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## Introduction

This report narrates what happened during the first phase of the international action-research project "The Contribution of Civil Society Organisations in Achieving Health for All" (CSE4HFA) in one of the six participating countries, Italy. The project, financed by the Canadian International Development Research Centre (IDRC), has been conceived and is carried out within the global network of the People's Health Movement (PHM). In December 2015, when this report is being compiled, the project has been running for one and a half year at the international level, and for slightly more than one year at the national one.

In Chapter 1, we describe how the project proposal was received in Italy and how it developed, introducing the action-research group and presenting the key methodological aspects concerning both the functioning of the group, and the research tools adopted.

Chapter 2 is dedicated to the cultural background of the group, rooted in the history of the health movement in Italy. In this chapter, we also describe an event that was organised as part of the action-research, in order to link the current political struggles around health with the more historical ones.

Chapters 3 and 4 present the groups and movements that were reached and interviewed through the action-research, briefly describing each of them in their main characteristics and highlighting the connections between their actions and health.

Chapter 5 reports the key issues emerged from the analysis of the interviews.

Finally, Chapter 6 describes some of the campaigns around the social determinants of health that took place in Italy in recent years.

As the action-research process that it tries to describe, this report is the result of a collective work. After the research material was collected, and the analysis was carried out (as described in Chapter 1), a decision was taken on how to report the work. Language was probably the main challenge, since all the collected material was in Italian, and since many components of the action-research group are not familiar with (written) English. It was then decided to write narrative chapters to describe the process, and to summarise the analysis of the results by reporting only the key points. The background material from which these are derived (from the interview transcripts, to the original analysis) is of course available in Italian for any further need.

Sub-groups were then organised to take care of each chapter. Overall, at least 15 people actively contributed to writing the report. Several other members of the action-research group contributed through comments and suggestions. A team of 6 translators took care of the English version, and 5 more people managed the editing. This process may sound complicated, but was felt by the group as the most coherent choice with respect to the value attributed to the process of collective knowledge generation, that is at the heart of participatory action-research.

Having worked together for more than one year, the action-research group was used to collective writing and putting together the report has overall been a smooth process. Shared documents were used extensively, to allow on-line collaboration between people in different cities and to make sure that those who were not directly involved in writing could provide ongoing contribution. Frequent skype calls and email exchanges provided the guidance needed to harmonise the whole process.

At the same time, it also has to be said that writing this report has generally been perceived as a task "imposed" by the project. Many people would have rather focused more on action, using the generated knowledge directly to inform new political thinking and practice. The act of writing and reporting seemed then unduly heavy, considering that most people in the action-research group are political activists doing other jobs for a living, or studying. The time that is hardly saved for activism needs then to be prioritised, and writing takes up a lot of it. Nevertheless, this tension between action and reflection is not new to the group, as it has been encountered in many other movements reached through the interviews.

Now that the effort is finished, we hope that this report will contribute to disseminate the knowledge collected and generated through the action-research. And, looking back at it, we are also aware that it represents an important part of our collective history, and a fuel for the ongoing reflexion process that animates and inspires our activism.

# Chapter 1: Process and methodology

## 1.1 Who are we? Introducing the action-research group

The action-research group is currently formed by 43 people<sup>1</sup>. It was conceived as an open group, so that whoever was interested to join the action-research process could become part of it at any time. Similarly, it was and it is possible to leave the group at any given moment. This choice is coherent with the fact that, in action-research, the process is an end in itself.

In Italy, the CSE4HFA project represented the opportunity to start a process aimed at building a national movement for the right to health and health care: for this reason, it was and still is key to stay "permanently open" to suggestions and contributions that arrive from other people and contexts. Therefore, the group was named "Grup-pa", an acronym for *Gruppo Permanentemente Aperto* (permanently open group).

Moreover, in Italian Grup-pa is the (invented) feminine of the noun *gruppo* (Italian for "group"). This reflects a sensitivity on gender issues inside the action-research group. We live in a society where patriarchy crosses and marks all aspects of our lives, starting from the very words and languages we use: the play on words is a small step to start liberating ourselves from it.

Patriarchal societies are characterised not only by a specific use of language, but also by the way power is distributed and organised. For this reason, Grup-pa chose to be a collaborative group, in which roles and tasks are distributed following the wishes and capabilities of people. This approach is different from the hierarchical or stratified power distribution model: within Grup-pa, the organisation is shaped after the people, not vice versa. Or, to say it better, the organisational structure and the people who are part of it are interdependent, in an interplay of mutual influence between structure (organisation) and function (people).

From the very beginning, we chose organisational tools that were coherent with the methods and the goals of the action-research. This is because we were not just interested in researching on experiences of activism in health, what we wanted was also to promote and generate health through the action-research process (both within Grup-pa and outside). This was made possible, not without challenges, by trying to constantly listen to the needs of the group and of every person, adopting non-violent and participatory tools to facilitate the process and actively engaging with interpersonal relationships.

## 1.2 The history of Grup-pa

The majority of those who initiated the action-research process were part of a national network involving people with a critical (political) view on health. Those included medical students, residents in different areas of clinical medicine and in public health, graduates from different disciplines (from anthropology to sports science). This network originates from a training experience in global health organised yearly, since 2006, by a medical students' association. When the first students involved started graduating from university, they decided to continue to study and discuss together the issues they all cared about. In order to do that, they used to meet a few times during the year, over the weekend. In these two or three-day workshops the group used to share opinions and knowledge over health issues (social determinants of health and health inequalities, cultural construction of health, doctor-patient relationship, health systems, the political role of health workers, history of health movements in Italy...), as well as issues of group methodology and organisation (facilitation methods,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> This is the number of people in the group mailing list; on average, 25 people have participated in the action-research workshops.

creative conflict management, consensus decision making, active listening, non violent communication...). Besides increasing the knowledge of participants through mutual learning and peer education, these workshops served as existential training in relationships and group skills, where new methods to learn from each other were experimented and others created.

When the decision was taken to participate in the action-research, this whole experience was transferred into the new process. The opportunity, given by the flexibility of the action-research methodology, to continue with the approach that the group was experimenting was a key condition for its engagement.

## 1.3 The organisation and functioning of Grup-pa

Grup-pa was constituted as an action-research group in October 2014. One month later, during a dedicated workshop, the international project guidelines were discussed and adapted to the local context. In particular, a participatory methodology was chosen in order to collectively shape the action-research plan and to identify the groups and areas to investigate. In the same workshop, the organisational structure of Grup-pa was defined, as well as the research tools.

The organisation was established as follows:

- **Coordination committee**: its role is to coordinate the activities within the group, and to follow the project schedule also in agreement with the international timeline. The committee meets regularly (on average every 2 weeks) on Skype, and is open to whoever wants to join. The meetings' minutes are made available to everyone for information and comments. Tasks and responsibilities are not fixed but they vary according to the possibilities of each person and the phases and needs of the action-research project/process. The only fixed role is given to one person (principal investigator in the international research team), in charge to keep the communication with the international research team. During phase 1 of the project, the composition of the coordination committee has changed, with new members joining and others leaving (for a period or permanently), although some people have participated in all meetings.
- **Budget group**: its task is to manage the economic resources of the project and to propose ideas for their distribution and use. It is formed by people who volunteered for it and is always open to new members. As for other sub-groups, the meetings' minutes are fully available as is the budget sheet (however, only members are allowed to edit it).
- Working groups: their name in Italian is "Gruppole", which literally means "small Grup-pa". When the action-research plan was developed, people gathered in working groups according to their preference and their main research interest(s). This method was chosen because Grup-pa is not composed by professional researchers but by voluntary activists, and we decided to value motivation before professionalism. Moreover, following the action-research approach, we chose to start looking at the civil society organisations and movements that were closer to the experiences and networks of the Grup-pa participants. This also in order to use the research to strengthen relations with other civil society groups, thus contributing to the action part of the process.

The working groups were 9 (see also Table 1):

- 1. Education and disability
- 2. Environment, health, work
- 3. Land and food sovereignty
- 4. Imposed mega projects
- 5. Queer
- 6. Arts and culture
- 7. Alternative economy

- 8. Critical medicine
- 9. Campaigns

Working group (Gruppola)	Focus
Education and disability	family caregiver associations/movements (parents of children with disabilities); self-organised education (libertarian schools/free schools)
Environment, health, work	environmental movements; link between struggles to protect the environment and health and issues of employment/working conditions
Land and food sovereignty	movements around self-determination of territories and food sovereignty
Imposed mega projects	movements against unnecessary and imposed mega-projects
Queer	LGBT and queer movements and associations
Arts and culture	autonomous/liberated/self-managed spaces, social streets, collective bottom-up cultural productions
Alternative economy	movements against financial neoliberism/banking system and for a community self- management of economy and finance; movements for basic income
Critical medicine	history of the health movement in Italy
Campaigns	mapping of campaigns around health, health care, social determinants of health

Table 1. Working groups ("Gruppole")

Each working group was organisationally autonomous (i.e. in deciding who to interview and when). With the exception of Critical medicine and Campaigns, that used a different methodology, the groups agreed on a target of 5 interviews, although not all managed to meet it (see Table 2 below).

Working group	N. of interviews
Education and disability	4
Environment, health, work	5
Land and food sovereignty	5
Imposed mega projects	3
Queer	4
Arts and culture	5
Alternative economy	2
Critical medicine	0
Campaigns	1
Total	29

Table 2. Number of interviews per working group

The main tools that all the groups used were meetings on skype (to allow collaboration between people in different cities) and collective research diaries (to keep track of the work and share field notes, also with the larger group). Each working group nominated a contact person in charge of reporting progress to the coordination committee. However, this was rarely needed as the open nature of the committee allowed most of the time the direct participation of working group members.

In addition to the mentioned working groups, two temporary sub-groups were formed in order to comply with the initial needs of the research: 1) finalise the data collection tools (interview prompt; mapping questionnaire<sup>2</sup>) by adapting the international guideline to the local context; 2) submit the research protocol for ethics approval (University of Bologna ethics committee).

During a workshop, held roughly two months after data collection started, the interview prompt and the mapping questionnaire that had been piloted were reviewed and finalised. A specific question was added to address the links between the form and type of civil society action and the impact on health, as perceived by the activists.

The data collection took place during six months and ended in June 2015 (see also Table 3). As the participants of Grup-pa are based in different Italian cities (mainly Rome, Bologna, Padua, Perugia), the research activities were concentrated in the surrounding territories. However, they were not limited to those and some groups moved to reach experiences in southern Italy (environmental movements and movements against imposed mega projects) and in northern cities like Turin and Milan (cultural liberated space and occupied factory)<sup>3</sup>.

When the data collection was completed, Grup-pa reorganised in order to move on to data analysis. The coordination committee continued in its function, while the working groups Gruppole stopped (although some – where people were particularly into the subject of research – continued to meet and look for chances to network with the groups they had linked with through the interviews). New working groups were then created, whose function was to share – within Grup-pa – the research material that had been put together in order to allow a process of collective analysis. These working groups (WG) were:

- WG on the research process and methodologies
- WG on the history of the health movement in Italy
- WG on the civil society organisations and movements met during the research
- WG on the analysis of the interviews
- WG on the links between activism and health in Italy

Overall, Grup-pa met six times during phase 1 of the project. The meetings took place in four different locations (two in the North of the country: Padua and Brescia; two in the Centre: Bologna and Rome), in order to: a) facilitate the participation of people from different geographical contexts; b) share the organisational and logistical burden; c) (if possible) get to know and meet with different civil society experiences (e.g. occupied residential building in Rome).

In addition, a national conference was organised in Bologna in April 2015 to meet with key people from the historic health movement in Italy<sup>4</sup>.

Table 3 synthesises the timeline of the action-research activities.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> See attachments n.1 and n.2.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> For a detailed description of the experiences mapped/interviewed, see Chapter 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> More details on this event can be found in Chapter 2.

	Jul Aug 14 14	Aug Sep Oct Nov Dec 14 14 14 14 14 14	Oct 1	Nov 14	Dec Jan 14 15	n Feb 5 15	Mar 15	Apr 15	Mar Apr May 15 15 15	Jul A	Jun Jul Ago Sep 15 15 15 15	Sep Oct 15 15	Oct Nov 15 15	w Dec
International planning meeting (Cape Town)														
Preparation of the first workshop to set up the national action-research group (translation of material, communication, logistics)	_													
I national workshop to set up the action-research group (Rome)														
II national workshop to develop the national action-research plan (Bologna)														
Development of research tools (interview prompt, mapping questionnaire)														
Finalisation of research protocol and submission to ethics committee														
III national workshop to finalise research tools (Padua)														
Interviews (n. 29)														
Preparation of the national conference "Social movements and health. 1978-2015" in Bologna														
National conference "Social movements and health. 1978-2015" (Bologna)								_						
IV national workshop for the collective analysis of interviews (Montisola, BS)														
Small group meeting for deeper analysis of interviews and development of the conceptual map (Castenaso, BO)														
Data analysis and writing of report														
V national workshop to discuss preliminary findings (Rome)														
Translation of report														
VI national workshop to discuss future plans (Bologna)														

Table 3. Timeline of the activities developed between July 2014 and December 2015

## 1.4 Methodology of data collection and analysis

### 1.4.1 What is participatory action-research?

The chosen research methodology is action-research, initiated in the 1940s by Kurt Lewin. The underlying epistemological vision is that reality is a process of changing, to which the people in a specific action field contribute (in this case, the research field). This vision differs significantly from the idea that there's an objective reality outside the subject that observes it, that is independent from its presence and intervention. While in this perspective (positivism) there's a clear division between the subject who researches and the object of research, in action-research subject and object are kept together in a relation of interdependency.

According to action-research, scientific theories and transformational practices can and should be kept aligned in a mutually enriching process, in which the hypothesis generate actions, and the actions generate and change the existing knowledge to formulate new hypothesis (see Image 1 below). To this end, researchers and community members can cooperate to share needs, knowledge, skills and resources.

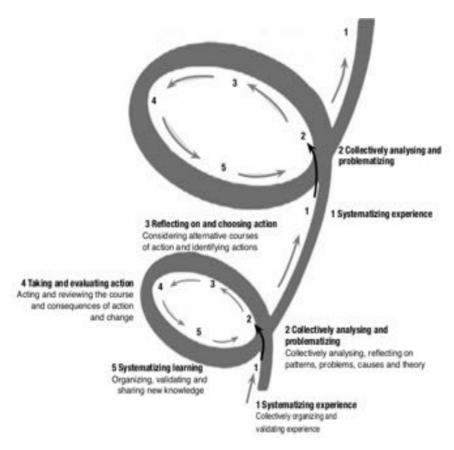


Image 1: The cyclical and spiral process of participatory action-research (Source: Loewenson R et al. (2014) Participatory action research in health systems: a methods reader, TARSC, AHPSR, WHO, IDRC Canada, EQUINET, Harare)

## 1.4.2 The participatory action-research process within Grup-pa

The way in which the action-research group was formed has already been described in the beginning of this chapter. Soon after, Grup-pa members were trained in action-research as well as in the related

research tools and personal attitudes requested (for example, how to conduct an interview). The training mainly took place during the II national workshop, in which also the objectives for phase 1 were collectively established. As mentioned above, the decision-making process was greatly oriented by the motivation and the personal interest/experiences of participants. In order to do so, practices of active listening, emotional sharing and participatory decision-making were extensively used.

In our view, the training in personal/relational attitudes and group skills was as important as the technical training in research methods. This is coherent with the view that, in action-research, the research subject is tightly connected with the object of the research, therefore the individual and/or the group are key to the process of inquiry. If a person is not aware of his/her personal implication in the research field, and does not pay attention to the feelings and insights that emerge during the research nor to those of the group mates, this can greatly limit or bias the research process. On the contrary, by directly addressing and sharing these aspects within the group, the coherence between research methodology and action increases, as well as the reliability and impact of the action-research itself.

The main research tools used have been:

- semi-structured interview;
- collective field notes diary;
- · campaign mapping questionnaire.

The interviews have been all realised in person and throughout the whole national territory, between January and June 2015. Overall, 29 interviews were completed.

The campaign mapping questionnaire was shared among all Grup-pa members and collectively compiled with information coming from the field, integrated with desk research.



Image 2: IV national workshop, Montisola (BS), June 2015

From June 2015 the interviews were collectively analysed through participatory process, that probably the most complicated and challenging phase of the whole action-research. The aim was on the one hand to gather as many views and voices as possible, on the other one to capacitate and inform the group members in view of the action goals of the process (building a health movement in Italy). We wanted as many people as possible to contribute to and take advantage from the lessons learned from the research; at the same time, people were free to

choose in what and how much to engage, according to their time, interest and will. The complexity was mainly on two aspects: 1) how to make sure that all would be done, without imposing tasks on people or relying on a few people taking extra burden as a back up; 2) how to set the pace of the process, taking into account the very different time that people could put into it (from almost full time for some, to just a few hours a week or during the weekend for others).

The process went as follows (see also Image 3):

• **Interview transcription and sharing**: each working group (Gruppola) had the responsibility to transcribe the interviews collected and make them available to the whole of Grup-pa; in order to help with transcription, a shared spreadsheet was created so that people who had extra time could

- support those who didn't have enough. With this method, all interviews were fully transcribed within the set deadline, which was before the IV national workshop (end of June 2015).
- **Interview analysis**: each interview was analysed according to the five themes identified in the international guideline<sup>5</sup>, in two steps: 1) individual analysis (two people per interview); 2) discussion in pairs and development of a joint analysis. Afterwards, all the analysis from each working group (Gruppola) were collected and collated together by a volunteer from the same group.
- **Conceptual map**: the interview analysis were collectively discussed in a dedicated small group meeting, and a conceptual map was developed including the key themes identified. The interviews were then again analysed according to these themes.
- **Thematic areas**: the themes were finally grouped into seven thematic areas. The content of these was shared during the V national workshop, and its synthesis is reported in Chapter 4.

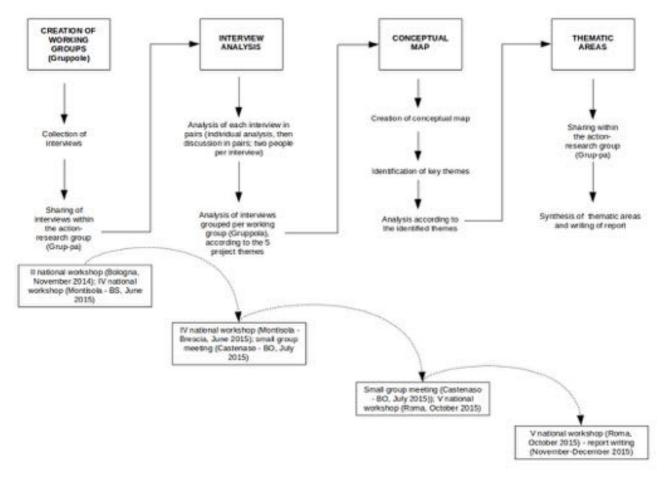


Image 3: The process of collective data analysis

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> I. Movement building; II. Campaigns and advocacy; III. Knowledge generation and dissemination; IV. Capacity building and training; V. Policy dialogue and engagement with global health governance.

