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RESEARCH ARTICLE

Social movement outcomes and the transformation of boundaries in crisis-ridden Greece*

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ABSTRACT: The literature of social movement outcomes is engaged with the study of social change. However, social movement theories limit the explanatory potential of social movements' political outcomes, only in relation to policy and institutional change. Therefore, they do not pay attention to the various political qualities which emerge from protest cycles and move away from institutional arrangements. Against this backdrop, the paper suggests approaching social transformations as changes in boundaries. Boundaries define, each time, the limits of social settings and describe organizational and identarian aspirations of social change in daily life. Periods of crises are characterized by intense transformations, which overcome the old and create new boundaries. Based on qualitative field research conducted in more than 50 social movement organizations in Greece, between 2016 and 2017, the paper analyses the mechanisms that facilitated the enlargement of social movements' cognitive and structural boundaries, towards service-oriented repertoires of action. By studying social movement outcomes through boundary transformations, the paper challenges the rigid categorizations of movement outcomes and unravels the interactions among their personal, cultural and political aspects. As such, it demonstrates the need for social movement theories to consider non-institutional political changes of daily life, within the study of movement outcomes.

KEYWORDS: social movements, prefigurative politics, political outcomes, social boundaries, economic crisis, Greece

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1. Introduction

The literature of social movement outcomes is engaged with the study of social change. Biographical outcomes discuss the effects of protest cycles on activists (Giugni, 2004); cultural outcomes are related with a variety of changes in meanings, symbols, frames and broader worldviews (Earl, 2004); within-movement outcomes address the various ways collective action can affect future mobilizations (Whittier, 2004); and social outcomes refer to the production of a new social infrastructure 'within, through and because of social movements' (Varvarousis et al., 2020, p. 5). Although critical scholarship exploring social change has underlined various political qualities emerging from protest cycles, including those that do not relate with institutional arrangements (Arampatzi, 2017; Bosi & Zamponi, 2015; Dikeç & Swyngedouw, 2017; Featherstone & Karaliotas, 2018; Psimitis, 2017; Roussos, 2019), social movement theories limit, instead, the explanatory potential of social movements' political outcomes, only in relation to policy and institutional change (Amenta & Caren, 2004; Giugni, 2008). Against this backdrop, we approach social transformations through changes in boundaries. Boundaries define, each time, the limits of social settings and are, therefore, used to describe organizational and identarian aspirations of social change. By studying social movement outcomes through boundary transformations, we provide a comprehensive picture of the political qualities that take place in daily life, which would otherwise go unnoticed. Moreover, by pointing to the changes that take place in boundaries, we unravel the interactions among the personal, cultural and political aspects of movement outcomes. To do so, this paper focuses on crisis-ridden Greece and introduces the dynamic process of boundary enlargement, which signifies how -previously defined- boundaries are extended and, therefore, they enable social movement organizations (SMOs) to move beyond their delimited cognitive and structural perimeter.

Periods of crises are characterized by intense transformations, which overcome the old and create new boundaries. The 2008 economic crisis brought severe economic, political and social consequences upon many western countries, predominantly affecting the national economies of Southern Europe. The imposition of strict austerity agendas triggered the rise of anti-austerity movements, which raised claims against neoliberal governance. At the epicentre, Greece has experienced the rise of an intense protest cycle between 2010 and 2015, which challenged the legitimacy of representative democracy, diffused bottom-up organizational models and emphasized on direct-democratic and prefigurative politics (Arampatzi, 2020; Maeckelbergh, 2012). Periods of crises are often connected with the rise of alternative spaces. This is also the case in Greece and the rise of service-oriented solidarity structures. We suggest reading this shift and the political qualities it generated on a daily level, as a process of boundary enlargement.

During the period of austerity, the cognitive and structural boundaries of SMOs change shape and become flexible, leading to the inclusion of new -as well as the transformation of old- repertoires. Boundaries that used to distinguish organizations with clear aims in mobilizing people from others lobbying for collective purposes, become blurry. Recent research suggests that the social movement community in Greece has gone through a transformative process, which enabled the shift of SMOs towards the exercise of service-oriented repertoires of action (Malamidis, 2020). The deconstruction of the welfare state caused the rise of service-oriented repertoires, with numerous social solidarity structures providing welfare services to the suffering population and drawing attention from national to local level.

The paper explores the ways in which the 2008 economic crisis has triggered the enlargement of boundaries, in the social movement community in Greece. As such, it first discusses how the literature of collective action treats social movement outcomes, highlights the inconsistencies with respect to non-institutional political outcomes and demonstrates the utility of boundary transformation, and -particularly- boundary enlargement, in the study of social movement outcomes. The next section provides information regarding the field research, conducted in more than 50 SMOs in Greece's two major cities, between 2016 and 2017. This concerns

qualitative interviews, participant observation and document analysis in social clinics, markets-without-middlemen, collective kitchens, social cooperatives and workers' collectives, as well as social centres, squats and grassroots political organizations. The paper proceeds by introducing the background context of crisis-ridden Greece and then, discusses the process of boundary enlargement with regards to the rise of solidarity structures. In particular, it analyses the contentious mechanisms that form the process of boundary enlargement in food, health and labour-related repertoires of action. The final section concludes by pointing out how non-institutional political outcomes can be connected with cultural and biographical outcomes, how social outcomes can affect within-movement outcomes, and provides suggestions on how the study of boundary transformations can further enhance research on outcomes.

2. Social movement outcomes and boundary enlargement

2.1 Exploring political outcomes in non-institutional settings

Social movement outcomes are mostly concerned with personal/biographical, cultural, within-movement and political changes (Giugni, 1998, 2008). Inquiries on biographical outcomes focus on how protests affect the personal trajectories of leftwing activists, how the latter's participation in social movements is connected with broader cultural shifts, and which are the factors that mobilize individuals (Giugni, 2004, p. 502; 2008, pp. 1588–1591). Research on cultural outcomes is strictly dependent on the way culture is defined. Therefore, cultural outcomes explore changes in 'the set of values, beliefs, and meanings that individuals carry' (Earl, 2004, p. 510), concentrate on the changes of webs of 'signs and the signified meaning of those signs' (ibid), or pay attention to the shifts of larger worldviews and communities' approaches (Giugni, 2008, pp. 1591–1592). Within-movement changes have also attracted the interest of social movement scholars. Such inquiries focus on social movement spillovers, the diffusion of tactics, repertoires and ideologies, the way in which movements can generate new movements, partnerships and conflicts, as well as how changes in a social movement sector can generate changes in individual movements, or affect movement coalitions (Bosi, 2016; Wang et al., 2018; Whittier, 2004). However, the vast amount of scholarly work has been focusing on political outcomes.

