ESA Conference 2024 in Porto – Portugal, 27–30 August 2024

Research Stream 08 - Enacting solidarity and citizenship across social fields and scales

Coordinators:
Martin Bak Jørgensen, Aalborg University, Denmark
Sarah Schilliger, Universität Bern, Switzerland
Helge Schwiertz, University of Hamburg

In the last two decades, the multiplication of crises has increased the challenges for Europe: While the nation-states dominating the European project have hardly been able to find adequate responses to the turmoil, new forms of practicing solidarity and citizenship have been growing at the local level. In this Research Stream, we therefore address contemporary local, city-based initiatives and their responses to the poly-crises. We start from the assumption that research addressing the local scale and its multi-scalar entanglements can help address the pressing challenges of our time. Focusing on scales entails that we investigate how social relations are forged between actors and authorities in different governance structures which can be in conflict with the state level and become an alternative to the 'nationed geographies'. Taking the notion of sanctuary cities as an example, we can here see a rescaling of the border toward the urban (or local) scale, involving local authorities and non-state actors in urban space. Furthermore, we want to focus the discussion on the little-addressed challenge of developing intersectional strategies, networks beyond borders and new state/civil society-relations.

We are thereby dealing with the following questions:

- How does political activism and organizing work at city and neighborhood level?
- How can different social fields be linked?
- How do local initiatives succeed in networking with initiatives from other localities?
- In how far can we observe new or transforming state/civil society-relations?

Organized by the research project *Enacting Citizenship and Solidarity in Europe „From Below": Local Initiatives, Intersectional Strategies, and Transnational Networks* (https://europefrombelow.net), funded by VolkswagenStiftung

Date: Wednesday, 28/Aug/2024

11:00am - 12:30pm FC4.0.12 - Venue C	**RS08_T01: Performative Citizenship and Beyond** Location: **FC4.0.12 - Venue C** Session Chair: **Mojca Pajnik**, University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Social Sciences & The Peace Institute
2:30pm - 4:00pm LC.1.05 - Venue L	**RS08_T02: Migrant Solidarities and Transversal Alliances** Location: **LC.1.05 - Venue L** Session Chair: **Angela Adami**, Scuola Normale Superiore
4:30pm - 6:00pm LC.1.05 - Venue L	**RS08_T03: Care as a cross-cutting concept: practices, communities and struggles of care at urban scales I** Location: **LC.1.05 - Venue L** Session Chair: **Helge Schwiertz**, Universität Hamburg
6:30pm - 8:00pm LA.2.57 - Venue L	**RS08_T04: Care as a cross-cutting concept: practices, communities and struggles of care at urban scales II** Location: **LA.2.57 - Venue L** Session Chair: **Sarah Berit Schilliger**, University of Bern

Date: Thursday, 29/Aug/2024

2:30pm - 4:00pm LC.1.05 - Venue L	**RS08_T06: Urban re-articulations of state and civil society: cases of new municipalism I** Location: **LC.1.05 - Venue L** Session Chair: **Martin Bak Jorgensen**, Aalborg University

Date: Friday, 30/Aug/2024

11:00am - 12:30pm LC.1.05 - Venue L	**RS08_T08: Urban re-articulations of state and civil society: cases of new municipalism II** Location: **LC.1.05 - Venue L** Session Chair: **Martin Bak Jorgensen**, Aalborg University

Presentations

RS08_T01: Performative Citizenship and Beyond

Time: Wednesday, 28/Aug/2024: 11:00am - 12:30pm · *Location:* FC4.0.12 - Venue C
Session Chair: Mojca Pajnik, University of Ljubljana, Faculty of Social Sciences & The Peace Institute

Horizontal Citizenship and Solidarity. How Urban Movements Create Alternative Ways of Being Political

Helge Schwiertz
Universität Hamburg, Germany

In the face of the polycrisis, citizens in Europe are experiencing the restrictions, failures or absence of state institutions. These institutions hardly provide adequate responses to the crises, and their post-democratic constitution leaves little room for the articulation of dem-ocratic alternatives. In this context, progressive movements tend to relate less to the 'imag-ined community' of the nation-state and a bounded community of citizens than to cities, neighborhoods and communities. And they do not limit themselves to participation, protest and demands vis-à-vis the state, but engage in prefigurative practices of solidarity, care and commoning. However, what significance does citizenship still hold in these contexts and how can we reconceptualize citizenship to consider these changes? To examine the remain-ing emancipatory potential of citizenship approaches with regard to social movements lo-cated at urban scales, I propose the concept of 'horizontal citizenship'. Detaching citizen-ship from a narrow focus on the state, I explore the enactment of citizenship through rela-tionships of solidarity in civil society and social movements. I emphasize how, against ne-oliberal individualization and isolation, collective political subjects emerge that often con-stitute themselves transversally by crossing national boundaries or the public-private-split. On a theoretical level, I critically review sociological and political concepts of citizenship in relation to contentious politics. I discuss approaches of insurgent, performative, and urban citizenship. Challenging the persistent focus on legalistic notions and state institu-tions in citizenship studies, I re-articulate the concept of citizenship with concepts that are currently resonating in both academic debates and social movements: solidarity, care, and commoning. Theoretical considerations are combined with empirical analyses based on the recent history of social movements in Europe and selected case studies of the ECSEuro project.

