Introduction

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The idea for this book was born in the winter of 2006 in the newly created Department of Spatial Planning and Development, Faculty of Engineering, Aristotle University of Thessaloniki, which was based at that time in Veria. During the first occupation of the School, in one of the events organised by the research group - formed by students and professors - "Invisible Cities" in collaboration with the journal ALANA (Solidarity, Resistance, Dignity in the Americas of movements), we had the opportunity to attend the lecture of the Brazilian professor and activist Lucia Skromov on the urban and regional social movements of Brazil and Haiti. The documentary films that were projected and the comparisons made during the discussion with other urban and regional movements

in various parts of the world deepened even more our interest on the subject.

Our idea was reinforced by the fact that there was little literature in Greek on issues related to urban and regional movements, while a rich debate had began to revive in international level, constantly enriched since then with new interesting texts (see for example INURA, 2004; Castells, 1997 and 2006; Negri, 2008; Harvey, 2009). Certainly, there are many researchers in Greece[1] who have studied urban movements and published articles in foreign - especially English and French - journals. However, almost totally lacking is the research work on contemporary movements developed in regional level, a significant number of which concerns mainly ecological issues (Institute Worldwatch, 2007). Relevant subjects have been presented though from time to time in Greek scientific and socio-political journals such as Geographies, Utopia, ALANA, Resistancias, Ecotopia and others.

Furthermore, our contacts with people involved at that time in such movements active in the cities of Veria, Thessaloniki and Athens, indicated us that there is a particular interest in the relevant theoretical and empirical approaches. Initially, this led us to concentrate material that would be useful for the action of these movements, which we started to distribute among us by e-mails. But this was not enough. We needed to get in touch with the contemporary experience and theoretical research that would surpass or complete the existing approaches. So the idea of this e-book was concretised, with the aim to generate, through an attempt of interdisciplinary approach, a fruitful discussion on urban and regional movements that are in different phases of evolution.

Since its initial conception, this book had a particular character:
- It would be continuously open until taking its final form, enabling rearchers from different scientific fields and activities to meet in interdisciplinary approaches.
- It would not be restricted to one language but opened to different ones, thus breaking the barriers posed by the traditional schools of thought in each country and the old-fashioned competing perceptions. Therefore, it would provide a forum for authors from different countries to approach the new trends in urban and regional movements in their own language (or in languages that they prefer to write). At the same time it would be addressed to young Greek speaking researchers - activists who would want to get informed or reflect on these issues.

- It would be gradually enriched by material written by the movements themselves and become little by little more systematic, providing a more meaningful insight into the differences, the particularities but also the common pursuits that these movements all over the world may have.

Our goal was thus to create a book that would summarise the wealth of knowledge when the idea about it would have been matured, that could potentially be constantly "under construction" and as a consequence "alive", up-to-date and dynamic. Hence a blog was also created[2] which will be regularly updated with new links, studies and news from various urban and regional movements around the world.

Urban and regional social movements: a definition

There are two basic concepts used by everyone in this book: the urban social movement and the regional social movement. We would like to stay especially on the first, as we believe that the movements developed in the regional level are directly associated with the resistance to the effects of the urban phenomenon around the world and the looting or destruction of the natural resources and environment in the name of serving a dominant uneven urban lifestyle. Thus, there is a feedback between the practices of social movements related to regional planning issues or simply to the exploitation and management of natural resources with these of urban movements. The "without land movement" in Brazil that occupied land to cultivate, nowadays occupies also land in the outskirts of cities. The Zapatistas of Chiapas in Mexico were influenced by the traditions of agrarian, indigenous and urban movements, influencing them in return to a large extent. The ecological movements of resistance in Denmark influenced and were influenced by the practices of urban social movements and the experience of those who built alternative neighbourhoods in the heart of Copenhagen. Indian dams may have caused serious problems to farmers, but they were also faced with the range of city dwellers who resisted to another one ecological disaster, as well as with the traditions of indigenous struggling for the preservation of their culture through the preservation of traditional seeds. And in some cases, this range spread worldwide through the contemporary alternative networks of information and action. Eventually, the new green - agrarian movements are not exclusively agrarian, as they

were in the past claiming mainly the agrarian reform. Their character is nowdays more regional than exclusively agrarian. But, let's get back to the concept of urban social movement which constitutes the premise of this book.

The concept of urban social movement has become particularly popular by an earlier work of Castells. According to him, urban social movements differ from simple urban movements in the following: they can change the signification itself of urban space. The urban social movements are carriers of urban-spatial transformation; hence it's about social movements which, opposed to the meaning of a given spatial structure, they try new urban functions and forms (Castells, 1983). These movements are different from the citizens movements organised around various issues. In the case that the movements are consciously experiencing the redefinition of the signification of urban space, then we can talk about urban social movements[3].

