; in *The Quality of Life in Large Urban Distressed Areas, Cahiers del l'institute National de l'urbanistica*, Italy, April 2005, p. 20-25 (http://www.luda-project.net/proj02.html).

10. Notes

1 Transnational solidarities can be envisioned inside this framework of cosmopolitan ethos. We distinguish between the functional solidarities, related to trade and technological interdependencies, the partnership related to interstate relations and the social networks developed inside these relations (such as the transnational professional groups).

Conference Timetable

22/May/2019 Wednesday

6:00 PM 8:30 PM	Bidebarrieta Central Library	Bilbao. Open and Collaborative City Pre-Conference Round Table

23/May/2019 Thursday

8:30 AM	Hall	Registration
9:00 AM	Baroja Room	Opening Session
9:30 AM	Baroja Room	Keynote Speakers: Plenary 1
11:15 AM	Laboa Hall	Coffee Break
11:45 AM	Baroja Room	Keynote Speakers: Plenary 2
1:30 PM	Laboa Hall	Lunch Break
3:00 PM	Baroja Room	Paper Session A1: Economy, Work and Consumption
	Arriaga Room	Paper Session A2: Politics
	Oteiza Room	Paper Session A3: Food Sovereignty
	Elhuyar Room	Paper Session A4: Collaborative Technology
	Barandiaran Room	Paper Session A5: Collaborative Arts
	Laboa Hall	Video Session 1
5:00 PM	Laboa Hall	Coffee Break
5:30 PM 7:30 PM	Baroja Room	Paper Session A6: Economy, Work and Consumption
	Arriaga Room	Paper Session A7: Politics
	Oteiza Room	Paper Session A8: Food Sovereignty
	Elhuyar Room	Paper Session A9: Collaborative Technology
	Barandiaran Room	Paper Session A10: Collaborative Culture and Memory
	Laboa Hall	Video Session 2
8:30 PM		Conference Dinner

24/May/2019 Friday

8:30 AM	Hall	Registration
9:30 AM	Baroja Room	Keynote Speakers: Plenary 3
10:45 AM	Laboa Hall	Coffee Break
11:15 AM	Baroja Room	Keynote Speakers: Plenary 4
1:30 PM	Laboa Hall	Lunch Break
3:00 PM	Baroja Room	Paper Session B1: Economy, Work and Consumption
	Arriaga Room	Paper Session B2: Politics
	Barandiaran Room	Paper Session B3: Collaborative Culture and Memory
	Elhuyar Room	Paper Session B4: Care and Co-Housing
	Oteiza Room	Paper Session B5: Science and Knowledge
5:00 PM	Laboa Hall	Coffee Break
5:30 PM	Baroja Room	Paper Session A6: Economy, Work and Consumption
	Arriaga Room	Paper Session B7: Posters and Books Presentations
	Barandiaran Room	Paper Session B8: Collaborative Arts
	Elhuyar Room	Paper Session B9: Care and Co-Housing
	Oteiza Room	Paper Session B10: Science and Knowledge
7:30 PM	Laboa Hall	Farewell

Conference Program

22/May/2019 Wednesday

Bidebarrieta Central Library
6:00 PM - 8:30 PM

Bilbao. Open and Collaborative City
Pre-Conference Round Table
Chair: Prof. Benjamín Tejerina
Universidad del País Vasco/Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea

This round table aims to discuss the characteristics, trajectory and impact of collaborative collective actions in a context of erosion of the welfare state. It also seeks to present the most recent innovations, trends and concerns, as well as the practical challenges and solutions adopted in the fields of collaborative collective action. The round table will feature the participation of local activist groups.
Language: Spanish • Address: C/ Bidebarrieta, 4, Bilbao • Free of Charge

Bizkaia Aretoa

1. Hall
2. Barandiaran Room
3. Elhuyar Room
4. Oteiza Room
5. Baroja Room
6. Laboa Hall
7. Arriaga Room
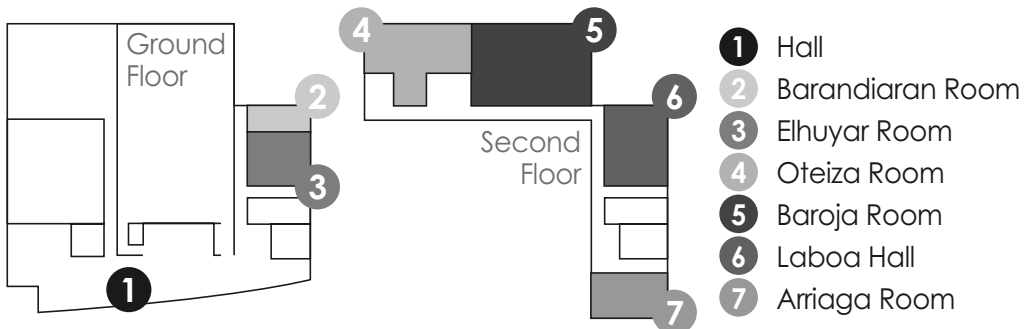
23/May/2019 Thursday

