The Regeneration of Consumer Movement Solidarity

ANDREAS CHATZIDAKIS

PAULINE MACLARAN

ROHIT VARMAN

Forthcoming, Journal of Consumer Research

Andreas Chatzidakis (corresponding author) is a Professor in the School of Business and Management, Royal Holloway University of London, Egham Hill, Egham, Surrey, TW20 0EX, UK, andreas.chatzidakis@rhul.ac.uk. Pauline Maclaran is a Professor in the School Of Business and Management, Royal Holloway University of London, Egham Hill, Egham, Surrey, TW20 0EX, UK, Pauline.Maclaran@rhul.ac.uk. Rohit Varman is a Professor in the Department of Marketing, University of Birmingham, University House, Edgbaston, Birmingham, B15 2TT, UK, r.varman@bham.ac.uk. The authors thank the editor, the associate editor, and the three anonymous reviewers for their very constructive comments. In addition, the authors thank Giana Eckhardt for her continuing support, as well as Olga Kravets, Güliz Ger, Antonis Vradi,s and Alan Bradshaw for their invaluable insights on earlier drafts of this article. Supplementary materials are included in the web appendix accompanying the online version of this article.

Running Head: CHATZIDAKIS, MACLARAN, AND VARMAN

Editor: Eileen Fischer and Linda L. Price

Associate Editor: Eileen Fischer

ABSTRACT

Consumer research has focused on the various resources and tactics that help movements achieve a range of institutional and marketplace changes. Yet, little attention has been paid to the persistence of movement solidarity, in particular its regeneration, despite a range of threats to it. Our research unpacks mechanisms that help consumer movement solidarity to overcome threats. Drawing on a six-year ethnographic study of consumer movements in Exarcheia, a neighborhood in central Athens, Greece, we find that consumer movement solidarity persists despite a cataclysmic economic crisis that undermines their prevalent ideology and the emotional fatigue that is common in such movements. Three key mechanisms serve to overcome these threats: performative staging of collectivism, temporal tactics, and the emplacement of counter-sites. Overall, our study contributes to consumer research by illuminating how threats to solidarity are overcome by specific internal mechanisms that enable the regeneration of consumer movement solidarity.

Keywords: new social movements, consumer movements, solidarity, collective consumer action, consumer activism

Consumer research shows that identifications, ideologies, and methods of protest are key explanatory factors in understanding how consumer movements achieve their goals (e.g., Gollnhofer, Weijo, and Schouten 2019; Kozinets and Handelman 2004; Kozinets 2002; Scaraboto and Fischer 2013; Thompson and Arsel 2004; Thompson and Coskuner-Balli 2007; Weijo, Martin, and Arnould 2018). Deployed artfully, such resources and tactics have been understood to foster the success of movements, particularly as they engage with a variety of marketplace and state actors across different institutional fields (Handelman and Fischer 2018). Despite these advances, past studies do not explain how consumer movements persist when their original ideological frameworks and emotional energy become threats to their continuity. We contribute to this body of research by examining how consumer movements regenerate solidarity, or reconfigure and reproduce commitment to collective consumer action, despite facing a range of threats.

Goldstone and Tilly (2001, 183) define threat as "the costs that a social group will incur from protest, or that it expects to suffer if it does not take action." They argue that there is a limited understanding of how threats impact persistence of social movements because threats are often erroneously treated as the flip side of opportunity and increased threat is equated with reduced opportunities. Consumer research has overlooked threat as an independent factor whose dynamics greatly influence how solidarity is shaped and maintained in consumer movements.

A number of instances illustrate the persistence of movements and continued commitment of participants despite overwhelmingly adversarial threats. Consider, for instance, the Dakota Access Pipeline or the Occupy movements, where participants refused to leave their protest sites despite difficult weather and severe physical and legal threats. Movements such as the Zapatistas of Chiapas, Mexico, or the Liverpool dockers in the UK failed in many of their

declared objectives but have been unanimously hailed as modern examples of movement unionism and lasting commitment to collective action. Similarly, despite the deployment of different forms of violence by the state and corporations in India, anti-corporate protestors continue to offer resistance (Varman and Belk 2009; Varman and Al-Amoudi 2016). How do such movements regenerate their solidarity in the face of threats? Despite several studies on activism in consumer research, there is little understanding of how consumer movement solidarity regenerates itself.

Our research setting is Exarcheia, an Athenian neighborhood that has long been a stronghold of urban resistance. Because of the Greek crisis (*Economist* 2015), Exarcheia has witnessed a proliferation of native understandings and practices of solidarity (e.g., Arampatzi 2017; Rakopoulos 2016; Vradis and Dalakoglou 2011). Concurrently it represents a "weak" civil society context (Leontidou 2010), whereby consumer movements are relatively deprived of top-down institutional and marketplace resources (Handelman and Fischer 2018). This makes our ethnographic site an excellent context for studying threats to solidarity and underlying mechanisms that contribute to solidarity regeneration. In this research, we identified two key threats to consumer movements—ideological ossification and emotional fatigue. First, the economic crisis made the core ideology of resisting consumer capitalism (e.g., Kozinets and Handelman 2004) a potential threat to the movements because, facing unprecedented budget contraction (e.g., Ross, Melroy and Carlson 2020), many consumers no longer had access to mainstream markets and non-essential items. Under such conditions of scarcity, the ideological fixation on resisting consumer capitalism became a threat to the commitment of members of consumer movements. Second, because of personal experiences and their relationships with others in the movements, members started experiencing emotional exhaustion that contributed to

a sense of pessimism, burnout, and reduction in commitment. As a result, emotional fatigue increasingly became a threat to consumer movements. This six-year ethnography illustrates how in the face of these threats, solidarity is regenerated by the mechanisms of performative staging of collectivism, temporal tactics, and emplacement of counter-sites.

Our study contributes to the consumer movement and activism literature by offering insights into how consumer movement solidarity is both reconfigured and reproduced (i.e., regenerated, a term we use that incorporates both meanings) in the face of threats through key internal mechanisms. Drawing on Tarrow (2011, 23), we understand mechanisms as "a delimited class of changes that alter relations among specific sets of elements in identical or closely similar ways over a variety of situations." In examining mechanisms, we highlight the under-theorized issues of consumer solidarity and its regeneration in the face of threats. Subsequently, we propose a conceptualization of consumer movement solidarity that is regenerative, as opposed to preexisting or automatically reproduced. Our study also provides new insights into consumer collectives and the multifaceted nature of time and place in contemporary consumer movements.

SOLIDARITY

Solidarity has conceptual cognates with a long history in disciplines such as anthropology (Gill and Kasmir 2008), sociology (Howell, Doan, and Harbin 2019), and human geography (Oosterlynck, Schuermans, and Loopmans 2017). Notwithstanding, the role of consumption remains largely underexamined. For example, although consumers are default participants in "social and solidarity economies" (Bergeron et al. 2015), anthropological studies have foregrounded the work of producers and activists (e.g., Rakopoulos 2015). To some extent, such

studies have attended to consumers' "external solidarity" (Hunt and Benford 2004, 439), namely, identification with other groups such as producers and activists, but have not examined consumers' "internal solidarity", that is the identifications and relationships that give them a sense of belonging and commitment to collective consumer action.

The question of solidarity has been central to any imagination of communal order (Nisbet 1966; Weber 1947). While Tönnies (1955) interpreted precapitalist societies as bounded naturally together by high levels of organic solidarity, in the rise of capitalism he saw loss of togetherness and organic solidarity. In a significant departure from this approach, Durkheim (1933) attended to collective activity in capitalist societies and found it spontaneous and natural. Based on this analysis, Durkheim reversed Tönnies' terminology and associated the idea of mechanical solidarity or solidarity based on homogeneous segments, such as family, kinship, and territorial districts, with the social bonds that characterize traditional societies. Instead, he built on the idea of a living body, in which different parts come together to create life as organic solidarity, in order to describe capitalist forms of solidarity based on the mutuality arising out of reciprocal arrangements and individual differences. Taking this argument further, Weber (1947) observed that both associative relationships based on instrumental rationality (e.g., market transactions) and communal relationships based on affect, emotions, or traditions (e.g., family ties) coexist in the contemporary world and create solidarity.

Some scholars have pointed to a depletion in solidarity and threats to it (Bauman 2001; Beck 1986; Sennett 1998). In fact, Stjernø (2004) points to the growth of the middle class, individualism, and consumerism as the most important threats to solidarity in contemporary times. Many others have observed how, despite individual differences and instrumental rationality, togetherness and we-ness continue to be reinvented in contemporary societies (Cohen

1985; Gusfield 1975). Moreover, Komter acknowledges that the bases of solidarity have become increasingly individualized, abstract, and diversified. As a result, there has been a rise in segmented solidarity, in which separate, autonomous social segments connect with other segments, no longer out of necessity and mutual dependency, but on the basis of voluntariness. This does not mean that "thick" solidarity as conceptualized by Durkheim no longer exists, but rather that the current social world is also witnessing "thin" solidarity (Komter 2005, 198).

Solidarity in Consumer Research

Solidarity in consumer research has primarily been studied as internal solidarity or as a glue that keeps people together in different contexts of consumption. For example, Cova (1997) draws attention to consumer tribes or communities as units of analyses, paying attention to "linking value" instead of use-value in consumption. According to Cova (1997, 307), "the goods and services which are valued are mainly those which, through their linking value, permit and support social interaction of the communal type." Thus, linking value as a social glue is similar to the idea of solidarity. In a later piece, Cova and Cova (2002, 614) point more explicitly to the roles of linking value as a social glue, and of rituals in their emphasis on "societing" as a key element in tribal marketing approaches.

Building on Mafessoli's work on radical individualism, some consumer researchers specifically focus on "rituals of solidarity" (Arnould and Thompson 2005). Here, solidarity is akin to communal experiences and sociality (e.g., Belk 2010; Weinberger and Wallendorf 2012). For example, Schouten and McAlexander's (1995) ethnography of Harley-Davidson bikers draws our attention to the role of consumption in the creation of solidarity. Similarly, Muñiz and

O'Guinn (2001) suggest that members of a brand community are related by a shared consciousness, rituals and traditions, and a sense of moral responsibility. Consciousness is a relationship between members that creates a sense of belonging for participants and helps them derive a sense of solidarity. Furthermore, Muñiz and Schau (2005) and Belk and Tumbat (2005) attend to the religious and ritualistic dimensions that bind consumers of cult brands together to sustain solidarities. These studies also point to the role of faith in cult brands in the creation of solidarity across consumers. In doing so, such research, while broadening Durkheim's (1933) interpretation, does not negate the central idea of similarity as the basis of solidarity.

Broadening the Durkheimian bases of solidarity, such as the family, division of labor, rituals, and religion, Giesler (2006, 283) argues that gift systems, such as Napster, are consolidated systems of social solidarity based "on a structured set of gift exchange and social relationships among consumers." From this perspective, gift systems are based on reciprocities and obligations to give, to receive, and to repay (Mauss 1925). A key element in Giesler's reading of solidarity is the idea of the interdependency that gift systems create and which, by implication, sustains solidarity. Importantly, Giesler suggests that interdependency, as in Durkheim's sense, is not structurally imposed, but is a result of consumer choice. Likewise, the idea of bolstering solidarity through voluntary interdependence is also echoed in later consumer studies (e.g., Thomas, Price, and Schau 2013; Vikas, Varman, and Belk 2015).

