



Partecipazione e Conflitto

<http://siba-ese.unisalento.it/index.php/paco>

ISSN: 1972-7623 (print version)

ISSN: 2035-6609 (electronic version)

PACO, Issue 14 (1) 2021: 458-479

DOI: 10.1285/i20356609v14i1p458

Published 15 March, 2021

Work licensed under a Creative Commons Attribution-Non commercial-Share alike 3.0 Italian License

RESEARCH ARTICLE

Participation and Alternative Economic Practice: Discourses, Identities and Imaginaries of Change

Henar Pascual

University of Valladolid

Juan Carlos Guerra

University of Valladolid

ABSTRACT: In the context of economies referred to as diverse or different, Alternative Economic Practices (AEP) are actions that, alternative to capitalism in varying degrees, aim to fulfil people's basic needs. The Great Recession of 2008 gives a new incentive to their theoretical and empirical analysis as a result of the new meaning given to alternative economic and political spaces, particularly in an area hit hard by the crisis – Southern Europe. This paper examines an aspect hardly represented in academic literature: the profile of the social basis of alternative economic practices and its operational significance.

By means of the frameworks provided by institutional economic geography and contributions made by the theory on urban social movements as well as social mobilisation, it explores the characteristics of the social basis of Spanish AEP using that which prior studies highlighted from the profile of the participants in Greek practices as a point of comparison and reference. We suggest that the contextual conditions determine the attributes of the key actors and the strategies to challenge the existing social institutions and structures and mobilise the social forces to support collective projects that contradict the dominant relations. The result is that of nominally identical AEP, belonging to a common alternative repertoire yet composed of social bases with clearly distinct profiles. This means that both are built upon different values, discourses, motivations and identities, leading to their varied geographical significance and potential to transform.

KEYWORDS: Alternative Economic Practices, Greece, social basis, social movement, Spain.

CORRESPONDING AUTHOR: juancarlos.guerra@uva.es

1. Introduction

The literature on alternative economic practices (hereinafter AEP) is abundant, diverse in approaches and rich in disciplinary connections (Sánchez-Hernández, 2019). It has covered their theoretical definition, description (values, discourses, functioning and governance models) and economic, political, social and spatial significance through different prisms and theoretical frameworks. However, it is rare to find empirical and practical studies that identify the actors promoting the practices beyond an initial outline or studies that profile the social bases which underpin AEP; or studies that, concluding the analysis, re-read them based on their participants.

We believe there is a considerable absence of these kinds of approaches. In this respect, we argue that the actors and social bases of AEP must be identified given that the socio-territorial contexts in which they emerge and the personal microcontexts in which they develop determine that, apparently similar, collective forms of organisation can have different levels of significance, approaches and political projects. Using the Great Recession of 2008 as a time reference and the wave of protests that its political handling triggered from 2010, we compare the relations established between the social basis and the profile of the alternative practices in two culturally close countries, Greece and Spain, to subsequently profile the social basis of the latter in greater detail.

From a theoretical and methodological perspective, we take two approaches: on the one hand, that of institutional economic geography and, on the other, that of the theory of urban social movements (hereinafter USM) and of social mobilisation. The former indicates that the institutions are informal patterns of social interaction that respond to the mutual expectations and values of the actors involved in each specific situation. The second highlights, by means of rich and abundant theoretical and empirical research, the contextual value of the analysis of the social basis.

2. Methodological strategy for empirical research into the actors and the social bases of AEP in Spain

Research papers regarding the actors and social bases of AEP form part of a wider project whose objective is the multidimensional analysis of the spaces and AEP in Spain.¹ The scope of the project focuses on eight Spanish cities. The sample selected covers the Spanish urban hierarchy levels (Table 1) in order to extend the map of research available, dominated up to then by work on larger cities (Madrid and Barcelona). In addition, the cities selected are located in different regions (inland Spain and north and Mediterranean coasts), in order to avoid too much cultural affinity in the sample (Sánchez-Hernández and Glückler, 2019).

¹ “Espacios y prácticas económicas alternativas para la construcción de la resiliencia en las ciudades españolas” (PRESECAL), prepared between January 2016 and June 2019. Spanish National Programme for Research, Development and Innovation. Ministry of Economy and Finance.

Table 1 - Population of the cities included in the research

City	Population (2019)
Seville	689,434
Zaragoza	664,938
Alicante	329,988
Valladolid	299,715
Oviedo	220,301
Salamanca	144,436
León	125,317
Alcalá de Guadaíra	75,106

Spanish National Statistics Institute Municipal Register of Inhabitants.

Of the extensive range of experiences identified as *alternative*, those that lack a headquarters or a regular meeting place were ruled out to put the focus on local AEP that involved on-site operation. This enabled the direct observation of their activities and the identification of their institutions, norms and organisational mechanisms linked to direct participation; facilitated the task of comparing their number, size, diversity and interrelations at different geographical scales; and made it possible to chart some hypothetical local alternative circuits, composed of networks of complementary AEP, positioned at different stages of the cycle and capable of defining a local economy.

Of the repertoire of local AEP, the most frequent categories were selected, with a presence in a higher number of cities and which represent all of the phases of the economic circuit; further additions were self-managed social centres, usual meeting point of many people linked to these AEP.

The research method coordinates a series of techniques that make it possible to identify the actors, objectives and discourses of these experiences. It is a multi-technical collaborative method that groups together different tools for gathering qualitative information and data.

The semi-structured interview was the main methodological strategy for the qualitative research. In total, 71 interviews were conducted with members and representatives of 67 AEP from the eight cities. The files resulting from the transcription of the interviews were processed using the software Nvivo 11 Pro (QSR International, 2015), in order to categorise, organise and prioritise the information. Before reviewing the texts, the primary codes were formulated, based on the questions guide as well as on the results obtained in the questionnaires and the field observations. The qualitative information was processed using thematic analysis – particularly useful for exploring the self-representations of the collectives by means of discourse, as well as for examining the perspectives of the participants of AEP – and the majority of the qualitative information was obtained by means of this analysis (Moro and Lamarque, 2019).

In addition to the information obtained in the interviews, more was contributed by the questionnaires conducted with the participants of AEP. The quantitative information for this research results from the table of data from 468 questionnaires for an estimated total of 5,261 participants in the 67 AEP.

Lastly, the multi technical nature of this research is completed with participant observation in the social spaces of AEP. This observation was replicated in the virtual spaces by means of the systematic review of the websites and social media of the collectives analysed.

3. AEP and their social basis: a theoretical approach

The notion of practice is used in economic geography to designate specific actions that serve to reproduce the values, attitudes and objectives of the economic actors, whether individual or collective (Jones and Murphy, 2011). In turn, certain practices, immersed in different degrees of alternation to capitalism and whose ultimate objective is the common good by fulfilling people's basic needs, sometimes come to form a coherent set of experiences with economic functions, whether the production, distribution or consumption of goods and services. In the context of economies referred to as diverse, different or alternative (Gibson-Graham, 2008), academic literature recognises a wide and growing catalogue of practices, some of which have a long tradition, to which it attributes the aforementioned characteristics: social and local currencies, time banks, markets of producers, consumption groups, urban community allotments, co-housing and collective housing, swap networks and markets, free shops, local credit cooperatives, seed banks, collaborative educational communities, fair trade, free software communities, cooperative repair workshops, etc. Alongside the criticism of capitalism as a connector, prior studies identify other common traits in this repertoire of economic practices: rotating and equal completion of tasks required for its functioning; direct democracy and deliberation in decision-making, reciprocity in the exchanges that arise among them; prevalence of voluntary and local work as a preferred level of intervention (Berndt & Boeckler, 2011; Gibson-Graham, 2008, 2014; Jones & Murphy, 2011)

The incentive for their theoretical and empirical analysis, as a result of the new meaning given to alternative economic and political spaces with the Great Recession of 2008 (Fuller et al., 2010), focuses on varied objects of academic interest, some of a wide radius such as the context and degree of the alternative nature of the practices, and others of a more operational nature, such as the territorial conditions that facilitate their development as well as, to a lesser extent and in many cases within other objects of study, the characteristics of their social bases.