8:30 AM Hall	**Registration**

9:00 AM Baroja Room	**Opening Session** Benjamín Tejerina President of the Scientific and Organizing Committee, Universidad del País Vasco/Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea Representative of Lan Ekintza Ayuntamiento de Bilbao/Bilboko Udala Susana González Directora General de Empleo/General Director for Employment, Diputación Foral de Bizkaia/Bizkaiko Foru Aldundia Representative of Consejería de Trabajo y Justicia/ Department of Labor and Justice Gobierno Vasco/Eusko Jaurlaritza Araceli Garín Martín Vicerrectora de Estudios de Grado y Posgrado/Vice Rector for Post Graduate and Undergraduate Studies, Universidad del País Vasco/ Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea

9:30 AM Baroja Room	**Keynote Speakers: Plenary 1** Chair: Prof. Benjamín Tejerina Universidad del País Vasco/Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea **David Bollier** Director of the Reinventing the Commons Program, Schumacher Center for a New Economics Free, Fair and Alive. The Commons as a Vibrant Social System **Mayo Fuster Morell** Faculty affiliated to the Berkman Center for Internet and Society, Harvard University, and Director of Dimmons Research Group, Internet Interdisciplinary Institute IN3, Universitat Oberta de Catalunya Collaborative Policies for Collaborative Economy

11:15 AM Laboa Hall	**Coffee Break**

11:45 AM Baroja Room	**Keynote Speakers: Plenary 2** Chair: Ligia Tavera Fenollosa, PhD Facultad Latinoamerica de Ciencias Sociales FLACSO-México **Ling Tan** Umbrellium Hyperlocal Cities. Structuring Participation and Collective Actions **Stacco Troncoso** P2P Foundation "If I Only Had a Heart." Encoding Care On- and Offchain, Open Cooperativism and Distributed Cooperative Organizations

1:30 PM Laboa Hall	**Lunch Break**

23/May/2019 Thursday

1:30 PM Laboa Hall	**Lunch Break**

Paper Session A1: Economy, Work and Consumption Track 2 **3:00 - 5:00 PM** Baroja Room	**Paper Session A2: Politics** Track 8 **3:00 - 5:00 PM** Arriaga Room	**Paper Session A3: Food Sovereignty** Track 1 **3:00 - 5:00 PM** Oteiza Room

Chair: Diego Carbajo, PhD
Universidad del País Vasco/Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea

Organizational Communication of the Commons. Any Particularity?
Enric Castelló Cogollos
Universitat Rovira i Virgili

Responsibilities of Sharing Economy Platforms for Cultivating Trust
Selin Öner Kula
Bilgi University

Solidarity Economy Markets as 'Commons Ecologies.' The Politization of the Marketspace by *Esperança-Cooesperança*, Rio Grande do Sul, Brasil
Ana Margarida Esteves
ISCTE-Instituto Universitário de Lisboa and Centro de Estudos Internacionais

Reshaping Citizenship in the Housing Struggles? Moroccan Families in the City of Bologna and the Case of "ex Telecom" Building
Meryem Lakhouite
Università di Padova

Chair: Barış Tuğrul
Hacettepe Üniversitesi

From Claims-Based Protests to Solidarity Initiatives. Tracing Transformations of Collective Action in Athens, 2010-2017
Hara Kouki
University of Durham and Open Hellenic University

Conflict and Collaboration in Contentious Events. The Case of the 1-O in Catalonia
Ferran Giménez Azagra[1] and Hans Jonas Gunzelmann[2]
[1]*Universitat de Barcelona*
[2]*Scuola Normale Superiore and Centre on Social Movement Studies (COSMOS)*

Multi-Scale Intersections of Collaborative Collective Actions in Urban Regeneration. Insights from the ROCK Project in Lisbon
Roberto Falanga and Mafalda Corrêa Nunes
Instituto de Ciências Sociais, Universidade de Lisboa

Activismo barrial, acción colaborativa y reconstrucción del lazo social. La experiencia actual del sitio de memoria creado en el ex "Olimpo" (Buenos Aires, Argentina)
Mauricio Chama[1] y Mora González Canosa[2]
[1]*Universidad Nacional de La Plata*
[2]*Consejo Nacional de Investigaciones Científicas y Técnicas y Universidad Nacional de La Plata*