Early inquiries regarding the movements' political outcomes, focused on the efficiency of disruptive movements compared to moderate ones (Giugni, 2008, p. 1584). The rise of the political process model opened up the research field to the role of public opinion and political opportunity structure in policy change (Giugni, 1998, pp. 379–383), while subsequent works studied the acceptance of social movements as legitimate actors to agenda formation, the approval of movement-related bills, or the delegation of activists as MPs (Amenta & Caren, 2004). However, social movement theorists limited the movements' political outcomes within the margins of institutional and legislature policy change (Giugni, 1998, pp. 385–386). Identity-related goals (Melucci, 1996; Wang et al., 2018) or movements' ability to create social capital and foster the participants' empowerment (Diani, 1997) have not been directly addressed as political outcomes, notwithstanding the fact that they bear great political implications. As such, policy outcomes concerning legislative and corporate actors, as well as institutional outcomes concerning regime change (Bosi et al., 2016) are deemed until today the only political outcomes, or the only political outcomes *that matter*, indirectly leaving aside political changes that do not fall into the institutional category of politics.

Political theorists and philosophers, anthropologists and urban researchers, re-negotiate the notion of political outcomes (Dikeç, 2013; Kaika & Karaliotas, 2016; Prentoulis & Thomassen, 2013; Rakopoulos, 2014; Roussos, 2019). Such works challenge the stiff understanding of politics in the way 'conventional political science understands as its "object" of inquiry, that is, the ensemble of practices, processes, discourses

and institutions of a specific constituted political order (parties, legislative bodies, etc.)', but also conceive them as forms that move beyond established power relations which challenge 'instituted ensembles and practices' (Kaika & Karaliotas, 2016, p. 3). A discussion on the meaning of *politics* and *the political* is beyond the scope of this paper. However, it is crucial to highlight *the political* in forms of action that do not necessarily constitute a part of neither official institutional formations, nor of contentious forms of collective action. This becomes clearer, when such actions move away from short-term protests or insurgencies and 'become embodied and practised within the times and spaces of everyday life' (Dikeç & Swyngedouw, 2017, p. 9). The legacy of the 2011 square movement in Greece is paradigmatic in this case.

The square movement did not manage to revolutionize democratic politics, nor did it stop the structural adjustment programs and, therefore, can be judged as a failure within the framework of political outcomes. Nevertheless, it advocated for the construction of new political institutions (Prentoulis & Thomassen, 2013, pp. 173–174), it 'gave rise to new social spaces and groomed a new generation of activists with a heightened sense of political consciousness', while producing 'new ways of being in common' (Kaika & Karaliotas, 2016, p. 11). The development of numerous solidarity structures suggested that solidarity be both a critical component of a politicization process and a political action in itself (Featherstone & Karaliotas, 2018, p. 297; Prentoulis & Kyriakidou, 2019, p. 26; Zamponi & Bosi, 2018, p. 808). However, these developments have been addressed as social and not as political outcomes.

Social outcomes include 'new schemes of production and reproduction, spillover effects, loose structures of solidarity and social ties, new labour unions, NGOs and service-providing organizations (often with hierarchical organizational structures), and free spaces' (Varvarousis et al., 2020, p. 5). Among these types, social outcomes also include the commons. Within the crisis setting, the commons reflect grassroots initiatives that were born during and after the 2011 square mobilizations, which advocate for 'common management, horizontality and direct participation of all members in decision-making' (Varvarousis et al., 2020, p. 6).

Varvarousis, Asara and Akbulut (2020, p. 5) argue that social outcomes affect the meso-organizational level, are related to the collective organization of everyday practices and, therefore, take place in the social sphere (not in a cultural, personal or institutional one). However, the macro-cultural outcomes, which examine 'the creation of new collective identities and new communities' (Earl, 2004, p. 517), can be related to the politicization of everyday practices and the development of a solidarity community, based both on intra-movement dynamics and their contentious interactions within the crisis setting (Earl, 2004, p. 524; Wang et al., 2018, p. 7). Research on the square movement and the rise of solidarity structures reveal the differences from earlier forms of collective action, the politicization of solidarity and the diffusion of direct-democratic organizational forms, in various sectors of daily life (Bosi & Zamponi, 2015; Karaliotas, 2017; Roussos & Malamidis, 2021). In this respect, questions may rise as to whether these changes need to be framed under the category of social outcomes, or whether they constitute a different form of cultural outcomes. Similar problems appear in other categories, since empirical research often blurs the aforementioned distinctive lines used in social movement scholarship and create difficulties for researchers to categorize changes in the political, cultural, economic or social side of outcomes (Kentikelenis, 2018, p. 42). The feminist struggles, which brought to the forefront that "the personal is political", are a typical example here, which marks the interconnectedness of personal, political and cultural outcomes (Kouki & Chatzidakis, 2021; Simitis, 2002). This is also the case regarding the political qualities of outcomes lying outside of institutional politics. For this reason, we suggest studying social transformations through the study of boundaries.

To be clear, we do not suggest the dissolution of the different categories of movement outcomes. We rather argue that the study of social changes as boundary transformations provides a fertile ground, in order to identify both spillovers across different categories of outcomes (Bosi, 2016) and informed explanations, regarding the political qualities of outcomes that are positioned in different categories. As far as crisis-ridden Greece is

concerned, this approach enables us to show the changes that take place through the development of new infrastructures and practices. At the same time, the investigation of social changes through the lenses of boundary transformations, enables us to identify the constituting processes responsible for developing collective identities, as well as to highlight the political qualities outside of institutional politics.

2.2 Social movement outcomes and transformation of boundaries

The definition of boundaries is central to the development of collective identities (Diani, 2015; Tilly & Tarrow, 2015), especially when it comes to groups and associations (Diani & Mische, 2015, p. 312; Wang et al., 2018). Boundary definition is also important for the internal group operation, in shaping conflicts and loyalties (Diani, 2015, p. 15). Boundaries can both prevent and foster the 'circulation of symbols, the expression of emotions, or the sharing of militancy and friendship' (Diani & Mische, 2015, p. 312), and are, therefore, central for individuals, organizations and networks, social movements and broader social fields. Boundaries address social action and shape our understanding of political systems, processes and dynamics (Diani, 2015, p. 16).

The study of boundaries is a well-researched topic in social movement literature (Wang et al., 2018). Therefore, it comes as no surprise that the framework of contentious politics (McAdam et al., 2001) has developed -over the years- different conceptual mechanisms, related to boundaries. Boundary formation points to the sharp distinction of two political actors (Alimi et al., 2015, p. 287). Boundary activation refers to the 'creation of a new boundary or the crystallization of an existing one between challenging groups and their targets' (Tilly & Tarrow, 2015, p. 36), as well as the 'increase in the salience of "us-them" distinction separating two political actors' (Alimi et al., 2015, p. 287). In this respect, boundary activation may extend the duration of episodes of contention. Moreover, boundary control is a mechanism, which refers to the protection of a boundary from opponents and outsiders (Alimi et al., 2015, p. 287), while research has underlined the importance of boundary blurring and boundary spanning in shaping mobilization, internal movement solidarity and external social and political change (Wang et al., 2018).

Transformations in boundaries have been associated with changes in meanings, logics, and practices, as well as with shifts in identities, organization, tactics and repertoires (Wang et al., 2018). Movements and their organizations are dynamic entities, whose agency is capable of shifting meanings, affecting identities and transforming existing boundaries (Tilly & Tarrow, 2015, p. 37). However, a suitable term to describe the shifts in boundaries, and particularly the expansion of the practical and conceptual boundaries of SMOS, seems to be missing. Due to this, we introduce the process of boundary enlargement: a process where -previously defined- boundaries are extended, enabling social movement organizations to move beyond their delimited cognitive and structural perimeter and adopt practices and repertoires that, up to that point, have been issued by distant and often antagonistic actors.