Inhabiting the City. Solidarity Practices in Urban Mobilizations in Italy

Angela Adami, Joana Hofstetter
Scuola Normale Superiore, Italy

Activists increasingly frame their engagement in contestations at the urban level around notions of "inhabiting" rather than "housing", thereby also creating new collective identities and political subjectivities as "inhabitants", dwellers and citizens at the same time. It is around this definition that coalitional practices develop around an idea of embedded solidarity. This contribution explores such practices of "inhabiting" as they emerge through mobilisations "from below" in a variety of urban initiatives, spanning across issues of housing, migration and care. Using in-depth and site-specific ethnographic data collected in Florence and Palermo, we show that initially, practices of mutual aid create forms of solidarity which are localised and tailored to the necessities of specific neighbourhoods and constituencies. With time, however, these practices tend to expand beyond the boundaries of their geographical origin and link otherwise disconnected urban areas. Theoretically, we draw on the concepts of mutual aid (e.g. Katz, 1981; Kropotkin, 1902; Spade, 202; Travlou, 2021), the commons (e.g. della Porta, 2024), and intersectional solidarity (e.g. Ciccia, della Porta, & Pavan, 2021; Ciccia & Roggeband; 2021) to address both the microlevel dynamics, the production of alternative economies, as well as the question of the broader transformative potential of these entangled practices. Empirically, we aim at singling out in a cross-city perspective the specific adaptation of solidarity practices to the different political and discursive opportunities in the two different contexts, seeing them as embedded in specific territorial political subcultures which also affected the social movement development.

Love Against Borders - Articulations of sexual citizenship in cross-border and transnational protests

Jennifer Ramme
Viadrina Institut für Europa-Studien (IFES), European University Viadrina, Germany

Many countries are experiencing war or growing authoritarianism based on heteronormative nationalisms, forcing LBTQIA* populations to migrate. For example, Russia's anti-LGBTQ* policies, manifested in increasing repression and bans on so-called "homo-propaganda", as well as similar policies in some former state-socialist countries in Europe, are one of the reasons for the increasing migration of queer people. At the same time, local resistance emerged in countries such as Poland, articulated in protests that deploy alternative imaginaries, while local protests in migration hotspots such as Warsaw or Berlin are transforming through the involvement of new activists. The activist landscapes are changing and we can observe new articulations of dissent, such as the cross-border protests between Słubice and Frankfurt Oder on the Polish-German border. They are an example of activism that challenges both national and European scales and identity bordering. Drawing on empirical research, including participant observation, media analysis and interviews, this study examines the negotiation of sexual citizenship in the discourses and actions of the Słubfurt Pride or through transnational demonstrations in the urban centers of Warsaw and Berlin. It explores how these gatherings transcend national, gendered and sexual boundaries.

(Re)articulating Acts of Citizenship in Times of Multiple Crisis- The Field of Housing and Activist Tenant Citizenship

Franz Bernhardt
Aalborg University, Denmark

The concept of "acts of citizenship" (Isin 2008) accounts for the interventions of those who are not considered political subjects because of their precarious legal status or social position, but who constitute themselves as citizens by becoming public and making rights-claims. We argue to extend the debate on acts of citizenship 1) theoretically, by re-articulating activist citizenship approaches with

concepts of care and solidarity, and 2) empirically, by analyzing cases of activist citizenship in the field of housing. First, we discuss how the definition of acts of citizenship is fundamentally linked to a specific understanding of politics that is based on becoming public and claiming rights as well as negation/rupture, which Isin (2009) conceptualized by distinguishing 'active' and 'activist' citizenship. Even though this understanding of politics is crucial, we are also stressing the importance of close social ties, mutual help, and solidarity for the emergence of collective political subjectivities. Second, we substantiate and advance this theorization through our empirical research in the field of housing. We examine politically organized tenants' assemblies and struggles by focusing on the movement Almen Modstand, which emerged in 2018 in reaction to the commodification, privatization, and territorial stigmatization of non-profit housing in Denmark through the Danish government's 'Ghetto Law'. This empirical intersection of housing, care, migration, and anti-racist activism makes this struggle a unique new case to advance the concept of citizenship acts by examining its emergence in a social and political space (non-profit housing) where it is commonly not discussed in these terms.

