

Deliverable report D.2.1.

Housing struggles in the intersection of crises

Document identifier	D.2.1
Deliverable number	11
Document title	Critical Literature Review: Housing struggles in the intersection of crises
Level of dissemination	Public
Work package	WP1 Theoretical framework
Authors	Panagiota (Penny) Koutrolikou, Matina (Stamatia) Kapsali, Lazaros Karaliotas, Maria Karagianni, Dimitra Siatitsa
Funding institution	H.F.R.I.
Proposal Number	04829
Acronym	HousInC
Project title	Reconceptualising the right to housing in crises: a comparative analysis of housing struggles in European cities
Principal investigator	Panagiota Koutrolikou
Host Institution	National Technical University of Athens

Contents

1. Introduction.....	3
2. A continuum of crises	4
3. Re-articulating rights in the face of crises	7
4. Housing and housing struggles as political struggles	10
5. Housing traditions and housing struggles in comparative housing studies.....	15
Convergences and contextualised paths under neoliberalism.....	18
6. Tracing a categorisation of housing struggles’ claims	20
Reactions against violence, oppression & displacement and the right-to-stay-put	21
Reclaiming housing struggles and new alternatives	25
7. (Re)conceptualisations of the right to housing in a continuum of crises	29
References	33

1. Introduction

Housing is a multi-dimensional issue; it is simultaneously a vital human need, an essential resource, a pillar of urban economies and a claimed human and/or social right. The criticalness of the ‘housing issue’ was already evident by the turn of the late 19th century in the industrial cities of the time (Engels, 1872) triggering interventions by the states, the then philanthropists but also by actions of those demanding somewhere to be housed. Almost one and a half century later, and despite the importance of housing, decades of neoliberal reforms, the 2008 financial crisis, the 2015 “refugee crisis”, the affordability crisis, as well as the recent COVID-19 crisis resulted in increased housing scarcity and precarity for an ever-expanding part of the population in European cities. The housing crisis that emerged in the context of this continuum of socio-spatial, political and economic crises is not a linear and homogeneous process. Rather, it attains different characteristics, both in terms of housing provision and housing struggles.

In the past decades, housing has re-emerged as a significant field of theory and policy as well as of action. Academic studies have meticulously analysed housing production in advanced capitalist cities as well as housing policies brought forward to address housing needs and inequalities urban dwellers are facing in the past as well as in the present, and they have sought to analyse the different characteristics and causes of housing crises in different cities and times. From a different perspective, housing movements and struggles have also attracted scholarly interest, but they have also produced crucial material (both in claims-making and in political and social organising and mobilising). At the same time, the ways housing struggles transform the landscape of housing-related policies and shape the urban environment have also attracted scholarly interest. As crises continue to unfold and interweave, one aspect that has been missing from the aforementioned discussions, is to understand how struggles, claims for and significations of the rights to housing are transformed and reformulated vis-à-vis the different crises.

The aim of this report is to summarise questions and debates on:

- (a) Crises as meaning and policy producing conjunctures
- (b) The right to housing within the broader context of the discussion on rights and legal geographies
- (c) housing struggles as urban political struggles; and
- (d) inter-relations of housing struggles and housing traditions.

2. A continuum of crises

Increasingly in the past decades, the word crisis has come to dominate public life and discourses in cities across Europe – and not only. Although several crises have occurred on multiple instances around the world, it is only since the beginning of the 21st century that living in crisis is turning into the new normality for urban dwellers (Harvey, 2012a). From the financial crisis of 2008, the refugee ‘crisis’ of 2015, to Brexit (implemented in 2020) and the COVID-19 pandemic in 2020, to the more recent energy crisis and the present cost of living crisis, crisis seems to be the ‘word of the day’. It thus comes as no surprise that ‘polycrisis’ is becoming yet another term frequented by the EU and international policy makers¹.

As we move from one crisis to another, or, to be more precise, as we navigate through this crisis continuum, crisis becomes an almost ‘banal’ notion to describe a multitude of diverse situations that people (and cities and states) face and have to deal with. However, one may ask, is this a specific historic-political conjuncture in which crises have multiplied or is it just an easy way of naming (and thus meaning-making) of events that for different reasons are labelled as crises? Crisis has been predominantly associated with sudden events that rupture the established state of being and of living; with unexpected situations that require a ‘name’ in order for people and societies to be able to make sense of what is happening – albeit often disassociated with historic-political trajectories and decisions that shaped the present (something that we will discuss further on). Moreover, crisis also signifies judgement; judgement as the outcome of a ‘force beyond our control’ but also as a decision that needs to be taken in order to resolve the specific challenging situation. Besides being an ever-present signifier of our times, crisis has been a pivotal political and theoretical notion to be prolematised. Notably Gramsci (2005) and in a similar conceptualization Bauman (ref) considers crisis as an interregnum; as a complex process embodying struggles over hegemonies and rooted in historical-political trajectories (Mura 2015), but without a predefined end-direction – things can go either way. And these struggles over hegemonies are struggles about “competing narratives, competing constructions of crisis” (Hay, 1996:247) that take place in discursive, material and embodied terms.

¹ <https://polycrisis.org/lessons/where-did-the-term-polycrisis-come-from/>

Recognising crises as critical historical-political moments has been central in major theoretical works on crises and has inspired further elaborations on conjunctural analysis, especially through the seminal work of Stuart Hall et al (1978). In his analysis of the concept of crisis Koselleck (2000) perceives crises as nodal points in the construction of history. Hall (1980) also considers crises as historical moments where contradictions condense, triggering changes albeit – akin to Gramsci – whose direction is not pre-given. Roitman (2013: 66) contemplates that crises are “a blind spot for the production of knowledge about what constitutes historical significance and about what constitutes social and historical meaning”. Moreover, she argues that seeing “crisis as a context” means that crisis “is itself an experience of historical time”. Jessop (2012) in addition, argues that “ideas and imaginaries shape the interpretation of crises and the responses thereto”. Thus by considering crisis as “meaning-producing, as contexts and as political technologies for hegemonic struggles, allows us to unpack different aspects of the complexities of crises, and the significations they instil into pasts and futures” (Koutrolikou, 2023).

The dominant representation of crises as emergencies, an extensively discussed topic as well as a political technology, ‘demands’ and consequently ‘justifies’ emergency measures and decision so that the crisis is averted or at least managed (see Neocleous, 2008). However, the meaning-producing aspects of crises affect both its interpretations (for example its causes) and the delineation of the possible and plausible resolutions. As Jessop (2012) writes “(such) transformative narratives of crisis, connect personal experiences, the narratives of key stakeholders and organised interests, and grand narratives that provide broader context for making sense of the crisis. In the latter cases, the plausibility of narratives and their associated strategies and projects depends on their resonance (and hence capacity to reinterpret and mobilise) with the personal (including shared) narratives of significant classes, strata, social categories or groups affected by the crisis”.

And he continues elaborating on his categorization of crises in or of an existing order, arguing that “all narratives are selective, appropriate some arguments rather than others and combine them in specific ways. So we must also consider what goes unstated or silent, repressed or suppressed, in specific discourses. **Nonetheless, if the crisis can be plausibly interpreted as a crisis *in* the existing economic order, minor reforms may first be tried to restore that order. If this fails or the crisis is initially interpreted primarily as a crisis *of* that order,**

more radical changes may be explored. In both cases conflicts are likely over the best policies to resolve the crisis and allocate its costs as different social forces propose new visions, projects, programmes, and policies and struggle over hegemony”.

Yet crises are simultaneously discursive, “material and affective processes, embodying and mobilising histories, making institutions, and injustices, memories and emotions, as well as politics of crises bygone. Crises have their genealogies and legacies. They do not start or end at a specific moment in time [...]. Seeing crisis in this way implies moving away from a perception of crisis as rupture or emergency and considering it as a stream of entangled processes that can freeze into crisis at certain moments (Clarke, 2010)” (Koutrolikou, 2023).

Thus in discerning crises as pivotal conjunctures for the transformations of claim-making we retain crises as meaning-producing, as political technologies and as contexts that are simultaneously discursive, material, institutional and embodied². This ‘war of positions’, as Gramsci noted, and for the prevailing consensus over interpretations of crises, entails visible and invisible (or silenced) articulations of legitimation and power. In this sense, our analytical framework draws upon analyses of power that discuss the visible, hidden and invisible levels of power (see Lukes, 2005) as well as legitimation theories as developed by Van Leween (2007). By contending that crises have genealogies and legacies that are context-specific, we aim to substantiate/position the more abstract analytical framework into specific trajectories of housing histories and struggles in specific contexts.

Nevertheless, since power-relations – as much as claim making and enactments of rights – are social relations that are not unidirectional (or top-down) we also follow Mitchell and Sparke’s argument (2016:728, drawing on Fraser) that “in order to analyse the current structural crisis and the dearth of systematic, state-coordinated responses to neoliberal marketization and financialization, we must consider what is happening around this —third pole of emancipatory struggles”.

² Crisis as dispositif/apparatus?

3. Re-articulating rights in the face of crises

It was not long after the implementation of the first Memorandum of Understanding in Greece (as the coerced agreement over the ‘remedy’ of the financial crisis that plighted the country) that international organisations and critics voiced concerns over the violations of rights in Greece and, later, in other countries. Crisis-imposed austerity measures were considered as detrimental to various rights entitled to the citizens and residents of these countries (primarily on social, economic and cultural rights but also on rights concerning labour and welfare). Even in European countries that were not under the Troika supervision, like the UK, austerity was also imposed as a proactive crisis-management measure and critics were equally concerned about the impact on people’s rights – broadly defined.

The 2008 financial crisis becomes one critical moment, in an array of many in the past two decades, when rights are both *de jure* and *de facto* redefined. This interconnection of rights and crises has a very long lineage that can be traced back in legal – philosophical discussions about the sovereign and the state of emergency (see for example Schmidt, 1986; Agamben, 2005; Neocleous, 2008 among others) to the subject of rights (see for example Arendt, 1951; Ranciere, 2004; Isin, 2013) to the more recent problematizations concerning the post 9/11 socio-legal territory.