2.3 Boundary enlargement and service provision

This paper argues that the shift of the social movement community in Greece, from protest politics towards the grassroots provision of services, mirrors one case of the boundary enlargement process. Boundary enlargement in the Greek case, primarily facilitates the practical changes in the movements' repertoires of action and their relation with institutional actors. The relation of boundary enlargement with service-provision repertoires is contextualized through the consecutive shocks of austerity, which took place in the Greek society between 2008 and 2015. That is to say that boundary enlargement may be experienced under different practices

and may follow distinct paths in other contexts, while broader boundary transformations in different settings may as well lead to boundary compression.

Although we treat the shift of SMOs towards service provision as the central aspect of the boundary enlargement process in our case, the provision of social services by movement actors is by no means new. In his systematic categorization, Kriesi argued that supportive organizations, parties and interest groups, movements' formal associations, and SMOs, are the organizations of social movements (Kriesi, 1996, pp. 152–153). These include self-help organizations, voluntary associations and clubs created by movements, but contrarily to SMOs, 'they do not directly contribute to the "action mobilization" or the "activation of commitment" towards a "political goal"' (Kriesi, 1996, pp. 152–153). On a similar vein, Rucht distinguishes six types of organizational formats within social movements, namely, basic action groups; movement organizations and umbrella organizations; campaign networks and enduring networks; material and immaterial service structures; social retails; supportive social milieus (Rucht, 2013, pp. 171–173). As Rucht notes, 'the first four are ultimately geared toward action mobilization, whereas the last two provide a ground for consensus mobilization' (Rucht, 2013, p. 173).

Both accounts imply rigid boundaries, which distinguish SMOs from other types of organizations, and particularly, the organizations that generate collective action from those that substitute, or support it. This way, SMOs reflect characteristics met in formal organizations, such as defined membership, concise structure, specific rules and decision-making systems (Ahrne & Brunsson, 2011). However, such accounts do not seem to correspond to the informal character and horizontal procedures of self-organized initiatives found within the framework of crisis-ridden Greece. Moreover, both accounts favour the mobilization capacity of SMOs, compared to the rest of the organizational types. Again, this does not reflect the role of solidarity structures in encouraging their members and beneficiaries to engage in protest activities.

In particular, the organization of markets-without-middlemen fits in Kriesi's movement associations (Kriesi, 1996, p. 153). However, markets' organizers have mobilized participants against police repression, while the organization of markets has been also employed by traditional SMOs. Social clinics would also be framed as movement associations, since they are not strictly political organizations which aim to mobilize their constituents, while self-managed cooperatives would be framed as supportive organizations (Kriesi, 1996, p. 152). Nevertheless, many social clinics have mobilized their members and beneficiaries in hospitals' blockages and anti-austerity protests, while a number of traditional SMOs have established social clinics and self-managed cooperatives within their premises.

The aforementioned examples prevent us from adopting Kriesi's labelling. In this respect, the process of boundary enlargement demonstrates how these rigid boundaries get blurred, with traditional SMOs employing service-oriented repertoires of action and Kriesi's movement associations or Rucht's social retails contributing to action mobilization. It is important, at this point, to clarify that we do not argue that there is a complete dissolution of boundaries. For instance, self-managed cooperatives may contribute to mobilization processes and prefigure the ideal of self-management, but they are still enterprises, which operate within the spectrum of the neoliberal market. What we argue, nevertheless, is that the enlargement of boundaries, which challenge, redefine and mix tasks, roles, procedures and repertoires that were previously attributed to distant actors, takes place.

3. Research design

Although Greece has been blamed for a weak civil society, recent empirical inquires have proved quite the opposite. Afouxenidis and Gardiki (2014, pp. 4–13) refer to around 6,500 civil society organizations active in service provision, while Loukakis (2018) refers to more than 3,500 formal and informal organizations, born

due to austerity policies, which provide social welfare. However, these inquiries reveal the basic characteristics of these organizations, but they do not clarify their relations with social movements. Due to this, our research design builds on earlier field research conducted in Greece (Malamidis, 2018) and snowball sampling.

Our research considers approximately 50 organizations in Greece's two major cities, Athens and Thessaloniki. In particular, we contacted 15 organizations which operate food-related activities, 15 which are active in healthcare service-provision, 15 which are related with labour issues, with the rest being traditional SMOs oriented towards protest politics. Although by no means do we argue that this is a representative sample of the Greek social movement community, the aforementioned cases are central in showing how the period of crisis has enlarged the previously stable boundaries of SMOs.

Ethnographic field research is among the preferred methods for the study of mechanisms and processes (McAdam et al., 2009). We followed the same path, by conducting field research between May 2016 and January 2017, with an additional round of field visits in September 2017. Our research findings are based on 63 key informant semi-structured interviews, document analysis and participant observation. Interviewees were lifetime activists and members of social clinics, collective kitchens, markets-without-middlemen, self-managed cooperatives, traditional political collectives, social centres, squats and grassroots unions, while many of them held key positions in broader movement networks. Interviews were based on an interview guide, while they were conducted and transcribed by the researcher and their average duration lasted 1,15 hours.

Field research was complemented with document analysis and extensive participant observation. Document analysis was conducted both at the preliminary stage of the research, in order to acquire information on the studied organizations, and at the final stage, as a triangulation technique. Document analysis included written texts and audiovisual material, referring to the organizations' activities, political positions and affiliations. Participant observation was the third method applied. This concerned a number of grassroots conferences on commons, social and solidarity economy, as well as movement fairs and festivals, demonstrations and general assemblies, organized by the studied organizations. Field research stopped, when we were faced with the saturation effect of narrative repetition.

4. Anti-austerity mobilizations in context

The traits of the boundary enlargement process can be found in the outcomes of the movement against neoliberal globalization (GJM). The impact of GJM had noteworthy effects on the domestic social movement community and fostered the interaction of anarchist and leftwing organizations, with organizational formats and activities that were not included in their traditional repertoires. GJM encouraged leftwing organizations to challenge the social-democratic orientation of the mainstream Left and advocate for more bottom-up values and prefigurative practices (Kotronaki, 2015; Maeckelbergh, 2012). Moreover, libertarian initiatives started to apply more structured organizational formats and interact with solidarity trade and radical cooperativism, as a side effect of their effort to economically support the Zapatistas struggle, through the cooperative distribution of their products in Greece. This repertoire enlargement further continued, during the Social Forum in Athens in 2006 and the 1,5-year-long student mobilizations in 2006-2007. The December 2008 revolt triggered the rise of self-organized social centres and parks, the formation of neighbourhood assemblies and horizontal self-managed cooperative structures (Vradis & Dalakoglou, 2011). Most importantly, it favoured the establishment of links among -previously unconnected- groups and diffused new tactics and organizational practices. The period of crisis and the anti-austerity protest cycle multiplied this shared knowledge and complemented it with the rise and diffusion of service-oriented repertoires of action.

