Interface

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Cover art

Photo credit: Black Lives Matter, 15 January 2015. This photo was taken during a Black Lives Matter rally at McKeldin Square in downtown Baltimore. Three months later the city would erupt in unrests due to the death of Freddie Gray, who suffered a fatal spinal cord injury while in police custody. Since moving to Baltimore from Europe 20 years ago, Dorret Oosterhoff has been all over the city to document vibrant community events. She specialises in photographing musicians in intimate jazz club settings. To see some of her work go to: www.dorret.com.

About *Interface*

Interface: a journal for and about social movements is a peer-reviewed journal of practitioner research produced by movement participants and engaged academics. *Interface* is globally organised in a series of different regional collectives, and is produced as a multilingual journal. Peer-reviewed articles (marked "P") have been subject to double-blind review by one researcher and one movement practitioner.

The views expressed in any contributions to *Interface: a journal for and about social movements* are those of the authors and contributors, and do not necessarily represent those of *Interface*, the editors, the editorial collective, or the organizations to which the authors are affiliated. Interface is committed to the free exchange of ideas in the best tradition of intellectual and activist inquiry.

The *Interface* website is based at the National University of Ireland Maynooth.

General issue

Kasim Tirmizey, Anna Szolucha

A few thoughts about this issue

After the success of the last general issue (5/2) of *Interface*, we have once again invited movement scholars and practitioners (and everybody in between) to reflect on the histories, strategies and discourses of the movements that they are currently focusing on without a need for their pieces to become part of a themed issue. It is worth emphasising, however, that each issue of *Interface* has an un-themed section so authors do not have to wait for a particular theme to publish their work.

The last general issue of the journal also marked the celebration of five years of *Interface* and featured an editorial where some of the more "established" as well as newer members of the team reflected on their experiences with the journal. That was already almost three years ago but many of the hopes and concerns that were voiced then have remained a topic of conversation and reflection within *Interface* since. It was clear at that point in 2013 that collectively, we considered diversity, sustainability of practice as well as critical reflection on what we were doing (as members of the team as well as our respective movements) to be central to develop the journal further. Partly as a result of that discussion, today we are presenting a *general* issue of the journal with more un-themed issues to come. This is also the first issue that we (Anna and Kasim) are editing, which testifies to a conscious effort that we are making at *Interface* to diversify and allow younger members of the group to take responsibility and work autonomously although with fantastic assistance from the other editors.

At *Interface,* we make many of our reflections on the work that we are doing with the journal open and often write about them on our website and in various editorials. Like all other issues, this one is a result of a collective learning process, immense amounts of voluntary work and an amazing cooperation across countries and perspectives. In this way, we can say that our work for the journal mirrors a lot of the (best) ways in which we organise and debate in our movements. It also seems that this model is attracting an equally diverse and rich readership as well as generating a constant stream of informed and complex analyses and reflections that we receive. The diversity and richness of movements and perspectives in this general issue is yet again not only a testimony to our collective efforts as journal editors but also (and more importantly) to the experience of people all over the world who are learning in struggle.

Future directions for social movement studies

Given that the previous general issue in 2013 was a time of celebration of the previous five years of *Interface*, it might at juncture be worth reflecting upon the past and future of social movement studies. Tomás MacSheoin's article in this issue provides a quantitative analysis of social movement journals. There are obvious limits in the capacity for a statistical analysis of thematics and geographies of articles published in social movement journals. These limits are mentioned by MacSheoin as well. Nonetheless, it opens important questions to think about. MacSheoin highlights how there is a geographic concentration on studies in core countries over those in the non-core, periphery, or former colonies. While his study cannot explain the reasons behind this uneven scholarly development, it poses important an question about how *Interface* contributes to this phenomenon.

We would like to propose some possible reasons for *Interface*'s eurocentrism. First, *Interface* grew out of a network of activist-scholars based out of Western Europe. While the journal's editorial team has expanded to cover many parts of the world, Europeanists are over-represented in the journal and there are many regions we still lack adequate coverage of: Middle East and Central Asia. Building relationships beyond North America and Western Europe is on-going work for the journal. Second, the call for papers might reflect a narrow range of debates that over represent concerns emerging from core countries. The journal has had an impressive range of call for papers that included concerns that reflected issues outside of the core (e.g. post/socialism, the Arab Spring, and on anti-colonial and post-colonial social movements). We would encourage to continue a trend within *Interface* for papers to take on regional debates that concern the Global South.

An area that is significantly under-represented is also the study of right-wing movements, as highlighted by MacSheoin. This is particularly concerning given the urgency for social justice activists to understand the rise of the hard right in recent years, from the dominance of Hindu fascism in India, the right wing populism of Donald Trump in the United States, the consolidation of far right parties in several countries in Europe, to the strengthening of the religious right in Israel. Several articles in this issue have shown that social movements have emerged to critically resist neoliberalism and austerity, however, none have addressed the simultaneous emergence of right-wing movements and populisms. This lack in scholarship has begun to be addressed by other journals, see for example the recent volume of *Socialist Register* (Panitch and Albo, 2015). However, the contemporary balance of political forces compels us to study right-wing movements as a means to provide opportunities of reflection for opposing them.

In this issue

This issue begins with four articles that examine movements in contexts of neoliberalization. The first two papers deal with resistance in the face of the

neoliberal university. Bjarke Skærlund Risager and Mikkel Thorup's paper looks at the movement "A Different University", where students occupied several universities across Denmark in 2014-15. Risager and Thorup argue that the movement was not just resisting specific neoliberal reforms of the university, but was a broader movement that named the problem as rooted in the emergence of the neoliberal university. Further, the increasing penetration of capitalist spatio-temporalities in the university were resisted through the pre-figuring of "a different university". Anastasia Christou situates forms of resistance to the neoliberal university given how restructuring is gendered. Christou suggests forming alternative forms of affectivity, such as collectives, that provide support against neoliberalization.

Shelley K. White and Amy Finnegan assess how the U.S. single-payer health care movement is re-evaluating the terrain of struggle given a new context with the enactment of the Affordable Care Act (ACA), which further entrenched the private health sector. White and Finnegan account for how the movement is searching for the contemporary opportunity structure that the new context provides, while recognizing their previous approaches are no longer relevant and risk demobilization.

Karen Tejada studies the organizing practises of Salvadorians in the D.C. metro area in the United States. In doing so, she extends Pierre Bourdieu's theory of habitus within a transnational field of homeland and hostland. The everyday life of Salvadorian activists and philanthropic volunteers is grounded through contexts of homeland and hostland.

Carlo Fanelli and Bryan Adams situate the contemporary emergence of the living wage movement in Canada in a context of neoliberalization. Their findings indicate that living wage campaigns have taken an approach of policy bargaining with the government and employers. Such movements have also kept their scale of politics upon the local. Fanelli and Adams find the roots of the movement's failure in their taking a lobbying approach rather than social mobilization and protest, and a local rather than a national scale of organizing.

Two articles in this issue look into how environmental groups build and implement strategies and discourses for their campaigns. Laurence L. Delina and Mark Diesendorf take up the question of what constitutes an effective strategy for the climate change movement. Their international survey shows that environmental campaigns and movements are more likely to be considered effective if they emphasise a strong moral message, offer an alternative, incorporate diversity and use innovative means of communication. Suresh Babu discuses the discursive and power dynamics that were played out during the people's protest in the Narmada Valley in India. A wide range of actors were mobilised, which led to a complex process of creation, reworking, co-optation and deradicalisation of discourses.

Amanda Machin's article explores the meaning of the hunger strike by drawing on examples of the Suffragette, Irish republican and anti-apartheid movements. She argues that the ways in which the hunger strike makes the body to

interiorise and invert the violence of the opponent upon itself serves as a powerful weapon that can communicate, foster collective identities and disrupt the dominant order. Importantly, the hunger strike in her account is both strategic and rational as well as highly affective. As Machin demonstrates, it also makes the body into a potent political instrument as well as a political actor.

Finally, we end with Tomás MacSheoin – also discussed above – who offers us a fresh look at the "world according to social movement journals," including *Interface* itself (!) He notes that one of the worrying tendencies in journals dealing with movement scholarship is the prevailing under-representation of research and perspectives from the non-core countries (although *Interface* performs better in this area than other journals). MacSheoin argues that this is not solely caused by the fact that scholars tend to study movements that they know most about. The situation is also hardly specific to social movement journals and according to MacSheoin, it reflects a structural problem across the social sciences and an unequal distribution of power globally.

Book reviews:

This issue includes reviews of: Ana Cecilia Dinerstein's book – *The Politics of Autonomy in Latin America: The Art of Organizing Hope* – that is reviewed by Ryan A. Knight; Colin Barker, Laurence Cox, John Krinsky, and Alf Gunvald Nilsen's edited collection – *Marxism and Social Movements* – reviewed by Christina Heatherton; Anne Alexander and Mostafa Bassiouny's *Bread, Freedom, Social Justice: Workers and the Egyptian Revolution* (Stephen M. Strenges); James S. Ormrod's *Fantasy and Social Movements* (Andrew Kettler); Michelle D. Bonner's *Policing protest in Argentina and Chile* (Tomás MacSheoin); Arthur Manuel and Grand Chief Ronald M. Derrickson's *Unsettling Canada: A National Wake-Up Call* (Maja Curcic); and Óscar García Agustín's *Sociology of Discourse: From institutions to social change* (Alexandra Ana).

Goodbyes and welcome back!

We also wanted to take this opportunity to thank two of our editors: Cal Andrews from the Australia-and-New Zealand editorial team and Aziz Choudry from the North-America group for all their amazing work that they have done for *Interface* over the years. It has been an absolute pleasure to work with you and although we are sad to see you go, we are also reassured that you are both leaving so that you can continue the struggle wherever you are!

We would also like to warmly welcome back Elizabeth Humphrys who has returned after a sabbatical. Elizabeth is doing fantastic work behind the scenes at *Interface*. Great to have you back! Lastly, we would like to welcome Irina Ceric to our editorial team as a regional co-editor for North America and Heike Schaumberg as a regional co-editor for Spanish-speaking Central and South America.

About the authors:

Kasim Tirmizey is currently writing his doctoral dissertation at York University, Toronto. His work examines anti-colonial movements in Punjab, British India, from the 1910s to 1940s.

Anna Szolucha currently works on the Repower Democracy project about anti-fracking mobilisations and community-led renewable energy in the UK and Poland and is a post-doc and Marie Curie Fellow at the Department of Social Anthropology, University of Bergen, Norway. She has been involved in a number of different movements in several countries. Her book based on militant ethnographic and participatory research will be out soon and is entitled *Real Democracy in the Occupy Movement: No stable ground*.

Contacts for all editors can be found at the journal's website:
http://www.interfacejournal.net/submissions/editorial-contact/

References

Panitch, Leo, and Greg Albo. *The Politics of the Right: Socialist Register 2016*. Merlin Press, 2015.

Call for papers volume 9 issue 1 (May 2017)
Open issue

The May 2017 issue of the open-access, online, copyleft academic/activist journal *Interface: a Journal for and about Social Movements* (http://www.interfacejournal.net/) will be an open issue with no themed section. We hope to receive submissions on any aspect of social movement research and practice that fits within the journal's mission statement (http://www.interfacejournal.net/who-we-are/mission-statement/). Submissions should contribute to the journal's purpose as a tool to help our movements learn from each other's struggles, by developing analyses from specific movement processes and experiences that can be translated into a form useful for other movements.

In this context, we welcome contributions by movement participants and academics who are developing movement-relevant theory and research. In addition to studies of contemporary experiences and practices, we encourage analysis of historical social movements as a means of learning from the past and better understanding contemporary struggles.

Our goal is to include material that can be used in a range of ways by movements — in terms of its content, its language, its purpose and its form. We thus seek work in a range of different formats, such as conventional (refereed) articles, review essays, facilitated discussions and interviews, action notes, teaching notes, key documents and analysis, book reviews — and beyond. Both activist and academic peers review research contributions, and other material is sympathetically edited by peers. The editorial process generally is geared towards assisting authors to find ways of expressing their understanding, so that we all can be heard across geographical, social and political distances.

We can accept material in Afrikaans, Arabic, Catalan, Croatian, Danish, Dutch, English, French, German, Hebrew, Hindi, Hungarian, Italian, Latvian, Maltese, Norwegian, Portuguese, Romanian, Russian, Serbian, Spanish, Swedish, Turkish and Zulu. Please see our editorial contacts page (http://www.interfacejournal.net/submissions/editorial-contact/) for details of who to submit to.

Deadline and contact details

The deadline for initial submissions to this issue, to be published May 2017, is 1 November 2016. For details of how to submit to Interface, please see the "Guidelines for contributors" on our website. All manuscripts should be sent to the appropriate regional editor, listed on our contacts page. Submission templates are available online via the guidelines page and should be used to ensure correct formatting.

Protesting the Neoliberal University: The Danish Student Movement, 'A Different University'

Bjarke Skærlund Risager & Mikkel Thorup

Abstract

Student activism against the neoliberalization of the university has spread and intensified all over the world in recent years. One moment of such activism is the Danish movement, 'A Different University', which in 2014-15 occupied several Danish universities, among other actions. This article focuses on the first and most intense action taken by the group of student activists at Aarhus University in November 2014. The movement was a reaction against two government-initiated neoliberal reforms of the Danish universities but arguably also constituted a wider resistance to the neoliberalization of the university. Based on participant observation, focus groups with participants, and discussions on the literature on neoliberalism, the article fleshes out two imaginaries that we claim are key to understanding the ideological underpinnings of the movement and its relation to the wider politico-economic conjuncture. First, 'the neoliberal university' defined by its pursuit of 'utility' and 'relevance' and by what we call a de-academization of knowledge. *Second, 'a different university' is the imaginary articulated, enacted and prefigured by the student movement in question. A different university is a university run by the people who live their everyday lives in it, and it is a university in which obtaining knowledge and education are the sole aims. The two imaginaries, and their expressions in the two reforms and in the student movement, respectively, are unpacked along their spatial and temporal dimensions. The aim of the article is not only to understand and analyse the protests but also to provide a frame and a resource for further thinking through and acting upon the conflicts and possibilities in the struggle between the neoliberal university and a different university.*

Keywords: student activism, prefiguration, neoliberalism, university, academia, space, time, imaginaries, occupation, protest

In the fall of 2014, student protests spread across Danish universities under the common name, 'A Different University'.[1] In several universities across the country, with varying support, duration and success, groups within the

[1] The name in Danish, *Et Andet Universitet*, might also have been translated as 'Another University'. Indeed, the (post)structuralist concept of 'the other' and 'otherness' seemed to inform some of students' thinking about the movement: "The strongest of the three words in *Et Andet Universitet* is 'other'", as one of them put it to much acclaim from the others. However, we use the translation 'A Different University' in this article, as this was how the movement itself at times translated its name.

movement occupied administrative spaces within their respective universities. In the months to come, more actions followed, including other occupations, national and local general assemblies.

The movement was a reaction to two reforms, namely the 'Study Progress Reform' and the 'Dimensioning Plan', that were introduced and heavily debated in 2014. The point of the reforms was to radically downsize a range of university programmes (some have now been altogether shut down) and to put strict limits on how much time students can spend on their degrees. Administering these reform has in turn proved to be yet another financial burden on the universities. In this article, however, we argue that the rise of A Different University, its critique and resistance, is best understood as a reaction to a fundamental and prolonged transformation and restructuring of the university's imaginary. We as well as the student activists call this 'the neoliberal university'. This university imaginary is defined by a narrow, economistic and market-oriented understanding of 'utility' and 'relevance' and by, what we call, a *de-academization of knowledge*. As with other neoliberal processes, the restructuring of the university can be observed on the levels of society, the institution, as well as the individual subject. Thus, the neoliberal university restructures the location of the university in wider societal and politico-economic structures; it restructures the inner structures and logics of the university as institution; and it restructures the person who makes the university on an everyday basis, including the student (the primary focus of this article), the teacher, the secretary and the cleaner.

Resisting the neoliberal university, the student movement in Denmark parallels other instances of resistance that we have seen throughout the world in recent years (Aitchison, 2011; Bégin-Caouette & Jones, 2014; Dean, 2015; Espinoza, Gonzáles, & McGinn, 2016; Ibrahim, 2011; Ratcliffe, 2015; Salter & Kay, 2011; Smeltzer & Hearn, 2014; Solomon & Palmieri, 2011; Somma, 2012; Verkaaik, 2015; Webb, 2015; Zuidhof, 2015). Neoliberal phenomena such as casualization of staff, rising tuition fees and policing of student resistance and a general 'securitization' of university space have in many countries intensified since the onset of the economic crisis in 2008 (Smeltzer & Hearn, 2014). These processes have, in turn, been met with resistance from university students, and in some cases staff.[2] Denmark is still a privileged place to study and do research when

[2] As the citations in this paragraph bear witness, these many instances of student activism have also been the object of study for researchers. Research in student activism, however, is not necessarily exempt from the imperatives of the neoliberal university. Consider, for example, the opening sentences of a recent article abstract:

> Active citizenship is a goal in which universities want to invest: student activism has shown to increase students' skills and support positive study atmosphere. The purpose of this study was to analyse university students' motives for participating in student activism in order to find out ways of enhancing the development of active citizenship in students. (Ansala, Uusiautti, & Määttä, 2015, p. 150)

Student activism thus becomes yet another asset for the neoliberal university to invest in through research.

you compare it to other countries. The essence and direction of the transformation of Danish universities, however, echoes those of other nations. And, when you compare the state of Danish universities now to how they were previously, the transformation in Denmark is severe. While it has been claimed that radical student activism has been replaced by moderate and non-disruptive student activism in the US (Winston, 2013; see, hoewever, Solomon & Palmieri, 2011, sec. 3), this is certainly not the case everywhere: in countries such as Canada, the UK, the Netherlands, and Denmark, student movements are now employing disruptive and militant tactics such as occupation of university spaces, often with radical agendas (Aitchison, 2011; Bégin-Caouette & Jones, 2014; Dean, 2015; Ibrahim, 2011; Salter & Kay, 2011; Solomon & Palmieri, 2011; Verkaaik, 2015; Zuidhof, 2015).

We conceive of the neoliberal university as an imaginary, understood as a set of ideas embedded in discursive and material practices. Based on the discourse and prefigurative resistance of A Different University, we are able to explore an alternative university imaginary, that of 'a different university'.[3] In contrast to the neoliberal university, a different university is one defined by joy of participating, empowerment and claiming ownership to academia and academic space and time. What we investigate in this article are thus two imaginaries of the university. These conceptions correspond to what Ronald Barnett calls the *ideological* imaginary (the neoliberal university) and the *utopian* imaginary (a different university) (Barnett, 2013). We suggest that the two imaginaries are articulated by the two Danish university reforms and the resistance they provoked via A Different University. The point of giving an account of the two imaginaries here and of conceptualising them as such is to provide the empirical case with a context and to assist in the articulation of a different university.