Regarding the latter, contributions have focused substantially on the study of the social basis of Alternative Food Networks (AFN) and highlighted aspects central to understanding the discourse and values of AEP as well as their potential and limitations. In their research on decision-making processes, Pelletier et al. (1999) for the north of the state of New York and Allen (2010) in different cases of the United States, highlighted how the differences in terms of the class, race, gender and origin of the participants widen or limit the values they work with. Equally, other papers also focused on the United States have highlighted certain common traits in AEP: prevalence of the white population, high levels of education, full-time employees and a higher than average income level (Nicolosi et al., 2018); some regularities that, for example, are reproduced in the Italian food initiatives of the Piedmont (Corsi and Novelli, 2018). In the French case, Ros (2012) highlights the relationship established between militants of the alternative economy and their prior participation in other areas of activism from which they transfer value systems and organisational models. Lastly, authors such as Ozanne and Ballantine (2010) highlighted the prominence of women in certain practices that form part of the collaborative economy and with profiles geared towards care, such as shared toy libraries in New Zealand.

Many of these traits are equally present in activism with varied objects and objectives. In fact, AEP have been encompassed within the extensive world of grassroots community initiatives such as molecular manifestations of social movements with a wider urban profile (Ferguson and Lovell, 2015; Nicolosi et al., 2018; Suriñach, 2017). If the evolution of the USM in recent decades is taken as a reference, discussions regarding their definition, characterisation, organisational strategies and

connection with other social and political movements provide a rich theoretical background to characterise AEP (Martínez, 2003).

USM have experienced a change in the value of the ideologies within them. The unifying influence of Marxism that characterised them in the 1960s and 1970s has been replaced by approaches focused on unique problems and by an aggregate of ideological fragments that is more free and flexible than the former (Rio, 2016). In turn, each ideological cycle/protest cycle in which the USM evolve involves innovations in their organisation and action (Della Porta, 2017; Romanos, 2018). Whereas May 1968 led to non-authoritarian principles emerging and imagination being incorporated into protest movements, those of the end of the 20th Century identify with mobilisations of a wide spectrum, coordination between different movements, trust between activists and the construction of cross-sectional identities (Della Porta and Mosca, 2007). For its part, the wave of indignation that began in the decade of 2010 adds the value that the emotions acquire in the motivational discourses, the occupation of the public space as a form of action, the relationship between financial crisis and democratic crisis and the shift towards new participatory models, among which the deliberative ones appear preferential (Castells, 2012; Tejerina et al., 2013; Gonick, 2016). In fact, while they reproduce the liquid forms of organisation that currently characterise the USM, AEP are a good example of the meaning that the sum of ideological aggregates plays in their current identity. The practices combine approaches of diverse origin (decline, social and solidarity-based economy, economy for the common good, etc.) and varied phenomena that implement them in practice (community economy, collaborative economy, responsible consumption, etc.) (Suriñach, 2017).

In combination with the foregoing, research regarding USM and the theory of social mobilisation tested a strategy for approaching the social basis that can be transferred to the analysis of AEP: the need to tease apart certain microcontexts (Melucci, 1999; Almeida, 2019). Key among these include biographical availability, defined as the capacity of individuals to dedicate time and resources to collective action (Pickvance, 1985; Oliver, 2015; McAdam et al., 1988) – often connected to the type of work available (Orum, 1974) –; the experience retained after participation in other movements or past initiatives (); political ideology and the value systems of the participants, as well as the group attachments and collective identities modelled within social movements (Portos and Masullo, 2017; Melucci, 1988 and 1989).

Transferring this disciplinary approach to AEP makes it possible to overcome their characterisation based on a universal and homogenous repertoire. In contrast, without negating the existence of cross-cutting elements, much of the content and characteristics of the practices have a contextual nature. The conditions introduced by the profile of the social basis superimpose a common metalanguage. These elements make it possible to conclude that the modalities in which AEP develop, the operational content they have, the economic experience they provide and the meaning of their impact depend on the profile of the people who join them and on the sociodemographic, time and political context in which the latter have built their identity as members of a community initiative or of a social movement. The repertoire of practices is nominally homogenous; their content is contextual and contingent.

4. Economic crisis and alternative practices in Southern Europe

The factors that explain the Great Recession of 2008 and their economic effects have been widely debated and analysed from different perspectives and approaches. It is not the aim of this article to focus on them but it is worth remembering that the economic crisis and the drastic austerity and fiscal discipline measures imposed by the political authorities and European financial bodies triggered an acute social crisis. The severity of the adjustment policies triggered and intensified a process of structural change previously initiated in the context of neoliberal globalisation, characterised by the deregulation of markets, growing labour flexibility or the reconsideration of the feasibility of the welfare state.

In Southern European countries, the debt crisis reached unprecedented levels after 2008 and since 2010 the austerity policies resulting from intervention processes undermined the pillars of welfare and provoked a genuine social cataclysm. The intensity of the crisis and of the adjustment measures that accompanied it was not the same for these countries. In exchange for loans, Greece and Portugal signed Memorandums of Understanding with very detailed indications about the austerity programmes and the political instruments required to implement them. Italy and Spain, despite not having entered into extraordinary loan procedures, were forced to adhere to strict measures to reduce public expenditure, although the European institutions did not explicitly impose the specific policies. In any case, the labour markets generally deteriorated in the four countries in the form of wage devaluation, employment instability and destruction as well as long-term unemployment, with the consequent loss of purchasing power by the middle classes and groups with lower income levels. The sharp increase in income inequality resulting from these processes was accompanied by a drastic tightening of the financing capacity of social protection systems and the general weakening of basic social services that seriously affected collective rights and contributed to the impoverishment and exclusion of extensive social groups from the network of public coverage (Guillén et al., 2016; Della Porta, 2018).

The economic and social crisis led to a marked drop in the general trust that citizens had in institutions, governments and the political class in general, resulting in extensive social rejection of the neoliberal order and strong questioning of the hegemonic model in all of its dimensions (political, institutional, environmental, in relation to energy or food and so on). A huge wave of demonstrations and protests took place on the streets of the main cities in Southern Europe and culminated in the Occupy movement in public squares (Rossio, Syntagma, Puerta del Sol and others). The camps, which had become new symbols of the expression of social discontent, united and facilitated the connection between highly mobilised sectors and depoliticised sectors composed of people who individually, as a family or socially had reached a breaking point in their level of unrest and decided to become involved in these mobilisations (Errejón, 2011; Subirats, 2013; Lois and Piñeira, 2015).