Yet, discussions about interconnections of rights and crises can also be traced in more ‘mundane’ crises such as those of urban poverty and homelessness expressed differently in several cities during the last decades of the 20th century, the crisis the welfare state, (especially in the form of the underclass debates in the USA, the UK and later in other European countries) that has been a major concern in the 80s, the crises of the inner cities (or of ghettoization depending on the context) which were crucial for framing both the debate on ‘urban pathologies’ and their remedies through redevelopment and estate demolitions and/or privatisations. Housing (including homelessness), welfare and criminality were the prevalent aspects characterising these frequently termed urban crises whose analyses encompasses crucial contributions from theorists such as St. Hall (Hall et al, 2013[1978]), Sugrue (2005), Castells, (1978), Marcuse, (1981), Harvey (1985, 2005, 2008) and many others (for a genealogy of the term in the USA see Weaver, 2016).

The embeddedness of neoliberalism and its global dominance as a doctrine but also as a policy assemblage, along with its increasingly evident repercussions, brought with it an ever-expanding literature on neoliberal urban restructuring, austerity, crises and rights with seminal contributions including those from Brenner, Peck and Theodore (2010, 2013), Peck (2012), Harvey (2005), Lazzarato (2012), Wacquant (2007), Aalbers (2008), Gotham and Greenberg (2014) among others.

In most of these analyses, crisis continues to be a signifier for major transformations both in the terrain of the urban and in the signification and enactment of rights. Nevertheless, despite ‘crisis’ overwhelming potential for over-determination of future directions and ‘needs’, their interregnum opens up potentialities for counter-rationalities to be developed and counter-claims to be expressed and fought for (including claims for rights to be safeguarded and/or introduced). Housing has been a very illustrative case for investigating the repercussions of crisis but also for mobilising people to struggle for it and to reformulate it as a policy and political claim and, at times, as a right. And as Blomley and Pratt (2001) have observed, “struggles over rights are often struggles over access to places and spaces” and, often, crises become catalysts for these struggles and their outcomes.

In our approach we follow an understanding of rights as social relations (Galligan 2006) and modalities of governmentality which become institutionalised in a given period of time. Neither as something permanent, ‘set in stone’, nor as something whose interpretation remains unwavering. As Delaney (2014) writes, to legally constitute some entity “is to call it into being or modify its social significance through the distinctive practices of naming, classifying, ruling, governing, or ordering associated with law most broadly conceived. It is to invest in entities with distinctively legal signifiers (rules, rights, obligations, prohibitions, facilitative regulations, and so on) that situate these entities within networks or constellations of power which strongly condition actual performances and events with respect to these entities”.

As D’Arcus argues “the topography of law thus can be conceived as an uneven three-dimensional space that gives form to particular conditions and possibilities of citizenship” while also defining the subject of rights. In the words of Delaney (2014) “law also constitutes much of modern reality through its relentless, if inconsistent, reiterations of divisions between ‘the public and private’, ‘the domestic and foreign’, ‘the domestic and international’, ‘subjects

and objects’, moves in ‘the game of jurisdiction’”. Yet, even these designations and jurisdictions are not always clear as international has often been overtaken by what was claimed to be national (often security) interests, differences over who is the subject of what rights and where have raised heated debates over citizenship, welfare, and cultural practices (to name a few) while struggles over what is defined as a matter of public and/or of private concern have shaped the political as well as the limits of rights (see Benhabib, 1991). And the contestations over resources and unequal access to them have opened up extensive debates not only in terms of development and post- or neo-colonialism but also in terms of rights (individual and collective ones).

As D’Arcus (2015) succinctly writes, “through law, states normalise rights; as unevenly distributed to differentiated legal subjects. The boundaries of territorial jurisdiction serve both to contain particular rights regimes, and to exclude others. Within that geometry, on one hand, they sought to identify those interstitial spaces where the jurisdiction of both national and international law was minimal. Those spaces were by definition characterised by less-than-clear sovereignty. On the other hand, they sought to transform the existing spaces of sovereign jurisdiction to limit rights claims to a narrower range of people”.

Therefore, in disentangling these articulations of crises and rights fundamental questions arise concerning which crisis (and where):

- What rights are impacted and how?
- Who is the subject of rights retrenchment or violation in each case?
- If and how are rights (re)signified and (re)claimed and how?

From a human rights perspective, Carmalt (2018: 851) points out that “a critical analysis on the way in which injustice is constructed through spatial practices and relationships provide concrete ways to articulate violations of rights”. **In this project we are concerned not only about the articulations between crisis (as materialised in cities) and violations of rights, but also about how the aforementioned articulations catalyse resignifications and re-claiming of rights. In different ways, housing has been central in all the crises we are analysing in this project. Therefore, since housing becomes our vantage point for exploring these articulations, it is vital to also discuss how housing struggles are essentially political struggles.**

4. Housing and housing struggles as political struggles

Housing is a question of power, (in)equality and (in)justice in contemporary capitalist societies. Housing and urban development are the main arenas for the unfolding for capital's accumulation by dispossession and for neoliberal urbanisation (Harvey, 1974). Yet, they are at the same time the main terrain of grassroots struggles that seek to contest residential injustice. Since 1872, when Friedrich Engels (Engels, 1975) discussed “the housing question” by criticising bourgeois attempts to reform housing, housing has remained at the centre of urban struggles. A century later, in 1968, Henri Lefebvre (Lefebvre, 1974) invoked a politics of the inhabitant (*citadin*), bringing forward a new political subject; the city dweller. Lefebvre's theory assists an understanding of housing as a terrain of political urban struggles and of enacting rights and foregrounds the everyday residential life as the key arena of such struggles. Building on and extending Lefebvre's argument, it is crucial to note that “all those who inhabit” the city have multiple identities; they are women, migrants, workers, members of ethnic communities, and so on. Although criticised by some as a vague, all-encompassing right, as Mitchell & Heynen (2009) argue, this vagueness can be also a way for making visible urban injustices.

Housing struggles, thus, defend housing as a home, as a resource that should be available to all. They highlight housing's dimension as a lived, universally necessary socio-material infrastructure (Madden & Marcuse, 2016). In this way, housing struggles enact a “politics of possibilities” (Gibson-Graham, 2006); they are generative of concrete social and political alternatives to the neoliberal housing model (Felicantonio, 2016). While housing struggles are local and place-based initiatives, they are often embedded in broader networks of trans-local solidarities. Recent crises mobilised multiple waves of housing struggles that often intersect with other political struggles. Broad alliances are forged on the ground across cities connecting radical housing claims to other claims, linked to feminist, antiracist, environmental and migrant activism (Vaiou, 2016; Zavos et al., 2017). Following Lefebvre, anthropologist James Holston (Holston, 1998, 2008) introduced the term “insurgent citizenship” highlighting the conceptual and political significance of the everyday of housing struggles. According to Holston, housing struggles generate a new form of urban citizenship, insurgent citizenship, which is based on residence rather than nationality.

Housing commons or commoning housing rights

By now, there is a substantial literature on commons and commoning in the fields of urban geography, urban planning, sociology, and political science within which we could find different theorisations of the commons. Before focusing explicitly on the relation between housing and the commons or housing movements and struggles as forms of urban commoning, it is important to briefly analyse the meaning of the concept of the (urban) commons. The contemporary discussion on the commons is greatly influenced by Elinor Ostrom theorisation of commons as common-pool resources (Ostrom, 1990). More recently, however, Marxists, such as Massimo de Angelis (2010), Silvia Federici (2011) and David Harvey (2012), have revived the concept of the commons, re-conceptualising them as a tripartite entity: (i) common-pool resources, (ii) community of commoners, and (iii) the process of commoning and sharing. Common is beyond the private but at the same time is different from the public. It emerges as a potential space for liberation where everyday practices of sharing knowledge, relations, and spaces (Karagianni, 2023). Commoning can be defined as those ‘practices of sharing [that are] based on efforts to limit the accumulation of any form of power’ (Stavrides, 2020, p. 140).

Housing struggles expand the existing debate on urban commons (Montagna & Grazioli, 2019). Housing struggles are commoning struggles when they manage to consolidate ‘values practices and measures that are truly alternative to the subordination of life to profit (. . .). Values practices, such as loyalty to friends, conviviality, mutual aid, care, and even struggles, are developed in the commons’ (De Angelis, 2017, p. 12, cited in Montagna & Grazioli, 2019). If urban real estate ‘acts as a key mechanism through which the common wealth of the metropolis is privatized’ (García-Lamarca, 2015, p. 165), then housing movements and struggles are commoning practices that contribute to the politicisation of housing. For example, drawing on Latin American housing movements, Stavrides (2020:139) argues that ‘specific struggles may be connected to new forms of social relations based on mutual help, egalitarian ethos and participatory democracy’. Stavrides explores how the homeless and the poorly housed people in Latin America create communities of commoning based on cohabitation. Commoning, in this case, is related to shared housing projects and it is a process that permeates all levels of cohabitation, from layout choices and cooperation with planning experts to co-deciding the rules of cohabitation and collectively maintaining the shared spaces. Struggles for housing, including homeless housing movements, promote a commoning ethics through community

building, participation in construction and maintenance of shared housing and the establishment of values of mutual help (Stavrides, 2020). Moreover, shaping housing through commoning may catalyse the development of new forms of social relations.

Urban commoning and housing are also linked in existing literature that studies squatting practices for housing purposes and self-made housing, such as migrants' practices of squatting that emerged since 2015 in many European cities (see for instance Karaliotas & Kapsali, 2021). Montagna and Grazioli (2019:579) argue that 'squats, urban camps and informal settlements represent mobile and urban commons enabling migrants' autonomy' as they are materialised through social and spatial practices based on mutuality, solidarity, care and decommodified exchange. Moreover, solidarity housing squats have been conceptualised as political struggles that politicise migration by staging the equality of newcomers and locals (Karaliotas & Kapsali, 2021). Following Rancière who conceptualises politics as a disruptive activity centred on the performative enactment of equality through the opening of spaces (Rancière, 2011), geographic literature highlights that political struggles challenge the dominant ordering of space and time and create new spatialities and socialities. In this respect, housing struggles are political struggles through which political infrastructures of solidarity and care are fabricated (Kapsali, 2020).

In parallel, literature on urban social movements highlights the importance of housing struggles as political struggles that are based on collective action and struggle towards social transformation. Housing struggles are often initiated by marginalised social groups or individuals that come together under a common purpose and form new political actors and subjects (García-Lamarca, 2017), such as the "*Poblador*" in Chile (Cortés Morales, 2013). In the case of the *pobladores*—i.e., the urban poor—we observe that changes in housing policies have resulted in changes in the way the urban poor conceive social housing and fight for more just housing conditions (Pérez, 2017).