Throughout the article, we apply a temporal and spatial analytical perspective in order to flesh out the two university imaginaries. We claim that the conflict around which the two imaginaries unfold have important spatial and temporal dimensions that distinguish them from one another. The university has traditionally been seen as a unique space with its own temporality. The university has been the one place where the peculiar temporal and spatial logic of study and research is observed. We argue that the spatio-temporal imaginary of the 'classical' university is under pressure from the imposition of the neoliberal university. The neoliberal imaginary positions itself against an imaginary of the classical university (and some of the students, though not all, do indeed evoke the latter imaginary in talking about the university they want). On a discursive level this means, among other things, a spatial reframing of the university in the neoliberal imaginary: the university, especially the humanities, is cast as an 'ivory tower', especially by right-wing commentators, pundits and politicians, in which privileged people with no contact with 'reality' conjure up useless theory or interfere in the public debate as representatives of a

[3] In the following, we will use initial capitals when we refer to the student movement, A Different University, and initial lower case letters when we refer to the imaginary of a different university. However, the point is, of course, that the two are interwoven.

humanistic 'Salvation Army'. The neoliberal university, furthermore, enforces a temporal reframing: the university, its participants and their activities are shamed for their costly 'slowness' which acts as a parasite on society and 'regular people'. The imaginary of a different university, as was prefigured by the student movement, involves a different spatio-temporality: the university is to be a genuinely democratic space – in its purpose as well as in its everyday functioning – constituted by the people who *do* the university on a day-to-day basis, and the time one spends there is to be structured in an equally democratic and empowering way.

Using these different spatio-temporal imaginaries of the university as analytical frames will allow us to explain some pertinent features of both the university reforms and of the motives and expressions of the student protests. Lastly, the methodology for this study, to which we now turn, is informed by a space-time perspective akin to what we ourselves believe the imaginary of a different university might include: our idea was to make an intervention into the student movement so as to create space and time for reflection. The point was to allow thinking about more general questions related to the university and the movement.

Here, we construe the university imaginaries through a combination of empirical data collection and production (focus groups and participant observation) and a theoretical discussion of the literature on neoliberalism as a restructuring of capitalism on the levels of society, the institution, and the individual. From its formation through its initial stages, we followed closely – and, to some extent, participated in – what proved to be the biggest and most persistent part of A Different University, namely the part of the movement at Aarhus University at which we both do research and teach.

We take our cue from the important imperative in contemporary social movement studies to do research that is relevant to movements and to not reduce these studies to a sociological sub-discipline exempt from wider academic and activist discussion (Barker, Cox, Krinsky, & Nilsen, 2014; Bevington & Dixon, 2005; Cox & Nilsen, 2014; Haiven & Khasnabish, 2014). This imperative informs our study in two ways. First, we aim to provide a narrative of the wider politico-economic and historical context in which the university reforms and the student movement unfolded (Hetland & Goodwin, 2014; Krinsky, 2014). Furthermore, we take the student movement seriously as an actor 'from below' in this broader context (Cox & Nilsen, 2014), an actor whose practices and ideas can tell us something important about the politico-economic conjuncture and its struggles.

The second way in which we have sought to make this study movement-relevant is through the collection and production of empirical data. As a way of exploring, as researchers and teachers, the imaginary of a different university, we wanted to do a study that went beyond just discussing these themes among ourselves: we wanted to do research *in and with* a different university (the movement *and* the imaginary). We organized two focus groups that were open for everyone involved in the activist group at Aarhus University. While focus

groups are rarely used in social movement studies, this method offers unique insight into the meanings and norms that underpin, and are in turn formed by, the practices, position, and development of the movement. These meanings and norms are often not accessible through the 'public' material of pamphlets, posters, communiqués, and so on. Furthermore, focus groups offer insight into the formation of these meanings and norms, as discussion and interaction between movement participants are hereby facilitated (della Porta, 2014). However, our aim was not just to access already existing meanings and to gain insight into the process of meaning formation. Rather, we hope that our research intervention could also be beneficial to the participants. In their research with activist groups in Halifax, Canada, Max Haiven and Alex Khasnabish (2014) found that movement success, broadly understood, is often contingent on the making of *space* and *time* for the movement to deal with the obstacles it faces, internal as well as external. The authors help facilitate this by 'convening' the activist in a series of interviews and discussions. The scope of their research and the activist milieu they researched are different from our study. Nevertheless, we have been inspired by the ideal of convening the social movement, to facilitate the creation of space and time for collective reflection on the imaginary of the movement.

Importantly, this was not based on an assumption of epistemological or strategic privilege but on the assumption, and to some extent observation, that space and time for such reflection is difficult to find (or make) in the everyday life of a movement. Here, resources are mostly invested in tactical and to some extent strategic discussions, e.g. on establishing solidaristic ties to similar groups at other universities, and practical activities, such as painting banners and printing posters. Our first focus group was exploratory as we asked the participants what they saw as the most pressing questions for the movement and how they thought research in and with a different university might mean, that is, what issues they would like further research interventions focus on. Based on this discussion, our second focus group was structured around two questions: what characterizes the university you are resisting, and what characterizes the university you are fighting for? It is the discussions around these two questions that this article centres on. The focus groups, the first with five participants, the second with ten, were made by participants whose involvement in the movement varied from an initiator/spokesperson, students very involved in intellectual and practical activities of the movement, and students mostly participating on the side-lines. Yet, they all shared a wish to discuss their university and the struggle they were involved in.

We are not the first to theoretically interrogate the neoliberal university as the context of contemporary student activism (Zuidhof, 2015) or to organize focus groups to explore students' own analyses and experiences from resisting the neoliberal university (Salter & Kay, 2011). Bringing these two methods together, however, is rare. Furthermore, contributing to construing the imaginary of a different university, as it is our hope to do, will hopefully help to bring the discussion and struggle forward. As P. W. Zuidhof (2015, p. 53) notes, "[t]he

current challenge for the post-neoliberal university is that it desperately needs new imaginaries[.]"

We begin by unpacking the case under question as we first present the two university reforms that were the immediate means of transformation against which A Different University mobilized; we then describe the making and initial unfolding of the student activist group at Aarhus University. The following two sections offer an in-depth articulation of the imaginary of the neoliberal university, the first through a rigorous discussion with the academic literature on neoliberalism, the second by bringing the critical voices and actions of the student activists to the fore. Following this trail, the last main section of the article explores the imaginary of a different university as articulated by the students.

University reforms and student resistance

In late 2014, two proposed reforms of the Danish universities received much attention and became the objects of much debate and student activism. At the time of writing, the reforms have been implemented and the universities – potential students, current students, teachers and researchers, the administrative staff – are beginning to feel their effects. The 'Study Progress Reform' forces students to 'speed-up' their studies by automatically signing them up for classes and exams, and by contractually committing the universities to shorten students' study periods. The 'Dimensioning Plan' is a downsizing of academic programmes based on arguments about labour-market utility. Academic fields with too high unemployment among new graduates are being downsized by up to 30% and get a ministerially defined and market-dependent cap on their present and future student intake. The latter reform entails a drastic cutback in the intake of primarily (would-be) students of humanistic and social-science programmes. And since the budgets of the universities are increasingly dependent upon the student intake and on them passing their classes on time, this will result in a deep cut in staff. At present, most Danish universities are firing staff and cutting study programmes to adjust to the new reality.

Theoretically grasping the two reforms, we see them as expressions and institutionalizations of a particular spatial and temporal restructuring of the university. In spatial terms, the university is being redescribed as a mere stepping stone or relay station between education and that which lies *outside* the university: the labour market and employment, the 'real world'. The university is to serve as the smooth transition or conveyor belt between what is, young adults, and what is to become, workers and entrepreneurs. In and of itself, the university is to have no unique spatial features demarking it as something distinct. The shrinking of the humanist educational programmes and in turn research environments resulting from the 'Dimensioning Plan' could be seen as an exclusionary shrinking of the space of the university, or as an 'enclosure' of the university as a commons (The Edu-factory Collective, 2009).

In temporal terms, the reforms aim to squeeze study time, to optimize learning in fewer time units and to discourage what is now termed 'detours'. Consequentially, there is now little, if any, time for 'bad decisions' or changing one's mind regarding one's course of study, for stays abroad, and for taking on activities and jobs outside of one's programme. The temporal imperative for the student is to finish on time. The reforms not only limit university time in a quantitative way; they also qualitatively redefine university time: the time a student spends in the university is increasingly merely justified as preparation for what really matters, the time *after* university, the 'real life'.

The underlying, implicit idea behind the reforms is that university time is only an expense, having no quality on its own merits. The spatial and temporal dimensions of the reforms facilitate a restructuring of the university as a transitional zone that students – as well as staff and administration – are not to view as valuable in and of itself, as self-valorizing. It is only valorized through the spatial and temporal activities outside or after university. Or, put differently, the university is increasingly being subsumed by the general space and time of society it has hitherto been, to some extent, exempt from. The dispossession through enclosure of university space facilitates this. Thus the university is increasingly restructured as yet another field for the predominant neoliberal accumulation strategy (Harvey, 2007). More generally, the two university reforms are symptomatic of wider neoliberal tendencies regarding the space the university takes up in society – tendencies that involve ongoing questioning from outside the university of the ways staff and students spend their time and pressure to make the university conform to the (unknown) demands of the (future) labour market, to make it primarily a reservoir of resources for neoliberal competition strategies at the state level.

Understanding the student protests against the two reforms as part of a broader resistance against the neoliberalization of the university, we are interested in how the student protestors understood and responded to these reforms, their critique of the neoliberal university and their imaginings of a different university.

In November 2014, a group of students from the Department of Philosophy and History of Ideas at Aarhus University called for an open meeting with the aim of planning an occupation of the university. Three overall decisions had already been made prior to the meeting called by the small group of student activists: One, they demanded a roll-back of the two reforms; two, the occupation should not be merely symbolic but should physically disrupt, in a non-violent way, the normal flow of people and things; and three, the occupation should continue until the demands were either met or the occupiers were removed. The meeting was well attended by students from many faculties and departments – not just the 'usual suspects'. Contrary to the wish of the organizers – but not to their surprise – attendance by non-students was very low.

After some debate and a vote, it was decided that the occupation should be of the rectorate building[4] and a duty roster for the first couple of days was filled out. The rectorate building was chosen for a number of reasons. Firstly, it was chosen for logistic and pragmatic reasons: it was simply easier to occupy a local building rather than go to, say, the Ministry of Higher Education in Copenhagen, which also probably was impossible to occupy because of the security measures at the Ministry. There was also talk of occupying the administration wing at the School of Culture and Society, in which many of the students studied. However, some of those students expressed unease with the prospect of having to confront administrative staff, teachers and non-participating co-students, either because they didn't want to damage personal relationships or because they saw these people as allies in the struggle – if not participating allies, then allies in theory. Also, to potential participants not living their everyday day (student) lives in this part of the university, occupying the latter might have been somewhat alienating. The political case for choosing the rectorate building was to put pressure on – or create an opportunity for – the core governing bodies of the university to react more openly to and against the reforms. Many students were, however, of the opinion that the rectorate were part of the problem, not the solution, and this analysis only seemed to gain currency as the occupation and the movement unfolded. The protestors saw the rectorate as the pinnacle of a managerial and undemocratic university leadership buying into the thinking behind the reforms and only half-heartedly, if at all, criticizing the changes to the university. The rectorate building, then, was, and increasingly became, a strong symbol of the neoliberal university.

The occupation was successfully established and for about a week the students controlled the space and time of the rectorate building. At first, the students were welcomed by the administration who, moreover, declared that they sided with the students and were happy to see that they were engaged and cared about the university. Days went by, however, and the staff learned that the students did not tire easily and that the occupation was not purely symbolic – a few times administrative staff were turned down when asking for permission to enter 'just to pick up an important set of keys' etc. The administration insisted that they would not have the police remove the students, which would be an unusual thing to do at a Danish university campus. (Interestingly, the students simultaneously doing a similar occupation at the University of Copenhagen faced threats of arrest and expulsion immediately: Lyngberg, 2014.) After about a week, however, the administration at Aarhus University apparently did not see any other way out, neither. On day seven, the police cleared the occupation.

During the occupation, A Different University prevented the administration from entering and the student activists were in charge of what the building should be used for. For a time, the neoliberal administration could not take place in this space. More than just a negative obstruction of the workings of the university, more than just keeping the administration out, however, the building

[4] I.e. the building housing the rector (in some countries called the vice-chancellor, chancellor or president) of the university and his staff.

became a joyful space where the students engaged in discussion, ate, slept, played music, watched films, gave interviews, made friends, and where other interested students and sympathetic teachers showed up. In this way, the occupation was also an appropriation of university space and time, a taking control of how to spend one's time in the university space. It was a way to practice a different university. This double nature of the occupation – the negative resistance to the neoliberal reforms and the positive creation of an alternative university space and time – is not unique to the occupation of A Different University. In fact, the mixture of the occupation as 'protest' and as a 'process' is witnessed by observers and participants of other recent student occupations of the neoliberal university (Aitchison, 2011; Salter & Kay, 2011). For example, Guy Aitchison (2011) describes how many students became radicalized as the UCL occupation went on and how the perceived purpose of the occupation shifted from being about demands to being about creating an 'interstitial' space, a crack in the neoliberal university in which an alternative vision of the university was thought and practiced.

The occupation at Aarhus University attracted quite a lot of media attention in comparison with other protest activities in the same period. During and after the occupation, the students continued to meet locally in their General Assembly in order to plan more actions; they put up posters, painted red squares (the symbol of the movement), and dropped banners from the university buildings. A national General Assembly with participants from the other Danish universities was organized, and ties to student movements abroad were made, e.g. to the groups 'Humanities Rally' and 'The New University' at the University of Amsterdam (see Verkaaik, 2015; Zuidhof, 2015).

On November 26, a government-initiated 'Quality Commission', primarily staffed with economists and CEOs from the private sector, was to present a report on how to restructure higher education, basically arguing for further neoliberal integration of the university. A Different University blockaded the event, preventing people from entering the building in which the presentation was to take place. At the request of Aarhus University, the students were forcibly removed by the police and several students were charged with intrusion. Two days later, the University, after critique from the students and others, withdrew their complaint and no charges were pressed against the students. On December 18 (and again two months later, on February 23), A Different University tried to obstruct a meeting of the University Board and protested the fact that the majority of the board members were from outside the university. The student activists lay on the floor with paper with footprints printed on them on their bodies and with duct tape over their mouths, signaling their experiences of being trampled and of not having a voice. During this time, the university administration was increasingly seen as part of the problem by the students, not least after they had twice called the police during the students' actions, despite initial assurances to the contrary. On January 13, A Different University disrupted a meeting at Aarhus City Hall where the Minister for Education and Science, Sofie Carsten Nielsen, the engineer behind the two university reforms, was speaking. The students cut her off and gave a speech of their own. On April

16, a coordinated occupation took place at three Danish universities. At Aarhus University the new occupation was initially of the rectorate building, as with the first one. This time around, however, the rectorate called the police after one and a half hours and the building was cleared, with no one being arrested or charged. The students moved the occupation to a hall on the opposite side of the road from the rectorate building. This occupation went on for a week before the students left of their own will. During the occupation, as was also the case in the first occupation, political and social activities made the space a vibrant milieu of student activism.

Approaching the end of the spring semester, and thus deadlines for essays and exams, the level of activity declined for A Different University and it never seemed to increase again. Beyond the end-of-semester stress and the following holiday-mode – which the movement somewhat surprisingly survived in December 2014 – the reasons for this were probably a combination of a loss of energy of core activists, so-called 'burnout' (Pines, 1994), and a shift in political focus to other kinds of activism. A general election was called for June 28 and some students mobilized for Left parties while a substantial part of the core activists organized in a group advocating for people not to vote. Since then, many of the students have been involved in the organization of Leftist study groups, in feminist activism, and in initiating an anti-capitalist activist platform. Moreover, as the so-called 'Refugee Crisis' took off in Denmark and other European countries in September 2015, many students became involved in refugee solidarity activism. While this might seem like a bleak ending for A Different University, it seems clear to us that these other movement initiatives have been strengthened by, and some might even have been contingent on, the personal ties and activist experience generated in A Different University. Moreover, at the time of writing, major cuts in staff have been announced at most universities, which has spurred another round of mobilization of students and staff at the Danish universities.

The neoliberal university

The primary grievances that spurred the students to occupy the rectorate building were, as mentioned above, two specific university reforms. From the beginning of their action, their two demands were, one, for the two reforms to be rolled back and, two, for knowledge and education rather than relevance to the labour market to be the aim of the university. While the first demand was quite specific, the other was rather abstract; both, of course, went beyond what the students thought realistic to achieve with this particular action. Contrary to the UCL case described by Aitchinson (2011), the two demands set forth by A Different University continued to be central throughout the occupation (and beyond). We believe this had to do with the nature of A Different University's two demands. While demands directed at the university or the government in student movements are often equated with a reformist position (Aitchison, 2011; Gill & DeFronzo, 2009), demands can indeed be radical. Following Agnes Heller, Laurence Cox and Alf Gunvald Nilsen argues that what makes needs –

and, we could add, demands – radical is "the transformative preconditions for and consequences of their satisfaction" (2014, p. 43). The demands of A Different University, especially the second one of letting education and knowledge and not labour-market relevance be the aim of the university, can be seen as radical in the context of the neoliberal university as their satisfaction would involve a break with this context. The choice of these two particular demands were clever as they allowed for both student radicals, whose ultimate aim was a large-scale transformation of the university and the rest of society, and students for whom the scale of their grievances was more narrowly centred on the two reforms, to rally behind the demands. It created an alliance in which the students did not necessarily have to agree ideologically and strategically but only on a very minimal set of demands and tactics.

While the students' opposition to the two reforms was undoubtedly genuine and heartfelt, it can also be seen as the last (neoliberal) straw – albeit "a large straw" as one participant put it – and as a tactic in a struggle with larger and more long-term objectives. As another student told us, "the reforms were indeed the last straw but at the same time it gave us something concrete to resist. From these reforms, it was very easy to see and to explain to people how it was all connected." A student expressed the larger struggle in terms of bringing the "culture from Humboldt" back into the university, by which he referred to a university based on strong autonomy and a close connection between research and teaching. He further called for "politicizing" the university, which he described as "a totally apathetic institution", on the level of students as well as of the administration, with the sole aim of acting as an "administrative unit" that produces workers capable of meeting the demands of the labour market. Others even saw the action as the first step towards a wider societal organization and transformation. While recognizing that the struggle for some students went beyond the walls of the university, and for others perhaps had to do more narrowly with the two reforms, we concur with the students in naming the primary antagonist in this struggle the neoliberal university.

We now turn to unpacking our understanding of the neoliberal university in theoretical terms. It is not meant to be an exhaustive analysis of the contemporary university, but merely a sketch with which we summarize some general transformations and try to explicate some of the developments experienced by and reacted to by the student activists.

An impressive and empirically-grounded body of research engages in what is variously called 'the entrepreneurial university' (Clark, 1998; Shattock, 2009), 'academic capitalism' (Slaughter & Leslie, 1997), 'the corporate university' (Phelan, 2016) or 'the neoliberal university' (Larner & Le Heron, 2005; Peter, 2011). Disregarding the specific differences of these terms and their analytical definitions in empirical studies, we aim here for a general understanding of the imaginary of the neoliberal university that the two Danish reforms can be seen as particular instances and intensifications of.

Unlike classical liberalism, which advocated laissez-faire market rule and a major retrenchment of the state, the neoliberalism that developed in the post-

WW2 period and that came to power and prominence from the 1970s onwards centres on a radical restructuring of state and people (Davies, 2014; Mirowski & Plehwe, 2009). Classical liberalism had a static, zero-sum view of the state and market, where one agent could only grow at the expense of the other and where their basic principles remained unchangeable. Neoliberalism sported a dynamic view of both market and state. Starting with economic competition as a master narrative, neoliberalism uses the state to create a generalized competition between and within all social units, from the state to the individual herself.