The 2008 economic crisis triggered the imposition of strict austerity measures for a number of Southern European countries, thus bringing about severe economic, political and social consequences to their populations. Found at the epicentre of the recession, Greece lost more than 30% of its GDP between 2008 and 2016 (OECD, 2020), with 35% of its population being at risk of poverty and social exclusion (ELSTAT, 2016). Official unemployment rates scaled up to 26.2% in 2014, with youth unemployment reaching 52.4% (Eurostat, 2015b, 2015a), while suicide rates increased around 33% (Vaiou & Kalandides, 2016, p. 461). These developments reinforced political instability, reduced electoral participation, and introduced short-lived coalition governments in a formerly two-party system. The diminutive assertion of PIGS and the "special Mediterranean idiosyncrasy" were the flags waved by foreign media and politicians as the roots of the crisis, while domestic media and governmental discourses aimed to further de-politicize austerity politics by putting the blame on the citizenry (Featherstone & Karaliotas, 2018, pp. 294–295). At the same time, these developments triggered a new anti-austerity protest cycle, which lasted from 2010 to 2015 (Serdedakis & Tompazos, 2018).

The anti-austerity protest cycle received widespread popularity. This comes by no surprise, if we consider that nearly 20,210 protest events took place between 2010 and 2014 (Diani & Kousis, 2014). Quite impressive is also the fact that 1/3 of the Greek population participated in at least one protest, with 20% of participants being first-time protesters (Rüdig & Karyotis, 2013). Mobilizations against austerity brought to the streets every collective actor of the Greek social movement community (Kanellopoulos et al., 2017). In this respect, the square movement and its encampments were probably the tip of the mobilization iceberg, urging for direct democracy and prefigurative politics (Maeckelbergh, 2012).

The square movement reflects a case of continuity with the GJM, the 2008 December riots, and the broader reaction against the privatization and commodification of public space, which took place during the previous years (Kaika & Karaliotas, 2016, pp. 4–5). However, it also signified a new turning point in the national and international social movement community (Karaliotas, 2017, p. 7). Contrary to earlier mobilizations of the urban proletariat, the square movement attracted massive and diverse sets of participants and mobilized the precariat, which consisted of indignant rightwing, middleclass moderate as well as radical leftwing citizens (Prentoulis & Kyriakidou, 2019, p. 27). This diversity is also reflected in the conflictual political imaginaries enforced by the upper and lower Syntagma "squares": the former being centered around national symbols and focusing on indignation against corrupted politicians; the latter articulating claims against neoliberal governance, setting forward progressive processes and relations of equality, instituting direct-democratic politics and prefigurative organizational formats (Kaika & Karaliotas, 2016; Karaliotas, 2017; Prentoulis & Thomassen, 2013, pp. 178–179; Roussos, 2019). This division demystifies the square movement, both as the quintessence of democratic politics and as an apolitical amalgam (Kaika & Karaliotas, 2016), and recognizes its contribution to crafting 'an incipient process of becoming a collective political subject' (Karaliotas, 2017, p. 5).

Following social movement theories, we can identify as political outcomes the birth of new parties, the further destabilization of the party system, as well as the adoption of the upper and lower squares' claims by the forces of ANEL and SYRIZA which led them to the 2015 governmental coalition (Karaliotas, 2017, pp. 13–14). However, we cannot reduce the political legacy of the square movement to institutional politics alone. Its subsequent decentralization due to police repression and its failure to hinder the structural adjustment programs led to the first aspect of boundary enlargement: it inspired the establishment of new organizational formations, diffused activists and ideas from the main square assemblies to the local neighbourhood ones, and socialized the culture of civil disobedience and direct democracy (Arampatzi, 2020; Roussos, 2019; Kentikelenis, 2018, p. 50; Prentoulis & Kyriakidou, 2019, p. 36).

Polanyi argued that crises are inherent in the history of capitalism (Polanyi, 2001). However, during periods of crises, the struggle between the opposing forces of the market's expansion and social protection becomes more visible. In crisis-ridden Greece, this double movement has been reflected, on the one hand, through the austerity agenda, with the increase in unemployment and the recapitalization of banks, and on the other hand, through the massive demonstrations, the square movement and the broader disapproval of neoliberal governance (Arampatzi, 2020; Kentikelenis, 2018). It was at this point, when the rough deconstruction of the welfare state gave birth to numerous grassroots solidarity structures, thus providing unofficial services to the suffering population (Kousis & Paschou, 2017).

Within the amalgam of service-oriented repertoires of action, a number of grassroots organizations started to provide free courses to students, establish time-banks and create barter clubs (Kavoulakos & Gritzas, 2015). During the operation of markets-without-middlemen, producers distributed their products directly to consumers in lower prices (Rakopoulos, 2015); social clinics provided primary healthcare services and pharmaceuticals free of charge, for people in need (Cabot, 2016; Kotronaki & Christou, 2019); and self-managed cooperatives were seen not only as the antidote to rising unemployment, but also as a practical way to perform self-management in daily life (Kokkinidis, 2014). At the same time, many traditional SMOs and neighbourhood assemblies engaged in unofficial service provision, addressing not only activists, but the general public. All these initiatives were organized on the basis of direct democracy, with the collective assemblies of their members being the ultimate decision-making instrument.

The advent of solidarity structures was striking, in many regards: they engaged both experienced activists and politically unorganized individuals, while they politicized caregiving on a daily basis and, therefore, differentiated themselves from charities and non-governmental organizations (Featherstone & Karaliotas, 2018, p. 297; Kentikelenis, 2018, pp. 50–51; Prentoulis & Kyriakidou, 2019, p. 27). Regarding the scope of this paper, they marked a shift from traditional claim-based repertoires, towards hands-on practical approaches to solidarity. In this respect, the boundary enlargement process improves the conceptual tools for analyzing social change, by contributing to the literature of social movement outcomes. The next section provides further information regarding the way this process unfolded within the anti-austerity protest cycle in Greece.

5. Boundary enlargement in crisis-ridden Greece

The analysis of movement outcomes bears a number of methodological difficulties, especially when it does not concern policy-related outcomes (Giugni, 1998, 2008). Scholars have suggested the analysis of movement interactions and dynamics as a requirement to overcome these methodological barriers (Bosi et al., 2016, pp. 12–16; Tilly, 1998a in Giugni, 1998, p. 389, 2008, p. 1593). Our study follows the same path, by identifying the key mechanisms that triggered the development of the boundary enlargement process, with respect to the food, health and labor repertoires.

5.1 Food repertoires

Although the unofficial character of these initiatives does not allow precise documentation, the organization S4A estimated 45 groups operating markets-without-middlemen and serving almost 14,000 users in 2014 (Kalodoukas, 2014), while research conducted by Rakopoulos refers to around 80 groups (2015, p. 86).