The *occupations* of the public squares marked a key transformation in the patterns of response to the crisis, as the mobilisations spread across several cities and the neighbourhoods of large urban areas and decentralised in open and popular local assemblies. These settings, which had become experimental laboratories in the public space where forms of deliberative democracy and collective learning processes are tested and practised, shaped collective action communities. The networks of activists gave structure to the *indignados*, or 'outraged', movement and fuelled a much longer cycle of anti-austerity mobilisations with a wide and very diverse repertoire of actors and strategies, linked to specific sectoral demands (health, education, pensions, social benefits, right to housing and others). The multiple interactions between the different collectives also escalated to the demand

for elections with sights set on the victory of a hypothetical *new left* involving reform proposals and drastic change in the system (Martínez and García, 2015; Della Porta et al., 2017).

This scenario of global crisis, social mobilisation and the urban sprawl of the assembly dynamics promotes the gestation of multiple connections to build a counter-hegemonic discourse, rethink alternative forms of organising everyday life and embark on collective projects that contradict the dominant relationships.

5. Critical response initiatives and resilient alternative practices in Spain and Greece: some common elements

The collective responses of citizens to the economic and political threats, to the weakening of social rights and to multiple inequalities manifest in alternative forms of economic and non-economic practices promoted by citizen initiatives and community groups (Kousis and Paschou, 2017). As open communities that arose or strengthened during the crisis, anti-austerity movements showed vast capacity for creating their own opportunities and resources and became a laboratory for experimenting everyday self-organisation and mutual assistance practices (Petropoulou, 2013; Huke et al., 2015; Arampatzi, 2017). These critical response initiatives refer to the concept of collective social resistance (Maguire, and Hagan, 2007; Keck and Sakdapolrak, 2013; Hall and Lamont, eds. 2013) to tackle the threats of neoliberal policies, build participatory democracy, develop common empowerment and build autonomous spaces (Hughes, 2015).

The alternative forms of resilience (re)emerge with force in the regions of Southern Europe, where the effects of the crisis are more profound, and they develop in the interstices of the capitalist urban space (Leontidou, 2010; Kousis and Paschou, 2017; Sánchez-Hernández, 2019). In this regard, it is interesting to note the link between the emergence of these types of practices and the social consequences of the crisis. The results of the LIVEWHAT project reveal how, on the basis of a sample of over 4,200 alternative action organisations in nine European countries, there is a substantial concentration of the number of initiatives during the crisis period for the countries most affected by its impact, including more than half of the practices analysed in Spain, Greece, France, Italy and Poland. In contrast, alternative action organisations in countries not substantially affected by the crisis are relatively older and more institutionalised given that most of them were established in the eighties and nineties. In fact, in many European countries it is possible to identify a wide range of collaborative economy practices, which act as experimental laboratories for social innovation, and that came before the 2008 crisis (Arcidiacono et al., 2018).

In this regard, we will focus our attention on the two reference countries – Spain and Greece – where AEP are the subject of increasing attention by social researchers. Noteworthy papers in this regard are those by Dalakoglou (2012), Petropoulou, (2013) Rakopoulos (2013 and 2014), Sotiropoulos and Bourikos (2014); Arampatzi (2017), Calvário and Callis (2017) Papadaki and Kalogeraki (2018) and Loukakis (2018) for the Greek case, and contributions by Conill et al., (2012), Fernández-Casadevante (2013), as well as Sánchez-Hernández (2019) for the Spanish case.

The academic literature review defines AEP as resilient actions geared towards non-capitalist imaginaries and underscores common characteristic elements. Firstly, with regard to the contexts that promote their creation and diffusion. In Spain, the hatching of AEP cannot be exclusively associated with the impact of the economic crisis but the majority of them emerged from 2011 to 2015, co-

inciding with the cycle of political, economic and social activism generated by the 15-M anti-austerity mobilisations and the *indignados*, or 'outraged', movement (Sánchez-Hernández, 2019). Consequently, although these are not new initiatives and they do not constitute an exclusive response to the crisis, the economic recession triggered a new emergence of alternative practices. In a context similar to the Spanish one, informal self-help networks arose in Greece from the dispersal of practices in the post-Syntagma period of occupation in 2011. These counteracted the impact of the austerity policies by mobilising in relation to matters such as the distribution of basic goods and being very active in more extensive campaigns in response to the right to housing, as well as taxes, mortgages and evictions.

A second common aspect is that they are creative resistances of an eminently urban nature as, not in vain, the cities assume a key role in the development of collective anti-austerity movements and actions. Athens and Thessaloniki in Greece, and Madrid and Barcelona in Spain are where the thickest fabrics of grassroots community initiatives were weaved, which does not exclude their presence in medium-sized cities and small urban nuclei. The local relations between alternative initiatives, constituted spontaneously, informally and creatively, form a local urban space where resources, knowledge and experiences are shared and new social connections as well as community forms are shaped that are capable of generating micro-transformations which provide the urban space with new meanings, contribute to the resilience of the cities and discursively undermine neoliberal rationality (Sánchez-Hernández, 2019; Sánchez-Hernández and Glückler, 2019; Arampatzi, 2017; Leontidou, 2014; Subirats and García-Bernardos, 2015; Llobera, 2013; Blanco et al., 2015).

Thirdly, the concept of alternative forms of resilience simultaneously encompasses the whole range of conceptual and theoretical perspectives as well as citizen practices. The diversity of objectives stands out alongside the repertoire of alternative practices by means of which the citizens collectively respond to these challenges. The list of solidarity-based structures and alternative actions that have unfolded over the last decade in Spain and Greece includes the non-monetary exchange of products and services such as swap markets, free bazaars, markets based on social currency and time banks. There has also been a rapid spreading of alternative networks of production and critical consumption such as the collectives that practise agriculture sustained by the community and agroecological consumption groups, networks that avoid the intermediary in the production and distribution of food and the cooking collectives that provide meals and raise awareness of nutritional matters, free of charge. Together with these local practices there emerge citizen initiatives for housing, squatter settlements that seek another form of everyday life for the participants of such, cooperatives for the supply of social services, shared schools, community clinics, labour collectives that aim for types of work established on the basis of a solidarity-based relationship as well as spontaneous actions of resistance and reproduction of cultural knowledge in self-managed social centres (Dalakoglou 2012; Petropoulou, 2013; Kousis and Paschou, 2017; Arampatzi, 2017; Hughes, 2015; Rubio-Pueyo, 2016).

Lastly, it is interesting to highlight that in both countries, these collective forms of action host diverse political approaches and cultures: neocapitalist or transformation alternatives that work with reform-oriented and less critical guidelines; opposition or anti-capitalist alternatives that aspire to eradicate capitalism and call for social change by expanding de-mercantilised spaces and creating non-capitalist spaces of power (Holloway 2010); and surpassing or post-capitalist alternatives that aim to build autonomous mutual assistance spaces with identities and imaginaries of strong and ideologically committed social movements (Kousis and Paschou, 2017; Conill et al., 2012; Sánchez-Hernández, 2019; Pascual and Guerra, 2019).

6. The social composition of AEP in Spain and in Greece: identification of the microcontexts

Despite the similarities observed, the compared perspective shows the presence of differential components that are central to understanding the most profound sense of the citizen response initiatives. The key aspects that determine such divergences can be found in the specific microcontexts for the promotion of these collective actions, and for the progressive recruitment and aggregation of individuals to AEP (Almeida, 2019).

Contributions by Rakopoulos (2014), Petropoulou (2013), Kousis and Paschou (2017), Calvário and Callis (2017), Arampatzi (2017) and Sotiropoulos and Bourikos (2014) for the case of Greece reveal that the majority of the collectives examined are initiatives created by citizens in the public sphere to respond to a collective need and offer alternative ways of tackling everyday challenges related mainly to urgent needs (housing, food, health, clothing, education). They are resistance movements from below in a scenario charged with social tension and they serve as "mechanisms for cushioning" against the collapse of public services.