#### 1.5 Additional action-research tools and methods

During the action-research process, besides the more "traditional" tools such as the interview prompt and the mapping questionnaire, additional methodologies and approaches were developed and/or adopted in order to allow interaction and sharing within Grup-pa. In the following table they are briefly illustrated (see Table 4).

Concerning digital communication tools (email address, mailing lists), the choice was made to rely on an independent provider<sup>6</sup> whose values are close to those shared within Grup-pa (solidarity, community, mutual help, equal rights and freedoms, social justice).

Concerning digital sharing platforms (shared documents, databases, folders), the work is based on Google services. However, Grup-pa is currently exploring alternatives in order to use and contribute to non-profit based systems.

TOOL / METHOD	FUNCTION	DESCRIPTION and USE
Mailing list "Grup-pa"	Communication, information exchange	A mailing list to keep the communication among all those actively involved in the action-research (currently 43 members).
Mailing list "Progetto-PHM"	Communication, information exchange	A mailing list to inform and update all the people reached through the action-research (e.g. people interviewed), if they are willing to stay in touch and follow the process (currently 137 members).
Skype meetings	Communication	Skype meetings are used extensively. Whenever possible, people from the same city/area meet to participate together. This allows the participation of a larger number of people with less connection problems and instability.
Meetings' minutes	Sharing	Minutes are kept during all meetings, and made available in shared documents that are fully and always accessible to all Grup-pa members.
Diaries	Sharing	Some working groups (Gruppole) kept a shared diary to register field notes. In addition, a Grup-pa diary is open to all those who have comments, remarks, suggestions during the research. When relevant, these are read and discussed during the workshops.
Shared database of research activities	Organisation	This database helps the group to keep track of all the activities related to the action-research (interviews done, presentations in seminars or conferences, meetings, etc.).
Shared database for task allocation	Organisation	Shared databases/table are also used to allocate tasks according to people's interest and will. When relevant, they include the possibility to ask for/offer support: this facilitates a decentralised organisation and a shared responsibility on the progress of activities.
Workshops	Collective/partici patory work	Workshops are a main functioning tool for Grup-pa. They are normally organised from Friday after lunch to Sunday late afternoon. Whenever possible, they are held in places that match the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> A/I at www.autistici.org

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		values of Grup-pa (solidarity homes, liberated buildings, community places, organic community farms), and where people can be hosted overnight (often in camp-like arrangement). A lot of care is taken in choosing forms of transport and food that minimise the environmental impact while keeping an eye on costs. Organisational tasks before and during the workshop (including cooking, cleaning, etc.) are shared, as well as facilitation responsibilities. The workshop agenda is built through a participatory process.
Economic redistribution device - Pig Floyd	Collective/partici patory work	In order to avoid unequal distribution of expenses among people who travel from different places, and who have different economic capacities, a device has been created that allows for mutual cooperation in covering the workshop costs (including travel, food and – if any – accommodation expenses). The name of the device is a play on words between piggy bank and the music band Pink Floyd.
Consensus decision-making	Collective/partici patory work	Different techniques derived from the consensus decision making methodology are used at times, if the need is felt by participants and/or by the facilitator. These include non verbal techniques, colored cards, talking turns, etc.
Self-reflection activities	Collective/partici patory work (process evaluation)	Group activities derived from social and institutional analysis.  Facilitated by group members who are trained in these methodologies, these approaches help to evaluate the process starting from the perceptions and experience of participants, and they build/strengthen collective awareness and responsibility on how the process is going.
Non-verbal and creative approaches for shared analysis	Collective/partici patory work (analysis)	Non-verbal approaches were experimented to integrate the traditional forms of collective text analysis. They included arts and performances aimed at facilitating the expression of feelings, emotions and meanings, as well as including people who are less familiar/at ease with rational and dialogic sharing.
Open Space Technology	Collective/partici patory work	OST is an approach that facilitates self-organised participatory discussion, particularly useful with large groups. More information at: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Open_Space_Technology
Fishbowl method	Collective/partici patory work	A method to engage both participants and listeners in a discussion.  More information at: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fishbowl_%28conversation%29
World Café	Collective/partici patory work	A method to share ideas, opinions and information in large groups, and to facilitate mutual exchange and creation of new ideas. More information at: http://www.theworldcafe.com/
Active listening and focusing	Collective/partici patory work	Techniques that increase the awareness towards oneself and the others. More information at: https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Active_listening; https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Focusing

Table 4. Description of tools and methods used in the action-research process

# Chapter 2: Learning from the Critical Medicine Movement

## 2.1 The cultural roots of Grup-pa

The journey that lead to the birth of the action-research group Grup-pa has its roots in the following approaches:

- the principles stated in the Alma Ata Declaration of 1978 (Health for All);
- the social determinants of health and the processes that bring to their unequal distribution in society (social determination of health inequalities);
- the critique of the neoliberalist policies that spread with globalisation, focusing mainly on their impact on people's wellbeing and on health care systems, both locally and globally.

In addition, the group had studied and discussed the critical theories around the (re)production of medical knowledge, particularly concerning undergraduate training of medical students.

These concepts were used as a starting point to challenge the traditional features of the teacher-student, as well as the doctor-patient, relationship, in which both the student and the patient are subaltern to the knowledge/power of the teacher/doctor. The organisational and institutional settings in which these relationships take place (university; teaching hospital) were also questioned and critically analysed.

Starting from these considerations, the group decided to move from theory to practice and is currently experimenting and promoting alternative approaches to (health) education and care. In the group's vision, these two aspects are closely related, and both should be transformed towards a greater and more active engagement of the individual, both in the relationship and within the social context where he/she lives.

# 2.2 The "discovery" of critical medicine

In its struggle to analyse and better understand the critical issues in health, education and care, the group came across a line of thought that appeared in Europe between the 1940s and the 1970s, under the name of "critical medicine". It was a movement for the renewal of medical knowledge, initiated in some psychiatric institutions in the UK and France, that later involved other disciplines and geographic areas, including Italy.

The critical medicine movement originated around key reflections that strongly criticised the epistemological roots of medical knowledge and power, and of its institutions. For instance, the movement criticised the idea that science is neutral and that medicine is a technical profession, and exposed the role of social control that medical institutions (particularly hospitals and psychiatric hospitals) and doctors played.

The movement saw in the capitalistic economy/society the primary roots of the existing inequalities and social injustices, and claimed that doctors were trained to practice a medicine that served the interests of capital. Science, far from being neutral, was seen as the product of the dominant social class, therefore necessarily (re)producing forms of knowledge that served the economic and political privileges of the elite.

By attributing to doctors and medicine a mere technical/scientific role - the movement said - the inherently political nature of medical knowledge was obscured, together with the fact that doctors actually played as social controllers.

Finally medical institutions, such as hospitals and psychiatric hospitals (but also universities, where doctors are formed), were considered as "total institutions", whose main goal was to regulate and discipline the body/subject. Within these spaces, no cure was seen as possible, as the intrinsic relationships of hierarchy and control were actively contributing to the suffering of people.

The Italian National Healthcare Service (Servizio Sanitario Nazionale, SSN), as we know it today, was conceived within this cultural environment and its key features can be traced back to the transformative forces that were acting in that period. The birth of the SSN meant a switch from a social security system, where the granted level of care depended on a person's occupation, to a universal system financed by the state through general taxation and free at the point of use for all the people living in Italy. This system is in place until today, even though some of its key principles have been disregarded soon after its foundation (for instance, since the introduction of user fees the service has ceased to be free at the point of use).

# 2.3 From books to people: the public event "Health and social movements. 1978-2015"

By reviewing its approach to global health (health for all, social determination of health and health inequalities) and to medical education in the light of the described history, the group brought back to life a historical memory that had been swept away from the current training paths and debates around health, health care and medical education. This process also increased the group's awareness and/in activism.

In fact, although the current historical, political, and economic situation is quite different, many of the critical issues that are claimed today by collectives, groups and movements in the health area (broadly meant as action on the social determinants of health) were already present in the critical medicine and anti-psychiatry movements of the Sixties and Seventies. Not only that: many of the "alternative" practices that are proposed today refer, more or less consciously, to those experiences.

Having realised that, the group started questioning why those founding experiences, and the knowledge that came from them, were completely absent in today's medical training and healthcare system, and what prevented their transmission. In order to address these questions, it was decided to directly get in touch with some key actors that had lead the critical medicine and healthcare reform movement in Italy, and invite them for a two-day public event in Bologna. All the groups and movements that were contacted and reached through the action-research process were also invited, in order to promote an exchange between past and present experiences and collectively reflect on the social and movement processes of the past thirty years.



Image 4: Logo of the public event "Health and social movements", organised in Bologna on April 18th-19th, 2015

Roughly one hundred people met in an occupied social space in Bologna on April 18<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup>, 2015. Participants included healthcare professionals and medical students, activists of social movements that deal with health issues, as well as people who were simply interested in the theme and/or approach to the topic (see Table 5 for a summary of those who attended).

# Critical medicine and healthcare reform movement representatives

Antonio Faggioli (Bologna); Augusta Nicoli (Agenzia Sociale e Sanitaria dell'Emilia Romagna); Bianca Maria Carlozzo (Bologna); Bruna Bellotti (Medicina Democratica e Diritti Senza Barriere, Bologna); Carlo Romagnoli (ISDE Associazione Medici per l'Ambiente, Perugia); Edoardo Turi (ASL RME, Roma); Giorgio Bert (Slow Medicine, Torino); Maria Grazia Giannichedda (Fondazione Basaglia); Maurizio Bergamaschi (Università di Bologna); Raffaele Spiga (Bologna); Silvana Quadrino (Slow Medicine, Torino)

#### Social movements and groups

AltroVerso (Genova); Centro di Salute Internazionale (Bologna); Centro Sperimentale per la Promozione della Salute e l'Educazione Sanitaria (Perugia); Consultoria Queer (Bologna); Diritti Senza Barriere (Bologna); Fuxia Block (Padova); Gruppo Prometeo (Bologna); ISDE Associazione Medici per l'Ambiente; Medici Senza Camice (Roma); Medicina Democratica; Presidio Salute Solidale (Napoli); Primule Rosse (Padova); Rete Sostenibilità e Salute; Salute Pubblica (Brindisi); Segretariato Italiano Studenti di Medicina (SISM); Slow Medicine; Spazio Nuovo (Roma)

Table 5. Participants to the Bologna meeting "Social movements and health. 1978-2015"

The two-day meeting included spaces dedicated to sharing the experiences, mainly from the past, and others where participants could engage in small group discussions. In order to promote horizontal exchanges and facilitate the active involvement of everyone, several participatory methodologies were put in place (see Table 6 for details). Particular care was put to avoid that the diversity of personal and professional backgrounds become a barrier to effective communication.

Objective/rationale	Methodology	Comments
Listen to the stories and learn from the experiences of people who lived – from different perspectives – the critical medicine and healthcare reform movement in Italy	Fishbowl <sup>7</sup>	+ the approach allowed for a greater dynamism in the session, with around ten representatives taking turns in the fishbowl - younger/less experienced people didn't really engage as they were intimidated by the dynamic
Build the event on the active participation of all those who attended	Open Space Technology <sup>8</sup>	+ the proposed working groups reflected the interests and discussion priorities of participants - people were scared or skeptical about having too many groups and decided to merge; they also didn't move across groups even if they were no longer interested: self organisation processes require time and effort, and when people are not familiar with them tend to recreate more safe/traditional settings
Be open and inclusive to all those who want to come	Public/free event; meals together; self-determined economic contribution	+ economic barriers to participation were addressed through free attendance, home accommodation, self-determined contribution for meals, creative ways to share/reduce travel costs - not all can attend a two-day residential meeting (e.g. families)
Promote new alliances, gather ideas for future action	Mandate to the groups; facilitated final plenary	+ all groups developed ideas for action; collaborations started/strengthened after the meeting; a PHM-project mailing list was created - the final plenary did not work to move from ideas to action plans; no follow up on the ideas proposed

Table 6. Key features of the event "Social movements and health. 1978-2015"

The meeting started from the personal narratives of the people who more directly had lived the years of the critical medicine and healthcare reform movement. The different experiences came together in a collective narrative, but a very heterogeneous one and rich of diversity. The personal motivations of those involved were also shared and discussed.

Through the stories, the main strengths and limits of the critical medicine movement were exposed, with a focus on the causes that make it almost impossible today to find its traces in medical training, in the healthcare system or in the general knowledge/culture of people around health and healthcare.

At the end of the meeting, it was agreed to organise a similar event on the current practices of health activism in Italy, that will take place in the first half of 2016. Moreover, new forms of collaboration originated from the meeting, on a regional bases, that are quite promising in terms of methodology (bridging old and new activists together and transforming traditional approaches into more participatory ones) and potential impact. Finally, a large mailing list was created in order to keep the connections between the people/groups and with the action-research process. The mailing list is

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> See https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fishbowl\_%28conversation%29

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> See https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Open\_Space\_Technology

named "progetto-PHM" (project-PHM), to identify it as a tool to build a broader movement for health in Italy.



Image 5: Fishbowl discussion during the public event "Health and social movements", Bologna, April 2015

## Chapter 3: Experiences

## 3.1 Introducing the groups and movements interviewed

As described in Chapter 1, the selection of the groups and movements to be interviewed was inspired by the interests and wishes of the members of Grup-pa, organised in working groups with the mandate to identify the experiences, get in touch with them to know them better, and finally organise the interviews.

From November to June 2015, when the analysis of the collected material started, 29 interviews were carried out with 22 different groups and movements (in some cases, more than one person was interviewed from the same movement). Besides members of those groups, four key informants were also interviewed, all activists as well, willing to share their knowledge beyond the description of the practices of a specific experience.

The 29 interviews do not cover all the experiences that were reached throughout the action-research, as some were only surveyed through a mapping questionnaire, and others were interviewed afterwards and are therefore not included in the current analysis.

Moreover, there are relevant experiences in the Italian movement landscape that have not been included in the action-research (for instance, the No TAV movement against the creation of a high-speed railway in the Susa Valley, the numerous groups who struggle for the rights of migrants and refugees, or the widespread housing rights movement). This is a limitation of which the group is aware, linked to the choice of prioritising closer experiences but reflecting also the available time and resources.

## 3.2 Key features of the groups and movements interviewed

## 3.2.1 Organisation and structure

A variety of organisational forms are represented among the groups and movements interviewed. Eight of them, at a certain moment of their history, formally became associations; other two became cooperatives. Four of them are committees, and this is the most common organisational form among groups and movements in defence of local territories. Two experiences call themselves networks (one national, one local), in which groups are connected while maintaining their autonomy and specific characteristics.

Several groups speak of themselves as political organisations, and among those six are self-managing an occupied building/social space.

Organisational form	N.
Association	8
Committee	4
Cooperative	2
Network	2
Other	6
Total	22

Table 7. Forms of organisation

#### 3.2.2 Activities

The movements and groups interviewed are engaged in a diverse range of activities. Almost all of them, though with different approaches, organise campaigns, advocacy and information activities; some are involved in research and education, others in consultancy or support to specific projects (including health assistance). Some groups organise workshops, for instance around sexuality and the body, or activities to promote and achieve their specific goals (e.g. organic food markets, collective kitchens, etc.).

### 3.2.3 Relationship with institutions

Concerning their relationship with institutions, the groups and movements interviewed differ greatly. Some of them (eleven) seek and maintain relationships with institutions, while one experience declares to entertain them but wishes to reduce them to a minimum. Another experience operates as a bridge between social movements and institutions.

Two experiences do not have a pre-defined strategy to relate with institutions, but choose each time based on a case-to-case evaluation. The national network interviewed explicitly declares to leave the issue to the autonomous decision of its local members.

Finally, two experiences say that they do not have and do not wish to have any form of institutional relationship, while seven others declare to have conflicting relationships, even when they proactively seek to have or improve them.

Institutional relationships	Characteristics	N.
Ongoing	Collaborative	11
Ongoing	Wishing to reduce them to a minimum	1
Ongoing	Mediation b/w institutions and movements	1
Occasional	Case-to-case evaluation	2
Varied	Autonomy of network's members	1
Conflicting	Wishing to have better relationships 7	
No relationship	Wishing not to have any relationship	1

Table 8. Institutional relationships

#### 3.2.4 Political vision

Not all the groups and movements interviewed explicitly refer to a specific political vision, and their belonging to a political field is often not clearly intelligible. For some of them, this non-definition is a choice to promote openness and inclusiveness, and to overcome the fragmentation among social groups that has greatly increased in the last decades. However, many experiences identify themselves with the principles of anti-fascism, anti-racism, anti-sexism, anti-capitalism and anti-militarism. Some experiences relate their origins to the anti-globalisation movement of the early 2000s. Others declare to be inspired by the Latin-American movements, as they prioritise self-management and the reappropriation of commons to build autonomous communities.

## 3.3.5 Short description of the groups and movements interviewed<sup>9</sup>



Image 6: The map shows where the groups and movements involved in the action-research are based.

 $<sup>^9</sup>$  The following descriptions have been compiled from the self-narratives of the interviewed groups and movements, integrated - when relevant - with desk research.

#### AMICI DI VIA DEI SABELLI ("Friends of Sabelli Street"10)

The association was born from the initiative of the mother of a girl with disability. The first contacts with other parents of children with disability were made by telephone, and later through social networks, to create what is now a national network of families whose children are attended at the Institute of Pediatric Neuropsychiatry of Rome. The association was created to address the needs of families for continuity of care for their children, through non-standardised assistance plans centred on the individual. The association promotes special education, social and health care, protection of the civil rights of people living with disability, in order to guarantee the attainment of a protected, independent and self-determined life while respecting their dignity. Furthermore, in a period of economic cuts and crisis, the association supports (also economically) families facing similar problems as well as the institution.

#### GRANDE COCOMERO ("Big Watermelon")

The experience was born when a group of patients and healthcare workers of the Institute of Pediatric Neuropsychiatry in Rome decided to collaborate for the social re-integration of teenagers who were former patients. Later on, the group expanded to include volunteers of the neighborhood of San Lorenzo and started organising initiatives and events outside the Institute. Today, the group welcomes in its spaces other groups and associations from Rome, to develop activities that promote social cohesion.

#### ASSOCIAZIONE DEI CAREGIVER FAMILIARI ("Association of Family Caregivers")

It is a voluntary association of individuals and groups, with the aim of promoting caregivers' rights. The association believes that protecting the caregivers leads, at the same time, to the protection of people with disability. In Italy, the legislation on caregivers' rights is underdeveloped. Therefore, the association got in touch with similar groups from other Europeans countries, the USA and Canada.

#### TEATRO VALLE OCCUPATO ("Occupied Valle Theatre")

This experience is related to the occupation of the oldest theatre in Rome, which was under threat of privatisation and marketisation. It first started as a three-day symbolic occupation in June 2011, with the intent of exposing the (mal)practices around the management of cultural activities in Italy, and the issue of (no-)income for artists, show business workers and immaterial workers in general. However, after the third day the occupation continued and lasted for three years, leading a wave of similar collective occupations in other Italian cities and cultural spaces. These experiences got together into a national network and worked on several issues such as commons and self-government, immaterial work, alternative ways of remuneration, (accessibility of) artistic training and production, "movement 2.0". The experience includes mainly artists and show business workers, but the issues addressed concern everyone.