To summarize, previous consumer studies have referred to solidarity as a social glue (Giesler 2006; Muñiz and O'Guinn 2001), contingent on various rituals (e.g., Cova 1997; Cova and Cova 2002; Muñiz and O'Guinn 2001) and/or contrarian sets of ideals that create new interdependencies (Giesler 2006; Kozinets 2002; Vikas et al. 2015). However, such studies have not unpacked solidarity as a core concept let alone examined its regeneration in the face of

threats. Attention to solidarity thus remains marginal. For example, in their study of an anti-consumption movement against Coca-Cola in India, Varman and Belk (2009) allude to the role of solidarity within a nationalist movement; however, they do not elaborate on it, let alone explain its regeneration. A similar ellipsis is evident in research on political consumerism that examines market engagements emerging from societal concerns associated with production and consumption (Boström, Micheletti, and Oosterveer 2019; Holzer 2006; Shah et al. 2007; Stolle, Hooghe, and Micheletti 2005). Some scholars allude to the importance of solidarity (e.g., Micheletti and Stolle 2008; Micheletti, Stolle, and Berlin 2012), yet there is no explanation of how solidarity is regenerated.

In conclusion, consumer research has fallen short in providing conceptual clarity in terms of how solidarity regenerates in consumer movements and adapts to various threats that are likely to undermine its existence. Our purpose is to explain the regeneration of solidarity in a movement, and thus deepen understanding of the nature and role of this significant concept in consumer research.

Solidarity in New Social Movement Research

Solidarity in New Social Movement (NSM) research is often conflated with collective identifications (della Porta 2006) and/or a more instrumental sense of "common interest" recognition (Tarrow 2011, 11). The underlying assumption is that characteristics such as these lead to continued levels of higher solidarity. For instance, the consolidation of a strong collective identity, with clear boundaries between "we" and "they," is viewed as a key component of movement solidarity (Melucci 1998) and so is the existence of unified "interpretive schemata

that simplifies and condenses the 'world out there' by selectively punctuating and encoding objects, situations, events, experiences, and sequences of actions within one's present or past environment" (Snow and Benford 1992, 137). An increasing amount of NSM research also considers how emotions play a central role in the emergence, consolidation, and demise of movements (Flam and King 2007; Goodwin, Jasper, and Polletta 2001). In this approach, solidarity is viewed as being forged by a particular emotional energy that arises "out of conscience of being entrained within a collective focus of attention" (Collins 2009, 29), akin to Durkheim's notion of "moral force" and Mauss's "mana." Rorty (1989) offers a corrective to the emphasis on predetermined solidarities by surfacing contingent, partial, and constructed solidarity, yet his analysis does not overcome the problem of looking for similarities across diverse groups. As Featherstone (2012, 23) rightly points out, "this still traps understandings of solidarity within a reductive binary of similarity and dissimilarity."

Some NSM literature has paid more explicit attention, albeit sporadically, to the question of solidarity persistence in the face of threat. Most notably, Taylor's (1989) study on the continuity of women's movements solidarity focuses on threatening conditions such as less receptive political climates and low or negative cultural recognition. Echoing the assumptions of broader NSM literature, her study shows that under such conditions, movements largely succeed by consolidating variables such as collective identity (i.e., being more exclusive), sense of common purpose, member motivation, and centralization of power. More recently, Goodwin and Pfaff (2001) focus on the experience of intense emotions as a key threat to movement persistence. They identify eight "encouragement mechanisms" that activists use to foster commitment, including, for instance, use of their social networks, mass meetings, "degradation" ceremonies, and media coverage. However, as the authors acknowledge, some of these

mechanisms are peculiar to their specific movements (two civil rights movements in East Germany and the US) and their specific threat, that is, the experience of intense fear. Despite their useful insights, the few other NSM studies that explicitly focus on the question of persistence follow a similar approach. For instance, Lawston (2009) observes how the radical women's prison movement addresses feelings of illegitimacy through the strategic use of frames, whereas Gongaware (2011) focuses on how a Native American educational social movement achieves continuity at a time of collective identity change. These studies identify a potential threat to movement solidarity and describe some specific processes through which these movements overcame such threats. This approach to understanding of the continuity of solidarity under threat has some key limitations.

First, although the importance of strengthening solidarity within a movement is acknowledged, a significant line of critique arises from the observation that it is still based on a "given" account of solidarity (Featherstone 2012, 19). It draws on a long-standing tradition, reflected in both NSM and consumer research, that views solidarity as arising from "a shared sense of humanness" and therefore "doesn't enable movements or political activity any agency or role in shaping how solidarities are constructed" (Featherstone 2012, 19). We have not adequately understood the implications of Gilmore's (2008) incisive observation, based on her work on Mothers Reclaiming Our Children (ROC) against the prison system in California, that even when common identifications and solidarity do not preexist, they can be creatively generated through contentious politics in social movements. There is a need to explore how solidarity is reinforced (i.e., reproduces itself; e.g., Collins 2004a, 2004b; Howard-Grenville, Metzger and Meyer 2013) in a social movement but also how it potentially evolves and transforms (i.e., reconfigures itself). Hence, rather than focusing on the mere persistence of

solidarity we embrace regeneration's dual meaning as both reconfiguration and reproduction. This omission became particularly glaring during our fieldwork; the existing model of solidarity failed to capture and explain the ongoing reconfigurations and reproductions of solidarity in Exarcheia. An interrelated second point is that the current literature on NSM and consumer movement solidarity focuses on unified notions of movement ideologies and collective emotions (e.g., Kozinets and Handelman 2004; Varman and Belk 2009). These are largely treated as monolithic and totalizing, with any potential divergence being automatically assumed to threaten solidarity (e.g., Goodwin and Pfaff 2001; Lawston 2009). There is, therefore, less focus on the underlying mechanisms that explain variability in movement solidarity.

In sum, consumer and NSM research have fallen short in providing conceptual clarity in terms of how solidarity regenerates in movements and adapts to various threats that are likely to undermine its existence. Our purpose is to explain the regeneration of solidarity in a movement, and thus deepen the understanding of the nature and role of this significant concept in consumer research. In our analysis of consumer movements in Exarcheia, we uncover how movement solidarity, in the face of threats, regenerates through three internal mechanisms. In the following sections, we describe our research context, ethnographic methods, and findings.

RESEARCH CONTEXT AND METHODS

Exarcheia is a relatively small (90 hectares; 22,000 residents; www.statistics.gr), central neighborhood of Athens, with a disproportionately large historic and symbolic significance. Surrounded by three university buildings, the area has long been a cultural and intellectual center. It boasts the highest number of printing shops, bookstores, music stores, and music

schools per capita in Greece, and a highly educated population that is over-represented by intellectuals, artists, creative workers, and university students (Demertzi 2016). The area has been the linchpin of modern Greece's radical political history, including among others, the Polytechnic uprising against the military junta (November 1973) and political unrest in response to the killing of Michalis Kaltezas (November 1985). However, it was not until the December 2008 riots, sparked by the shooting dead by police of 15-year-old Alexis Grigoropoulos, that the area acquired a strong international reputation (Vradis and Dalakoglou 2011).

Our six-year ethnographic study in Exarcheia commenced in 2009 with a visit by the research team to explore a newly created guerrilla park, as part of an intended research project into urban activism. Navarinou Park or "the park," was a former parking lot that the Exarcheia Residents' Initiative (established in March 2009; see figure 1 in the web appendix) occupied and operated on the principles of self-management and anti-hierarchical structuring. Any form of commercial or market-mediated activity was explicitly banned at Navarinou Park, as there was no space for "atomized logics and behaviors that treat the park as yet another space of consumption" (Park assembly leaflet, July 2012). As we proceeded with initial interviewing, interacting with both residents and activists connected to the guerrilla park, we quickly realized that the whole area of Exarcheia was a hotbed of protest activities that revolved around anti- or alternative consumption ventures. We therefore broadened our focus to look at other initiatives such as Seed (Σπόρος in Greek; see figure 2, web appendix, for an illustration and table 1 for a full description), a consumer collective that aimed, among others, to support the Zapatistas by directly importing their coffee (it closed in July 2012). We also included Moth (Σκόρος; see figure 3 in the web appendix and table 1 for a full description), an anti-consumerist collective that provided a permanent space for the gifting of goods and services without attached norms of

reciprocity. Like Navarinou Park, these collectives endorsed an ideological discourse that put consumers and consumption at the forefront of enacting resistance. They can therefore be characterized as consumer movements (Kozinets and Handelman 2004). We also followed a variety of other forms of consumer-oriented activism found in the area, from free film screenings and collective cooking events, to the burning down of multinational retail stores (e.g., Starbucks) and of symbols of conspicuous consumption (e.g., expensive cars), to various anti-consumerist campaigns and posters (see figure 6, web appendix).

INSERT TABLE 1 HERE

Our consumer movements faced threats and difficulties that seriously undermined their persistence. Starting in late 2009, the "Greek economic crisis" (*Economist* 2015) disrupted the social fabric of Greece at a much higher magnitude and scale than originally anticipated. By 2015, the country had undergone its sixth consecutive year of economic contraction, wiping out more than 30% of its GDP in what was the biggest decline in a developed economy since the 1950s (ELSTAT 2015). General unemployment more than tripled from 7.7% in 2008 to about 25% in 2015, whereas youth unemployment skyrocketed to over 50% (ELSTAT 2015). Although the Greek economy began growing again soon after our data collection ended (last quarter of 2015; ELSTAT 2016) and it officially remains a developed country, the effects of the crisis on the middle classes, the cornerstone of Greek society since World War II, seem irreparable. Lower- and middle-income households have lost more than 25% of their annual income and there are no social security nets left at their disposal (Magoulios, Kydros, and Stergios 2015; Mavridis 2018).

This systemic threat translated the key ideological elements of our movements, i.e., their goals, and understandings of themselves and their adversaries (Kozinets and Haldeman 2004)

into potential roadblocks to their continuity. Moreover, emotional fatigue and burnout was a second threat to our movements' internal solidarity.

The ethnographic study, conducted between April 2009 and May 2015, comprised multiple visits to Exarcheia, each lasting between 1 and 10 weeks; in total comprising 55 weeks of fieldwork. Visits were mainly undertaken by the first author, who stayed in rented accommodation and fully participated in the community during these periods. During our initial visit, the research team was viewed with some suspicion, given the mix of ages and the fact that we included two non-Greek speakers. It thus proved a challenge, in certain instances, to gain the trust of participants. For example, in accompanying a street artist on a tour of Exarcheian murals, the team was required to prove their trustworthiness by joining him in certain acts of "decorating" billboards. As a native Greek, however, the first author was more easily accepted into the area as a resident. He interacted on a daily basis with many inhabitants, particularly focusing on key collectives that were rethinking the very bases of consumer culture, such as Seed, Moth, and the guerrilla park. He also helped as a volunteer and participated in various meetings and regular weekly and fortnightly assemblies, thereby seeking a deep immersion in these contexts.

In keeping with standard ethnographic techniques used in consumer research (Sherry 1998; Thompson, Rindfleisch, and Arsel 2006), multiple methods of data collection were used, and the resultant data set included: observational field notes (190 pages); personal interviews with residents, activists, local artists, and squatters (82); photographs (1,100); activist literature (more than 700 pamphlets and posters); and numerous ad hoc interviews. In addition, we closely followed and included media reports, television documentaries, books (e.g., Varkarolis 2012),

and novels (e.g., Penny and Crabapple, 2012) about Exarcheia to better understand the history of the area and its contemporary representations.

Interviews lasted between one to two hours and were conducted in local bars, cafés, meeting rooms, and the guerrilla park and were mainly undertaken by the first author (with the exception of six interviews carried out in English). Many participants were interviewed multiple times as the research progressed. Broad "grand tour questions" (McCracken 1998) were asked first, before focusing on specific incidents and daily routines. We sought to understand the rhythms of life in Exarcheia and what it meant to be an Exarcheian resident, consumer, and activist.

In pursuing a purposive sampling approach, we selected participants on the basis of enabling us to compare and contrast emergent findings as the study progressed. The participants represented a broad spectrum of Exarcheian visitors and residents. We distinguished between users (i.e., regular visitors) and members, the latter being those who also participated in the weekly or biweekly assemblies of our consumer movements and/or who volunteered their time to organize events and do shifts. Although there were no official leaders, given that all movements are explicitly anti-hierarchical, we also distinguished between longer-standing and regular members. Longer-standing members were often more influential due to their extensive experience. Our sample included a spread across gender, age, socioeconomic and educational backgrounds (see table 2, web appendix, for a summary of our key participants). As discussed in the research context section, the Exarcheian population possesses a higher educational profile compared to other areas of Athens, which was reflected in our sample. Interviews were audiotaped and transcribed. Most interviews were in Greek and were subsequently translated into English by the lead researcher.