RS08_T02: Migrant Solidarities and Transversal Alliances

Precarious Migrant Solidarities and Spaces of Witnessing in the Aegean Carceral Archipelago

Ludek Stavinoha
University of East Anglia, United Kingdom

Since 2020, the Aegean archipelago has witnessed the growing criminalisation of citizens who assist illegalised migrants and the construction of a new highly securitised, EU-funded carceral facilities - 'Closed Controlled Access Centres' - for containing 'undesirable' migrant populations. Drawing on long-term ethnographic research on citizen-led migrant solidarity initiatives on the Greek islands of Lesvos, Samos, Chios, and Kos, this paper documents how citizen-volunteers navigate this changing terrain.

Located at the intersection of debates on 'citizen humanitarianism', migrant solidarity, and 'acts of citizenship', the paper first identifies three tactics deployed by the state - (1) physical erasure of autonomous spaces of solidarity; (2) silencing of political speech; (3) and racialised segregation – and their ambivalent effects on the ability of grassroots volunteers to enact solidarity and engage in practices of witnessing to violence against incarcerated migrants. It details how this has blurred the boundaries between solidarity initiatives and the state-sanctioned humanitarian/bordering apparatus on one hand, while also generating subversive, if highly precarious, forms of clandestine solidarity on the other. The paper argues that attempts to eviscerate solidarity are not just assaults on the ability of grassroots actors to provide humanitarian aid. Rather, they constitute attempts to foreclose the possibilities of camps in the Aegean from being transformed, once again, into spaces of witnessing; symptoms of a bordering apparatus that seeks to stifle and choke transgressive solidarities between citizens and non-citizens. With the Aegean islands a long-standing site of infrastructural experimentation for disciplining unruly mobility, the implications of this extend far beyond Greece.

Doing Solidarity in Urban Borderlands: Grassroots Initiatives and Migrant Support in Athens and Thessaloniki - Exploring Care Practices, Community Spaces and Networking

Chiara Martini
University of Milan, Italy

In recent years, solidarity grassroots movements and autonomous organizations have become pivotal in responding to the exclusionary EU migration policy, both at Europe's borders and within its member states. The present study focuses on the Greek context, a crucial entry point in the EU and an important nexus of the Balkan Routes, where a dynamic network of individuals and organizations from below has undertaken diverse forms of support for those attempting to reach Europe. Drawing on an ethnographic research conducted in the cities of Athens and Thessaloniki while participating in various pro-migrant initiatives, the paper delves into the practices of local and international grassroots organizations that have engaged in mutual aid, care, and "direct social actions" (Zamponi, 2017) in these contexts, offering alternative, non-hierarchical approaches to assist people on the move. Focusing on urban spaces as significant arenas (Bauder, 2020), the study examines the "de-bordering" practices (Ambrosini, 2022) of these actors which, although not always explicitly contentious, have proven crucial in challenging border regimes and constructing alternative alliances that contest prevailing migration policies. Therefore, the study underscores the role of urban spaces in the proliferation and reinforcement of borders, as well as in their contestation, fostering forms of solidarity and resistance. Secondly, it unravels the dynamics and outcomes of these practices, assessing their role in forging alliances and networks that actively challenge the current migration and border regime. Additionally, it explores how these initiatives contribute to creating new "safe" spaces conducive to encounters and exchanges, promoting a perspective that seeks to address and alleviate oppressive and exclusionary policies.

Solidarity Networks and Places of Hope: Addressing Housing Issue of Persons under International Protection in Ljubljana

Anteja Tomašič
The Peace Institute, Slovenia

The main focus of the paper is to address the challenges of finding housing in Ljubljana by persons under international protection, and to discuss the emergence of alternative forms of participation and practices of solidarity within the local community. In addition to being affected by the high demand for accommodation and rising rent and real-estate prices on the free housing market, refugees face discrimination based on their background. Their everyday lives are severely affected by the inconsistencies of the Slovenian integration and housing policy. Immediately after obtaining the refugee status, they must leave the asylum home and look for accommodation in the free housing market. Due to deficiencies in the mentioned areas, they seek solutions beyond state politics. Through ethnographic research, we mainly observe two strategies that help to address their housing issues. The first is the use of a few private apartments the knowledge of which is spreading by word of mouth. These apartments are places of hope, yet a reminder that the authorities should address housing accessibility for refugees on a systemic level. The second strategy is mutual assistance in finding accommodation and sharing information about empty housing capacities, which takes place in the private environment and on the premises of NGOs. Both strategies show innovative ways of networking between refugees and the local community to find temporary solutions to deficient integration and housing policy. With an ethnographic approach, we discuss the experiences of refugees and homeowners, and show how solidarity networking strategies create new places of hope.