According to social movement scholars and theorists, the necessary criteria for social movement mobilisation are three: presence of grievances (Tarrow, 1988; Tilly, 1978); mobilising structures, i.e., formal, or informal networks that facilitate collective action (Klandermans & Oegema, 1987; McAdam et al., 1996); and a collective frame and a shared understanding (Benford & Snow, 2000). Drawing on this, Maeckelbergh (2012, p. 658) argues

that ‘mobilising around housing involves the circumnavigation of socio-spatial structures to create links across boundaries and between groups that were previously disconnected.

International human rights documents, like the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (1948), the European Convention on Human Rights (ECHR, 1950), the European Social Charter (1966), or the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) (1976) may not refer directly to the Right to Housing, but they do outline different rights that are inherent to it. For instance, securing the implementation of Articles 8 (right to private life), 10 (freedom of expression) and 11 (freedom of assembly) of the ECHR is directly dependent on securing the right to housing. In fact, access to home has been acknowledged as a requirement for securing the right to privacy of people, as more important than securing a right to property. However, it should be born in mind that international human rights documents and conventions are not binding for their signatories, and, as such, do not secure a *de jure* right to housing (for a comprehensive review of the implications of international human rights documents for the right to housing see Finchett-Maddock, 2016).

Overall, housing is a right; not necessarily a *de jure* one but through Lefebvre’s perspective, as a right to be claimed and enacted as part of urban political struggles. A radical right to housing raises the question of housing not just as a right for access to a shelter but brings together broader urban claims on equality, spatial justice, and solidarity (Soja, 2010). However, it remains necessary to explore how housing struggles are articulated today in European cities; how housing solidarities are forged and maintained; which are their claims and demands; which are the repertoires of actions that housing movements mobilise.

Throughout the world, the struggle for access to affordable, quality housing, and, more broadly, for the right to housing, has been on the forefront of claims put forward by urban movements, albeit to different extents and with different intensity. Contemporary housing struggles are formed differently in each urban context due to the different trajectories of each city (Florea et al., 2018). They unavoidably draw on the past and at the same time define the future. But they are also practised in the here and now, advancing political claims about the democratisation and decommodification of housing. Housing struggles emerge in cities of the Global North and South, taking diverse forms and mobilising a variegated set of practices that range from institutionalised claim-making mobilisations to insurgent practices of building the housing

commons, moving beyond contestation (García-Lamarca, 2015). They include a broad spectrum of social mobilisations that demand, among others, housing solutions for the poor, like the aforementioned *pobladores* movement in Chile (Pérez, 2017); anti-eviction movements like the renowned *Plataforma de Afectados por la Hipoteca* (PAH) movement in Spanish cities (García-Lamarca, 2017); migrant housing struggles and solidarity squats in the midst of the 2015 “refugee crisis” (Karaliotas and Kapsali, 2021) and beyond (Ferrero, 2020); rent strikes during the COVID-19 crisis (Cabbatt, 2020); awareness and research campaigns like the *Caravana pelo Direito à Habitação* in Portugal (Falanga et al., 2019) and many others.

There is a vast bibliography on housing issues, with different strands approaching them from different starting points. Prevalent in this literature has long been a reproduction of the North/South divide. Urban movements for housing have an exceptionally long tradition in cities of the Global South, ranging from protest through which the urban poor claim their right to the city (e.g., against gentrification and displacement) to collective practices of self-help housing (see for example the practices employed by the Slum Dwellers International federation) and squatting (see also Banks et al., 2020; Porter et al., 2011). Also notable is the Western Cape Anti-Eviction Campaign, founded in 2001, as an umbrella movement comprising of community organisations, crisis committees and resident groups that have been seeking to resist evictions and demand their right to shelter (Miraftab, 2009). In the Global North, urban movements for housing often focus their efforts on the severe disparity between wages and housing costs that exacerbate housing unaffordability. Indicative in this respect is what has evolved to be called the “cost of living” crisis in the UK and the movement that rallied around the slogan “enough is enough”.

Notwithstanding the valuable inputs of the aforementioned literature, critical urban scholars have repeatedly underlined the limitations of approaching housing issues through the reproductions of the North/South divide. Working across and beyond the divide, then, scholars are attempting to examine housing issues and struggles in a more relational manner, underlining the useful inputs of such an approach (Heslop et al., 2020). Comparisons between different cases become in this case a major methodological tool in their quiver, with valuable observations deriving precisely from these comparisons (Ibid.). In this way, scholars attempt a ‘juxtaposition of dissimilar cases’ (Caldeira, 2017, p. 5) seeking to produce a ‘pattern composed of singularities’ (Heslop et al., 2020, p. 1608). The task, then, is to provide an

account of housing struggles, and the ways in which their practices contribute to the reconceptualization and resignification of the right to housing, that is, just like Heslop and colleagues' (2020) suggestion for the study of the housing question in general, both 'situated and general' (Heslop et al., 2020, p. 1608; see also Lancione & McFarlane, 2016).

To investigate the meanings that the right to housing attains during the current continuum of crises, and to uncover a pattern of claims, the next section attempts a categorisation of claims as articulated in the context of housing struggles. According to existing literature, claims in most cases refer to some extent to the right to stay put, with initiatives and movements fighting against displacement due to gentrification, renovation, infrastructure projects and rent increases due to other causes, but also arguing in favour of progressive legislative changes, social housing, securing the right to housing for homeless populations and alternative housing models, among others. The articulation of claims itself can be described as a dialectic process, as it is both time- and space-specific, strongly related to the context, and is formed and voiced towards the state and/or other actors.

5. Housing traditions and housing struggles in comparative housing studies

Drawing on **critical geographies of rights** (Blomley, 1994, 2016; Carmalt, 2018; Laliberte, 2015), the contextual analysis wants to examine legal practices that shape both formal and informal political struggles, as housing (as all areas of life) is infused with legal categories and practices. Parallel to the historical evolution of housing struggles in each context, the research examines different ideological and political framing of housing by official policies.

Role of the state: *"The production, articulation and implementation of housing policy continues to be the domain of the state, irrespective of whether the policy specifies a social or a market mode of action. The ideological and discursive capacity is implicitly recognised in most neo-marxist theorisations of the "role of the state" under capitalism, such as that of Poulantzas (1973) or Jessop (1982) including the function of the "state apparatuses" (Althusser 1971)" [...] Despite allegations about the withdrawal of the state, it has been maintained that the state remains a dominant force in the production of re-imagined housing policy and in the specification of the subjectivities and objects that the state perceives and manipulates in the achievement of governmental objectives." Dodson 2006, p.13"*

Drawing on **historical institutionalism in housing**, the context analysis wants to examine how “history matters” in the way housing systems, perceptions and practices have evolved and have been shaped, producing particular configurations of housing systems and housing struggles. Bengtsson (2010:195)² proposes path dependence as *“a particular form of analysis that focuses on historical events and specifies in theoretical terms the elements that build up the path between those events.[...] The historical development can be perceived as an ongoing and self-reinforcing chain of games between actors, institutional change, new games, new institutions, etc.”* [...] Three central elements of path dependence analysis are (1) the event or events at point or points A, where one historical path is “chosen” instead of another (the “**critical juncture**”); (2) the **decision-making process** at point B, where the effects of the choice at point A become visible (the “**focus point**”); and (3) the mechanism or **mechanisms** that explain the effects of the event at point A on the decision-making situation at point B. The logical way to identify these elements is to “write history backwards” starting at point B, which would typically be an important and visible political decision-making process. [...] Counterfactual analysis is an important element in a perspective of path dependence.”

In order to enable comparison between different housing contexts, the methodological tool proposed is a **chronological model identifying different historical phases of housing provision** (early urbanisation, state policy expansion, or state policy retrenchment etc.). In the historical perspective proposed, housing regimes evolve between stable periods (path dependency) and critical moments of change. The periodisation and identification of critical junctures that mark periods of change towards the transformation of housing regimes are important in this exercise (see Clapham 2019).³

Finally, drawing on **comparative housing studies** (Allen et al. 2004, Kemeny, 2001, Stephens, 2011, etc.) the contextual analysis will try to classify the three contexts into different housing system typologies, while at the same time highlighting the common trends, related to broader economic dynamics, that produce converging policy outcomes (neoliberalisation, globalisation, financialisation, austerity). ‘Comparative housing research’ is often taken to

³ Clapham 2019 proposes a holistic concept of a housing regime defined as “the set of discourses and social, economic and political practices that influence the provision, allocation, consumption and housing outcomes in a given country (p. 34). His approach has four dimensions: the residential capitalism (financial system, economic sphere, labour market, income and inequalities), the welfare ideologies and housing governance (organised on national and subnational scales), the institutional structures (housing policies, available tools/mechanisms) and the housing outcome (housing condition, wellness and satisfaction, distribution among income classes/social groups etc).

mean the comparison of national housing policies or systems (e.g. Harloe and Martens, 1983; Kemeny and Lowe, 1998; Stephens, 2011), but it could just as easily be cities, or estates, or tenures, or time periods. Comparative housing studies refer to Espin-Andersen's work on welfare regimes. Welfare regimes are understood as the interplay between state, market and families, including formal and informal institutions at the societal level (beyond state institutions). **Espin-Andersen identified three welfare regime clusters: the liberal welfare state, the conservative-corporatist welfare state and the social-democratic welfare state**, by measuring the decommodification of services, and their effect upon social stratification (Matznetter and Mundt, 2012).

Advancing on this path, Kemeny suggested that housing systems were defined by the relationship between for-profit and social rented sectors, distinguishing between **unitary and dualistic housing markets**, depending on the regulation of housing production and distribution (Kemeny 1995). Germany and Sweden, placed within the corporatist and social democratic welfare regimes respectively, had unitary housing regimes, while the US and the UK, placed by Espin-Andersen in the liberal welfare regime, had dualist markets. Rigid classifications have been questioned and reworked by a number of scholars (see for example Allen et al. 2004, Stephens 2020), showing besides the inter-dependence of housing and welfare regimes, **how global financial markets affect local housing policies and markets** (see, Schwartz and Seabrooke, 2008 on Varieties of residential capitalism).

A **Southern European, Mediterranean or familistic welfare regime** has been proposed by scholars identifying a different cluster or family of resemblance in European comparative studies (Castles and Ferrera 1996). Southern European Housing systems are characterised by residual housing policies, the prevalence of homeownership as the preferred tenure and the important role of family and family networks in providing access to housing. The work of Allen et al. 2004 has focused on the characteristics of the Southern European (SE) Housing System, including Greece, Italy, Spain and Portugal and proposes a comprehensive comparative framework consisting a main reference for comparative housing studies among southern european countries (see also, Allen 2006, Arbaci, 2019 among others). As Tullumelo 2022 (p.984-985) mentions, in comparative studies SE housing systems have been understood as “lagging behind” the more advanced systems of the continental core, in contrast to universalist social democratic or corporatist models of Central and Northern Europe.