The possibility of generating urban social movements in the cities is a common theme in texts inspired by Marxist ideas (see Lefebvre, 1968; Castells, 1983) or liberal (anti-authoritarian) and other ideas (Turner, 1976). Indeed, the economic and political factors as well as the technological progress play the leading role in shaping the space, but this role is also influenced by the social process through which people appropriate the space and the time[4]. Friedemann (1989) argues that the participation of the working class in these movements «reveals a potential anti-hegemony (contre-hégémonie)". The most recent research is qualitative dealing with examples of urban movements in the contemporary metropolis (INURA, 1998 and 2004). A number of studies demonstrated the existence of solidarity networks based on the values of collectivity and alternative ways of living, which are hardly met in contemporary cities that promote isolation[5]. Agier (1999) provides a description of the urban space through many unique examples in order to identify a kind of "dual city", a more complex city "that is born in the heart of urban practices". In a world where "life is transformed to deduction and cities to shadows" (Castells, 1983: 423), small networks of solidarity born in cities are still a hope, a crack that appears as a deficiency, which though can potentially cause the change (Petropoulou, 2012).

A few words about the relation between urban and regional movements and riots as the one of December 2008

Moreover, the relation developed between urban movements and the youth uprising of December 2008, which took place in many Greek cities even before the outbreak of the crisis, presents a special interest as it can actually serve as a melting pot of ideas and practices that could generate a different context of creation of a different city in the praxis: From the claiming of the right to the city to the direct creation of the city from below, through everyday "actions" (praxis) that conflict with capitalist practices, which, especially in the era of "globalisation", have targeted the everyday life (Petropoulou, 2010a); that is to the formation of a proposal for another way of living which is potentially looking the way out to another social system.

Contemporary trends of sovereignty of the neo-conservatism in the socio-economic and political level bring back the discussion on urban movements in Greece. A few years before and after the Olympic Games, a new type of state intervention is dominating in favour of big firms and the growth of excessive profit of the private, ecclesiastical or mixed (public-private) domain against the social interest. The strong attack to public places on the part of the state leads respectively to more conflictual practices on the part of the urban movements. Some examples: the occupation of the coast in Elliniko (Athens) by the citizens after a continuous struggle which came up to the hunger strike of the Mayor, the prevention of the fence construction around Filopappos, a central hill of Athens, the prevention of the destruction of the square Exarchia and the fragmentation of the Pedion Areos, the prevention of a specific tracing of the submerged tunnel in Thessaloniki that would destroy green areas in the city, the resistance to the installation of satellite antennas near schools or houses etc. Furthermore, there is a resurgence of relevant regional movements such as the one in order to prevent the construction of the dam in Acheloos river, the resistance to the expansion of extractive industries in many parts of Greece (especially in Halkidiki, but also in Evia, in Parnassos etc.), the resistance to the uncontrolled installation of landfills (Lefkimi in Corfu, Veria, Keratea in Attica etc.) or to the installation of too large wind farms in ecologically sensitive areas.

We should also refer to some actions that are not just a resistance to the implementation of major projects, but a pressure as well for the implementation of proposals made by universities in collaboration with public entities and citizens movements, such as the construction of the tram in Athens, the making of pedestrian streets in many cities, certain environmental activities in cities as for example in Katerini, Xanthi and others, the ecological management of certain areas in Thrace and Crete, and especially the movement of Drapetsona-Keratsini for the creation of green spaces in the coastal area (former fertilizer factory) as well as the coordination of movements for the creation of the park of Elliniko (Athens).

Finally, particularly after the youth revolt of December 2008, many new squats that were later turned into social and cultural centers and some house squats and squats receiving refugees and migrants emerged all over Greece, while after the outbreak of the crisis and the movement of the squares of 2011 many social solidarity clinics and pharmacies were created and certain industries (VIOME), media (ERT open) and other sites were occupied. Along with them, and very often in close relationship with them, cooperatives and collectives of solidarity economy began to emerge from below, particularly in the fields of food and publishing. These actions, while at the beginning did not seem to bring a major change in the urban space, start to form nowdays (that are more than 100 all over Greece) networks of collective resistance and contribute to the change of the meaning of urban space.

Generally we could say that these conflicts have begun to be engraved in the collective memory, while they are giving at the same time a more radical character to urban and regional movements which they could be called urban and regional social movements, despite the controversy that surrounds the use of the term. Also new citizens movements are created which could be viewed as laboratories of another perception of the life and the movement in general. Some of them were rallied to different networks, the creation of which allows us now talk about a phase of formation of urban and regional social movements that bring forward a new discussion and new practices in relation with those of the 20th century.

The movements of the squares and the emerging Common Space

During the last years the discussion on the urban and regional social movemnts has been enriched with the notion of the so-called Common Space (Chatterton, 2010; Harvey, 2012; Hodkinson, 2012; Kotsakis, 2012; Stavrides, 2011; Tsavdaroglou, 2015 and 2016), as an interpretative approach to the recent protests, riots and uprisings shortly before and during the current global and local crisis.