In clear opposition to classical liberalism, neoliberalism does not really care if everything *is* a market as long as everyone behaves *as* on a market, or as Michel Foucault stated:

> Basically, [neoliberal governmentality] has to intervene on society so that competitive mechanisms can play a regulatory role at every moment and every point in society and by intervening in this way its objective will become possible, that is to say, a general regulation of society by the market. (Foucault, 2008, p. 145)

It is not that contemporary neoliberals do not favour privatizations and liberalizations. However, we should not look singly or primarily for the effects of neoliberalism in the retrenchment of the state but rather in the restructuring of the state as part of the competitive order. Described by Jamie Peck (2010, p. xii) as "politically assisted market rule", neoliberalization is the attempt to impose the market model on any social organization of collective or private life. The state as a whole, the institutions of society, and the individual are all restructured as competitive units, in competition with other units and with themselves, globalization is the master narrative at all three levels.

The state, along with its offices, departments, and institutions, is divided into 'self-governing' units competing with each other, legitimized by fiscal restraints, global competition, and the idea that only life-and-death-competition makes you creative, adaptive, and flexible. The individual is redescribed as capital. 'Entrepreneur of self' is the generalized individual as capital, investing in him- or herself, constantly optimizing, moving, learning, in one word: innovating. One is not only in competition with others but with oneself; the self that one is right now competes with the self that is needed in the near but uncertain future. A constant temporal splitting of the self is thus installed, forever threatened by the prospect of one's self becoming obsolete, unmarketable, dead capital. This temporal splitting is exactly what drives the thinning of university time as a time distinct. That is, one cannot be allowed to 'waste time', to do what does not project one into the future, what is of interest primarily for the here and now. That understanding of time, when viewed through the lens of competition and capital, can only be seen as waste. This thinking – and the pressure it puts on students – was illustrated by a poster put up everywhere at Aarhus University when the fall semester of 2015 started. The poster stated: "Kickstart your career

before it starts. Studying a semester abroad gives you a head start on the job market!"

Once redescribed as capital, individuals are now portrayed as potentiality either lying dormant and non-circulating, or invested and circulating. The role of the reconstructed neoliberal competition state (Pedersen, 2011) is to ensure the free circulation of capital – in all its forms – and to optimize the connectivity and capitalization of all capital, human and otherwise. This helps us understand 'the neoliberal university' as one space, one particular locale, for neoliberal reconstruction of the state (Brown, 2015, pp. 175–200). Every neoliberalization of a particular locale or domain must contend with the forces, rules and traditions of that place. The university is a special case due to a long tradition and self-understanding of autonomy and free research. Until recently, strong interests had to some extent protected the university and its knowledge production from pure marketization. Academic knowledge was thought of as something special, in need of distinct institutional forms shielded from direct commercial or political interests. But, as famously documented by Jean-François Lyotard in the 1970s, at the onset of neoliberalism as a political project, knowledge has become 'useful', meaning that the academic knowledge production has gradually been redescribed in productivist terms. New concepts have substituted 'free research' and 'research-based teaching' as the dominant expressions of the ideal university, namely ones of 'utility', 'employability' and 'marketable skills' (Baker & Brown, 2007).

The utilization of knowledge is at the core of the neoliberalization of the university. The latter has of course been subjected to other restructurings as well: commercialization, introduction of private interests, weakening of university democracy, strengthening of the management level, focus on students as customers, use of competition as an internal organizational principle, target measures and performance indices as politico-strategic control etc. But what strikes us as most important in this context is the transformed view of knowledge. We want to suggest that a *de-academization of knowledge* has taken place and that the two Danish university reforms are some of its most prominent institutional and ideological expressions. Why? Because academic knowledge production is the unique feature of university and the foremost obstacle for the neoliberalization of the university, making it a privileged site of policy change and academic protest.

We have coined the concept of de-academization of knowledge to highlight the processes by which academic knowledge production has become deskilled as just any other knowledge production located in or outside the university. This has also been called a shift from modus 1 to modus 2 knowledge production (Gibbons et al., 1994) or a shift to post-academic science (Ziman, 2000). It is part of the redescription of universities and their function as supplying the private market with ideas and students to succeed nationally in the global competition. The de-academization of knowledge expresses the view that academic knowledge production should look less like a classical university and more like a private business. What does de-academization look like in the real-

life processes of neoliberalization? On the most basic level, it is the redescription of knowledge as useful: we have to shorten the road "from research to invoice", as the then-Minister of Science, Technology and Development in Denmark summarized the rationale in 2001. More generally, we understand the neoliberal university as one where a de-academization of knowledge has transformed the university spatially into a production facility for knowledge indistinct from non-academic facilities. On a more practical level, it is about priming students to choose programmes, subjects, courses and extra-curricular activities based on their future career plans. It is about introducing entrepreneurship, innovation, application exercises in all courses at all levels. It is about measuring the output of staff, pushing for 'real world' connections, promoting university-business cooperation and inviting business leaders onto university boards, mobilizing the university as a pool of resources in the global competition, subjecting it to endless accreditations and external evaluations, promoting elites and excellence as well as expanding the term 'university' to include institutions for vocational training and sector research, making it indistinct as *the* university (Kristensen, Nørreklit, & Raffnsøe-Møller, 2011; Rowlands, 2013; The Edu-factory Collective, 2009). The boundaries of the university are furthermore blurred physically as the sharing of premises and buildings with private companies increasingly becomes the norm. A spatial de-differentiation is at work, thinning the university as a particular locale with its own internal logic.

A reconstructed temporality is another important dimension of the neoliberal university and the de-academization of knowledge. There is a new finitude to academic time. It has an end: the endless drive to do more, publish more, teach more, apply more often for funds, all in a shorter period of time. At the same time, the university is de-emphasized as a special time for students:

> The ideal of a step into the university fostering emancipation from patriarchy, family, school and rural communities presumes that the subjects also want, plan and take this step. Yet the tendency seems to be that the step from the institutions of school and family to the university no longer takes place as a break, but rather as a seamless transition. (Raunig, 2013, p. 44)

A seamless transition from family, school, university, work. When education is turned into job preparation and research is turned into applications for external funding, university time as a special temporality is dismantled. Students and staff are subjected to a de-sequential time where the past, experience, knowledge, academia are rapidly devalued in favour of the horizon, potentiality, the flow, the future.

At its most general level, de-academization of knowledge minimizes the differences between universities and society, between students as studying and as working, between academic knowledge and applied knowledge, between academic value and market value. "The 'withdrawal' of the state", Gerald Raunig

writes, "is not in fact a withdrawal at all, but is actualized in the steering and controlling of the process of the economization of the universities" (2013, p. 38). It is about the denial of universities as some place distinct. The neoliberalization instantiates a disenchantment of academia and knowledge in favour of the free flow of information and resources.

The students' critique of the neoliberal university

After this theoretical unpacking of the imaginary of the neoliberal university, we turn now to the lived experience and critique of this university as articulated by the student activists in the focus groups. In line with the definition of neoliberalism above, we will explore the students' critique of the neoliberal university at the level of society, the institution and the individual. As we will show, the contrast between the idea of the university as something distinct and valuable, as some specific spatial and temporal frame, on the one hand, and the university as is, on the other, guides a lot of the critique on all three levels. The idea of the university as an academic institution devoted to the pursuit of knowledge is a strong and unquestioned value among the student protestors. And they clearly sense that on all three levels this idea is rapidly losing ground in favour of visions of de-academized knowledge, relevance to the labour market and a shortening of any distance, temporal, spatial, organizational and personal, between the university and 'the market'.

Most of the students' critique of the neoliberal university pertains to the university as institution and their own lived experiences as university students. However, many of the students linked this critique to a broader critique of society. For some students, such an analysis was no doubt already in place prior to their participation in the movement; for others, their movement participation involved a learning process that made it possible for them to make such analytical links. As one student told us:

> When I joined A Different University, I didn't have a clear image of what the university was like and what it could be. It was more a feeling that there was something in society that I would like to be different and that I could recognize… It was the same irritation that I had about the university without knowing it.

For the students we spoke to, and for the movement as a whole, the reforms that triggered the protests are not seen as unique or aberrations. Rather, as one student put it, the reforms are seen as

> part of a larger trend to think of the university as a place meant to produce wage labourers and to produce people for the labour market – that is what the purpose of the university is. A lot of the things happening at the university are

> caused by various administrations using university politics in a highly ideological way.

Such a critique of neoliberalism was not always as explicitly economic as in the quote above. The students' critique, at the societal level, was mostly directed at politicians and the government. But also these critiques were underpinned by a focus on neoliberalism as economy and ideology. The students' analysis echoed in that sense Peck's notion of neoliberalism as 'politically assisted market rule', mentioned above.

Moving on to the critique aimed at the university as institution, the frustrations are high. Spatial indistinctions and de-sequencing of time are observed between high school and university, between labour market and university, between the growing marketization and the traditional university ethos: "The universities are increasingly becoming like the university colleges [for vocational training], the university colleges like the universities, and then it all ends in one big uniform mush", as one student put it. Echoing the experience of the staff, the university bureaucracy is described as "extremely alienating, like a secret machinery. Coupled with the lack of university democracy, this creates a perception of the university as an institution one is not really part of." The university has become just another bureaucracy churning out commandments and requirements, not for the benefit of students (or staff) but for the benefit of outside interests.

What above all mobilizes the student protestors is the sense that the university is no longer anything particular, that the time they spend at the university is not different from the rest of their lives, that their activities there are similar to those of their later work life, and that the university and its staff are nothing other than 'knowledge workers' indistinct from the rest. The disappointment of entering university as it proves to be no real beginning at all, as campus proves to be just another commercialized venue, and student life only a preparation for 'the real life' runs through the commentaries and protests: "It was a huge disappointment to experience how things functioned, when I started at the university, to experience the lack of freedom and contemplation that you had been promised." The same student later elaborated on her experiences from the initial meeting with university:

> This disappointment of beginning university with the expectation that perhaps now, here there is a small crack, a small part of society with space for free reflection, thoughtfulness as well as new ideas and solutions; that someone was sitting there thinking 'how do we do this better?', radically and alternatively, and came up with something new and innovative; and then it wasn't like that at all.

The university as just any other place, the spatial and temporal undifferentiation of the university from all other institutions and activities, is what connects the neoliberal university at a societal and institutional level.

The market way of thinking is also evident at the personal level, in the self-descriptions and personal experiences of the students. What comes out quite clearly in our material is the force of a neoliberal subjectivation process. They are no longer 'students supposed to study' but increasingly feel like 'students supposed to graduate', discouraging them from gaining any special attachment to the university or their subject matter. This has created a somewhat diffuse dissatisfaction not only with the university but also with themselves. While opposed to the marketized logic of useful knowledge and relevance to the labour market, a number of our informants expressed how the force of that narrative, coming from politicians, media, the university, and family had been internalized, not as a value in any strict sense, but as a self-questioning and self-disciplining. A CV approach to student life has established itself not as the only, possibly not even as the predominant value, but as a constant active point of reference. That is the kind of student activity that is recognized by the university system, by the Minister and politicians, and by friends and family inquiring into the usefulness of the students' studies. "It is very weird", one student told us, "to be met with a question of what relevance I have."

The CV approach is one way to align student life with the outside world and its demands, to align the present with the future. In our discussions, a sense of conformity was expressed: one way to ease the outside pressure is to increase the CV (and grade) pressure. A student life form was easily identified that conformed to these marketized demands, the linearity and singularity of that life was explicitly evident in the two reforms, accelerating university time and downsizing supposedly less relevant programmes. The 'student supposed to graduate', that is the student supposed to view university as a transitional space and the time spent in the university as increasingly compressed and finalized time, as a sphere and an activity of no inherent value, has produced subjective effects:

> Among my fellow students I can feel a creeping lack of academic pride as they begin to believe what they are being told about not being good for anything. And they begin to talk about having to become orientated towards the market because they would like to be relevant for something.

This sentiment was also very much expressed by the student protesters as a personal experience. A number of them talked about feeling "a sneaking passivity about all these changes" and about "feeling I was becoming indifferent" – prior to their involvement in A Different University, that is.

In a sense, the explicitness of the two reforms allowed for an explication of the student experience as a common fate – and as a provocation. The Minister in charge of the reforms, Sofie Carsten Nielsen from the Social-Liberal Party, was very explicit about her view on being useful and this provoked the students. The debate on the reforms allowed for a counter-narrative to develop. A Different University latched onto the reforms as symbolic of broader trends but also as

radicalizations of personal student experiences provoking a defiant attitude of 'We are not useless'. A lot of the people getting involved in A Different University felt provoked by the ministerial rhetoric,

> because you feel personally attacked and become really angry. What do they think? That I spent at least five years of my life with constant stress, really depressing examinations and constant performance anxiety, and then I do not want a job?

As the last section of this article will deal with, participation in A Different University is on the contrary described as a subjectivation that mobilizes and enacts a true student identity.

A different university imagined and prefigured

While the student activism was first and foremost a struggle against the neoliberal university, it was at the same time a struggle for a different university as is clear from the name of movement. In this last section of the article, we will sketch out the imaginary of a different university as it was articulated in words as well as in the actions of A Different University.

During our focus groups, we asked the participants to reflect on what kind of university they were fighting for, how they imagined a *different* university. A primary observation to make from this conversation is, perhaps not surprizingly, that this was a task more difficult than that of criticizing the (neoliberal) university as is. As the students pointed out themselves, the idea of a different university was often articulated as the inverse of the disliked features of the existing university. Warming to the subject, however, the students had many interesting positive thoughts on the idea of a different university. These thoughts included explicit articulations of what the students imagined a different university might look like. In the students' critique of the neoliberal university, it was striking how these positive articulations transgress a narrow thinking about the university as something unrelated to the surrounding society and as a mere container for the people being there. Not an ivory tower, the university is indeed seen as part of society, as an active agent in society. And students and staff do not just frequent the university, they *do* the university, they *are* the university, and the university is in turn an important institution for the making of personal identity. As an important setting for their everyday lives, for many students and employees, the university is a central, if not the primary, mediator between the level of the individual and that of society.

Many student activists saw the problems of the university reforms as connected not only to a more extensive neoliberalization of the university but to elements of neoliberal society. In turn, some of them saw the struggle for a different university as connected to struggles of a different society. "We're a student movement but I think that we're the beginning of something bigger, that we'll

see many upheavals all around." This prediction was voiced during a discussion in a focus group about whether A Different University had been exclusionary in the discourses employed, thereby alienating potential allies within but also from outside the university. The student continued: "Because of this, I think it is a shame if we isolate ourselves and exclusively make this a student movement. This is a risk if too many people don't understand what we are saying."

While the students were critical of a university conforming to the demands of the labour market, the idea of the university as an ivory tower had no place in the imaginary of a different university. The students we talked to all seemed to agree that a positive relation between the university and society should exist. The problem is, as one student put it, that in the public and political debate, society is equated with the labour market. If the university is not concerned with the demands of the labour market and with commodifying knowledge and skills as wage labour, it is seen as a self-centred bubble shutting itself away:

> Of course the university shouldn't be a bubble, but engagement in the surrounding world comes from science itself, it has to come from within. Maybe I'm naïve, but I'm convinced that if you left the university to itself, to the criteria laid down by its respective disciplines, then it would, of its own accord, find out what was relevant for it to be occupied with.

An independent university, contrary to the entrepreneurial vision of the political and administrative level, is not a return to the ivory tower or a desire to be left alone. For the students, it is a re-academization of the university, a re-creation of a time and space devoted to knowledge. One explained the interface between university and society like this: "The university should in some way be a model for society because it in my mind is something that comes before society. It is in the university that new ideas are hatched and begun." Another like this: "You have to go back to the roots of what the university was thought as, that is, a free institution that works for the sake of knowledge and for the sake of humanity."

The imaginary of a different university, however, was not merely articulated in the abstract. During our conversations with the student activists, it became clear that they had experienced participating in the movement activities in and of itself as a contrast to their everyday experiences of being students in the (neoliberal) university. Indeed, the movement A Different University can thus be conceived as a *prefiguration* of the imaginary of a different university. Prefigurative politics can be traced back to the African-American Civil Rights Movement and to the New Left in the 1960s: "by 'prefiguring' within the current practices of the movement the values of freedom, equality, and community that they wanted on a grand scale, activists were helping bringing them about" (Polletta, 2002, p. 6). Since then, prefigurative politics have been a defining characteristic of the Feminist Movement and the Alter-Globalization Movement, among others. In its purest form, it refers to a praxis in which "the struggle and the goal, the real and the ideal, become one in the present" (Maeckelbergh 2011,

4). The aim of the movement is not displaced outside of itself and not projected into the future. In practice, this most often means a focus on participatory and direct democracy, consensus decision-making and horizontal structures (Polletta, 2002). In our case, this means that A Different University has, to some extent, in its practices modelled the imaginary of the university it wants to inhabit, of a different university. While this has been less of an explicit strategy and not part of the way the movement has represented itself, from speaking to the student activists, the movement clearly offered a prefigurative experience.

One of the key organizers and initiators of the movement told us during a focus group that he, from a strategic point of view, was in general reluctant to embark on grand, programmatic discussions because of their potentially destructive effects on the movement itself: "To begin to talk about these things is a sure way to split a movement, because you'll then disagree on principal things that otherwise don't have any real significance for the concrete practice you otherwise agree on." This echoes one of the observations of Haiven and Khasnabish, namely that "differences of imagination represent the most important and divisive fractures in and barriers to solidarity" (2014, 241). The student continued:

> Moreover, it is in principle wrong to think about changes to the university – or to society in general – that you can articulate an ideal image of how it could work and then work your way towards that. It has to grow out of that which already exists, as a break with the injustices that already exist.

After clarifying this position, he did, however, speak in favour of a range of markers of a different university that he described as deliberately vague: "More democracy in the university, more freedom, the construction of free intellectual communities, changes 'from below', and so on."

The demands for genuine university democracy and subaltern agency were not only repeated throughout our conversations with the students, they were also at the core of the students' experiences of participating in the movement. Indeed, as Haiven and Khasnabish (2014) also stress, imagination is never detached from strategy and tactics. Another student likewise mentioned the movement's focus on internal democracy as an example of how the movement was an edifying project and not just negative. "The very crux of the edification is that it should be built from below. The very point is that the university should decide for itself, so who would we, as a group, be to say how it should be", she said. She proceeded to argue how, for example, that the people in a specific department should decide for themselves how they wanted to run their programmes and scientific communities. If the movement was to practice what it preached, so was her point, it should recognize its particularity and not attempt to articulate concrete guidelines for how the university should be run.

A third participant reflected on the occupational tactic:

> I think it was a cool form of action because it in some way symbolized what we wanted to do: We wanted to draw attention to the fact that this is our place and now we'll grab it and take it back in some way.

The occupation was thus perceived as a re-temporalization and re-spatialization of 'our place', that is, the movement lay claim to the university as a distinctive place with a particular temporal logic.

Yet another student said, echoing the discussion above about the experienced discrepancy between the idea and the reality of university life:

> I think the reason A Different University mobilized so many people right from the beginning was that it was something 'different'. We're not talking about reforming the university. We're talking about a whole new way of looking at the university, namely as that which one expects when enrolling. You're expecting something completely different [than the existing university].

The prefigurative dimension of A Different University also became clear when we asked the students to what extent they consider the movement's initial occupations successful. Although the movement's official and explicitly stated demands have not been met, the occupations were in other ways experienced as successes. "In my experience", a student told us, "these actions have been internally successful. Those participating have had the feeling that we are capable of something. I don't think that's half bad." Others likewise expressed this raised consciousness of collective agency as a form of success. A student told us how she arrived alone and before anyone else to the planned occupation of the presentation by the Government-initiated Quality Committee delivering a report calling for further marketization of the universities. Here, she was refused admittance to the meeting as she had not signed up beforehand. She toed the line and walked away feeling cowed. When she later returned with her friends and carried out the occupation, it was with a diametrically opposed sensation of collective agency: "There is indeed a force or power in community. When we come together as a group, we are the ones making the rules. And that is great!"