We followed standard procedures for analysis and interpretation (e.g., Arnould and Wallendorf 1994; Spiggle 1994; Strauss and Corbin 1990), identifying themes within and across our data through a constant comparative approach (Miles and Huberman 1994). The members of the research team continually exchanged insights and discussed the emergent themes together, revisiting the data frequently, and refining the coding. Iterating between our findings and the literature, between emergent and a priori codes, we developed a thick interpretive framework.

THE MECHANISMS OF CONSUMER MOVEMENT SOLIDARITY REGENERATION

Within our data, two key threats emerged as potent impediments to solidarity in our consumer movements—ideological ossification and emotional fatigue. First, the economic crisis made the movements' core ideological emphasis on opposition to consumerism into a threat. Second, emotional fatigue and resulting burnout increasingly became a threat to our movements. By constantly iterating between our emic and etic accounts, we identified different mechanisms that enabled movement solidarity regeneration in the face of these two key threats. These mechanisms are performative staging of collectivism, temporal tactics, and the emplacement of counter-sites. We qualify these mechanisms as *regenerative*, in the sense that they *both reconfigured and reproduced solidarity*, ultimately maintaining its ability to overcome threats and to persevere. The following account analyses how each of these mechanisms operated to regenerate solidarity, first, in relation to ideological and, second, in relation to emotional threats.

Ideological Ossification: The Pragmatic Attenuation of Idealism

Ideology is a cornerstone of any collective action (Humphreys and Thompson 2014; Kozinets 2002; Kozinets and Handelman 2004). In Exarcheia, consumer movements were impelled by the ideological emphasis on producing cracks in consumer capitalist logic through everyday practices (Holloway 2010). For instance, the ideological goal of various gifting bazaars and alternative trading initiatives was to "put [anti-capitalist] ideas to the tough test of practice, because if not embedded within the here and now they will remain nice yet increasingly elusive dreams" (Seed leaflet, May 2009). Such an ideology could be viewed as idealist, in so far as there was a strong commitment to enacting visions of an egalitarian anti-capitalist society in the present.

This idealist orientation led to a clear demarcation of ideologically enlightened consumer activists from corporate elites and mainstream consumers (Kozinets and Handelman 2004; also Kozinets 2002; Muñiz and Schau 2005; Luedicke, Thompson, and Giesler 2010; Scaraboto and Fischer 2013; Thompson and Arsel 2004; Varman and Belk 2009). The park, for instance, is "not welcoming to consumers" (Dimitris) whereas Seed is not a space "for consuming commodities without wondering where they came from and how they have been produced" (Iakovos; see also figure 6, web appendix).

The contingencies superimposed by the economic crisis severely threatened ideals of alternatives to consumer capitalism from being translated into everyday praxis. The economic crisis and resulting scarcity made the core ideology of resisting consumerism a potential threat to the movements because many consumers could no longer access mainstream markets to acquire essential (let alone non-essential) items (e.g., Ross et al. 2020). Heleni was one of many participants who quipped that "previously we were fighting a dominant paradigm, and that

paradigm collapsed!" As a result, the earlier ideology was undermined, and any ossification of it became a threat to movements and solidarity within them. Hera, a participant in various Exarcheia-based collectives further explained: "We had to give priority to the need for solidarity networks that would address the real needs of people." We began to observe the attenuation of idealism (that is, a relative reduction of its significance) with pragmatic ideological orientations, within which mainstream consumers were no longer viewed as opponents. Aphrodite, for instance, further explained that "you can't criticize them [mainstream consumers]. It may be frustrating sometimes, but it is only natural to be a bit greedier if you have been deprived [of material belongings]." Thus, instead of a reified notion of similarity, we witnessed the creative generation of common identifications and solidarity through contentious politics in consumer movements (Gilmore 2008). Aphrodite was one of many participants who observed how a preconceived ossification of an idealist ideology can hamper solidarity in a movement and how the movement has to adapt to changing circumstances (in relation to buying power and beyond). Although writings on consumer movements (e.g., Kozinets and Handelman 2004) and NSM (e.g., Tarrow 2011) predicted that this shift would seriously undermine movements' sense of common ideology and indeed their raison d'être, most movements in Exarcheia persevered while adapting their ideological basis. They achieved change in ideology and continuity through three key internal mechanisms: performative staging of collectivism, temporal tactics, and the emplacement of counter-sites that helped them to overcome the threat of ideological ossification (see also table 3 in the web appendix).

The performative staging of collectivism: Performative staging has been found to be crucial to social protests and contentious politics (Swyngedouw 2011). As Swyngedouw (2011) suggests, protests against a dominant order require performative staging of practices of equality,

freedom, justice etc. Accordingly, "The political arises then, in the act of performatively staging equality, a procedure that simultaneously makes visible the 'wrong' of the given situation. For example, when, in 1955, Rosa Parks sat down on the 'wrong' seat on the bus in Montgomory, Alabama, she simultaneously staged equality and exposed the inegalitarian practice of a racialized instituted order." (374) Similarly, the performative staging of collectivism refers to enactments of collectivizing practices. Privileging group welfare over individual interests, such enactments interrupt a monochromatic and reified vision of a consumer movement with the possibility of a collectively negotiated ideological change. Thus a key feature of collectivizing practices is the significant role they play in not only reproducing (e.g., Collins 2004a) but also in reconfiguring movement ideology. The threat of ideological ossification made enactments of collectivism that facilitated ideological attenuation crucial for the consumer movements in Exarcheia.

One such significant form of performative staging of collectivism was Moth's assembly that became a key site to discuss the movement's ideology, a ritual enactment that encouraged debate and ideological adaptation. The staging of these assemblies allowed for discussions to take place on the appropriateness of the prevailing ideology. For instance, in one of Moth's assemblies (March 2012), Ariadne maintained that the collective could not claim to be anti-consumerist because it recirculated objects that are known for labor exploitation, such as Nike shoes and Gap clothes. Other members, such as Helios, passionately opposed the idea, partly on the basis that Moth's critique of consumer culture was primarily anchored against materialism and overconsumption, as opposed to boycotting: "If we were to do this, we would end up without any objects to recirculate!" As a result, the assembly decided to not boycott any objects that came to Moth. In another assembly (April 2013), the debate centered on giving to and receiving

items from identarian opponents such as "mainstream consumers" (Kozinets and Handelman 2004) and individuals with questionable political affiliations. The discussion was triggered because of the frequent visits of Lena, a fashion photographer, who was seen to be furthering a consumerist ethos. Although the assembly decided to not allow her the use of Moth's items for the promotion of consumerism, members continued to debate the issue in light of the economic crisis and, in subsequent assemblies, decided to not discriminate against mainstream consumers, especially those facing increasing material deprivation.

Thus, staging of assemblies assisted in overcoming threats and fostering solidarity in two ways. First, assemblies helped reconfigure ideology from its idealist anti-capitalist form that rejected products made by large corporations as well as those that promoted them, to a more pragmatic turn that was selective in such refusals. Second, such ongoing debates in assemblies brought people face to face and created dialogues and associations. It led to a realization that solidarity cannot be created by merely (anti-)consuming some good with "linking value" (Cova 1997), but by coming together in assemblies that enabled shared understandings. Although, as Heleni intimated to us, the emphasis on assemblies meant that "concerns were very intense, and debates during the assemblies endless." It also meant, as Sotiria informed us, that "decisions are taken in the most collective and agreeable manner possible." Assemblies fostered dialogues and debates in which ideological issues were discussed, instead of treating them as reified. In a way, a coherent idealist ideology was replaced by more bottom-up pragmatism that was democratically fostered through assemblies without stifling dissenting voices or identities (e.g., Graeber 2002). As Agamemnon explains, referring to the park's assembly, "I think we have all understood that big labels don't really help when it comes to building common understanding." Therefore, key components of our movements' ideology that became a threat to their continuity

were reconfigured through staging of assemblies. Solidarity was regenerated not on the basis of preconceived anti-consumerist ideals and ideological adversaries, but through immersion in contentious everyday politics (Featherstone 2012).

Whereas assemblies were key in reconfiguring our movements' idealist ideology, we observed how, in a second stage, additional performative stagings of collectivism also helped achieve this. For example, the production of various artefacts such as solidarity stickers and T-shirts (see figure 7, web appendix) and not-for-profit small and large-scale gatherings, gigs, festivals, and rallies all emphasized common ideals and values over individual needs and desires, thereby acting in a similar way to the "encouragement mechanisms" identified by Goodwin and Pfaff (2001). Sotiria recalled how "we would all meet at the anti-racist festival" and Adonis referred to the solidarity trading festival being "the must event" of each year. Concurrently, such large-scale gatherings and festivals were also arenas for recruiting new members, providing awareness about movement manifestos (e.g., in addition to having dedicated stalls, Seed and Moth also distributed leaflets), and establishing rapport with a more diverse range of participants (Thomas et al. 2013). Akin to what Weijo et al. (2018, 7) describe as an interplay between "deterritorializing and territorializing" processes, we found that such gatherings and festivals were also sites in which more creative forms of (anti)consuming and doing things differently were communicated and experimented with. For example, Moth would often organize in-situ gifting bazaars to communicate the values of sharing and reusing to others, as well as special events such as free book fairs. In turn, the integration of these experimentations into movement members' everyday practices allowed for new "territorializations" (Weijo et al. 2018). These were focused on reproducing common values and sensibilities on an ongoing basis with communal experiments and practices, a feature that maintained stability in an otherwise unstable

context that threatened solidarity. As such, the ideology we witnessed in these enactments advanced more interdependent and collectivist modes of existence, ultimately promoting the interests of a larger whole over and above individual differences and agendas (Gilbert 2014). In doing so, activists reconfigured their earlier ideology with its central anti-capitalist logics to one whose collectivist logics included mainstream consumers.

Temporal tactics. We found that temporal tactics were central to the pragmatic attenuation of idealist ideology. Temporal tactics are concerned with how consumer activists manage the structures and rhythms that underpin different notions of time. In consumer movement research there is usually only one temporal scale implicit and this works in a linear chronological order or continuous time, that is to say, working now to achieve change in the future (e.g., Gollenhofen et al. 2019; Kozinets and Handelman 2004). As outlined earlier, such a linearity was also evident in Exarcheia before the ideological threat surfaced. Due to the economic crisis, the future orientation was interrupted as concerns about survival in the present became dominant. This frustrated some of our participants because they had to compromise their future-oriented anti-consumerist ideology with the present-oriented requirements of crisis-hit consumers. For instance, Pericles shared his frustration:

> There were 200–300 people on our mailing list, friends of friends, etc. They all wanted access because our stuff was very high quality and relatively cheap, given the times we live in, but I refuse to do so much work for someone who doesn't understand, and who doesn't lift a finger to help our project.

Here Pericles's refusal surfaces the threat of ideological ossification and a tension between catering to present needs for essential items (e.g., Ross et al. 2020) and more future-oriented

project of materializing environmental and socially just trading relations. Likewise, in a meeting discussion about the mainstreaming of alternative trading markets and alternative economies (July 2012), a participant noted:

> We need to clarify what we are aiming at here; there are different levels of time. If addressing immediate needs, right now is the only thing that really matters, then they may as well go to Lidl, they have a far better infrastructure for securing the lowest prices.

The concern about low pricing is reflective of competing temporal priorities and ideological threat. In other words, there is again a concern to provide lower priced goods in the present versus a future orientation that aims to challenge unjust trading relations.

