

Guide to Transnational Solidarity (WP7)

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TransSOL: European paths to transnational solidarity at times of crisis: Conditions, forms, role models and policy responses

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INTRODUCTION

Citizens organising politically across borders is nothing new. To speak just of recent history in Europe, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries we can think of workers' internationalism, feminism, the fight against fascism and totalitarianism, anti-colonialism and the struggle for racial equality amongst others. After the fall of the Berlin wall in 1989 and through the 1990s it seemed to many that global civil society was assuming an unprecedented degree of coordination and influence: the World Social Forum, the rising awareness and activism on environmental issues and global poverty, championing human rights worldwide amongst other struggles. The European Union is the most politically and economically integrated group of countries in the world. It is only natural that transnational activism, solidarity, and citizenship would play here an important role.

Whilst much remains of each of these earlier phases of cross-border activity, today the capacity of citizens to organise across borders and to influence the direction of global events seems to many highly limited, even utopian. The costs and challenges involved, the fracturing of the European and global political landscape, the difficulty in locating and holding accountable the real decision makers and the dominance of big businesses all contribute to making the task seem insurmountable.

Yet at the same time, we are ever more aware that the deep problems and challenges facing societies all cross borders, most obviously the financial crisis, what is called the 'migration crisis' and climate change, but also nuclear disarmament, income inequality, food security, the future of meaningful work in the context of technological revolution and many others. And that is even before we talk about solidarity with others in struggles that may be distant from our native lands: whether they be protestors for human rights and democracy or citizens engaged in civil wars. Increasingly aware of our global interconnectedness and common humanity, and yet faced with a disempowering political context, we are at risk of disengagement or even despair.

In this guide, we show that new practices of transnational activism have developed in recent years, which share much with previous forms of internationalism but which each confront a deeply changed political and social environment in innovative ways. We look at the experience of the Transnational Strike and, more generally, the attempt at transnational organization in the gig economy; we look at the initiatives run by several European municipalities to develop transnational networks to welcome migrants; and, finally, we look at the development of Krytyka Polityczna, a cultural and social NGO operating across Eastern Europe.

By identifying lessons from these examples, as well as some of the problems they face, this guide aims to do three things:

1. Give hope and inspiration that it is possible - indeed already happening - to build civic capacity equal to the political challenges we face;
2. Show that small-scale and local initiatives, when they are networked across borders, acquire a symbolic power and appeal which reaches many citizens;
3. Show how the complexity and uncertainty of the current political circumstances can be used to the advantage of civic activists.

We hope the experiences presented in this guide may provide a stimulus and a first inspiration for more and better transnational work, whether that is in the world of activism, of organized civil society, or through our daily practices as citizens of a world more inter-dependent than ever before.

LET'S STRIKE!

TOWARDS A TRANSNATIONAL SOCIAL STRIKE

TRANSNATIONAL MEETING IN POZNAN
2/3/4th OCTOBER 2015

WWW.TRANSNATIONAL-STRIKE.INFO



THE STORY: TRANSNATIONAL ACTION IN THE GIG ECONOMY

The transnational social strike was born in 2014 with the aim of linking diverse movements of precarious workers, migrants and the unemployed. It is an informal, pan-European activist network. Rather than an institution like a trade union, it is a space of communication for the exchange of knowledge and tactics across borders, in particular on the question of striking across borders. The Social Strike holds regular international meetings and publishes materials in several European languages.

Recently, the Transnational social strike has followed closely the increase in industrial action in the gig economy, and particularly in delivery platforms such as Deliveroo and Foodora. In this field, in fact, delivery workers began to enter into contact with one another and share information, best practices, and at times even organise transnationally.