Markets derived from the so-called "potato movement" that came to being in 2012, as a reaction to the low prices offered by brokers to producers. Contrary to the usual protest repertoires of farmers, which concerned road blockades, the potato movement organized and practiced the direct distribution of farmers' products to

consumers. The novelty of this action received great domestic and foreign media attention (Prentoulis & Kyriakidou, 2019, p. 31), which triggered both their further diffusion and their certification by the vast majority of political parties, notwithstanding the use of different interpretations (McAdam et al., 2001, p. 68). Specifically, the leftwing party of SYRIZA celebrated the potato movement as an action of self-organization; the centre-left DIMAR underlined its role against food cartels; the rightwing New Democracy equated it with the citizens' resilience in line with its rhetoric that the crisis and austerity were exogenous shocks; and the communist party of KKE accused it of deception, as it also did for the square movement (Newsbomb, 2012a, 2012b, 2012c, 2012d). Municipal authorities adopted similar positions, with many of them initially assisting its operation (Rakopoulos, 2015, p. 95).

The first product distributions were organized by citizens' initiatives, which came in contact with local agricultural producers (Rakopoulos, 2015). Soon enough, neighbourhood assemblies and SMOs started to organize their own local markets in their premises or in nearby squares. Together with posters and other advertising tools employed by collective actors, the markets set forward social appropriation mechanisms (McAdam et al., 2001, p. 44). Apart from the SMOs' headquarters, many organizers used public spaces, municipal buildings, cafeterias and institutional Centres for the Open Care of the Elderly, in order to distribute pre-order sheets to consumers and advertise their actions (Int.7). This type of spatial appropriation mechanism triggered the markets' diffusion, since they 'started with a specific audience, which was sympathetic to the movement, and […] it was gradually extended to others' (Int.29). Similar to the square movement, which renegotiated the political quality of the public space (Karaliotas, 2017), this appropriation mechanism signified the enlargement of spatial boundaries, in terms of the symbolic meaning of private and public spaces (Howarth, 2006).

The markets' diffusion activated the mechanism of coordination action, which takes place when two or more actors engage in 'mutual signaling and parallel making of claims on the same object' (Tilly & Tarrow, 2015, p. 31). Social movement studies suggest the close interaction of diffusion, coordination and networking mechanisms (Wang et al., 2018, pp. 9–10). In the case of markets, the initial diffusion and the organization of product distributions by different actors across Greece, set forward the need for networking, which came through their national annual conferences and set out basic components of their identity (Without Middlemen, 2014). As an interviewee notes, 'we wanted to get rid of the "potato" stigma and be called the movement without middlemen. Otherwise, if the frame of "the potato movement" had prevailed, we would have been stuck with potatoes and it wouldn't lead anywhere' (Int.29). The transformation of the potato movement to the markets-without-middlemen actually reframed their identity and, subsequently, their actions. The markets adopted clear anti-austerity characteristics and raised claims against those enforcing and implementing austerity policies. Moreover, their locally oriented perspective favoured the distribution of domestic products, instead of those coming from large international retailers. However, they quickly shifted from referring to "Greek products" to "products produced in Greece", in order to avoid any misconception regarding the superiority of Greek to foreign products (Int.29). Such re-framing was central, in order to prevent any indirect connection with the discourse of Golden Dawn, whose power was increasing during that time.

Diversity among the organizers and the producers prevented the development of a collective identity. However, the prefigurative potential of markets suggested social solidarity as the way forward. Reminding one of the festive atmosphere of the square movement, the markets turned into social hubs. On the one hand, this enabled the interaction of consumers and passersby with activists, cooperatives and local SMOs. On the other hand, the markets expressed grassroots demands for workers and social rights, by setting strict criteria of fair labour conditions for producers and asking them to donate approximately 5% of their profits to fund other social welfare endeavors (Int.29; Int.43). Despite similar progressive views, the markets did not manage to emulate the square movement, in the sense of organizing large assemblies during their operation, in open public

spaces. An emulation mechanism, meaning 'the deliberate repetition within a given setting of a performance observed in another setting' (Alimi et al., 2015, p. 87) was not applied, since the attempts to set common outdoor assemblies of consumers, producers and organizers were unsuccessful (Int.29). However, in many occasions, producers were actively involved in the organizers' assemblies. This was particularly important if we consider the absence of prior experience in common assemblies, of both producers and experienced activists.

On many occasions, the political role of the markets was sidelined, since many consumers were attracted only by the low prices; and the producers by increased demand (Rakopoulos, 2015, p. 90). Moreover, the markets did not challenge monetary transactions and trade-based practices and therefore, they did not undertake a pure anti-capitalist approach, as implied by strict ideological directions (Kaika & Karaliotas, 2016, pp. 10–11). Nevertheless, they applied bottom-up organizational characteristics, coupled with anti-racist and fair labour criteria, regarding the participation of producers. Within the context of the crisis, bypassing the brokers was also an indirect call for bypassing those who stood as a barrier towards real and direct democracy. Markets-without-middlemen presented a different, on-site politicization, since they transformed typical farmers' markets into weekly feasts and further connected SMOs with local daily life (Int.29).

The aforementioned shifts in organizational and identity-related boundaries revealed the non-institutional political outcomes of the markets-without-middlemen. However, these shifts brought on institutional changes as well. Once the markets adopted a clear anti-austerity stance, decertification mechanisms were activated. The 'withdrawal of such validation by certifying agents' (McAdam et al., 2001, p. 121) was set in motion, once the government issued the 4264/2014 bill (FEK 4264, 2014), which raised important barriers for the outdoor activities of producers and led to the subsequent decrease of the markets' outdoor activities.

5.2 Health repertoires

Social clinics reflect the grassroots reaction to the severe austerity imposed on the public health sector and the exclusion of almost 1/3 of the Greek population from the public health system (Kentikelenis, 2018). A number of civil society, church and municipal organizations mobilized for the provision of health services for people in need. By paying attention to the founders' activist background, the anti-austerity approach, the absence of legal status, and the lack of institutional funding and paid personnel, Adam and Teloni distinguished 19 out of 72 social movement-oriented social clinics (Adam & Teloni, 2015). This number rose to 40 by 2016 (S4A, 2016). Although social clinics were locally oriented and their size varied, the MKIE clinic in Helliniko, Athens and the clinic in Thessaloniki were the largest ones, serving almost 15,000 beneficiaries per year and being staffed by 280 and 200 members respectively (SSCP MKIE, 2013; thakomnis, 2012).

The vast majority of social clinics have been formed as independent entities, by healthcare professionals and individuals in solidarity, who participated in common protest events. The MKIE clinic in Helliniko, Athens and the social clinic in Thessaloniki are indicative in this respect: the founders of the former have been inspired during their participation in the square movement (Int.8), while the latter was established by the health team that catered for the needs of 50 hunger strikers during their 43-days-long struggle in 2011 (Mantanika & Kouki, 2011). In many cases, though, social clinics have been established as part of political groups and neighbourhood assemblies, like the workers' club in Nea Smirni, Athens (Int.56) or the citizens' initiative in Thermi, Thessaloniki (CI Thermi, 2013).