Among the most extensive collective forms of organisation, the informal and anti-intermediary food distribution networks stand out, which began to operate in 2010 and that extend throughout the country, particularly in the large cities of Athens and Thessaloniki. From the perspective of biographic availability, the social bases are composed of people with unstructured working routines and relative availability of time, which facilitates their participation. The participants are social groups with medium-low income: young people with formal unstable jobs and informal jobs, students, the unemployed and the retired. There is also notable participation by people of all ages linked to leftist political movements and informal urban movements that took place in Greece in prior periods, focused on the struggles against socio-spatial inequalities, environmental deterioration and the privatisation of public spaces.

The responses that have arisen in the neighbourhoods and cities of Greek metropolitan areas aim to deal with the need for the social reproduction of impoverished groups, resist exclusion, fight against xenophobic trends and experiment with alternative forms of organisation of social and economic relations. Faced with assistance-based approaches by other social actors, initiatives such as the Time Bank and the Solidarity-based Network of Exarcheia or the RAME cooperative, defy the meaning of charity as unidirectional support for vulnerable groups to adopt a critical and participatory nature involving the beneficiaries in the networks, instead of being passive receivers of goods and services. This radical difference from other types of citizen participation relates to the idea of coproduction posited by Ostrom (1996) and can contribute to the current debate on the participation of fragile actors in service coproduction activities (Gheduzzi et al., 2020). Reciprocal relationships and close connections between the people involved are therefore developed and the empowering aspect of solidarity as a means to activate and train the subjects of the support is reinforced, thus avoiding the risk of being stigmatised as typical receivers of state social assistance programmes. In this regard, the microcontexts relating to social links, organisational proximity and prior experience in other movements identify with low income urban communities that share resources for survival by means of a process of aggregation of new individuals who interact with activists with a long-standing history of political commitment and social mobilisation.

In addition, solidarity-based urban spaces reveal that these spatially located practices also act as places for activism and political struggle as they aim to extend the scope of these activities beyond

the exchange of goods and services, involve people in non-capitalist relationships and start to imagine radically different modes of economic and social interaction (Bosi and Zamponi, 2015). Therefore, for example, anti-intermediary food distributions are interpreted as a symbolic "battlefield" to tear down the neoliberal agenda and open up a path towards a radical transformation of the agrifood system and the economy as a whole (Calvário and Callis, 2017). The identity of the participant is thus reinforced with the political experience of the participation, and the aggregation of individuals to these experimentation spaces contributes towards strengthening individual and collective political commitment.

Compared with Greece, the profile of the social bases that sustain AEP in Spain is very different, as is the very orientation and the sense of these initiatives. In this case, it cannot be said that AEP are directly related to the citizens who face the difficulties of the crisis and austerity policies. The crisis has a tremendous impact on the lives of many people and has affected their attitudes by reinforcing their commitment to the search for alternatives that transform production, distribution and consumption. Their aim is to tackle a multitude of existential and governance problems in a resilient manner. They function as social engagement and participation spaces based on trust, reciprocity and mutual assistance but they are rarely geared towards fulfilling urgent basic needs or aimed at social groups who are impoverished or in a situation of particular vulnerability (Pascual and Guerra, 2019).

They are also not, strictly speaking, spaces of political debate and confrontation. The more politically oriented groups experienced a phase of high activity and growing support when the anti-austerity movements in Spain had a greater peak and the camps and assemblies proliferated. However, this trend does not continue afterwards. Those mobilisations planted the seed for many practices but this does not necessarily mean a trend towards alternative resilience and political struggle and they do not show an ambition to form part of a political project or a social movement with greater scope (Pascual and Guerra, 2019).

Consequently, the papers published suggest that in Greece, the collectives at the forefront of AEP identify with the social groups most punished by the crisis, are geared towards tackling urgent basic needs and involve the most vulnerable and impoverished groups in their activity. In addition, the empowering nature of these forms of collective solidarity plant the seed for new non-capitalist political imaginaries with the ambition of promoting a radical social change by means of potentially emancipatory economic alternatives.

In Spain, the profile of the actors is notably far from these coordinates, which in turn determines the attitudinal factors, the profound motivations of their protagonists, the self-representations of these collectives and the perspectives of the participants of AEP.

7. The social basis of AEP in Spain: profiling the protagonists

Exploring the interviews and surveys conducted makes it possible to examine the relevant personal micro-contexts both for the characterisation of the social basis of the Spanish AEP and for the understanding of the collective action that unfolds in them, and of the mechanisms that facilitate their reproduction over time. These central aspects are the biographic availability of those who promote or participate in AEP, defined both for the capacity to dedicate resources and time to work in a practice and for the prior experiences that could condition the pre-disposition to do so; the val-

ues and ideology that they share and, lastly, the features of the personal identity reinforced with the experience of participating in the practice.

However, before expanding on these aspects, it seems pertinent to set forth an organisational and formal context relevant to the examined AEP. Regardless of the subsequent evolution of each, most share the protagonism that citizens' collectives of different types acquire in their genesis. These collectives are understood as groups of individuals that are not legally formalised and connected by a combination of cultural, ideological, spatial and militant proximity. Of the 67 practices examined, 45 respond to this category, although eight have been included that were initiated by the 15-M movement with some similar characteristics (Table 2).

Table 2 - Actors that promote alternative economic practices

<i>Type of promoting actor</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Proportion (in %)</i>
<i>Citizens' collectives</i>	<i>38</i>	<i>56.7</i>
<i>15-M assemblies</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>11.9</i>
<i>Municipal initiatives</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>11.9</i>
<i>Neighbourhood Associations</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>11.9</i>
<i>Political and trade union collectives</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>7.6</i>

Prepared on the basis of the PRESECAL project database

This fact shows an invariant in AEP: the low representation that, in their origins, political and trade union organisations, the neighbourhood movement – paramount in Spanish social mobilisation since the end of the 1960s – or the institutional actors potentially receptive to the alternative economic and social constructions that the practices drive have. In some form, all of these show at least certain difficulty to adapt to the cultural and organisational framework with which the people who participate in AEP build their collective identity.

7.1 Biographic availability: a militant middle class

Mainly a militant, activist and qualified middle class with a set of associative affiliations cultivates the social basis of the Spanish AEP. The typical profile is that of a middle-aged person (47 years old), mostly women (55%), who are working (68%) and as employees. Although the range of occupations is diverse, the most frequent jobs revolve around the sphere of public services, mainly in the fields of health, social work and education. The occupation, employment activity and degree of qualification can be associated with the level of income. Despite differences depending on the type of AEP, the latter is above the Spanish average, in such a manner that the mobilisation and the leaderships are linked to people with relative economic security and a high level of education (Table 3).