Following 2016 industrial action in London against the Deliveroo platform, the UK model was replicated in Italy, with delivery workers in Turin staging coordinated protests against Foodora. In Spain, Deliveroo workers went on strike in Barcelona, Valencia and Madrid on 2 July 2017, in emulation and in contact with British and Italian riders. More recently, workers from the Netherlands, Austria and

Greece have joined international organising meetings led by German, Italian and Spanish riders. In early 2017, the Transnational Social Strike Platform brought together in London 160 people from forty organisations and nine countries to discuss, organise and plan around questions on the social strike and coordinated transnational action in the gig economy, with follow-ups in Berlin and Turin.

The ongoing attempts of organisation and trans-nationalisation of gig workers' struggles are still too recent to be comprehensively analysed in their historical significance, and clear limitations to transnational labour organising are evident. Nonetheless, recent protest actions, notably in the gig economy, may be beginning to prefigure the first sprouts of self-organised, transnational industrial action. Striking is one of the oldest forms of civic activism, and the transnational social strike shows how in changed conditions this form is being used in innovative ways.

For our purposes, we can draw multiple lessons for other attempts to organise transnational campaigns related to labour, precarity, and social rights. The transnational coordination between delivery workers is an example of a diffused, informal network. It lacks a single, institutionalised organising hub, and it operates in a field where multiple institutions have overlapping competences. While transnational connection may be strong, policy-making remains primarily national. This interplay is something that will be common to many other protests and initiatives and from which we can draw more general lessons.

Symbols are important

The struggle of food delivery riders has an undeniable symbolic strength. On the one hand, the gig economy represents the extreme case of quasi-ubiquitous tendencies in today's labour market, making visible and easy to grasp a number of processes that are

usually hidden and arduous to read. On the other hand, the aura of smartness, coolness and modernity that is instrumental in the business model of food delivery platforms can be aptly exploited by activists vis-à-vis companies that cannot easily suffer hits on their corporate image. This makes riders' struggles relevant to an extent that goes well beyond their concrete dimension, because they provide activists with a useful chance to tackle the broader issue of the nature of labour in contemporary capitalism and to address the public opinion in a rather effective fashion. Transnational coordination can be instrumental in reinforcing this symbolic power: sending a clear message that an inter-connected web of actors is demanding change and that the specific demands of, say, Spanish delivery workers are in no way "isolated" or "outlandish", but part and parcel of a wider transnational movement. This is a point that is easily generalizable for any demand, whether it is rights for women or for LGBTQ or much more: by constructing a transnational web of contact, joint mobilisation, and exchange, an individual struggle or initiative can show its interlocutors and the public at large that it is representative of a new "common sense" stretching beyond the country.

But who's your interlocutor?

Yes, a transnational narrative and mobilisation can be a very effective tool at producing change, but only provided we understand the different levels at that change is ultimately going to come about. Most transnational actions will end up in this problem: who do you speak to? The European Union has limited and often blurry competences: but for everything else you are more likely to encounter a web of overlapping responsibilities, loose governance, national or regional competences. And so, while an issue might cross borders, its solution will often require working with local or national decision makers. The case of gig workers is paradigmatic: the status of their contract depends on national legal systems and national political decisions. This means that while the symbolic, transnational dimension of the struggle is important, one must never let go of the immediate field of action where change can really come about. This is the inter-play between the symbolic and the legal level.

Glocal is back

The contradiction between the narratives of transnational solidarity and the extremely localised nature of most transnational struggles may be only apparent. Transnational activism has taken on the form of big continent-wide or even world-wide events in the case of the so-called Global Justice Movement, while in the case of the most recent wave of anti-austerity mobilisation most actions have taken place at the national or local level, although transnational solidarity was a significant component of the movements' discourse. It may be the case that we are witnessing a reproduction of the latter model, in which transnational solidarities and shared belongings go hand in hand with localised organisations and struggles. This is something we should openly celebrate and integrate in our narrative: building a transnational movement does not necessarily mean building a large-scale, well-organised, top-down international institution of campaign. It can equally be, instead, a thick web of overlapping exchanges promoting the circulation of

best practices and the development of symbolic power that reinforce very localised struggles.