#### **OFFICINE TARANTINE ("Taranto Workshops")**

The group was born in Taranto in 2012, when some youths coming from different political experiences in the city decided to occupy an old Military Navy building abandoned more than 20 years earlier. The project was to bring the building back to life and return it to the city, by making new ideas and projects available to the community. Being aware that the city of Taranto lives under the spell of the ILVA industry<sup>11</sup>, and that it is impossible to stop the polluting action of ILVA without challenging the economic and cultural system deeply connected with the industry itself and with the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> A street in Rome where a historical hospital for pediatric neuropsychiatry is based.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Iron and steel plant based in Taranto that makes up 75% of the city economy in terms of jobs and GDP.

Military Navy, the group decided to work on social relations and construct, through open workshops, an alternative vision and new opportunities for the city. This also in order to open up new occupational spaces. Six workshops are currently running: tailoring, bicycle repair shop, gym, OffTopic (a study space), EcOfficine (recycling and reuse), Officine Artigiane (hand-craft works).

#### **ARCHEOTOWER**

The experience of ArcheoTower began in 2012, when a group of people partially affiliated with the political collective "Cloro Rosso" ("red chlorine") decided to "liberate" an abandoned public space in Taranto and return it to the community. The space includes an archaeological park, with few remnants of ancient ruins, and its "control tower" (hence the name ArcheoTower), both left in a state of complete abandonment.

Behind this initiative there's the desire and the need, particularly by youth, to inhabit social spaces in a different way, in order to create an alternative to the market for relationships and conviviality. In this sense the group - that is not formalised as an association - organises events such as film viewings and discussions, book presentations, social dinners, self-construction workshops, and supports the production of learning material for an immigrants' schools. With the support of people from the neighbourhood, the group takes care of the park, that has now been brought back to life, and collaborates with other associations as well as with schools to organise guided tours.

#### ASSEMBLEA CAVALLERIZZA 14:45 ("Cavallerizza Assembly 14:45")

This experience was born as a spontaneous city movement in Turin in September-October 2013. It started off as the gathering of a diversified group of people in the outward yard of the Cavallerizza Reale (the former royal stables), when the building was still closed. The gatherings included architects, students of architecture, activists and people who lived in the neighbourhood. People met to discuss on the destiny and potential future of the abandoned building. After some time, the gatherings started becoming more regular and social, and people started sharing ideas to imagine together how the place could be brought back to life. In the words of an interviewee, "how the place could start to return part of its being to all citizens".

On the 23<sup>rd</sup> of May 2014, with no previous plan, at the gathering there were roughly 300 people and the idea of entering the building, that was circulating since some time, suddenly became real. In this way began the occupation of the historic architectural complex by the Cavallerizza Assembly 14:45, that opposes the way in which the Municipality has managed the building and aims at stopping the ongoing privatisation process. The Assembly wants to return the public good to the city and make it available to all as a cultural and artistic space, whose future should be decided through participatory and self-managed processes based on the real needs of citizens.

#### EAT THE RICH

The Eat the Rich network was founded in 2013 from the idea of a group of young people who wanted to offer an alternative to commercial meals in the city of Bologna. The group aimed at making genuine and organic food accessible to everyone, through low costs or even self-managed price. The idea was not to fill the gaps of a collapsing welfare system, but rather to reinvent and reorganise ways to respond to collective needs, in order to find new practices and develop alternative visions starting from the concrete daily needs.

The network includes three collective kitchens, each with its own characteristics and autonomy, farmers' markets and purchase groups. The kitchens organise meals in different days of the week, either for lunch or dinner. Besides the network assemblies that are open to everyone, Eat the Rich organises workshops for food production, book presentations, seminars as well as events to support other experiences and struggles.

# MONDEGGI BENE COMUNE - FATTORIA SENZA PADRONI ("Mondeggi as a commons - Farm without masters")

As a committee for the safeguard and reappropriation of the state-owned land fallen into disuse of the estate of Mondeggi, in Tuscany, the experience is part of the national network "Genuino Clandestino", that struggles for food and land sovereignty (see below). The key principles of the movement are access to the land as a commons available for the local community, food self-determination, peasants' agriculture and the rebuilding of social fabric starting from land sovereignty. The committee is very broad and diversified, but a key role is played by the so-called "keepers" of Mondeggi, i.e. the people who live in the local farms and cultivate the land.

#### GENUINO CLANDESTINO ("Genuine Clandestine")

Genuino Clandestino is a national network of small-scale producers, urban and peasants' movements, individuals engaged in the struggle for food and land sovereignty. The network was initiated in 2009, when new regulations for direct-sale markets were issued. The association "Campi Aperti" ("open fields") from Bologna promoted a public debate on the issue, that soon gained a national reach. The idea of building solidarity bonds between small-scale producers and consumers at the national level represents the birth of the movement. With the launch of the campaign "TerrABC" ("Terra Bene Comune", "land as a commons" ("12), the movement expanded its boundaries to include several urban movements. The contribution of these experiences soon lead to a wider movement for the claim and reappropriation of local territories, while keeping at the centre the issues of access to agricultural land, peasants' agriculture, direct relationship between producer and co-producer (i.e., the consumer). The network developed a manifesto through a participatory process, and declared itself "movement of communities that struggle for food self-determination".

#### **RI-MAFLOW**

Ri-maflow was born in March 2013 from the ashes of the Maflow factory, near Milan. After the closure, the bankruptcy, the temporary redundancy fund and finally the expulsion of the entire work force, the decision was taken to try to take back what used to be a place, an experience, a working knowledge of many, in order to resist and give birth to a project that could keep providing an income and some dignity to people who are continuously thrown out from the labour market. The goal of this experience is to demonstrate that a factory without masters can work, even better than a traditional one

The first objective of the self-managed factory was to convert the production in order to preserve the environment. One of the cornerstones of Ri-Maflow is, therefore, the reuse and recycling of the electrical and electronic equipment, addressing all aspects of waste production and disposal, in order to overturn the idea that "everything must be bought, what's new has to replace the old stuff that still works but is old and therefore of no use".

Another effort to reinvent Ri-Maflow is the collaboration with "Spazio Fuori Mercato" ("space out of the market"), a self-managed distribution of the products of the network Genuino Clandestino.

#### **SMASCHIERAMENTI**

Smaschieramenti is a collective born in 2008 within the occupied space Atlantide in Bologna. A key feature of Atlantide from its very beginning was to be a crossroad for different groups; today the space is mainly focused on gender issues and non-heterosexual subjectivities<sup>13</sup>.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> See also Chapter 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> In October 2015 the occupied space Atlantide has been evicted by the police, despite a strenuous resistance by the collectives who animated the space and a broad support by the city movements as well as by the national

The experience originated from an initiative proposed by one of the collectives that met in Atlantide, named "Antagonismo Gay" ("gay antagonism"), that organised a workshop titled "Smaschieramenti" (a name game that plays around two meanings: unmasking and masculinity) and focused on male('s) desire. The workshop aimed at investigating how subjectivities that differ from the heterosexual male can be involved in gender violence. From the success of the event, the decision was taken to turn "Smaschieramenti" into a permanent workshop, that through the years addressed several other issues including neo-mutualism, welfare from below, alternative intimacy. It now includes several people who differ by gender, sex, sexual orientation, etc. and is currently engaged in a project of queer counseling; it is also part of various networks including the "Social Strike" and the "SomMovimento NazioAnale" or "NatioAnal Commotion" (a national network of queer collectives).

#### **FUXIA BLOCK**

Fuxia Block is a nine-year-old collective, born from the individual and collective reflections that were shared when a former experience of a university group started opening up to the whole city of Padua. From the discourses around safety, behaviour control, instrumental use of gender stereotypes, others developed around the body, sexuality, laicism, while freedom of choice and self-determination remained as cornerstones. In more recent times the group has been working a lot on the meaning of the right to health, rejecting medicalisation as the only response and trying to comprehensively address the issues of health, the body and personal wellbeing.

#### **DEGENDER COMMUNIA**

Born in 2013 from a group of people who shared a common engagement in the political party "Sinistra Critica" ("critical left"), and also cared about feminism. These people got together in the Communia Network and occupied a space in Rome, creating the Communia social center<sup>14</sup>.

The Degender collective was born on the wave of the participation to the campaign "Io decido" ("I decide" 15), inspired by the Spanish movement for the defence of the abortion law, that involved several feminist groups in Rome and ended with the creation of a network.

As a gender collective that wants to refound gender, Degender is not a women-only group speaking only to women. It is part of a consolidated national network that includes groups from Milan (Ambrosia; Lucciole, Italian for "fireflies" that is how prostitutes are also called; "Donne nella crisi", "women in the crisis"), Bologna (Smaschieramenti), Padua (Fuxia Block), that converge on common initiatives such as the Gender Strike, the network "Io decido", No Expo and Manifesto. Internationally, they are related to the Fourth International.

#### TILT!

TILT! was born in 2011, on the wave of the enthusiasm for a recent season of struggles that brought many people to the streets: the referendum on public water, nuclear energy and justice<sup>16</sup>, the large mobilisation in favour of the so-called "orange mayors" (Zedda, Doria, Pisapia), and the organisation

queer movement. However, as the activists say, "Atlantide is everywhere" and initiatives have not stopped since then.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> In Italy, the term "social centre" refers to community spaces with a precise political connotation and history. They are often identified by the acronym CSOA ("Centro Sociale Occupato Autogestito", or "occupied self-managed social centre"), although not all of them are occupied and several entertain some form of relationship with the institutions (including the payment of regular - though often symbolic - rents). Since the 1970s, social centres have spread as part of the Autonomist Marxism movements, later acquiring other political shades (post-Marxist, anarchist, etc.). More recently, social centres were prominent in the anti-globalisation movement. Nowadays they continue to be lively centers of political and social dissent, and elaboration of alternatives.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> See Chapter 6.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> See Chapter 6.

of the demonstration "Our Time is now, life doesn't wait". These mobilisations inspired a group of youths to build a network that could overcome the existing fragmentation of social struggles, and act as a container for the different entities on the national territory.

Having this as an objective and wanting to build a shared process, a camping was organised in 2011, where TILT! was formalised as an association. Since the beginning, the main focus of TILT! has been job and existential insecurity. It mainly involves youths, and is connected in a network with other associations that share a similar vision. It has relations with local and national institutions and with some political parties (Democratic Party, Five Star Movement, and particularly Left, Ecology and Freedom).

#### MAG6 ("Mutua Auto Gestione", "mutual self-management")

Mag6 is a financial cooperative established in Reggio Emilia in 1988. The cooperative collects money from its associates, under the form of social capital, and lends it to projects engaged with social promotion, applying the same interest rate to all financed activity. Every year, the members' General Assembly decides the interest rate, so that it may cover functioning costs and, if possible, remunerate the social capital, not above the inflation rate.

Mag6 collaborates with local initiatives in different fields: peace, disarmament, ecology, interculture, energy conservation, counter information, marginalisation, degrowth. It distributes loans to its members, following criteria that are different from the traditional ones. Loans are linked to the social quality of the project and to the relationship of trust with the financed entity, analysing and therefore sustaining its economical feasibility. In addition to the financial activity, Mag6 offers counseling and organises education and information activities.

Mag6 strives to make its inner administration accessible and transparent and all members can participate in the meetings of the Administrative Board. The General Assembly is the regular meeting venue for the Administrative Board and the social base of the cooperative.

#### NO TAP ("No to Trans-Adriatic pipeline")

The NO TAP Committee was created in the province of Lecce (between the municipalities of Melendugno and Calimera and the coastal area of San Foca) by local associations and citizen groups that stood against the construction of the trans-Adriatic oil conduct (TAP). The Committee originated from informal meetings in which some people, who had come to know more about the TAP project, explained it to other citizens in order to discuss it, gather further information, and disseminate the knowledge. In fact, many people did not know what the TAP was all about. Along with its opposition to this large-scale construction, the NO TAP Committee has developed relevant reflections on the local and global geopolitical strategies since, according to the original project, the oil conduct will cross the Adriatic Sea and reach Italy starting from Azerbaijan, and passing through Turkey, Greece and Albania.

#### NO AL CARBONE ("No to carbon")

No al Carbone (NAC) is a movement of free, democratic and secular citizens in Brindisi who promote critical thinking and struggle to restore dignity in a land suffering from depredation and exploitation by the chemical, energetic, oil and coal industry lobby. The NAC movement organises campaigns addressed to citizens, and strives to raise awareness in the political class, local administrators and national government. It organises mass demonstrations and promotes the safeguard of the territory against further harmful decisions, since after decades of wild industrial development Brindisi has been recognised as an "area under high risk of environmental crisis", and a "site of national interest for reclamation". The high levels of pollutants have a devastating impact in the area, especially critical for health and the environment.

#### NO MUOS ("No to Mobile User Objective System")

The No MUOS movement originated between the end of 2012 and the beginning of 2013 as part of the movement for the demilitarisation of Sigonella<sup>17</sup>. It has the specific objective of opposing the installation of one of the four MUOS ground terminals within the Sughereta natural reserve, in the Ulmo district, close to the town of Niscemi in Sicily. The installation should guarantee the functioning of the latest generation of UHF (Ultra High Frequency) Satellite Network, that will connect with each others the existing US Armed Forces Command and Control Centers, the logistical centers and the over 18.000 existing military radio terminals, the in combat operative groups, the Cruise missiles and the Global Hawks (UAV – Unmanned Aerial Vehicle). As shown by several studies of the Turin Polytechnic Institute, the installation of this terminal implies many dangers for the health of the local population, as well as for the flora and fauna of the natural reserve.

#### A SUD ("To the South")

A Sud was born in 2003, when three activists engaged in struggles for the environment and the rights of the indigenous people met in Latin America. Originally, the association was especially active in Latin America, supporting the indigenous and rural communities. The goal was to build forms of cooperation based on reciprocity and politically oriented. In 2007, A Sud founded the CDCA ("Centro di Documentazione sui Conflitti Ambientali", "Center for the Documentation of Environmental Conflicts"), with the aim to study the causes and consequences of the environmental conflicts in the South of the world. Around 2010, while working in Latin America, the founders of "A Sud" started a project in Italy, and realised that also in their country there were many ongoing environmental conflicts. Since then, the activity of the association has shifted to focus more on the national context.

#### RE:COMMON

Re:common is an association for social promotion that was born in 2012, inheriting the experience of the Campaign for the Reform of the World Bank, a project aimed at monitoring the financial investments in development aid. The group then started reflecting on the main areas of contemporary conflict, questioning what produces social conflict and other forms of conflict and identifying the attack on natural resources and commons as a key issue. As a consequence, the activity of the association began to focus more on the defence of commons and on the fight against the "financialisation" of nature, collaborating with those already engaged in these struggles. There are working groups on the main natural resources, i.e. water, land, food, energetic resources. The association is part of several networks and collaborates with committees and movements.

#### ISDE TARANTO ("International Society of Doctors for Environment of Taranto)"

The group was born in Taranto in 2008 with the name of "Alta Marea" ("high-tide"), succeeding in bringing together various ecologist associations involved in activities of plants green-shifting, information and awareness raising. When the members became aware that they weren't going to have an impact as simple citizens, they turned the fight political and constituted a civil list for the election in 2012. Later on, their main claim became closing the ILVA plant, because no green-shifting could address and solve the issue of dusts: even with the best technologies, ILVA would keep polluting Taranto.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> US Naval Air Station in Sicily.

## Chapter 4: Health

## 4.1 Why we chose to focus on the social determinants of health

While the CSE4HFA action-research aimed at analysing the strategies and practices of civil society engagement in the promotion of the right to health, conceived both as accessibility to healthcare services and to the social determinants of health, the activities in Italy targeted mainly this second aspect. This is related to several reasons, including the characteristics of the action-research group and the Italian context in terms of health activism.

First of all the group members, though coming mainly from the healthcare sector, are in many cases personally engaged in associations, collectives or local groups that are politically active on several issues and struggles (e.g. land and food sovereignty, right to water, gender, etc.). This made it easier to start the action-research from these groups, following also the methodological considerations exposed in earlier chapters.

Moreover, since many years the group started a reflection on the political and social role of doctors and medicine (see Chapter 2 for more details). While medical education is still based on a paradigm that



Image 7: Painting on health realised in the IV national workshop, Montisola (BS), June 2015

assumes the neutrality of science as a founding principle, the group process in these years lead to a deep questioning of that paradigm, towards exposing the inherently political nature of science and medicine. This is why the group did not perceive a disconnection between the role of health professionals and the political struggles that tackle injustice and aim at transforming key social areas that impact on health. This concept is clearly explained in one of the interviews to a member of an association that protects public health and the environment in southern Italy: "If you live in this land, if you take part in a criminal proceeding in which the employers are accused of having sent off to the slaughter tens of their workers because of budgetary reasons, and then you have those that claim their right to justice, at least - if not the right to life... because in that case, as sad as it is, the right to life has been already extensively compressed, to put it mildly - you choose on which side you want to be. It is very simple. But you choose it immediately."

In addition to the above, currently in Italy there is no broad mobilisation around access to public and universal healthcare services, as there was in the 60s and 70s. Most of the ongoing struggles take the form of union demands in defence of the rights of health workers, or citizen groups protesting against the closure of a single service. The few groups and networks who are vocal against the corporatisation and privatisation of the national healthcare service are not coordinated and have little visibility and political impact. This is happening even if the Italian healthcare system is being gradually defunded and dismantled, under the pressure of the growing private interests in the market of health insurance and health service provision.

Finally, one of the aims that the group set from the very beginning was to develop a new and broader thinking around health together with the groups and movements met during the action-research, including those who don't see their action as being directly related to health. This in order to search how struggles for health and political struggles for social change can be more connected to overcome fragmentation, and to understand if health can be seen as a crossroad where the different struggles can converge.

## 4.2 How the interviewed groups deal with health

The material collected around health in the interviews can be broadly summarised around three key areas. The first one concerns the **protection of the environment and the promotion of safe working conditions**. These are critical issues of the health discourse of many social movements and groups, especially in southern Italy. The contested issue is the fact that profit is put before the health of workers and citizens, and that the (polluting) industries that give job to thousands of people are causing a real social blackmail that greatly damages people's health. At the same time, the environment is strongly damaged from the policies of the big industries, that are often unregulated or even supported by public institutions, with a great impact on the wellbeing of both human beings and other living species. The people and groups interviewed often directly accuse medical doctors of not taking side in defending people's health over profit, as it would be expected also in the name of their professional ethics. Doctors are accused of hiding behind the alleged neutrality of science, deferring for lack of adequate evidence the exposure of causes of ill-health that even common sense can easily detect, and that have been afflicting the population for decades.

The second area concerns the **claims for the right to land and food sovereignty**, and their implication with health. The networks that promote food and land sovereignty contribute to building and strengthening relationships among citizens, thus (re)creating communities. From this originates the possibility for people to increase their control and self-determination on several local issues - such as food, social relations, environment - based on their needs and wishes. The re-appropriation of food sovereignty comes then connected to social sovereignty, and gives people a real alternative for their subsistence. This kind of alternative can exist only when a project becomes collective and accessible to everyone, thus gaining a political meaning. In this sense, health is expressed as the claim for the right to exist.