Characteristic examples are the uprising in the Parisian banlieue in October and November of 2005, the Oaxaca Commune from May to December of 2006, the December 2008 uprising in Athens, the Arab Spring and the occupied Tahrir square in Cairo in 2011, the Indignados movement in plaza Puerta del Sol in Madrid, in plaza Catalunia in Barcelona and in more than one hunderd cities of Spain; and then in Syntagma square in Athens and in more than fifty cities in Greece. Then followed the London riots in August 2011, which spread in more than thirty cities in UK, along with the Occupy movement which first erupted in the Wall Street and Zuccotti park in New York in September 2011 and then was expanded in more than six hundred cities in US and during the winter of 2011-2012 in more than 82 countries and 350 cities across almost all continents, from London to Berlin, Cape Town, Santiago, Tel Aviv, Seoul and Melbourne. Thereafter, in May 2013, the Stockholm riots erupted and in June 2013 the Gezi uprising broke out in Istanbul, which spread across 67 cities of Turkey. At the same time the so-called "Brazil Spring" burst, which was launched on the occasion of the movement for free transportation and against the neoliberal urban policies (land titling of favelas, forced evictions, urban regeneration, gentrification) and intensified particularly in view of the organisation of the World Cup 2014 and the Olympic Games of 2016. Finally, followed the protests in Bulgaria in the summer of 2013, the uprising and occupation of Maidan square in Kiev in the autumn of 2013, the uprising in Bosnia-Herzegovina in the autumn and winter of 2013-1014, the so-called "umbrella movement" with the occupied street intersections in Hong Kong in the autumn of 2014.

Certainly, the above mobilisations do not form a single and homogenious category; each of them had its own unique causes, motives, characteristics and consequences, as

well as particular internal conflicts, contrasts and contradictions. However, it should be noticed that in most of these mobilisations, apart from the confrontation with the state power and the police forces, the mode of communication, the characteristics and the identities of the participants were confronted with their limits, were modified and troubled and it was pursued even ephemerally to be transformed in the emerging Common Space. The process of setting up the social movements was based on the multitude of solidarity gestures, the emotional, communicative and aesthetic interactions, through which was sought to overcome the catoptric bipolar constrasts of native-immigrant, young-old, worker-unemployed, male-female, gay-straight, expert in clashes-non expert, politicised-non politicised, white-coloured (in the case of Ferguson in 2014), residents of favelas-middle class (in the case of Brazil in 2013), Muslim women in niqab-atheist (in the case of Cairo in 2011), Jewish-Palestinian (in the case of Tel Aviv in 2011), Turkish-Kurdish, Alevi-Sunni and Kemalists-Islamists (in the case of Istanbul in 2013). In doing so, intermediate, hybrid, diagonal paths of emancipation were formed and social relations, modes of communication and procedures turning the social subjects into rebellious persons were emerged, through which the communities of social movements were constituted.

And finally?

In this context a number of questions are raised that have no easy or clear answers. What is the character of these movements? Are they all social or popular movements? How do they begin, that is, what are the causes that generate the movements? Who do they bring together? At what scale, local - global, do they focus and to whom do they target? What are their goals and what do they claim? What are the effects of the movements? Can the movements be categorised?

Obviously, this e-book does not pretend to give comprehensive answers to all of these questions. However we would like to make some comments.

The contemporary urban and regional movements that we come across in many parts of the world and with which this book looks to deal, they could be called contemporary urban and regional "social movements" within the terms set by Castells for urban movements (Castells, 1972, 1983 and 2006) or radical urban and regional

movements through another critical approach (Pickvance, 2003), enriching this term with social and ecological dimensions of a glocal (global-local) character (Koèler and Wissen, 2003), as the specific local issues of claiming are both local and global (Massey and Allen, 1984). Thus, despite the differences in the causes and effects of movements, the phenomena that arise from them acquire nowadays a special character, as they reflect global trends which interact with local peculiarities and alter radically the meaning of the space, both locally and globally.

We could not call them though "new urban and regional movements" in the Canadian - American sense of the term (Pickvance, 2003; Hamel, 1985), since most of them refuse and are not in any case invited to participate in governing bodies. Also, we could not call them exclusively grassroots movements, as in most cases they bring together many different people who are not necessarily belonging only in popular social strata. We should finally talk about the new role they acquire in the era of the so called globalisation (Hamel, Lustiger and Mayer, 2000), seeking nevertheless mainly their glocal radical character (Koèler and Wissen, 2003; Leontidou, 2010).

Also, urban and regional movements are, as already mentioned, directly correlated, not only because of the ideological influence or the exchange of practices, but often due to the spatial association of the issues in stake, as in many cases they are natural resources that know no boundaries between urban and regional space.