The Affects Of Solidarity

Niki Kubaczek
transversal texts, Austria

2024 looks like another year where ultra right wing political parties gain even more momentum and consensus than the years before. The years of (the mostly Spanish) municpalism and the different struggles for a solidarity city seems to be moving further and further into the distance. The paper will discuss to what extent the notions of municipalism and the city as site of solidarity (Mokre / Kubaczek

2021) could be of use against the looming authoritarian, racist and fascist tipping points of the present: What are the possibilities of undermining the narrative of migration as threat, that works so well over the last years and decades? What could struggles for a solidarity city contribute to the question of social movements and insitutions? What is the difference between charity , solidarity and care? And how could struggles for a solidarity city contribute to a movement, in which intersectional analysis transform into a transversal solidarity? With solidarity city movements as an example, the paper will focus first and foremost on the question what affects lie in the heart when solidarity takes place, when we enact solidarity. Therefore the paper will connect the notions of affirmation that Ferdinand Tönnies developed in Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft. Abhandlung des Communismus und des Socialismus als empirischer Culturformen an connect it to recent notions of an affirmative politics as proposed for example by the feminist philosopher Rosi Braidotti in various recent writings.

RS08_T03: Care as a cross-cutting concept: practices, communities and struggles of care at urban scales I

Time: Wednesday, 28/Aug/2024: 4:30pm - 6:00pm · *Location:* LC.1.05 - Venue L
Session Chair: Helge Schwiertz, Universität Hamburg

Solidarity Neighborhoods In Berlin and Hamburg: Building Relations Of Care, Communities, And Commons In Local Struggles Around Housing And Migrant Rights

Mouna Maaroufi
Hamburg University, Germany

Based on ethnographic fieldwork conducted in the neighborhoods of Kreuzberg in Berlin and Wilhelmsburg in Hamburg, this paper examines solidarity initiatives and the relations of care, community, and commons that are being formed in ongoing struggles around housing and migration. In these neighborhoods shaped by gentrification, displacement, privatization, and precarization, it analyzes the approaches of several initiatives in addressing and transforming the prevailing crisis-ridden conditions 'from below' and asks to what extent the local context of the neighborhood helps to forge long-term relations of care and solidarity, thus facilitating the intersection of different struggles. In Hamburg-Wilhelmsburg, we focus on two initiatives which are mainly active locally and maintain close relations among each other – despite different political and community backgrounds. In Berlin-Kreuzberg, the research centers on a collective non-commercial kitchen and space of encounter and organizing for heterogeneous people. The cases show how communities and commons are built in neighborhoods around shared spatial and social contexts in which relations of "autonomous solidarity", "mutual aid", and collective care practices arise in the everyday life (Agustín & Jørgensen 2019, Spade 2020). The initiatives are involved in a continuous process of commoning of "infrastructures of solidarity", in which responsibilities and resources are as best as possible distributed collectively and democratically (Schilliger 2020, Caffentzis & Federici 2014). In this way, the initiatives enact lived alternatives to privatized and commodified ways of social provisioning and to the disciplining and differential inclusion of (municipal) institutions. Establishing such alternatives on a local scale entails working against the prevalent individualization and isolation, overcoming the constructed distance and divisions in contemporary crisis-ridden city life and in doing so, building solidarity communities, neighborhoods or even cities.

Abolitionist Community Care Against the State

Melanie Susan Brazzell
Harvard University, United States of America

The concept of 'community' is frustratingly vague, rarely defined yet often invoked by sociologists and political actors as a local counterweight to state models of governance. This presentation tackles the slipperiness of the term through an ethnography of movements for abolitionist care and transformative justice in London and Berlin. I examine their concept and practice of 'community' as a non- or anti-state alternative to the criminal legal system for safety and justice, particularly for gender-based violence.

While transnational bodies like the EU evacuate some elements of national sovereignty, others are reconfigured by neoliberal governance: through austerity in the caring social sector and expansion of the carceral state. Reproductive care work is outsourced to private sector, precaritized migrant workers (who are then disciplined by a "crimmigration" (Stumpf 2006) regime) or to third sector "shadow state" (Wolch 1990) non-profits, where an unwaged community replaces the state as service provider through "community capitalism" (Van Dyk 2018).