Social clinics consisted of healthcare professionals and individuals in solidarity, who formed their general assembly; the ultimate decision-making instrument for all clinics. Similar to the open procedures met in lower Syntagma square, which attracted activists as well as non-politically organized low and middle-class citizens (Kaika & Karaliotas, 2016), solidarity structures and, particularly, social clinics have been formed by

individuals with diverse political and class backgrounds. Apart from the members who paid shifts on a regular basis, the vast majority of the clinics had external networks which consisted of doctors working in private and public hospitals, who admitted the clinics' beneficiaries free of charge. These external networks were of great assistance for the clinics' operation, since they included different medical specialties (general doctors, pathologists, dentists, microbiologists, etc.) and were used for the provision of specialized examinations as well as surgeries. As an interviewee explains, 'one hospital used to help us with mammograms since we knew two persons working in the radiology department. Once, our gynecologist palpated a patient and directed her there. The doctors in the radiology department examined her with a mammogram and they found something. But since it was found on time, the woman didn't need surgery' (Int.10).

Some of these networks have been maintained from earlier phases of mobilizations (Int.3). However, in most cases, it was the professional ties among the doctors of social clinics with their colleagues from private and public sectors that triggered the attribution of similarity mechanism and enabled the construction of these networks. As an interviewee from the MKIE clinic recalls, 'our doctors came in contact with some other doctors out there. [The latter] could not participate in the clinic's offices, since they were working in their private ones both in the morning and in the evening. So, they told us to "send them [the beneficiaries] here"' (Int.8). Another interviewee from Thermi's clinic notes that after the clinic's members prepared a list of local doctors and 'visited […] around 15% of them, then it worked itself. Since many doctors' offices are close to each other, same buildings, etc. what worked were the "references"' (Int.7), meaning that one doctor introduced another one, as a snowball effect.

The voluntary character of social clinics did not decrease the quality of the provided services. Many clinics incorporated services like record-keeping for their beneficiaries (Adam & Teloni, 2015), which were often the result of an emulation mechanism from the doctors' regular occupation. This is also reflected in the words of an interviewee, who states that 'I organized the clinic as I had organized my personal office. The patients' health cards were based on the procedure I followed in my office. […] The process of keeping records was similar to the hospital's I was working before. The same organizational system I followed in my office and in the hospital have been applied and adjusted to the clinic' (Int.12).

The clinics were autonomous collectives, but participated in a nation-wide network, issuing common announcements, following common principles regarding their operation and raising claims against austerity in the health sector. The network of social clinics was formed due to the need for medicine exchange, when the members of the first social clinics used their professional networks to contact colleagues from other Greek cities (Int.1). The mechanism of attribution of similarity with respect to profession, mediated for the establishment of the medicine exchange network and, later on, facilitated the further connection among the participant social clinics.

Similar to markets-without-middlemen, certification mechanisms took place also here, with large foreign media celebrating the novel and solidarity character of social clinics (SSCP MKIE, 2018), while leftwing parties urged their members to be involved (Int.56). Despite their independence from political parties, NGOs and the church, the vast majority of social clinics were situated in premises owned or commissioned by municipal authorities (Adam & Teloni, 2015, pp. 44–47; Int.2; Int.8; Int.14). Moreover, it was not rare for municipal authorities to cover the clinics' utilities costs. The clinics' equipment and infrastructures were granted by donations issued by doctors' private clinics, public hospitals, foreign collectives and unions in solidarity, often with the mediation of the SYRIZA-funded organization Solidarity for All (Int.10). Such linkages with institutional actors would be out of question for grassroots collectives prior to the crisis and deem one important boundary, that of movement-state relationship, which has been enlarged (see della Porta et al., 2017). What is more interesting, nevertheless, is the activation of large parts of the Greek society, regarding to the donation of drugs and pharmaceuticals. As an interviewee claims, 'The Charta of social clinics, a clear

collective decision, prevents us from managing monetary donations and advertising the donors' (Int.11). In this respect, product donation required the physical presence and the further engagement of donors. Many SMOs set up campaigns to collect medicines for the local social clinics and replaced fees with medicines in their festivals. As an interviewee recalls, 'every SMO welcomed the clinic. They were collecting medicines in their events. […] Both the barter club and the markets-without-middlemen were always supportive to the clinic and they were collecting medicines, during their events and food distribution' (Int.1). The same was also the case for individuals, who contributed to clinics with drugs on a daily basis. As an interviewee claims, 'The people who visited the clinic understood that they should communicate its existence; that you can contact us, bring the medicine you don't need since someone else may need it. The majority of people that contacted the clinic have realized that medicines are social goods and not commodities ready to be exploited by corporations' (Int.11). Solidarity structures did not simply concern the provision of unofficial welfare services, but they also challenged the bureaucratic relations of professionalized caregiving and attempted to re-position medicine within the community (Kentikelenis, 2018, pp. 50–53; Kouki, 2021; Prentoulis & Kyriakidou, 2019, p. 34). Taking also into consideration the anti-racist approach of social clinics, which denounced the voluntary blood donations "from Greeks to Greeks" organized by Golden Dawn (SSCP Thessaloniki, 2014), social clinics did not only engage activists, but also brought wider parts of the Greek society in contact with grassroots healthcare provision.

Social clinics did not only receive donations but issued them as well. Apart from the international campaigns of medicine donations to Kombany (SSCP MKIE, 2015), many social clinics issued donations to public hospitals and treated beneficiaries directed by the latter (SSCP MKIE, 2012c; 2015b). As an interviewee explains, 'The clinic has a great stock of medicines. Once we cover our needs and the respective needs of the rest of social clinics, we donate the remainders to hospitals. […] Some hospitals asked us indirectly whether we had some specific drugs. However, most often patients received their treatment in a hospital, and due to the latter's inadequacy to provide them with medicines, the hospital directed the patients here' (Int.8). On the same vein, another interviewee notes that, 'The psychotherapist in the Police Department of Attica's Foreign Administration didn't even have an aspirin. We tried to help her through our network. The gravely ill prisoners have been sent to hospitals, were issued prescriptions, handed them to their accompanying policemen, with the latter ones bringing the prescriptions to us. Once, one hospital sent us a prisoner in handcuffs to visit the dentist. […] Everything was extreme back then' (Int.10).

Such incidents triggered internal debates, regarding the clinics' identity with respect to the state. At the same time, they show that the politicization of solidarity structures came neither as a linear effect of the common anti-austerity umbrella framework (Diani & Kousis, 2014), nor as a normative assumption of the positive and horizontal qualities of solidarity; rather, it was an ongoing dynamic process formed through antagonistic and collaborative relations (Prentoulis & Kyriakidou, 2019, p. 26; Zamponi & Bosi, 2018). Again, the study of the aforementioned organizational, repertoire and identity-related shifts through the lens of boundary enlargement, highlights the political outcomes of social clinics in daily life; however, it is also connected with policy transformations. Specifically, the advent of SYRIZA in office in 2015 brought the appointment of a key social clinic activist at the head of the ministry of health and the formation of a working group, consisting of governmental officials and social clinics' representatives, which contributed to granting again the access of uninsured citizens to the health system. These developments triggered internal conflicts between SYRIZA friends and foes and decreased the role of social clinics (della Porta et al., 2017; Kotronaki & Christou, 2019): some clinics ceased to operate; others were integrated in the social policies of the respective municipalities; others dedicated their efforts to the provision of services to refugees; and a few continued unabated, by advocating for the establishment of community health politics (Int.15).