Keep organisation to a minimum

In fact, we would even go a step further. Too often transnational organisations end up investing disproportionate amounts in... self-sustaining the organisation. A secretariat, an office in Brussels or in another European capital, and the obligations of legally instituted organisations can sap energy and vision out of causes. Let there be no mistake: organisations are important, and, if anything, we need more of them able to coordinate transnational level. But they should not be an end in themselves, nor should forming such institutions be the end-point of all transnational action. Some of the most effective transnational mobilisations have come about from the self-organisation of volunteers.

What's your age? The Erasmus generation is getting angry

The easy access to the social media, to foreign languages and to a wide set of online skills that characterise millennials has visible effects on the episodes of collective action we have investigated in the case of gig workers. Furthermore, the migrant nature of a significant part of the workers involved in this sector has proven essential to the ongoing attempts to establish transnational connections between the different collectives. It seems very clear that a certain generation of Europeans and non-Europeans, trained to travel, move and adapt and equipped with a certain set of communicative skills, is trying to use those skills in the context of new struggles. This may be a more general phenomenon, with transnational action dependent on the ease of travel and linguistic abilities of the younger generation. This certainly offers an opportunity: young people are the first and easiest target to reach for transnational action. Something to take into account not only in organising, but also in designing a communication campaign (including, for instance, social media targeting). But Europe is an old continent. How do you bring on board the parents and grandparents?



THE STORY: CITIES OF SOLIDARITY, LOCAL COOPERATION AND TRANSNATIONAL NETWORKING

Key to a new kind of transnational activism is the capacity to operate in a complex, multi-level scenario where no political space is sufficient onto itself. In order to move a step forward, it is clear the need to acquire a new, conceptual and practical sense of the relationship to be established between the *local dimension*, including national and regional interlocutors and places of struggle; the *transnational dimension*, as engaged by a multiplicity of local, social and institutional actors; and the *supranational dimension*, for example that of the European institutions, whose task will increasingly be to create the indispensable legal, political and financial conditions for further development of transnational solidarity practices.

Activism around welcoming and integrating refugees shows clearly the ways in which single citizens can operate within this complex institutional and political environment. Most European countries have been directly or indirectly affected by the so called “refugee crisis” since Summer 2015. The dramatic developments in the Middle East, particularly the escalation of the civil war in Syria and the internationalisation of the conflict, combined with the permanent instability of Northern- and Central-African countries and the ongoing effects of climate change and economic distress, is causing large scale migration towards the European Union.

Large cities are the preferred destination of newcomers and hence the pressure on facilities and services is mainly witnessed by cities and their administrations. Faced with growing limitations by national governments in implementing effective migration and welcoming policies, the activation of citizens-led initiatives in the reception and integration of migrants have had some success.

These exemplary cases are known as “cities of solidarity”. These are situations where networking has developed locally amongst self-organized migrants, informal groups, civil society organisations, structured NGOs, and city governments. Some of these cases are *formal* – i.e. official structures with contractual relationship with the local government – and many more are *informal* and citizens-led.

The City Plaza hotel, for instance, had been empty for years when it was reopened on 22 April 2016 by activists from across Europe as a free hotel welcoming migrants. Upon arrival, migrants and asylum seekers are registered according to whether they are seeking asylum in Greece, whether they want to join the European relocation programme, or whether they are waiting to be reunited with their family somewhere else in Europe. There are up to 400 migrants at any one time, usually around half of whom are children. And dozens of volunteers who have come from across the continent to help and who now occupy the sixth floor of the building.

Experiences such as the City Plaza abound in Europe. Rome, the Italian capital, strikingly lacks any official structure to welcome and provide orientation to migrants arriving through the dangerous Mediterranean route. The gap has been filled, once again, by citizens acting where the institutions fail. The Baobab centre aids hundreds of migrants every day without any public support – just the relentless work of volunteers who hand out clothing and food, organise temporary accommodation, and offer legal and psychological aid. There are endless stories like these.