Table 3 - Sociodemographic profile of participants in Spanish AEP

<i>Criterion</i>	<i>Proportion (in %)</i>
<i>Age (in years)</i>	
<i><30</i>	<i>11</i>
<i>30-40</i>	<i>20</i>
<i>41-50</i>	<i>29</i>
<i>51-60</i>	<i>24</i>
<i>>60</i>	<i>16</i>
<i>Average</i>	<i>47</i>
<i>Sex</i>	
<i>Women</i>	<i>55</i>
<i>Men</i>	<i>45</i>
<i>Studies (education level)</i>	
<i>Undergraduate degree</i>	<i>43</i>
<i>Master's/PhD</i>	<i>18</i>
<i>Primary school</i>	<i>13</i>
<i>High school</i>	<i>13</i>
<i>Vocational training</i>	<i>13</i>
<i>Occupation</i>	
<i>Employed</i>	<i>68</i>
<i>Retired</i>	<i>14</i>
<i>Unemployed</i>	<i>12</i>
<i>Student</i>	<i>6</i>
<i>Annual household income (in €)</i>	
<i><10,000</i>	<i>17</i>
<i>10,000-40,000</i>	<i>32</i>
<i>20,000-40,000</i>	<i>42</i>
<i>40,000-60,000</i>	<i>8</i>
<i>>60,000</i>	<i>2</i>

Prepared on the basis of the PRESECAL project database

The biographic availability that cultivates AEP is that composed of the professional, cognitive, monetary and time resources of individuals whose profile corresponds to that detailed. However, it can also be argued that the attitudinal skills exercised in prior experiences in other grassroots or social community initiatives influence their mobilisation. In fact, many of the driving forces of AEP and of those who join them later on declare their multiple militancy. Certain overlapping militancies are well represented in the practices; for example, those that arise among the neighbourhood associations, the environmental movement with a more political profile and the feminist movement. It does not appear that AEP are gateways to the active construction of a different society, rather they represent an added phase in a personal profile that, given the average age of the participants, is

marked by a long history of social activism. In fact, this average age – far beyond the demographic significance of this data in the renewal and recruitment of the social basis – connects the biographic availability of the participants with the 80s and 90s of the 20th century; a time in recent Spanish history known for the vitality of social and political participation, for the effervescence of alternative proposals, for the strength of social movements and for the significance that youth associations had.

In connection with the above, it is possible to add another biographical element to the social basis of AEP: the resistant nature of the people who compose it, with a great capacity to search for alternative niches in which to express their commitment regardless of the crisis of participation and trust that impregnates the institutional frameworks in which, since the end of Franco's dictatorship in Spain, social mobilisation and the construction of alternative discourses has been channelled.

7.2 Reform capitalism, improve society and trust in others: the expression of the beliefs, values and ideology of the participants of AEP

One thing that connects AEP in a cross-sectional manner is that they are alternative, in differing degrees, to capitalism. This connection, expressed in most of the participants of the practices, does not radically oppose capitalism, rather it aims to reform it by defusing its sharpest edges, the least desired effects in terms of inequality and personal and social alignment. This option is present in 48% of the responses while those that declare a complete rejection of capitalism (28%) or those who perceive that with AEP they make progress in the construction of a lifestyle on the margins of it and of its individualising and mercantilising logics (25%) are in the minority (Table 4).

Table 4 - Ideological profile of the participants

<i>Position regarding capitalism</i>	<i>Proportion (in %)</i>
<i>I try to correct the most unjust aspects of capitalism</i>	48
<i>I completely reject capitalism as an economic and social system</i>	28
<i>I work to build economic relations that allow me to live on the margin of capitalism</i>	24
<i>In my opinion</i>	<i>Rating from 1 to 5</i>
<i>New forms of participatory democracy have to be developed</i>	4.5
<i>You can trust most people, not just friends and relatives</i>	3.4
<i>Competition between people is good because it stimulates efforts and innovation</i>	2.2
<i>The organisation of the economy must be based on private companies</i>	1.7
<i>Economic growth and the creation of employment are more important than protecting the environment</i>	1.6
<i>For me it is important</i>	<i>Rating from 1 to 5</i>
<i>To look after my health and my diet</i>	4.1
<i>To help other people and show generosity towards them</i>	4.0
<i>To have autonomy to develop my own ideas</i>	3.9
<i>To fulfil the norms established in each situation</i>	2.8
<i>To have personal success and for everyone else to acknowledge my achievements</i>	2.2
<i>To earn money and have lots of things</i>	1.5

Prepared on the basis of the PRESECAL project database

The AEP studied are mainly cultivated by a specific personal and emotional circle: friendships (Table 7). It is reasonable to think that this mode of approach, as well as conditioning its composi-

tion, facilitates the construction of the collective identity as some of the individuals have been in contact and interacted previously. In addition to the relative importance of virtual environments (internet and social media) for gaining knowledge of the practices, the contrasting marginal nature of other forms of access is noteworthy. These include discovering the practices through family or neighbourhood environments and participation in other practices.

This critical positioning, although reformist in terms of ideology, is built upon values, attitudes and beliefs that vividly contrast with the dominant ones. The social basis of AEP reproduces a non-hegemonic personal and social culture. If the European Values Study shows that social trust values are low in Spain (Setién, 2010), the participants of AEP declare diametrically opposed attitudes. With the prevalence of defensive and distrustful attitudes and the progressive increase in reserve and caution, the experience of AEP contributes ways of feeling, thinking and behaving that connect with the ethics of solidarity and trust as the aspects mentioned most by the people surveyed (Table 5).

The analysis of the underlying discourses in the practices strengthens the ideological regularities, the repertoires of values and attitudes that have been expressed. The study by Moro and Lamarque following a coding strategy, systematised using NVivo, of the 71 interviews conducted within the framework of the research project (Moro and Lamarque, 2019) shows how the discursive elements related to domestic and trust values (21.6%), commitment to the neighbourhood environment and the public space in general (17.2%), allusions to sustainability (14.1%) and reference to the autonomy and construction of spaces alternative to the dominant models prevail (8.1%) (Table 6). Paradoxically, allusions to cooperation with other collectives (3.8%) do not have a substantial representation and, perhaps in line with the experiences associated with the middle class profile of the participants, neither do explicit allusions to actions to promote equality (0.9%).

Table 5 - Content of the interviews according to the elements of the "values" category

<i>Content</i>	<i>Interviews</i>	<i>% of interviews</i>	<i>Reference</i>	<i>% of references</i>
<i>Competence, market, profit, income, prices</i>	6	93.0	421	21.5
<i>Community, proximity, trust</i>	66	93.0	453	23.2
<i>Sustainability, environment, animal welfare, veganism</i>	63	88.7	275	14.2
<i>Standards, common good, health, responsibility</i>	60	84.5	336	17.2
<i>Autonomy, alternative, innovation</i>	51	71.8	159	8.1
<i>Reputation, recognition, public opinion</i>	44	62.0	113	5.8
<i>Collaboration in social causes</i>	36	50.7	75	3.8
<i>Efficiency, stability, reliability</i>	33	46.5	105	5.4
<i>Promotion of equality among people</i>	13	18.3	18	0.9
<i>Total</i>	71		1,955	

Moro and Lamarque, 2019.

In short, it can be argued that the social basis of Spanish AEP reflect personal attitudes guided more by a desire than by the fulfilment of a need. Although the practices are providers of goods and services by alternative means, the 2008 crisis does not determine that these be resorted to to peremptorily cover basic needs as a result of the fall in income and the public services crisis (Table 6). Other motivations and other driving ideas prevail: it is the desire to transform oneself personally and socially on the basis of individual actions and lifestyles removed from the dominant cultural contexts and frameworks. The reference identity of AEP is based on their potential for transformation.