The new discussion and practices emerging from the contemporary movements, differentiate them from those of the 20th century. At the same time, the easier, faster and in a wider - often global - scale dissemination of the information about the burst and the demands of the movements, through the contemporary alternative networks of information and action, underlines the emergence of new forms of communication, which will be most likely these of the movements of the 21st century.

The most important thing is that the new urban and regional movements in which this book is interested are autonomous, massive and creative. They put themselves beyond a mere denial and confrontation to get in a collective creation and in radical changes of the space and everyday life. So, in these movements they come together all ages and people from different political spheres that do not know each other or have important differences between them (Zibechi, 2007). This process is done in a highly creative poetic way and it quite refers to a poetic social movement which now has

characteristics that embrace the entire city and region, not just their popular districts (Petropoulou, 2009). We could talk about social movements of creation rather than consumption of the city and the region: in these movements we will find the new poetic urban social movements (Petropoulou, 2010b) that create a new urban poetry[6] and the new poetic ecological - agrarian movements which now have – as we have seen – a regional character. The effect of all these movements in a symbolic social level will be increasingly important as long as they are engraved in the collective consciousness.

A few words about the structure and the content of the book

The book is structured in two parts. The first part includes six texts that focus on theoretical and empirical approaches of movements developed in Greece. The second part includes fifteen texts that explore theoretical issues of movement processes or focus on examining movements which have been developed internationally, and particularly in Mexico, Brazil, Argentina, Uruguay, India, Italy, Bosnia-Herzegovina and Turkey.

The article of Michalis Psimitis, entitled *Collective identities versus social exclusion: the December 2008 Greek Youth Movement*, attempts to highlight certain aspects of the identity of the youth movement in Greece, which seem appropriate for the understanding and interpretation of such collective actions of excluded people against social exclusion. The author summarises the main features of the youth movement that broke out in December 2008, analysing them through six specific aspects of collective action: massiveness, complexity and heterogeneity, decentralisation, duration and viability, age-related conflictuality, communication challenge. Michalis Psimitis argues that the concept of "collective identity" is more appropriate than others for understanding the complex interactions between different and heterogeneous groups of young people who actively participated in the uprising of December 2008. The emergence of creative, symbolic and physical interactions during this movement should, in his view, be regarded as the main factor for the formation of a collective identity that led to the formation of the youth movement.

The article of Maria Jaidopulu Vrijea, entitled *Η υπεράσπιση του βιωμένου χώρου.*

Καθημερινότητα και κοινωνικά κινήματα πόλης/περιφέρειας (The defence of the lived space. Everyday life and urban/regional social movements), attempts to approach the urban and regional social movements from the point of view of the everyday life, the latter conceived as a totality of timespaces under continuous construction. Her observations presented in the form of hypotheses focus on: a) the role of the urban and regional social movements regarding the empowerment of a lived representation of space and b) the ways in which the timespaces of mobilisations articulate and, at the same time, influence the everyday life. Maria Jaidopulu Vrijea argues that the urban and regional social movements, as expressions of the emergence of characteristics of the everyday and their transformation into an arena of collective expression and struggle, reveal the empowerment and legitimisation of different hierarchies of values and highlight the invisible cultural changes, the invisible political struggles that take place every day.

Haris Tsavdaroglou, in his article *Θεωρητικά περάσματα από τα κινήματα για το «Δικαίωμα στην Πόλη» στα κινήματα κατάληψης του «Κοινού Χώρου»: η περίπτωση της Ελλάδας την εποχή της κρίσης* (Theoretical crossings from the "Right to the City" movements to the "Occupy Common Space" movements: the case of Greece in the era of crisis), attempt a comparison of the theoretical framework of the contemporary movements with the ones of previous years, as it is delineated through the shift from the "Right to the City" to the occupation of the "Common Space". In the beginning, the paper examines the characteristics, potentialities, contradictions and limits of the social movements for the Right to the City and then the theoretical framework of the emerging Common Space and its articulation with the New Enclosures, based on the works of autonomous Marxists thinkers as well as of spatial scholars. Haris Tsavdaroglou examines the paradigm of urban commons and new enclosures in the physical-mental-social space in Greece in the time of crisis and he claims that the Common Space is in the focal point of social and political conflicts, in order to prove his thesis that the crisis can be understood as the critical time of circulation of capital vis a vis the circulation of social struggles for the control over the commons.

Alexandros Kioupkiolis and Theodoros (Theo) Karyotis, in their article *The commons in theory and practice: Self-management in contemporary Greece*, deal with the question of self-management in Greece. First they attempt a brief historical

overview of the social economy, namely the cooperatives and the corresponding policies as well as the few examples of control of production units by the workers. Then they focus on the solidarity economy that emerged during the recent years in response to the crisis and the urgent social needs, that is on the appearance of a network of self-organised collectives active in various sectors of trade, exchange, production, social services (health, education, care for the homeless, etc.), which constituted a turning point in the hitherto social economy in Greece. Attempting an assessment of these collectives, Alexandros Kioupkiolis and Theodoros (Theo) Karyotis examine in detail the examples of the cooperative coffee shop "Pagaki (Bench)" in Koukaki Athens, of the self-managed occupied factory VIOME in the periphery of Thessaloniki and of the social center "Micropolis" in the center of Thessaloniki. They argue that these contemporary experiments in the self-creation of a new social economy of the commons incorporate a distinct view for political change and social emancipation and a highly promising way of social transformation in our time.