This approach has been criticised on three grounds (Mattznetter & Mundt, 2012; Tulumello et al., 2018): empirically, i) because it **overlooks the existence of significant differences** among and within the four countries and ii) because it **effaces historical trajectories**; and, analytically, iii) because it **does not question the role of uneven development** in building regional differences in the long run.

In an attempt to shed light on intra-western regional relations within the Global North, and contribute to the debate on southern urban critiques, Tulumello (2022) proposes a framework for comparison between recent housing dynamics in Southern Europe and Southern USA, two cases which he considers complementary and, at the same time, analogous (comparable in respect to dimensions that help make clearer the nature of the things compared). He focuses on how contexts characterised by **different historical trajectories, urban fabrics and institutional arrangements** have been impacted by the same transnational forces in the wake of the global financial and economic crisis, and creates a comparative frame inspired by global urban studies (Robinson, 2016). In his comparison he speaks to create a “frame of analogy in difference” not by comparing in detail the housing systems of the two cases, but by focusing on transformations caused by, and related with, the global economic crisis and the following economic growth, and on multi-scalar relations therein (Tulumello, 2022, p.984).

Interesting attempts have been also made to compare **local housing regimes** (Hoekstra, 2020), pointing to the diversification of housing policies and outcomes at sub-national level, particularly in contexts with a high level of decentralisation and enhanced local authority governance models.

Convergences and contextualised paths under neoliberalism

The strong influence of neoliberalism and globalisation on national economies and welfare systems, has made it difficult to identify clear clusterings and typologies in more recent comparative works (Schubert et al. 2009), while there is a strong debate about the convergence that globalisation produces. The convergence thesis highlighted recommodification, decollectivization, privatisation and transition to the market as main features of the neoliberal era (post 90s), in distinction to the priorities of housing policy in the post-war period.

Neoliberalisation refers to the restructuring of global capitalism and economic activity during the last 40 years based on liberal and neo-classical economic approaches. The process has been framed as a class project for the reinforcement of interests of global financial capital (Harvey 2005, Wacquant 2012). The domination of neo-liberal globalisation implemented through fast-track knowhow transfer by international organisations (Peck and Theodore 2010), reduced the capacity of public bodies/states to develop social housing policies, but also affected the perceptions regarding the nature of the problems and possible alternatives (Clapham 2006). Since the retrenchment of the welfare state and reduction of social spending that followed the economic crisis of the mid 1970s, there has been a debate about the possible convergence of welfare states, towards the liberal regime⁴ (Matznetter and Mundt, 2012, p. 278).

In relation to housing provision, neoliberalisation indicates the change in the welfare and housing regimes developed in most European countries in the post-war period, following a neo-liberal ideology which promotes privatisation and deregulation of the market. For housing systems with developed state housing assistance, this meant a turn from direct housing provision to housing allowances (from subsidising brick and mortar to subsidising persons/from supply side to demand side), significant reduction of public investment in housing and the introduction of new management governance methods into social housing. It also implied massive privatisation programmes of public and municipal housing, and the devolution of housing policy to non-state actors. These reforms opened the way for the increased involvement of financial and market actors in the production and provision of housing, paving the way for housing financialisation turning housing from a social good to a property asset (Aalberts, 2016).

For Southern European Systems, which did not develop robust social housing sectors it meant the further liberalisation of housing markets, further residualisation of public intervention and financialisation of housing production and consumption. Researchers have highlighted the role of the European Union in directing the (Southern) European Housing Systems towards the liberalisation of housing production mechanisms and housing markets, mortgage systems, and

⁴ In the liberal welfare state, social policy focuses on those in current need. Entitlement to (typically modest) subsidies is controlled on a regular basis, and is lifted as soon as income limits are exceeded. Market supply of welfare services is regarded as the norm. That should be upheld as long as possible. The outcomes of such policies can be called residualist- due to their focus on strictly circumscribed groups (Matznetter and Mundt 2020, p. 275).

towards the increase of homeownership as the preferred tenure (given also the transformation of welfare and social security systems towards asset-based models).

The EU did not develop a housing competence per se, but impacted the specific housing outcomes in the member states through indirect and implicit policies and regulations (Doling, 2006; Allegra et al., 2020). This direction has become more evident after the global financial crisis, but also in the post-pandemic era, as the results of years of deregulation and neoliberalisation of housing have contributed to the current acute housing affordability crisis in most European countries, and particularly large cities with important economic activity. The neoliberalisation of housing, had also the result of debilitating public authorities and states to adequately respond to the crisis. A growing concern is being voiced at the EU level towards a more interventionist approach to housing, and the need to develop and fund affordable and social housing alternatives, which however has not yet been translated into concrete policy actions and legally binding directives regarding national housing policies and the use of European structural funds towards this end.

6. Tracing a categorisation of housing struggles' claims

Based on existing literature, as mentioned in the beginning of this section, claims articulated by housing movements, initiatives and struggles can be broadly divided in two categories, which are not, however, utterly distinct but can also overlap. First, defensive or resistance struggles put forward claims against violence, oppression, and displacement. Second, offensive struggles (Card, 2022) that seek to have a transformative potential focus on claims around new alternatives for housing and building a future vision that moves beyond current market-oriented models that (re)produce the underlying causes of this violence, oppression, and displacement. Finally, for the purposes of this project, a third category is considered, that of claims related to resignifying and reconceptualising the right to housing during the contemporary continuum of crises (see Figure 1 below). All the above revolve to some extent around exercising people's right-to-stay-put. Seeking to provide the foundations for a deeper understanding of housing struggles' claims in the broader context where this project's case studies are situated, the following analysis builds primarily on examples deriving from the European South. Before moving on to the discussion of the various categories of claims articulated by housing struggles, however, it should be noted that in multiple cases, due to the intersectional nature of the housing

question, the claims become intersectional as well. Indicatively, Gustafsson and colleagues (Allt åt alla Malmö et al., 2019), in their study of tenant struggles in Stockholm, Malmö and Uppsala, Sweden, point out how struggles include responses to ‘privatization through tenure conversion (Stockholm), gentrification spurred by private rental actors (Malmö) and battles over green space and displacement in the rental housing stock (Uppsala).’ (Ibid., p. 191).

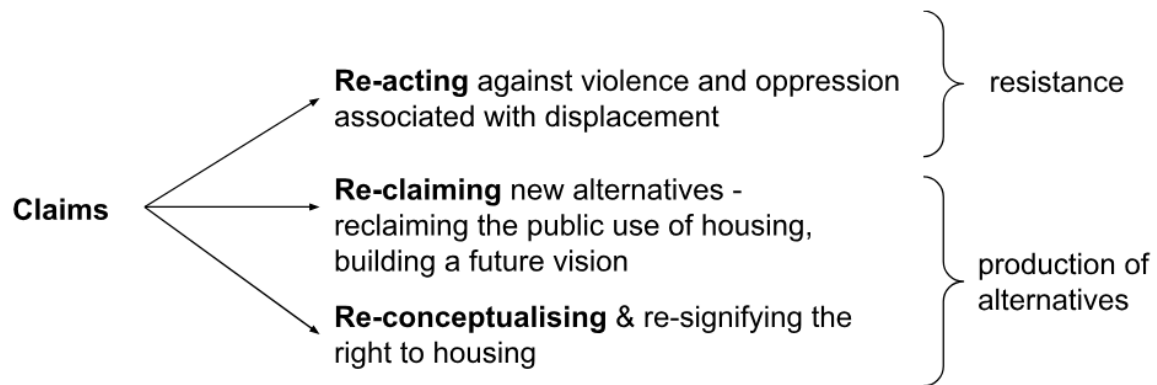


Figure 1 Diagrammatic representation of the three categories of claims articulated by housing struggles (created by the authors).

Reactions against violence, oppression & displacement and the right-to-stay-put

The displacement of urban populations can occur due to several causes, i.e., regeneration projects, infrastructure projects, or gentrification, among others, but can often be linked to broader processes of urban neoliberal development and/or restructuring. It can be the result of direct evictions of residents of rental properties due to their inability to cover the rent, evictions of homeowners due to mortgage debts, or the indirect eviction of residents, also referred to as market dislocation, (mostly renters but not exclusively) due to a significant rise in living costs in the area. Hence, succinctly, claims in this category include those (1) against gentrification- and touristification-induced displacement; (2) against displacement due to large scale urban projects, for the regeneration, greening, infrastructure-building, development and so on of urban neighbourhoods, which also bear a strong link to gentrification and touristification processes and could be a subcategory of relevant claims, but not always; (3) against the privatisation of public housing stock or claiming the re-socialisation or re-municipalisation of privatised housing stock; (4) against evictions (due to rent arrears, mortgages and

“renovictions”); and (5) against the rising housing costs (rent increases and cost-of-living crisis), with direct links to claims against evictions in point no. 4 above.

Claims against gentrification- and touristification-induced (Cocola-Gant & Gago, 2021; Jover & Cocola-Gant, 2022; Wachsmuth & Weisler, 2018) displacement, but also against displacement due to large-scale urban projects, for the regeneration (Geva & Rosen, 2022; Uysal, 2012), greening, infrastructure-building, redevelopment and so on of urban neighbourhoods are prevalent in the practices of housing struggles. Focusing on ‘planetary urbanisation, and drawing on the development studies literature, Lees relates displacement to ‘a conception of land-use as the “exclusion of people from one or more current crucial uses of a particular area of land or other territories”’ (Penz et al., 2011, p. 16 cited in Annunziata & Lees, 2016). The latter, according to Annunziata and Lees (Ibid.), directly links displacement with violations of human rights, as they are described in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (see also AGFE, 2007; du Plessis, 2005). This is only accentuated further by the recent financial crisis, which has created new forms of displacement (through evictions, foreclosures and so forth), that strengthens the link between gentrification and violations of citizens’ right-to-stay-put (Annunziata & Lees, 2016).

In many cases, such processes occur in inner-city lower income residential areas and/or areas with a high percentage of immigrants or refugees. Indicative are struggles like the mobilisations around the gentrified Lavapiés neighbourhood in Madrid, e.g. the ‘*la Red de Lavapiés*’ network (formed in 1996), the *15M* movement, the squatting of buildings, and the ‘*Lavapiés, ¿dónde vas?*’ movement/campaign (Sequera & Nofre, 2018). In other instances, claims to the right to housing can also be linked to the hosting of international events, such as the urban regeneration project in Sulukule neighbourhood in Istanbul in the context of the European Capital of Culture 2010 event and the Sulukule Platform movement that formed in opposition to it (Uysal, 2012).