Chair: Abeer Musleh, PhD
Bethlehem University

The Role of Digital Platforms in Agroecology Food Consumption Collaboration. A Comparison between Porto and Barcelona
Ricard Espelt[1] and Sara Moreira[2]
[1]*Universitat Oberta de Catalunya*
[2]*Universitat Oberta de Catalunya and Universidade do Porto*

Community Gardens and Neighbourhood Movement. Benimaclet and El Cabanyal (València)
Rafael Castelló-Cogollos and Ramón Llopis Goig
Universitat de València

The Role of Communal Lands in the Revitalization of Rural Areas in Portugal
Pedro Manuel Hespanha
Centro de Estudos Sociais, Universidade de Coimbra

Ecology, Culture and Livelihood Practices. An Ethnographic Study among the Angamis and the Konyaks in Nagaland
Ado Kehie, Njamjahao Kipgen and Sambit Mallick
Indian Institute of Technology Guwahati

5:00 PM Laboa Hall	**Coffee Break**

Lunch Break	1:30 PM
	Laboa Hall

Paper Session A4: Collaborative Technology Track 7	Paper Session A5: Collaborative Arts Track 4	Video Session 1
3:00 - 5:00 PM Elhuyar Room	**3:00 - 5:00 PM** Barandiaran Room	**5:30 - 7:30 PM** Laboa Hall

Chair: Ignacia Perugorría

Universidad del País Vasco/Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea

Makerspaces as Knowledge Infrastructures for the Factory of the Future
Raúl Tabarés Gutiérrez
Fundación Tecnalia Research & Innovation

The Opportunities and Challenges of Arduino Community
Yilmaz Aliskan
University of Sussex

Measuring the Social Impact of Maker Initiatives. Frameworks and Guidelines for Scaling the Assessment on Digital Platforms
Massimo Menichinelli[1] and Alessandra Gerson Saltiel Schmidt[2]
[1]*Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology (RMIT) University*
[2]*AGS Invest*

Co-Housing. Solidarity Networks for Care from an Architectural, a Legal, and a Tax Basis
Irune Suberbiola Garbizu and Alex Mitxelena Etxeberria
Universidad del País Vasco/Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea

Chair: Cristina Miranda de Almeida, PhD

Universidad del País Vasco/Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea

La investigación Prekariart. Una red colaborativa alimentada desde las prácticas artísticas
Beatriz Cavia[1] and Concepción Elorza[2]
[1]*Universitat Oberta de Catalunya*
[2]*Universidad del País Vasco/Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea*

Collaboration and Digital Literature. Describing and Mapping out a Form of Authorship
Giovanna Di Rosario
Politecnico di Milano

In Dissensus, We Trust. Prototyping Social Relationships in Participatory Theatre
Elvira Crois
University of Antwerp

ART TOGETHER HOW Collaborative Art Practices in the Crossing with Methodologies and Techniques Coming from the Social Sciences
Saioa del Olmo Alonso
Universidad del País Vasco/Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea and Wikitoki, Laboratory of Collaborative Practices

Video 1: Click to Remain (25'', 2016)
directed by Maren Sophia Wickwire[1] and Valerie Kittlitz[2]
[1]*Manifest Media*
[2]*Freie Universität Berlin*

Video 2: El fenómeno de las Lonjas en Vitoria-Gasteiz (25'', 2012)
directed, produced and postproduced by Benjamín Tejerina, Diego Carbajo, María Martínez and Laurent Leger
Universidad del País Vasco/Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea

Coffee Break	5:00 PM
	Laboa Hall

23/May/2019 Thursday

5:00 PM Laboa Hall	Coffee Break

Paper Session A6: Economy, Work and Consumption
Track 2

5:30 - 7:30 PM
Baroja Room

Paper Session A7: Politics

Track 8

5:30 - 7:30 PM
Arriaga Room

Paper Session A8: Food Sovereignty

Track 1

5:30 - 7:30 PM
Oteiza Room

Chair: Ernesto Schwartz Marín, PhD
University of Exeter

Sharing the Understanding of the Future. Generational Perspectives on Work in the City of Milan
Enzo Colombo and Paola Rebughini
Università degli Studi di Milano

Collective Practices and Strategies around Leisure of Contemporary Basque Young People. The Phenomenon of Lonjas
Diego Carbajo
Universidad del País Vasco/Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea

Circular Economy in Fashion World
Alba Cappellieri, Elisa Borboni, Livia Tenuta and Susanna Testa
Politecnico di Milano

Supporting Sharing Societies from Sociocultural Values. Basque Auzolan, Batzarreak, and Komunalak
Xabier Renteria-Uriarte and Jon Las Heras Cuenca
Universidad del País Vasco/Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea

Chair: Hara Kouki, PhD
University of Durham and Open Hellenic University

Participatory Processes and Digital Tools. The Case of MediaLab-Prado Madrid
Manuel Hidalgo Trenado
Universidad Carlos III de Madrid