The article of Vassilis Dalkavoukis, Manos Spyridakis and Chara Kokkinou, entitled *«Παίζουμε μπάλα για το ALTER;» ΜΜΕ και κινήσεις αλληλεγγύης στο χώρο της πόλης*, ("Shall we play some football for ALTER?" Mass media and solidarity movements within the city), focus, through an anthropological approach, on the virtualisation networks and in particular on the TV networks. The core point of their approach concerns the impact of the virtual space over the space of the city, as it is formed by the given and hierarchically structured social relations. Within this discussion, they examine the perception of the urban space in Athens, as it was rearranged through the solidarity mobilisation for the employees of the nationwide private TV channel ALTER during the period of their control over the broadcast frequency and while guarding the labour retention regime they had succeeded. Through interviews with the channel employees, Vassilis Dalkavoulis, Manos Spyridakis and Chara Kokkinou study the reshaping of the relations between them and the different experience of the space in order to investigate the importance of this project from the viewpoint of the production of an alternative social space in the city.

Elias Gianniris, in his article *The urban social movement of Open Spaces in Athens, Greece*, makes an account of the action of the open "Coordination Committee of Associations and Movements for the Protection of Open Spaces and the Quality

of Life in Athens", which was founded by delegates of local urban movements and constituted a special, for the Greek context, case of continuity of collective voluntary actions that lasted for fourteen years, from 1996 to 2010. Elias Gianniris attempts an inside analysis of the characteristics of this initiative. First, he examines the general context in which the Coordination Committee was born, its structure and direct democracy's mode of operation and then proceeds to a brief report of its activities and an assessment of its role. Finally, he considers the gradual weakening of the Committee and its silent stop during the crisis due to changing of priorities and formulates some thoughts on the prospects of urban social movements within the new conditions.

Raúl Zibechi, in his article *Una década de fábricas recuperadas. Reinventar la vida desde el trabajo* (A decade of recovered factories. Reinventing life from work), discusses the case of occupation and self-management, for more than a decade, of the recovered factories and businesses in Argentina and Uruguay. He focuses on labour movements that were not limited only to the defense of their labour and wages, but comprehensively questioned the allegiance and the system of exploitation of man by man, creating self-organised businesses from the bottom which for the first time managed to be maintained for many years. In Argentina, the majority of them (205 in 2011) were created during the crisis period between 1997 and 2002. Challenging the traditional unions and giving very serious fights, they created a wide social network, and then, after the change of the government, many of them received aid from the Ministry of Labour. Similarly in Uruguay, the occupied businesses received much larger support from the unions but did not spread as much as in Argentina. As Raúl Zibechi argues, the analysis of the above squattings leads to conclusions that comprehensively concern the labour movement and its role in times of crisis. In addition, the occupied businesses are spaces of cultural creation and innovation. They constitute spaces where a new political culture is created which questions contemporary working conditions, super profit, consumerism and accumulation of wealth, setting out foundations for another world.

The article of Lucia Scromov, entitled *El Movimento dos Trabalhadores Sem-Teto* (The Movement of Homeless Workers), refers to the history of the "without home" movement (MTST), which grew out of the action of the "without land" movement

(MST) in the cities. In 1990 the MST was one of the largest movements defending land reform in favour of family cultivation and against latifundia (large land ownerships) by conducting large land occupations. In 1996, after the police attack of Eldorado dos Carajás, the MTST began its action in the city of Sao Paulo and other cities (Roraima, Tocantins, Ceará, Rio de Janeiro). It created entire neighborhoods on the periphery of the cities (2,000-5,000 inhabitants), giving them the names of fighters who fell in the battle for freedom and socialism, and contributed to the creation of the coordination committee of the favelas "Periferia Ativa" and of the "Frente de Resistência Urbana". It then expanded its action in central areas of the city. Lucia Scromov focuses especially on the way the occupations operate, the organisation of their struggle, the role of women in the occupations and the results of the stuggles of the movement, which apart from the entire cities it has built provided with public transport and education, health and cultural facilities, it has contributed to the creation of a new concept of solidarity and dignity in the daily life. The article concludes with an interview of Jota - (João Albuquerque) - one of the creators of MTST.