Engagement in the student protest activities has become one way to regain an identity as student. Some of the students spoke to us about using a lot of time on the protest activities, some even about the fear of getting arrested and getting a criminal record, but the main sentiment was one of productive alignment between protest and study, in defiance against the 'useful student' on behalf of the 'good student':

> On a personal level, participating means choosing not to hand in one's essays on time, you know that whole product-oriented 'I have to graduate on time so I can enter the labour market'. You're in a sense provoked to put that on hold to be

> able to act for society rather than for yourself. And that's actually quite beautiful.

The same student told us how she, through participating in the movement, had experienced a form of "relinquishing of herself" in favour of the collective movement, of acting on a societal level, a relinquishing of herself as the neoliberal university's entrepreneurial subject who validates any activity according to whether or not it may benefit her (future) career. She described it as a transgressive experience, to let go of her normal focus on taking credit for her work and making sure it appeared on her CV:

> When you join a movement like this one, you have to in some way relinquish a part of yourself. When we are making flyers or planning an event, it is different from our usual, 'I made this, I have to get credit for it, and it goes on my CV'. All of a sudden, it is just something you did and it goes into a pool, without you ever getting any personal recognition for it. And I think we're a generation of people for whom it is really difficult not to get personal recognition. It has, anyhow, been a transgressive experience for me.

Also on the level of the individual, participating in A Different University was a prefigurative experience of a different university, of a different student life. For many of the students, participation meant postponing their studies and being unproductive in the eyes of politicians and the university administration. Participation, however, freed them of the bad conscience many of them would otherwise have felt as they felt they contributed to something grander, to building a different university.

Conclusion

In this article, we presented a local case of what appears to be a global and increasing phenomenon of students protesting university reforms and cutbacks. We focused on the student movement, A Different University, in Aarhus, Denmark, and its university occupations and other actions in 2014-15. We situated our discussion of this movement within the politico-economic context of a neoliberal restructuring of the university that aims to subsume the university into a national competition strategy in the global, capitalist economy. For a long time, the university has been an institution that, at least to some extent, was exempt from the logic of the market and was structured as a particular space and time for the students and staff who 'made' the university on an everyday basis. Through engagement with literature on neoliberalism, focus groups with student movement participants, and participant observation, we argued that the result of the restructuring is a neoliberal university de-differentiated from other sites of work and production and increasingly defined by the spatial and temporal logics of capital and market. We investigated and

demonstrated how the movement and its participants construed the imaginary of the neoliberal university, how they situated themselves within it, and how they resisted it. Furthermore, we fleshed out how the student movement simultaneously involved the articulation, enactment and prefiguring of a different university as an alternative university imaginary. This imaginary is of a university that is unique in its spatial and temporal dimensions and run by the people who live their everyday lives in it, and it is a university in which obtaining knowledge and education are the sole aims.

As it was unfolding, A Different University, as a movement but also as an imaginary, succeeded in creating awareness of the harm of the neoliberal restructuring, in contributing to politicizing a new generation of students, and in initiating an important discussion and practice of what the university ought to be. While the movement (for the time being?) has stopped organizing meetings and actions, we believe that the identified and enacted antagonism between the neoliberal university and the imaginary of a different university could serve as a strong rallying point for student activists in the future, with potential resonance among other students and university staff. It is our hope that this article can serve as a resource for further thinking through and acting upon the conflicts and possibilities in the struggle between the neoliberal university and a different university.

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Feminisms, crises and affect: women in academia contemplating publics and performativities

Anastasia Christou

In recent years, locally and globally, there has been intense transformation in higher education and academic practice, as forces of neoliberalization, privatization of public services, precarization of labor, and corporatization/ commodification of education dismantle previous models of educational provision. These transformations have had significant impact on scholarship, critical and radical thought in academic cultures and the learning/teaching experience.

Even more alarmingly, such transformations have created a state of crisis in work-life balance and have exacerbated further gendered inequalities, thus highlighting more challenges in the academic landscape for women who face complex obstacles and paradoxes as scholars and academics. Although the specific challenges are by and large global, they may take different forms in each regional, institutional and disciplinary context, but holistically they pose similar urgent questions that require a critical lens of inquiry. This realization further underscores the need for more feminist politics of collective action and struggle in the Academy.

This reflective piece aims to provide a research report on the impact of these contemporary transformations on the lives of women academics, academic feminism and the career trajectories of feminist academics. Drawing from pilot ethnographic fieldwork in Iceland, Greece and the UK, this contribution seeks to explore some of the current constraints that women academics are facing given the wider transformations in the education sector as shaped by neoliberalization and the wider global restructuring in exploring an account of affect and crises in the production of knowledge and the sustainability of work/life balance in contemporary social life.

Additionally, this contribution aims to highlight the importance of strengthening further feminisms of resistance and activism, in developing ways to respond to the current challenges through, for instance, more connected, compassionate and caring mentoring initiatives. Such interventions should be responsive to both the inequalities women academics face and to ameliorating unbearable working lives.

Hence, the reflections here are not merely about the wider issues engulfing neoliberal academia. This piece endeavors to stimulate 'praxis' and potential for activist engagement in addressing the affective and political potential for performative feminist resistance. It wishes to engage directly and substantially with collective agency and strategies for change; primarily a change of what my participants have voiced as a 'misogynistic academic establishment' and a landscape of gendered power networks that consistently undermine the possibility of the transformative potential *for* personal growth of women in

academia. In this sense, this contribution is feminist, addressing the feminist imagination and aiming to stimulate dialogue with diverse feminisms.

This piece is also politically grounded in my personal experiences as a union organizer during which I repeatedly observed how the conditions described here constrained time and time again the mobilization of colleagues collectively and individually, the recurrent attempts to combat bullying and inequality in the workplace, the repetitive re/creations of women academic groups. One clear channel of progressive resolution I would like to advance is that of a personal commitment of women mentoring women in developing new platforms of agency, change and empowerment for women academics.

Feminisms, crises, affect and academia: trepidation and transformation

The inevitability of paradoxes in academic life almost resembles a natural succession of stages in the life of most intellectual 'workers' in academia. In the post-PhD stage one often finds oneself in a loop of struggle against time, so that one's research does not date and is published in a timely fashion and in highly esteemed international peer reviewed outlets, as one shifts from an interminable state of un/under-employment limbo to a reified state of interminable work hours, the latter mostly in fixed/short-term contracts of the precarious labor status but with workloads of boundless despair. But having at least an 'institutional affiliation' in spite and despite inconceivable demands, paradoxically again, seems to be preferable than falling back into a rather 'dehumanized' state of the 'independent' researcher status, where, ironically, there is no institutional identity or belonging to a higher education institution, which in a sense frustratingly 'legitimizes' one's academic 'worth' since employers find these desirable.

The language above sounds appallingly economistic and quite reminiscent of my past, not so very long ago; it echoes numerous discussions with academics and researchers in several European and international destinations. Although there is an auto-ethnographic component in this research, reinforced by concrete cases as union representative and member of its executive at a previous institution, this analytic optic has been enriched by recent pilot fieldwork in Iceland and longer term research in the UK and Greece. This scoping study has also gained insight from discussions with academics in the US, Canada, Norway, Denmark, Germany, Portugal and Spain. I am very grateful that participants selflessly engaged in articulating their experiences during 'caring and sharing' sessions; quite therapeutic for all of us to know that we are not alone in our struggles.

Spatially and temporally, the dys-rthythmia and divergence amongst the three countries (UK, Iceland, Greece) is manifest in socio-cultural, politico-historical and economic contexts. Although past wealth trajectories and post 2008 financial degradation may be at surface level elements to compare, in essence,

the UK, Iceland and Greece could not be more different in their human geography and systems of governance (or lack thereof). This is indeed one of the compelling reasons to delve deeper into the current challenges and constraints in academia as they appear to be equally and fiercely present in all three countries, from North to South(!)

Such a realization reconfirms the spread of the neoliberal framework within higher education, the instrumentalization of such as a skills supply market and top-down managerial control, but more distressingly, such neoliberal values have also intensified the emergence of 'retro-sexist behaviours' that compel an activist call for the fostering of more 'dialogue and partnership between feminist and anti-marketisation politics' (Phipps and Young, 2015: 305).

Reflecting on the politics of academic practice

I enter the analytical scope with a threefold narratological lens in rendering a hermeneutical account of performativities, publics and possibilities. That is, I approach the study of oppressive regimes in the current academic landscape through the cultural codes of the performance of actors, the activism publics that they construct and the possibilities that emerge as part of that struggle. To that end, I try to understand a narratology of the neoliberal academic institution as legitimating a culture of the disciplined knowledge producer/worker through regulation, surveillance and restraint. The above creates academic subjects of complicity, conformity and control, where any transgressive act of resistance is crushed and met with punitive and categorical classification of those seen as the 'problematic trouble-makers'. As a result, such 'trouble-makers' stirring the scene may not be promoted, may be given 'dirty' departmental work and even implicitly threatened with dismissal.

Perhaps the above appears to be a rather simplistic and generalizing rendering of the contemporary academic condition as an 'inconvenient truth'. Thus it is imperative to recognize the sophisticated conception of the power and production/reproduction regimes of inequalities as translated in the Academy. This is especially pertinent for those academics who are squeezed further into the dark and dystopic corner of uncertainty and the limboness of un/underemployment. In such a position of precarity they struggle to find a voice and a place in the absence of pedagogic objectives and regimes of governmentality of the corporate institution. Such a status ceases their deprofessionalization/dehumanization through zero hour contracts and recurrent expiration dates of any existing ones.

Epistemologically, I view the Academy as an object of subjugation in the multipolarity of an oppressive logic of neoliberal governance of the (*Psychotic*; cf. Sievers 2008) University, as an institution of learning, teaching and the pursuit of knowledge. To transform such a liminality of learning, I find alternative initiatives of education provision to be refreshing modalities of revolt against the marketization of learning. One such alternative I am involved in is

the Free University Brighton (FUB) which is both a protest against the growing marketization of education and a practical response. The FUB is inspired by the free school movement of the late 18th and early 19th centuries, the 1960s Anti-university, the Occupy movement and other contemporary free universities around the world. It aims to create more democratic educational experiences where teachers and students actually learn from each other in an interactive and inclusive context. The emerging learning unfolds in locations placed into the heart of the community by making use of existing public spaces. This is a project focused on creating alternative education accessible to all, regardless of income and providing space to think critically about the world and how it could be otherwise (http://freeuniversitybrighton.org/about/).

Hence, the focus should not solely be on the institutions of higher learning but on the contrary the discussion should point to the establishment of scholarly knowledge as the output of *wisdom*. And so rebuilding the Academy on the premises presented here reflects the collective establishment of scholarship as a societal and spatial constellation of not solely information transfer but above all, as the transmission of knowledge co-production with learners, its dissemination and impact in the attainment of equitable, just, decolonizing, democratic, feminist and anti-racist social spheres. The emphasis again here is on the core elements of such a pedagogic vision/ethos to embrace teaching as a developmental pathway to facilitate a transformative learning which will enable students to actively enhance their potential as global citizens who are socially and ecologically aware and deeply sensitive to international contexts and cultures.

I view such teaching as responsive to the postcolonial historicity of societies, minority and migrant diversity and the changing global and transnational influences on political, economic and cultural contexts, communities, crises and practices. Such pedagogic tools can also advance theoretical understandings, practical knowledge and a social justice agenda.

Articulating the Academy of power, privilege and pain

At the same time, in reflecting on such matters I am also questioning the politics of place and space and deciphering my academic positionality and situated role in the struggles over knowledge. All the same, what women academics who participated in this and other studies underscore is that it always seems to be easier for male academics; they have 'sponsors', support systems inside the institution and outside, personal/domestic support and often the 'audacity' to go forward for posts and promotions without essentially meeting the criteria. Heijstra et al. (2013) refer to Acher (2006) in observing that 'those who are privileged do not see this privilege'. Thus while for male participants in their study the support they receive from their department is openly acknowledged by the male participants, 'this support cannot be taken for granted by women at the same academic level', something that Sonja gets frustrated about:

> The only thing that sort of annoys me is when you see those young boys, they're warmly welcomed to the academic environment that they get here, and positions are created for them. And you are like, yeah no wonder they are doing so well. You both admire them and, (you are) a bit annoyed by the whole thing, it is not equality, it is not equal circumstances….(quoted in Heijstra et al. 2013).

However, not only have women academics voiced the injustice they felt in similar cases such as the one outlined above, but, more importantly they felt that they were deliberately held down by male (senior) academics, exploited and disturbingly bullied[1].

In one of the more poignant narratives, one of my participants indicated:

> The boys' club is still going strong. I get so angry and I know it is toxic and it poisons you but it is very painful to have it staring in your face every day. … all these men who get to climb the ladder of career and salary progression in a blink of an eye while the women keep staring at the glass ceiling, in shock and disgust with the realization that decades transpire and they are still lecturers even if they have ticked all the boxes … And, to top it all off, they also feel guilty that there is something they are doing wrong when in reality they are continuously victimized! (UK, mid career)

While I prefer to steer away from discourses of victimization that further exacerbate the symbolic violence of accountability for those challenged by systemic and structural elements of the neoliberal university, it is more constructive to perhaps problematize the ethics of such discourses of victimhood, the claims and contestations over blame and responsibility (cf. Dahl, 2009). This is coupled with continued demands for income generation and the surveillance of such grant applications that make the process demoralizing and paralyzing as academics are expected to bring vast amounts of research income to their departments and schools, often a condition for sustaining their jobs[2].

While it is true that over-generalizing narratives create a homogenizing and disempowering context of despair, the intricacies of the 3 case studies while

[1] See for instance: 'Why women leave academia and why universities should be worried", and 'Culture of cruelty: why bullying thrives in higher education', accessible respectively from: http://www.theguardian.com/higher-education-network/blog/2014/nov/03/why-bullying-thrives-higher-education and http://www.theguardian.com/higher-education-network/blog/2012/may/24/why-women-leave-academia?CMP=twt_gu

[2] Among numerous campaigns for unfair dismissal on such grounds see for instance one of the latest regarding a Lecturer in Connective Tissue Biology in the Department of Clinical Veterinary Science at the University of Bristol, UK: http://epigram.org.uk/news/2015/02/ucu-launches-campaign-to-reinstate-dismissed-lecturer

analytically interesting remain politically reducible to the issue of power/oppression. So while scale is an element for consideration and this includes both the wider population context but more specifically the sheer numbers of actual institutions of Higher Education and the variations within (eg. UK 150, Iceland 7), and so do curricula, appointment and appraisal processes, etc. the essence remains that irrespective of any metric representation and triangulation of sampling representability and validity, similar issues of pedagogic social justice, social reproduction, and similar politics of compassion, sharing and caring are salient across all three countries.

For all these reasons, this research and writing project has been both traumatic and cathartic, reflexive and revealing, in the making and in undoing, unpicking and unpacking, and of course ongoing. Here in this reflective contribution I outline some of the central parameters of the research while providing some narrative insights drawn from the qualitative data gathered. This reflective piece is intended to provide a scoping overview of the themes, issues and reflexive arguments that I am currently grappling with in reporting about this research in progress.

Commodification, corporatization and the construction of the entrepreneurial University: neoliberal paradigms of the knowledge economy

The intensification of neoliberal restructuring over the past decades is exemplified in the erosion of guarantees and rights as the achievements of previous struggles of organized labor (c.f. Federici, 2006), and the emergence of such policies have resulted in flexitime informalized working circumstances that has exacerbated a gendered crisis (Chant, 2008), the slow demise of welfare and the fast privatization of such public and collective goods including education (Castree and Sparke, 2000).

Within this context Motta et al. (2011: 1) observe that women carry the burden of ensuring survival of their families, 'combining escalating domestic responsibilities with integration into a labor market that is increasingly precarious and unregulated. Furthermore, their integration is accompanied by accelerated sexualization of public space, and the concurrent objectification and commodification of women's minds and bodies (McRobbie, 2009). Such conditions serve only to deepen women's experiences of poverty, inequality, exclusion, alienation and violence'.

In its neoliberal discursive formation, the University today as an institution of ethical wisdom and social justice has eroded such ideals, since it privileges the deployment of regimes of neoliberal governance as rendered within the knowledge economy and by extension, instead of empowering academic citizens, it reproduces control, surveillance and injustice, especially for those who as activist academics seek to combat such inequalities.

> I was basically told that it gets better and that in an age of overqualified candidates still looking for jobs that I can't afford to say "no" to whatever they ask me to do, if I was to be considered for a permanent post. So I did put my head down, did the dirty work and stayed silent. (UK, early career)

The degree of oppression and bullying described above is the outcome of academia being 'colonised' and 'occupied by management' to the degree where such a regime is 'impervious to cogent arguments' and changes can only occur if academics take direct action since 'by now, we academics no longer have any allies' and 'there is no societal support either' (Haffman and Radder, 2015: 165, 174). Collective refusal and collective action to resist the further degradation of academic lives are necessary measures to formulating a meaningful response to combat inequality and the further demise of academia. But this action has to be fostered with supportive continuity of a caring context as an emancipatory movement where both men and women academics care, act, change.

Gendering the de-humanization of the University

> Well it is oppressive and utterly exhausting, it is a total trap because you think you have the flexibility that wouldn't be the same with a 9-5 job…but then again it ends up being 24/7 when you are replying to emails all weekend just to catch up or when you are still working past midnight. (Iceland, senior career)

As Gill and Scharff argue, neoliberalism is '*always already gendered*, and … women are constructed as its ideal subjects' (2011:7; emphasis in the original). And, in my experience, it is women academics who are rarely encouraged to pursue equity issues and are more than often advised to 'move on and let go' by their line managers[3]. On those occasions when women academics persist and engage in voicing sexism, bullying and wider injustice in the Academy, and enter struggles, those are long drawn, demanding and further dehumanizing (cf. 'Academics Anonymous: sexism is driving women out of science': http://www.theguardian.com/higher-education-network/blog/2014/mar/15/women-science-research-university-discrimination-academics-anonymous).

Further dehumanizing is the continuous blending of work-life with no balance and no boundaries. In her PhD Dissertation (2013) entitled *Seeking Balance: A*

[3] A 'line manager' is the terminology utilized in the UK to denote the person to whom academics report to, usually a Head of Department or Head of School. Although 'managing' people has a subjective element to the process, no doubt line managers are representing (or compelled to represent) the institutional direction and ethos when they are approached by academic staff with issues for discussion in the hope of reaching a resolution.

study of gendered life within Icelandic academia, Thamar Melanie Heijstra starts her introduction with the following personal observation:

> As an undergraduate student I received an SMS at three o'clock at night from a fellow student texting that the final course grades had just been published online. Similar incidents took place during my graduate studies where I received emails from faculty at odd working hours; during night time or in the early hours, through the weekends, or on feast days. It appeared as if constraints were non-existent within the working hours of academics.

The exploration of odd working hours was encapsulated in the narrative extract below as one of my Greek participants described her predicament with deadlines:

> Every time I meet one, another comes along that very same day. It's like that myth with Hercules and the monster, chopping off one head of the beast and another dozen pop up! (Greece, senior career)

The embodied effects of working in a neoliberal educational framework in how time is experienced, instrumentalized and co-opted for metrics and appraisals is an added layer to the overwhelming demands and costs that punishing and oppressive workload regimes have on not just the individual academic but also on their partners, children, parents, wider family and other dependents at large. The temporalities of both demands and modes of resistance are important here in the way that 'slow scholarship' has been suggested as a feminist politics of collective action and resistance (e.g. O'Neill, 2014; Martell, 2014, Mountz et al. 2015). But, again, this has to emerge as a collective practice of collaborative change, one driven by feminist ethics of care and caring (i.e. Mountz et al. 2015) for each other in a process that ensures affective ethics of enhancing an inclusive sense of belonging to a process of reducing the paralyzing, individualizing and disguised oppressions that we academics are complicit in as much as the institution as a structure of power.