When it comes to the privatisation of council, social and public housing, but also evictions, tenant unions and, more broadly, tenant movements, come to the forefront of relevant housing struggles. The privatisation of public housing takes different forms in different countries, but usually includes either the transfer of related stocks or overall property ownership from the public to the private sector, and/or the demolition of the housing complex and its replacement with new private developments. Depending on the case, residents might continue living on the

property as tenants after its privatisation, the privatisation can be combined with evictions (e.g., in the case of demolition and/or redevelopment), or, in other instances, the occupants remain in their houses but assume ownership of the properties, either individually or as members of an association. In the latter case, while it can still technically be described as privatisation, housing struggles can form claims for it instead of against it, due to context and path-dependency related issues. Such is the case for instance of the claim for a ‘fair privatisation’ (Černý et al., 2023, p. 197) put forward by the ‘*Moje Pisnice*’ Initiative in Prague, which at the time of post socialist transition struggled for the acquisition of public housing stock by its residents, through tenant’s associations, owners’ associations or cooperatives, in order to secure its maintenance, their continued occupancy and avoid its commodification through its transfer to large private companies or funds (Černý et al., 2023).

Struggles against the privatisation of council housing have been particularly prevalent in the UK, especially since the violent acceleration of large scale privatisations under Thatcherism in the early 1990s and the New Labour policies that followed it since 1997 (Daly et al., 2005; Mooney & Poole, 2005). In the early 2000s in Scotland privatisation took the form of housing stock transfers and was combined with cuts in municipal funding destined for the maintenance of the council housing stock, while housing struggles formed around the Vote ‘No’ Campaigns that sought to urge tenants to reject the stock transfer proposals, albeit unsuccessfully in the case of Glasgow (Ibid.). In Berlin, the Deutsche Wohnen & Co. The Enteignen movement organised in 2021 a referendum to demand the expropriation of housing properties owned by large corporations like Deutsche Wohnen and the transfer of their management to their tenants, where the “Yes” vote won by 59.1%. Two years later, in 2023, the expert commission tasked by the municipality to examine the legality of such an action decided in 2023 that such a policy would, in fact, be legal and possible.

Housing struggles against evictions, be it due to rent or mortgage arrears, or even renovations of houses – referred to as ‘renovictions’, have gained ground since the financial crisis of 2008 and the subsequent austerity measures that were introduced in several countries, particularly in the European South. Evictions are linked to the financialisation of housing in general (see Figure 2), and of rental housing in particular. Byrne (2019, p. 9) frames the financialization of rental housing under the concept of the ‘residential rent relation’, defined as the ‘antagonism between the accumulation of capital/wealth and social reproduction which is inherent in the

landlord-tenant relationship’. Here too, relevant claims articulated by housing movements revolve around the right to stay put. One example is the Swedish Union of Tenants (www.hyresgastforeningen.se), who exercised that right through legal and extra-legal methods including the organisation of protests and multiple, networked anti-privatisation groups^[1] (such as the city-wide network, *Rädda Hyresrätterna* - Save the Tenancies) that ‘created stronger relationships between neighbours through parties, cafes, demonstrations, micro commons and art projects’ (Ibid., 195). However, probably the most prominent example of housing struggles against evictions, especially during the financial crisis, has been that of Spain, with *Plataforma de Afectados por la Hipoteca* – PAH being the most prevalent of all housing struggles and movements in the country. PAH, and the housing rights movement in Spain (García-Lamarca, 2015, 2017) in general employed a large variety of tactics in their efforts to defend the right to housing, including ‘legal claims, court mediation, dation in payment (full cancellation of mortgage debt when a property is returned to the bank) and the right to relocation’ (Barbero, 2015, p. 270).



Figure 2 Growing trends in property prices in Eurozone countries 2015-2017. Source: Balabanidis et al., 2022, p. 1.

Finally, housing struggles that focus on the rising housing costs have become increasingly prevalent in the past decade. From Kotti & Co in Berlin (Hamann & Türkmen, 2020) and ... movements and struggles employ occupations, protests, and other practices to shed light on the severe impact rising housing costs have on people's everyday lives.

Reclaiming housing struggles and new alternatives

Transformative, “reclaiming” struggles, that seek to provide alternatives to dominant systems of access to housing articulate claims that derive from different practices, including (1) squatting led by locals, refugees/immigrants, or both; (2) cooperative, collaborative and community housing & community land trusts (CLTs); (3) the building of alliances and collaborations with other actors involved in knowledge production, i.e., academics, and policy-makers of all levels; (4) and advocating for the provision of -more- funding and social/public housing.

Squatting and collective housing practices have a long history as forms of reclaiming the right to the city and to housing in cities. One of the most prominent examples of cities with a long squatting tradition in Southern Europe is probably that of Rome. The *Coordinamento Cittadino di Lotta per la Casa* (Urban Coordination of Housing Struggles) and the *Blocchi Precari Metropolitani* (Precarious Metropolitan Block) are two of the most well-known housing movement organisations in the city that have employed squatting practices as a form of reclaiming the right to housing by acting as ‘alternative forms of social reproduction in post-welfare neoliberal cities’ (Grazioli & Caciagli, 2018, p. 1). In addition, and while PAH, in Spain, is widely known for its solidarity practices, entailing mainly the blocking of evictions and negotiations with banks for long-term solutions to foreclosures (see previous section), as Melissa Garcia-Lamarca (2017) argues, its ‘practices are not only reactionary but also propositional and, moreover, materialise other ways of doing, being and inhabiting.’ (García-Lamarca, 2017, p. 40). In fact, PAH also embarked on both squatting practices, namely the occupation of empty, bank-owned housing in collaboration with evicted families, and on efforts to push for legislative changes, striving for institutional as well as alternative housing solutions to the crisis.

In the same spirit, in 2019 in Oakland, California, 2 single moms decided to move in and renovate an empty house, owned by Wedgewood Properties. Soon after, in collaboration with

the Alliance of Californians for Community Action (ACCE) and the Black Housing Union and inspired by the squatting campaigns of ACORN's and "Homes not Jails" in San Francisco, they founded "Moms 4 Housing". Moms 4 Housing fought against court notices to evacuate the property by claiming their right to possession and framing their right to housing as a human right (Everett, 2020). Even though the moms lost the case in court, they elevated the public discussion on the right to housing, and eventually the house was bought by the Oakland Community Land Trust, while some of the moms moved back in (Kim, 2020; Solomon & Wolffe, 2019). Finally, in cases where whole groups of the population (such as refugees or Roma people) have been targeted by eviction and other similar policies, squatting has been used by housing struggles as a method of reclaiming their right to housing and protesting displacement. Among others, refugee-led housing squats gained prominence during the recent refugee crisis. For instance, in Thessaloniki, Greece, the *Orfanotrofeio Housing Squat* was created by refugees, immigrants and locals in 2015, through collective home-making practices, to fight against the 'city of exclusion' by building infrastructures for a 'city of solidarity' (Kapsali, 2020; Karaliotas & Kapsali, 2021, p. 400).

Just like in the case of Moms 4 Housing, CLTs and cooperative housing are increasingly gaining ground all over the world as alternative, more egalitarian forms of housing that move away and beyond the conservative constraints of property-oriented, capitalist systems of housing provision towards a commoning approach to housing production. The broad term of collaborative housing is used in the literature to refer to housing provision schemes that are built around the idea of cooperation and participation of tenants in the production process, but also between residents and other actors and stakeholders (Czischke et al., 2020). In turn, cooperative housing is a less broad term that refers to housing schemes that adopt the cooperative legal form and are built on the same principles that all cooperatives are based upon. Collaborative and cooperative housing schemes have existed in multiple countries for decades but are just now being introduced in others. In addition, cooperative housing remains a demand of housing struggles in countries and regions where still no relevant legal framework exists, such as the Balkans. To overcome this obstacle, several groups fighting for cooperative housing in central and eastern Europe have formed MOBA Housing SCE (European Cooperative Society). MOBA is a network of cooperatives that provides support to its members in their crusade to create their cooperative.

However, alliances and networking play a pivotal role in the practices of housing struggles, not only regarding cooperatives and collaborative housing schemes, but all shapes and forms of acting in the direction of reclaiming the right to housing. The *Unequal Cities* network forms an example of such a networking-oriented approach that seeks to bridge academia and activism in the quest for securing and defending the right to housing for all. Last but not least, housing struggles that demand the allocation of funding and the expanding of social and affordable housing policies can also be considered part of this category.

Table 1 Categorisation of claims articulated by housing struggles and indicative examples in the European context (created by the authors)

Claims	Subcategories of claims	Indicative examples of struggles in a South-European context, links with other issues/literatures (with references)
Re-acting against violence and oppression - displacement and claiming the right-to-stay-put	Against gentrification and/or touristification (including short-term rentals)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Mobilisations around the gentrified Lavapiés neighbourhood (Madrid), e.g. the ‘<i>la Red de Lavapiés</i>’ network (formed in 1996), <i>15M</i> movement, squatting of buildings, the ‘<i>Lavapiés, ¿dónde vas?</i>’ movement/campaign (Sequera & Nofre, 2018); ● Sulukule Platform movement, Istanbul ● Crisis-related evictions and gentrification in Athens, Madrid and Rome (Annunziata & Lees, 2016).
	Against displacement due to regeneration /development/infrastructure works/etc.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Links to discussion on planetary gentrification, development literature on the “Global South” (Annunziata & Lees, 2016).
	Against the privatisation of public housing stock or claiming the re-socialisation or re-municipalisation of privatised housing stock	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Berlin referendum, 2021 ● Glasgow, 2000s (Mooney & Poole, 2005) ● For privatisation but with transfer to tenants: ‘Moje Pisnice’ Initiative in Prague
	Against evictions (due to rent arrears, mortgages and “renovictions”)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Tenant’s unions such as <i>Associazione Inquilini e Abitanti - ASIA & Unione Inquilini</i> (Rome),