Yet 'community' is also deployed by a range of political actors as a figure of opposition to the state and capital. Among them are transformative justice practitioners in London and Berlin who draw on Black, indigenous, queer and crip feminisms to provide mutual aid to community members experiencing violence. This abolitionist care (Medel 2017, Boodman 2020, Thompson 2021) drags 'kitchen table' support out of the feminized private sphere, not into the public (the state) but into the "third space" (Federici 2019) of the commons. I ague that these movements reimagine community through a framework of care as interdependent relationality and shared denizenship, and mobilize community to contest the carceral state, whose sovereignty and citizenship is framed as disintegrative of social bonds.

Embodied Solidarity : Feminist Care and Vulnerability in Parisian Squats

A. Tancrede Pages
Ghent University, Belgium

This article examines the practice of everyday solidarity within a squat in the Parisian banlieue (suburb). It focuses on the tensions involved in everyday life within a heterogeneous collective that embodies a wide range of differing precarities and identities from illegalized migrants to transpersons and from persons with substance abuse disorder to neuroatypical persons. Based on months of ethnographic fieldwork in two Parisian squats – one which was self-described as being an LGBT+ space – I explore the concept of embodied solidarity as relying upon a shared common space in which interpersonal relations of care may occur. In particular, I break down how squats can serve as sites of (de-)re-constructing the meanings of deservingness, belonging, and precarity of a multitude of socio-political struggles into an amorphous collective identity rooted in everyday interpersonal interaction. The article concludes by emphasizing the way in which embodied solidarity opens up the possibility for a prefigurative politics, namely presentist democracy, which allows for claims to a right to the city be made by heterogeneous socio-political actors.

RS08_T04: Care as a cross-cutting concept: practices, communities and struggles of care at urban scales II

Care in the City. Experiences of Polish Homeless Migrants in Berlin

Natalia Martini
Humboldt University of Berlin, Germany

This paper discusses how care operates in the urban context. Drawing on insights from an ethnographic study of Polish homeless migrants in Berlin and their experiences of care in the city, it outlines a complex ecology of social practices and material arrangements that contribute to the city's 'caring capacity'. Polish migrants make up the majority of Berlin's non-German homeless population. Since most of them do not qualify for state benefits, they rely on care that operates in the city beyond the local welfare system. Their experiences thus shed light on "shadow care infrastructures" (Power et al. 2022). These include emergency services provided by civil society initiatives and organizations, direct and indirect acts of support by strangers in everyday urban spaces, the careful non-engagement of law enforcement, food redistribution practices, recycling arrangements, and the supportive role played by the city's material infrastructure. Taken together, they form a life-sustaining web that interweaves multiple and diverse sites of care and extends throughout the city. Prefiguring the everyday work of caretaking, maintenance, and repair, this web sustains Polish migrants throughout their experience of homelessness in Berlin.

Claiming and Commoning Care in the City. Solidarity Practices in/through the Feminist Strike Movement in Zurich and Bern

Sarah Berit Schilliger
University of Bern, Switzerland

Particularly since the pandemic, it has become evident that nation-states and markets have failed to create care infrastructures that guarantee good care and offer decent working conditions. This structural carelessness, manifested above all at local level, has been increasingly addressed by feminist strike movements in recent years. In Switzerland, around 300'000 women took to the streets on 14 June 2023. However, the feminist strike movement is by no means limited to this event but can rather be understood as an ongoing process (Gago 2018) with different forms, scales and sites of politicization of care.

Based on activist ethnographic fieldwork within the feminist strike movement in Bern and Zurich, I explore how childcare workers, networks of mothers and neighborhood collectives challenge the ongoing crisis of social reproduction by both claiming the expansion of public childcare infrastructures and by creating self-organized, collective structures and spaces of childcare within the city. Solidarity between paid and un(der)paid care workers for the expansion of public care infrastructures and self-organized care commoning in the neighborhood are both elements of a multiplied process of feminist striking. At the micropolitical level, these initiatives can be seen as practical interventions answering to immediate needs in the context of an ongoing care crisis, but also as experimentations with collectively and self-organized forms of care, based in affirmations of interdependency (Tronto 2013) and intensified proximity (Roth/Russell/Thompson 2023). On a broader societal level, these solidarity initiatives not only question the hegemonic division between the public and the private spheres, but also the neoliberal "care fix" strategy which attempts to bridge the care crisis by "offloading the cost of care" to less privileged sectors of society (Dowling 2021).

Domestic workers and the Covid-19 pandemic: Who cares?