And, yes, this often involves immersing ourselves in the very messy and personal spaces of forging friendships in order to form collaborations. It includes a deliberate effort to be honest and open, to assist and support each other. As Mountz et al. (2015: 8) underscore, 'collective commitments to slow scholarship, fostered by academic alliances and friendships, can help us to come out of moments of depression or exhaustion, lest we drown in shame, loss, and discontentment'. At the same time, it should become a liberating pathway to share the personal in reaching the political. So often our personal circumstances are amplified further because of isolation and an added pressure to conform or not to become a burden to colleagues. The strength and authenticity of collegiality is to create spaces of caring that will make such misconceptions

evaporate by truly engaging with others in true friendship, where friendship is a potential for a culture of changing individualist and instrumentalist behaviors.

Towards erasure of exploitation, annihilation of alienation and re-constitution of the Academy?

One of the core steps forward to improving working conditions for academics is to revitalize collective efforts. One of the limits to this is that 'academics continue to be individualistic rather than putting up a collective response' (Martell, 2014: 18), and this has to change.

> Well, I think it is a love-hate relationship but …I thought it would be more fulfilling, more life transformative or rather, idealistically, I thought I could change the world. The world has changed and for the worse and that's why education is in complete shambles, in this and other countries. (UK, senior career)

The Academy must be re-built on the foundations of its mission: that of the pursuit of wisdom as a life transformative energy that will regenerate values of global ethical citizenship in advancing decolonizing knowledge for the pursuit of democratic and equitable societies. Societies of cosmopolitan values of the kind that Kevin Robins (2014: 273) proposes as a vision for Europe and advocates 'an engagement that is more committed to lived experience and to creative exploration of the immensely commodious resource that is cultural complexity'.

What then is imperative to develop is new cultures of academic labor that take into consideration the constructive elements of conversational engagement with issues, academics and learning. A new culture of an Academy that will rectify the erasure of the authentic dialogical process and the transparency of collective consultation that goes beyond 'decision-less decision-making' and 'performative consultations' that co-opt academic actors into pre-decided outcomes.

An Academy that incorporates a transactional pedagogy of discussion-deliberation-reflection in decision-making for the collective benefit of the academic staff and student body; one that transforms academic labor into a 'labor of friendship/philia' with each other and the subjects we teach and research. This may sound utopian but as Luke Martell (2013: 35) declares, 'we need utopianism'; perhaps the only pathway to the return of social democracy in all spheres of life and higher education is certainly in imminent need of democratizing.

With this contribution I hope to trigger further reflection and action on both an individual and collective scale. We deserve and can rebuild a better University, but we have to do it together. Historical evidence should remind us that we are stronger in numbers and transformative when agentic collective consciousness becomes praxis.

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Organizing in abeyance: examining the single-payer healthcare movement in the Era of Affordable Care Act implementation

Shelley K. White and Amy Finnegan

Abstract

This research examines the U.S. single-payer social movement in the era of implementation of the Affordable Care Act (ACA), a sweeping federal healthcare reform. The ACA presents a significant narrowing in political opportunity structure for the movement. The policy fortifies the place of private healthcare insurance in the U.S. health system, which the single-payer movement aims to abolish in favor of a unified health system under one, federal government, payer. Through interviews with leading movement activists, we observe that the movement has entered a period of abeyance, with heightened tensions over interpretations of the new opportunity structure, and over the appropriate organizing strategy. This research examines the complications of organizing for a federal platform in a federalist political system, and scrutinizes how progressive movements navigate obstacles championed by fellow progressive advocates. Ultimately, we consider the tenuous border between abeyance and demobilization and examine the features of this movement that may allow it to persevere despite new constraints and struggles.

Keywords: healthcare, single-payer, abeyance, demobilization, political opportunity structure, federalism

Introduction

On March 23, 2010, U.S. President Barack Obama signed into law the Patient Protection and Affordable Care Act (ACA). This was the most significant reform of the U.S. health system since 1965, when Medicare and Medicaid were enacted to provide healthcare for elders and people of low income. For many U.S. health reform advocates on the left, it was a day of jubilation as the new law would expand coverage to tens of millions of Americans and would initiate new regulation of the health insurance industry. *The New York Times* reported that the festive crowd that surrounded Obama that day was cheering campaign slogans, marking the bill as "one of the high points of his presidency" (Stolberg and Pear 2010). In a political moment rich with symbolism and ceremony, Obama gave a "10-minute speech that was interrupted more than 20 times by ovations" (Wilson 2010). However, for some health reform advocates on the left– particularly those advocating for single-payer healthcare – the ACA's passage presented a shift that complicated their struggle. From their perspective, while the new law did expand health insurance coverage, it also

created a tiered system of access that left many out. In their eyes, it fortified private industry's hold in U.S. healthcare, and represented a missed opportunity to create a more efficient health system. Single-payer activists, after all, have spent decades building the case for creating a centralized healthcare system in the U.S., with government serving as the sole payer. This would, they argued, eliminate the existing, fragmented, public-private system of financing and administration and pave the road for higher quality care and universal, equitable access. Where the ACA expands the predominance of the private health insurance industry, at its roots, it presented a deep conflict for a social movement aiming to eliminate the role of private insurers in the U.S. altogether.

This paper examines how the single-payer social movement across the U.S. has been impacted by the passage and implementation of the ACA. We present the results of interviews with 36 key informants, primarily high-level strategic leaders in the national and/or state-based single-payer movements, completed between October 2013 and June 2014, during implementation of the ACA's major systems. Through analyzing the single payer movement against the social movement theoretical concept of abeyance, we consider the broader question of how social movements navigate the tenuous border between abeyance and demobilization. We examine how this social movement is responding, adapting, and perhaps recovering from the ACA, which has been interpreted as a major setback by many movement leaders. Our interviews reveal complex movement dynamics as this shift in the political opportunity structure affects this movement. Because this movement had been championed by a Democratic President with the support of left and progressive politicians and organizations, it faced internal strife over whether and how to raise potentially divisive opposition. Also, as many movement actors shifted attention to state-level targets following the narrowing in political opportunity structure, this research raises interesting questions about the strategies for policy wins in a federalist political system. We consider lessons from social movement theory, and from transnational comparisons, as we articulate potential next steps for movements, such as the U.S. single-payer movement, grappling with a period of abeyance.

The single-payer platform and social movement

For single-payer activists in the U.S., the passage and implementation of the ACA shifted the landscape. Analysis of political opportunity structure involves determining the relative openness or closure of the political system, which may either facilitate or threaten collective action to challenge the status quo (della Porta & Diana 2006, Kitschelt 1986). To understand why the ACA's passage challenges single-payer organizing, it is important to understand the movement's unique platform for reform. Single-payer advocacy is distinguished from other health reform movements by its focus on methods of financing. It calls for a unified national health plan that is financed by one payer, the national government, to eliminate inefficiencies of fragmented public-private systems. Under a single-payer system, private insurance is unnecessary, though healthcare may still be delivered by public or private

healthcare facilities and providers. Based on these features, single-payer is sometimes framed as 'Medicare for All' in the United States, referring to the core publicly-financed elements of Medicare, a federal program for elders and individuals with disabilities originally passed in 1965 (Healthcare-NOW! n.d.; PNHP-a n.d.). Table 1 outlines the major distinctions between the ACA and a single-payer system, which are discussed further below (PNHP-b n.d.; Kaiser Family Foundation n.d.).

Table 1: Comparing the ACA and Single-Payer

	ACA	**Single-payer system**
Who pays for healthcare?	A mix of *private* insurance companies (that are accessed through employer-based programs or through online health exchanges) and *public* programs such as Medicaid, Medicare and the Veterans Administration (VA).	Payment is entirely *public.* The federal government collects taxes that are utilized to create a fund dedicated to paying for healthcare for all citizens.
Who qualifies for healthcare?	An individual mandate requires citizens to purchase insurance to access care. Insurance plans vary depending on what one can afford, and the government provides subsidies for some based on financial need.	Every legal resident regardless of job status, pre-existing conditions, or financial means.
Who delivers healthcare?	Public (i.e. VA) or private healthcare facilities and providers	Public (i.e. VA) or private healthcare facilities and providers
How are costs controlled?	Primarily through restructuring of payment approaches, and the creation of an Independent Advisory Board, for Medicare; and through incentives for cost saving innovation across public programs.	Through the elimination of marketing and administrative costs of private insurers, improved purchasing power of the government payer, and global budgeting.

While the concepts behind single-payer entered historic U.S. efforts advocating national health insurance (NHI), the frame of single-payer seems to have emerged in the 1970s (Quadagno 2005, Public Citizen, n.d.). Today, many U.S. national and state organizations[1] work for single-payer, advancing policy principles, organizing strategies and campaigns, and mobilizing constituencies, from healthcare professionals to labor groups to the uninsured. Physicians for a National Health Program (PNHP), the first national organization focused singularly on single-payer, has taken a lead in defining the policy platform through dozens of academic and popular publications. PNHP was founded in 1986 as an organization of health professionals, based on a growing consensus that corporate-led healthcare was problematic and was eroding strained public systems, and based on growing evidence that Canada's single-payer approach presented significant potential to improve access and efficiency (Woolhandler and Himmelstein 2012).

In 1989, PNHP published its initial policy proposal, endorsed by over 400 physicians, in the *New England Journal of Medicine*, since reinforced in many other publications.[2] At risk of over-simplifying, the defining features of the proposed U.S. single-payer system, as outlined in Table 1, include: 1) universal coverage of all Americans, eliminating financial barriers to care, which is linked with improved health outcomes; 2) creation of one unified national health plan, financed by the federal government through taxation, and administered at state and local levels; and 3) elimination of private health insurance to overcome current system fragmentation and recuperate unnecessary administrative costs, the savings which make expanded coverage feasible (Himmelstein et al 1989). A seminal 2003 PNHP publication makes the financial case for single-payer: In 1999, the U.S.'s public-private system resulted in 31% administrative costs (which have since escalated), compared with 16.7% in Canada's single-payer system. Overhead for private U.S. insurers was 11.7%, while it was 3.6% for the U.S. Medicare program, and 1.3% for Canada's public system. The authors conclude that if the U.S. shifted to single-payer, savings on administration could provide comprehensive coverage for all Americans (Woolhandler, Campbell and Himmelstein 2003). Also in 2003, U.S. Representative John Conyers introduced H.R.676, which he has introduced in every congressional session since. The bill – sometimes dubbed 'Medicare for All' – would create a U.S. single-payer system, financed through taxation and significant predicted savings due to elimination of health insurance and billing costs. The bill has had between 38 and 93 co-sponsors each Congressional session (Library of Congress).

[1] Examples include Healthcare-NOW, Physicians for a National Health Program, Labor Campaign for Single Payer, Progressive Democrats of America, the One Payer States coalition, and several state-based organizations.

[2] See summary of PNHP-affiliated publications, detailing policy findings and principles on-line at: http://www.pnhp.org/resources/pnhp-research-the-case-for-a-national-health-program

As Hern (2012) has highlighted, the U.S. single-payer movement has experienced significant shifts in political opportunity structure over time. She points to how activists have used narratives of opportunity, "which define and construct the activist's understanding of the environment of opportunity" in such a way that "relatively powerless groups find strength and empowerment" through their experiences, such that they can even "reconstitute the opportunity for reform" (p. 29). During the health reform debate of President Clinton's tenure as well as the initial Obama-era healthcare debate that lead to the ACA, Hern (2012) suggests that narratives of opportunity advanced by single-payer activists presented counter-frames even as the political opportunity narrowed. Hern also documents increased radicalization in the Obama era that allowed for ongoing mobilization. For instance, physicians engaged in civil disobedience, leading to arrests, when single-payer advocates were not allowed to participate in a Senate Finance Committee roundtable policy discussion held in the lead up to the ACA's passage (Flowers 2009, Hern 2012). Our research examines the next chapter in this story, when the ACA had passed and its most significant components began implementation. As the new program occupied expanded media and public space in the fall of 2013, we were eager to understand how movement leaders were interpreting the ACA itself, the political opportunity structure, and the appropriate movement strategies.

As our interviews highlight, the ACA presented a predicament for many single-payer activists, which is rooted in its deep differences, both in structure and outcome, from single-payer objectives. First, it does not fulfill single-payer's promise of universality. The ACA's anticipated expanded coverage of over 30 million still leaves a similar number of Americans uninsured (Jacobs and Skocpol 2014, PNHP-a n.d.) Complicating this potential, a June 2012 U.S. Supreme Court ruling on the ACA allowed individual U.S. states to opt out of a key provision. This provision would have expanded eligibility standards for Medicaid, a joint federal-state program originally passed in 1965 to provide healthcare coverage to individuals of low income. By March 2015, 22 U.S. states opted out of the expansion, leaving 4 million low-income individuals in a coverage gap (Garfield et al 2015). A more critical issue from the single-payer perspective is that the ACA relies on, and further entrenches, private insurers in the health system (Drake 2015), as the policy mandates that individuals purchase private insurance coverage. Critics highlight that this arrangement fortifies the existing fragmented public-private system, and ensures high profitability for the insurance industry (Pear, Sanger-Katz and Abelson 2015, Shaffer 2013, Lenzner 2013). Given these important differences, single-payer activists worked to influence the health reform debate in the lead-up to the ACA, but were ultimately denied entry (Flowers 2009, Hern 2012).

Theories of abeyance and demobilization

Turning to social movement literature, we searched for insight on how other social movements have endured substantial political opportunity closure. Rupp and Taylor (1987) posit that social movements generally persist over stretches of

time through fluctuation of political opportunity in various stages of mobilization, decline or abeyance. While social movements scholars have generally dedicated more attention to studying mobilization and the emergence of social movements than to the mechanisms of demobilization and abeyance of social movements (Walder 2009), there is still a significant body of literature to draw upon for this study. The concept of abeyance emerged as a major contribution to social movement theory rooted in the political process approach of social movements (Tilly 1985, 1995; Zald and McCarthy 1987), which "focuses attention on the observable and measurable characteristics and routines of social movement organisations (SMOs), considering protest and activism as evidence of movement activity" (Barry et. al 2007:354). Taylor first theorized the notion of a*beyance*, a platform that creates "linkages between one upsurge in activism and another…through promoting the survival of *activist networks*, sustaining a repertoire of *goals and tactics*, and promoting a *collective identity* that offers participants a sense of mission and moral purpose." (Taylor 1989, 762). Much of abeyance theory has been illuminated through studies of women's movements, both in the U.S. and internationally (Staggenborg and Taylor 2005, Bagguley 2002, Greg and Sawyer 2008, Valiente 2015). In her study of women's rights activism, Taylor (1989) theorized that the American women's movement did not die between the suffrage victory of 1920 and the 1960s, but rather went into a period of abeyance that served as a 'holding pattern' until it strengthened thereafter.

On the positive side, a period of abeyance can provide a movement with space and time for reformation for the future. Bagguley (2002), who argues that the women's movement in the UK was in abeyance in the early 2000s, contends that while "referring to a social movement as being in a state of abeyance carries with it connotations of social movement decline, failure, and demobilization," abeyance is really about hibernation and movement reorganization for future mobilization rather than disappearance (p. 170). Movements can also continue to make gains, often through a shift in strategy. In Britain, abeyance spurred a shift in the form of feminist contention, from more radical protest, to a strategy of greater collaboration with the male establishment (Bagguley 2002). Such forms of 'unobtrusive mobilization' (Katzenstein 1990) for social movements in abeyance may include lobbying, negotiation, service provision, or support for individuals (Bagguley 2002). Movements in abeyance can also persist, even when there is an absence of long-time activists from previous eras of mobilization, as Staggenborg (1996) found of a local women's movement in Indiana where there was high population turnover and a lack of durable social movement organizations.

During a period of abeyance, movements do at times experience division and internal conflict. Sawyers and Martin (1999) note that, "while social movement abeyance may indeed contribute to movement continuity, this continuity comes at a price" (p. 201). They contend that the U.S. women's movement, while in abeyance in the 1980s, "was less effective in achieving its political aims at least partly because its supporting coalition fragmented, as radical and institutionally-oriented wings polarized" (p. 201). Similarly, Taylor (1989)

noted that for the women's movement in 1920, after securing the vote, "the major social movement organizations of the suffrage movement evolved in two opposing directions" as there was no unifying goal and an array of tactical and ideological differences among activists (p. 763). Indeed, an "inward-looking orientation" for movements to discern "their own cultural purity, or becoming preoccupied with their own internal differences and divisions" is resonant with many social movements in abeyance (Bagguley 2002, 174). In this research, we have taken a special interest in these dynamics of fragmentation as we observe deepening tensions over whether and how the single-payer movement should manage state-focused strategies during this period of decreased federal opportunity. We are also struck by a tension that may be common for progressive movements that present a critique of policies that also are celebrated as a triumph by other progressive allies. Both of these points are further elaborated in our discussion of findings below.

Ultimately, abeyance theory illustrates that periods of downturn can be either constructive, allowing for reorganization, or destructive, leading to demobilization, depending on how they are managed. As Sawyer and Meyer (1999) argue "*movement decline is an interactive process with activists making choices in response to changes in political opportunity*, and those choices affecting political opportunity. Even in an unfavorable political environment, however, political opportunities may remain" (p. 193-194, emphasis original). Their research suggests that if activists are not thoughtful and strategic, abeyance can lead to divisive fragmentation within the movement and missed opportunities for realizing movement goals.

A movement in abeyance is distinct from a movement that has demobilized as a movement in abeyance maintains collective energy and a spirit of re-strategizing. Over the years, scholars have posited that demobilization is a function of institutionalization (Piven and Cloward 1979; Meyer 1993); that it was related to elite support and a dearth of indigenous resources (McAdam 1982); and that it, at times, correlated with co-optation by authorities (Gamson 1975). More recently, Lapegna (2013) argues that "demobilization is less the outcome of straightforward 'co-optation' than the result of multiple pressures created by the relationships between national authorities, provincial authorities, national social movements, provincial social movement leaders, and local constituents"(p.857). Similarly, Runciman (2015) contends that "elite divisions do not uniformly facilitate demobilization" (p.974). In his study of the South African Privatisation Forum (APF), he argues that the movement collapsed because of several factors including elite divisions within the opponent political party, a 'fragmented collective identity' (Gamson 1995) and weaknesses in the ADF's capacity to attend to the "cosmological, technical and organizational" tasks of movement leadership (Eyerman and Jamison 1991). Drawing on a U.S. historical case study of a black nationalist-secessionist social movement organization, Davenport (2015) casts demobilization as a function of a 'coevolutionary dynamic' between challengers and their opponents. Finally, drawing on a recent U.S case, Heaney and Rojas (2011) examine the demobilization of the antiwar movement from 2007 to 2009, positing that

changes in perceived threats by activists, partisan identification with the Democratic Party and President Obama, and coalition brokerage were three mechanisms that explicate the decline of the movement. While no over-arching theory of demobilization exists, scholars converge on their recognition that social movements generally demobilize, rather than go into abeyance, when an opponent offers an attractive option for activists or when movement leadership fails to maintain cohesive momentum and identity (Lapegna 2013; Runciman 2015; Davenport 2015; Heaney and Rojas 2011)

Drawing from these various literatures, it is evident that both abeyance and demobilization are best explained in hindsight. Since these theories are most illuminating after the fact, there is currently no clear method for differentiating abeyance (continuity) from demobilization (dissolution) of social movements during their real-time entry into periods of fragmentation. Nonetheless, we theorize the single-payer movement as entering a period of abeyance, not demobilization, based on the ongoing narratives of opportunity (Hern 2012), forward-looking strategizing, and continuity of organizational infrastructure that we observed, all of which maintain cohesion and identity. As we discuss in this paper, while social movement actors discussed fragmentation and deflation, we also observed hopeful visions, renewed strategies, and clear problem-solving processes underway. In presenting our results, we consider the factors influencing abeyance and continuity.