Kriton Iliopoulos, in his article *Συλλογικές Αντιστάσεις στη Μεγαλούπολη του Σάο Πάουλο* (Collective resistances in the Metropolis of Sao Paulo), briefly describes the current debate on the evolution and the prospects of contemporary urban social movements in Brazil and especially in the city of Sao Paulo. He first outlines key historical developments in urban social movements and then focuses on presenting various organised collective resistances - based on material gathered through interviews with representatives of the organisations - such as those on the housing issue or the so called "urban reform" demand, the activity and reflection on the transport means, the waste management and the recycling, the resistance to the state terrorism and repression through the "criminalisation of poverty". He also addresses the role of resistance that we could call "cultural" and is associated with lifestyle, consumption, entertainment, art and ideology (Hip-Hop groups, literature of "favelas", community radio etc.). Kriton Iliopoulos argues that despite the decline in the dynamics of movements after 2000 and the phenomenon of their integration by the state or their use for subjugation instead of rebellion, as well as their weakening because of the legislation or even the violent repression, the collective organised resistances and interventions continue and even new ones are created.

Paula Soto Villagrán and Carla Helena Guzmán, in their article *Mujeres, territorio y movimientos sociales. Un análisis del caso de Atenco* (Women, land and social movements. An analysis of the case of Atenco), start from the assumption that the landmarks inscribed in a territory highlight the spatial organisation produced by specific cultures, most often in an uneven way. Thus, in the territories, power relations are constructed between the sexes, as respectively the sexes themselves produce these territories through the particular meanings they attribute to them. Within this reasoning, Paula Soto Villagrán and Karla Helena Guzmán examine the participation of women in the social movement defending the land of San Salvador Atenco from the construction of the new airport of Mexico City and a big mall. During this movement, the women developed "policies of the place" to resist the armed and sexual assaults by the military, which were entitled by the government. The history of the political actions of the women of Atenco who survived demonstrates a dual condition of social actors. On the one hand their action is presented as a part of the overall movement of Atenco (Movimiento Social del Frente de Pueblos en Defensa de la Tierra - FPDT), as an urban-regional movement, and on the other hand as a struggle for their own body which constitute a political stake for the place itself in which they live, creating in that way a complex, inseparable relationship of the "politics of the place" and the body.

The article of Beatriz García Peralta Nieto, entitled *Movimientos sociales en México y el problema de la vivienda: De la tibieza al olvido* (Social movements in Mexico and the housing problem: From the tepidity to the oblivion), begins with a brief assessment of the political situation in Mexico in 2013, which is characterised by the introduction of neoliberal urban policies. She then deals with the evolution of the contemporary social movements in Mexico, focusing particularly on the fact that they were not involved as they should in the housing issue although Mexico has a rich history of urban movements, especially after the earthquake of 1985. Beatriz García Peralta Nieto argues that since the period of the reforms of the 1990s, the housing issue was accepted as a private problem and not as a good that should be provided by social policies. Despite the large mobilisations carried out, especially in Mexico City after the earthquake of 1985 where the housing issue was a central demand of the movements, the acceptance of the housing property as a doctrine and the ways the movements adopted to claim it led to the abandonment of the social policy on housing

although the government had signed all the international agreements.

Marvi Maggio, in her article *Il diritto alla città e la pianificazione urbanistica. Proposte per Firenze, e non solo* (The right to the city and the urban planning. Proposals for Florence, and not only), using as an example the city of Florence, attempts to formulate a framework of key elements that should characterise an urban development plan which is based on the right to the city, that is a plan which will express all the social groups and allow their cooperation for its elaboration. Marvi Maggio starts with a critical analysis of recent urban transformations in the city of Florence. These transformations are based on the requirements of the economic development and the tourism industry, as well as on the neo-liberal policies and deregulation of urban planning that have as a result the privatisation of the public space and property. Subsequently she develops the main directions of the plan she proposes: the objectives to be set with the most crucial to break the logic of real estate development that underlies the dominant urban planning, the problems that are raised and the corresponding recommendations, as well as the method to be followed. She concludes her article with the measures that should be taken immediately which follow three axes: 1. The policies and standards that have a direct impact on the land uses and functions; 2. the allowed land uses in order to ensure equitable diffusion of the environmental quality, services and culture; and 3. the re-discovery and promotion of public and collective forms of land ownership and management of public affairs and the concession of space to social creativity.

Cristina Mattiucci and Roberta Nicchia, in their article *La rivendicazione del welfare space a Napoli* (The claim of the welfare space in Naples), analyse the public space management modes in Naples and critically examine the role of the urban movements. Thereafter they focus on the contemporary squats of historic public buildings that aimed to social use and in opposition to the pressure exerted on their privatisation. Their analysis problematise the discourse on the abandonment of the welfare policy through austerity policies, the availability of local government historical heritage and the grassroots actions for the right to the city. Cristina Mattiucci and Roberta Nicchia re-read the history of social conflicts in Naples, observing the changes in the relationship of urban movements with the institutions. In contrast to the previous years squated buildings (self-managed social centers), where there was a totalitarian

control of the space from the collectives who occupied them, the recent squats opened a dialogue with the City Council in order to claim the possibility of using the public facilities and the self-management of the commons by many collectives. Thus, the public property became the place where the demand for the welfare of the civil society is expressed through the reclaim of the space as "common". The article confirms the recent works of Manuel Castells (2012), which underline the importance of territory and public space in the actions of social movements, emphasising that the media of information and technology are not themselves sufficient to create collective subjects.