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Women working in the domestic sector have been particularly affected by the Covid-19 pandemic due to their precarious working conditions in private households and the unstable legal status many of them hold. While the value of other forms of care work was at least symbolically recognized, domestic workers experienced a further invisibilization and vulnerabilization. In an ongoing research project we study the effects of the pandemic on these women's lives in Switzerland. Not only do we inquire the different ways they have coped with this exceptional situation, we are also interested in the support infrastructure that was available for this group during the Covid-19 crisis. Our contribution is based on 58 semi-structured interviews with representatives of political authorities, as well as civil society actors providing alimentary, financial and administrative support in four cities (Zurich, Bern, Fribourg and Geneva). These are complemented by a first set of narrative interviews with domestic workers. Preliminary results show that they could rarely access support measures by the state during the pandemic, and the responsibility to care for them was passed on to the city level and smaller civil society actors. Thereby, the management of the pandemic reveals the low value the state attributes to domestic work, but also new forms of solidarity by non-state actors on the local scale. In this context, we aim to discuss the potentials and risks of rescaling responsibilities in times of crisis and show how local initiatives challenge and reproduce nation-state logics at the same time.

Cooking, Caring, Communing from Below: Grassroots Community Kitchen Initiatives in Five European Cities

Sandi Abram[1], Joana Lilli Hofstetter[2], Mouna Maaroufi[3], Franz Bernhardt[4], Natascha Flückiger[5]
[1]University of Ljubljana, Slovenia; [2]Faculty of Political and Social Sciences, Scuola Normale Superiore, Italy; [3]University of Hamburg, Germany; [4]Aalborg University, Denmark; [5]University of Bern, Switzerland

In this paper, we examine collective cooking initiatives in five European cities, highlighting the importance of fostering mutual care and commoning spaces in the realm of social reproduction within contemporary urban social movements. We argue that the communal act of cooking and eating serves as a powerful counter to the precarious conditions of urban life, creating a sense of commonality, care and working against divisive and hierarchical power relations.

Our analysis positions grassroots community kitchen initiatives as forms of resistance to the neoliberal city, characterized by a commodity-oriented aestheticization that often leads to gentrified urban atmospheres, including the gastrofication of public spaces and various tastes of gentrification (Stock 2013; Alkon, Kato and Sbicca 2020).

In response, we explore the politicization of eating practices as a means of commoning reproductive activities (see Federici 2019; Zechner 2021) in unconventional, non-commodified ways.

Using a multi-sited ethnographic approach, our study includes:

1) The Kiezkantine initiative in Berlin, which promotes weekly community meals in a non-commercial neighbourhood store.

2) The Medina Community Centre in Bern, adjacent to the Reitschule cultural centre, which facilitates encounters between people through cooking and eating together.

3) Sister's Cuisine and Trampolinhuset in Copenhagen, known for preparing meals in refugee justice community centres.

4) Popular canteens in Florence, established by (trans)feminist activists from the Non una di meno movement, providing food for street-based trans sex workers.

5) A repurposed former workers' canteen in Ljubljana, redefining eating practices as a political act by reviving a space once dedicated to the working class.

RS08_T06: Urban re-articulations of state and civil society: cases of new municipalism I

Urban cosmopolitanism.: Towards Multiscalar Networks of Solidarity and Hospitality Cities

Óscar García Agustín, Martin Bak Jorgensen
Aalborg University, Denmark

This presentation seeks to conceptualize a dialectical and critical understanding of cosmopolitanism from below from the potential of the cities to forge an inclusive cosmopolitanism. It does not mean that the cities guarantee per se the existence of diversity and inclusiveness. In our conceptualisation of urban cosmopolitanism, the city becomes the site to foster translocal solidarities, connecting dialectically particularism and universalism, and expanding the political community. Moreover, this framework allows us to analyse new forms of global networking of Solidarity/Sanctuary cities. We argue that such networks may have a transformative potential based on local solidarities, and the ability to both develop new imaginaries and materialise these through practices. We use two cases to illustrate this point, namely the Fearless Cities movement and the World Social Forum on Migration.

Scaling Across: A Microsociological Perspective on the Political Outcomes of Neighborhood Activism

Anna Zhelnina
Utrecht University, Netherlands, The

Social movements attain a variety of incremental gains as they strive to achieve their primary goals. Even if a movement does not achieve its primary goals, the accumulated gains can pull people further into new arenas of collective action, transforming the configuration of larger political fields.

The literature on movement "spillover" and intermovement interactions has laid the groundwork to further our understanding of how movements influence each other and the situation in which they operate (through overlapping activist communities, tactical diffusion, and discursive change). While plenty of evidence exists that movements generate new social networks, identities, and worldviews, a fundamental question remains: Why do such gains sometimes "travel" across movement causes and arenas and sometimes not?

This paper describes the microlevel mechanisms enabling or blocking the transfer of gains across political arenas: individual players simultaneously negotiate and assess potential gains and losses at multiple levels (in their private lives, relevant small groups, and city and national politics). Individuals' choices reveal how the personal and structural dimensions are connected and how personal and collective outcomes are interrelated.