Finally, the third area develops around the issue of **economic, social and relational self-determination**. This is particularly relevant among groups and movements that originate from the experience of subjects in a condition of "social minority", who therefore struggle to gain spaces of reappropriation of the dignity to exist that is for them denied. This existential claim is strongly linked to the values of diversity and plurality, and aims at setting people free from the daily social ties and from imposed cultural structures.

## 4.3 Health in the views and experience of the interviewed groups

The ideas around health expressed in the interviews are very interesting because, in different ways, they overturn the conventional health paradigm that is characteristic of contemporary western culture. For instance, the person - leaving the passive role of the "patient" - is described as an active subject in determining his/her own health. This shakes the basis of the mainstream approach, that - particularly in Italy, with a distinctive paternalistic shade to it - still relies on the delegation of full powers to a specialist acting from outside to restore health. On the contrary, in this view the person becomes aware not only of the mechanisms that negatively affect health, but also of all that contributes to a his/her wellbeing. This concept is well described in this quote: "Feeling that everyday you support practices that make you feel at the centre of your life, [feeling] that you reach self management... and that you can control your life in order to shape it, and being accountable to ourselves for our own choices... people who live in this way everyday, if we have a broad view on health, are in good health."

Nevertheless, it is important to highlight that the idea of being at the centre of one's life and health does not correspond to an individualistic understanding of health. In fact, almost all the groups we met put in high priority the need to take care of the context and of the relations system where people live. When we asked to the activists we met how they think that their action contributes to health promotion, many of them answered that it is through building communities characterised by solidarity and mutual aid.

Following this vision, for example, some groups started addressing the issue of food and in this sense - besides promoting organic agriculture and land sovereignty - they also promote healthy nutrition, thus avoiding the victim blaming approach that permeates the health discourse on individual lifestyles. Similarly, other groups contribute to make sport activities more accessible to everyone, while promoting an active life and forms of sociality that fight urban isolation caused by the organisation of cities and the labour market. Furthermore, other experiences (especially those focused on gender and sexuality) highlight that for them promoting health means also organising collective moments where people - not minorities, but put in minority - can reconstruct their existential sense of value and pride. The most important aspect of all these considerations over relationships, collectivity and social contexts, is that there's an ongoing process of resignification of health, that ceases to be a static and pre-categorised concept to become a historical and political process linking the macro and micro aspects of people's lives.

Considering health under this broader and ecological perspective leads us to conceive health and illness in the light of the economic, political and social context, and to acknowledge the underlying power dynamics that translate into health inequalities.

The described approach is still and by far missing in the healthcare system, where the experience of suffering is individualised and the macro social processes are hidden behind the idea of personal responsibility of the individual. On this matter, one interview is particularly relevant, as illness is not seen only through the lens of suffering, but also as related to a subject's agency and capability to react to the context: "If I live a state of stress, or a state that is called stress or depression, or a problem, then it is my problem, I mean, there is a big overturning of the meaning, I will not then care anymore about the context in which this suffering is produced. [...] ...it is a sign of a biophilic reaction, of a key vital resource, therefore what someone calls disease, I could look at it as a sign that tells me let's change many important things in order to feel better, let's change!".

# Chapter 5: Analysis

#### 5.1 Introduction

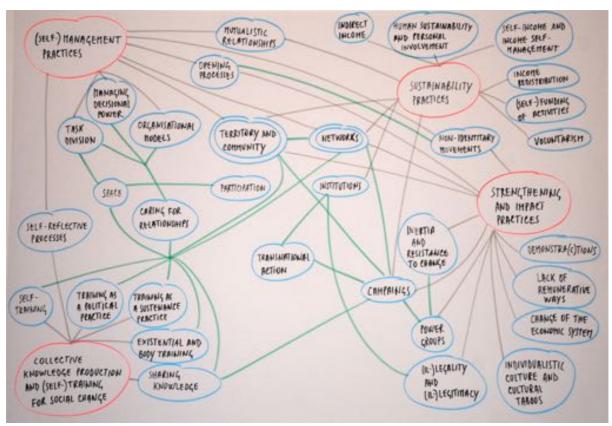


Image 8: conceptual map of the main themes emerged from the interview analysis

As seen in more detail in Chapter 1, the analysis of the research material (interview transcripts, field notes diaries, mapping questionnaire) was collectively done through a participatory process that involved the following steps:

- 1. Analysis of each interview transcript in pairs (independent individual analysis followed by discussion in pairs and development of a joint analysis), based on the five themes indicated in the international project guideline<sup>18</sup>; the interview analysis were then grouped per working group (Gruppola), in order to collate all the material related to each theme.
- 2. Group discussion of the analysis per working group/theme, and development of a conceptual map identifying key themes (see Image 8).
- 3. Second analysis of the collected material based on the key themes identified, and creation of twenty-nine thematic "bubbles".
- 4. Synthesis of the "Bubbles" in 7 thematic areas (see Table 9).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> I. Movement building; II. Campaigns and advocacy; III. Knowledge generation and dissemination; IV. Capacity building and training; V. Policy dialogue and engagement with global health governance

Thematic area	Bubbles	Related project themes
1. Structural context	(II)-legality, -legitimacy     Change in the economic system     Region	I. Movement building II. Campaigns and advocacy V. Policy dialogue and engagement with global health governance
2. Non-identitary processes	6. Self reflexivity 7. Individualistic culture 8. Relationships 9. Non-identitary movements	I. Movement building III. Knowledge generation and dissemination IV. Capacity building and training
3. Organisation and functioning	10. Task division 11. Managing decisional power 12. Organisational models [8. Relationships]	I. Movement building III. Knowledge generation and dissemination IV. Capacity building and training
4. Sustainability	13. (Self)-funding of activities 14. Self-income, income self- management, self-sustenance, income redistribution 15. Mutuality and indirect income 16. Human sustainability 17. Voluntarism	I. Movement building III. Knowledge generation and dissemination IV. Capacity building and training
5. Training and education	18. Self-training 19. Training as a political practice 20. Existential and body training	I. Movement building III. Knowledge generation and dissemination IV. Capacity building and training
6. Direct action	21. Transnational action 22. Campaigns 23. Demonstra(c)tions	I. Movement building II. Campaigns and advocacy
7. Interaction	24. Openness 25. Community, territory 26. Participation 27. Sharing information and knowledge 28. Networks and connections 29. Space [9. Non-identitary movements] [23. Demonstra(c)tions]	I. Movement building II. Campaigns and advocacy III. Knowledge generation and dissemination IV. Capacity building and training V. Policy dialogue and engagement with global health governance

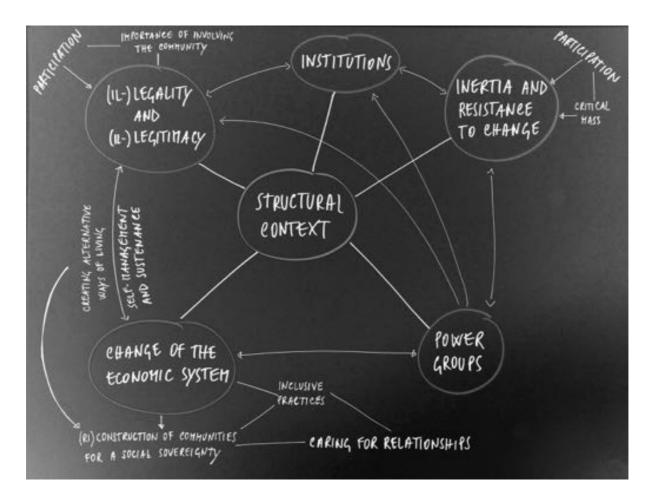
Table 9. "Bubbles", thematic areas and project themes.

While this process, in some ways, moved the action-research away from the "original" five themes, it was necessary to reflect a bottom-up process in which the analytic categories had to emerge from the collected material and not be pre-determined. Moreover, any participatory approach needs to be flexible enough to accommodate the perceptions of those who are involved in the process, as this is how it generates meaningful knowledge. In this respect, the selection of the key thematic "bubbles" necessarily reflects also the perceived priorities of the action-research group.

Each "bubble" has been analysed in detail and used to fuel the discussion within the participatory action-research group, but what has been selected for translation in view of this report is a synthesis of the key points for each thematic area that were found interesting and worth further discussion. In particular, the open and conflicting issues were given attention, those where movements diverge from one another, or where they find contradictions and challenges. This process of analytic and editorial selection was discussed in a dedicated national workshop held in Rome in early October and, once again, originates from extensive group discussion.

#### 5.2 Thematic areas

#### STRUCTURAL CONTEXT



#### Not just a change, but a system change

Most groups and movements interviewed declare to act for a deep change in society, as they see in the capitalistic system the root cause of many of the problems that they struggle to address (environmental and health issues, land exploitation, poverty and inequality, marginalisation and exclusion...). Moreover, the alternatives that they try to put in place are not viable unless there is a system change that involves the economic, the legal as well as the cultural sphere.

The current economic system is accused of being environmentally unsustainable and harmful to people's health. This is particularly evident in southern Italy, where polluting factories are allowed to continue their activity despite an increase in mortality rates for cancer and other diseases. A complex system is in place, in which the strong powers of society (large industrial groups, politicians, mafia, and

the mainstream media) are allied to keep the situation as it is in terms of profit and control. The interests of few thus prevail over the security and health of the whole population.

#### The need to think differently

In some cases, the analysis that movements make goes further than just describing the situation. For instance, it is highlighted how, in the current system, the moral and ethical consequences of production are not considered. Under the imperative of economic growth, environment and health are easily sacrificed, and this seems to be tolerated – if not encouraged – by politics and the media alike.

Even civil society remains silent most of the times, on the one hand, affected by what has been called "colonisation of the imagination", that prevents from even seeing the flaws in the system and imagining the possible corrective actions or alternatives, on the other hand often obliged to choose between subsistence and health. This is the case, for instance, of workers whose choice is between unemployment or to accept a job that will potentially kill them, and may cause disease also in their nearby living families.

#### What is legal?

While seeking not only to criticise the current system, but to imagine and organise alternatives, movements choose different ways. Often, these have in common a critical look over what is legitimate and legal, and what is not. For instance, a polluting factory is allowed and even supported by the institutions, even though it is harmful for health and the environment. On the other side, a factory that – after being shut down – is occupied and managed by the workers is illegal, even though they convert the production from a polluting to an ecologically safe and sustainable one, and they put in place a system of remuneration based on equality.

Sometimes the absence of laws and regulations is what prevents alternatives to exist or survive. This is the case, for instance, of small agricultural producers who don't meet the legal requirements to sell their products as organic, because the level of bureaucracy and structure required are suited for larger businesses. In this sense, movements that struggle for food and territorial sovereignty have created networks of self-certification of producers, and organise self-managed markets where producers and buyers can meet without intermediaries. In fact, the term "consumer" that identifies everyone in the capitalistic society is substituted by the term "co-producer", to mean a sense of responsibility and participation in making possible a certain type of production that promotes social values, and in which profit is a means of sustenance and not an ends.

#### The fight for legitimacy

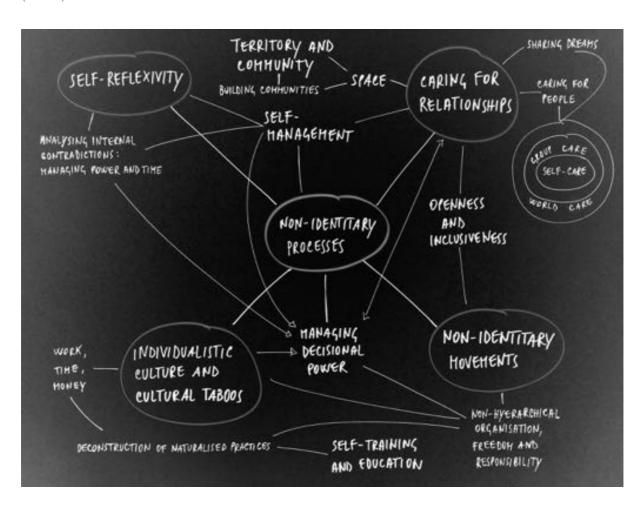
Besides the issue of legality, movements have also to address the issue of social and political legitimacy. In this sense, they are often attacked by their political opponents and by the majority of media, who depict them as an aggressive and violent minority whose discourse is merely ideological and detached from reality. In order to counteract this, many of the groups and movements interviewed choose to strengthen their solidarity networks, not only with other movements but particularly with citizens. This is the case, for instance, of occupied (or liberated) spaces that organise activities to involve the neighbourhoods.

Fearing the potential disruption of what is considered as the desired social order, municipal governments in the past two decades have sought – with success – to expel most occupied spaces from the city centers, relegating them in peripheral areas that are less relevant for the economic and political life of the city. In turn, several groups and movements are trying to be more inclusive and open to the general population, organising social activities (farmers' markets, spaces for children, community gardens, etc.) that can attract a broader sector of society than the minority who is directly

interested in their political proposal. Besides being a value in itself, as it allows more people to participate in what is described as "a space out of the market", this appears to be a successful long-term defensive strategy in case of threat of eviction.

On the field of social and political legitimacy, social movements also have to fight against the process of appropriation of language by institutions, mainstream media and industries. Expressions such as "commons" and "participation" are more and more used by municipal governments who seek to gain consensus, while the practices behind are often empty or deeply controlled from the beginning by the institution. For instance, only social organisations that fit certain criteria (i.e. that have a legal status, such as registered associations, NGOs, etc.) can apply for funds or for spaces. This induces a process of institutionalisation of social groups, while not acknowledging the creative and democratic value of less structured — but not necessarily less organised or functioning — forms of social aggregation. Movements try to get around this limitation in various ways, that range from formally adopting legal structures that do not correspond to their real organisational practices, to directly confronting — through political dialogue, demonstrations, etc. — the rules that prevent informal social groups from being acknowledged as reliable players.

#### (NON)-IDENTITARY PROCESSES



# Contradictions in the process of subjectivation<sup>19</sup>: the challenge of freeing oneself from the contested model

The vast majority of groups and movements interviewed directly challenge the unequal distribution of power within society. However, many of them are not immune from unbalanced power dynamics within their organisations. Things get particularly complicated when the issues of power and decision-making are linked to economic activities needed for the sustenance of the people involved in the movement.

Besides power, also time management is described as a contradictory issue. In fact, there is widespread criticism towards an alienating social system that does not take into account people's needs; however, within movements it often happens that the time of life is suffocated by the needs of the organisation.

The examples of power and time illustrate one of the major challenges that movements face when trying to create settings where people can liberate themselves from the oppressive structures of society. The challenge is how to move from being in conflict with an identified external power, that is perceived as very different and alienating, to a process of "decolonising the imagination" that can lead to building real alternatives. This difficulty often brings the groups to become more rigid in their ideological positions, thus confining them within their cultural boundaries and preventing them from building meaningful relationships with other political experiences, even when they share the same claims.

#### Non-identitary, post-identitary, trans-identitary

The choice that some movements made to go beyond the ideological closures built up over time and to change the aesthetics of mobilisations, as well as the refusal to affiliate with political parties and to refer to the existing institutions, should not be read as a watering down of their political positioning, both in theory and in action.

In fact, these same movements are concerned about the fragmentation of a political left that is no longer able to represent their claims. They are very clear about their historical and political roots and know who their (potential) allies are. Activists in these movements are ready to transform their whole life in a political struggle. They bring about a deep critique towards the neoliberal system and struggle to build a different society, starting from experimenting a different type of community.

Therefore, being "non-identitarian, post-identitarian, trans-identitarian" does not mean not having a political positioning, and it should rather be read as the evolution in a specific form of a precise political action and tradition.

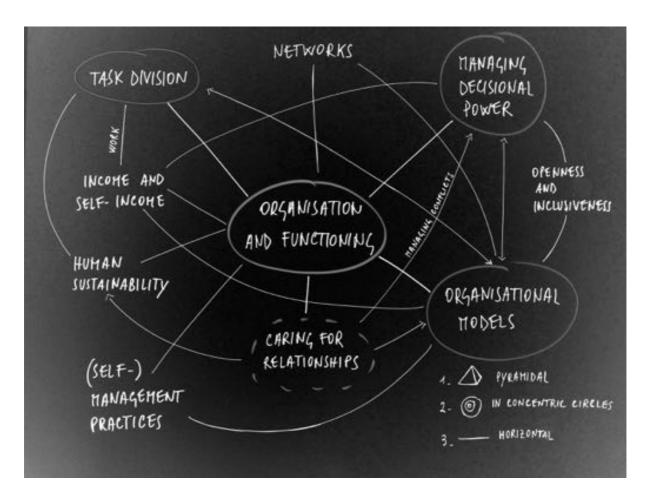
#### Art as a political tool for the creative transformation of the present

A recurrent theme in several interviews is the political connotation of art, its potential to break institutional immobility, and to cultivate and nourish social relationships thanks to the creative force of imagination.

On the contrary, the individualistic and materialistic society in which we live restricts people's choices, their ability to express and to dream, while at the same time generating huge tensions between the individual and the collective, the sense of responsibility and the process of self-determination.

This pushes alternative movements towards the values and practices of community participation, sharing and self-determination, starting from taking care of social relationships and daring to collectivise dreams and aspirations.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> We use this term considering the semantic shift (made by Foucault) from *subject to subjectivity*, and then from *subjectivity* to *subjectivation*. Subjectivity can still be considered a thing, a place, an identity, a still point. Subjectivation, instead, moves entirely from discourse to praxis. In this sense, in Foucault, the *self* is always at the same time the effect of an act of *subjectivation* and the act itself, which actually allows the production of the *self*.



# Between inclusiveness and effectiveness: different organisational forms to handle the tension

Many groups and movements interviewed talked about the tension that originates from the will to operate through inclusive and participatory processes, on the one hand, and on the other hand the need to deliver action within often tight and unpredictable timelines. In order to address this challenge, movements choose different organisational models, also in relation to their political culture and to the historical and social context in which they operate.

For instance, associations that act in collaboration with institutions tend to prefer more conventional forms of organisation, often based on hierarchy and representation, while self-organised experiences tend to opt – not without internal contradictions – for models that are more open to participation and shared responsibility. Some groups, including Grup-pa, choose to explicitly say that the organisation, though guided by participatory practices, includes different levels of operational responsibility depending on the interests, available time and personal involvement of each individual.

#### Going beyond majority decision-making: the consensus method

The organisational model is often reflected in the ways through which groups make decisions. A recurring concept is consensus decision-making, used with various shades and meanings in the different experiences interviewed.

When the term "consensus" is used simply to indicate that people do not vote and seek to reach unanimity, it often means that the group does not have alternative decision-making tools. This approach is criticised by those who see consensus as a complex process that must be based on a

"culture of consensus". In this view, acting according to an alleged spontaneity without developing alternative decision-making tools does not lead to exposing the power dynamics within the group, and actually reinforces the existing imbalances. Some groups highlighted how the consensus method is an ongoing process that develops self-awareness and self-consciousness, which also requires taking good care of the relationships within the group.