Table 6 - Motivations and advantages of participation in the practice

<i>Reasons for participating in the practice</i>	<i>Proportion (in %)</i>
<i>I contribute to improving society</i>	25
<i>I question the conventional economy</i>	22
<i>I engage with different people</i>	13
<i>I access free or cheaper goods and services</i>	11
<i>It allows me to participate in different activities</i>	10
<i>I help to transform my neighbourhood</i>	10
<i>I like to dedicate time to this activity</i>	9
<i>Advantages of participation in the practice</i>	<i>Rating from 1 to 5</i>
<i>I contribute to creating an alternative to the dominant economic system</i>	4.2
<i>I combat social exclusion in my surroundings</i>	4.1
<i>I improve my personal self-esteem</i>	3.1
<i>I improve the living conditions of my surroundings</i>	3.1
<i>I feel more integrated in my neighbourhood</i>	2.9
<i>I cover my material needs</i>	2.8
<i>I save money</i>	2.6
<i>I care for the environment</i>	2.6

Prepared on the basis of the PRESECAL project database

7.3. Collective identity in AEP: proximity, deliberation and self-management

Collective identity, when applied to social mobilisation, is defined as the process by which a given actor defines their expectations, compares their possibilities and establishes the limits of their action based on the prevailing environments that compose the microcontexts explained in the previous sections. This concept of collective identity responds, on the other hand, to three large dimensions: objectives of the personal action, the way in which different individuals interact and engage with one another and the emotional conditions that enable individuals to acknowledge themselves (Melucci, 1988 and 1989).

In the Spanish AEP, the jump from their individual identity to the collective one does not concern an excessively differentiated type of actor (militant activists prevail) but for its culmination it needs the same reference elements that the literature has recognised for other cases: the systems of relationships that lead to participating in a practice, the forms of negotiation established within them and the types of spaces created.

The AEP studied are mainly cultivated by a specific personal and emotional circle: friendships (Table 7). It is reasonable to think that this mode of approach, as well as conditioning its composition, facilitates the construction of the collective identity as some of the individuals have been in contact and interacted previously. In addition to the relative importance of virtual environments (internet and social media) for gaining knowledge of the practices, the contrasting marginal nature of other forms of access is noteworthy. These include discovering the practices through family or neighbourhood environments and participation in other practices.

Table 7 - Mode of approaching the practices

<i>Mode</i>	<i>Proportion (in %)</i>
<i>Friends</i>	<i>54.9</i>
<i>Internet</i>	<i>14.5</i>
<i>Relatives</i>	<i>4.2</i>
<i>Neighbours</i>	<i>4.0</i>
<i>Other AEP</i>	<i>4.0</i>
<i>Another form</i>	<i>18.5</i>

Prepared on the basis of the PRESECAL project database

Regardless of the relational environments that cultivate the social basis, their open nature in terms of organisational aspects is relevant in shaping their collective identity. Their capacity to unite lessons and collective reflections that strengthen, in the sense mentioned by Psarikidou (2015), the creation of community and the development of a participatory culture prevail in them. This is supported on the basis of a space – the assembly – and a process – the deliberation. The sum of both enables a better expression of the individual identities by substituting dialogue until a consensus is reached for the principle of imposition by the majorities. It regards accepting the perspectives and interests of all the participants and deliberation to produce mutually acceptable solutions as a final result.

The participants in the practices are aware that the different personal skills and opportunities can configure internal relations of power in which certain individuals or identities are relegated, as the literature has already indicated (Fickey and Hanrahan, 2014). However, as the interviews also suggest, there is a determination to elaborate on the assembly dynamics, to gain in social experimentation and build a community leadership project that requires the militant commitment of the participants, and it is this that provides the practices with their transformative potential. Self-management represents in the discourse of the practices an act of political impact that challenges the dominant patterns and powerfully contributes to the construction of autonomous spaces. These *autonomous geographies* (Pickerill and Chatterton, 2006) constitute the continent in which the collective identity is built with which the social basis of AEP identifies and in which the individuals project their sense of personal usefulness.

8. Conclusions

We believe that combining the institutional and economic geography with that of urban social movements and the theory of social mobilisation is useful for characterising the economic practices. The former shows how alternative economic practices are the institutional framework in which the alternative economy unfolds, while the latter makes it possible to understand the current attributes

and characteristics of this framework. This approach to AEP places the emphasis on the explanatory value that certain contextual elements have. The significance of the social basis stands out, whose profile is modelled on the biographic availability of the participants, their beliefs, values, psychosocial attributes, political ideology, microcontexts in which they operate, as well as prior experience in other types of initiatives, often facilitated by the existence of aggregated militancies.

In common with the Greek, the participants of Spanish AEP share aspects of the social mobilisation metalanguage and of the repertoire of reaction instruments available in the wave of protests after the 2008 crisis: political discontent, questioning of the representative model of democracy, distrust towards public administrations, crisis of the association movement of a more classic profile and largely co-opted by institutional logics, predominance of overlapping militancies, shift in the meaning of public space and development of deliberative models in decision-making. They also share in common the reference space in which the practices unfold: the urban sphere. A space where a creative and resilient energy originates – with a strong emotional component – that moves to experiment with organisational structures of an alternative nature and that have a transformative vocation.

However, the published papers regarding AEP in Greece suggest that community leadership is based on social groups sorely afflicted by the crisis and austerity policies, and incorporates impoverished segments of the population into their everyday practice as the main recipients of mutual assistance resources. This solidarity-based component is impregnated with an empowering desire that aims to break away from the classic scheme of social assistance by means of the direct involvement of the beneficiaries in the collective struggles against exclusion and in the provision of basic resources to cover urgent basic needs by means of AEP.

The reasons that explain the orientation of informal networks of self-assistance from and towards the social groups that have a middle to low income and collectives that are vulnerable or at risk of exclusion, can be found in the reversal of the Welfare State caused by the severe adjustment policies implemented in Greece. Sotiropoulos and Bourikos (2014) maintain that, before public services collapsed, citizens intervened to occupy that space by adopting a critical and participatory nature in the search for alternative forms of organising economic and social life.

In this regard, we suggest that the contextual conditions determine the attributes of the key actors and the strategies to challenge the existing social institutions and structures and mobilise the social forces to support collective projects that contradict the dominant relations. From this perspective, we propose that the motivations of the social bases of AEP in Greece base political action on an emancipating perspective and maintain a critical discourse that pursues breaking with the neoliberal order and the creation of non-capitalist imaginaries that promote alternative forms of social organisation. However, AEP reflect a complex and multi-faceted social phenomenon with cultural, economic and political dimensions that require intensive and theoretically-informed empirical work to understand in greater detail and with more precision the profile of the participants and the beneficiary groups they involve (Kousis and Paschou, 2017).

In contrast, despite the economic and social effects of the crisis in Spain, the social basis that gathers around AEP is not the hardest hit by the effects of the austerity policies, cutbacks in public services and the instability of employment. Their profile is not known for their risk of social exclusion and the empowerment of disadvantaged classes that show a marked rejection of state social welfare. The radicalism of their discourse is based on their own counter-cultural nature, on the remoteness of the values and attitudes defended compared with those socially prevailing.

In the case of the Spanish AEP it is not found that there is a need for immediate rupture as a result of the radical needs of the moment. This is transferred to the long term, to a process that, starting with personal transformation and culminating in social transformation is based, among others, on the experience provided by the commitment to an alternative economic practice. Among these, the participants extend a reformist discourse, in which molecular approximations predominate (sustainability, health, commitment to the most immediate environment, etc.) compared to more homogenous and totalising approaches of opposition to the prevailing capitalist system.

Although there are initiatives in Spain similar to the Greek ones, their lower representation means that the regularities of the social basis of Spanish AEP connect with those that, for other locations, academic literature has expressed as a majority form. These invariants connect all of these practices to an extensive alternative metalanguage that albeit not universal is recurrent. However, it does seem to somehow narrow down the values and commitments it works with, above all those connected with justice and social and spatial equality.