The empirical material includes data collected during an urban renewal controversy in Moscow and its spillover into electoral arenas in 2017–2019 (interviews, observations, and digital ethnographies of online communities created to organize supporters and opponents of the renewal proposal). I identify the microlevel mechanisms facilitating and blocking the transfer. I also demonstrate that individual players simultaneously assess potential gains and losses at multiple levels: in their private lives, civic communities, and national politics.

Enacting Local Solidarity for the Displaced People and the Emergence of New Municipalism in Authoritarian Political Environment. The Hungarian Case with special reference to Budapest

Margit Feischmidt[1], Violetta Zentai[2], Ildiko Zakarias[1], Csilla Zsigmond[1], Eszter Neumann[1]
[1]Research Centre for Social Sciences, Budapest, Hungary; [2]Central European University, Vienna and Budapest

Recent migration studies reveal that citizens, civil society, and subnational governments, often backed by transnational networks fill the gaps in refugee protection left by national authorities (Agustin and Jorgensen, 2019; Vandevoordt 2019). The pandemic crisis in 2020 also drew attention to that social solidarity and mutual assistance between people on everyday matters had significantly increased, local governments and solidarity activists became increasingly valuable allies for each other. Inquiries dwelling on authoritarian political environments have also found that, even in a shrinking space for civil society, solidarity actors may generate new political alternatives (Della Porta and Steinhilper 2022, Jacobsson and Korolczuk 2017).

By unveiling how solidarity for people displaced by Russian invasion of Ukraine is organized in Hungary and the helping rationales are framed by local and municipal actors, our analysis centers on the way how solidarity becomes localised. Through examining the scales of locality, we consider discourses, institutions and alliances that play a central role in the construction and maintenance of local solidarity constellations. Our paper explores how in these constellations new municipalism as a political alternative is emerging and sustained. Our research team has been scrutinizing the patterns of Hungarian solidarity mobilisation in crisis situations since 2015. Most recently, we have conducted 30 interviews and ethnographic observations in Budapest and four rural regions of Hungary to explore bottom-up solidarity mobilisations with displaced people from Ukraine. For this presentation, we will work explicitly with data from Budapest.

Practicing Solidarity with Artists at Risk: Conditions and Contours of City-based Initiatives

Andrea Ilse Glauser
mdw –University of Music and Performing Arts Vienna, Austria

This paper focuses on city-based and trans-locally connected initiatives aimed at protecting artists (writers, musicians, visual artists etc.) who are facing persecution. In many countries and regions of the world, artistic freedom is severely restricted; in authoritarian or totalitarian regimes, artists are often among those actors who are particularly exposed and at risk due to the (public) nature of their work. In response, a complex and heterogeneous network of initiatives has been developed, mainly sustained by municipal and civil society organizations and interest groups, and specifically geared toward creating an infrastructure of exile for persecuted artists.

Through a long-term empirical study based on ethnographic observation, interviews with involved parties and document analyses, this contribution analyzes the conditions and contours of such initiatives with a focus on Polish, Austrian, and Swiss cities. This paper will pay attention to how the actors involved deal with the tightening of border controls and mobility regimes of the respective nation states and the European Union. Furthermore, this paper explores how these forms of practicing solidarity relate more generally to the state level—in terms of conflict and/or cooperation—and how the city-based activities are intertwined with trans-local networks. The empirical findings are brought into conversation with theoretical debates concerning new municipalism and the "city as a site of solidarity" (Kubaczek/Mokre 2021).

RS08_T08: Urban re-articulations of state and civil society: cases of new municipalism II

Bridging the Gap: Local Initiatives and Health Care Activism for Undocumented Migrants in Germany

Ilker Ataç

Hochschule Fulda University of Applied Sciences, Germany

Undocumented migrants in Germany face substantial barriers in accessing regular health services, despite international agreements guaranteeing for their healthcare rights. Control policies, social law exclusion, and economic considerations impede the realization of emergency care rights. Consequently, civil society actors and welfare organizations play a pivotal role in delivering healthcare to undocumented migrants, operating parallel to the mainstream healthcare system. These entities serve as frontline advocates, building trust and facilitating access to essential services. Throughout various German cities, dedicated volunteers and activists contribute by providing free and confidential healthcare services to counteract exclusion, giving rise to novel forms of solidarity.

In this presentation, I will explore the innovative strategies employed by activists in framing health services for undocumented migrants as essential citizenship rights, rather than mere humanitarian endeavors. The focus will be on local initiatives, their organization, outreach strategies, and collaborations with other local stakeholders. A critical examination of how activist organizations navigate the delicate balance between offering health services for migrants and advocating for these services as inherent citizenship rights will be undertaken. This discussion will delve into the practical implementation of political ideals, the social and institutional relationships utilized at the local and regional levels, and the ways in which activists challenge humanitarian parallel services. Drawing from interviews and participatory research, this presentation aims to shed light on the evolving landscape of health activism in Germany and its transformative impact on redefining citizenship rights within the local context.