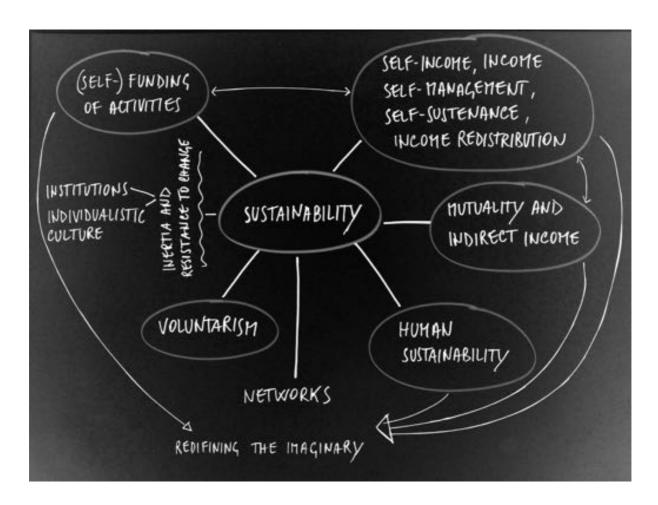
#### Activism sustainability and economic compensation of militancy

Almost all the groups need to look for funds in order to support their activities and projects. In many cases, there are activists who sustain the group's activities without any compensation, while investing in them much of their energies and time.

In a social context of general and widespread precariousness, several experiences reflect on the possibility of self-sustenance through militancy. Many questions arise from this issue, for instance whether the fact of being paid alters the nature of the political action, transforming activism into a job. To this question movements give different practical answers. In some cases, the idea of remunerating activism has been rejected. In others, mixed solutions have been found, with some people acting on a voluntary basis and others being paid. This solution requires however a higher degree of organisational complexity, and is often a cause of conflicts, also as a result of the social taboo that surrounds money.

From an organisational point of view, many experiences are still experimenting, often with a tendency not to create rigid rules but rather to tolerate high, or very high, degrees of autonomy, while prioritising working on the process and taking care of the interpersonal relationships.

#### SUSTAINABILITY



#### Self-income and economic sustainability

Starting from the need of economic sustainability, most experiences interviewed have elaborated reflections and experimented different practices of economic management. These are often inspired by the principles of self-management and self-income, and rely on mutuality and solidarity developed in support networks that do not only exchange money or material work (for example, the experiences involved in bottom-up cultural/artistic production offer the possibility to attend workshops and trainings).

Many groups highlighted the importance of these networks as forms of self-sustenance, rejecting the idea or possibility of a stand-alone self-sufficiency.

Support networks and mutuality are key also in generating forms of indirect income, based on the possibility to access, for free or contributing according to the resources that a person has, to training opportunities, cultural activities, services, as well as accommodation and food, and not least to spaces for social relations.

#### Inside the institutional system

Besides the above mentioned forms of self-sustenance, the main way to access economic support is through public calls for projects (issued by public institutions, private foundations, etc.). This requires the groups to adopt a recognised, and often pre-registered, legal form. As a consequence, the number of associations in Italy has grown a lot in recent years, including among social/political areas where groups have traditionally preferred to remain informal.

This system is described by many as being responsible of high levels of competition among groups, that increase even more with the progressive reduction in the available funds compared to a growing number of requests. In this way, the system induces a fragmentation of the existing groups, rather than promoting aggregation and synergies.

Some groups argue that this is a strategy to allow the existence only of what is consistent with the current economic and social system, and perhaps to increase the control and limit the potential harm of alternative social groups.

#### Between work and activism

A key issue raised by many interviewed groups and movements concerns the delicate balance between work and activism. On the one hand, some highlight how professionalising activism may lead to having a paid workforce, but one that needs to respond to external priorities and timelines (e.g. in terms of project deadlines, funding allocation, etc.). On the other hand, the need to combine work and activism arises when activism is a full-time occupation, that requires to be economically sustained. The experiences interviewed have different opinions on this issue.

An interconnected aspect is the consideration that, in order to be fully sustainable, political activism needs to take into account also personal needs. Several groups try to address the issues of life and activism as a whole, and do not seek sustainability in each of the two separately.

Yet another issue in this respect concerns the division between material and immaterial work. In society, as well as in many self-managed experiences, the first one tends to be more often remunerated than the second one. Also the approach to task division based on the relation between money and time is often reproduced in these experiences. However, some groups try to overcome this logic, that is rooted in a nineteenth-century idea of labour, by experimenting forms of collective redistribution of money that delink remuneration from task allocation, and reflect the idea that any action is the result of a broad and collaborative collective effort.

Last but not least, there's the issue of voluntarism. The experiences that choose not to seek ways of generating income rely completely on voluntarism, and often describe this as a liberating choice linked to political autonomy, freedom from donor influence and conflictual issues of income redistribution.

On the other hand, many experiences highlight the political limits of voluntarism: they conceive their struggle as a political action aiming at creating real alternatives, which should be concrete and sustainable from both a relational and an economic point of view. These experiences often describe voluntarism as an approach that does not challenge the functioning of the current system, and can not lead to creating a viable social, political and economic alternative. Moreover, voluntarism maintains the social mechanism that legitimates collecting funds to realise activities, but not to sustain the work of those who make them possible. Remunerating work seems to devalue the noble motive for voluntarism (including political action) and this can lead to a paradox: a full-time form of "existential activism" (see below) that is however not worth any income. In these conditions, activism can result in self-exploitation, even if in its premises it declares to oppose any form of exploitation in society. This contradiction, or thin border line, probably deserves greater attention.

#### Sustainability of existence

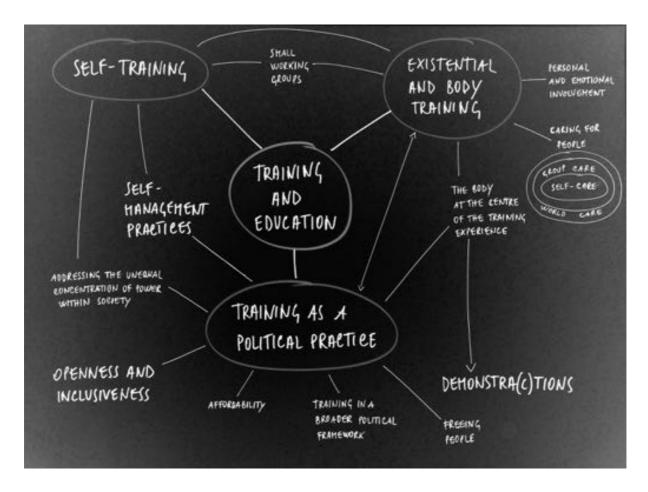
Some interviews highlight how the absence of economic support does not only undermine the activities that people and groups try to bring about: what appears to be threatened, when a sustainability is missing, are lifetime projects and not just the political activity in itself. In many of the interviewed experiences, personal and collective existential projects are deeply connected with the political vision and goals of the group. Therefore, the challenge is not just how to find money to support the activities, but how to sustain a wider struggle for changing a social, political, economic system and the related personal possibility to exist.

#### Redefining the imagination

Political activism is a chance to imagine and experiment practices that, while addressing the issue of economic sustenance, do not align with the traditional logic of capital accumulation and do not reproduce, in economic as well as in social relations, the power dynamics that capitalism puts in place. In a time where welfare systems and socio-economic rights are being attacked, political activism is a tool to develop, starting from collective processes that critically and creatively challenge the current economic and managerial models, new ideas around participatory and mutualistic forms of welfare and ways to offer services that are created and governed collectively by those who use them.

Altogether, the reflections and the practices of movements around sustainability consider both its material (economic) and immaterial (human, relational) aspects. Therefore, experimenting alternative economic models means creating a political, social, and relational alternative. In other words, by redefining the economic imaginary movements are reshaping the social imaginary as a whole.

#### TRAINING AND EDUCATION



The considerations on training and education drawn from the interviews can be grouped around three broad areas: the link between knowledge and power; the social and physical spaces where knowledge is generated and exchanged; the main methodological aspects of training and education within social movements.

#### Knowledge and power

While thinking of knowledge, there's a tendency to refer to the academic knowledge that is shaped in universities adopting a specific language to describe, or construct, the reality that surrounds us. However, there's another form of knowledge that western culture tends to devalue, which is non-institutional knowledge (or common knowledge). This originates directly from people's life experience, through sharing and the collective process of meaning construction.

While academic knowledge polarises power in favour of who holds it, and tends to be shared in a topdown direction, common knowledge is linked to collective and participatory processes and can be liberating, as it is connected with the meaning that people give to their life experience.

In the experiences interviewed, knowledge is mostly created and exchanged through participatory and collective processes. When institutional knowledge is also used, it is through collaborative approaches or, even better, academic knowledge becomes instrumental for the construction of new knowledge, rather than an end of the education process in itself.

In most cases knowledge generation and dissemination are not considered as neutral actions. On the contrary, they are deeply rooted in the experience of the person(s) who promote them in terms of

work, activism, life. Moreover, they are aligned and integrated with the political vision of the group or movement.

#### Where (and when) training and education take place

Knowledge is mostly exchanged and generated in real, and not virtual, social and community spaces, where people reflect together, exchange life experiences and connect them with the social context they live in. These can be described as physical and social spaces that mediate between the individual and the community, while connecting both.

In a historic moment where, according to Naomi Klein, there are no more places for citizens but only non-places for consumers, creating mediating spaces for the social construction of knowledge could mean promoting "...a broader form of subjectivity, a cross-subjectivity".

Training with the described features can take place anywhere, in the form of an assembly, a seminar, a camping, a residential workshop. In fact, what seems to make the difference is the temporal setting that the event creates and represents. In a certain moment of daily life, in a certain place, a number of people decide to do something they are not expected to do: they begin to share experiences, create relationships, and learn.

#### Methodologies

Training activities carried out by the interviewed movements can be divided into two typologies:

- targeting people outside the organising group ("training");
- targeting the organising group itself ("self-training").

These two forms share common methodological features:

- attention is paid to the consistency between content and methodology;
- participants are at the centre of the process, and are considered as persons and not just people who attend a training; the aim is to reduce the split that traditional training produces between the cognitive, emotional and physical components of learning;
- personal growth is prioritised over acquiring notions;
- experiential learning and learning by doing are extensively used (not just theory);
- building meaningful human relationships among participants is key;
- training in small groups is often used.

#### Training

Training activities are one of the main tools through which the experiences interviewed communicate with the broader public. Targets of the training are primarily:

- other activist groups (tools useful for everyday organising, action, etc.);
- citizens (critical information on subjects often not covered by media, awareness raising, political debates...);
- students (in schools, to inform on alternatives).

In some cases, these activities represent sources of income and sustenance.

#### Self-training

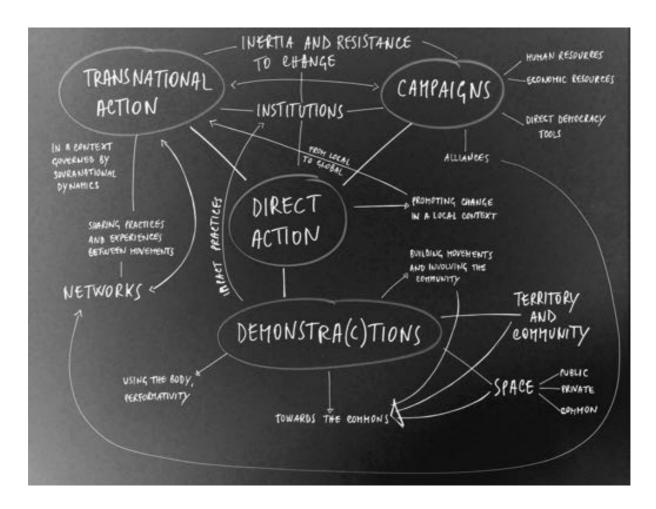
Self-training is mainly used to support advocacy, to generate and experiment new knowledge, to reflect on the group's actions.

The lack of time to reflect on their own practices seems to be one of the main problems experienced by the groups interviewed. Many of them concentrate themselves on action and disregard reflection. This can generate the paradox of over relying on and depending from institutional forms of knowledge.

The main experiences of self-training collected are:

- knowledge generation through the sharing of life experiences;
- individual and group theoretical analysis, characterised by personal involvement and not separated from action;
- sharing and exchange of personal skills and knowledge;
- involvement and discussion with "experts".

#### DIRECT ACTION



#### Temporary or permanent alliances?

Many movements situate their struggle in a context of interconnected national and transnational conflicts. This awareness brings them to look for local as well as international alliances with similar movements. It also pushes them to address supranational powers, particularly when they do not find institutional answers at the national level.

Alliances are key in order to have an impact on global dynamics and not being alone in facing supranational policies and their impact on social contexts. The importance of alliances lies in their being at the same time a resource and a strategy: seeking alliances with a diverse range of actors involves being able to cross the political boundaries and unite behind common goals, while at the same time maintaining one's identity and continuing the struggle at the local level.

Despite the fact that most movements value alliances and would like to see them grow, this often remains at the stage of a wish that quickly vanishes when the political and strategic differences between groups take over with their divisive action. In this respect, the practice of sharing experiences between different groups plays a key role in making alliances possible and sustained.

There is no single way to build alliances: some groups prefer temporary alliances for a common goal, while others tend to follow ties of proximity, territoriality, affection. Others groups mix different strategies, adopting a fluid approach to the collaboration with other groups and movements.

#### **Innovating political practices**

Many movements adopt political tools and strategies that often come from different or previous experiences, and are recycled and reused more or less consciously. When they are interpreted and used without historical memory, these tools are likely to be uncritically perpetuated and lose their transformative potential. This is a self-criticism that many movements make, as well as a critique to other movements.

However, there are experiences that actively reinterpret and transform the political practices. For instance, the practice of occupying a space is now described by many groups in terms of a liberation/re-appropriation of something that is then returned to the community in the form of a commons. This is quite different from older forms of occupation, that were mainly serving the needs of the movement itself, in that the community can collectively participate in the transformation and governance of the space.

Similarly, there are movements that transformed the legal form of a foundation, established under private law, in a tool to protect a commons, and others who turn artistic performances into political "performactions".

#### Demonstra(c)tions... and the body

Demonstrations, performances and other forms of action are moments of expression, creativity, claim, political practice and public exposure of the movement.

In these demonstra(c)tions the body stands out strongly and creates a fracture, or more appropriately makes visible an existing fracture that is usually ignored<sup>20</sup>. This claimed visibility has a new impact on the community and the institutions.

Demonstra(c)tions involve and contribute to community building, in communities where the widespread feeling of distrust and the need and desire for greater participation in institutional and social life are widely diffused.

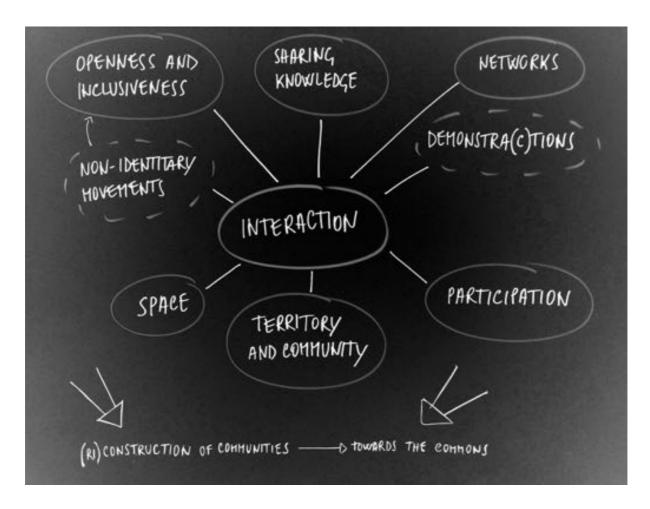
Visibility is also a disturbing element for institutions: through demonstra(c)tions, movements force the institutional power to look at them, to acknowledge their existence and, at times, to repress them.

Institutions, on their side, have become accustomed to movements' practices and often know how to "manage" them. However, they can be unprepared to face new practices and somehow standardise the repressive reply, e.g. through the strategy of eviction.

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<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> An example comes from the network of performing artists, that in order to raise awareness on the situation they were living decided to enter the theatres during the seasonal openings, interrupt the shows and address critical issues around cultural production.

#### **INTERACTION**



#### Openness and inclusiveness

For many of the groups and movements interviewed, being open and inclusive is perceived as both a central issue and a very challenging one. Openness and inclusiveness are considered as assets for the vitality of the movement, and in many cases they are part of the very reason for which the movement exists (e.g. in the case of groups who act to "liberate" spaces in the city and return them to the citizens).

However, being open and inclusive at the same time poses a series of challenges, mainly linked to the management of the decision-making power and to the assumption of responsibility towards the group. For example, those who access a "liberated" space will not necessarily feel a sense of responsibility towards its management and organisation; on the other hand, despite being "open", those who are more involved in managing the space will not easily hand over power and control. In fact, being open also means being able to accept the inevitable changes brought by other people. This implies the capacity for the group to reflect on its own practices, to question and transform internal balances and settled rules, and to experiment new ones.

When there are concrete activities to carry on, such as working to clean or set up a new space, it is easier to involve new people and gather support for the political project at the same time. In this sense, taking care of a space to return it to the community assumes a central role and becomes an element of political involvement, an act that creates and strengthen social relationships.

While trying to be open and inclusive, many experiences come to wonder about the traditional forms and language of political activism. In fact, to be truly open towards a diverse range of social and cultural groups it is necessary to question political modes of action and positionings often taken for

granted. Queer movements appear to be more dynamic in this sense, as they tend to adopt a more intersectional approach that does not isolate issues and struggles, but is aimed at highlighting how they interact to potentially affect everyone's life.

Some groups have highlighted how caring about openness and inclusiveness requires that a lot of energy is spent in management and organisation, while leaving aside the more political discourses and actions. What is often disregarded is how the project or the action relates to the macro-political issues at stake, as well as the collective self-reflective process. Several collectives and movements struggle to hold together the micro and the macro level, in a constant tension between openness and self-reflection.

#### Tools and languages to communicate and disseminate knowledge

Movements utilise a wide variety of tools and practices for communicating and disseminating knowledge. From the most "traditional" forms such as brochures, magazines, books, conferences, websites and social networks, to informal gatherings aimed at socialising and promoting conviviality, to more creative forms such as performances, videos, documentaries, short stories and graphic novels. Many of these tools and practices are used simultaneously depending on the context, purpose and target, with the aim to (re)generate interest in political issues related to the environment, food, culture, health... and to involve people.

For some groups, the diversification of communication forms and languages is not only a strategy for engaging people, but also reflects an ongoing search for consistency between "what is said" and "how you do it": an effort to communicate methods, and not only contents, through their practical implementation.

Many of the movements and groups interviewed greatly value the collective production of knowledge, and act to create and preserve spaces where this process can happen while being accessible to broader social networks. For its nature, collective knowledge can be part of processes of social change, as it allows people to get engaged in conceiving new ways of seeing the world and take part in imagining alternatives. Sharing this knowledge thus generates awareness and involvement, and is an important practice of subjectivation and self-determination.