5.3 Labour repertoires

The Communist party of Greece and its affiliated organizations have traditionally identified themselves as the legitimate representatives of workers' rights. However, their exclusionary stance had detached them from the social movement community. The latter had also discarded mainstream unions and agricultural cooperatives, due to their clientele relation with political parties, as well as their association with corruption scandals and patronage (della Porta et al., 2018, p. 67). As such, labour struggles were mostly addressed by the affected workers, labour associations, and some leftwing organizations which tried to connect them with broader social struggles. This seemed to change during the December 2008 riots, which triggered the birth of grassroots unions and self-managed cooperatives and raised labour-related issues within the anarchist and leftwing collectives. This development was further enhanced during the period of the crisis and the dramatic increase in unemployment. However, the diffusion mechanisms were not activated spontaneously. Rather, they were based upon the certification and legitimation mechanisms.

Certification mechanisms were activated by institutional actors. The introduction of the 4019/2011 bill in 2011 (FEK 4019, 2011) created a friendly legislative environment, regarding the establishment of social cooperatives, with decreased capital requirements and members' social insurance. Certification mechanisms were also applied, with the promotion of social and solidarity economy by SYRIZA, both when in opposition and in government. Legitimation mechanisms, meaning 'the generation of favourable and resonating representations of an SMO' (Alimi et al., 2015, p. 56), were activated by the movement community, in order to promote self-management and direct democracy, not only within political spaces but also at the workplace environment. This was reflected by the establishment of the first cooperatives and the introduction of cooperative modes of organization, within squats and social centres. However, this legitimation was not an easy process. As a member of these first cooperatives states, 'I am not sure how "legitimized" it [the establishment of cooperatives] is nowadays within the movement community […] but we received tremendous criticism since we were against the culture of anti-commercial and moneyless transaction; they [fellow activists] accused us of making money out of it and that these ideas were parochial' (Int.25).

Similar to the organizers of markets-without-middlemen and social clinics, self-managed cooperatives based their operation on direct-democracy. The workers' assemblies were the ultimate decision-making tool and as an interviewee notes, 'Not even the chairs can change position if we don't decide it in the assembly' (Int.30). The story is a bit different with respect to the cooperative structures introduced within SMOs, since they held their organizational assemblies, but at the same time, they had to follow the decisions of the SMOs' general assembly (Int.34). In their effort to tackle the rise of hierarchies and expertise, the cooperatives applied rotation systems, according to which the workers involved worked shifts in all the cooperatives' posts (Int.44; Int.48). This was also addressed by the development of different working groups, preoccupied with specific tasks and the attribution of coordinating roles to different members during the assemblies (Int.49; Int.50). Relevant work experience was not considered important for the establishment of cooperatives, or for the incorporation of new members (Int.25). Rather, the cooperatives paid more attention to the political background of their members. As an interviewee comments on the criteria for the selection of new members, 'the burden was mostly on political issues and experience in assemblies, both in my case and for the rest of the new members who followed. The last two persons who entered the cooperative, they had never done this job' (Int.48). Taking into consideration the aforementioned features and the activist background of the cooperatives' founders, the introduction of social cooperatives to the market environment reflects the activation of an emulation mechanism. Instead of acting as business entrepreneurs, the cooperatives' members applied the activist knowledge systems, values and practices experienced in SMOs, to the market environment.

The diffusion of self-managed cooperatives came together with the development of their networks. Contrary to the competitive nature of capitalist businesses, cooperation among the self-managed cooperatives did not only concern political support and the exchange of know-how information, but it practically connected them in terms of resources. Cooperatives obtained their products from other domestic cooperatives and small producers who satisfied fair trade criteria (Amanatidou et al., 2021). As a member of Youkali cooperative café argues, 'we supply our products from small producers, our coffees from Synallois cooperative and teas from Lacandona cooperative' (Int.48). Similarly, an interviewee from Eklektik café-grocery cooperative claims that 'We mainly distribute products from cooperatives. When we cannot find cooperative products, we turn to small industries when we know they employ good labour relations and quality products' (Int.26). At the same time, cooperatives distributed the products of foreign cooperatives in support of specific struggles. Indicative is the Oreo Depo cooperative, which supplied 'Latin American coffee from Svoura cooperative, LiberoMondo tea from Bios consumer cooperative, the Zapatista coffee from Allos Tropos' (Int.30). As such, similar to the international missions of social clinics to Kombany, the aforementioned cases signify the transnational character of solidarity, which does not limit social movement outcomes only to the local level.

The cooperatives' interdependence has moved a step forward, by establishing the Network of Cooperatives (NoC) in Athens. NoC is a stable formation consisted of six self-managed cooperatives. Cooperatives in NoC distribute products to each other, organize common events and have set a common fund, in case of emergency. Thus, Pagkaki café cooperative sells the books of Ekdosis ton Sinadelfon publishing house cooperative, Ekdosis ton Sinadelfon sells Zapatista coffee from Synallois cooperative supermarket, and so on. On top of that, workers from cooperatives participating in NoC have worked shifts to other cooperatives, which were in need of temporal personnel. Such practices were of great assistance, since they granted NoC members with quality time, since they did not need to find new personnel and therefore, avoid fast-track solutions that could harm group coherence (Int.49; Int.50; Pagkaki, 2015). More importantly, this interdependence prevented cooperatives from hiring seasonal workforce and therefore infringe the principle of workers also being members of the cooperatives.

In their effort to distance themselves from the old, corrupted and hierarchical cooperative movement, the self-managed cooperatives started to form direct-democratic and horizontal procedures, which were products of the internal institutions that the movement community had undergone during the anti-austerity mobilizations (Karaliotas, 2017, p. 11; Prentoulis & Kyriakidou, 2019, p. 26). Participation in common protest events, labour struggles and the organization of common national and international festivals with the theme of self-management (la economia de lost rabajadores, 2017), enhanced the cooperatives' interaction with horizontal self-management. However, we argue that the formation of a collective identity based on radical cooperativism is yet to be achieved, since the antagonistic and collaborative dynamics that emerge within the daily context of workplace politics still shape its development.

At the same time, the incorporation of cooperative activities within squats and social centres stretched SMOs' boundaries even more. The anti-commercial character of anarchist and leftwing collectives and the voluntary (in terms of absence of compensation) participation of activists, were cornerstones of the social movement community in Greece (Int.25; Int.57). These came in conflict with the remuneration of the members working in the cooperative structures and created internal debates within SMOs. As an interviewee comments, 'Some of the older members, who were very active in the anarchist scene, they finally remained in the social centre, despite the fact that this [having cooperative structures within the social centre] was quite contradictory with what they have been used to doing all these years. But it was an evolution! […] it is not possible that our political, even revolutionary, practice may concern only actions of propaganda. We should turn this into a way of living' (Int.34). Similar narratives expressed by other interviewees (Int.49; Int.51), imply that the adaptation of 'tactics from different repertoires may be interpreted as a way of signaling a shift or expansion in collective

identity' (Wang et al., 2018, p. 10). The adoption of prefigurative practices by social movement actors, like grassroots cooperatives, brings them against institutional logics and mark an evolution in social movement repertoires. As such, it signals the connection of boundary enlargement with prefigurative politics. At the same time, the way the reverse process of boundary contraction may interact with prefigurative politics, remains an open question.