Whether formal or informal, it is interesting to note that many of such initiatives has begun networking and working at the transnational level, with relationships and connections built between single initiatives and cities, with the aim to coordinate their practical efforts in solving daily and long-term problems in reception and social inclusion of migrants.

Exemplary cases you might look at include:

- *“News from the front”: the Charter of Palermo (Italy)*
- *Municipal protagonism: the Barcelona plan and “las Ciudades refugio” in Spain*
- *“Alternative to the Jungle”: Grande-Synthe (France) local reception*
- *Willkommen Initiativen and metropolitan government: Berlin (Germany)*
- *How to involve EU Institutions? A first attempt from EuroCities*

In each of these cases – detailed in full in the TransSOL research –networking between citizens and civil society practices contribute to define solutions for alternative policies on asylum, migration and mobility across national borders, developing innovative social solidarity practices at European Union level. And providing a host of good practices and pitfall for any other practice wishing to scale up at transnational level.

Act locally in a network across countries!

Cities are often proving to be more dynamic and effective than single national governments in the management of migratory phenomena and particularly in reception and social inclusion of new arrivals of both asylum seekers and more generally migrants. Transnational action doesn't have to take place distant from your daily place of life or struggle: on the contrary, it can connect localities and provide mutual strengthening. Take the example of Baobab experience, in Rome, and City Plaza, in Athens. By connecting and working together they increase their symbolic power (see point in previous example), they share best practices of what does and does not work, they provide mutual support, including very practical support such as sharing food banks, and, from a more political point of view, they create the feeling of a 'movement' making their practice and demands harder to ignore than if they were alone.

Competences are limited? Politicise it!

Whatever the transnational action, you are likely to face the following response from transnational institutions: our competences are limited, your claim has to be directed elsewhere. Many migration campaigners often receive some version of this mantra: "There must be a *structural reform of the European and national regulatory framework*, that foresees a modification of the current international Conventions on the right of asylum and a more supportive migration policy, sharing responsibilities and burdens on a transnational level". We have encountered this already in the example above, and provided some possible ways of answering it. But now we want to add another dimension. Precisely the inability of your interlocutor to respond to your demands can become the object of a transnational campaign. In our case, many campaigners concluded that the European Commission and European Council should bypass the national level that has been blocking any solution, and give *political and financial recognition of the role of cities*, and local authorities should have of the broadest *political and financial autonomy* in migration matters with a European overarching legal and financial framework. There is, finally, at last another way in which the discourse can be politicised. Maybe cities also use the reference to the lack of competencies as an excuse. Politicize also this! Citizens should always look for what cities can do, as limited as this might be. And citizens should not rally on behalf of city officials, but put pressure that they use their channels to change things (even within the EU).

Construction of new institutions

Networking is crucial to most transnational initiatives. But how long are these networks to stay? The experience of Solidarity Cities is a good case in showing the very overt desire to build long-lasting institutions out of episodic transnational cooperation. The construction of *stable and developed transnational networks between cities* emerged as necessary, in order to provide for the strengthening of exchanges of “good practices” and models of reception and social inclusion; in order to offer the possibility of negotiating “with one voice” in front of the European institutions and national governments; and finally, to foster the possibility of developing autonomous city-to-city policies, bypassing the direct control of the nation-state. The result is a thickening web of transnational municipal initiatives – such as the Barcelona-led Shelter Cities and Fearless Cities networks – that aim to build on occasional practice to foster a transnational, inter-connected, municipal counter-power. Something similar, although at a much more embryonal stage, we have seen in the example above, with the Transnational Strike initiative attempting to foster stable, trade-union-like connections between precarious workers Europe-wide. What if the result of a transnational campaign were not (just) achieving a concrete policy objective, but setting up a new transnational actor? Is this a long-term objective that several campaigns over time and in different places could all contribute to? More simply, citizens could liaise across borders in order to show that other cities might be more active than the own one, and thus promote the exchange of good practices.