		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● <i>Plataforma de Afectados por la Hipoteca - PAH (Spain)</i>;
	Against the rising housing costs (rent increases & homelessness issues)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Protests against rent deregulation by tenant associations and other movements and initiatives, e.g. Kotti & Co tenant association, Berlin ● Irish movement against homelessness demanding more policies from the state, ● Protests against the cost-of-living/affordability crisis,
Re-claiming & new alternatives	Squatting & Collective housing	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● “<i>Roma non si vende</i>”⁵ movement, Coordinamento Cittadino di Lotta per la Casa and Blocchi Precari Metropolitani (Rome) (Grazioli & Caciagli, 2018) ● PAH - occupations of empty bank-owned housing, Spain ● Moms 4 Housing, west Oakland, California, USA ● <i>Orfanotrofeo Housing Squat</i>, Thessaloniki
	Cooperative, collaborative & community housing and CLTs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● MOBA (Central and South-Eastern Europe), ● CoHab Athens (Greece)
	Alliance building and networking	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Unequal cities
	Policy-related: Funding, rent controls + social/public housing provision	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● PAH, Spain

⁵ <https://ilmanifesto.it/roma-non-si-vende-la-citta-bassa-rivendica-lautogoverno>, <https://www.facebook.com/watch/?v=10153557370095952> (video of Severina, a woman evicted and rehoused by the movement), <https://www.gettyimages.com/photos/roma-non-si-vende-demonstrations-held-by-social-and-housing-groups>

7. (Re)conceptualisations of the right to housing in a continuum of crises

The continuum of crises in the last two decades has expanded the field of action of housing struggles. The financial crisis and, more importantly, the austerity measures that followed it accelerated the neoliberalisation of policies and urban space, multiplying the effects of housing financialisation, gentrification and touristification of urban space. The skyrocketing number of evictions, be it due to rent or mortgage arrears, or even due to renovations and repurposing of the housing stock, (re)produced new and existing urban inequalities and further decreased access to affordable, safe, and adequate housing for people. Austerity was soon coupled with the effects of the so-called refugee crisis of 2015, while the climate, housing, energy, and health crises followed suit.

As evidenced by the previous sections, housing struggles in many instances politicised the debates on crises, forming claims that were intersectional in their nature and sought to address their adverse effects. In doing so, they resignified, expanded and, in the end, offered new insights in the direction of a reconceptualization of the right to housing in the context of this continuum of crises. The right to housing, even though not explicitly recognised by legal documents as a human right, was already understood to include the right to secure, affordable, and adequate shelter, and as a necessary requirement for the exercise of other, *de jure* acknowledged human rights by international treaties, such as the rights to privacy, freedom of expression and freedom of assembly.

Each crisis brought to the forefront different issues, while housing struggles' claim prioritisation changed, even if the broader spectrum remained the same in many cases. The **financial crisis of 2008** and the neoliberal restructuring of cities accelerated financialisation processes, resulting in increases in housing costs and the impoverishment of large parts of the urban population, who could not afford to cover their rent or mortgage. The **refugee crisis of 2015** came to add to that the acute housing crisis faced by refugees and immigrants, and the multiple, intersectional inequalities and exclusions they endure. The **COVID-19 health crisis** and the quarantine and social distancing measures shed new light on the importance of access to secure and adequate housing. In fact, the pandemic in 2020-2022 raised the housing question once again, this time by underlining the significance of access to affordable, secure and adequate housing for all, as well as the ways its lack affects society as a whole, and not only

those directly suffering from it (Sakali & Karyotis, 2022). Notwithstanding the importance of eviction bans implemented in several countries during the pandemic (Figures 3 & 4; OECD, 2021), significant parts of urban populations faced multiple and accentuated vulnerabilities at the time, deriving from their lack of- or inadequate access to secure and decent housing. Housing struggles, primarily tenant unions, fought for the expansion of the eviction ban. In the US, the US federal eviction moratorium forms an example of such a policy that limited evictions during the pandemic despite the backlash by landlords (Capps, 2020; Dolmetsch, 2020), albeit temporarily.

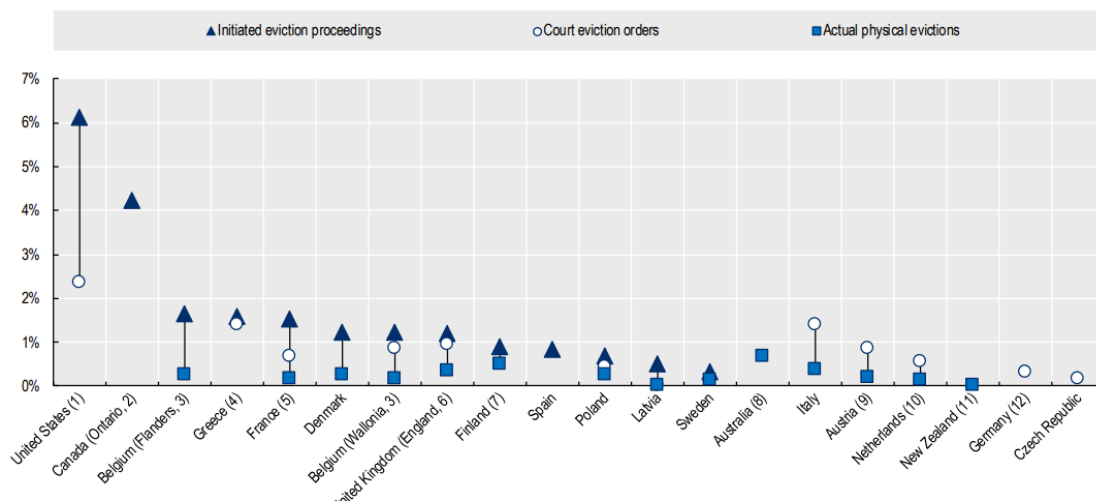


Figure 3 Number of initiated tenant eviction procedures (step 1), court eviction orders (step 2) and actual physical evictions of tenants (step 3) as a share of all rental households, pre-COVID period (2019 or latest year available). Source: Adopted from OECD, 2021, p. 3.

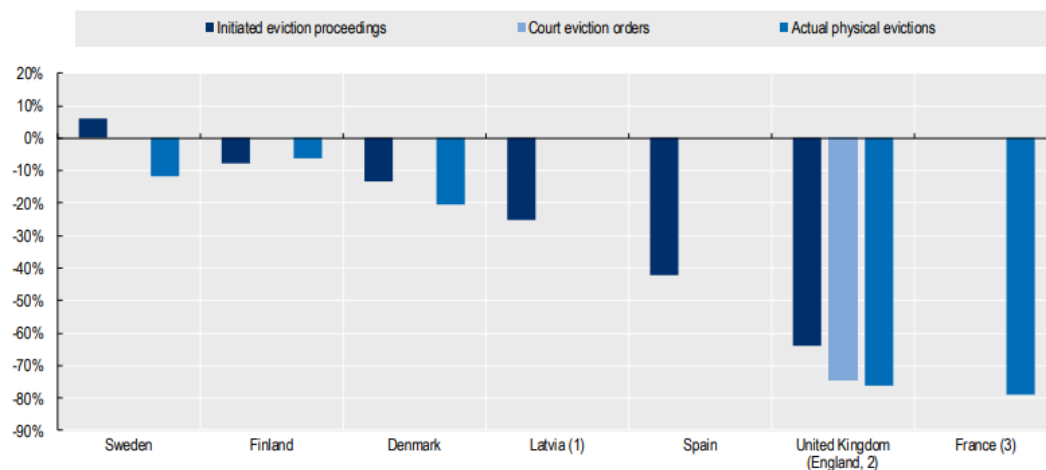


Figure 4 Number of initiated tenant eviction procedures (step 1), court eviction orders (step 2) and actual physical evictions of tenants (step 3), 2020 relative to previous year. Source: Adopted from OECD, 2021, p. 5.

A striking example is the immigrant and refugee populations who, since the beginning of the refugee crisis, were living in overcrowded and unsanitary conditions, in camps. In this sense, the health crisis came to add to the already horrible living conditions of refugees and immigrants one additional layer of violations of their rights, namely that of protecting themselves from the pandemic through access to proper housing.

Finally, the climate crisis and the energy crisis of 2020 further exacerbated the aforementioned dimensions of the housing crisis. Since housing accounts for a large part of energy consumption (around 23%, Source: OECD, 2023), the energy crisis significantly increased housing costs, overburdening low-income households disproportionately and adding to already existing energy poverty issues (see Figure 4).

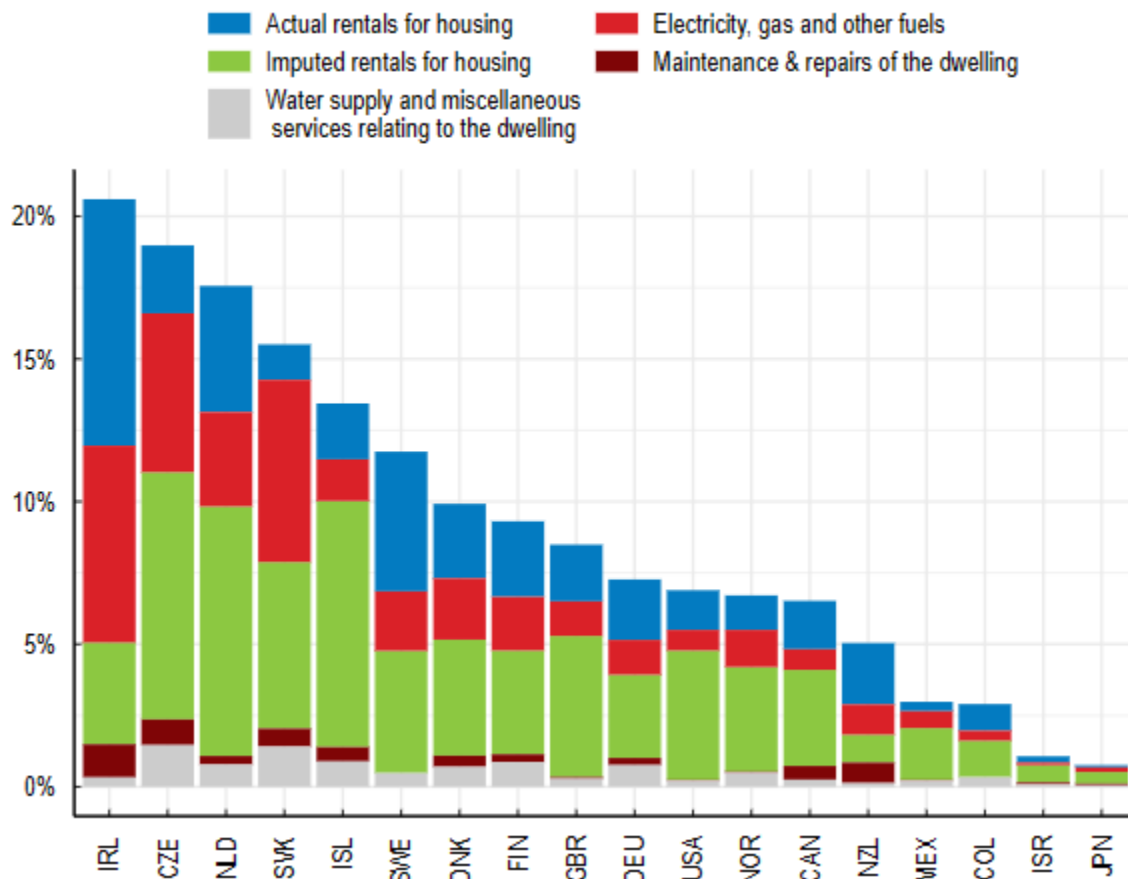


Figure 5 Year-on-year changes in prices of housing-related spending items, 2022 or latest available year. In the wake of the 2022 energy crisis, housing-related items have experienced strong price increases. Source: Caption and figure adopted from OECD, 2023

In this continuum of crises, housing struggles demonstrate the multidimensionality of the right to housing, which was reconceptualised and broadened. The right to housing does not only entail the right to affordable, secure, and adequate shelter. It also does not only form the means to secure the right to privacy, or freedom of speech and assembly. Securing the right to housing also means tearing down barriers created by gender, race, class and other intersectional issues, and housing struggles all over the world are forming claims, be it reactionary or transformative, in their efforts to broaden its scope and conceptualisation.