In the face of the threat of ideological ossification, we found that the regeneration of movement solidarity was subject to managing the reproduction and reconfiguration of temporal dimensions that were not continuous. The conflicting temporal inclinations altered the earlier ideological basis and a careful mixing of different time scales regenerated the logic of grassroots practices with different ideological priorities. The emphasis in our movements shifted from simply bridging long-term structural transformations with present practices, to also working out and offering pragmatic solutions to people's immediate needs. As a consequence, critiques of mainstream consumption and rampant materialism (i.e., earlier ideology) had to be altered. Heracles, a founding member of Seed, observed:

> If there is one thing to emphasize, it is not a criticism of consumption per se, but rather of the consumption imaginary. The demand during what we call the "crisis" is to be able to consume. All the demonstrations, all the protests, all the strikes aim at having more money to consume.

Here an ideological reconfiguration took place by moving from focusing on the future, in which consumer capitalism was to be challenged, to a crisis-ridden present, in which overconsumption no longer applied as a primary concern. The ideological focus shifted to the necessity to provide welfare support and the basic amenities of life. Mainstream consumers were no longer viewed as adversaries (Kozinets and Handelman 2004).

Temporality was at the center of the recognition of the need for a major ideological reconfiguration to overcome the threat. The reconfiguration with more emphasis on the present, however, did not diminish the consumer activists' resolution to remain actively involved with their visions of a less consumerist future. For example, Artemis told us:

> We found ourselves wondering "What now? What, are we going to tell the poor and the needy not to consume? But they obviously can't anyway!" So we sat down and thought about it, and then said "Hold on, what we are talking about *is* anti-consumerism. What we have in mind is something different, another society based on what is small: smaller-scale things, supporting local producers, solidarity".

According to Artemis, anti-consumption is also about being in solidarity with others in need, through small-scale, shared spaces such as Moth. It is notable here how Artemis reframes Moth's ideology through a process akin to Gongaware's (2011) notion of temporal keying—whereby new layers of meaning are overlaid on the present from the past and/or the future (or vice versa) in a form of collective memory association. In other words, she "keys" a past commitment to small-scale activities and local producers to the present anti-consumerist ideology. Adonis elaborated on this by asserting that the previous model of anti-consumption was not radical enough: "Anti-consumption was just about consuming less or consuming better. It should also be about social relationships and relationships with our resources, how we create those resources!"

Like Artemis, Adonis connects different timescales of past, present, and future in this observation, as he reconfigures the prevailing ideology to address the threat of ideological ossification. Accordingly, although Greece had earlier witnessed anti-consumption movements with an emphasis on voluntary simplicity, there was a need for a more radical ideological framing for the present and future of Moth than what had been achieved in the past.

Therefore, by keying different aspects of past and future ideological threads into the present, many of our collectives kept going while reconfiguring their original ideological beliefs and motivations. Temporality for activists is not linear: past, present, and future do not unfold in an orderly fashion but echoes Emirbayer and Mische's (1998) distinction between three different temporal-relational dimensions: *iterational* or rooted in the past; *projective* or placed in the future; and *practical-evaluative* or carried out in the present. In these ways, movements threaded through multiple temporal scales, with past, present, and future intersecting to overcome the threat of ideological ossification.

The emplacement of counter-sites. The emplacement of counter-sites refers to the foregrounding of shared place as a source of solidarity and as a scale of resistive, collective consumer action. Foucault (1984) suggests that counter-sites invert, resist, and often subvert the dominant ethos. It is no coincidence that activist movements in recent times have taken over public spaces (e.g., Occupy Movement, Dakota Pipeline, Extinction Rebellion) in attempts to mobilize marginalized voices. In the face of threats to solidarity in Exarcheia, we found that all bottom-up mobilizations and initiatives emphasized the sharing of space as part of their agenda. For example, similar to Hera's observations on the "usual context of social experiences," Irene explained how Moth inverted the dominant ethos:

> Look, this is a place that at times of extreme individualism and selfishness, allows some people to work together as a collective. Everyone outside Moth is for themselves: for their car, their girlfriend, wife or husband. Here in Moth, I like that each one of us learns to share things, to care for each other.

And Agamemnon explained his affiliation with the park on the basis that it is the only nearby public place protected from the "forces of commodification and commercialization." The emplacement of counter-sites was therefore a critical contributor to solidarity as it helped restrict the neoliberal ordering of subject positions.

The emplacement of counter-sites in Exarcheia played a key role in reducing the threat of ideological ossification by furthering pragmatic attenuation of idealist ideology. Highlighting the significance of place in reconfiguring ideology, Hera told us, "it is very important for people to collectively manage a space that does not belong to anyone in particular, but to all. All this is completely outside the frame within which we are taught and raised, outside our usual context of social experiences." The economic crisis not only destroyed economic safeguards for many Greeks but also ripped apart the social fabric that bound them as a society. It unleashed forces of individualism and selfishness, as people, reeling under a neoliberal onslaught, were left to fend for themselves. As a result, and as explained above, the ossification of preexisting anti-consumerist ideology in Exarcheia became a threat. In the face of this challenge, shared places encouraged physical encounters and interactions, promoting an overall collective appraisal (Visconti et al. 2010) that helped adapt ideology when it became a threat.

In the process, Exarcheia became a larger, scaled-up counter-site or place where people could be (and consume) together in their struggles against the outside world. "Beyond political affiliations and ideological differences, beyond breaking all conventions, Exarcheia unites us"

became the refrain of the Exarcheia Residents' Initiative, a movement that aimed to bring all the networks of resistance together and to coordinate interventions against the commodification and misuse of all public places. The initiative also introduced a time bank and a permanent space for residents and "friends of Exarcheia" meetings, to further cultivate an emplaced sense of common ideology and we-ness. In this way, it explicitly engaged in "scale jumping," in other words, the cultivation of solidarity not on the basis of shared place at the level of the group or collective, but the broader neighborhood as a counter-site. As Sewell (2001, 56) observes, spaces can create solidarity in a social movement by enabling "copresence" because, for people to come together, they need to be brought into each other's presence, "either personally and bodily or in some mediated fashion." The initiative created such a copresence by "scale jumping" (Sewell 2001) the neighborhood as a place of we-ness and resistive action. We therefore observed a continuous oscillation between the scale of immediate action (actual spaces of our movements) to the scale of the neighborhood community (Exarcheia) and sometimes, to the scale of the broader antagonistic movement (various nationwide events and festivals).

Importantly, these scales were employed to produce a pragmatic attenuation of ideology despite potential tensions or compromises within more specific counter-sites. For instance, the main square in Exarcheia was often used as a counter-site for what participants described as "cultural interventions" and solidarity trading initiatives (e.g., a solidarity trading market was established in September 2012 and has been running ever since). In so doing, alternative consumption practices of anti-market and generalized exchange (Arnould and Rose 2016), sharing (Belk 2010) and gifting were also embraced (and emplaced) at a larger scale. For example, drinks were always sold near to cost if not gifted (with any surplus proceeding to the funding of political causes) whereas collective cooking and gifting bazaars were commonly

organized as part of neighborhood events and initiatives. A variety of other public places such as Tsamadou Park, a smaller guerrilla park, and occupied buildings were also used in a similar manner, ultimately enabling a move from the scale of immediate action to the scale of the neighborhood community. Likewise, the ubiquitous political posters communicated calls for coordinated political action and political analyses, as these were "the walls that speak to everyone," according to Anaxagoras (see figure 5, web appendix). Many of these posters were also placed on the park's three bulletin boards, as well as outside and inside the premises of Moth and Seed. In this sense, they created a sense of community dialogue and common ground that was essential to attenuating the ideological basis of Exarcheia-based movements. Thus, drawing on their emplacement as counter-sites, many of our movements adopted a more pragmatist orientation to overcome the threat of ideological ossification.

Emotional Fatigue: Overcoming Member Burnout

Intense emotions that lead to emotional fatigue are recognized as a key threat to movement solidarity (Goodwin and Pfaff 2001; Lawston 2009). Yet, in the theorization of consumer movements, emotional aspects such as joy and anger have only been briefly conceptualized (Kozinets and Handleman 2004; Valor, Díaz, and Merino 2017; Weijo et al. 2018). Echoing Gopaldas' (2014) ethical consumers, our consumer activists also expressed a range of emotions--contempt for villains (e.g., corporate capitalists), concern for victims (e.g., structurally disenfranchised producers and consumers), and celebrated heroes (e.g., the Zapatistas). In addition, members often explicitly talked about the collective hope and joy in doing things differently as a linking impetus within the movement. We observed, for example,

the insertion of various table games in key public spaces, such as chessboards and table-tennis tables, as well as chairs, benches, and tables (see figure 4, web appendix). That is, the activists in our study strategically and pragmatically sought to generate a certain structure of positive (utopian) emotions (Gopaldas 2014).

Soon after our first observations, however, we began to observe fundamental shifts in collectively shared emotions. The street art of Exarcheia, for example, became increasingly pessimistic, darker, and angry, through the use of stark colors, anti-authoritarian slogans (e.g., against the state or the police), and the depiction of symbols such as riot masks (see figure 8, web appendix; see also Spyropoulos 2013). In parallel to such expressions of emotions, we observed more inwardly directed emotional shifts, such as member fatigue and burnout. These emerged primarily as a response to members' personal experiences and their relationships with other members, rather than external social conditions such as the crisis. A notable example was Seed, which, despite its members' efforts, disintegrated in July 2012. A leaflet distributed in 2013 by a founding member noted:

> Seed, apart from its first phase which was more joyful and creative, did not manage to overcome the cracks that often emerge within such initiatives because of personal relations: the various likes and dislikes, the affairs, and the selfish behavior.

In Seed, personal experiences of attachments, likes/dislikes, and selfishness created emotional burdens that became an internal threat. This echoes Gorski, Lopresti-Goodman, and Rising's (2019) observation that member burnout is often the result of activists' unique characteristics and within-movement organizational cultures and member-member relationships as opposed to external causes. Notwithstanding, the rest of our movements persevered through the consistent fostering of new assertive emotions. As Hebe noted, "through all these difficulties and problems,

through all these times that we have been on the defensive, we learned how to bond more strongly with each other, and this is what is really interesting and moving." Thus, emotional fatigue became a key threat and it was overcome through our three regenerative mechanisms.

The performative staging of collectivism. Performative staging of collectivism regenerated solidarity by moderating and reconfiguring shared emotions. In our consumer movements, staging of collectivism in small and large-scale parties, events and festivals provided peak experiences of solidarity (Collins 2004b, 43); meaning moments of collective joy and emotional effervescence that reached beyond the everyday banalities and challenges of working collectively. As Ypatia told us: "the first time I went to the solidarity festival, I was overwhelmed with joy; it was like going to my first music gig!" Ypatia's experience of joy emerges from being associated with a movement that strongly resonates with her political principles. Similarly, Persephone admitted that she "joined the collective because I wanted to share more of that joy."

Despite many similar expressions of joy, we noted, however, that various experimentations with additional enactments were ultimately adopted or deferred on the basis of their ability to moderate intense collective emotions. Moth, for example, originally emerged as an offshoot of Seed, when the practice of exchanging clothes every Friday became a popular enactment that grew in scope and scale. Likewise, about a year after the opening of Moth, a new form of staging emerged, described by participants as "the Saturday shift." As more and more members found time to join the Saturday shift (being outside their working week), it acquired added symbolic significance. Everybody would bring drinks, snacks and/or homemade food and stay at the premises from early afternoon until late evening. Interestingly, however, after a few incidents of "excessive partying," according to Cassandra, it was decided to cancel large-scale

gatherings on Saturdays. Alcohol was forbidden and even the amount of food consumption was limited. This points to a dilemma often faced by consumer movements where they find themselves faced with the paradox that collective hedonistic consumption can strengthen social bonding even while its excesses may prove harmful and threaten an anti-consumption ideological stance. Accordingly, although shared emotions, pleasure, and joy may require the staging of such events, excessive emotions (exacerbated by excessive consumption) can also lead to fatigue and prove to be a distraction from realizing political objectives, thus undermining the persistence of solidarity (Goodwin and Pfaff 2001; Lawston 2009). In other words, they put individual interests over the interests of the collective. Anaxagoras echoed this observation, noting that "parties are good but you should be wary of not making them too frequent." He alluded to the need to regulate the frequency of events, similar to what Weijo et al. (2018) identify in the context of "Restaurant Day."