Don't talk about, but talk with

We have seen it often: campaigns about migrants where migrants are in second line. The experience of Cities of Solidarity made one thing clear: we must develop advanced participation tools in order to actively involve, in the definition of urban reception and social inclusion policies, both migrants, their movements and their community, and representative organizations, and the groups and associations of local civil society. In the case of Solidarity Cities, this was done in at least two parallel ways. On the one hand, reaching out directly to ‘organised’ representations of migrants such as associations, trade unions, or religious groups, and engaging them in the very concrete voluntary work that running a welcome initiative prescribes: things such as translation, psychological counselling, or even cooking. On the other, working with refugees themselves to engage them in the day to day running of the initiative and/or to integrate them in organised institutions and civil society based on individual interest and skill. This is particularly important for transnational work, whatever the target group. There is a risk that ‘European’ or ‘international’ work becomes the remit of a privileged few, acting as gate-keepers and connectors. It is crucial, instead, to invest the transnational space as a common space for contestation, organising, and proposing. With those involved by the actions centre-stage.



THE STORY: KRYTYKA POLITYCZNA AND THE QUEST FOR A TRANSNATIONAL PUBLIC SPHERE

The Polish civil society organization Krytyka Polityczna was founded in 2002 as a meeting point for writers, thinkers and activists to revive the regional tradition of an 'engaged intelligencia.' Initially a small group, they have grown to encompass a magazine, publishing house, educational facilities and a network of cultural centres, and are now one of the principle institutions in Central and Eastern Europe working to overcome authoritarian governance and social exclusion. The organization is focused around three key themes which structure their ongoing work: social science, culture and politics. In each of these fields they work to build bridges across social divisions within Poland but also internationally, and, most importantly for our purposes here, to further a radical reimagining of the European public sphere.

The organization began work with the publication of an 'Open Letter to the Peoples of Europe', a watershed moment that many participants told us represents the philosophical core of Krytyka Polityczna and its ambition to rethink Polish political space beyond the confines of the nation-state. This was key background context for the next step, the formation of a publishing house, which since 2007 has provided a conduit for Polish intellectuals to embed their debates in an international space.

The organisation moved on to organise a series of summer schools and training camps – AGORA - that were emerging in parallel to this, building connections between grassroots actors in the Visegrad region. The practices formed in that experience then found their most expansive application in the Democracy 4.0 initiative in 2013, the next step, which consisted of a series of trainings, meetings and media collaborations between participants in new social movements in Western Europe – the Spanish 15M in particular – in collaboration with Polish activists. Finally, Krytyka developed a long-term collaboration with activists in Kiev, opening a Ukrainian wing of the organization.

Many of the lessons gleaned from analysing Krytyka Polityczna's activities can be readily transferred to other organisational contexts, from social movements and art collectives to media groups, NGOs and other civil society movements. These include:

Translation is a vital political tool

As Krytyka Polityczna demonstrates, polyglot communication is something that can facilitate much more than just the sharing of neutral information in new contexts. If framed effectively, translated materials actively build cultural spaces, and forms of cultural cooperation. The resulting communities are in this sense increasingly joined together as a political constituency and not simply a loose alliance based on 'solidarity' as empty signifier. Translation, we might say, is absolutely key as a process to filling in this term with meaning. Krytyka Polityczna stands out in particular for not only relying on English as an international language, but using their network to organise subsequent translations, back into a number of native languages.

Digital and real-life meetings must be held together and sustained

The use of digital and social media as well as other pan-European infrastructures can enable communities to develop both in concentrated moments (such as real life events) and prolonged communication (online groups). The two, however, need to be held together. In the case of Krytyka, this combination resulted in further actions in streets, squares and other public spaces. Digital technologies only bring solidarity when they facilitate new political meeting points. This is an important lesson for much transnational "clicktivism" or online campaigning. How can such mobilisations be conducive for real-time occasions to meet and connect local engagement with a transnational campaign (the 'global' approach we presented in our first example)?