In particular, we explore how movement leaders are interpreting the current context, and the extent to which they agree or disagree on how the ACA has affected the opportunities for mobilization. We are particularly cognizant of the challenges of this shift in political opportunity structure, given that the ACA has been understood as a major win by many progressives. We also consider whether the movement is unified in its overarching strategy in moving forward, and explore a longer-term point of tension around organizing in a federalist system, a debate that has been sharpened by the ACA's narrowing of opportunities at the federal level. We ultimately consider what can be learned and gained from this period of reorganization for single-payer organizers, lessons which may hold for other social movements experiencing similar shifts and debates around opportunity structure.

Methodological approach

This research involved thirty-six in-depth interviews with high-level strategic leaders, at national and state levels, in the U.S. movement for single-payer healthcare. We completed these interviews between October 2013 and June 2014, during implementation of the ACA's most significant provisions. We asked participants to discuss their organizing strategies, including engagement on state and national levels; how the ACA has impacted the movement, including whether it represents an overall opportunity or constraint for organizing; their experiences with collaboration and general observations about the movement, its strategies, framing approaches, and engagement of various

constituencies; and finally, how our research could best be in service to the movement, including any input on next steps in the research. The latter items stemmed from our intentional engagement with a public sociology methodology (Burroway 2005), which approaches knowledge production through researcher-subject partnership and collaboration. Each semi-structured interview lasted approximately one hour, and was conducted over the phone, audio-recorded and transcribed. In our analysis, we used an inductive grounded theory approach to identify major themes emerging across the interviews (Glaser and Strauss, 1967). We then used HyperResearch qualitative coding software to further interrogate and sub-code to understand the wide variety of viewpoints presented.

We used a snowball method to identify and recruit interviewees, building on the close-knit nature of this relatively small activist community. We began with two high-level national leaders we knew through our own activist-scholar engagement. As we expanded, we aimed to maximize variance, recruiting for broad geographic representation, state and/or national strategies, and a diversity of organizing strategies and constituency engagement. The majority of our interviewees, except a handful from multi-issue entities, stemmed from organizations focused primarily on health. Most organizations were explicitly focused on grassroots mobilization. Interviewees with whom we spoke were generally educated professionals with approximately half of them working on single-payer as a livelihood. In terms of years of involvement in health reform advocacy, seven (19%) had under 5 years of experience, sixteen (44%) had 5 to 9 years, five (14%) had 10-19 years, six (17%) had 20-29 years, and two (6%) had over 30 years of experience. Half of our interviewees were primarily affiliated with national organizations, and half were with state organizations.

Findings and interpretation

Social movement impacts: entry into abeyance

There is scant social movements research on the single-payer movement in the U.S. However, Hern's (2012, 2016) work provides a deep historical analysis of this social movement, highlighting its response to various obstacles and opportunities over time. In examining the lead-up to the ACA's passage, Hern contends that the single-payer movement was not in abeyance as it developed a radical flank and advanced narratives of opportunity to contend with its marginalization during the reform dialogues. Our research, taking place just a few years later, during the ACA's implementation, tells a different story, as it appears that the movement was quiet and fragmented, yet still operative with organizational infrastructure and activists that were discerning and seeking novel opportunities.

One of the primary themes that emerged from our interviews was that the ACA diffused long-time support within the movement. Twenty-five interviewees (69%) discussed stark realities of how the ACA diverted energies and deflated the movement. Anthony, a non-profit executive working for state single-payer,

shared, "The ACA has kind of sucked the oxygen out of the room and it has denied us a huge swath of activists who I think would otherwise be engaged in the fight for single-payer." Others spoke of tangible declines in their ranks. Kostas, a nurse and state-based organizer shared, "We were really knocked down by the ACA. Before the ACA passed our meetings were very heavily attended; we had lots of people coming in. After the ACA passed, that dwindled." Adam, a labor organizer, said "When the bill was finally passed it really kind of stopped everyone dead for a while."

Others spoke of a 'fragmenting' of the movement, emerging tensions, and a sense of 'demoralization'. State-based labor organizer Jacob shared, "Yeah, I mean I think it certainly shifted a lot of energy and focus for a time period and created lots of internal tension and divides especially in the initial phase in the effort to pass the legislation." Mariana, a national organizer, discussed multiple impacts, stating "It sucks up all this energy, all the media attention and all the money went to ACA and it severely divided the advocacy community." Ultimately, it was clear from the interviews that the movement is in a moment of relative malleability and is struggling with how to reorganize, and toward which specific aims. Anthony, a non-profit executive, shared keen insight into the importance of this moment. He shared,

> This is a movement that is diverse, but there's not a whole lot of room for that diversity at certain points in time. I think the movement perceives itself at a crisis point and this is how folks act in a moment of crisis. And it has a lot to do with resources, with staying relative, with keeping the camp moving together. I get that, but I also think there's a dangerous downside and I think that it can undermine the longer term integrity and credibility of the movement.

These statements reflect the internal tensions often arising in periods of abeyance.

Interviewees offered various explanations for these movement impacts. In particular, we explore two important tension points below, which centered around interpretations of the ACA, and debates on best strategies moving forward. It is important to highlight, as well, that despite this perception of disjuncture, many in the movement shared optimism and evidence of a forthcoming recovery, discussed in our final section of findings. This sense of optimism, ongoing strategizing, and sustained infrastructure evidences a period of abeyance for the movement, rather than a decline into demobilization.

ACA interpretations and impacts

A major component of our interviews focused on participants' interpretations of the ACA and how it altered the climate for single-payer organizing. We asked whether they saw the ACA as an overall constraint or opportunity for movement organizing. Interviewees shared decisive interpretations, and there was a

somewhat clear division in understandings of current and future impacts on the single-payer movement. When asked directly, 15 (42%) said that the ACA is a constraint to single-payer organizing, while 14 (39%) said it is an opportunity. The remaining seven (19%) took a middle-of-the-road stance, saying that it serves as both constraint and opportunity. However, while this appears as a relatively even divide, those discussing potential opportunities more often qualified their responses, while those discussing constraints spoke with greater conviction. It was also apparent that organizers seeing opportunity were making the best of the situation, perhaps in the vein of the narratives of opportunity presented by Hern (2012). For instance, John, a state-based organizer, stated "Ultimately, I've come down to saying we might as well see it as an opportunity." His comment was echoed by Sapna, also a state organizer, who stated, "and that's part of our job – to turn those constraints into opportunities."

Differences in perspective on the ACA did serve as a source of divisiveness in the movement as Betsy, an organizer active at state and national levels, noted, "So even within the movement itself you've got this tension between those who believe that the ACA is something good and those who believe that it's the worst evil ever in the healthcare system." Below, we explore the primary themes developed around ACA's negative and positive impacts, and consider the strain this has created in the movement.

ACA's negative and constraining impacts

The most common cross-cutting theme interviewees discussed regarding the negative impacts of the ACA, was that it created a diversion on multiple levels: in the public's view, within the single-payer movement , and within the U.S. political process. Respondents also highlighted how the policy creates substantial, structural barriers to realizing single-payer.

Related to public impacts, seventeen (47%) participants discussed a sense of confusion. Many lamented that the policy has created illusions, or a false sense of security that the ACA has resolved our health system problems. Angela, a state-based organizer, explained:

> What happened was, after the ACA was passed in 2010, a lot of people were like, oh great, we won healthcare for all, not realizing that there's still going to be a lot of people uninsured, under-insured and it is going to be a huge problem, that the cost effectiveness is not as great as it could be and that insurance companies are still mainly in charge.

Others discussed how the public confuses the ACA with single-payer. Linked to this, some discussed how the ACA thwarted public confidence that government can efficiently and effectively run healthcare programs, particularly following

the bumpy launch of enrollment exchange websites.[3] Carl, a physician working toward state single-payer, referenced these problems:

> It's kind of mess for the single-payer people. Now I have to go to great pains to make it clear that the ACA is not single-payer, it's not even a stalking horse for single-payer – it's an insurance industry bail out. Please don't tar us with this dreadful policy... The conservatives are already making that link that the ACA is an indication of how single-payer would work.

Likewise, Sapna, a national organizer, shared, "people are sick and tired of all this healthcare reform stuff…and it's getting harder for us to build back credibility that the government can do anything." Related to this sense of confusion and waning confidence, ten interviewees (28%) described fatigue, both among the public and the media. Robert, a national policy advisor explained, "And the difficulty here of course is that so much political capital and so much media air was used up in this healthcare fight that it's gonna be hard for the American people to be ready to stomach another fight like this."

Interviewees also highlighted how the ACA has constrained the movement internally. Some discussed how centrist activists became satisfied with the expanded coverage of the ACA, shifting their support to implementation and enrollment. Marnie, a physician and state activist, shared, "So for those folks [who believe] it's only about coverage, there's more people covered. So you're going to lose those people in terms of supporting any kind of more systematic reform. They're pretty much seeing it as, 'okay, we fixed that, now let's go on to another issue'. So it's actually affected a lot of organizing." Others discussed how single-payer activists became swept up with state battles around the technicalities of Medicaid expansion, after the Supreme Court allowed states to opt out in 2012. Samantha, a nurse and union organizer, stated, "In a sense they've abandoned the movement because they feel that the ACA is what they need to be implementing, particularly around the expansion of Medicaid." This sense of abandonment and internal division was echoed by many, displaying the inner dynamics of contention of a social movement in abeyance, discussed by Bagguley (2002), Taylor (1989) and Sawyers and Martin (1999). However, others might argue that this evidences the co-optation seen in demobilization (Gamson 1975), and it will not be certain until after the ACA is fully implemented whether activists move back to single-payer efforts.

Related to our political process, interviewees referenced a 'chilling effect', whereby politicians, and even organizers, are reluctant to undermine the ACA, or President Obama, by questioning the ACA or organizing toward a different

[3] Exchange websites, such as the federal healthcare.gov, are online portals where citizens can sign up for health insurance coverage under the ACA. When healthcare.gov launched in October 2013, months of technical troubles ensued, raising sharp public critique and frustration.

policy outcome. In total, twenty-two (61%) described this sense of reluctance. Frank, a policy analyst, stated,

> It's been a curse in the sense that the United States Congress and the Senate… have a fair number of members who are supporters of the ACA because they have to be - they're Democrats, they're running for public office. They are intensely reluctant to be seen advocating anything beyond the ACA if it would look like they are criticizing the ACA. So they simply don't want to do it. A number of Congressmen have said to me in private, what you guys want to do [single-payer] is the right thing, but I can't say so in public.

Several echoed this statement, highlighting how Democratic politicians had put their political careers on the line for the ACA. Some discussed a similar reluctance among activists, whom feel caught in the politics, wanting to advance a better policy, but also reluctant to undermine the President or jeopardize Congressional seats. Martin, a nurse and state organizer explained, "We're kind of betwixt and between [because] you fall into the repeal trap and you're a Tea Partyer,[4] but if you don't defend the ACA then you're anti-Obama."

This dynamic of progressive activists struggling to advance critical opposition within their party and the left, in general, is not a novel challenge. It is an ongoing struggle, which has transpired in other social movements. In the 1990s, Democratic President Bill Clinton and several Democratic allies advanced and eventually passed U.S. welfare reform. Many progressive activists and politicians contested the bill and the associated frame that disparaged welfare recipients as "undeserving" while "focus[ing] far more commonly on constituencies than on government or societal problems." (Ryan and Alexander 2006, 572). Yet, these progressives were unable to successfully critique Clinton's effort and promote their welfare justice frame. To this end, Peter Edelman, (1997), former member of the Clinton administration, reflected "The story has never been fully told, because so many of those who would have shouted their opposition from the rooftops if a Republican President had done this were boxed in by their desire to see the President [Clinton] re-elected." In the end, rigorous evidence regarding the structural determinants of poverty was ignored, constructive dialogue on the roots of poverty shut down, and reform activists who advanced such critiques found themselves unable to present their creative ideas for welfare reform. (Ryan 1996). Similar to the case of single-payer activists, progressives were unable to successfully critique others on the left, partly for fear that the Right would gain momentum and power in their attacks.

This tension has also been noted within the Treatment Action Campaign (TAC)'s fight for public provision of HIV/AIDS treatment in South Africa, following the

[4] The Tea Party is a contemporary conservative American political movement known especially for its platform to reduce taxation, lower government spending, and oppose the ACA.

democratic transition from the apartheid regime in 1994. In this struggle, the social movement organization, TAC, found itself in an oppositional relationship to members of the ANC government, many of whom had been former comrades in the anti-apartheid struggle. Zackie Achmat, the former chairman of TAC, reflected how difficult it was to launch a civil disobedience campaign targeting the ANC in 2003: "The difficult decision for me was not to take off my suit and go to the streets to fight for treatment. That was easy. The emotionally torturous thing for me to do was to recognize that we had to take on the ANC. *Our* ANC." (Achmat in Power 2003). Another member of TAC recalls, "civil disobedience was a difficult decision because it is historically a tool that was used against the government – but not a government most people support. There was some internal debate as to how it would work for us. There were fears that it would make us politically vulnerable if we seemed anti-government" (Mthathi in Friedman and Mottiar 2004, 19). In the end, TAC launched a civil disobedience campaign to pressure the ANC government to provide the life-saving medications named in their national HIV/AIDS policy. They went to great ends to ensure that the campaign was "conducted in a manner which would show that TAC behaved nonviolently and that its activists were prepared to accept the consequences of defying a legitimate legal order" (Friedman and Mottiar 2004, 20).

Perhaps, then, the insight to be gleaned from the TAC example is the need for movements to undergo thoughtful analysis, which appreciates coherence where it exists but still critically and publically opposes specific policies. Berlet (n.d.) has also addressed this type of tension in his distinction between 'strategic coalitions' and 'tactical alliances' in which he advises that progressives ought to, at times, decide to work together in a 'tactical alliance' with other groups over a short period of time, even when they "do not share certain fundamental ideological assumptions." The capacity to make this distinction and still advance claims through tactical alliances enables progressives to continue movement-building with unlikely allies. In this spirit, Berlet (n.d.) encourages activists to "state differences clearly and publicly" to continue the conversation. In the case of activists working towards a single-payer platform in the current era, this guideline could be gainfully employed to work with others who are striving to effectively implement the ACA.

Beyond these impacts on perception noted above, interviewees also discussed how the ACA policy itself created or enhanced barriers to single-payer. Fifteen (42%) discussed how the ACA further entrenches or concentrates industry's power. Carl, a physician working on state reform, discussed the funds the ACA makes available to the insurance industry, which is "the number one opponent of single-payer, and I liken giving money to the insurance industry to nourishing a cancer. You just can't expect the cancer to go away if you're deliberately nourishing the tumor. It's just even harder now to un-feed the insurance industry with all that tax money going into their coffers." Other activists similarly described the ACA as conservative or neoliberal by nature, and expressed disgust at this market-based reform. Alfonso, a state-based organizer differentiated the accountability structure of single-payer, stating:

> This is what happens when you let the medical industry – [which] is making a whole lot of money off of us getting sick – basically writes their own legislation. They're not going to get something that's going to reflect the will of the people or the needs of the people. They're going to get something that will guarantee them profits while pissing everyone off. That's why we need to move a universal healthcare system that's publicly owned as much as possible and accountable to people, not the stockholders.

This political economic analysis reveals the tensions of a movement pitted against the powerful corporate target of private health insurance, which has deep political linkages in the U.S. Building from this analysis, several interviewees lamented that single-payer now seemed less achievable post-ACA.

Several interviewees offered a conclusion that the movement would have been better off had the ACA not passed or otherwise failed. Despite any positive impacts, they discussed how it 'soured the policy environment', and represented a lost opportunity. Greg, a physician and organizer, explained, "It might have been better if nothing had been passed and we were in a deeper crisis in order to get people's attention." Moreover, some shared a dim lesson from history, learning from the failed Clinton healthcare reform. John, a physician and organizer, shared, "It's going to be just like after the Clinton plan failed and nobody is going to seriously have any energy to pursue single-payer for ten years." Carl, a state-based organizer echoed this, sharing that after the Clinton failure, "legislators at the state and federal level just didn't want to touch a full blown healthcare reform for ten to fifteen years. I think we're looking at the same thing right now but I don't think it's going to last as long because the crisis is worse." Thus, they described an unfortunate historical ebb and flow within national health reform social movements, one that suggested entry into a period of abeyance, and which also suggested an eventual re-emergence.

ACA's positive impacts and opportunities

Interviewees shared several points regarding the ACA's positive features, or pathways to opportunity. In terms of positive features, thirteen (36%) discussed consumer benefits, particularly expanded coverage. Betsy, an organizer at national and state levels explained, "more people will be safe, more lives will be saved because more people will be able to access care." Samantha, a nurse and state organizer discussed the importance of acknowledging these benefits, stating, "Where we've had some success is not by degrading the ACA, because it helps people. If we don't say… poor people, working poor are finally going to have a chance to go to the doctor, and recognize that that is going to help them, we're doing a disservice and we're not going to get people to listen to us." Samantha's comments approximate the ethic of collaborative 'tactical alliances' advanced by Berlet (n.d.). She also acknowledged that this viewpoint was not a popular one in the movement, which Betsy spoke to more directly, sharing, "Because I'm one of the people who has benefitted a little bit from the ACA and I have said so and I have taken heat from other single-payer people for saying

that." Others highlighted consumer protections, including curbs on some insurance industry practices. Within this discussion, however, benefits were often balanced with concerns. Ellie, a national organizer for single-payer, shared,

> It was difficult to come from the position of, we know this is significant, but also we can already see all the limitations of the law. Of course there were particularly wonderful things, the expansion of insurance, the expansion of Medicaid, more funding for community health centers, some of the worst private insurance practices [would be] illegal, they would now allow [discrimination on the basis of] pre-existing conditions, but a huge number of people were still likely to be left out.

Interviewees also discussed the ACA's challenges in a different light. That is, rather than presenting these in balance of the policy's positive aspects, a full twenty-five (69%) focused on how the ACA's flaws actually create opportunities for single-payer. Interestingly, these nuances around the narratives of opportunity bring the opposing viewpoints of the ACA across the movement into closer alignment, offering real possibilities for cohesion moving forward. These perspectives suggest that movement actors have not been co-opted, and are, in fact, still focused on the big picture and goal of single-payer. Here, again, interviewees discussed problems with the exchange websites, but perceived a positive twist. Tyler, a lawyer involved in state single-payer work, said, "Right now we have a delay in the roll out…caused by the malfunctioning of the exchange website and oddly, we have the heightened awareness of the lack of affordability of this exchange, which is heightening the support for a move to universal healthcare." Bruce, a national leader, stated, "The most important thing is simply getting folk's attention…I think 'computergate,' or whatever you're calling it, is getting people's attention." Moreover, there was a broader sense held by many that the ACA's inherent weaknesses would be revealed, if not immediately, in the long-run, thereby creating opportunity for progressive activists seeking a single-payer platform. Bruce shared,

> The reality is that if it comes through the way it is proposed, even if they implement it one hundred percent, which we doubt they'll be able to… twenty seven million Americans will be without healthcare or any health coverage. So people are beginning to understand that and people are looking for a long-term solution and single-payer –Medicare for All – provides the answer, and I'm encouraged. I think people are beginning to understand that.