The article of Aimilia Voulvouli, entitled *Η διαμαρτυρία ενάντια στην Τρίτη Γέφυρα του Βοσπόρου: Κομμάτι μιας Πόλης, κομμάτι ενός κινήματος* (The protest against the Third Bosphorus Bridge: A part of a town, a part of a movement), is an anthropological study of a grassroots mobilisation in a neighborhood of Istanbul. The members of the movement called "Initiative of the Arnavutköy District" (Arnavutköy Semt Girişimi) state that their reaction to the construction of the third bridge concern the destructive consequences on the natural and cultural environment of the region and the life of residents. Voulvouli starts with a brief historical review of the Turkish Republic evolution and then she also briefly examines the development of Istanbul from the first years of the establishment of the Turkish state to its transformation into a global city. Then she focuses on the specific mobilisation, arguing that it can be seen as a consequence of the changes undertaken because of the economic and cultural globalisation. It forms therefore part of a framework of wider social movements that could be characterised with the term "globalisation from below" and concern various social and societal issues that constitute inherent parts of global cities as a result of political choices which in this case affect Turkey in general and Istanbul in particular. The article focuses especially on the general democratic - political demands emerging from this urban movement, which transform it, according to Valvouli, into a more general urban social movement a few years before the outbreak of the movement of the squares.

Ana Vilenica and Dražen Crnomat, in their article *We are hungry in three languages: the February urban social movements in Bosnia and Herzegovina*, conceptualise the February 2014 uprising in Bosnia and Herzegovina as a new focal point of protest in Europe, which opens anew the question of the future. They describe analytically how the uprising started with workers protesting in the north-eastern, proletarian and

formerly socialist city of Tuzla; after clashes with the police culminated in protestors setting institutional buildings on fire it spread all over the country, involving many bigger and smaller cities. According to the authors, the protestors who blocked the streets reclaimed the public space and focused no longer on national but instead on socio-economic issues; moreover they articulated their demands though plenums – people's assemblies. Ana Vilenica and Dražen Crnomat aim to analyse the emergence of the February urban social movement through the background of its causes, focusing on the violent transformation from the leftovers of socialism to ethno-capitalism in Bosnia and Herzegovina as an ex-Yugoslav republic and the emergence of the new country as a state(less) colony on the periphery of Europe. Their approach is based on analytical reflections and contextualisation of the February events during active involvement in the events that shaped the everyday life in the days of the uprising.

Pierre Hamel, in his article *Mouvement social, une notion désuète? Les nouvelles formes de l'action collective et le renouvellement des perspectives théoriques*, (Social movement, an outdated concept? The new forms of collective action and the renewal of theoretical perspectives), approaches theoretically the concept of social movement and collective action. He begins his analysis with a brief reference to the different research traditions on social movements, and poses a series of questions related to the hitherto usage of the term and its usefulness and suitability in the contemporary framework. He aims to investigate whether and to what extent the concept of social movement is outdated. In doing so he reviews the use of the term by researchers in the decades 1960s-1970s and then he focuses on the theoritical conflicts in the decades of 1980s up to mid-1990s. He also examines the use of the concept on the study of urban movements and he briefly develops the case of Montreal and the evolution of urban movements from the 1960s until today. The article concludes with a reference to the issue of collective action that interferes at institutional level. Pierre Hamel argues that the concept of social movement remains one of the most controversial and contains significant restrictions; consequently it can not express the whole of contemporary collective action, especially if we take into account the ambiguous nature of social practices that are involved in the formal institutional level.

Myrto Tsilimpounidi, in her article *A Provocation on Social Kinetics*, recognises that in the current era of extreme austerity, crisis and social uprisings, it becomes

more and more evident that the neoliberal order has reached a tipping point in its inevitable churn of growth, consumption and profit. Cracks are now manifesting themselves, and it is precisely at this point that radical scholarship can draw attention to the interplay of state oppression, hierarchies and capital. This opens up a bigger question related to the public role of intellectuals (and academics) in the milieu of crisis and rapid social change. In light of this, Myrto Tsilimpounidi puts forward a redefinition of categories of meaning in relation to social change. In particular she proposes that we should augment our understanding of social kinetics not merely as "movement", but also as "stillness" – or stasis.