Regional specificity can act as a spring-board for larger scale solidarities

One of the reasons that Krytyka's pan-European initiatives have been so successful is that they were conceived in gradual terms. They began with an emphasis on the Visegrad region and developed into something larger in scale. Even in processes of transnational communication, then, national and local experiences continue to be grounding forces. History, in other words, remains a constitutive part of political activity despite sometimes dazzling new forms of technologically determined collaboration. Realising this can prevent oversimplification and reduce inevitable miscommunications and non-communications that occur between different cultural spaces even when translation is working at its smoothest.

Specific long-term partnerships yield the most fruitful results

The case of the Ukrainian partnership demonstrates how years of prolonged communication and community building are essential to building effective transnational structures. When the dual national institution was founded in 2010 the participants

were not aware of the various turning points that would come in the following years and how mutually beneficial the structure would prove to be. With this community already in place when shots started, however, they were ready to respond to unexpected challenges of the conflict with a sustainable institution that was resilient to the unfolding events. The long-term dialogue also provided the team at Krytyka Polityczna with the prerequisite knowledge and expertise to effectively appraise the unfolding conflict and present this information to an international audience in a responsible and professional manner. This confirms and gives another slant to a point we raised in the previous example: part of the concrete results of transnational collaboration can be precisely the set-up of new transnational institutions or partnerships.

Solidarity is already being facilitated by the EU itself

Leaving aside criticisms of specific institutions, Krytyka Polityczna's activities are a good example of how the EU remains a space with certain privileges for organisations working to build forms of solidarity beyond national and class based communities. That such an innovative form of cultural activism has taken root in Poland, against precisely such nationalist and oligarchic forms of opposition, is testament to the democratic value of this already existing transnational political space. Freedom of movement and speech are today under assault from all sides, but the forms of solidarity pioneered by civil society actors across the EU demonstrate how much groundwork has already been made in defending and redefining these terms for the future.

SUMMARY RECOMMENDATIONS

Transnational symbols are powerful and build solidarity: More and more people are aware how crucial political issues cross borders but feel powerless. Even small initiatives across borders that show some success can generate lots of enthusiasm for this reason.

Think about your interlocutor: *who* are you asking for *what*? An effective advocacy campaign needs to identify who it wants to act and exactly its demands. Very often, an issue is transnational because multiple authorities need to act.

Act locally in a network across countries: Most likely other people across Europe are already concerned about the issue you are concerned with, and may already be active. Look, learn and connect with them and quickly you'll have a transnational network.

Keep formal organisation to a minimum, but work to build new institutions over time! Creating a formalised organisation too quickly creates overheads and personnel issues which might not be necessary at that stage, and too often maintaining organisations becomes an end in itself. Instead of thinking of a new organisation, it is often better to think of a new institution or way of existing actors working together, taking decisions together and relating with authorities.

Reach out to different ages! Solidarity also needs to be expressed between ages, and modes of organisation of campaigns often shut out otherwise enthusiastic participants (whether they are older and less active on the internet, for example, or have caring responsibilities which make some forms of activism more difficult)

Don't talk *about*, talk *with*! Nothing undermines a campaign more than not giving voice to the people it claims to represent. So that your activism does not become part of the problem rather than the solution, you have to think about how it empowers others and establishes new solidarities.

Translation is a crucial tool - turn diversity to your advantage! Instead of seeing many languages as a disadvantage, see it as a resource: content that can be translated, ideas that can be spread and natural curiosity about others that can be brought into the activism. Translation can turn your activism into a rich process of learning as well as political change-making.

Digital and physical meetings must go together and be sustained! It is too easy to think that the internet solves our problems, when it creates as many barriers as it passes. Physical meetings are indispensable for real understanding, building trust and long lasting relationships.

Regional specificity can be a starting point for further expansion! Instead of aiming to be active across Europe immediately, it can be an idea to start bringing together contexts with similar historical experiences, cultures or languages, and use that strong base to develop further.

Long term partnerships across countries can yield the best results - invest in them! Getting organisations to work together requires patience and compromise, but over the long run the benefits are often much more than could be imagined at the beginning: in a changing and complex political landscape, there are always new reasons for mutual support, solidarity and common action.