For those groups who interact with public institutions and decision-makers, self-managed and creative forms of knowledge generation are combined with more traditional, expert-based approaches aimed at developing studies, dossiers and independent technical reports. These proved to be strategic and effective in generating specialised knowledge that is alternative to the institutional knowledge, and in some cases triggered investigation processes that led to legal procedures.

#### **Networks and connections**

Different movements and experiences are trying to redefine the concept of network: there is an effort to unite the struggles, to be cross-sectional, to break territoriality in favour of more universal and national mobilisations. A practice that proved effective to achieve this is the organisation of concrete activities such as meetings, demonstrations, marches, occupations. However, it is difficult to involve the citizens in such activities, as well as to animate long-lasting political projects.

Networks are described by most movements and groups as powerful tools for achieving change: in fact, besides creating synergies and broadening the base of the struggle, they often are key for the very existence of the groups that compose them.

Networks often include a variety of social actors and constituencies, and managing the diversity can often be difficult, particularly if the underlying vision is that the network should be "single-minded". On the contrary, several groups speak about "light networks", where the focus is on what is shared while respecting each other's specific features. This relative freedom and autonomy, by valuing diversity within the network, allows each group to develop individual action plans that are more suited

to the local context, while maintaining a broad view of the overall situation and linking their action to the common struggle.

#### Space and... the commons

The possibility for a group to inhabit a physical space (occupied or not) is reported by many movements as a key element in strengthening the practices of activism, in terms of consolidation, aggregation, identification and opening. Many of the interviewed groups take into great consideration the transformative potential of having a space where new ways of being together, share problems and imagine/realise common solutions can be experimented and exchanged.

For example, practices such as the occupation and recovery of an archaeological park in state of neglect, or the re-opening of a building abandoned since 20 years to organise workshops for the community, are efforts to develop a bottom-up solidarity economy, while promoting a different, non-market based form of conviviality.

In the case of spaces that have an intrinsic value or potential, such as historic architectural complexes or agricultural land, there's a greater feeling of responsibility that pushes movements to proactively seek the engagement of the community. This is also needed in order to support the activities and make alternative ways of production viable.

In some cases, taking a space is a strategy to bring visibility to an issue. In this sense, the decision to enter into a historic theater and to address key political issues in a central and highly visible area of a city is a way to counteract the control strategy that marginalises movements also in geographical terms.

More generally, taking care of the space where a community lives brings an added value to the movements that practice it, and has a positive impact on the social reach that they can achieve. By doing so in abandoned spaces of the city, movements seek to take back part of the power over the city itself. This plays on material as well as symbolic aspects, thus these spaces act as "declarations of existence" as well as being gathering places where different forms of social relations can take place.

In a historical and political context where the sovereignty over goods and services is more and more transferred to the private sector, and from the local/national to the transnational level, occupying a space is a way to return something to the community. This is at the same time a challenge and an alternative to the neoliberal regime, that goes beyond the dichotomy between public and private and is founded on self-organisation and commons. In this sense, liberating a space and transforming it into a living social laboratory is a concrete way to experiment alternatives that are built through a collective action.

However, there are also critiques to this approach, that often come from the same groups that practice it. The argument is that if a group focuses mainly on the defense of a physical space, and does not act to really make it open to the community so that what is done is visible and valued, the political meaning of the whole action vanishes. The same happens if there is no effort to connect with the broader social struggles that are taking place. This is why the "new" occupied/liberated spaces are conceived as places of intersection, both in terms of people and political issues.

While valuing the territorial reach of political activities, some movements highlight that - in a country like Italy, with a highly fragmented territory - not having a single place of identification and being forced to act across spaces through different strategies can turn into an interesting and useful exercise, towards a more effective political thought and practice.

#### **Participation**

The concept of participation brings with it the dimensions of desire and ability to act, of free and independent choice, of reappropriation and subjectivation, of the bond of responsibility towards the community, of social and political awareness. Given the fact that the same words are used in different

contexts and with different purposes, the term "participation" takes a variety of shades and meanings according to what people and groups experience in everyday life.

Referring to the theories on participation and empowerment in health, which compare grassroots initiatives by citizens with the policies applied in vertical health systems, different levels of participation can be recognised in the narratives of the interviewed movements. These range from community consultation, organised by the movements, to the participation in dedicated steps of the institutional decision-making process. While referring to these experiences, some movements declare that the inconsistency of popular sovereignty nowadays creates the need to exit from institutional politics. This is related to the process of governance delocalisation to higher (transnational) levels, further and further away from people. The need for popular sovereignty and self-determination is particularly relevant for the movements that defend a territory, claiming the right to decide for their own lives and the place where they live.

Looking at participation within movements, many of them highlight that the motivational drive and the passion of activists are key in keeping the experience alive, therefore a necessary condition for their existence and survival is the personal involvement of people. However, this condition does not seem to be widespread among movements, and its lack is often highlighted as a great challenge to a broader political mobilisation.

Many of the groups and movements interviewed highlight the importance of "doing things together" as a practice of aggregation and community building. But the participation in a political project can be built also through the socialisation of difficulties, from which different forms of mutual support can be collectively generated in a shared way, giving space to subjectivities.

Promoting participation is also a way to protect the experiences against the oppressive and repressive dynamics put in place by the institutions. By calling in support more skills, knowledge and people, movements become stronger and more effective.

As most groups highlight, participatory processes require a great deal of involvement and responsibility: this means dedicating time, energy and care to build a shared sense of belonging to the project.

# The (re)construction of communities (in a perspective of popular sovereignty, self-determination and the commons)

For many of the interviewed groups and movements, building bonds of trust and solidarity with/in the community is a key aspect of the political project. This is not only aimed at legitimising an action and gaining broader support, but reflects the central role attributed to relationships, and to experiencing them in a new way. This aspect is part of the very nature of those movements who declare to be founded on people and who value subjectivities. For these movements, the concept of "territory" goes beyond the impersonal and a-historical nature that capitalism gives to it: they see territories as networks of relationships and affections, in which it is possible to imagine new wor(l)ds and ways, because they are made of stories, memories, strengths, conflicts, daily life frustrations, mutuality, confidence, and creativity.

Some movements, especially those against imposed mega-projects, see themselves as part of the territory, considered as a commons, hence the need to resist and to fight for its defense. Particularly for movements dealing with food sovereignty and the reappropriation of land for agricultural purpose, social housing as well as broader social aims, to rebuild the social fabric in local communities is the horizon of meaning of the whole project. This is because food sovereignty and, in a broader sense, territorial sovereignty can be only (re)constructed through building (new) networks of relationships in the local community. These experiences are far from the institutions, and often define themselves "clandestine"; they narrate and create every day an alternative to the capitalist system, based on new forms of social organisation that put into practice values such as cooperation, mutuality and openness.

Being open to the community and caring for the local territory is a crucial aspect also for movements that do not have land sovereignty as their major claim. Breaking with a merely geographical vision of territories, some movements speak about the existence of an "emotional geography" that links them with other movements further away.

Finally, some experiences speak of "social safeguard" when they talk about the practice of occupying a place not as a private space, but one that is open to participation, that is public but not controlled by the state, and that is considered as a commons. A place for (re)structuring a sense of community, starting from the people who come to be part of it.

## Chapter 6: Campaigns

### 6.1 Introduction

Campaigns and advocacy were covered, in the original project guidelines, under Theme I. Following this, a specific question on campaigns was introduced in the interview prompt (see attachment n.3). However, since very few of the interviewed groups and movements had relevant experience on campaigning, the action-research group decided to use a different strategy. A campaign mapping questionnaire was developed, and submitted to all the group's participants. Everyone contributed describing the campaigns he/she had come to know from his/her experience or from the interviews made, integrating the information with data available online. Among the described campaigns, two were selected for a more in-depth analysis and are reported as case studies at the end of this chapter.

### 6.2 Campaigns mapped

1. Due Sì per	1. Due Sì per l'Acqua Bene Comune ("Two 'yes' for water as a commons")	
Scale	National	
Timeline	April-July 2010 – collecting signatures to call for a referendum  End 2010 – the Court of Cassation approves two out of the three referendum proposed 12-13 June 2011 – vote	
Background	The idea of a referendum came after the approval of a law by the Berlusconi government in 2009, that imposed the privatisation of all public services including water provision. The referendum proposed to cancel this law, together with another one which guaranteed the remuneration of capital (i.e. a guaranteed profit through the water bill) for the service provider.	
Promoters	Italian Forum of Water Movements (network of groups, movements and associations from all over the country, active since the mid 2000 to promote and protect public water provision).	
Goals	The campaign met the goal of collecting at least 500.000 signatures, required for the referendum, and subsequently of winning the referendum.	
Comments	The campaign managed to collect almost 1,5 million signatures. 27 million citizens (over 50% of those who could vote, and more than 90% of the voters) voted yes, thus cancelling the two laws that would privatise the water provision service.	
More info	http://www.acquabenecomune.org/	

2. Citizens' initiative for a law on water as a commons	
Scale	National
Timeline	March 2006 – the proposal of a citizens' initiative is formulated during the first national meeting of the Italian Forum of Water Movements  January-July 2007 – signatures are collected and the law proposal is submitted to the Senate  December 2007 – large national demonstration to support the proposal; however, during two government terms the proposal was not discussed and thus expired  March 2014 – the Parliament's intergroup "Water as commons" presented an updated text of the law proposal to the Chamber of Deputies

Background	In the 2006 meeting of the Italian Forum of Water Movements, participants shared the idea that the legal framework that regulates the government of water resources had to be radically changed through a citizens' initiative. The objectives of the law proposal were: to protect water as a resource and its quality; to return to public ownership the integrated water service and manage it through processes of participatory democracy.
Promoters	Italian Forum of Water Movements
Goals	In order to submit the law proposal, the campaign had to collect at least 50.000 signatures.
Comments	In the six-month campaign, a total of 406.626 signature were collected.
More info	http://www.acquabenecomune.org/

3. deLIBERIA	3. deLIBERIAMO Roma	
Scale	City of Rome	
Timeline	April-July 2014 – signatures are collected 2015 – action to promote discussions in the municipal council	
Background	The campaign aims at promoting 4 citizens' initiatives for the city of Rome, in order to shape a different kind of city. The resolution proposals address the following issues: 1) water: reverse the privatisation process and return to public management; 2) finance: make a formal request to convert the legal status and the social function of the Cassa Depositi e Prestiti, that collects the postal savings of citizens, so that it may support investments in local institutions at subsidised rates; 3) school: stop funding private schools and allocate all resources to public schools; 4) property assets: reuse the abandoned property assets to create services, houses, culture, working spaces and green spaces in the neighbourhoods, while saving on the rents for public administration offices.	
Promoters	Broad coalition including the Roman Coordination for Public Water, the network Patrimonio Comune, the Committee Article 33 Rome and the Forum for a new public and social finance, Rome.	
Goals	Collect at least 5.000 signatures	
Comments	Around 37.000 signatures were collected in three months and the resolutions were submitted to the municipal council (waiting to be discussed).	
More info	www.deliberiamoroma.org	

4. Access to land	
Scale	Province of Bologna
Timeline	June 2011 – a dedicated working group is created within the association CampiAperti ("open fields")  End of 2011 – the group wins a call by the French association Terre de liens, that links it with other European groups; in the meantime, a pilot project is initiated (purchase of a first collectively owned country estate, Alpe di Succiso)  March 2014 – the association is created

Background	The campaign has been promoted by a group within CampiAperti, an association that organises organic and social markets and struggles for food sovereignty in the province and city of Bologna, in order to promote, support and facilitate the settlement of organic and biodynamic farmers while challenging private property (that excludes most people from agriculture) and the exploitation of agricultural land (that damages the environment, creates pollution and ultimately makes our food less healthy and safe).
Promoters	CampiAperti, Mag6, Terra Bene Comune, Terre de liens, Occupatene
Goals	To collectively purchase agricultural land in order to grant a broader access to peasants and a greater diffusion of traditional agricultural knowledge.
Comments	From the campaign, an association was created (2 March 2014) and a pilot project started. The project aims at purchasing the first collectively owned country estate for a shepherdess with 200 sheeps, and support her idea to practice transhumance recovering and restoring abandoned paths.
More info	http://www.accessoallaterra.org http://accessoallaterra.blogspot.it

Scale	National
Timeline	2012 - start April 2013 - national meeting in Susa Valley, where Genuino Clandestino moves from being a campaign supporting non-certified farmers' products to being a "movement of communities struggling for the self-determination of food" September 2013 - the experience "Caicocci Terra Sociale" ("Caicocci social land") was born November 2013 - the committee "Mondeggi Bene Comune" ("Mondeggi as a commons") was born June 2014 - the reappropriation of the estate of Mondeggi starts and gives birth to "Mondeggi Fattoria Senza Padroni" ("Mondeggi farm without masters") October 2015 - the experience "Caicocci Terra Sociale" ends
Background	Since 2008, the land grabbing process by multinational companies, foreign governments, new public and private financial actors has greatly accelerated due to the concurrent financial, food, energy and climate crisis. This process has transformed land, not a traditional investment good, into a contended resource that many want to control.
Promoters	Genuino Clandestino, Re:common
Goals	To promote: the local self-determination of agricultural production, in order to strengthen local economies and protect the environment and social equity; the management of public land by local communities; the protection of agri-food heritage and biodiversity; and the creation of new rurality projects.  To challenge: the selling of public land to private owners and to multinational companies: the agroindustrial production model and the use of genetically modified seeds; the use of land for overbuilding, infrastructures, mega-projects and land speculation.
Comments	When the experience "Caicocci Terra Sociale" came to an end, the activists wrote a letter to all the networks that supported it in order to share the decision of closing the project. They also explained the reasons behind it, that included difficulties within the group and lack of local participation, as well as the feeling of failure they lived. Their wish was that the letter could help

	to raise questions and reflections on the collective project of (re)building communities, thus contributing to other experiences that struggle for the reappropriation of land and sovereignty.
More info	http://genuinoclandestino.noblogs.org/terra-bene-comune/
	http://www.recommon.org/campagna-terra-bene-comune/
	http://terrabenecomune.noblogs.org/

6. Citizens' in	6. Citizens' initiative for a law on a guaranteed minimum income	
Scale	National	
Timeline	June 2012 – start  June-December 2012 – signatures collected  October 2012 – a week of events in many Italian cities is organised to support the campaign, including debates, book presentations, flash mobs, social dinners, etc.  December 2012 – in the absence of a government that could receive them, the over 50.000 signatures collected and the law proposal are submitted to the Parliament's presidential offices in the days immediately after the installation of the Presidents of the Chambers, in April 2013 May 2015 – the hearings before the Senate for the law proposal begin	
Background	The guaranteed minimum income exists in all European countries, except for Italy and Bulgaria. The European Parliament asked Italy to approve a law since October 2010. With the deepening of the economic crisis and related social inequalities, and the increasing number of citizens below the relative and absolute poverty line, a basic income policy is perceived as a very urgent need.	
Promoters	Committee for a guaranteed minimum income 170 associations have joined the campaign	
Goals	To collect at least 50.000 signatures; to submit a law proposal for a guaranteed minimum income	
Comments	The campaign collected over 50.000 signatures in six months. In March 2015 Libera, an antimafia organisation that wanted to press the institutions to discuss the law proposal within 100 days, collected 69.607 signatures in less than two months.	
More info	http://www.redditogarantito.it/#!/home https://www.change.org/p/reddito-di-dignit%C3%A0-per-ridurre-povert%C3%A0-ediseguaglianze-e-contrastare-le-mafie	

7. Stop TTIP	
Scale	National
Timeline	February 2014 – start
Background	The campaign was created in order to coordinate all the organisations, networks, groups and movements that oppose the signature of the Transatlantic Trade and Investment Partnership (TTIP), a free trade agreement between the US and the EU.
Promoters	The campaign is promoted by a broad coalition including organisations and individuals. The full list of promoters and supporters can be seen at the link provided below.
Goals	The campaign aims at making the TTIP known and exposed to public debate and scrutiny.

	Starting with the EU parliament, that does not seem to have access to all the information concerning the state and content of the negotiations, and then addressing the broader public. Moreover, the campaign researches on the interests that drive the TTIP negotiations, and who the treaty would ultimately benefit.  The campaign aims at collecting 54.000 signatures by June 4th, 2014.
Comments	The TTIP is being discussed in secret negotiations between the US government and the EU Commission. The campaign uses a web site and facebook groups (national and local) in order to disseminate information on the TTIP negotiations and on campaigning events and tools. It promotes the organisation of local meetings, events and seminars in order to explain what is the TTIP and what can be done to demand transparency and stop the negotiations. Twitter is mostly used to put pressure on members of the EU Parliament.
More info	http://stop-ttip-italia.net/

8. Sbilancian	B. Sbilanciamoci!	
Scale	National	
Timeline	1999 – start	
Background	The campaign proposes alternatives and amendments to the national financial law, publishes reports on the quality of development, international cooperation, military economy and participates in international networks such as Social Watch and Tax Justice Network.  The activities include: 1) Sbilanciamoci!: annual report, available for free on the campaign website, that analyses the national policies and proposes alternative economic policies and development models; 2) Controcernobbio: yearly event and a key feature of the campaign, where civil society and experts meet to exchange and debate (symbolically organised during the industrial workshop held in Cernobbio); 3) Changing direction to exit the crisis: yearly three-day forum, now in its 10th year edition; 4) Sbilanciamoci.info: web information tools, including e-books, coordinated by Lunaria and in collaboration with 45 civil society organisations. In 2008, the first report on the EU budget was published.	
Promoters		
Goals	The campaign starts from the idea that public policies should be radically changed, to put at the center people's rights instead of the needs of market economy.	
Comments	Many people contribute to the campaign and to the reports, including economists, experts, university professors, representatives of social organisations, trade union members, other campaigns and movements. This results in a rich exchange of knowledge and experiences, the organisation of public events and actions, and the dissemination of knowledge and information.	
More info	http://www.sbilanciamoci.org/	

9. Noi non segnaliamo! ("we will not report")	
Scale	National
Timeline	End of 2008 – first half of 2009
Background	At the end of 2008, two amendments presented to the Senate proposed to change Article 35 of

	the law on immigration, that says that access to healthcare facilities by foreigners non-complied with the residence rules does not lead to any kind of alert or registration (except in those cases where a report is mandatory by law, on an equal footing with Italian citizens). This regulation existed since 1995, with the main goal to "help or treat illegal immigrants" and to protect the community. Despite a fierce opposition led by the Italian Society of Migration Medicine (SIMM), one of the amendments was approved by the Senate in February 2009.
Promoters	Italian Society of Migration Medicine (SIMM), in collaboration with Doctors Without Borders, Association of Juridical Studies on Immigration, Italian Global Health Watch
Goals	To reverse the approval of the amendment, and to maintain the ban on reporting in healthcare facilities.
Comments	The opposition movement led by SIMM was soon backed by the position of the National Federation of Medical Boards, by several statements from scientific societies and by the legal support of prominent jurists. A national day of protest was organised to demand that the amendments be withdrawn. Civil society associations, non-governmental organisations, university scholars, migrant's groups, church groups, activists and citizens joined the actions, often led by young doctors and medical students and with the support of local Medical Boards. Building on the argument that health is a right for all, a common good as well as a basic human right, and that denying a basic right to a group of people threatens the rights of the whole community, the movement against the amendment won the support of the majority of the public. Soon after, several Local Health Authorities and Regional Health Departments issued formal acts against the amendment. As the protest grew, a key document was published: a letter by 101 Members of Parliament, belonging to the ruling coalition that had voted the act, in support of its withdrawal. On April 27, 2009, the amendment was removed from the law.
More info	http://www.simmweb.it/index.php?id=358