Rather than worrying about the right balance between event frequency and participant fatigue, the staging of events in our observations was done in such a way to actively moderate for their emotional intensity, so that it was neither too high nor too low. This moderation ensured an emotional balance that helped regenerate solidarity among members as opposed to having emotional extremes that can lead to breakaway groups and infighting. Shepard (2012) also describes the limits of playful action in his accounts of the inadequacies of carnivalesque activists when they faced the horrors of terrorism and war, racial discrimination, and worker exploitation. Thus, when movements face such situations, fun and pleasure have to be limited by more traditional organizing practices.

Temporal tactics. Emotions may be inward or outward oriented and may affect temporal rhythms, by slowing down or speeding up our perceptions of time (Woermann and Rokka 2015). We observed that many of the consumer activism projects tried to pace emotional flows and rhythms by, for example, including practices of deceleration (Husemann and Eckhardt 2019), such as avoiding the heavy consumption of social media, simplifying consumer choices, and working against the frenzy of contemporary urban life. This was an attempt to introduce a different temporality in the present to overcome the threat of emotional fatigue and resulting member burnout. The present time was interrupted by introducing another time to counter the fast-paced rhythms of the dominant capitalist order perceived to be an emotional threat, as Ares explains:

> All the neuroses we have all developed in the West...We weren't born with them but our families, and our capitalist civilization create them. We are constantly trying to fill our emotional gaps via consumption, whereas here we try to counter that, we try to create cracks.

In line with Ares's observations, our movements provided multiple temporalities by creating cracks in the present to experience emotions that were otherwise denied to people and which encouraged ways of living that are more enjoyable than consumerism. One of the first things installed in the children's playground in the guerilla park, for instance, was a giant snail made of comb, which, according to Artemis, was used to symbolize "the imperative for degrowth, the need for all of us to slow down and enjoy our social and material surroundings at the pace of a snail!" Accordingly, emotions were closely tied to a temporal slowdown and the need to appreciate current materialities rather than engage in acquisitive consumption. Such temporal

slowdowns were also attempts to reconfigure capitalist time and, in doing so, regenerate solidarity. As Sotiria told us:

> Our everyday reality is too tormented and frenetic and oftentimes so are our souls and the way we deal with things. This is a matter of degree as well. Of course, we have people here who are genuinely depressed, and people who participate far less than others, but Moth is a medium through which you can partake in many things and smoothen out your reality.

It is notable that Sotiria's observations are focused on the intra-membership context, as opposed to being more externally focused. She refers to the reciprocal emotions that Goodwin et al. (2001) identify as producing affective ties of friendship and solidarity among members of social movements. They contrast with the externally directed emotions of the crisis, such as collective angst, despair, and fear. Soon after the beginning of the crisis, we began to observe a widespread realization among our movement participants that they had to persevere. Phrases emphasizing the imperatives to "keep going" and "carry on" pervaded our data during this time.

The aforementioned emotional rhythms were more intensively deployed to resist pessimism about the future that contributes to emotional fatigue. Highlighting this emotional emphasis, Persephone told us that through Moth "we give a metaphorical hug, a hug that through everyday practices helps counter various forms of fear, power, and social isolation." Hera added that "solidarity [among the members] is absolutely necessary, nowadays in particular; otherwise, everything would collapse." In these articulatory practices, feelings of care and togetherness (the metaphorical hug) became the glue that regenerated solidarity by keeping collectives such as Moth and the park going and shielding them from the otherwise devastating emotional effects of the crisis. In contrast, as noted earlier, Seed dissolved in July 2012 because of inadequate

attention paid to internal emotions and personal relations (2013 leaflet by Panagoulis, founding member). Departing from Kozinets and Handelman's (2004) and Gopaldas' (2014) consumer activists, sentiments of care and solidarity in Moth and the park were no longer only oriented toward important others and/or abstract social causes. Instead, they had become integral to the micro-political and emotional work of the movement, a precondition for its survival.

The emplacement of counter-sites. We frequently noted how the grounding of common emotional responses helped combat any threat of emotional fatigue and burnout, first, by being exposed to the same counter-site and, second, by the continual encounters and face-to-face interactions entailed in sharing spaces across scales, i.e., solidarity festivals that transcended the immediate locale. In relation to sharing counter-sites, Irene, referring to Moth, told us:

> What I like about this place is that everyone comes in and feel comfortable. They sit by the table, and have a drink or refreshment with us, without even knowing us!

Echoing Irene, Olympia observed the following about the park:

> It is extremely important that this place is our hangout and this is where we meet with others and do things. OK, we don't all live nearby, but many of us do and meeting in this place has given me extreme joy.

Irene and Olympia experienced Moth and the park as convivial counter-sites in which solidarity is fostered by the affectual relationships that Goodwin characterizes as pivotal to it (Goodwin 1997; Goodwin and Pfaff 2001; Illich 1971). The many face-to-face interactions, as well as shared consumption practices, helped overcome the pessimism of crisis, created joyful emotions, and thus played a key role in solidarity regeneration. Indeed, such sharing practices had little meaning outside Moth, as Hestia noted:

> The fact that people make the effort to come here and wear second-hand clothes without feeling embarrassed has to do with the character of this space—a space that is joyful and multicolored—so that you can then go to a café with your friends and say "Look! I got this at Moth!"

Extending Belk's (2010, 717) observation that sharing "creates feelings of solidarity and bonding," we note the central role of place (versus object) sharing in accentuating feelings of empathy, care (Massey 1991) and, importantly, joy that countered the threat of negative emotions previously discussed. We see an overlap between sharing in Moth and the idea of mutuality suggested by Arnould and Rose (2016). Despite their call to replace the egocentric idea of sharing with mutuality, we found that sharing at Moth, as a counter-site, was based on inclusivity, normative sociality, and conviviality. Thus, a counter-site of sharing and joy that inverted the pessimism and emotional fatigue prevalent in other spaces was a key mechanism of solidarity regeneration. Furthermore, we recognized a different route to linking value from what Cova (1997) describes. Unlike locating linking value in objects of consumption as Cova does, or in brands as Muñiz and O'Guinn (2001) do, our participants also recover linking value and solidarity from counter-sites in which they are located.

Importantly, the linking value we found in Moth and the Park successfully scaled up to Exarcheia (and broader festivals, e.g., Anti-Racism Festival, October 2012) to consolidate a broader and deeper sense of equity, justice, and empathy for the vulnerable. According to Niki, a founding member of Moth: "whereas in other parts of Athens, refugees were either absent or often unwelcome, Exarcheia has always been a space of care for them." When the so-called European refugee crisis broke out in 2015 (Papataxiarchis 2016), places like the park and Moth already represented infrastructures of care and bottom-up welfare provision. As Adonis

observed, "we were supporting refugees before it became fashionable!" Thus, they were sites of "emotional socialization" (Aminzade and McAdam 2001, 39), as they created emotional learning processes within movements that helped people to transcend boundaries of alterity and to cultivate feelings for others.

In summary, solidarity in consumer movements was threatened by ideological ossification and emotional fatigue. Our findings show how the three mechanisms of performative staging of collectivism, temporal tactics, and the emplacement of counter-sites helped overcome these threats and contributed to the regeneration of solidarity. The three mechanisms helped regenerate solidarity by attenuating the idealist anti-consumerist ideology and by making it appropriate for the requirements of crisis-ridden consumers. Moreover, solidarity was regenerated as the three mechanisms helped ensure that the movements' participants overcame the emotional fatigue and burnout that became widespread threats. Our attention to solidarity regeneration in the face of threats has several important theoretical implications for the understanding of consumer movements that we explain in the next section.

DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS

Consumer research has provided rich insights into how consumers mobilize themselves to induce a range of institutional and market-based outcomes (e.g., Gollnhofer et al. 2019; Kozinets and Handelman 2004; Scaraboto and Fischer 2013; Thompson and Coskuner-Balli 2007; Weijo et al. 2018). In doing so, however, little attention has been paid to solidarity regeneration in consumer movements in the face of threats. In contrast, our research unpacks the mechanisms that reconfigure and reproduce consumer solidarity, here understood as the *ongoing*

commitment to collective consumer action. We point to the threats of ideological ossification and emotional fatigue, and find that consumer solidarity is regenerated through: 1) performative staging of collectivism; 2) temporal tactics; and 3) the emplacement of counter-sites. We attend to how, in the process of regeneration, these mechanisms allow solidarity to undergo changes and reproduce itself. We therefore corroborate an understanding of solidarity as a *form of regenerative action*. Solidarity is not simply imposed on consumer movements, as if they are only passive objects of its operation. It has to be reconfigured with regularity and actively reproduced for it to exist and to combat the risk of degeneration in the face of threats.

Regenerative Model of Solidarity

Although the importance of movement continuity is implicit in many existing studies (e.g., Kozinets and Handelman 2004; Varman and Belk 2009; Weijo et al. 2018), only scant theoretical attention has been given to the mechanisms of solidarity regeneration. For example, Weijo et al. (2018) have recently explained the role of creativity in a consumer movement and Gollnhofer et al. (2019) examine how consumer movements create and integrate alternative object pathways into value regimes. While they explain how people are mobilized and why people participate in these movements, they do not focus on the dynamics of collective consumer action and the mechanisms through which solidarity persists. In fact, even broader NSM research is still based on a "deterministic" account of solidarity or solidarity on the basis of preexisting identities and power relations (Featherstone 2012, 20). Although it assumes the reproduction of solidarity through everyday action (e.g. Collins 2004b)—ultimately reifying its ideological basis—it does not assume reconfiguration and adaptability even when these are under serious

threat. Put differently, solidarity does not only degenerate or dissipate because of irregular or inadequate enactment (e.g., Howard-Grenville, Metzger and Meyer 2013) but also because of new and threatening social conditions (e.g., Stjernø 2004), beliefs, and relationships that require effective responses from consumer movements.

In contrast with the aforementioned studies, we therefore examine the regeneration of consumer movement solidarity as both *reconfigured* and reproduced by everyday practices. As a result, we show how movement solidarity is regenerated in consumer movements in Exarcheia, despite facing serious threats. For example, in the initial days of the movements, we found that movement solidarity was primarily external (Benford and Snow 2000) and oriented around bonds with outside actors (e.g., the Zapatistas). However, crises and threats led to attenuation in this orientation and a shift toward internal solidarity (Hunt and Benford 2004) in order to keep participants in the various movements together. Such a shift was particularly visible in the emphasis on the performative staging of collectivism in assemblies, in which participants would come together to foster closer bonds. It was also evident in the emotional work undertaken, including moderating emotional tensions and pacing emotions with a view to attending to movement members' shifting emotional states and needs.

Similarly, our attention on movement solidarity regeneration helps shed light on how ideology undergoes changes. Previous consumer research assumed a unified subject position of activists opposed to a specific adversary (see Handelman and Fischer 2018 for a review). Such an interpretation echoes Althusser (1971), who argues that ideology interpellates individuals into specific and reified subject locations. Instead, in Exarcheia we see the role of praxis in dynamically shaping ideology, leading to the production of multivocal and contested subject positions of activists. This departs from previous studies of collective identity that have assumed

that for its persistence, adequate resources need to be invested in consolidating already existing anchors of collective identity (e.g., Howard-Grenville et al. 2013). Indeed, we witnessed ideological reconfigurations that helped solidarity to regenerate. Akin to Komter's (2005) notion of segmented solidarity, such solidarity is less ideologically ossified, allowing for greater movement inclusivity. However, these changes were not automatic and required concrete shifts to enable the structures and everyday practices that we have highlighted, with attention to different mechanisms. Therefore, we show that ongoing consumer movements which attempt to be transformative also have to transform internally in order to regenerate solidarity and to reconfigure their ideological goals in the face of threats.