Use all the possibilities already opened up by the EU to build transnational networks and actions: freedom of movement, ease of setting up associations, funding and the different legal avenues opened up by the EU all provide significant and underused advantages for civil society acting across borders.

FURTHER READING

A lively debate and practice exists around transnational solidarity and activism that cross borders.

For an academic overview, as well as in-depth versions of the case-studies we have touched upon above, see the research outcomes of the European research project *TransSol: Transnational Solidarity in Times of Crisis* (www.transsol.eu):

- Integrated comparative report on the legal, socio-economic and institutional context of transnational solidarity: Report discussing the socio-economic, political, legal, and institutional context of transnational solidarity – the position and role of solidarity in legal systems of the eight TransSOL countries as well as legal and policy consequences of the crisis (<http://transsol.eu/files/2017/09/Deliverable-7.8.pdf>).
- Integrated Report on Reflective Forms of Transnational Solidarity: Report summarising the findings of an analysis of innovative practices of transnational solidarity in response to the crisis, focusing on citizens' initiatives and networks of cooperation among civil society actors (<http://transsol.eu/files/2016/12/Integrated-Report-on-Reflective-Forms-of-Transnational-Solidarity.pdf>).
- Integrated Report on Individual Forms of Solidarity: Report on the results of a large-scale representative survey, targeting individual attitudes and behavior regarding solidarity (<http://transsol.eu/files/2017/07/D3.1-integrated-WP3-report.pdf>).
- Integrated Report on Integrated Report on Collective Forms of Solidarity at Times of Crisis: Report targeting civil society organizations and their (trans)national organization of solidarity in times of crisis (<http://transsol.eu/files/2017/12/WP4-Integrated-report-final.pdf>).
- Integrated Report on Transnational Solidarity in the Public Domain : Report summarizing the findings of an analysis of claims in newspapers and Facebook comments regarding solidarity with refugees during the 'crisis' (<http://transsol.eu/files/2018/05/deliverable-5-1.pdf>).
- Integrated Report of the Pilot Study: Identifying and Developing Effective Measures : The pilot study looking at three cases of solidarity in practice, on which this guide builds (<http://transsol.eu/files/2018/05/TransSOL-WP6-Report.pdf>).

Several texts have been produced by the main actors of transnational actions and practices themselves. Amongst them, we recommend the following:

- Early on, after the onset of the economic crisis, economists were already arguing that Europe's response wasn't right: see 'Manifesto of the Appalled

Economists' at <https://euroalter.com/document/manifesto-of-the-appalled-economist>.

- A good summary of civil society proposals to address the economic crisis can be found in the IsiGrowth report 'How can Europe change?': see www.isigrowth.eu/2016/10/26/how-can-europe-change/.
- The Citizens Manifesto brings together proposals for European reform devised through a participatory process of 80 citizens' assemblies across Europe: see www.citizenspact.eu.
- The Charter of Lampedusa brought together hundreds of NGOs and social movements to craft an alternative European migration policy: see <https://euroalter.com/projects/charter-of-lampedusa>.
- For an inspiring example of migrants and artists jointly articulating a new global condition, see the Migrant Movement Manifesto at <http://immigrant-movement.us/wordpress/migrant-manifesto/>.
- For an attempt at bottom-up transnational labour coordination, see the Transnational Strike Platform at www.transnational-strike.info/.
- There have been several attempts to rejuvenate political alternatives at the transnational level. Among them, the pan-European movement DiEM25 was launched in early 2016 with a manifesto for change: see www.diem25.org.
- For an attempt to bring together social movements and left-wing forces in Eastern Europe, see the Democratic Left 18 Manifesto at www.demleft.net.
- For an overview of Europe's new municipalist movement, rich with links for further reading, see Beppe Caccia's introduction to Europe's New Municipalism at <http://politicalcritique.org/world/2017/from-citizen-platforms-to-fearless-cities-europes-new-municipalism/>