10. No Alaco	
Scale	Local: Serra di San Bruno (province of Vibo Valentia, Calabria region)
Timeline	
Background	The campaign opposes the Alaco dam, build for water supply in a place that was known before to be an "invisible" (unauthorised) landfill site hosting also dangerous waste. Behind the dam building there is also the water multinational Veolia. In 2010, a statement by the regional environmental protection agency (ARPA) declared that tap water in the area had a Benzene concentration 800 times over the average, and a Chloroform concentration 20 times above the average.
Promoters	Association "Il Brigante"
Goals	To raise awareness on the dam and on the quality of water in the public opinion, and to pressure the institutions to act in defense of people's health.
Comments	As a consequence of the campaign, an investigation procedure has started towards 26 managers of Alaco, for negligent poisoning. The campaign now continues with a project that promotes a solidarity micro-economy based on the cultivation of beans, a traditional culture in the area, while boycotting the use of water coming from the Alaco dam for irrigation.
More info	http://www.associazionebrigante.it/sito/

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4_bvdsaHqI8
http://www.associazionebrigante.it/sito/
http://www.associazionebrigante.it/sito/?page_id=1151

11. Yo decido	11. Yo decido - El tren de la libertad (I decide - The train of freedom)	
Scale	Europe (started in Spain)	
Timeline	End of 2013 - start	
Background	The Rajoy government in Spain issued a law that, if approved, would have limited the possibility of legal abortion in the case of sexual violence or of threat to the mother's health.	
Promoters		
Goals	The objective was the withdrawal of the law proposal, which was obtained in September 2014. In addition, the minister who had proposed it resigned.	
Comments	Despite achieving its goal, the campaign continued and was brought to the European Parliament. In several European and non-European countries, actions in support of Spanish women were organised. As a consequence of this, a European network called "Womenareurope" was created in order to exchange experiences and organise common struggles.	
More info	https://www.facebook.com/yodecidoaborto https://womenareurope.wordpress.com http://www.communianet.org/tags/yo-decido	

12. Gender s	trike
Scale	National
Timeline	14 November 2014 – social strike and start of the gender strike campaign
Background	During the preparation of the campaign, public assemblies have been held in many Italian cities. On November 14th 2014, during the Social Strike, activists, citizens, precarious workers, students mobilised and demonstrated. The "tariff system for unpaid work" was released, together with information material. After the mobilisation, assemblies to discuss a gender strike have continued. The current economic system exploits all relational and social aspects of our lives, including gender.
Promoters	
Goals	To join the struggle of queer movements and of precarious workers, students, unemployed, migrants, etc.
Comments	
More info	http://sommovimentonazioanale.noblogs.org/post/2014/11/11/tariffario-del-lavoro-non-pagato/ http://blog.scioperosociale.it/gender-strike-sciopero-deidai-generi/ http://sommovimentonazioanale.noblogs.org/post/2014/11/13/sciopero-sociale-sciopero-dai-generi-dei-generi/"

### 6.3 Campaign case studies

#### NOI NON SEGNALIAMO (WE WILL NOT REPORT)



#### Campaign background

At the end of 2008, during the discussion of a bill on "security" among a group of bills called "Security Package" (Act 733) in the Italian Senate, six senators of the Lega Nord party (member of the ruling right-wing coalition) presented two amendments that severely threatened the guarantee of access to health services for undocumented migrants. The two amendments proposed to change Article 35 of the law on immigration (n.

286 of 1998). The article established that access to health facilities (both hospital- and territory-based) by foreigners in non-compliance with the residence rules does not lead to any kind of alert or registration except in those cases where a report is mandatory by law, putting foreigners on an equal footing with Italian citizens. This regulation had existed since 1995.

Being reported to the police while seeking treatment can create an insurmountable barrier to access, encouraging "clandestine health behaviour", which may be extremely dangerous for the individual as well as for the community (disease does not make any ethnic, legal or skin colour distinctions). The denial of the right to health and health care to a part of the population opens the doors to further discriminations for other groups. Moreover, it results in the establishment of a parallel, "illegal" health care system, and deeply undermines the state's capacity to promote individual and community health and security.

#### Organising the struggle

Despite a fierce opposition led by the Italian Society of Migration Medicine (SIMM), one of the amendments was approved by the Senate in February 2009.

However, the opposition movement had by that time reached a critical size. Backed by the position of the National Federation of Medical Boards, by several statements from scientific societies and by the legal support of prominent jurists, SIMM mounted a struggle to influence the Italian Parliament's decision. In many Italian regions a day of protest was organised, asking for the amendment to be withdrawn. Civil society associations, non-governmental organisations, university scholars, migrant's groups, church groups, activists and citizens joined the actions, often led by young doctors and medical students and with the support of local medical boards. Information material was produced, together with buttons, cards and signs with the slogan "Noi non segnaliamo" (in Italian, "We will not report").

Soon after, several Local Health Authorities and Regional Health Departments issued formal moves against the amendment. As the protest grew, 101 Members of Parliament, belonging to the ruling coalition that had voted for the Act, issued a letter in support of its withdrawal. On April 27, 2009, the amendment was removed from the law.

#### Ingredients of a success story

The struggle has been one of the most successful and effective campaigns on health-related issues in Italy in the past several years. It was poorly funded, organised by non-professionals, yet extremely timely and focused and had a major impact. The key reasons for success included:

• The "untouchable" right to health: In Italy, having a universal health system that guarantees health care and prevention for the whole population is a reality that the majority of people value. It is probably one of the few rights that people still perceive as "untouchable".

- Doctors in the front line: In Italy, as in many countries in the world, doctors are a highly powerful and influential group. Their position on the issue, backed by a formal statement by the National Federation of Medical Boards, was crucial in its impact.
- Cooperation and networking: Unlike a majority of scientific societies, SIMM is not funded by pharmaceutical companies. Two distinctive features make SIMM different from other scientific societies: willingness to share and cooperate, and proactive networking. Both of these proved to be extremely effective during the campaign against the amendment. They made the national spread of the movement possible, without the need of a top-down (and costly) central control. Moreover, the network weaving patiently made in its early years in several Italian regions allowed SIMM to be ready to face and win one of its hardest struggles.

#### ACQUA BENE COMUNE (WATER AS A COMMONS)

This campaign, in favour of a public and participatory management of water services, has been one of the most important political campaigns that took place in Italy in the past 10 years, in terms of popular participation, impact and results.



#### Phase 1: citizens' initiative

The national campaign "Water as a commons" was conceived during the meeting of the Italian Forum of Water Movements, in March 2006, that for the first time brought together many local water committees, trade union representatives, political parties and associations. The Forum participants shared the vision that the legal framework on water resources management had to be radically changed through a citizen's initiative. The law proposal had to protect water and its quality, and republicise the integrated water service and its management by promoting instruments of participatory democracy.

Starting from January 2007, and until July of the same year, signatures were collected in order to support the citizens' initiative, with the goal of reaching at least 50.000 signatures required to present the law proposal before the Parliament. In the six-month campaign, 406.626 signatures were collected (8 times more than required) and the law proposal was then submitted. Despite this success, in the following two government terms the proposal was not discussed, and finally expired.

#### Phase 2: referendum

After the law proposal was presented, several initiatives were organised to push the Parliament to discuss it, including a large demonstration in December 2007. However, going in the opposite direction, the Berlusconi government, in 2009, approved a decree-law that imposed the privatisation of all local public services, including water, and another one that guaranteed the remuneration of capital (i.e. a guaranteed profit through the water bill) for the service provider.

As a reaction, the water movements decided to propose a referendum in order to cancel these decrees and a second phase of the campaign began. The first goal was to collect at least 500.000 signatures, that are required to call a referendum. In a three-month period (April-June 2010), the local committees collected almost 1,5 million signatures. The referendum took place on June 12-13<sup>th</sup> 2011. Over 27 million Italians (more than 50% of those who could vote, and over 90% of voters) agreed to cancel the two decrees. This was a clear stop to the water privatisation process, and a potential start for its republicising.

It is interesting to highlight the high participation of the general population (not only militants) in the referendum. A survey showed that, in the months immediately before the referendum (that included,

besides the water issue, a question on nuclear energy and one on immunity for the highest state offices), 16% of voters had been – in some way – active in the electoral campaign.

#### Follow up

Soon after the vote, the main political parties (both right and left wing) made several proposals that, in different ways, aimed at promoting private investments in the water service management, and more generally in local public services. This push for legislation contrary to the referendum was strong both at the national and at the local level. Five years after the vote, the pre-referendum pro-private situation has been almost totally restored, with the exception of few areas were left wing local governments have resisted, in coherence with the popular vote. The fact that such a strong popular mobilisation, resulting in a clear positioning expressed through the referendum, had barely an impact on the situation has discouraged many activists to pursue strategies of institutional change, and reinforced the anti-institutional feelings already widespread in many social movements.

Concerning the law proposal submitted through a citizens' initiative, ignored during two government terms and then expired, it has been proposed again – though slightly changed – by a parliamentary intergroup in May 2014. To date, it has not yet been discussed in the Parliament.

Concerning the impact of the campaign on the water movement, in the post-referendum phase several conflicts arose concerning internal democracy and resource management. The biggest conflict, that continues today, is between the national secretariat and some local committees, that demanded a greater deal of autonomy from the central organisation, and that the leadership positions be periodically rotated.

#### **Innovative funding**

Among the tools that were used to sustain and promote the campaign, one is particularly relevant and showed some impact. The Forum did not received any money from parties or trade unions, but was entirely self-funded through individual donations. For the referendum, when more funds were required, the campaign asked citizens to "bet on the yes" by giving money to the organising committee. In fact, if a referendum succeeds, the state refunds the expenses and this later allowed the committee to pay back those who had donated money. Since some people did not want to be refunded, the remaining funds were used to support the following phases of the campaign.

### Conclusion

If this was really to be a conclusion, the action-research would probably have failed its goals. Luckily enough, the project is only halfway through and the process... who knows?

The action-research group is well and alive, and there are many plans for phase two of the project. These include three public workshops to discuss the practices of movement building focusing on three interrelated action areas:

- welfare and institutions (defending, transforming, innovating);
- healthy spaces and communities (promoting health);
- the personal and the collective (towards new communities).

The aim of these workshops is to promote a public debate on the practices of civil society groups and movements, but doing so through a practice that is already different (participatory, action- and community-oriented). All the experiences reached through the action-research so far will be invited, as well as others that may be interested to join.

Through this process, we aim to:

- repoliticise the discourse on health, challenging the hegemonic biomedical perspective while proposing different approaches ("what is health?");
- share, experiment and put into practice different ways to "make health", taking into account also the aspects of decision-making, organisation, sustainability ("what makes health, and how?");
- promote and sustain the process of building a movement for health in Italy.

### Attachment n. 1 – Interview Prompt

#### PREMESSA E CONSENSO

# 1. Presentazione della persona che intervista e del progetto, sulla scorta di queste brevi righe:

Ti/la ringrazio per aver acconsentito a incontrarmi per questa intervista. Come accennato, sono parte di una rete di persone che sta portando avanti un progetto internazionale di ricerca-azione partecipata sul ruolo e sulle pratiche della società civile per la promozione del diritto alla salute.

Il progetto è portato avanti nell'ambito del People's Heatlh Movement (Movimento dei Popoli per la Salute), una rete globale che opera per il diritto alla salute, inteso sia come accesso ai servizi sanitari sia in relazione ai principali determinanti di salute (lavoro, reddito, educazione, casa, ecc.). Oltre che in Italia, la ricerca-azione si sta realizzando in Repubblica Democratica del Congo, Sudafrica, Colombia, India e Brasile.

In Italia, la rete che sta portando avanti il progetto si è denominata "Grup-pa" (Gruppo Permanentemente Aperto), e coinvolge persone di area medica e socio-umanistica che da tempo sono impegnate in riflessioni e pratiche per una salute radicata nella giustizia sociale. Il progetto, inteso come ricerca-azione partecipata, non si fonda sulla raccolta di dati da parte di ricercatori 'esperti', ma sul coinvolgimento di persone che hanno voglia di condividere esperienze significative e, insieme, di analizzarle. Alla base vi è infatti l'idea che la conoscenza origina dalle pratiche ed è co-costruita dalle persone che a esse prendono parte.

In questo senso, abbiamo pensato a un tuo contributo perché... [da continuare secondo i casi, o le case...].

# 2. Richiesta del consenso all'intervista (modulo in 2 copie) e alla registrazione (da ripetere a registrazione iniziata)

Prima di iniziare, avrei bisogno del tuo/suo consenso scritto all'intervista e, se possibile, a utilizzare un registratore vocale. Tratteremo quanto emergerà in maniera confidenziale garantendo l'anonimato. Puoi/può interrompere l'intervista in qualsiasi momento, se non desideri/a continuare.

#### **NOTA**

I blocchi tematici che seguono non devono necessariamente essere affrontati tutti, né per forza nell'ordine in cui sono esposti. Il consiglio è quello di valutare, in base alle prime risposte narrative, quali temi discutere prima/dopo e se alcuni non risultano appropriati o pertinenti.

#### B) ASSE II - COSTRUZIONE DI MOVIMENTO

- 1. Se e come il movimento/associazione/gruppo affronta il tema della sua autogestione e sopravvivenza? Se e come affronta il tema della sua sostenibilità (risorse economiche, umane, etc.)? Quali le principali criticità?
- 2. Quali sono le strategie principali di 'consolidamento' (strategie volte a mantenere la propria esistenza, stabilità, resistenza, sostenibilità... sia economica che di altra natura)?
- 3. Quali sono le principali realtà/soggetti con cui dialoga? Con cui è in rete? (locali, nazionali,

internazionali)

- 4. Tra i soggetti con cui dialoga, ci sono istituzioni? Quali?
- 5. Il movimento/associazione/gruppo ha mai pensato di darsi un riconoscimento formale? Se sì, come porta avanti questa riflessione/cosa è cambiato?

#### **APPROFONDIMENTO:**

I temi seguenti sono quelli su cui il team internazionale di progetto suggerisce un approfondimento specifico, da valutare caso per caso secondo l'opportunità e la rilevanza relativa dell'esperienza incontrata, o semplicemente da tenere presenti come 'sfondo' dell'intervista. In ogni caso, a questi punti dovremo in qualche modo 'rispondere' nel report finale, ma potremo farlo attraverso vari strumenti (oltre alle interviste, per es. focus group tra di noi o ricostruzione - dal diario collettivo e dai verbali - di alcuni punti discussi sulla relazione Magma/Grup-pa/PHM, ecc.).

- I. Storia del movimento 'di lotta per la salute' (in inglese 'health for all movement') e del contesto in cui si è sviluppato e ha agito (che comprende: cultura politica, istituzioni esistenti, culture e pratiche dei professionisti e del mondo della produzione, valori e alfabetizzazione politica delle varie realtà coinvolte nel movimento, ecc.):
  - a. Quale è stata la storia delle mobilitazioni e delle campagne relative alla lotta per il diritto alla salute in Italia?
  - b. Quali questioni specifiche sono state affrontate da queste mobilitazioni?
  - c. Qual era il contesto delle opportunità politiche e programmatiche (di policy)?
  - d. Le iniziative locali/nazionali erano legate a sforzi regionali o globali, e come? Qual è stato l'impatto di queste relazioni sull'andamento nel tempo degli sforzi locali/nazionali?

#### II. Storia del PHM nel paese:

- a. Quando è 'comparso' il PHM in Italia e chi erano i primi attivisti?
- b. Ci sono stati tentativi di organizzare un 'circolo paese' e con che esito? Quali le difficoltà e/o le opportunità in tal senso?
- c. Ci sono individui o gruppi specifici di riferimento, o si preferisce un approccio ampio (chiunque è d'accordo con la Carta dei Popoli per la Salute ne fa parte)?
- d. Come le persone vengono a conoscenza del PHM e perché ne sono attratte? Perché altre se ne vanno?
- e. Come vengono prese le decisioni? Ci sono strutture di 'governo'?
- f. C'è una chiara ideologia politica (es. anti-neoliberismo) che può essere definita?
- g. Come vengono mobilizzate le risorse necessarie a svolgere le attività?
- h. Quali sono i fattori facilitanti, le barriere, le attività messe in atto per sfruttare i primi e ridurre le seconde? Vi sono strategie che funzionano per mantenere il livello di coinvolgimento delle persone/degli attivisti?
- i. Quali sono le strategie utilizzate (es. manifestazioni, petizioni, azioni di lobby con decisori o politici, utilizzo di media e social network, formazione e sensibilizzazione, ecc.)?

#### III. PHM in Italia e PHM globale:

- a. Se e come le attività globali del PHM contribuiscono alla crescita del PHM in Italia? Il fatto che il PHM sia una rete globale ha un significato attrattivo e perché?
- b. Qual è il ruolo delle strutture regionali (Europa) nel collegare il locale (livello paese) con il globale (PHM globale ma anche organizzazioni alleate, attività e campagne internazionali)?
- c. Quali sono le strutture di governance del PHM regionale/globale e come favoriscono o non favoriscono il lavoro a livello paese?
- d. Se il PHM prevedesse una forma di membership (pagamento di quota di iscrizione, come forma di sostegno, e 'tesseramento' dei membri), vi sarebbero vantaggi? Svantaggi?

#### IV. PHM e altre organizzazioni della società civile:

a. Quali sono i criteri e le modalità con cui il PHM avvicina altre organizzazioni/gruppi/associazioni della società civile per delle collaborazioni?

- b. Vi sono altre organizzazioni/gruppi/associazioni della società civile che si avvicinano al PHM e come, quando, perché?
- c. Nel caso di collaborazioni, come si affrontano i processi decisionali ma anche il confronto su analisi politica e strategica? Ci sono esperienze di successo o fallimento?
- d. Come è visto il PHM da altre organizzazioni/gruppi/associazioni della società civile?

#### C) ASSE III - GENERAZIONE E CONDIVISIONE DI CONOSCENZE E SAPERI

- 1. Tra le attività, c'è anche la raccolta (o produzione) di conoscenze? Come condividete i dati e le informazioni? [ci si riferisce all'attività di ricerca in senso lato così come all'utilizzo e alla disseminazione di materiali prodotti da altri] Se sì, quali? Con che scopo? Chi/come partecipa? Hai voglia di raccontare? Puoi farmi un esempio/breve descrizione?
- 2. Quali strumenti di informazione e disseminazione vengono utilizzati e come/per cosa? (strumenti informatici, assemblee, manifestazioni, momenti di aggregazione, sito, social network, volantini, etc.) Puoi farmi qualche esempio? Puoi descrivere qualche limite/criticità? Cosa, a tuo parere, può essere migliorato?