Environmental Solidarities between Local Solidarities and Transnational Solidarities
Gilles Verpraet
Université Paris Nanterre

Micromobilization and the Pro-Democracy Movement in Iceland. The Case of the "Panama Papers Leak" Protests, April 2016
Jón Gunnar Bernburg
University of Iceland

The Case of Open Government in Madrid and its Relationship with MediaLab Prado
Margarita Rodríguez-Ibáñez
Asociación Demetra

Chair: Prof. Pedro Manuel Hespanha
Centro de Estudos Sociais, Universidade de Coimbra

La agroecología y la soberanía alimentaria como bastiones para la acción colectiva colaborativa
Izaskun Artegui Alcaide
Universidad del País Vasco/Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea

Reviving the "Hakora." Local Farming and Collaborative Efforts
Abeer Musleh
Bethlehem University

Main Issues of the Contract Farming Structure in Sugar Cane Farming. Perspectives of Smallholder Farmers in Kilombero Region in Tanzania
Valerii Saenko[1] and Jennifer Kesanda Sesabo[2]
[1]Scuola Normale Superiore and Institute of Development Policy, University of Antwerp
[2]Mzumbe University

10 años alimentando los lazos de la solidaridad
Myriam Gómez García
Fundación Gizakia Herritar and Paris 365

8:30 PM	Conference Dinner

Coffee Break	5:00 PM
	Laboa Hall

Paper Session A9: Collaborative Technology Track 7	Paper Session A10: Collaborative Culture and Memory Track 5	Video Session 2
5:30 - 7:30 PM Elhuyar Room	5:30 - 7:30 PM Barandiaran Room	5:30 - 7:30 PM Laboa Hall

Chair: Elvira Santiago-Gómez, PhD
Universidade da Coruña

Knowledge Sharing in Informal Networks
Akira Yoshinari
Aichi Institute of Technology

Crosscutting Artistic Creations between Technology, Natural, and Social Sciences. Eco-Ethical Stakes and Challenges
Emeline Gougeon[1] and Pierre-Antoine Chardel[2]
[1]LASCO Idea Lab, Institut Mines-Télécom
[2]LASCO Idea Lab, Institut Mines-Télécom, Institut Interdisciplinaire d'Anthropologie du Contemporain, Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique and École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales

The Maker Movement as Collaborative Collective Action. The Cases of Espacio Open and Hirikilabs
Ignacia Perugorría
Universidad del País Vasco/Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea

Internet Prosuming. The Social Practices to Create Digital Content to Share on Social Media
Rosa María Alonzo González
Universidad de Guadalajara

Maker Communities and Socio-Economic Inclusion in South Africa and Senegal
Chris Armstrong[1], Erika Kraemer-Mbula[2] and Thomas Hervé Mboa Nkoudou[3]
[1]LINK Centre, University of the Witwatersrand (Wits) and Centre for Law, Technology and Society, University of Ottawa
[2]College of Business and Economics, University of Johannesburg
[3]Association for the Promotion of Open Science in Haiti and Africa (APSOHA) and Université Laval

Chair: Matteo Ciastellardi, PhD
Politecnico di Milano

Ultras Utopia. Reclaiming the Spectacle
Ronnie Close
American University in Cairo

Escuchar la voz del barrio para abrir las puertas a la cultura colaborativa
Cristina Arriaga Sanz[1], Ainhoa Miralles[2], María Teresa Guerrero[2], Ana Belaire[2], María Jesús Puerto[2], Roberto Macián[2], Emilia Campayo[2], Óscar Chiva[2], Lidón Moliner[2] and Alberto Cabedo[2]
[1]Universidad del País Vasco/Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea
[2]Universitat Jaume I

La construcción social del escritor de *graffiti* en Granada: Una aproximación cualitativa
José Luis González Rivas
Universidad del País Vasco/Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea

Sharing Society in Old Cairo. Participatory Governance in Khalifa Neighborhood
Ghaidaa Kotb and Amr Sukkar
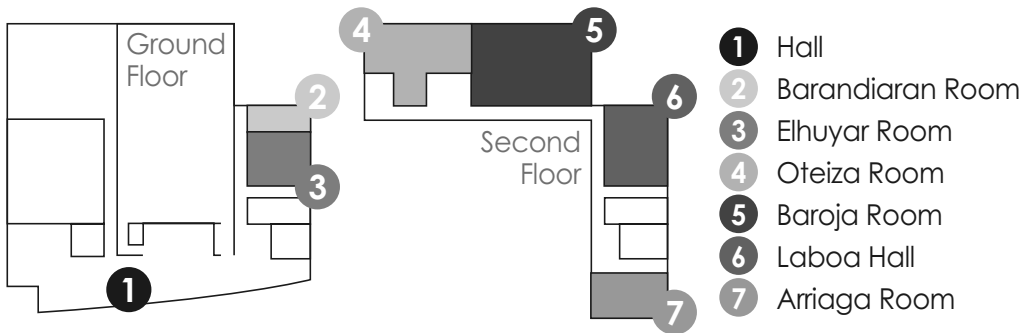*Future University in Egypt*