6. Conclusions

Scholars underline the need for greater synergy among social movement outcomes and urge researchers to study how certain types of movement outcomes, such as cultural outcomes, spillover to other types, like political outcomes (Bosi, 2016; Bosi et al., 2016, pp. 22–23). Here lies the first contribution of this paper, with respect to the literature of social movement outcomes. More specifically, the paper suggests that social movement theories have developed rigid categorizations, which divide social movement outcomes in such a manner, which does not allow for researchers to identify political outcomes away from institutional politics. This has been mostly dealt with by political philosophers and theorists, anthropologists and critical urban researchers (Dikeç, 2013; Kaika & Karaliotas, 2016; Prentoulis & Thomassen, 2013; Rakopoulos, 2014; Roussos, 2019). In line with these works, we argue that solidarity structures turned daily economic, social, cultural practices and logics, which until then remained as a terra incognita for social movements in Greece, into direct political actions. As such, we suggest that by studying social changes through the lenses of boundary transformations, researchers can better elaborate with the interconnections, spillovers and interactions the different categories of outcomes have with each other. By studying the solidarity structures born during the anti-austerity protest cycle in Greece, we identify how social outcomes have affected, for instance, 1) institutional and policy changes, such as the love/hate relationship with SYRIZA or the re-admission of uninsured citizens to the public health system; 2) within-movement outcomes, by incorporating practices of social solidarity economy within SMOs; 3) the combination of within-movement and cultural outcomes, through the diffusion of horizontal and direct-democratic practices to the wider public. And, more importantly, we acknowledge the hidden political transformations that took place in daily life.

Already since the late 1990s, scholars have urged movement researchers to study the mechanisms and processes that lead towards social movement outcomes (Earl, 2004, p. 525; Tilly, 1998a in Giugni, 1998, p. 389). Some 20 years later, the same suggestion still holds (Bosi et al., 2016, p. 24). Here lies the second contribution of this paper. Following the contentious politics framework suggested by McAdam, Tilly and Tarrow (2001), our research analyses the boundary enlargement process, which depicts the changes that took place in the social sphere of crisis-ridden Greece. Although the contentious politics framework focuses on protest politics, we suggest extending research on the political outcomes, by focusing also on the silent repertoires of social movements.

Changes in norms and social practices that took place within the Greek social movement community, in the aftermath of the GJM, and which are usually studied through the lens of cultural outcomes (Earl, 2004), have affected the gradual development of the boundary enlargement process. However, it was not before the crisis that this process was fully activated. The birth of numerous service-oriented repertoires of action has been considered as the direct social outcome of the square movement (Varvarousis et al., 2020). We argue, nevertheless, that the social outcomes of the anti-austerity protest cycle are much wider. Our attention to the food, health and labour-related repertoires, highlights their relation to political and cultural outcomes. SMOs and solidarity structures have responded to policy changes, triggered by the continuous structural adjustment reforms. They did so, by providing unofficial bottom-up welfare services to everyone in need. Moreover, they

managed to intervene in fields that were hitherto controlled by the state and the market, and diffuse practices that were inherent to SMOs' operation to the wider public. Horizontal decision-making systems and direct democratic approaches were central aspects in this regard, while the lack of prior experience in grassroots welfare provision, set forward an experimental prefigurative perspective. This, however, was not a smooth process, since in many cases the new repertoires have not been welcomed by veteran activists.

This inquiry suggests studying social changes through the perspective of boundary transformation. The 2010-2015 anti-austerity protest cycle in Greece, triggered the enlargement of the SMOs' cognitive and structural boundaries and enabled the shift from claim-based repertoires towards hands-on provision of social solidarity. Although the solidarity structures fostered practices and logics of being-in-common, scholars note their vulnerability, in fostering broader transformations in democratic politics, and therefore, underline the risk of their being transient or turning conservative (Kaika & Karaliotas, 2016, pp. 10–11). As such, and, in order to identify the variety of factors that lead to certain outcomes, researchers emphasize the need for cross-national and cross-time comparative analysis (Amenta & Caren, 2004, pp. 478–479). During the age of austerity, respective shifts of practices towards service-oriented repertoires have been set forward by initiatives in Italy (Bosi & Zamponi, 2015), Portugal (Baumgarten, 2017) and Spain (Romanos, 2014). In this respect, comparative analysis through the lenses of boundary transformation, can greatly contribute to the debate about the political outcomes in daily life. Although comparative works in different contexts may contribute to the literature of non-institutional political outcomes, as well as further expand the study of outcomes through the transformation of boundaries, we urge future research to also consider cross-time comparisons and escape the limits of short-term outcomes. Therefore, the provision of healthcare, food and housing services to refugees during the 2015 refugee "crisis" (della Porta, 2018), and the rise of mutual aid and solidarity actions to disadvantaged citizens during the 2020 covid-19 pandemic (della Porta, 2020) are appropriate contexts for the exploration of long-term outcomes of boundary transformations, which may further complement the study of spillover effects on movement outcomes.

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Int.2, Female, 41-45 years old, Founding member of Rethimno Social Clinic, Crete.
Int.7, Male, 51-55 years old, Founding Member Thermi Social Clinic, Thessaloniki.
Int.8, Male, 61-65 years old, Member of MKIE Social Clinic, Athens.
Int.10, Female, 56-60 years old, Founding Member of Athens Social Clinic.
Int.11, Female, 46-50 years old, Member of Peristeri Social Clinic, Athens.
Int.12, Female, 51-55 years old, Founding Member of Peristeri Social Clinic.
Int.14, Female, 51-55 years old, Member of Nea Philadelphia Social Clinic, Athens.
Int.15, Male, 36-40 years old, Founding member of ADYE Social Clinic, Athens – Informal.
Int.25, Male, 31-35 years old, Member of Belle Ville Sin Patron cooperative and founding member of Germinal cooperative, Thessaloniki.
Int.26, Male, 36-40 years old, Founding Member of the Cooperative Eklektik and member of Spame collective, Thessaloniki.
Int.29, Male, 36-40 years old, Member of the Petroupoli Markets-Without-Middlemen, Athens.
Int.30, Female, 36-40 years old, Founding Member of Oreo Depo cooperative, Thessaloniki.
Int.34, Male, 31-35 years old, Member of Mikropolis Social Centre, Thessaloniki.
Int.43, Female, 46-50 years old, Member of Ampariza Social Centre and Galatsi Without-Middlemen Cooperative, Athens.
Int.44, Male, 41-45 years old, Founding Member of Poeta cooperative, Thessaloniki.
Int.48, Male, 31-35 years old, Member of Youkali cooperative, Athens.
Int.49, Female, 31-35 years old, Founding Member of Pagkaki cooperative and Sporos collective, Athens.
Int.50, Female, 41-45 years old, Founding Member of Pagkaki cooperative and Sporos collective, Athens.
Int.51, Male, 26-30 years old, Member of Sholio Squat, Thessaloniki.
Int.56, Male, 46-50 years old, Member of Workers' Club in Nea Smirni, Athens.
Int.57, Male, 46-50 years old, Nosotros Social Centre, Athens.
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