Our examination of solidarity regeneration in consumer movements under threat also adds to existing understanding of consumer collectives is several important ways (e.g., Cova 1997; Kozinets 2002; Muñiz and O'Guinn 2001; Schouten and McAlexander 1995; Thomas et al. 2013). First, scholars have pointed to the role of specific identities that form consumer collectives (Muñiz and O'Guinn 2001; Schouten and McAlexander 1995), building on broader understandings of collective identity continuity as subject to a range of tangible and intangible resources that authenticate or ossify it (Howard-Grenville et al. 2013). For example, Muñiz and O'Guinn (2001, 418) observe that "members also frequently note a critical demarcation between users of their brand and users of other brands." (see also Schouten and McAlexander 1995; Fournier and Lee 2009). Discussions of "heterogenous" communities also reflect this understanding of commonality. For instance, Thomas et al. (2013) point to the role of frame alignments in the persistence of communities. They specifically observe that language, structural, and role alignments are necessary mechanisms to maintain the continuity of a heterogenous community that is dependent on common resources. Conversely, albeit within the context of

brand fandom, Parmentier and Fischer (2015) illustrate how audience-driven processes such as reframing, remixing and rejecting highlight incoherencies that have the capacity to destabilize brand assemblages and lead to audience dissipation. Without denying the significance of broad agreements among community members (Thomas et al. 2013) or fans (Parmentier and Fischer 2015) and the role of adequate resources (Howard-Grenville et al. 2013), we see something more in consumer movements under threat in Exarcheia. These movements embraced heterogeneity because it was morally correct to include people who were made vulnerable by crises (i.e., economic crisis, refugee crisis) and who could have been previously classified as adversaries (e.g. Kozinets and Handelman 2004). For example, Moth altered its initial ideology of anti-capitalist rejection of consumerism to include consumption that was necessary for refugees. In regenerative solidarity, we therefore witness both reproducibility and reconfigurability of collective identities.

Second, several consumer researchers have pointed to the role of rituals in the creation of a participatory ethos. In these earlier studies, cult objects (Cova and Cova 2002) or brands (Muñiz and O'Guinn 2001; Muñiz and Schau 2005) are located at the center of rituals. We found a complete inversion of this logic in Exarcheia. Our findings show that, faced with threats to their continuity, attempts were made to undo the fetishization of objects and to create face-to-face human interactions that could contribute to the creation of a social fabric. Our participants repeatedly argued that a communal ethos could not be created by simply (anti-)consuming some good with "linking value" (Cova 1997), but by coming together in shared places and assemblies that foster dialogues and common understandings. Rather than reinforcing a view of the consumer collective as the sum of individual interests and agendas, this form of linking value enabled the cultivation of more inter-dependent and communal as opposed to individualist

logics. That is, the collective itself was underpinned by a *collectivist* rather than individualist ideology (Gilbert 2014). Thus, we see a different route to linking value than what Cova (1997) describes. Unlike locating linking value in objects of consumption, as Cova (1997) does, or in brands as Muñiz and O'Guinn (2001) do, our participants recover linking value and solidarity from contentious politics with the creation of counter-sites, performative staging of collectivism, and temporal tactics that draw upon a deeper sense of equity, justice, and empathy for the vulnerable.

Finally, our model also extends the few NSM studies that have more explicitly considered solidarity regeneration. Be it a change in a movement's collective identity (Gongaware 2001), the experience of intense fear (Goodwin and Pfaff 2001), feelings of illegitimacy (Lawston 2009), or movement inactivity (Taylor 1989), the underlying assumption is that specific processes or mechanisms can help restabilize and, ultimately, consolidate a component in an otherwise fixed model of solidarity. That is, akin to previous consumer studies, they do not consider solidarity and its components as being in a constant, potentially regenerative state of flux. Building on Featherstone (2012), we interpret solidarity not just as a binding force or an outcome but also as a regenerative process that dynamically shapes the contours of contentious politics, enabling both reconfigurability and reproducibility.

Our regenerative model of solidarity better represents contemporary consumer movements undergoing various threats, first, because of ongoing socioeconomic and contextual changes (e.g., Kaika and Karaliotas 2016; Vaiou and Kalandides 2016) and second, because of an increasing emphasis on everyday relationships and actions, rather than preconfigured ideologies and outcomes. Indeed, multiple layers of diversity and fluidity (Véron 2016; Yates 2015) are key characteristics of many contemporary (consumer) movements (e.g., from vegan to

alternative consumption communities; Portwood-Stacer 2012). Accordingly, whereas prior research has understood threats in relation to the success or failure of movements of heightened conflict or transformative events (Goldstone and Tilly 2001) we advance an understanding of threats as potentially more stable and endemic to the everyday workings of (anti)consumerist movements. That is, we do not see opportunities and threats as temporarily available factors that point to action or inaction (e.g., subject to the presence of allies, strength of state repression; Tarrow 2011), but as relatively more stable factors that can lead to the progressive dissipation of solidarity, unless it is successfully regenerated.

The Temporal Dynamics of Solidarity Regeneration

Past research on consumer activism has identified two broad approaches to time. In the first approach, studies have commonly assumed that consumers get together in the present with the aim of achieving a range of institutional and market-based outcomes in the future (e.g., Kozinets and Handelman 2004; Scaraboto and Fischer 2013). In the second approach, consumer activism draws on heterogeneous time that is either a combination of past, present, and future, or time is considered simultaneously pedagogical and performative (e.g., Varman and Belk 2009). However, these two approaches to time remain linear and do not explain how different temporalities intersect in a consumer movement under conditions of threat. By contrast, temporality in our movements is nonlinear and past, present, and future do not unfold in an orderly fashion. For instance, in Exarcheia most consumer movements started with a futuristic-utopian orientation of challenging capitalism and its consumerist ethos. However, the economic crisis ruptured those utopian visions with concerns for the vulnerable in "the time of the present,"

echoing broader institutional politics (Douzinas 2017). Some activists returned to some of the past models of solidarity based on kinship and territoriality to create cohesiveness and support groups (Durkheim 1933). Over the six years of our work, we found that these shifts from the future to the present and the past did not mean that either of the timelines had been abandoned. We found frequent debates among activists about the temporal goals of these movements and whether they should just be focusing on urgent needs. This created multiple ruptured and contested temporalities that were often reinterpreted and keyed into the present (Gongaware 2011) with a view of maintaining continuity. Prior research has shown that consumers' temporal experiences are affected both by subcultural norms (Brodowsky, Granitz, and Anderson 2008) and the time flows of specific consumption practices (Woerman and Rokka 2015). We add to these studies by illustrating how consumers actively negotiate a variety of temporal scales underpinning their collective logics and practices that contribute to solidarity regeneration in the face of threats.

Emplaced Consumer Activism

We also highlight the role of emplaced consumer activism in solidarity regeneration. As Kozinets (2002, 36) observes: "we bring physical presence back into the equation when attempting to understand communal contexts." Studies on consumer movements have, to a certain extent, addressed the emplacement practices of consumer movements (e.g., Kozinets 2002; Kozinets and Handelman 2004; Thompson and Arsel 2004). For instance, Thompson and Coskuner-Balli (2007) focus on how the more communal, human-scale experience of Community Supported Agriculture (CSA) provides an effective starting point for the

construction of countervailing markets that defy co-optation. Similarly, Weinberger and Wallendorf (2012) argue for the elevated role of geographic proximity in forging the sense of rebirth in post-Katrina New Orleans. Complementing these studies, we show that emplacement in counter-sites is key, not only to the mobilization of consumer activists, but also to the successful continuity of their movements faced with threats. For instance, in the absence of any obvious consumer adversaries, the counter-site emerged as the central pillar of movement identity construction, reproducing a new "we" and "they" on the basis of clearly defined territorial markers. However, such place-based identity did not impede the development of more inclusive and collectivist models of solidarity (Gilbert 2014). Indeed, echoing the work of Sewell (2001, 67), we witnessed participants engaging in "scale jumping" to merge global with local and vice versa. For example, we show how solidarities with the Zapatistas movement and with refugees from other countries remained important features of the movements in Exarcheia. Such spatial scale jumping helped our participants to broaden their ideology and widen their sense of identity.

More than just an ideological marker, counter-sites became the central foci for reimagining alternatives in a fast-changing capitalist city. The intersection of consumer-citizen activism with ideologies of space and place has been addressed previously by Visconti et al. (2010). These authors conceptualize space as a public good that can result in collective forms of sharing (Belk 2010; Epp and Price 2008), and also as settings that witness dialectic confrontations between creative artists and urban dwellers who hold different ideologies. This resonates with a new wave of NSM studies that emphasize how urban space constitutes not only the setting, but also the method of contemporary contentious politics (e.g., Arampatzi 2017). A fundamental aim of the Occupy and Extinction Rebellion movements, for instance, has been to

experiment with spatial practices that were subsequently transfused or reterritorialized into various other locales. We found that counter-site not only provided opportunities for the scaling up of consumer movements, but also became part of the consumer struggle in itself, through the formation of the guerrilla park and other places that defied market logics. In other words, especially following the economic crisis, counter-sites began to be viewed as a good for collective (anti-)consumption in itself, an invaluable resource for the persistence of solidarity. Importantly, spatial scale jumping and emplacement practices are also critical in the persistence of digital activism, from Me Too to upcycling (Castells 2007). Such movements often attempt to exert agency and a sense of ownership over digital domains by, for instance, trying to understand the hidden architecture of online spaces and collaborating with programmers (Hoelscher 2017). In addition, rather than "virtualizing themselves to death" (Castells 2007, 250), most such movements maintain more physical, place-based forms of collective action (Hoelscher 2017).

In conclusion, although this study is located in the context of Exarcheia and the unsettling effects of the Greek economic crisis, the question of solidarity regeneration is applicable to different instances of consumer activism, from temporary anti-market enclaves such as Burning Man (Kozinets 2002), to mobilizations for more permanent alternative markets in the case of fatshionistas (Scaraboto and Fischer 2013). The three mechanisms of solidarity regeneration reflect both specificities and applicability to other sites in terms of how movements respond to threats. For instance, the recent (and already successful) Extinction Rebellion movement largely relies on a "regenerative culture" that offers people physical and digital places in which to gather (cf. emplacement practices), foregrounds hope but also grief for what has been lost (cf. temporal tactics), enactment of care and inclusive we-ness (cf. performative staging of collectivism; Pigott 2019). Similarly, the Me Too grassroots movement built its momentum using the viral #MeToo

hashtag to open up virtual safe spaces (counter-sites) where women regularly share their experience of sexual harassment and violence. Such sites, spanning local and global revelations (emplacement practices/scale jumping) act as a present catharsis for past abuse (temporal tactics) where care and healing processes result from the enactment of collective support (performative staging of collectivism; see e.g., Mendez, Ringrose, and Keller 2019). Other movement contexts may reveal alternative combinations of solidarity mechanisms. For example, they may discover mechanisms that have not emerged in our context or, indeed, find that only two mechanisms – rather than three as in the present study – are relevant in particular contexts.

Furthermore, the significance of solidarity extends beyond the realm of consumer activism. There is indirect evidence that it can be a key motivating force in instances of familial (Karanika and Hogg 2016) and religious consumption (McAlexander et al. 2014). Several other questions emerge from our study, including how consumer movements deal with the unevenness of solidarity and why some develop stronger solidarity while others do not. In addition, future research can examine how solidarity itself may become the site of power struggle in a consumer movement. Such studies are necessary for a more complete understanding of solidarity in consumer movements as they spread across the globe, given the increasing levels of disenchantment with mainstream marketplace actors, ecological and health crises such as the ongoing Covid-19 pandemic, and predatory capitalism more broadly.