Maddalena Gretel Cammelli, in her article *Des semences à la liberté, et la tentative d'institutionnalisation des résistances. Sur deux mouvements paysans indiens qui placent les semences au cœur de leur lutte* (From the seeds to freedom, and the attempt to institutionalise resistance. On two Indian peasant movements which place the seeds in the heart of their struggle), describes the Save the Seeds Movement (Beej Bachao Andolan) - active in the Himalayan district of Uttarakhand since the 1980s - using ethnographic elements and its sociological and historical roots. The paper focuses on the notion and political impact of Autonomy, thus highlighting the important role of seeds as an economic element but also as a key factor in the organisation of the farmers' life. The field research of Maddalena Gretel Cammelli reveals also the relationship between this collective of farmers and the more well-known organisation Navdanya, active as well in Uttarakhand. Thus the importance that the different seeds represent for the Beej Bachao Andolan and Navdanya becomes evident, delineating their different struggles and forms of resistance. The article concludes with a comparative analysis between the two movements, leading to a theoretical analysis of the relationship between power and freedom, between economic reforms and resistance to them.

The article of Raúl Zibechi, entitled *Rebelión en la Amazonia brasileña* (Rebellion in the Brazilian Amazon), discusses the uprising of 80,000 workers in large development projects in Amazon (hydroelectric dams, thermoelectric plants and oil industries), especially in Jirau, in Porto Velho and Rio Madera in the Brazil-Bolivia borders. These projects are constructed in the poorest areas of northern Brazil under the Growth Acceleration Program (PAC) in order to serve urbanised areas,

displacing indigenous communities. The almost one million employees in these firms work in a hostage situation; however they have internet access, knowledge and political conciousness that gave them the opportunity to rise up through self-organised forms of struggle, surpassing the official labour unions that stood on the side of the employers at the moment of the rebellion. As Raúl Zibechi pinpoints the main issues that were raised by this movement are associated not only with salary issues but also with the workers dignity in their daily life. The opposition to the attempt of transforming Amazon into a commodity was limited until recently only in certain ecological and indigenous movements. The Jirau uprising seems to create a surprise as it surpassed the labour unions and parliament parties, which consider the development program as very important. Finally it raised as central the question "energy and water to whom and why?".

The article of Alberto Betancourt Posada, entitled *El Zapatismo: Una revolución de las formas de comunicación política. Su utopía viable: la formación de una comunidad dialógica* (Zapatismo: A revolution in the forms of political communication. Its viable utopia: the formation of a dialogic community), explores the innovations that were introduced by the Zapatistas' movement in the political communication sphere, perceived by the author as a communicative interaction among different social actors, during which the power relations between them are reproduced or modified. Alberto Betancourt Posada argues that the uprising of the indigenous communities of Chiapas in Mexico brought a profound change in the actors, in the forms and in the content of communication policy in Mexico, as it highlighted the contribution of indigenous movements in contemporary political thinking, it demonstrated the need of recognition and utilisation of our cultural and linguistic diversity (ie our multiculturalism), it renewed the political types, it highlighted new forms of communication, it contributed to shape new forms of dialogue between the state and the civil society and it suggested the remaking of the Democracy with the transformation of the later into a large "dialogical community".

Christy (Chryssanthi) Petropoulou, in her article *Derecho a la ciudad y movimientos sociales contemporáneos – Por un movimiento social urbano-regional… ¿poético? Desde Nezahualcoyotl al mundo*, (Right to the city and contemporary social movements - For an urban-regional social... poetic movement? From the Nezahualcoyotl to the

world), focuses on the poetic of the urban and regional movements. She considers that this poetic can creatively contribute to the communication among very different types of antisystemic movements. First she examines the power relations and the role of social movements, the right to the city and the urban-regional movements. Then she presents a collective of poets in the city of Nezahualcóyotl in Mexico, focusing on the art of the neighborhood as opposed to the art in the neighborhood. Christy Petropoulou concludes indicating the characteristics of the movements which we could call as urban and regional poetic social movements, that is: the independence from political parties and religious organisations, the participatory democratic organisation, the ecological sensitivity, the coexistence and self-organisation in daily consumption with the aim of self-sufficiency, the critical stance to the patriarchal societies and sexist practices, the recognition of diversity, sensitivity and different personal time as an important mean of symbiosis, the open relationship with other collectives, the use of a poetic comprehensible speech in the communication with the world, the artistic practices that do not just engage but are born in struggles, in cities and regions, and finally the recognition that small everyday things in life can play an important role in collective and social struggles.

NOTES

1. As for example E. Portaliou, L. Leontidou, K.-I. Kavoulakos, I. Gianiris, S. Stavridis, A. Afouxenidis and others. See the bibliography of the introduction.

2. https://aoratespoleis.wordpress.com/

3. According to Castells (1983), a movement can alter the meaning of urban space if it applies: active practice of claiming, common culture and policy of self-management; collective consumption, awareness of its existence as an urban social movement; relation with the society, the media, the parties, etc., through groups to whom the specific role has been assigned by the movement; autonomy and independence from political parties.

4. "The very structure of the technology is not the only driving force of urbanisation". See Castells, 1972: 389.

5. See the comments of Bourdieu, 1993.

6. For the term of urban poetry see Sansot, 1997.

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