Getting Appropriate Public Services: Empirical Evidence on Indigenous' Relations and Practices in Canadian Multilevel Governance

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My multilocal case study focuses on the challenges of providing and accessing public services and the rights associated with these services (housing, health, education etc.). Preliminary findings from the Northwest Territories in Canada provide insights into civil society-state-relations, their transformation, and their multi-scalar entanglements. The particularities of this case – over 50% of the population being Indigenous, a combination of different orders of government in place (municipal, regional, territorial, federal, band and self-governments), a vast territory and a nonpartisan consensus government – importantly contribute to how the social relations between actors and authorities are shaped.

My research is based on qualitative interviews with citizens and Indigenous community members, government representatives (of the different orders), other experts as well as document analysis.

After centuries of colonization and domination, the relations between the Indigenous peoples and different orders of government are slowly developing into a more empowered position for the Indigenous peoples. Enacting this way forward 'from below' is an important part of it. "We know who we are and what we need," an Indigenous' quote illustrates the core principle: instead of paternalistic decision-making, involve those who are concerned and let them decide. Regional and Community Corporations, governed by Indigenous peoples, are an institutional way of arranging their relations to other orders of government. With federal and territorial funding, they provide the – culturally appropriate – services to their community members, with whom they consult regularly; these include housing, health, education, and other services. Tensions, trust and transformation are key elements in this context.

Findings from this research also allow for learnings for European contexts.

Possible session: "Enacting solidarity and citizenship 'from below': transversal and translocal relations"

Possibilities and Limitations of Introducing a City ID Card for Berlin

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The Berlin Senate has committed itself to having an expert study on the possibility of introducing a municipal ID card (Berlin City ID Card) that is independent of residence status. The aim is to enable the estimated 50,000-100,000 people living in Berlin without a residence permit (undocumented migrants) to participate more fully in the life of the city. Several other cities in Europe, including Berne, Zurich, Barcelona, and Paris, are currently considering the introduction of a city ID card or have already introduced one.

The author of this abstract was commissioned to prepare the Berlin report. Some preliminary results will be presented and discussed. The methodology includes the concept of "urban citizenship" since the municipal ID is considered as the most far-reaching instrument to implement "urban citizenship" (not only) for undocumented migrants. Empirically, the report is based on qualitative interviews with counseling centers, migrant self-organizations, senate administrations, and academics. Health, education, housing, and work are the main areas examined regarding the existing restrictions and offers, as well as the potential of a Berlin City ID for undocumented migrants. The focus is on the following questions:

- To what extent can a Berlin City ID overcome the specifically German legal restrictions on access to social rights for undocumented people and actually enable more urban participation or even "urban citizenship"?

- What is the role of Berlin's civil society and its translocal networks in providing and negotiating support for undocumented migrants with state institutions?

- What are the differences and similarities between the models of the City ID in different European cities?

Maintaining Communicative and Political Infrastructure in a Depoliticised Community – Lessons From a Deindustrialised Slovenian Town

Marko Ribać

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Paper attempts to evaluate how specific organizational modes, activities and practices of a small activist initiative Iniciativa mestni zbor (short: IMZ; eng.: City-Wide Assemblies initiative) contribute to sustenance of communicative and political life in a small deindustrialised Slovenian town of Maribor. Paper combines literature and research on phenomena like commons, care and solidarity infrastructure (see Tronto, Simone, Gutierrez Sanchez) with theorising on the "right to the city" (Lefebvre, D. Harvey) to evaluate initiative's abilities to facilitate deliberative, democratic and horizontal participation in the city. Author also draws conclusions from his ethnographic research to propose how initiative attempted - historically - to combat wide-spread political and communicative dispossession of the city's residents. Ethnographical field notes show how activists laboriously try to re-create and maintain contemporary places of »isonomia« (Arendt) in the town: by maintaining a communicative and political network of spaces devoted to deliberative and participatory practices of citizens "from below" (weekly plenums, community garden(s), city-wide participatory budget etc.). In this sense initiative sustains and reproduces communicative and political infrastructure that continuously facilitates "immaterial commons" in the dispossessed community: communicative and political life in the city devoid of channels and avenues for meaningful municipal and urban participation. Paper in the end outlines some dangers on the political horizon: it problematizes the routine nature of maintaining the communicative infrastructure where author recognises immense labour devoted to the role of this informal public stewardship "from below" but acknowledges the dangers of depoliticization when the political spaces are gradually becoming devoid of people.