DATA COLLECTION INFORMATION

The ethnographic research (including the interviews, observations and audio and visual recordings) took place in Athens, Greece from Autumn of 2009 until Autumn 2016. The fieldwork was conducted over 17 visits/phases by the first author; the second author joined the first author during one these visits. The first author regularly exchanged memos, fieldnotes and interview transcripts with the other two authors. Data were jointly analyzed by all three authors on multiple occasions. The final article was written by all three authors. The data is currently stored in Dropbox and is available, upon the authors' permission, at:

https://www.dropbox.com/sh/b39noj7j68kiit5/AADzkLKX6-7W47nxsPokzfaDa?dl=0

REFERENCES

Althusser, Louis (1971), *Lenin and Philosophy*, New York: Monthly Review.

Aminzade, Ron and Doug McAdam (2001), "Emotions and Contentious Politics," in *Silence and Voice in the Study of Contentious Politics*, ed. Ronald R. Aminzade, Jack A. Goldstone, Doug McAdam, Elizabeth Perry, William H. Sewell Jr., Sidney Tarrow, and Charles Tilly, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 14–50.

Arampatzi, Athina (2017), "The Spatiality of Counter-Austerity Politics in Athens, Greece: Emergent 'Urban Solidarity Spaces,'" *Urban Studies*, 54 (9), 2155–71.

Arnould, Eric J. and Alexander S. Rose (2016), "Mutuality: Critique and Substitute for Belk's 'Sharing,'" *Marketing Theory* 16 (1), 75–99.

Arnould, Eric J. and Craig J. Thompson (2005), "Consumer Culture Theory (CCT): Twenty Years of Research," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 31 (4), 868–82.

Arnould, Eric J. and Melanie Wallendorf (1994), "Market-oriented Ethnography: Interpretation Building and Marketing Strategy Formulation," *Journal of Marketing Research*, 31 (4), 484–504.

Bauman, Zygmunt (2001), *The Individualized Society*, Cambridge: Polity.

Beck, Ulrich (1986), *Risk Society: Towards a New Modernity*, London: Sage.

Belk, Russell W. (2010), "Sharing," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 36 (5), 715–34.

Belk, Russell W. and Gülnur Tumbat (2005), "The Cult of Macintosh," *Consumption, Markets, and Culture*, 8 (3), 205–17.

Benford, Robert D. and David A. Snow (2000), "Framing Processes and Social Movements: An Overview and Assessment," *Annual Review of Sociology*, 26, 611–39.

Bergeron, Suzanne, Stephen Healy, Carina Millstone, Bénédicte Fonteneau, Georgina Gómez, Marguerite Mendell, and Paul Nelson (2015), *Social and Solidarity Economy: Beyond the Fringe*, London: Zed.

Boström, Magnus, Michele Micheletti, and Peter Oosterveer (2019), *The Oxford Handbook of Political Consumerism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Brodowsky, Glen, Neil Granitz, and Beverlee Anderson (2008), "The Best of Times Is Now: A Study of the Gay Subculture's Attitudes toward Time," *Time and Society*, 17 (2–3), 233–60.

Castells, Manuel (2007), "Communication, Power and Counterpower in the Network Society." *International Journal of Communication*, 1, 238–66.

Cohen, Stephen P. (1985), *The Symbolic Construction of Community*, London: Routledge.

Collins, Randall (2004a), "Rituals of Solidarity and Security in the Wake of Terrorist Attack," *Sociological Theory*, 22 (1), 53–87.

——— (2004b), *Interaction Ritual Chains*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

——— (2009), "Social Movements and the Focus of Emotional Attention," in *Passionate Politics: Emotions and Social Movements*, ed. Jeff Goodwin, James M. Jasper, and Francesca Polletta, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 27–44.

Cova, Bernard (1997), "Community and Consumption: Towards a Definition of the Linking Value of Product or Services," *European Journal of Marketing*, 31 (3–4), 297–316.

Cova, Bernard and Cova, Veronique (2002), "Tribal Marketing: The Tribalisation of Society and its Impact on the Conduct of Marketing," *European Journal of marketing*, 36 (5–6), 595–620.

della Porta, Donatella (2006), *Social Movements, Political Violence, and the State: A Comparative Analysis of Italy and Germany*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Demertzi, Aggeliki (2016), "Τοπική συμβολική οικονομία και αστικοί μετασχηματισμοί: Εξάρχεια" [Symbolic Local Economy and Urban Transformations: The Exarchia Case], Master's dissertation, Athens: National Technical University of Athens.

Douzinas, Costas (2017), *Syriza in Power*, Cambridge, UK: Polity.

Durkheim, Émile (1933), *The Division of Labor*, New York: Free Press.

Economist (2015), "In Depth: The Greek Crisis," special issue, July 31, http://www.economist.com/greekcrisis.

ELSTAT (2015). Greece in Figures, 2015. Retrieved from https://www.statistics.gr/en/greece-in-figures#tab-2015.

ELSTAT (2016). Greece in Figures, 2016 . Retrieved from https://www.statistics.gr/en/greece-in-figures#tab-2015.

Emirbayer, Mustafa and Ann Mische (1998), "What is Agency?" *American Journal of Sociology*, 103 (4), 962–1023.

Epp, Amber M. and Linda L. Price (2008), "Family Identity: A Framework of Identity Interplay in Consumption Practices," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 35 (1), 50–70.

Featherstone, David (2012), *Solidarity: Hidden Histories and Geographies of Internationalism*, London: Zed.

Flam, Helena and Debra King (2007), *Emotions and Social Movements*, London: Routledge.

Foucault, Michel (1984), "Of other spaces, heterotopias," *Architecture, mouvement, continuité*, *5*(1984), 46-49.

Fournier, Susan and Sarah Lee (2009), "Getting Brand Communities Right," *Harvard Business Review*, April, 105–11.

Giesler, Markus (2006), "Consumer Gift Systems," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 33 (2), 283–90.

Gilbert, Jeremy (2014), "Common Ground: Democracy and Collectivity in an Age of Individualism," New York: Pluto Press.

Gill, Lesley and Sharryn Kasmir (2008), "Forum: Solidarity," *Dialectical Anthropology*, 32 (3), 175–75.

Gilmore, Ruth Wilson (2008), *Golden Gulag: Prisons, Surplus, Crisis and Opposition in Globalizing California*, Berkeley: University of California Press.

Goldstone, Jack A. and Charles Tilly, "Threat (and Opportunity): Popular Action and State Response in the Dynamics of Contentious Action," in *Silence and Voice in the Study of Contentious Politics*, ed. Ronald R. Aminzade, Jack A. Goldstone, Doug McAdam, Elizabeth J. Perry, William H. Sewell Jr., Sidney Tarrow, and Charles Tilly, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001, 179–94.

Gollnhofer, Joanna F., Henri H. Weijo, and John W. Schouten (2019), "Consumer Movements and Value Regimes: Fighting Food Waste in Germany by Building Alternative Object Pathways," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 46 (3), 460–82.

Gongaware, Timothy B. (2011), "Keying the Past to the Present: Collective Memories and Continuity in Collective Identity Change," *Social Movement Studies*, 10 (1), 39–54.

Goodwin, Jeff (1997), "The Libidinal Constitution of a High-Risk Social Movement: Affectual Ties and Solidarity in the Huk Rebellion, 1946 to 1954," *American Sociological Review*, 62 (1), 53–69.

Goodwin, Jeff, James M. Jasper, and Francesca Polletta (2001), *Passionate Politics: Emotions and Social Movements*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Goodwin, Jeff and Steven Pfaff (2001), "Emotion Work in High-Risk Social Movements: Managing Fear in the U.S. and East German Civil Rights Movements," in *Passionate Politics: Emotions and Social Movements*, ed. Jeff Goodwin, James Jasper, and Francesca Polletta, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 282–302.

Gorski, Paul, Stacy Lopresti-Goodman, and Dallas Rising (2019), "Nobody is Paying me to Cry: The Causes of Activist Burnout in United States Animal Rights Activists," *Social Movement Studies,* 18 (3), 364-380.

Gopaldas, Ahir (2014), "Marketplace Sentiments," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 41 (4), 995–1014.

Graeber, David (2002), "The New Anarchists," *New Left Review*, *13*(6), 61-73.

Gusfield, J. R. (1975), *Community: A Critical Response*, New York: Harper.

Handelman, Jay and Eileen Fischer (2018), "Contesting Understandings of Contestation: Rethinking Perspectives on Activism," in *The Sage Handbook of Consumer Culture*, ed. Olga Kravets, Pauline Maclaran, Steven Miles and Alladi Venkatesh, London: Sage, 256–72.

Hoelscher, Vera (2017), "Shared Offline and Online Spaces of Ethical Consumption Communities," Unpublished doctoral dissertation, London: Royal Holloway, University of London.

Holloway, John (2010), *Crack Capitalism*, New York: Pluto Press.

Holzer, Boris (2006), "Political Consumerism between Individual Choice and Collective Action: Social Movements, Role Mobilization and Signalling," *International Journal of Consumer Studies*, 30 (5), 405–15.

Howard-Grenville, Jennifer, Matthew L. Metzger, and Alan D. Meyer (2013), "Rekindling the Flame: Processes of Identity Resurrection," *Academy of Management Journal*, 56(1), 113-136.

Howell, Sharon, Michael D. Doan, and Ami Harbin (2019), "Detroit to Flint and Back Again: Solidarity Forever," *Critical Sociology*, 45 (1), 63–83.

Humphreys, Ashlee and Craig J. Thompson (2014), "Branding Disaster: Reestablishing Trust through the Ideological Containment of Systemic Risk Anxieties," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 41 (4), 877–910.

Hunt, Scott A. and Robert D. Benford (2004), "Collective Identity, Solidarity, and Commitment," in *The Blackwell Companion to Social Movements*, ed. David A. Snow, Sarah A. Soule, and Hanspeter Kriesi, Oxford: Blackwell, 433–57.

Husemann, Katharina C. and Giana M. Eckhardt (2019), "Consumer Deceleration," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 45(6), 1142-1163.

Illich, Ivan (1971), *Deschooling Society*, New York: Harper and Row.

Kaika, Maria and Lazaros Karaliotas (2016), "The Spatialization of Democratic Politics: Insights from Indignant Squares," *European Urban and Regional Studies*, 23 (4), 556–70.

Karanika, Katerina and Margaret K. Hogg (2016), "Consumption Through the Ambivalent Prism of Intergenerational Support," *European Journal of Marketing*, 50 (3–4), 575–601.

Komter, Aafke (2005), *Social Solidarity and the Gift*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Kozinets, Robert V. (2002), "Can Consumers Escape the Market? Emancipatory Illuminations from Burning Man," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 29 (1), 20–38.

Kozinets, Robert V. and Jay M. Handelman (2004), "Adversaries of Consumption: Consumer Movements, Activism, and Ideology," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 31 (3), 691–704.

Lawston, Jodie M. (2009), "Managing Organizational Emotions: Framing Feelings of Illegitimacy in the Radical Women's Prison Movement," *Sociological Focus*, 42 (4), 350–72.

Leontidou, Lila (2010), "Urban Social Movements in Weak Civil Societies: The Right to the City and Cosmopolitan Activism in Southern Europe," *Urban Studies*, 47 (6), 1179–203.

Luedicke, Marius K., Craig J. Thompson, and Markus Giesler (2010), "Consumer Identity Work as Moral Protagonism: How Myth and Ideology Animate a Brand-Mediated Moral Conflict," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 36 (6), 1016–32.

Magoulios, George, Dimitrios Kydros, and Stergios Athianos (2015), "The Economic Crisis (2008) and Effects on Income. The Case of Greece," *Procedia Economics and Finance*, 19, 27–36.

Massey, Doreen (1991), "A Global Sense of Place," *Marxism Today*, 35 (6), 24–9

Mauss, Marcel (1925), *The Gift* (trans. I. Cunnison), London: Cohen and West.