#### **APPROFONDIMENTO:**

I temi seguenti sono quelli su cui il team internazionale di progetto suggerisce un approfondimento specifico, da valutare caso per caso secondo l'opportunità e la rilevanza relativa dell'esperienza incontrata, o semplicemente da tenere presenti come 'sfondo' dell'intervista. In ogni caso, a questi punti dovremo in qualche modo 'rispondere' nel report finale, ma potremo farlo attraverso vari strumenti (oltre alle interviste, per es. focus group tra di noi ecc.).

- I. Quali strumenti di informazione e disseminazione, prodotti dalla società civile, sono stati più utili nella costruzione della rete PHM a livello paese? Come e perché?
- II. Quali strumenti di informazione e disseminazione, prodotti dal PHM, sono stati più utili nella costruzione della rete PHM a livello paese? Come e perché?
- III. Relativamente al Global Health Watch GHW (nelle sue varie edizioni):
  - a. Ci sono stati eventi di pubblicizzazione, come lanci o presentazioni pubbliche?
  - b. Se e come il GHW è utile nelle azioni di mobilitazione e costruzione di campagne a livello locale/nazionale? Perché o perché no?
- IV. Relativamente a tutti gli strumenti di informazione e disseminazione prodotti dalla società civile:
  - a. Quali sono i punti di forza e le debolezze delle risorse esistenti, in termini di strumenti di informazione e disseminazione, per il movimento di lotta per il diritto alla salute ('health for all movement')?
  - b. Se e come queste risorse hanno contribuito al movimento? Come potrebbero essere rese più efficaci, in termini sia di impatto che di diffusione?
  - c. Quali sono i legami esistenti tra bisogni informativi a livello paese e le attività di produzione e disseminazione del PHM globale? Come potrebbero essere rinforzati o resi più sinergici?

#### D) ASSE IV - FORMAZIONE

- 1. Il movimento/associazione/gruppo organizza attività di formazione? Se sì, quali? Per rispondere a quali bisogni? Puoi farmi un esempio/breve descrizione?
- 2. Chi/come partecipa (processi di coinvolgimento e selezione)?

- 3. Come vengono identificati i bisogni formativi? Come vengono costruiti il curriculum e la strategia pedagogica?
- 4. Se e come queste attività influenzano le scelte di vita/professionali dei partecipanti, nel senso di un maggiore coinvolgimento con il movimento/i movimenti? Come rafforzarne l'impatto?
- 5. In che misura questi corsi/attività contribuiscono/hanno contribuito a rafforzare il movimento stesso e la rete degli interlocutori coinvolti a livello locale/nazionale?

#### E) ASSE V - ATTORI DELLA SALUTE GLOBALE

- 1. Il movimento/associazione/gruppo riesce ad avere un impatto a livello locale? Se sì, puoi descrivere come e che tipo ti impatto ha secondo te? Quali sono i principali ostacoli o debolezze?
- 2. La società civile (in particolare il movimento/associazione/gruppo in oggetto), dal tuo punto di vista, riesce a influenzare processi di scala più ampia rispetto a quelli locali? Riesci a farmi qualche esempio? Ci sono quindi anche ricadute su un livello più 'macro'?
- 3. Se e quanto è importante costruire conoscenza locale sulle questioni che vengono dibattute a livello globale? (Relativamente al progetto WHO Watch: è utile per portare conoscenze a livello locale e come?)
- 4. Se e quanto è importante coinvolgere i governi nazionali in merito alle posizioni che assumono nei contesti internazionali? (Relativamente al progetto WHO Watch: è utile a questo scopo?)
- 5. Se e quanto è importante l'advocacy della società civile nell'influenzare la governance globale della salute? (Relativamente al progetto WHO Watch: è utile a questo scopo?)

#### **APPROFONDIMENTO:**

I temi seguenti sono quelli su cui il team internazionale di progetto suggerisce un approfondimento specifico, da valutare caso per caso secondo l'opportunità e la rilevanza relativa dell'esperienza incontrata, o semplicemente da tenere presenti come 'sfondo' dell'intervista. In ogni caso, a questi punti dovremo in qualche modo 'rispondere' nel report finale, ma potremo farlo attraverso vari strumenti (oltre alle interviste, per es. focus group tra chi ha partecipato al WHO Watch ecc.).

- I. Qual è il ruolo del PHM globale e del PHM a livello paese nel seguire e contribuire alle attività di monitoraggio delle istiuzioni globali (es. WHO Watch), e nello sfruttarle ai fini di mobilitazione?
- II. Qual è il ruolo del PHM, come rete globale, nel supportare il processo del WHO Watch e come questo ruolo potrebbe essere rinforzato?
- III. Qual è l'uso potenziale delle informazioni generate dalle attività di monitoraggio globale per l'attivismo a livello locale e per le azioni di costruzione del movimento (compresa l'opportunità di costruire nuove alleanze tra diverse realtà e attività di monitoraggio della società civile)?
- IV. Quali sono gli ostacoli perché questo potenziale si realizzi, comprese difficoltà nelle azioni di monitoraggio, di documentazione e analisi, di disseminazione e di accessibilità anche linguistica delle informazioni, ecc.?

V. Come potrebbe essere migliorata la logistica del WHO Watch?

#### F) ASSE I - CAMPAGNE

- 1. Il movimento/gruppo/associazione ha mai organizzato/supportato campagne? Se sì, quali? Con che finalità?
- 2. Qual era il contesto storico politico in cui è stata organizzata? Quali risorse (umane e materiali) sono state mobilitate?
- 3. Quali strategie sono state adottate per: (a) mobilitare/sostenere la partecipazione, (b) costruire alleanze/coalizioni, (c) organizzare azioni strategiche, (d) migliorare le competenze degli attivisti coinvolti nella campagna, (e) valutare i risultati?
- 4. Se e quale è stato il ruolo dell'informazione nella campagna (sia produzione e disseminazione di informazioni sui contenuti, che strategie di comunicazione adottate dalla campagna stessa)?
- 5. Quali strategie sono state messe in atto, es. manifestazioni, petizioni, lobby con decisori o politici, utilizzo di media e social network, ecc.?
- 6. Quale la tua opinione? Quali sono stati, dal tuo punto di vista, i principali risultati? Ci sono state alcune criticità?
- 7. Gli eventuali cambiamenti prodotti hanno influenzato le strategie della campagna/nel condurre campagne e come?

# Attachment n.2 - Mapping questionnaire

MappAzione *Campo obbligatorio
1. Nome realtà
2. Tipologia (movimento sociale, associazione, gruppo informale, fondazione, rete, ecc
3. Sede Come si trova nel territorio: sede/i, se sì dove? Dentro un'istituzione, dentro un centro sociale, dentro un'occupazione, altro?
4. Regione
5. Città
6. Referente nel movimento/nell'esperienza (nome e cognome)
7. Contatti del/la referente mail, telefono, altro
8. Informatore/informatrice chiave (se identificato) nome e cognome e due righe che l* contestualizzino
9. Contatti informatore/informatrice chiave mail, telefono, altro
10. Questa esperienza/movimento ha un sito internet, blog, pagina fb, twitter o altro?? Se sì, inserire i link
11. Breve descrizione della realtà Storia, ambito in cui opera, principali caratteristiche ed attività

## MappAzione approfondita

Approfondimenti sui cinque assi di ricerca

12. Breve storia: quando/come/perché è nato/a?
13. Chi coinvolge? Chi ne fa parte? (sguardo verso l'"interno" al movimento/all'esperienza)
14. A chi si rivolge? (sguardo verso l'"esterno" del movimento/dell'esperienza)
15. Obiettivi
16. Principali attività
17. Periodo di attività (dal XXXX al)
18. Attualmente attivo Contrassegna solo un ovale.  • Sì
O No

19. Se NON è attualmente attivo, perché?
20. Dialoga con istituzioni? Se sì, quali? (riferimento: Asse 5 - Attori della salute globale)
21. Altre realtà con cui è in rete (locali, nazionali, internazionali) (riferimento: Asse 2 - Costruzione di movimenti)
22. Quali strumenti di informazione, coinvolgimento, disseminazione utilizza? (strumenti informatici, assemblee, manifestazioni, momenti di aggregazione, sito, social networks, volantini etc.) (riferimento: Asse 3 - Generazione e condivisione di saperi)
23. Ha mai organizzato/supportato campagne? Se sì, quali? Con che finalità? Con quali risultati?  (riferimento: Asse 1 - Campagne e advocacy) Compilare anche griglia di mappatura delle campagne
24. Prevede/realizza attività di formazione e ricerca? Se sì, quali e come sono organizzate? (riferimento: Asse 4 - Formazione nei movimenti e Asse 3 - Generazione e condivisione di saperi)

25. Come si sostiene (risorse economiche, umane, ecc.)? Come affronta il tema della sua
sostenibilità e consolidamento?
(riferimento: Asse 2: Costruzione di movimenti)
26. Chi ha compilato questa scheda? *
(nome, cognome, email)
27. Pensieri liberi, note, qualcosa che vorrei condividere

## Attachment n.3 – Campaign mapping questionnaire

### Scheda Mappatura Campagne

7. Risultati della campagna

Questo modulo serve per mappare le campagne di attivismo per la salute (azioni per l'accesso alle cure e sui determinanti di salute) svoltesi nel territorio italiano dal 2000 ad oggi. Solo alcune voci sono obbligatorie, per cui la scheda può essere inoltrata anche incompleta (può essere modificata successivamente utilizzando il link qua sotto). Alcune domande prevedono un limite di caratteri della risposta, perché lo scopo di questa mappatura è avere un quadro sintetico di quanto si è mosso in Italia negli ultimi anni. Prima di inserire i dati assicurarsi che la campagna non sia già stata mappata da qualcun'altr\*, sempre consultando il link qua sotto.

*Campo obbligatorio
1. Nome Campagna *
2. Luogo in cui si è svolta * Es. Su tutto il territorio nazionale, in una regione, una città, un quartiere, etc
3. Evoluzione temporale  Quando è iniziata, quando è terminata (se terminata), quando è previsto il termine (se previsto)
4. Realtà Promotrici
5. Breve descrizione della campagna * es. Obiettivi, contesto in cui è nata, motivazioni, etc (Max 1000 caratteri)
6. Quali strumenti sono stati utilizzati per favorire la partecipazione, fare rete tra movimenti influenzare le istituzioni, etc?
Max 1000 caratteri

Max 1000 caratteri
8. Link a siti e/o pagine web della campagna
9. Osservazioni libere
Se avete altre annotazioni da fare
10. Chi ha compilato? *

### Attachment n.4 – Informed consent form

#### Titolo del progetto:

Movimenti sociali per il diritto alla salute: saperi e pratiche per il cambiamento

(Titolo originale: Civil Society Engagement for Health for All - CSE4HFA)

#### Gentile Signore/a,

Desideriamo informarLa che il D.lgs. n. 196 del 30 giugno 2003 ("Codice in materia di protezione dei dati personali") prevede la tutela delle persone e di altri soggetti rispetto al trattamento dei dati personali. Secondo la normativa indicata, tale trattamento sarà improntato ai principi di correttezza, liceità e trasparenza e di tutela della Sua riservatezza e dei Suoi diritti.

Ai sensi dell'articolo 13 del D.lgs. n.196/2003, pertanto, Le forniamo le seguenti informazioni:

#### 1. Finalità del trattamento

I dati da Lei forniti verranno trattati per le seguenti finalità: comprendere e rafforzare le pratiche, le strategie e i principi con cui la società civile agisce, tramite processi di cambiamento sociale, per la promozione del diritto alla salute (intesa come accesso ai servizi sanitari e azione sui determinanti sociali di salute).

#### 2. Modalità del trattamento

Il trattamento sarà effettuato con le seguenti modalità: registrazione sotto forma audio, utilizzo di supporti cartacei o multimediali, conservazione dei dati sotto forma di audio, informatizzazione dei dati.

I dati sono trattati con strumenti cartacei e informatici secondo modalità e strumenti idonei a garantire la sicurezza e la riservatezza dei dati stessi in conformità a quanto previsto dagli articoli 31 e seguenti del D.lgs. n. 196 del 30 giugno 2003, relativi alle "misure minime di sicurezza per il trattamento dei dati personali" e nel rispetto dei principi e delle regole concernenti le misure minime di sicurezza per evitare rischi di perdita, distruzione o accesso non autorizzato. L'articolo 26 del D.lgs. n. 196 del 30 giugno 2003, prevede che essi possano essere oggetto di trattamento solo con il consenso scritto dell'interessato.

#### 3. Natura del conferimento

La informiamo che il conferimento di questi dati è facoltativo e l'eventuale rifiuto a fornirli non ha alcuna conseguenza. L'articolo 26 del D.lgs. n. 196 del 30 giugno 2003, prevede che essi possano essere oggetto di trattamento solo con il consenso scritto dell'interessato. Il mancato consenso preclude la possibilità di effettuare la ricerca, impedendo registrazione, trascrizione, conservazione e qualunque forma di trattamento dei dati.

#### 4. Ambito di comunicazione e diffusione

I dati saranno utilizzati per produrre e disseminare un corpo di conoscenze utile a promuovere un'efficace partecipazione della società civile per il diritto alla salute. Potranno a tal fine essere utilizzati per l'organizzazione di workshop, incontri, seminari, conferenze; per la stesura di rapporti e relazioni di ricerca; per pubblicazioni scientifiche e divulgative (cartacee o multimediali). Potranno essere usati nella forma originale, oppure sotto forma di trascrizioni. Nell'ambito di tali attività, i dati saranno presentati in forma anonima.

Il trattamento riguarderà anche dati personali rientranti nel novero dei dati "sensibili", vale a dire dati idonei a rivelare [l'origine razziale ed etnica, le convinzioni religiose, filosofiche o di altro genere, le opinioni politiche, l'adesione a partiti, sindacati, associazioni od organizzazioni a carattere religioso, filosofico, politico o sindacale, nonché i dati personali idonei a rivelare lo stato di salute e la vita sessuale].

#### 5. Titolare e responsabili

Il titolare del trattamento è: Angelo Stefanini. I responsabili del trattamento sono Chiara Bodini, Anna Ciannameo, Martina Riccio .

#### 6. Diritti dell'interessato

In ogni momento potrà esercitare i Suoi diritti nei confronti del titolare del trattamento, ai sensi dell'art.7 del D.lgs.196/2003, che per Sua comodità riproduciamo integralmente:

## Decreto Legislativo n.196/2003, Art. 7 - Diritto di accesso ai dati personali ed altri diritti

- 1. L'interessato ha diritto di ottenere la conferma dell'esistenza o meno di dati personali che lo riguardano, anche se non ancora registrati, e la loro comunicazione in forma intelligibile.
- 2. L'interessato ha diritto di ottenere l'indicazione:
- a) dell'origine dei dati personali;
- b) delle finalità e modalità del trattamento;
- c) della logica applicata in caso di trattamento effettuato con l'ausilio di strumenti elettronici;
- d) degli estremi identificativi del titolare, dei responsabili e del rappresentante designato ai sensi dell'articolo 5, comma 2;
- e) dei soggetti o delle categorie di soggetti ai quali i dati personali possono essere comunicati o che possono venirne a conoscenza in qualità di rappresentante designato nel territorio dello Stato, di responsabili o incaricati.
- 3. L'interessato ha diritto di ottenere:
- a) l'aggiornamento, la rettificazione ovvero, quando vi ha interesse, l'integrazione dei dati;
- b) la cancellazione, la trasformazione in forma anonima o il blocco dei dati trattati in violazione di legge, compresi quelli di cui non è necessaria la conservazione in relazione agli scopi per i quali i dati sono stati raccolti o successivamente trattati;
- c) l'attestazione che le operazioni di cui alle lettere a) e b) sono state portate a conoscenza, anche per quanto riguarda il loro contenuto, di coloro ai quali i dati sono stati comunicati o diffusi, eccettuato il caso in cui tale adempimento si rivela impossibile o comporta un impiego di mezzi manifestamente sproporzionato rispetto al diritto tutelato.
- 4. L'interessato ha diritto di opporsi, in tutto o in parte:
- a) per motivi legittimi al trattamento dei dati personali che lo riguardano, ancorché pertinenti allo scopo della raccolta;
- b) al trattamento di dati personali che lo riguardano a fini di invio di materiale pubblicitario o di vendita diretta o per il compimento di ricerche di mercato o di comunicazione commerciale.

\*\*\* \*\*\* \*\*\*

Se ha ancora domande sulla ricerca, o se desidera segnalare dei problemi che ha incontrato durante la sua partecipazione, la invitiamo a contattare la persona responsabile:

Nome: Chiara Bodini

Indirizzo: Via Remorsella 12, 40125 Bologna

Telefono: 3287554698

Email: chiarabodini@hotmail.com

#### Modulo Informativo per il trattamento dei dati

#### Titolo del progetto:

Movimenti sociali per il diritto alla salute: saperi e pratiche per il cambiamento (**Titolo originale:** Civil Society Engagement for Health for All - CSE4HFA)

Il/la sottoso	critte	o/a _								_, acquisite le	info	rmazi	ioni di cui
all'articolo	13	del	D.Lgs.	196/2003,	presta	il	suo	consenso	al	trattamento	dei	dati	personali

dichiarando di aver avuto, in particolare, conoscenza che alcuni dei dati medesimi rientrano nel novero dei "dati sensibili" di cui all'articolo 4, comma 1, lettera d, del decreto citato. Attesta il proprio libero consenso per i fini indicati nella suddetta informativa. Dichiara inoltre di aver preso visione e ricevuto copia dell'articolo 7 del D.Lgs. 196/2003 contenente i diritti dell'interessato.

Do il consenso $\square$	Nego il consenso □	
Luogo		
Data		
Nome	Cognome	
Firma leggibile		

#### Grup-pa is made by:

Alessandro Rinaldi

Angelo Lorusso

Anna Vigato

Anna Ciannameo

Annalisa Trombetta

Antonella Torchiaro

Antonio Donato

Antonio Saviano

Chiara Bodini

Claudio Di Giacomo

Daniel Russo

Elena Ferrillo

Elisa Cennamo

Federica Turatto

Francesca Zanni

Francesco Fasano

Giulia Bonanno

Giulia Maria Di Marzio

Giulia Nizzoli

Giulia Titoldini

Giuseppe Abbracciavento

Irene Pontalti

Lorenza Santoro

Maria Gobbato

Marianna Bettinzoli

Marianna Parisotto

Mario Staccioni

Martina Altamura

Martina Di Ciano

Martina Riccio

Milo Librio

Nadia Maranini

Pier Mario De Murtas

Riccardo Casadei

Rita Maffei

Sara Riezzo

Simone Cupellaro

Valeria Gentilini

Vera Todisco

Viviana Forte



"...O mileco, o mileco, acutumbele acutumbele belele belele,
belé zimì belé zimì zimimi zimimi
zimì saià zimì saià saiaia saiaia
saià butù saià butù bututu bututu
butù cundà butù cundà cundada cundada
cundà lelì cundà lelì lelila lelila
lelì mungà lelì mungà mungaga
um-ungaga gaga um-ungaga..."

(world traditional song)