References

- Allen P. (2010), "Realizing justice in local food systems", *Cambridge Journal of Regions, Economics and Society*, 3(2): 205-308.
- Almeida P. (2019), *Social Movements: The Structure of Collective Mobilization*, Oakland: University of California Press.
- Arampatzi A. (2017), "The spatiality of counter-austerity politics in Athens, Greece: Emergent 'urban solidarity spaces'", *Urban Studies* 54(9): 2155–2171.
- Arcidiacono D., A. Gandini and I. Pais (2018), "Sharing our way into the future". *The Sociological Review* 66(2): 466-471.
- Berndt, Ch., and M. Boeckler (2011), "Geographies of markets: materials, morals and monsters in motion", *Progress in Human Geography* 35: 559-567.
- Blanco, I., Q. Brugué, O. Nel-lo, and E. Jiménez (2015), *Barris i crisi. Mapa d'innovació social a Catalunya*, Barcelona: Universitat Autònoma de Barcelona.
- Bosi, L. and L. Zamponi, (2015), "Direct social actions and economic crises. The relationship between forms of action and socio-economic context in Italy", *Partecipazione e Conflitto The Open Journal of Sociopolitical Studies* 8(2): 367-391.
- Calvário, R., and G. Callis, (2017), "Alternative Food Economies and Transformative Politics in Times of Crisis: Insights from the Basque Country and Greece", *Antipode* 49(3): 597–616.
- Castells, M., (2012), *Redes de indignación y esperanza*, Madrid: Alianza.
- Conill, J., A. Cárdenas, M. Castells, S. Hlebig, and L. Servon, (2012), *Otra vida es posible. Prácticas económicas alternativas durante la crisis*, Barcelona: Ediciones UOC.
- Corsi, A., and S. Novelli, (2018), "Determinants of Participation in AFNs and Its Value for Consumers", In Corsi, A., F. Barbera, E. Dansero, and C. Peano, (Eds.), *Alternative Food Networks. And Interdisciplinary Assessment*. Cham: Palgrama MacMillan, pp. 57-86.
- Dalakoglou D., (2012), "Beyond Spontaneity: crisis, violence and collective action in Athens", *City* 16(5): 535-545.
- Della Porta D., M. Andretta, T. Fernandes, E. Romanos, F. O'Connor, and M. Vogiatzoglou, (2017), *Late neoliberalism and its discontents in the economic crisis: comparing social movements in the European periphery*, Cham: Springer.
- Della Porta, D., (2017), *Global diffusion of protest: riding the protest wave in the neoliberal crisis*, Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.

- Della Porta, D., (2018). “Movimientos sociales en Europa en tiempos de crisis”, In Ibarra, P. (Coord.), *Nuevos movimientos sociales. De la calle a los ayuntamientos*. Barcelona: Icaria.
- Della Porta, D., and L. Mosca, (2007), “In movimiento: ‘contamination’ in action and the Italian Global Justice Movement”, *Global Networks* 7: 1-27.
- Errejón, I., (2011), “El 15-M como discurso contrahegemónico”, *Encrucijadas. Revista Crítica de Ciencias Sociales* 2: 120-145.
- Ferguson, R. S., and S. T Lovell, (2015), “Grassroots engagement with transition to sustainability: diversity and modes of participation in the international permaculture movement”, *Ecology*.
- Fernández Casadevante, J.L., (2013), “Experimentar otras economías. Una panorámica de las prácticas alternativas de consumo”, *Papeles de Relaciones Ecosociales y Cambio Global* 121: 169-182.
- Fickey, A., and K. Hanrahan, (2014), “Moving beyond Neverland: Reflecting upon the state of the diverse economies research program and the study of alternative economic spaces”, *ACME: An International Journal for Critical Geographies* 13(2): 394-403.
- Fuller, D., A.E.G. Jonas, and R. Lee, (Eds.) (2010), *Interrogating alterity: alternative economic and political spaces*, London: Routledge.
- Gibson-Graham, J. K., (2008), “Diverse economies: performative practices of ‘other worlds’”, *Progress in Human Geography* 32: 613-632.
- Gibson-Graham, J.K., (2014), “Rethinking the economy with thick description and weak theory”, *Current Anthropology* 55: 147-153.
- Gonick, S., (2016), “Indignation and inclusion: activism difference and emergent urban politics in post-crash Madrid”, *Environment & Planning D* 34: 209-226.
- Gheduzzi, E., N. Morelli, G. Graffigna and C. Masella (2020), “Facilitating co-production in public services: Empirical evidence from a co-design experience with family caregivers living in a remote and rural area”, *Health Services Management Research* 0(0) 1–15
- Guillén, A. M., S. González-Begega, and D. Luque Balbona, (2016), “Austeridad y ajustes sociales en el Sur de Europa. La fragmentación del modelo de bienestar Mediterráneo”, *Revista Española de Sociología (RES)* 25(2): 261-272.
- Hall, P., M. Lamont, (Eds.) (2013), *Social Resilience in the Neoliberal Era*, New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Holloway J., (2010), *Crack Capitalism*. London-New York: Pluto Press.
- Hughes, N., (2015), “The community currency scene in Spain”, *International Journal of Community Currency Research*, 19: 1-11.
- Huke, N., M. Clua-Losada, and D.J Bailey, (2015), “Disrupting the European Crisis: A Critical Political Economy of Contestation, Subversion and Escape”, *New Political Economy* 20(5): 725-751.
- Jones, A., and J.T Murphy, (2011), “Theorizing practice in economic geography: Foundations, challenges, and possibilities”, *Progress in Human Geography* 35: 366-392.
- Keck, M., and P. Sakdapolrak, (2013), “What is social resilience? Lessons learned and ways forward”, *Erdkunde* 69(1), 5-19.
- Kousis, M., and M. Paschou, (2017), “Alternative Forms of Resilience. A typology of approaches for the study of Citizen Collective Responses in Hard Economic Times”, *Partecipazione e Conflitto. The Open Journal of Sociopolitical Studies* 10(1): 136-168.
- Leontidou, L., (2010), “Urban Social Movements in ‘Weak’ Civil Societies: The Right to the City and Cosmopolitan Activism in Southern Europe”, *Urban Studies* 47(6): 1179–1203.
- Leontidou, L., (2014), “The crisis and its discourses: Quasi-Orientalist attacks on Mediterranean urban spontaneity, informality and joie de vivre”, *City* 18(4–5): 551–562.
- LIVEWHAT Living with Hard Times. How Citizens React to Economic Crises and Their Social and Political Consequences. Working paper on definition and identification of crises, UNIGE*, (2014).