Mavridis, Symeon (2018), Greece's Economic and Social Transformation 2008–2017," *Social Sciences*, 7 (1), 1–14.

McAlexander, James H., Beth Leavenworth Dufault, Diane M. Martin, and John W. Schouten (2014), "The Marketization of Religion: Field, Capital, and Consumer Identity," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 41 (3), 858–75.

McCracken, Grant (1988), *The Long Interview*, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Melucci, Alberto (1988), "Getting Involved: Identity and Mobilization in Social Movements," in *From Structure to Action: Comparing Social Movement Research Across Cultures*, ed. Bert Klandermans, Hanspeter Kriesi, and Sidney G. Tarrow, Greenwich, CT: JAI Press, 329–48.

Mendez, Kaitlynn, Jessica Ringrose, and Jessalynn Keller (2019), *Digital Feminist Activism: Girls and Women Fight Back Against Rape Culture*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Micheletti, Michele and Dietlind Stolle (2008), "Fashioning Social Justice through Political Consumerism, Capitalism, and the Internet," *Cultural Studies*, 22 (5), 749–69.

Micheletti, Michele, Dietlind Stolle, and Daniel Berlin (2012), "Habits of Sustainable Citizenship: The Example of Political Consumerism," https://helda.helsinki.fi/bitstream/handle/10138/34228/12_09_micheletti-stolle-berlin.pdf.

Miles, Matthew B. and Michael A. Huberman (1994), *An Expanded Sourcebook: Qualitative Data Analysis*, 2nd ed., Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Mizruchi, Ephraim Harold (1983), *Regulating Society: Marginality and Social Control in Historical Perspective*, New York: Free Press.

Muñiz Jr., Albert M. and Thomas C. O'Guinn (2001), "Brand Community," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 27 (4), 412–32.

Muñiz Jr., Albert M. and Hope Jensen Schau (2005), "Religiosity in the Abandoned Apple Newton Brand Community," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 31 (4), 737–47.

Nisbet, Robert A. (1966), *The Sociological Traditions*, New York: Basic Books.

Oosterlynck, Stijn, Nick Schuermans, and Maarten Loopmans, eds. (2017), *Place, Diversity and Solidarity*, London: Routledge.

Papataxiarchis, Evthymios (2016), "Being 'there': At the Front Line of the 'European Refugee Crisis'—Part 1,"*Anthropology Today*, 32 (2), 5–9.

Parmentier, Marie-Agnès, and Eileen Fischer (2015), "Things Fall Apart: The Dynamics of Brand Audience Dissipation," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 41(5), 1228–1251.

Penny, Laurie and Molly Crabapple (2012), *Discordia: Six Nights in Crisis Athens*, London: Vintage Digital.

Pigott, Anna (2019), "Extinction Rebellion's Regenerative Culture Could Be Just as Revolutionary as Its Demands", *Open Democracy,*

https://www.opendemocracy.net/en/opendemocracyuk/extinction-rebellions-regenerative-culture-could-be-just-as-revolutionary-as-its-demands/

Portwood-Stacer, Laura (2012), "Anti-consumption as Tactical Resistance: Anarchists, Subculture, and Activist Strategy," *Journal of Consumer Culture*, 12 (1), 87–105.

Rakopoulos, Theodoros (2015), Solidarity's Tensions: Informality, Sociality, and the Greek Crisis," *Social Analysis*, 59 (3), 85–104.

——— (2016), "Solidarity: The Egalitarian Tensions of a Bridge-Concept," *Social Anthropology*, 24 (2), 142–51.

Rorty, Richard (1989), *Contingency, Irony, and Solidarity*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ross, Gretchen R., Margaret G. Meloy and Kurt A. Carlson (2020), "Preference Refinement after a Budget Contraction," *Journal of Consumer Research,* 47(3), 412-430.

Scaraboto, Daiane and Eileen Fischer (2013), "Frustrated Fatshionistas: An Institutional Theory Perspective on Consumer Quests for Greater Choice in Mainstream Markets," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 39 (6), 1234–57.

Schouten, John W. and James McAlexander (1995), "Subcultures of Consumption: An Ethnography of the New Bikers," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 22 (1), 43–61.

Sennett, Richard (1998), *The Corrosion of Character: The Personal Consequences of Work in the New Capitalism*, New York: W. W. Norton.

Sewell, William H. (2001), "Spaces in Contentious Politics," in *Silence and Voice in the Study of Contentious Politics*, ed. Ronald R. Aminzade, Jack A. Goldstone, Doug McAdam, Elizabeth Perry, William H. Sewell Jr., Sidney Tarrow, and Charles Tilly, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 51–88.

Shah, Dharan V., Douglas M. McLeod, Lewis Friedland, and Michelle R. Nelson (2007), "The Politics of Consumption/The Consumption of Politics," *Annals of the American Academy*, 6 (15), 217–35.

Shepard, Benjamin (2012), *Play, Creativity, and Social Movements: If I Can't Dance, It's Not My Revolution*, New York: Routledge.

Sherry, John F. Jr., ed. (1998), *Servicescapes: The Concept of Place in Contemporary Markets*, Lincolnwood, IL: NTC Business Press.

Snow, David A. and Robert D. Benford (1992), "Master Frames and Cycles of Protest," in *Frontiers in Social Movement Theory*, ed. Aldon D. Morris and Carol McClurg Mueller, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 133–55

Spiggle, Susan (1994), "Analysis and Interpretation of Qualitative Data in Consumer Research," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 21 (3), 491–503.

Spyropoulos, Takis (2013), *X-άρχεια Uncensored: Τα συνθήματα και τα Graffiti τών Εξαρχείων 2009-2012* [*X-archeia Uncensored: The Words and Graffiti of Exarcheia, 2009–2012*], Athens: Rakosilektis.

Stjernø, Steinar (2004), *Solidarity in Europe: The History of an Idea* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press).

Stolle, Dietlind, Marc Hooghe, and Michele Micheletti (2005), "Politics in the Supermarket: Political Consumerism as a Form of Political Participation," *International Political Science Review*, 26 (3), 245–69.

Strauss, Anselm and Juliet Corbin (1990), *Basics of Qualitative Research: Grounded Theory Procedures and Techniques*, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Swyngedouw, Erik (2011), "Interrogating Post-Democratization: Reclaiming Egalitarian Political Spaces," *Political geography,* 30(7), 370-380.

Tarrow, Sidney G. (2011), *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics*, 3rd ed., New York: Cambridge University Press.

Taylor, Verta (1989), "Social Movement Continuity: The Women's Movement in Abeyance," *American Sociological Review*, 54 (5), 761–75.

Thomas, Chalmers Thomas, Linda L. Price, and Hope Jensen Schau (2013), "When Differences Unite: Resource Dependence in Heterogeneous Consumption Communities," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 39 (5), 1010–33.

Thompson, Craig J. and Gokcen Coskuner-Balli (2007), "Countervailing Market Responses to Corporate Co-optation and the Ideological Recruitment of Consumption Communities," *Journal of Consumer Research* 34 (2), 135–52.

Thompson, Craig J. and Zeynep Arsel (2004), "The Starbucks Brandscape and Consumers'(anticorporate) Experiences of Glocalization," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 31 (3), 631–42.

Thompson, Craig J., Aric Rindfleisch, and Zeynep Arsel (2006), "Emotional Branding and the Strategic Value of the Doppelgänger Brand Image," *Journal of Marketing*, 70 (1), 50–64.

Tönnies, Ferdinand (1955), *Community and Association*, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Vaiou, Dina and Ares Kalandides (2016), "Practices of Collective Action and Solidarity: Reconfigurations of the Public Space in Crisis-Ridden Athens, Greece," *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, 31 (3), 457–70.

Valor, Carmen, Estela M. Díaz and Amparo Merino (2017), "The Discourse of the Consumer Resistance Movement Adversarial and Prognostic Framings through the Lens of Power," *Journal of Macromarketing*, 13 (1), 72–84.

Varkarolis, Orestis (2012), *Δημιουργικές αντιστάσεις και αντεξουσία: Εγχειρήματα και προβληματισμοί του ριζοσπαστικού κινήματος στον 21ο αιώνα* [*Creative Resistance and Anti-Power: Projects and Problematizations of 21st-Century Radical Movement*], Athens: To Pagkaki.

Varman, Rohit and Ismael Al-Amoudi (2016), "Accumulation through Derealization: How Corporate Violence Remains Unchecked," *Human Relations*, 69 (10) 1909–35.

Varman, Rohit and Russell W. Belk (2009), "Nationalism and Ideology in an Anti-consumption Movement," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 36 (4), 686–700.

Véron, Ophélie (2016), "(Extra)ordinary Activism: Veganism and the Shaping of Hemeratopias," *International Journal of Sociology and Social Policy*, 36 (11–12), 756–73.

Vikas, Ram Manohar, Rohit Varman, and Russell W. Belk (2015), "Status, Caste, and Market in a Changing Indian Village," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 42 (3), 472–98.

Visconti, Luca M., John F. Sherry Jr., Stefania Borghini, and Laurel Anderson (2010), "Street Art, Sweet Art? Reclaiming the 'Public' in Public Place," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 37 (3), 511–29.

Vradis, Antonis and Dimitris Dalakoglou (2011), eds. *Revolt and Crisis in Greece: Between a Present Yet to Pass and a Future Still to Come*, Oakland, CA: AK Press and Occupied London.

Weber, Max (1947), *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, trans. A. M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons, New York: Free Press.

Weijo, Henri A., Diane M. Martin, and Eric J. Arnould (2018), "Consumer Movements and Collective Creativity: The Case of Restaurant Day," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 45 (2), 251–74.

Weinberger, Michelle F. and Melanie Wallendorf (2012), "Intracommunity Gifting at the Intersection of Contemporary Moral and Market Economies," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 39 (1), 74–92.

Woermann, Niklas and Joonas Rokka (2015), "Timeflow: How Consumption Practices Shape Consumers' Temporal Experiences," *Journal of Consumer Research*, 42 (6), 1486–508.

Yates, Luke (2015), "Everyday Politics, Social Practices and Movement Networks: Daily Life in Barcelona's Social Centres," *British Journal of Sociology*, 66 (2), 236–58.

TABLE 1: CHARACTERISTICS OF THE THREE CONSUMER MOVEMENTS

	Seed	Moth	Park
Brief description	Solidarity Trading Initiative	Anti-Consumerist Collective	Guerilla Park (parking lot turned into a self-managed park)
Established	Autumn 2005	Spring 2009	Spring 2009
Main goals	Explicitly positioned against mainstream fair trade consumerism, Seed aimed to promote an "alternative model of consumption"; one insisting "on more direct acts of solidarity with producers" and "ongoing resistance to all the complicated market-mediated mechanisms through which both producers and consumers become victims of intense exploitation." (www.seed.espiv.net)	Moth describes itself as a "critique of consumerism" project. It aims to cultivate anti-consumerist subjectivities by re-using, sharing and upcycling; it also works toward a society of degrowth and socioeconomic justice (original leaflet).	A free "self-managed" space that fights the forces of commercialization and commodification of public space; to fight against "consumers" of the park, to promote urban gardening and provide a green oasis; to provide a playground and a series of really-free cultural initiatives.
Typical activities	Regular opening hours; linking consumers with producers, selling Zapatistas coffee and various goods by left-wing producers; promoting alternative trading without middlemen, educating consumers, participating in alternative economy and solidarity festivals.	Regular opening hours for the operation of a gifting bazaar; organization of DIY workshops as well as various other talks and seminars on anti-consumption; book bazaars; collective cooking events; parties; participating in alternative economy and solidarity festivals.	Collective gardening; collective cooking; organization of free events, seminars and mini festivals; free film screenings, gigs and plays; participation in other initiatives; events for kids and families; DIY activities and arts and crafts.