Video 3: Remembering Europe (59'', 2016)
written and directed by Manuela Zechner
Aristotle University Thessaloniki and ERC Heteropolitics

Conference Dinner	8:30 PM

Bizkaia Aretoa

Ground Floor

Second Floor

1 Hall
2 Barandiaran Room
3 Elhuyar Room
4 Oteiza Room
5 Baroja Room
6 Laboa Hall
7 Arriaga Room

24/May/2019 Friday

8:30 AM Hall	**Registration**
9:30 AM Baroja Room	**Keynote Speakers: Plenary 3** Chair: Ramon Llopis Goig, PhD Universitat de València **Manuela Zechner** Aristotle University Thessaloniki and ERC Heteropolitics Caring, Sharing and Commoning. For Lively Entanglements and Ecologies of Care **Derrick de Kerckhove** Politecnico di Milano and Media Duemila The Rise of Collaborative Investigative Journalism from Wikileaks, Panama Papers to the "Implants Files"
10:45 AM Laboa Hall	**Coffee Break**
11:15 AM Baroja Room	**Keynote Speakers: Plenary 4** Chair: Prof. Benjamín Tejerina Universidad del País Vasco/Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea **Fermín Serrano** Commissioner for Knowledge Economy and Innovation, Gobierno de Aragón Citizen Science at the Confluence of Research, Society, Technology and the Arts **Ezio Manzini** Escuela Universitaria de Diseño e Ingeniería de Barcelona (ELISAVA), and Design for Social Innovation and Sustainability Network (DESIS), Politecnico di Milano The Making of Collaborative Cities. Social Innovation, Design and Politics of the Everyday
1:30 PM Laboa Hall	**Lunch Break**

24/May/2019 Friday

1:30 PM
Laboa Hall

Lunch Break

Paper Session B1: Economy, Work and Consumption
Track 2

3:00 - 5:00 PM
Baroja Room

Paper Session B2: Politics

Track 8

3:00 - 5:00 PM
Arriaga Room

Paper Session B3: Collaborative Culture and Memory
Track 5

3:00 - 5:00 PM
Barandiaran Room

Chairs: Rafael Castelló-Cogollos, PhD
Universitat de València

Prof. Benjamín Tejerina
Universidad del País Vasco/Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea

Promotoras y Anfitrionas Santiago: El crowdworking para compartir derechos laborales
Andrés Gómez Seguel[1], Camila Ponce Lara[2] and Natacha Leroy Zomosa[1]
[1]Universidad de Chile
[2]Universidad Católica Silva Henríquez

Approaches to Collaborative Work in Times of Labour Precariousness. A Case of Sharing Laboratories
Elsa Santamaría López[1] and Joseba García Martín[2]
[1]Universitat Oberta de Catalunya
[2]Universidad del País Vasco/Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea

Learning to Succeed. The Collective Construction of Success in a Public Marketplace
Laura A. Orrico
Penn State University

Experiment of Sharing Economy as a Platform of Trust Reconstruction in South Korea
Suk-Ki Kong and Hyun-Chin Lim
Seoul National University

Chair: Manuel Hidalgo Trenado, PhD
Universidad Carlos III de Madrid

Post-Resettlement Refugee Collectives in the United States. Processes of Emergence and Transition
Odessa Gonzalez Benson and Mieko Yoshihama
University of Michigan

Sharing Social Identities and Solidarity. A Study on the Example of Polish Civil Protest Movements
Adam Bartoszek and Rafał Cekiera
University of Silesia in Katowice

Reciprocity of News in the Context of Disaster. News Sharing, Blogs and Collective Actions over Time
Stephen Ostertag
Tulane University

Reclaiming the Commons in Precarious Times
Carl-Ulrik Schierup and Aleksandra Ålund
Linköpings Universitet

Chair: Enric Castelló Cogollos, PhD
Universitat Rovira i Virgili

Collaborative Biographies. Building Collective Memory through Sharing Photographs
Carmen Rodríguez-Rodríguez and Elvira Santiago-Gómez
Universidade da Coruña

The Human Algorithms. The Silent Participation Led by Ontological-Driven Behaviors
Matteo Ciastellardi
Politecnico di Milano