He went on to discuss how the ACA, and its problems, have actually energized the single-payer movement, such that "since 2008 we probably have never been stronger on the grassroots level in fighting for single-payer because the ACA has been left there for what it is." Liz also felt that the ACA's flaws would create opportunity, supporting the concept of movement building during abeyance,

stating, "Once we get enough people in the mix, in the insurance mix and it becomes that much more unwieldy and untenable, single-payer's got to come back and we will be poised to leap right back into the fray and have a good history and foundation for our own advocacy."

In discussing opportunities associated with the ACA, interviewees were often quick to frame the ACA as a first step only, discussing the need to 'get the job done' or otherwise use the ACA's momentum to move people toward understanding that 'we can do better.' Again, these viewpoints are more in agreement, than disagreement, with those advanced by individuals seeing the ACA's constraints. Robert, a national policy advisor, explained:

> My preferred way to talk about it is to say, we are enmeshed in an unsustainable healthcare system. The ACA provided badly needed relief for millions of people who are getting squashed by it, who are getting killed because of lack of coverage or poor coverage, who are being driven into bankruptcy because they thought they had coverage but they really didn't. And that relief was essential. We have that relief. Now it's time to get the job done.

In this discussion, interviewees highlighted a related potential benefit of the ACA for the single-payer movement, which is how it opened a window for discussion about healthcare. Greg, a physician for single-payer, shared,

> People are more aware, more willing to talk about healthcare and ask us to come talk about it, because they're curious about what the ACA actually does. So that's a door that's ajar for us that says, they may not want us to come talk about single-payer but they want to learn more about ACA and what's good about it and what isn't. It's a natural segue to answer those questions and go on to explain what we really need…it's an opportunity, often, to gain an audience.

This perspective, echoed by a handful of others, countered the notion, discussed above, that public and media fatigue has limited ongoing engagement on health policy. These statements also evidence ongoing commitment to moving toward single-payer.

State Versus national organizing

A second point of vibrant debate, and source of tension, we discovered in our interviews focused on whether activists should direct their energies toward realizing single-payer at the national or state level, and whether the latter is even technically possible. This ties to the movement's move into abeyance as actors continue to make important decisions about how to keep the movement vibrant and tenable in the new political landscape, a theme described by Staggenborg (1996). As we discuss in this section, these tensions emerge as the movement navigates the complicated landscape of a federalist policy structure

and undertakes a scale shift in response to the narrowed federal opportunity structure. We discovered that this longer-term tension within the movement has ebbed and flowed with shifting opportunity structures at the federal level, with actors focusing on state wins during periods of abeyance. Fourteen interviewees (39%) discussed these tensions as rather significant, having been heightened by a shift toward state-level organizing post-ACA. Bruce, a national organizer, stated, "You'll find in your interviews that there's a lot of tension in the movement. There are those who believe we have to do this on the national level…They believe ultimately that we're going to bring about a sweeping change… There are others who have adopted that strategy that while we can't do it on the national level why don't we work on the state level?"

Several state-focused activists, in particular, discussed how national organizers seem to discredit the importance of their work. Anthony, a non-profit director, shared, "At the end of the day the folks who are supporting [U.S. Representative John Conyer's federal bill] HR676 only can have little regard for state based single-payer campaigns; there's no credit thrown our direction, there are no people from the HR676-only crowd in support of what we're doing here at the state so it's not a two way street." Indeed some national organizers talked about state efforts as wasteful and even harmful to the national movement. On the flip side, some interviewees poked holes in the national strategy. Robert, a national policy advisor, discussed national bills as "educational pieces that are not gonna pass any time soon. HR676 is like a 40-page bill. You're not gonna reform the healthcare system with 40 pages of legislative text." Martin, a state organizer described HR676 as 'wholly inadequate', explaining, "There's an element in the movement that says 676 is single-payer and nothing else is. If that's what the movement is, it's not feasible… you have virtually every state federation of labor in the country endorsing 676. Okay, now what?" These tensions points were strong, and seem to have been intensified by the ACA having prompted a shift in strategy for the movement.

These tensions in the movement echo broader tensions around federalism and healthcare in the U.S. The U.S. health system has often been characterized as a 'non-system', given fragmentation created by many federal and state policies, thus allowing for a relatively vibrant role for states (Mossley 2008). As the national healthcare debate escalated during both Clinton's and Obama's presidency, the problems of federalism surged (Aaron 2007). For instance, Gray (1994) pointed to a number of state initiatives around healthcare that developed absent a centralized federal role historically, illustrating that "states are definitely not waiting around to see what the feds will do" (p.217). At the same time, she described limitations on state innovation in organizing a healthcare system, based not only on state capacity to organize purchasing, regulate payers, oversee delivery of care, etc.; but also based on existing federal policies that limit state authority.

Given the dynamics of federalist systems, social movement actors make strategic decisions about whether, when, and to what extent they will direct efforts toward federal or state wins. Kolins, Roberts and Soule (2010) describe

this process as scale shift, where movements center their targets on "higher or lower levels of the polity – in order to seek coordination at a level more favorable to them" (p.214). Some movements successfully undertake upward scale shift, as happened with the U.S. marriage equality movement, which strategically moved from local to state to federal targets in their efforts to gain recognition and advance gay rights (Cain 2000, Rimmerman and Wilcox 2007, Eskridge 2002, Bernstein and Reimann 2001). In contrast, the single-payer movement underwent a downward scale shift toward state targets in response to the narrowed federal opportunity structure, mirroring its strategy following the Clinton health reform attempts.

Celis and colleagues (2012) examined how women's social movement organizations in Belgium and Scotland strategized within federalist opportunities. They illustrate that while federalist structures pose challenges they offer multiple entry points for social movement actors, and minimize veto policy players. They found that the most successful social movement organizations took advantage of the multiple levels of government, noting "If they meet a block at one level, they will adapt their agendas to pursue other more accessible policy goals" (p.57), which could hold lessons for single-payer activists in the U.S. On the other hand, Walker's (2014) examination of the U.S. labor movement shows how federalist structures left public sector employees fighting for legal protection in every state, ultimately winning protections that were highly variable, leaving workers vulnerable. Thus, federalist systems can pose a unique set of opportunities or constraints for social movements, and while social movement organizations might desire a cleaner federal win, actors make decisions about what is feasible given the political opportunity structure.

In the U.S. single-payer movement, these tensions arising from federalism apply, and seem to have an added layer of complication presented by the technicalities of the single-payer platform. Indeed, many of the points of strategic disagreement highlighted in our interviews stem from a relativity of purism around the single-payer platform. Like other social movements (Endres et al 2009), there is tension over whether to demand radical, sweeping reform (in this movement, associated with the enactment of a federal single-payer system) or incremental, accomodational wins (in this movement, associated with enactment of state universal health systems that approximate single-payer). Federal-focused advocates understand that true single-payer, technically speaking, can only be realized at the national level as states are not empowered to merge existing federal payers (Medicare, Medicaid, VA, and others), or overcome legislative barriers like the Employee Retirement Income Security Act (ERISA) of 1974 ((National Academy for State Health Policy 2009). Thus, even if states create the experience of single-payer for healthcare consumers, through a universal health coverage card or the like, efficiencies would be lost with the ongoing multiplicity of payers, thereby diluting the cost rationale for single-payer. Based on these understandings, federal-focused actors have a sense of purism, or a radical, all-or-nothing, goal guiding their advocacy. On the flip side, state-focused advocates seem to be guided by a sense of pragmatism; particularly as the federal opportunity structure constrained

(and for some, even in the absence of this constraint), they view state-level single-payer (even if not technically pure single-payer) as more winnable, and as an important stepping stone to eventual national reform. Their position can be considered more accomodational, or incremental, in nature.

Abeyance theory addresses these tensions between purism and pragmatism, or radical and accommodational movement strategies. On one hand, lessons from the U.S. women's movement in the 1980s caution that polarization between the radical wing and the 'institutionally-oriented' wing can deepen abeyance and lead to policy defeats (Sawyers and Martin 1999). On the other hand, Bagguley (2002) speaks about abeyance as a period for movements to discern their 'cultural purity' and this post-ACA era may provide an opportunity for movement leaders to revisit and move to resolution around this internal tension. As the findings below illustrate, while there is some division over whether to mobilize toward state or national wins, there are also bridges of understanding across both strategic viewpoints.

Organizing for state single-payer

As we highlighted above, half of our interviewees were affiliated with state-based organizations. However, when discussing their current activities, twenty-six of our interviewees (72%), focused primarily on state-level objectives, which many attributed to the shifted political opportunity structure following the ACA's passage. Wayne, a national labor organizer, explained, "As the ACA became the law of the land, and after 2010, when the right wing became resurgent and assumed control of the US Congress, a lot of the focus began to shift to state initiatives." Cameron, a prominent national leader, discussed how the shift actually created a division of strategy between states where single-payer may be feasible and more conservative states. Marnie, a physician working on the state level agreed, "If we were a state that had no chance of getting anything done, it would really pay to work on the national level. But if you're in a state where things are happening it doesn't make sense to defuse your energy. I think it's a big mistake that people make. It's the concentrated energy that actually does something." These statements reflect a clear pragmatism in the strategic calculations activists were making, which contributed to their ongoing adaptation post-ACA.

Fourteen, or about half of these state-focused activists, referenced their past or continued support of national objectives, sometimes as a two-track approach. State activist Brad discussed this dynamic oscillation, stating,

> So we knew it was a dual approach. So for two years we suspended state work … and we worked on national. And then after we got the ACA and realized we didn't have single-payer and a lot of people were still going to be inadequately covered, we once again revived our state bill.…So I think to most of the public it looks like we work seamlessly together on national and local level but under the surface it's clear that we do our calculations based on when it's time to work on

> Congress and when it's time to get something done in [the state]…Right now we, the signals we get is that Congress is going to do nothing for several years to come. So now everyone's energized to work back on the state level.

Others echoed this sentiment of pragmatism, emphasizing that with limited energies and capacity, they make a strategic calculation. This experience aligns with the trajectory of the U.S. marriage equality movement, in which activists first advanced employer and municipal level campaigns before moving to state-based campaigns for the right to marry and then eventually experienced a major federal win in 2015 when the U.S. Supreme Court ruled in favor of marriage equality (Davidson 2015). In the case of the single-payer movement, we view this dynamic shift in effort toward state goals as an adaptation that is allowing for movement continuity and entry into abeyance, rather than demobilization.

Within this discussion, activists referenced the promise of the ACA's 1332 State Innovation Waiver, a provision of the federal reform package which allows states, if approved, to introduce alternative health systems beginning in 2017. Thirteen (36%) pointed to ways in which the waiver would facilitate states moving to single-payer, by providing this policy 'roadmap'.

Indeed, it seemed that the waiver influenced the conversation activists are having with their audiences. Brad, another state activist, shared his group's framing, stating, "We are what comes after the ACA. We don't talk about incrementalism, we don't talk about how we're better. We are what comes after the ACA. We are what you want in 2017 when Innovation Waivers can kick in. We are what everybody's been waiting for. We try to do that approach." In general, these interviewees shared how waiver possibilities are invigorating the movement.

Interviewees working on state-level wins did not see a conflict between state and national organizing. In fact, there was a common understanding expressed by seventeen interviewees (47%) that state-level success would build toward national reform. They discussed a 'domino effect' and took inspiration from other social movements. Samantha, a state organizer, explained, "We call it a state checkerboard organizing strategy where if you look at marriage equity or even environmental organizing, environmental justice movements that are taking place right now, it's mostly focused on state-based organizing. If you look at the history of women's suffrage or workers protection before the New Deal all of those happened in the states first and then moved the country in that direction." Frank, involved in national policy work, shared, "Clearly having a successful state or two or three as a demonstration project will make it easier for those sixty or seventy members of Congress who are inclined in that direction to be bolder about their own advocacy of some form of universal healthcare." Ten (28%) interviewees made reference to, and took inspiration from Canada's history in this discussion. As Angela, a state organizer, explained, "States like Vermont, California or Minnesota have a real opportunity to move state based single-payer which hopefully will direct the country to a national single-payer. That's the way it actually happened in Canada; it went province by province."

Interestingly, as we highlight elsewhere, Vermont's passage of a universal healthcare bill in 2011 raised questions about whether its system would truly serve as an effective model to push toward national single-payer (Authors 2016).

Some interviewees expressed that even without a state-level win, state-based activism benefits the national movement, particularly by educating about single-payer. Sally, a national leader, explained, "There is strong disagreement over whether to focus on state or national. In my view, it doesn't matter; Once you learn about single-payer, you never forget the story that our system has enough money to pay for everybody, but we waste it on insurance companies and administrative costs. Whether you learn that on the state or national level, you get the story."

Organizing for national single-payer

Of our interviewees, ten (28%) focused primarily on achieving national single-payer. Some discussed why this was ideologically necessary. Adam, organizing at the state level toward national single-payer, said, "It's a national problem and it should be solved on that level." He later explained, "My fear is that…[state-level wins] will let Vermont [a progressive state] have single-payer and let Texas [a conservative state] do away with healthcare. It's opening up the gate for all this experimentation and you can never assume that experimentation is only going to be in the positive direction." In their most common critique, seven of the national organizers (19% of all interviewees) discussed how state-level single-payer is not technically feasible, as explained above. Ultimately, some expressed that, given the need for federal legislation to allow states to innovate, organizers should conserve energy and focus on national single-payer.

Within these conversations, the 1332 Waiver was also discussed, but in deep contrast to those viewing it as a roadmap to single-payer. Seven interviewees (19%), including some who saw promise in the waiver, discussed how it may complicate realization of single-payer. For instance, some perceived that there is a narrow likelihood of states getting and sustaining waivers. Carl, a physician activist, explained,

> [The ACA] essentially gives the White House veto power over anything the state passes. It's Section 1332 and in my personal opinion I think single-payer advocates are whistling pass the graveyard if they think it's going to be a lot easier… Assuming that the Secretary of Health and Human Services and the Secretary of Treasury approve of your bill, then it can go into effect. It can only last five years and then you got to go back, hat in hand, to whoever is running the country five years later and get another waiver.

Interestingly, the idea that state single-payer would be fraught with implementation problems absent national-level reform was equally expressed by state-oriented organizers, where seven (19%) agreed. Alfonso shared, "We're

fighting for state-wide universal healthcare… but at the same time there are serious challenges to implementing that that folks who are more nationally focused have pointed out correctly… And unless we address this stuff on the national level it will be challenging for a good chunk of this to continue." However, Anthony, another state organizer pushed back, referring to historical policy initiatives and federalist realities, stating,

> I think a lot of folks are ideologically hamstrung about thinking that the only way forward is national single-payer…It's a denial, at the same time, of our constitutional system in the United States. We have a federal constitution with power shared between the national and the state governments and most of the reforms in this country have occurred at the state level. But to broad brush state efforts as somehow a betrayal of the movement is a denial of understanding our constitutional system as well as our history.

Thus, while many acknowledged the technical difficulties of state-focused organizing, some held out hope for states. Even Kostas, a national-focused organizer, conceded, "There are a lot of limits on the states and it's not going to be a true single-payer system in any state. Hopefully, though, it can move the ball forward." Ultimately, these debates and points of tension over strategy evidence the ways movements discern their 'cultural purity' during abeyance (Bagguley 2002), and ultimately represents vibrancy and reorganization in the movement. Despite both internal and external pressures, movement actors are deeply engaged in assessing feasible openings, and even if they disagree over where best to target energies, are moving tactics forward accordingly.

Organizing in abeyance

While we observed relative decline in the single-payer movement, and exacerbation of key tensions, we also observed a certain forward-thinking reflectiveness among activists about this period of abeyance and the importance of strategizing toward next goals. Indeed, 17 interviewees (47%) referenced other social movements, reflecting interest in learning from other movements to understand the path forward. Several interviewees offered advice that addressed the movement itself, sharing perspectives about where the movement needs to go from here in order to emerge from this period of disruption and fragmentation with renewed energy and focus.

Related to both of the points of debate highlighted above (ACA as constraint or opportunity; state versus national strategy), and more generally, interviewees tended to express that the movement needs to reconcile, and in fact, embrace, the fact that there is diversity of viewpoints and strategies needed to realize single-payer healthcare. Marnie, a physician activist, shared, "I just hope we sort of get towards the truth, that people recognize that they better have a multi-faceted strategy and not just focus on one way of doing it." Earlier, she had discussed how a lack of embrace of diverse approaches can poison attempts

toward coalition building. Eric, too, shared that the embrace of diversity would be essential for the movement as it moves forward, stating, "I think there's a difference in tactics between different groups but I think they all want the same thing. What's good about that is that they complement each other. There is a need to keep the base fired up and keep hammering home that this is justice issue if that's what excites them and there's probably a need for more inside strategy and a more middle-of-the-road approach to messaging and I think other groups are fulfilling that." Several interviewees discussed the need to not only embrace a diversity of strategies, but for movement activists to really embrace one another, recognizing the vital importance of the movement's masses.

In our analysis, many activists seemed to be taking a big step back in this moment, recognizing the importance of engaging a long view in movement organizing, and considering the fact that these moments of disruption, abeyance and internal tensions are not unusual for movements. Betsy, an organizer with a long history in single-payer organizing, shared,

> Everybody's got their role to play in this movement and I think, social justice movements are odd. It's not just the single-payer movement – you see it in the environmental movement, the anti-war movement, we tend to have circular firing squads. Folks believing their condition is right and so we forget that the enemy's out there, the enemy is the profit-first motivation in healthcare instead of healthcare first and people first over profit. I suppose I try to be a little bit of a peace maker in trying to make sure people remember what we're really fighting for and not go to an angry place with others in the movement who are doing what they believe is the right thing to do to advance it as much as they possibly can.

Statements like this also target the key points of debate discussed above, where Wayne, for instance, discussed the state-versus-national tension and shared, "We have a broad range of views among our membership but we try to be a big tent and accommodate all of them." Similarly, in discussions about the ACA, Wayne spoke about a need to embrace those individuals who were understood as having abandoned the single-payer movement in favor of ACA implementation, sharing, "I certainly, part of me sometimes wants to gloat about some of these failures because we predicted all of this in 2009. A lot of these folks that supported the ACA to the exclusion of everything else certainly knew better. But that's not a productive organizing strategy. I think what's really important is to think about who we need in the room to move this thing forward and to be inclusive to those groups."

Despite difficulties acknowledged in bridging differences, there seemed to be common sentiment that mutual embrace during this period would be essential to maximizing the outcomes of this period of abeyance, along the lines of Berlet's (n.d.) analysis of 'strategic coalitions' and 'tactical alliances'. These types of statements, expressed by many of the interviewees, clearly illustrated

that they are thinking strategically toward next goals, problem-solving the challenges that have been sparked by the ACA, and redoubling their efforts toward their ultimate shared goal of single-payer healthcare.