References

- Aalbers, M. B., (2008), The Financialization of Home and the Mortgage Market Crisis. *Competition & Change*, 12(2): 148–166.
- AGFE, (2007), Forced Evictions—Towards Solutions? Second Report of the Advisory Group on Forced Evictions to the Executive Director of UN-HABITAT | UN-Habitat. UN HABITAT. <https://unhabitat.org/forced-evictions-towards-solutions-second-report-of-the-advisory-group-on-forced-evictions-to-the>
- Annunziata, S., Lees, L., (2016), Resisting ‘Austerity Gentrification’ and Displacement in Southern Europe. *Sociological Research Online*, 21(3), 148–155. <https://doi.org/10.5153/sro.4033>
- Arendt, H., (1951), *Origins of Totalitarianism*, Harcourt, Brace and Company, New York.
- Balampanidis, D., Gyftopoulou, S., Papatzani, E., Siatitsa, D., (2022), Speculation and Financialisation. ETERON Στέγωση 360°. <https://housing360.eteron.org/financialisation/>
- Banks, N., Lombard, M., Mitlin, D., (2020), Urban Informality as a Site of Critical Analysis. *The Journal of Development Studies*, 56(2), 223–238. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00220388.2019.1577384>
- Barbero, I., (2015), When rights need to be (re)claimed: Austerity measures, neoliberal housing policies and anti-eviction activism in Spain. *Critical Social Policy*, 35(2), 270–280. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0261018314564036>
- Beauregard, R. A., (2003), *Voices of Decline: The Postwar Fate of U.S. Cities*. New York: Routledge.
- Blomley, N., Pratt, G., (2001), Canada and the political geographies of rights, *Canadian Geographies*, 45,1, 151–166.
- Brenner, N., Peck, J., Theodore, N., (2010), Variegated neoliberalization: Geographies, modalities, pathways. *Global Networks*, 10(2): 182–222.
- Byrne, M., (2019), The political economy of the ‘residential rent relation’: Antagonism and tenant organising in the Irish rental sector. *Radical Housing Journal*, 1(2), 9–26. <https://doi.org/10.54825/CDXC2880>
- Caldeira, T. P., (2017), Peripheral urbanization: Autoconstruction, transversal logics, and politics in cities of the global south. *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space*, 35(1), 3–20. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0263775816658479>
- Capps, K., (2020, October 22). Landlords Challenge U.S. Eviction Ban and Continue to Oust Renters. Bloomberg.Com. <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2020-10-22/landlords-launch-legal-attack-on-cdc-eviction-ban>

- Card, K., (2022), From the streets to the statehouse: How tenant movements affect housing policy in Los Angeles and Berlin. *Housing Studies*, 0(0), 1–27. <https://doi.org/10.1080/02673037.2022.2124236>
- Carmalt, J. C., (2018), For critical geographies of human rights. *Progress in Human Geography*, 42(6), 847–861.
- Castells, M., (1978), Urban Crisis, State Policies and the Crisis of the State: the French Experience. In: *City, Class and Power*. Palgrave, London
- Černý, J., Moskvina, Y., Böhmová, L., (2023), ‘We’d Hoped That the Flat Would Be Ours One Day’: The Fight for Fair Privatisation in the Moje Pisnice Initiative. *Czech Sociological Review*, 59(2), 197–219. <https://doi.org/10.13060/csr.2023.023>
- Cocola-Gant, A., Gago, A., (2021), Airbnb, buy-to-let investment and tourism-driven displacement: A case study in Lisbon. *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space*, 53(7), 1671–1688. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0308518X19869012>
- Cortés Morales, A., (2013), A Struggle Larger Than a House: Pobladores and Favelados in Latin American Social Theory. *Latin American Perspectives*, 40(2), 168–184. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0094582X12467763>
- Czischke, D., Carriou, C., Lang, R., (2020), Collaborative Housing in Europe: Conceptualizing the Field. *Housing, Theory and Society*, 37(1), 1–9. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14036096.2020.1703611>
- Daly, G., Mooney, G., Poole, L., Davis, H., (2005), Housing Stock Transfer in Birmingham and Glasgow: The Contrasting Experiences of Two UK Cities. *European Journal of Housing Policy*, 5(3), 327–341. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14616710500342234>
- De Angelis, M., (2010), The Production of Commons and the “Explosion” of the Middle Class. *Antipode*, 42(4), 954–977. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-8330.2010.00783.x>
- De Angelis, M., (2017), *Omnia Sunt Communia: On the Commons and the Transformation to Postcapitalism*. Zed. <http://press.uchicago.edu/ucp/books/book/distributed/O/bo26260770.html>
- Delaney, D., (2015), Legal geography I: Constitutivities, complexities, and contingencies. *Progress in Human Geography*, 39(1), 96–102.
- Delaney, D., (2016), Legal geography II: Discerning injustice. *Progress in Human Geography*, 40(2), 267–274
- Dolmetsch, C., (2020, October 29). Landlords Denied Injunction Against CDC Eviction Moratorium. Bloomberg.Com. <https://www.bloomberg.com/news/articles/2020-10-29/landlords-denied-injunction-against-cdc-eviction-moratorium>

- du Plessis, J., (2005), The growing problem of forced evictions and the crucial importance of community-based, locally appropriate alternatives. *Environment and Urbanization*, 17(1), 123-134. <https://doi.org/10.1177/095624780501700108>
- Engels, F., (1975), The Housing Question. Progress Publishers. <https://books.google.gr/books?id=xqyUAQAACAAJ>
- Everett, L., (2020), The House is Ours: How Moms 4 Housing Challenged the Private-Property Paradigm. Metropolitics. <https://metropolitics.org/The-House-is-Ours-How-Moms-4-Housing-Challenged-the-Private-Property-Paradigm-1565-1565.html>
- Federici, S., (2011), Feminism and the politics of the commons. In C. Hughes, S. Peace, & K. Van Meter (Eds.), *Uses of a whirlwind: Movement, movements, and contemporary radical currents in the United States*. The Commoner, January 24.
- Felicianantonio, C. D., (2017), The reactions of neighbourhoods to the eviction of squatters in Rome: An account of the making of precarious investor subjects. *European Urban and Regional Studies*, 24(4), 352-367. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0969776416662110>
- Ferrero, L., (2020), Gaining/regaining housing stability through collective action. *Radical Housing Journal*, 2(2), 123–142.
- Finchett-Maddock, L., (2016), Time’s Up – Resisting Private Limitations on Rights to Housing and Protest. In M. Vols & J. Sidoli del Ceno (Eds.), *Regulating the City: Contemporary Urban Housing Law* (pp. 81–107). Eleven Publishing. <https://papers.ssrn.com/abstract=3066298>
- Florea, I., Gagy, A., Jacobsson, K., (2018), A Field of Contention: Evidence from Housing Struggles in Bucharest and Budapest. *VOLUNTAS: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations*, 29(4), 712–724. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11266-018-9954-5>
- Galligan, D., (2006), *Law in modern society*, Oxford: Oxford Academic
- García-Lamarca, M., (2015), Insurgent Acts of Being-in-Common and Housing in Spain: Making Urban Commons? In *Urban Commons: Moving Beyond State and Market*, Berlin, München (pp. 165–177). Birkhäuser. <https://www.degruyter.com/document/doi/10.1515/9783038214953-011/html>
- García-Lamarca, M., (2017), From Occupying Plazas to Recuperating Housing: Insurgent Practices in Spain. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 41(1), 37–53. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1468-2427.12386>
- Geva, Y., Rosen, G., (2022), A win-win situation? Urban regeneration and the paradox of homeowner displacement. *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space*, 54(1), 67–83. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0308518X211050079>