The Meaning of 'Sharing' for Online Projects. Analysis of a Changing Term as Applied in Indian Digital Archives
Katja Müller
Martin Luther University Halle-Wittenberg

Sharing Expertise on Boosting the Use of Basque Language in Public Communication
Asier Basurto Arruti[1] and Eduardo Apodaka Ostaikoetxea[2]
[1]Soziolinguistika Klusterra
[2]Universidad del País Vasco/Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea

5:00 PM
Laboa Hall

Coffee Break

Lunch Break	1:30 PM
	Laboa Hall

Paper Session B4: Care and Co-housing

Track 3

3:00 - 5:00 PM
Elhuyar Room

Paper Session B5: Science and Knowledge

Track 6

3:00 - 5:00 PM
Oteiza Room

Chair: Giovanna Di Rosario, PhD
Politecnico di Milano

Chair: Camilo Tamayo Gomez, PhD
University of Leeds

Real Estate as a Commons. Collaboration between Communities, Housing Corporations and the Local Government in Amsterdam East
Peer Smets[1] and Firoez Azarhoosh[2]
[1]Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam
[2]Independent Community Development Worker

Cohousing Experiences in some Italian Urban Contexts
Gabriele Di Francesco
Università degli Studi "Gabriele d'Annunzio"

Co-Housing. Inhabiting Community Space
Amaia Izaola Argüeso
Universidad del País Vasco/Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea

Childcare and Relationship of Trust. The Au Pair Experience as a Case of Transnational Collaborative Collective Action
Giorgia Riconda
Università degli Studi di Milano

Social (De)Construction of Disaster. Collaborative Knowledge Development and Action through PhotoVoice
Mieko Yoshihama
University of Michigan

Citizen Science in Spain. Social Impact of Science-Society Collaboration
Benjamín Tejerina
Universidad del País Vasco/Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea

The Do It Yourself Biology Movement. A Collective Force for Social Change and Innovation
Ricardo Mutuberria
Biook

11 Theses on Citizen-Led Science. Insights from Mexico and Colombia
Ernesto Schwartz Marín
University of Exeter

Coffee Break	5:00 PM
	Laboa Hall

24/May/2019 Friday

5:00 PM Laboa Hall	**Coffee Break**

Paper Session B6: Economy, Work and Consumption Track 2 **5:30 - 7:30 PM** Baroja Room	**Paper Session B7: Posters and Books Presentations** **5:30 - 7:30 PM** Arriaga Room	**Paper Session B8: Collaborative Arts** Track 4 **5:30 - 7:30 PM** Barandiaran Room

Chair: Evin Deniz, PhD
Independent Researcher

Is Crowdfunding (and Sharing Economy) a Type of Activism?
Elena Gil Moreno
Universidad de Valladolid

Sharing Economy and Young People. A Qualitative Explorative Project
Ariela Mortara[1] and Geraldina Roberti[2]
[1]*International University of Language and Media (IULM)*
[2]*Università degli Studi dell'Aquila*

Delivery Cooperatives. An Alternative to the Great Platforms of the Digital Economy
Francisco Fernández-Trujillo Moares
Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia

Solidarity Economies and Solidarity Networks among Green Consumers in Turkey
Melike Bozdogan
Baskent University

Chairs: Enric Castelló Cogollos, PhD
Universitat Rovira i Virgili

Joseba García Martín
Universidad del País Vasco/Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea

What is the "No más AFP" Movement? New Activisms in Contemporary Chile
Natalia Miranda
Centre de Recherches Interdisciplinaires, Démocratie, Institutions, Subjectivité, Université Catholique de Louvain and Social Movements in the Global Age (SMAG)

Chair: Concepción Elorza, PhD
Universidad del País Vasco/Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea

Liminality, Anti-Structure and Legitimation. Study of the Artistic Proposal *A revolta dos panos* [The Revolt of the Rags] (2016)
Natalia Vegas Moreno and Arturo Cancio Ferruz
Universidad del País Vasco/Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatean

Collaborative Collective Art Actions and Sensible Politics
Cristina Miranda de Almeida
Universidad del País Vasco/Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea

Aesthetic Community. An Empirical Approach to the Relational Creative Process
Antonio Jesús Osorio Porras
Universidad de Granada

La acción artística en el espacio público como motor de cambio sociocultural
Raffaella Regina
Universidad del País Vasco/Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea

7:30 - 7:45 PM Elhuyar Room	**Farewell** Prof. Benjamín Tejerina Universidad del País Vasco/Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea

Coffee Break

5:00 PM
Laboa Hall

Paper Session B9: Care and Co-housing

Track 3

5:30 - 7:30 PM
Elhuyar Room

Chair: Elsa Santamaría López, PhD
Universitat Oberta de Catalunya

Thinking Compassionate Communities. Care, Compassion and Collaborative Links
Ana Aliende Urtasun[1] and Joseba García Martín[2]
[1]Universidad Pública de Navarra/Nafarroako Unibertsitate Publikoa
[2]Universidad del País Vasco/Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea

The Collaborative Collective Action in Disaster Situations. The 19S Earthquake in Mexico City
Ligia Tavera Fenollosa
Facultad Latinoamericana de Ciencias Sociales (FLACSO-México)

Sharing Death as a New Thanatic Attitude. Contemporary Activity, Social Education and Communication to Accompany the Dying and the Mourning
Agnieszka Janiak
University of Lower Silesia

Self-Management through Experiential Learning Communities in the Margins of the Biopsychiatric Model. The Emergence of Peer-to-Peer Groups in Spain
Sandra González Durán
Universidad del País Vasco/Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea

Paper Session B10: Science and Knowledge

Track 6

5:30 - 7:30 PM
Oteiza Room

Chairs: Prof. Benjamín Tejerina
Universidad del País Vasco/Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea

Ramón Sangüesa, PhD
Universitat Politècnica de Catalunya

Movimientos sociales e intelecto colectivo. Teoría y praxis pública de movilizaciones intelectuales latinoamericanas en siglo XXI
Alberto Bialakowsky[1], Gabriela Bukstein[1] y Luz Maria Montelongo Díaz Barriga[2]
[1]Instituto de Investigaciones Gino Germani
[2]Universidad Iberoamericana, México

Mobile Solutions to the Mexican Kidnapping Epidemic (MAKE). Beyond Elite Counter-Measures towards Citizen-Led Innovation
Conor O'Reilly and Camilo Tamayo Gomez
University of Leeds

Academies for Solidarity under the State of Exception in Turkey
Barış Tuğrul[1] and Evin Deniz[2]
[1]Hacettepe Üniversitesi
[2]Independent Researcher

Marginalised Young People and the Moral Economies of Social Enterprise in the Anthropocene
Peter Kelly
Royal Melbourne Institute of Technology (RMIT) University

Farewell
Prof. Benjamín Tejerina
Universidad del País Vasco/Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea

7:30 - 7:45 PM
Elhuyar Room

Conference Call for Papers

1. Context and Rationale

Although the concept of collective action has been widely used in the field of social sciences, giving rise to the area of social movements studies, little research has focused on the collaborative aspect of this action. In recent years, the emerging field of studies on the "sharing economy" has shed some long-overdue light on this aspect. However, some of the cases that have been described as part of this phenomenon, such as Uber or AirBnB, lack key collaborative traits in both their setup and praxis. So much so that scholars have called for the use of the term "true sharing economy" to distinguish the latter from more nuanced and complex experiences.

The concept of "sharing society" is inspired by the definition of collaborative collective action (Tejerina, 2016): "the group of practices and formal and informal interactions that take place among individuals, collectives or associations that share a sense of belonging or common interests, that collaborate and are in conflict with others, and that have the intent of producing or precluding social change through the mobilization of certain social sectors."

This conference stems from the research project "Sharing Society. The Impact of Collaborative Collective Action. Analysis of the Effects of Practices, Bonds, Structures and Mobilizations in the Transformation of Contemporary Societies," funded by the Spanish Ministry of Economy and Competitiveness (MINECO CSO2016-78107-R), and hosted by the Collective Identity Research Center, University of the Basque Country (Spain).

2. Scope and Objectives

This international conference sets out to analyze the characteristics, trajectory and impact of collaborative collective actions in a context of erosion of the welfare state. It also seeks to present and discuss the most recent innovations, trends, and concerns, as well as practical challenges encountered and solutions adopted in the fields of collaborative collective actions. The conference will address the following questions:

• How, when and where does collaborative collective action occur?
• Which are the characteristics of contemporary collaborative collective action?
• What are the practical, symbolic, and legal effects of collaborative collective actions for the forging and recovery of social bonds?
• What forms of interaction emerge from these types of actions?

We invite theoretical and empirical proposals that explore collaborative collective actions in different areas: work, production, consumption, culture, art, science, knowledge and education, solidarity with precarious groups, civic participation and politics. Topics of interest include, but are not limited to:

• **TRACK 1 Food and Agricultural Production**
  Food sovereignty; agroecology; zero kilometer movement; food and sustainable soil

experiences; urban agriculture; and community gardens
• **TRACK 2 Economy, Work and Consumption**
Collaborative economy; circular economy; new forms of collaborative work and co-working; collaborative consumption; time banks; and platforms for sharing resources and experiences
• **TRACK 3 Care and Co-housing**
Solidarity networks for personal care; health care; age care; childcare; personal quantification movement; and cohousing
• **TRACK 4 Arts**
Art and the commons; collaborative art and new forms of creative commons; and distributed design
• **TRACK 5 Culture**
Collaborative culture and open culture movement
• **TRACK 6 Science and Knowledge**
Collaborative forms of scientific production and citizen science
• **TRACK 7 Technology**
Maker and DIY movement; open source technology initiatives; network manufacturing; medialab experiences; and hacktivism
• **TRACK 8 Politics**
Collaborative forms of political and institutional governance; networks of cities, institutions and citizenship; participatory democracy; participatory budgeting; open government; and collective intelligence for democracy