- Llobera, P., (2013), Iniciativas de re-comunitarización y des-mercantilización en la ciudad. *Documentación Social* 168: 135-158.
- Lois, R.C., and M.J. Piñeira, (2015), “The revival of urban social and neighbourhood movements in Spain: a geographical characterization” *Die Erde* 146: 127-138.
- Loukakis, A., (2018), “Not just solidarity providers. Investigating the political dimension of Alternative Action Organisations (AAOs) during the economic crisis in Greece”, *Partecipazione e Conflitto. The Open Journal of Sociopolitical Studies* 11(1): 12-37.
- Maguire, B., and P. Hagan, (2007), “Disasters and Communities: Understanding Social Resilience”, *The Australian Journal of Emergency Management* 22(2): 16–20.
- Martínez, M., (2003), “Los movimientos sociales urbanos. Un análisis sobre la obra de Manuel Castells”, *Revista Internacional de Sociología* 34: 81-106.
- Martínez, M., and A. García, (2015), “Ocupar las plazas, liberar los edificios”, *ACME: An International E-Journal for Critical Geographies* 14: 157-184.
- McAdam, D., J. D. McCarthy, and M.N. Zald, (1988), “Social movements”, In Smeisser, N. J. (Ed.), *Handbook of Sociology*, New York, Sage Publications, pp. 695-737.
- Melucci, A., (1988), “Getting involved: Identity and mobilization social”, *International Social Movements Research*, 1: 329-348.
- Melucci, A., (1989), *Nomads of the Present*, Londres: Hutchinson Radius.
- Moro, L., and M. Lamarque, (2019), “El estudio de las prácticas económicas alternativas a través de una metodología multitécnica”, In Sánchez-Hernández, J.L. (Ed.) *Espacios y prácticas económicas alternativas en las ciudades españolas*. Madrid: Thomson Reuters–Aranzadi, pp. 299-317.
- Nicolosi, E., R. Medina, and G. Feola, (2018), “Grassroots innovations for sustainability in the United States: A spatial analysis”, *Applied Geography* 91: 55-69.
- Oliver, P., (2015). “Rational Action”, In Della Porta, D., and M. Diani, (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Social Movements*, Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 246-263.
- Orum, A., (1974), “On Participation in Political Protest Movements”, *Journal of Applied Behavioral Science* 10(2): 181-207.
- Ostrom, E. (1996), “Crossing de Great Divide: Coproduction, Synergy and Development”, *World Development*, vol. 24(6): 1073-1087.
- Ozanne, L. K., and P. W. Ballantine, (2010), “Sharing as a form of anti-consumption? An examination of toy library users”, *Journal of Consumer Behaviour* 9(6): 485-498.
- Papadaki, M., and S. Kalogeraki, (2018), “Exploring social and solidarity economy (sse) during the Greek economic crisis”, *Partecipazione e Conflitto. The Open Journal of Sociopolitical Studies*. 11(1): 38-69.
- Pascual, H., and J. C. Guerra, (2019), “La base social y las formas de organización de las prácticas económicas alternativas: una aproximación a su caracterización, estrategias, potencialidades y limitaciones”, In Sánchez-Hernández, J.L. (Ed.), *Espacios y prácticas económicas alternativas en las ciudades españolas*, Madrid: Thomson Reuters–Aranzadi, pp. 233-255.
- Pelletier, D., V. Kraak, C. McCullum, U Uusitalo, and R Rich, (1999), “The shaping of collective values through deliberate democracy: An empirical study from New York’s North country”, *Policy Sciences* 32: 103–13.
- Petropoulou, Ch., (2013), “Alternative Networks of Collectivities” and “Solidarity-Cooperative Economy” in Greek cities: Exploring their theoretical origins”, *Journal of Regional Socio-Economic* 3(2): 61-85.
- Pickerill, J., and P. Chatterton, (2006), “Notes towards autonomous geographies: creation, resistance and self-management as survival tactics”, *Progress in Human Geography* 30: 730-746.
- Pickvance, C., (1985), “The rise and fall of urban movements and the role of comparative analyst”, *Environment and Planning D* 3: 31-53.

- Portos, M., and J. Masullo, (2017), “Voicing Outrage Unevenly: Democratic Dissatisfaction, Non-participation, and Participation Frequency in the 15-M Campaign”, *Mobilization: An International Quarterly* 22(2): 201-222.
- Psarikidou, K., (2015), “Rethinking innovation through a moral economy lens: The case of alternative agro-food and mobility practices”, *Ephemera. Theory & Politics in Organization* 15: 67-93.
- Rakopoulos, T., (2013), “Responding to the crisis: food co-operatives and the solidarity economy in Greece”, *Anthropology Southern Africa* 36(3-4): 102-107.
- Rakopoulos, T., (2014), “The crisis seen from below, within, and against: from solidarity economy to food distribution cooperatives in Greece”, *Dialect Anthropol* 38: 189–207.
- Romanos, E., (2018), “Del 68 al 15M: continuidades y rupturas entre ciclos de protesta”, *Arbor. Ciencia, Pensamiento y Cultura* 194(787): 1-11.
- Ros, E., (2012), “Des militants de la décroissance. Les nouveaux militants de l'économie alternative, rupture de références et similitudes d'engagement”, *L'Information Géographique* 76: 28-41.
- Rubio-Pueyo, V., (2016), “Laboratorios de la historia. Los centros sociales como productores de cultura política en la España contemporánea (1997-2015)”, *Journal of Spanish Cultural Studies* 17: 385-403.
- Sánchez-Hernández, J. L., (2019). “Combatir, transformar, superar el capitalismo a través de la acción colectiva localizada: las prácticas económicas alternativas”, In Sánchez-Hernández, J.L. (Ed.), *Espacios y prácticas económicas alternativas en las ciudades españolas*, Madrid: Thomson Reuters-Aranzadi, pp. 23-62.
- Sánchez-Hernández, J.L., and J. Glückler, (2019), “Alternative economic practices in Spanish cities: from grassroots movements to urban policies? An institutional perspective”, *European Planning Studies* 27(12): 2450-2469.
- Setién, M.L., (2010). “Bienestar individual, confianza en los demás y actitudes hacia la inmigración”, In J. Elzo, J. and M. Silvestre (Eds.), *Un individualismo placentero y protegido. Cuarta Encuesta Europea de Valores en su aplicación a España*. Bilbao: Universidad de Deusto, pp. 29-78.
- Sotiropoulos, D. A., and D. Bourikos, (2014), “Economic Crisis, Social Solidarity and the Voluntary Sector in Greece”. *Journal of Power, Politics & Governance* 2(2): 33-53.
- Subirats, J., (2013), “¿Nuevos movimientos sociales para una Europa en crisis?” In Morata, F., *Futuro de la eurozona, gobernanza económica y reacción social: salidas europeas a la crisis*. Bilbao, Eurobask, pp. 67-91.
- Subirats, J., and A. García-Bernardos, (Eds.), (2015), *Innovación social y políticas urbanas en España. Experiencias significativas en las grandes ciudades*, Barcelona: Icaria.
- Suriñach, R., (2017), *Economías transformadoras de Barcelona*. Barcelona: Montaberr-Ayuntamiento de Barcelona.
- Tejerina, B., I. Perugorria, T. Benski, and L. Langman, (2013), “From indignation to occupation: A new wave of global mobilization”, *Current Sociology* 61: 377-392.

Authors' Information:

Henar Pascual is an associate professor in the Department of Geography at the University of Valladolid (Spain). She specialises in territorial logics of the industry in urban areas, in the geographic study of innovation strategies, networks of scientific and technological parks and in the creation of innovative environments and in the territorial effects of the deindustrialization processes and traditional industrial landscapes. In the last years and under the perspective of economic geography, she has added to her research interests the study of alternative economic practices in Spanish cities. e-mail: pascual@fyl.uva.es

Juan-Carlos Guerra is an associate professor in the Department of Geography at the University of Valladolid (Spain). He specializes in rural studies especially linked to the interpretation of forest areas in the Spanish rural world. He has recently incorporated to his research repertoire the study of alternative economic practices, territorialized food systems and urban food policies under the framework of Milan Urban Food Policy Pact. e-mail: juancarlos.guerra@uva.es