- Gibson-Graham, J. K., (2006), *A postcapitalist politics*. University of Minnesota Press.
- Gotham, K. F., Greenberg, M., (2014), *Crisis Cities: Disaster and Redevelopment in New York and New Orleans*. Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press
- Gramsci, A., (1971) 2005, *Selections from the Prison Notebooks*. London: Lawrence and Wishart.
- Grazioli, M., Caciagli, C., (2018), Resisting to the Neoliberal Urban Fabric: Housing Rights Movements and the Re-appropriation of the ‘Right to the City’ in Rome, Italy. *VOLUNTAS: International Journal of Voluntary and Nonprofit Organizations*, 29(4), 697–711. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11266-018-9977-y>
- Hall, S., Critcher, C., Jefferson, T., Clarke, J., Roberts B., (2013), *Policing the Crisis: Mugging, the State and Law and Order (2nd ed.)*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Hamann, U., Türkmen, C., (2020), Communities of struggle: The making of a protest movement around housing, migration and racism beyond identity politics in Berlin. *Territory, Politics, Governance*, 8(4), 515–531. <https://doi.org/10.1080/21622671.2020.1719191>
- Harvey, D., (2005), *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Harvey, D., (2008), The right to the city. *New Left Review* 53(September–October): 24–40.
- Harvey, D., (2012a), The urban roots of financial crises: Reclaiming the city for anti-capitalist struggle. *Socialist Register* 48: 1–35.
- Harvey, D., (1985), *The Urbanization of Capital: Studies in the History and Theory of Capitalist Urbanization*. Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press,
- Harvey, D., (2012b), *Rebel Cities: From the Right to the City to the Urban Revolution*. Verso. <http://books.google.gr/books?id=s4s5f7NnaZAC>
- Heslop, J., McFarlane, C., Ormerod, E., (2020), Relational housing across the North–South divide: learning between Albania, Uganda, and the UK. *Housing Studies*, 35:9, 1607-1627, DOI: 10.1080/02673037.2020.1722801
- Holston, J., (1998), *Spaces of Insurgent Citizenship*. <https://doi.org/10.1215/9780822396321-008>
- Holston, J., (2008), *Insurgent Citizenship: Disjunctions of Democracy and Modernity in Brazil*. Princeton University Press. https://books.google.gr/books?id=SZVU_sj1JREC
- Isin, E., (2013), Two regimes of rights. In Guillaume, X., & Huysmans, J. (Eds.). (2013). *Citizenship and Security: The Constitution of Political Being (1st ed.)*. Routledge.
- Jessop, B., (2012), *Cultural Political Economy, Spatial Imaginaries, Regional Economic Dynamics*, [CPERC Working Paper 2012-02](#)

- Jover, J., Cocola-Gant, A., (2022), The Political Economy of Housing Investment in the Short-Term Rental Market: Insights from Urban Portugal. *Antipode*, 55: 134-155. <https://doi.org/10.1111/anti.12881>
- Kapsali, M., (2020), Political infrastructures of care: Collective home making in refugee solidarity squats. *Radical Housing Journal*, 2(2), 13–34. <https://doi.org/10.54825/RDCK1347>
- Karagianni, M., (2023), The urban political ecology of the commons or commoning as a socio-natural process: The case of the Peri-Urban Gardening group in Thessaloniki. *Urban Studies*, 00420980231202874. <https://doi.org/10.1177/00420980231202874>
- Karaliotas, L., Kapsali, M., (2021), Equals in Solidarity: Orfanotrofio’s Housing Squat as a Site for Political Subjectification Across Differences Amid the “Greek Crisis”. *Antipode*, 53(2), 399–421. <https://doi.org/10.1111/anti.12653>
- Kim, E. T., (2020, April 22). Moms 4 Housing: A Dramatic Eviction Revisited. The New York Review of Books. <https://www.nybooks.com/online/2020/04/22/moms-4-housing-a-dramatic-eviction-revisited/>
- Klandermans, B., Oegema, D., (1987), Potentials, Networks, Motivations, and Barriers: Steps Towards Participation in Social Movements. *American Sociological Review*, 52(4), 519–531. <https://doi.org/10.2307/2095297>
- Koselleck, R., (2000), Critique and Crisis. Enlightenment and the Pathogenesis of Modern Society. MIT Press
- Koutrolikou, P., (2023), “Constructing European “Souths” through Crises”, *South Atlantic Quarterly* 122.2
- Lancione, M., McFarlane, C., (2016), Life at the urban margins: Sanitation infra-making and the potential of experimental comparison. *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space*, 48(12), 2402–2421. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0308518X16659772>
- Lazzarato, M., (2012), The Making of the Indebted Man: An Essay on the Neoliberal Condition. Los Angeles: Semiotext(e).
- Lefebvre, H., (1974), Le droit à la ville: Suivi de, Espace et politique. Anthropos. <https://books.google.gr/books?id=YFJPAAAAMAAJ>
- Lukes, S., (2005), Power: A radical view. London: Palgrave.
- Macek, S., (2006), Urban Nightmares: The Media, The Right, And The Moral Panic Over The City. Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press
- Madden, D., Marcuse, P., (2016), In Defense of Housing: The Politics of Crisis. Verso Books. <https://books.google.gr/books?id=hBZPEAAAQBAJ>

- Maeckelbergh, M., (2012), Mobilising to Stay Put: Housing Struggles in New York City. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 36(4), 655–673. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1468-2427.2012.01120.x>
- Marcuse, P., (2009) [1981], The Targeted Crisis: On the Ideology of the Urban Fiscal Crisis and its Uses. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 5. 330 - 354. 10.1111/j.1468-2427.1981.tb00557.x.
- McAdam, D., McCarthy, J. D., Zald, M. N., (Eds.). (1996), Comparative Perspectives on Social Movements: Political Opportunities, Mobilising Structures, and Cultural Framings. Cambridge University Press. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511803987>
- Mitchell, K., Sparke, M., (2016), The New Washington Consensus: Millennial Philanthropy and the Making of Global Market Subjects, *Antipode*, 48(3).
- Montagna, N., Grazioli, M., (2019), Urban commons and freedom of movement: The housing struggles of recently arrived migrants in Rome. *Citizenship Studies*, 23(6), 577–592. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13621025.2019.1634375>
- Mooney, G., Poole, L., (2005), Marginalised voices: Resisting the privatisation of council housing in Glasgow. *Local Economy*, 20(1), 27–39. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0269094042000313593>
- Neocleous, M., (2008), Critique of Security. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Nield, S., Hopkins, N., (2012), Human rights and mortgage repossession: Beyond property law using Article 8. *Legal Studies: The Journal of the Society of Legal Scholars*, 33(3), Article 3.
- OECD. (2021). HC3.3. EVICTIONS (OECD Affordable Housing Database). OECD Directorate of Employment, Labour and Social Affairs - Social Policy Division. <https://www.oecd.org/els/family/HC3-3-Evictions.pdf>
- OECD., (2023), Promoting housing affordability—OECD. Affordable Housing Is a Basic Necessity. <https://www.oecd.org/housing/policy-toolkit/data-dashboard/promoting-housing-affordability/>
- Ostrom, E., (1990), Governing the commons: The evolution of institutions for collective action. Cambridge university press.
- Peck, J., (2012), Austerity urbanism. *City*, 16(6): 626–655
- Peck J., Theodore, N., Brenner, N., (2013), Neoliberal urbanism redux?. *International Journal of Urban and Regional Research*, 37(3): 1091–1099.
- Penz, P., Drydyk, J., Bose, P. S., (2011), Displacement by Development: Ethics, Rights and Responsibilities. Cambridge University Press; Cambridge Core. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511973499>

- Pérez, M., (2017), Reframing housing struggles. *City*, 21(5), 530–549. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13604813.2017.1374783>
- Porter, L., Lombard, M., Huxley, M., Ingin, A. K., Islam, T., Briggs, J., Rukmana, D., Devlin, R., Watson, V., (2011), Informality, the Commons and the Paradoxes for Planning: Concepts and Debates for Informality and Planning Self-Made Cities: Ordinary Informality? The Reordering of a Romany Neighbourhood The Land Formalisation Process and the Peri-Urban Zone of Dar es Sa. *Planning Theory & Practice*, 12(1), 115–153. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14649357.2011.545626>
- Rancière, J., (2011), The thinking of dissensus: Politics and aesthetics. In P. Bauman & R. Stamp (Eds.), *Reading Rancière* (pp. 1–17). Continuum.
- Rancière, J., (2004), Who Is the Subject of the Rights of Man? *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, 103, 2/3, pp. 297–310.
- Roitman, J., (2013), *Anti-Crisis*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Sakali, C., Kariotis, T., (2022), Can't #StayAtHome without a home: politics of housing precarity in Greece in the time of pandemic. in C. Petropoulou, J. Holloway, F. Matamoros Ponce, E. González Cruz, P. Doulos, M. A. Melgarejo Pérez, D. Tzanetatos, K. Zafeiris, C. Tsavdaroglou (coord.). *Luchas invisibles en tiempos de pandemia*, Vol.II. Mytilene-Puebla: University of the Aegean, Greece ; Universidad Autónoma de Puebla, Mexico.
- Schmitt, C., (1986), *Political Theology: Four Chapters on the Concept of Sovereignty*, MIT Press.
- Sequera, J., Nofre, J., (2018), Urban activism and touristification in Southern Europe. In J. Ibrahim & J. M. Roberts (Eds.), *Contemporary Left-Wing Activism Vol 2: Democracy, Participation and Dissent in a Global Context*. Routledge.
- Soja, E. W., (2010), *Seeking spatial justice*. University of Minnesota Press.
- Solomon, M., Wolffe, K., (2019, December 31). Moms 4 Housing in Oakland Vow to Fight Potential Eviction. KQED. <https://www.kqed.org/news/11793299/moms-4-housing-in-oakland-vow-to-fight-potential-eviction>
- Stavrides, S., (2020), *Common spaces of urban emancipation*. Manchester University Press. <https://www.manchesterhive.com/display/9781526158697/9781526158697.xml>
- Sugrue, T. J., (2005), *The Origins of The Urban Crisis: Race And Inequality In Postwar Detroit*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Tarrow, S., (1988), National Politics and Collective Action: Recent Theory and Research in Western Europe and the United States. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 14, 421–440.
- Tilly, C., (1978), *From Mobilization to Revolution*. McGraw-Hill.

- Uysal, Ü. E., (2012), An urban social movement challenging urban regeneration: The case of Sulukule, Istanbul. *Cities*, 29(1), 12–22. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.cities.2011.06.004>
- Vaiou, D., (2016), Tracing aspects of the Greek crisis in Athens: Putting women in the picture. *European Urban and Regional Studies*, 23(3), 220–230. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0969776414523802>
- Van Leeuwen, T., (2007), “Legitimation in Discourse and Communication.” *Discourse & Communication* 1, no. 1: 91–112.
- Wachsmuth, D., Weisler, A., (2018), Airbnb and the rent gap: Gentrification through the sharing economy. *Environment and Planning A: Economy and Space*, 50(6), 1147–1170. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0308518X18778038>
- Wacquant, L. J. D., (2007), *Urban Outcasts: A Comparative Sociology of Advanced Marginality*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Wacquant, L., (2012), Three steps to a historical anthropology of actually existing neoliberalism. *Social Anthropology*, 20: 66-79. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1469-8676.2011.00189.x>
- Weaver, T., (2016), Urban crisis: The genealogy of a concept. *Urban Studies*, 54. [10.1177/0042098016640487](https://doi.org/10.1177/0042098016640487).
- Zavos, A., Koutrolidou, P., Siatitsa, D., (2017), Changing landscapes of urban citizenship: Southern Europe in times of crisis. *Citizenship Studies*, 21(4), 379–392. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13621025.2017.1307601>