We encourage the submission of papers drawing on theoretical and methodological approaches from diverse fields of study, such as the social sciences, humanities, architecture, urban planning and design. We also invite contributions from actors working with citizen participation in the sciences, arts, media and/or politics (e.g. in cultural institutions, cultural policy, social media platforms, cooperatives, and NGOs).

3. Application and Selection Process

Proposals can be presented in two formats: *paper* and *poster presentations*. The selection of proposals will be conducted in two ensuing phases:

• **Abstracts:** Abstracts will be selected on the basis of academic excellence, relevance, and thematic fit to ensure focused discussion at the conference. Abstracts are due on December 31, 2018, and acceptance/rejection letters will be sent out by January 14, 2019 after a double-blind peer review process.
• **Papers:** Authors whose abstracts have been accepted will be required to submit full papers by March 4, 2019. All papers will go through a double-blind peer review process. Reviewers' comments and suggestions will be sent out before April 1, 2019. Revised papers are due on April 15, 2019; these versions will be published in the conference proceedings.
• **Posters:** Authors whose abstracts have been accepted will be required to submit the full text of their posters by March 4, 2019 (the final lay-out of the poster is not necessary at this time; please, send only the contents, both text and tables/graphs/images, in a sole .pdf file). All poster

proposals will go through double-blind peer review. Reviewers' comments and suggestions will be sent out before April 1, 2019. Revised versions of the posters, including layout, are due on April 15, 2019; these versions will be published in the conference proceedings.

Please, ensure that your proposals meet the conference's strict guidelines for the submission of abstracts, papers and posters detailed in the conference website: https://sharingsocietyproject.org/en/category/results/conferences/sharingconf/

Abstracts, papers and posters, in both original and revised versions, must be sent exclusively through the conference platform: https://www.conftool.com/sharing2019

4. Official Language and Oral Presentation Guidelines

English is the official language of the conference. Abstracts, papers and poster submissions, as well as oral presentations, should be done preferably in English.

We will however accept abstracts, papers and posters in Spanish. Oral presentations in Spanish are welcome provided they are accompanied by a written translation into English (to be handed out in the conference room at the beginning of each session, or included in a PowerPoint presentation).

All plenary sessions will count with simultaneous English-Spanish translation; regular sessions will not have simultaneous translation. Final instructions for oral presentation detailing both time slots and available resources will be sent out three weeks prior to the conference.

5. Conference Proceedings

All accepted papers and posters will be published in the conference proceedings in both digital and paper formats. The proceedings will be published with an ISBN number issued by the University of the Basque Country Press under the Creative Commons license. The proceedings book will be available for access and download from the conference website and in other academic platforms (e.g. Academia, ResearchGate, etc.).

6. Special Journal Issue

A number of selected full text papers will be submitted for publication as part of an indexed journal special issue proposal. All conference papers will be eligible for this issue. The selection will be based on peer review reports, and will be carried out by the special issue Guest Editors in collaboration with the journal's Editor-in-Chief.

7. Important Dates

Task	Last date
Abstracts submission deadline	December 31, 2018
Notification of abstract acceptance/rejection	January 14, 2019
Payment deadline for presenters	February 15, 2019
Full paper/poster submission deadline	March 4, 2019
Reviewers comments due	April 1, 2019
Revised full paper/poster submission deadline	April 15, 2019
Oral presentation guidelines and conference program sent out to participants	April 30, 2019
Conference dates	May 23-24, 2019

8. Registration and Conference Fees

Conference fees include two lunches and four coffee break refreshments, one conference kit, and the publication of conference proceedings in both digital and paper formats. Registration and payment must be carried out through the conference platform: https://www.conftool.com/sharing2019. All participants (presenters, including all co-authors, and non-presenters) must register to be able to attend the conference.

- **Paper presenters and co-authors:** 120 Euros
- **Poster presenters and co-authors:** 70 Euros
- **Non-presenters:**
  ~ Undergraduate Students: free of charge (proof required)
  ~ Other non-presenters: 50 Euros before April 30, 2019.
  After this date registration fees will be 100 Euros.

9. Contact

For questions please send an email to the Conference Local Organizing Committee at gkz.sharingsociety@ehu.eus

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