Conclusion

As the Affordable Care Act entered its implementation phase in the U.S., the single-payer movement experienced a period of disruption and fragmentation. Turning to social movement theory, an important question arises as to whether the movement was entering demobilization, or a period of abeyance. As highlighted above, among the limitations of abeyance theory (Barry et al 2007), the framework does not offer predictive value. Typically, only after time has elapsed and a movement has successfully reorganized and begun active mobilization do scholars refer to the earlier era as one of abeyance. Thus, there is bound to be a variety of interpretations around the current status of the U.S single-payer movement. While Hern (2012) concluded in the years leading up to the ACA that the movement was active and not entering abeyance, we observed that it was entering abeyance as ACA implementation began. In particular, the broad consensus among interviewees that the movement was deflated, and the sense of tangible decline in ranks evidenced an important disruption. Heightened internal tensions and points of disagreement among movement leaders evidence the fragmentation that could be associated with abeyance or demobilization.

How can we know that a movement is entering abeyance rather than demobilization? Indeed, the movement was experiencing both internal and external pressures seen in demobilization (Lapegna 2013, Davenport 2015; Runciman 2015; Heaney and Rojas 2011), and some might posit that the shift of some activists toward ACA implementation evidences co-optation (Gamson 1975). However, movement actors perceiving some positive outcomes from the ACA were not wholly institutionalized and remained focused on their long-term goal of single-payer (Piven and Cloward 1979). Also, the vibrant debate over state strategies evidenced a moment of reorganization. Taylor (1989) theorized that certain characteristics of social movement organizations can enable structures of abeyance, rather than decline, including temporality ("the length of time that a movement organization is able to hold personnel") and purposive commitment ("the willingness of people to do what must be done, regardless of personal rewards or sacrifices, to maintain a collective challenge") among others (p. 765-766). These were two factors that we did observe in our research. As described in our methods section, our interviewees included many seasoned activists with 10 or more years of experience working toward single-payer. These interviewees did not seem to evidence a desire to move along or give up on their goal, and on the contrary, we heard a general sense of resolve and a redoubling of efforts to strategize for the next phase. Also, while there were points of disagreement among movement leaders, these did not impress us as intractable. In particular, while there was discord over how to interpret the ACA, a careful analysis of narrative reveals that divergent viewpoints were

actually more closely aligned than not. Even those perceiving opportunity in the ACA still framed the ACA as a first step, whose flaws many actually facilitate the agreed-upon end goal of single-payer.

The rich discussions around the ACA and its relative impact on the movement also highlight an important point about understandings of political opportunity structure. In social movement theory, political opportunity structure is understood as "the broad range of external social and political factors that affect the claims, tactics, mobilization, and ultimate impact of protest" (Sawyers & Meyers, 1999, p. 189). However, understanding opportunity structure as external, or as an objective reality that becomes imposed on a movement, particularly with important shifts in a nation's electoral system, political culture, public policy and/or political rhetoric, is problematic (Gamson & Meyer 1996, Sawyers & Meyer 1999, Kowalchuk 2005). Interpretation matters. While the ACA was a sweeping reform that was indeed a well-defined new reality for the single-payer movement, rather than look outward at structure, here, we looked inward at the movement to understand how actors are interpreting and therefore strategizing around, the ACA and the opportunities that may remain despite the overarching disruption it presented. As Gamson and Meyer (1996) point out, "opportunities may shape or constrain movements, but movements can create opportunities as well," so we must view opportunities as being derived both by structure and by agency (p.276). We observed this dynamic in the way that interviewees were making meaning of the ACA, and were particularly interested in how apparent opposing viewpoints of opportunity and constraint were more aligned than we expected, particularly in that both acknowledged the same end goal.

The major tension point around state-versus-national strategy impressed us as a more significant obstacle with which the movement must contend, which may be essential to reemergence from this period of abeyance. This longer-standing tension was exacerbated by the ACA, and does present important divisions over the relative purism within the movement (Bagguley 2002). On one hand, we could offer that single-payer activists should turn to examples of other movements like the U.S. marriage equality movement, as many already have, for inspiration around the strategic ebb-and-flow focus on state versus national wins. On the other hand, we understand that the technicalities of the single-payer platform demand a certain uniformity that can only be accomplished at the national level. And yet, given the narrowed structural opportunity, this is understandably a complicated playing field. Given all the important variables, the typical balance of purism and pragmatism may not apply so neatly. Moreover, in a constantly changing playing field, single-payer may enjoy expanded federal opportunity as two leading candidates in the presidential election, one Democratic and one Republican, have offered support of single-payer (Pipes 2016).

Emerging from these complicated wrinkles are some important wisdoms. The single-payer movement itself is a relatively narrow field within the broader health justice movement in the U.S., and thus really requires a certain

cohesiveness for its survival. The movement has suffered some damage. In considering the state of the movement, several interviewees reflected on this, and called for movement actors to not marginalize one another, but instead to focus energies on the very formidable opponent that lies in corporatized healthcare, which according to most of our interviewees, has only been fortified by the new ACA. The call to embrace the movement's diversity seems perhaps idealistic, but also necessary for a movement that aims to take on a private industry block as powerful as the U.S. health insurance industry. As the movement rebuilds, single-payer activists might aim to broaden their reach through more deeply allying with other health justice actors. This is already underway, though not without tension, in several U.S. states during the ACA era, as in Vermont's campaign for health as a human right (Authors 2016). Whatever the next stage, it is clear that the single-payer movement is in a critical time of transition as it navigates a new political opportunity structure, one that its movement actors will certainly help to construct.

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A survey of the living wage movement in Canada: prospects and challenges

Bryan Evans and Carlo Fanelli

Abstract

The contemporary living wage movement emerged in the United States through the 1990s. It marked a particularly dramatic response at the local and regional level to the erosion in the quality of employment in the American labour market. In many respects it was and is today a rebellion of urban, racialized service sector workers. What is much less discussed are efforts to establish living wage policies in Canada. The Canadian living wage campaigns are much less movements than a strategy of rational policy advocacy. A variety of legal, political and ideological factors make this so. It is not a judgement but an observation meriting some greater interrogation.

Introduction[1]

The idea that workers should be paid a 'living wage' is not a new one, emerging with the rapid expansion of industrial capitalism in the late 19th century. The concept was taken up by early trade unions in Britain, Australia and New Zealand as a principle to guide wage bargaining with employers. The Depression of 1886, marked by a downward spiral in wages, drove home the need to remove wages from competition between workers and employers. This impulse led to minimum wage policies in many jurisdictions. However, minimum wage policies remain vulnerable to political maneuvering and fail to provide adequate compensation for an increasing proportion of workers. As a result, over the past twenty years, a social movement for a living wage has emerged. This movement emerged first in the United States, and more recently in Canada. Given the emergent nature of the Canadian living wage movement, it is important to assess the state of the movement, and learn from their US counterparts. In particular, we argue that we must look at the role of coalitions and tactics. While

[1] This study emerges from a Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council Partnership Development grant entitled *Policy Engagement at Multiple Levels of Governance: A Case Study of the Living Wage and Minimum Wage Policy*. The overall objective of the grant is to create a network of living wage advocates and construct the organizational and research capacities necessary for effective living wage policy advocacy at the local and provincial levels. To date, an Ontario Living Wage Network (OLWN) has been formed and is providing an opportunity for members to consult and learn from each other. All partner organizations (BRI International Inc., Campaign 2000, Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives, Columbia Institute, Corporate Knights, George Cedric Metcalf Charitable Foundation, Income Security Advocacy Centre, Mennonite Central Committee, Social Planning Council of Sudbury, The Hamilton Roundtable for Poverty Reduction, Unifor, Vibrant Communities Canada) and members of the OLWN are motivated by a common concern with the long-term deteriorating or stagnating levels of compensation for work, mounting social inequality and seeks to challenge these conditions.

the US movement prioritizes grassroots mobilization of low waged workers, the Canadian living wage campaigns, have tended to focus on policy education, lobbying and advocacy. This raises important questions of strategy.

This article is organized into three sections. Section 1 surveys living wage movements in the US and Canadian contexts. Section 2 briefly explores the historical origins and development of minimum wage policies over the post-war period and shows how they have failed to reduce poverty. We show how the demand for a living wage emerged as a response to the failure of minimum wage policies to meet basic levels of income adequacy. We then make the case that living wages are both socially and economically beneficial. Section 3 analyses the strengths and limitations of current Canadian living wage movements. We assess the interplay of grassroots mobilization, and trade unions; and the tactical questions of policy work. Finally, we discuss the strategic opportunities living wage movements create, concluding with suggestions for strategy in the movement.

Methodology and approach

This paper is concerned with the relatively recent emergence of a large number of Canadian living wage campaigns. Given the success and experience of the older US movement, a comparative dimension is applied here to provide an opportunity to explore possibilities for cross-national strategic and tactical learning. Unlike the American living wage movement, the study of the Canadian case is underdeveloped. As a consequence, this paper is informed by existing reviews of the academic literature, and secondary grey literature produced by local campaigns and various think tanks. In what follows, we explore the variety of Canadian living wage movements, origins, organization, objectives, tactics, achievements and ongoing challenges.

A labour standards policy for the 21st century: the US living wage movement

History suggests a 'back to the future' reading of work, workers, and wages. Living wage movements of the late 20th and early 21st century are as much an expression of contemporary working class precariousness as were the 19th century demands for a living wage. In this respect living wage movements and more general demands for 'decent work' mark a renewed attempt to inform labour policy. This potential was identified by Stephanie Luce, the leading researcher on the living wage movement in the United States, who argues that the contemporary living wage movement in the US is the most important social movement to emerge since the civil rights movement of the 1960s (Luce 2004).

In the US, average hourly wages for non-supervisory personnel peaked in 1973 at $15.91 (in constant 2001 dollars), while the purchasing power of the minimum wage peaked in 1968. By 1996, the minimum wage was worth some 30 percent less than it was 30 years earlier, while average hourly wages were

largely stagnant (Brooks, 2007). In the absence of full-time work with a modicum of benefits and eroding public services, many were reduced to drawing on the shelter and food services provided by volunteer groups and churches (Levin-Waldman 2005). .

The modern living wage movement emerged in Baltimore, Maryland in response to these conditions. The campaign was organized by the American Federation of State, County and Municipal employees, and a coalition of more than forty-five community- and faith-based groups under the umbrella of Baltimoreans United in Leadership Development. The Baltimore campaign sought to fill the organizational void amongst low-wage workers in a largely post-industrial and deunionized context. At the heart of this campaign was an attempt to build and develop community leadership skills among those most adversely affected by the conditions of precarious work and lives. Activists made clear that precarious work went far beyond the formal employment relationship affecting relationships, mental and physical health and emotional well-being. The coalition amongst racialized workers, immigrants and women activists tied demands for a living wage to demands for health insurance, immigrant rights, monitoring of living wage ordinances and state wide increases to the minimum wage. Baltimoreans United campaigned for a "right to organize" city ordinance that would protect workers by voiding the contracts of sub-contractors who fired someone for organizing and by hiring the fired person onto the city payroll (Levi et al., 2002-3). In 1994, the campaign also succeeded in pushing the city to adopt a living wage for all city contractors, and tying this to inflation, which raised the wages of between two- and three-thousand workers. For Brooks (2007), the Baltimore living wage campaign was significant because it opened-up new possibilities for community-oriented grassroots mobilization. He notes the remarkable growth and success over a relatively short period of time, its ability to create larger, more diverse and sustainable coalitions that remained in place even after campaign victories or defeats, and to take on new tasks and connect these to broader demands for social justice.

Ciscel (2000) notes that the living wage movement is focused on workers who were left behind through the 1990s boom and specifically those working in the service sector. He identifies three political reasons contributing to the emergence of the US living wage movement: the stagnation of labour income in the context of GDP growth; the outsourcing of work by local government; and the prevalence of low pay in the service sector. This economic context provided the foundation for the construction of broad coalitions for economic justice. Most living wage calculations are based on the basic income of a family of four that includes the average cost of childcare, food, healthcare, transportation, clothing and other basic necessities. The contributors to *The Living Wage: Building a Fair Economy* (1998), Luce and co-editor Robert Pollin, argue that the living wage is a practical public policy which can play an important role in stemming the long-term erosion of working class living standards. Supporting this contention is Brenner's (2004) meta-analysis of living wage ordinances in 15 US cities and counties, which found that these ordinances have a significant positive impact on the wages of low income workers.

Since the Baltimore ordinances, over 200 other coalitions have been formed in the US, with over 140 achieving various levels of success.[2] Although US Living Wage campaigns differ, three types of strategies dominate. These are (1) pushing for municipal ordinances that would compel city governments to pay its public sector workers and any workers sub-contracted by the city a living wage; (2) pushing for municipal ordinances that would affect all employees in a given municipal jurisdiction (i.e. formally legislated higher minimum wages for all workers in the city); (3) pushing employers to voluntarily offer living wages by appealing to their conscience and public reputation.

A key factor in the success of living wage coalitions is the existence of a dense network of community organizations associated with policy advocacy (Martin 2006). However, the breadth of these coalitions can serve to constrain the political demands of the living wage movement. Luce (2011) acknowledges that the US movement has been limited by the political fragility which accompanies such a broad coalition which finds agreement on narrow ground. Thus, when the movement begins to push for more expansive coverage, it encounters both more vigorous opposition and threatens the integrity of the coalition. But such coalitions are the bedrock of the living wage movements and where living wage campaigns have been successful, the construction of a broad coalition is a common determinative factor (Levin-Waldman 2005). And it is not necessarily correct that the breadth of a coalition is problematic to building a movement with a more transformative agenda. Reynolds' (2004) study of US living wage campaigns found that more than just a living wage is on the agenda. Campaigns push for additional labour standards including paid vacations, employment security when a service contract is awarded to a different vendor (successor rights), and protections for workers who attempt to organize a union (Reynolds 2004, 69). His overview of campaigns in Baltimore, Los Angeles, San Jose, Chicago, Boston and Detroit underline that what is essential to effective and successful campaigns is a coalition where trade unions and community-based social justice advocates are aligned. In all cases, the organizational, political and financial resources of unions in particular are of strategic importance (Reynolds 2004). These struggles became visible to a broader public in the US in the fall of 2012, when tens of thousands low-wage workers at hundreds of outlets across more than one-hundred cities walked off the job protesting workplace precarity and poverty-level wages.

The success of the movement in San Francisco is worth reviewing. In that city, an array of improved labour standards were implemented, including provisions for minimum compensation for large employers, a general minimum wage, health benefits, and paid sick leave. By 2013, minimum wage workers in San

[2] Living wage movements have since spread to the UK in 2001, New Zealand and Ireland in 2014, with recent extensions into South and South East Asia. It is worth noting, however, as McBride and Muirhead (2016) argue, that unlike the US experiences, the UK movements are much more centralized and interested in voluntary adoption as evidenced by a number of accreditation systems and bodies. Some fifteen years of experience also suggest it has been far less effective as roughly only 14,000 of the UK's 6 million low-wage workers have seen increases in wages.

Francisco not only received one of the highest minimum wages in the United States but also earned benefits valued at 33 to 60 percent more than other California minimum wage workers. Furthermore, the coalition negotiated provisions for affordable housing, workforce development, and union recognition (Reich, Jacobs, Dietz 2014). The enforcement of such standards is critical. While living wage ordinances have been adopted in a significant number of US municipalities, their enforcement is uneven (Dietz, Levitt, and Love 2014, 229). To this point, Luce (2005) contends that the participation of the advocacy coalitions in the implementation process is critical. Leaving the city administration to manage the process results in weaker enforcement.

Since 2012, twenty states and three municipalities have voted for a $15 minimum wage and improvements to the conditions of their work such as basic sick leave, fairer hours, scheduling, and successor rights. New York and Portland are on the road to $15 per hour minimum wages, and have already amended their Fair Wage Policies to establish $15 for hired and contractual city work. Over a short time span the US living wage movement has redefined the political landscape by changing the discourse around low-wage work, helping to bridge the public and private sector as well as unionized and non-unionized divides. It has also often maintained a broad class appeal informed and led by anti-racist and feminist activists, with an eye to other axes of oppression including age and ability.

Surveying the Canadian landscape of living wage campaigns

Like the US, good jobs were disappearing and being replaced by those of lower quality throughout the 1980s and 1990s in Canada. Standard employment, that is, full-time, 40 hours a week jobs with a degree of security, was giving way to jobs that were part-time, temporary, and provided little or no opportunities for career advancement (Economic Council of Canada 1990). Trade and investment liberalization agreements pushed these changes, resulting in a new international division of labour which deindustrialized key sectors of the Global North capitalist economies. The bargaining power of unions in this context declined and bargaining strategy became increasingly defensive. Over the next two decades, even the International Monetary Fund, no less, acknowledged that the incessant expansion of inequality was to a very large degree a product of declining union strength and increasing workplace precarity (Jaumotte and Buitron 2015). Thus, the primary mechanism for increasing labour income had been severely constrained.

A variety of factors may account for the relatively late development of Canadian living wage movements compared with their US counterparts. The provision of publicly financed health care, a higher level of unionization especially in the private sector, a somewhat less aggressive approach to privatization to date, and less extreme inequality than in the United States, although Canada is rapidly catching up. These differences raise questions about Canadian living wage campaigns and their potential for success.

The roots of the first Canadian iteration of the living wage campaign are found in British Columbia in 2001. That year, the government ripped up its collective agreement with the Hospital Employees' Union (HEU). Eight-thousand workers saw their wages cut by 40 percent through outsourcing. The union, together with the BC Office of the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives (CCPA), quickly realized how susceptible the wages of workers, even public sector workers, were to the caprice of governments. As a result, a coalition including the BC CCPA, unions and community groups launched the Living Wage for Families Campaign in 2008. Modeled on the London Citizen's living wage campaign in the United Kingdom, it proposed $15 as a basic living wage.

In 2011, the City of New Westminster, a municipality within the Greater Vancouver Area, became Canada's first government to adopt a living wage policy that requires all firms that are contracted directly or subcontracted by the City to pay a minimum of $19.62 an hour, nearly double the provincial minimum wage. Soon after, the tiny township of Esquimalt set a living wage of $17.31, but it has yet to be implemented. As of Fall 2015, fifty BC employers have become certified living wage employers.

Since the launch of the BC campaign, living wage movements have emerged across Canada. While their makeup varies, they often include segments of organized labour, faith-based groups, community-based non-profit organizations, and anti-poverty coalitions. Women, immigrant and racialized communities have often been at the forefront of organizing since they are disproportionately represented in low-waged and precarious work. The campaigns are supported by some key actors. Vibrant Communities Canada (which provides the organizational basis for Living Wage Canada, the umbrella for most campaigns) provides leadership in advocacy techniques and strategy. The Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives (a progressive think tank), and/or local Social Planning Councils provide social policy research and advocacy support. Tactics vary, and include door-to-door canvassing, participation in public hearings and rallies. As of 2015, most Canadian living wage movements emphasize the following: 1) an annual calculation of the local living wage; 2) advocating for a municipal living wage policy (also termed a fair wage) to apply to direct employees and, more contestably, the employees of third party contractors; and 3) lobbying employers to voluntarily adopt the living wage as the minimum rate of pay.

Canada's three other western provinces of Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba, vary in their strategies, foci and composition of leadership. In Alberta, one of Canada's most conservative provinces, the living wage movement is robust. In Calgary's oil centre, the living wage movement began in 2003 when the Calgary Living Wage Action Team was established as a working group of the local Vibrant Communities. The Calgary movement includes high profile community based non-profit organizations, the Alberta Federation of Labour, the United Way, YMCA, and the Calgary health board (Vibrant Communities Calgary, 2006). In Edmonton, the living wage movement was launched by the Social Planning Council in 2004. In 2014 Edmonton's mayor established a poverty

reduction task force whose mandate included researching the living wage (Tumilty 2014). However, there is no evidence that action on this item is proceeding rapidly to implementation. In the Wood Buffalo region, Grand Prairie and Red Deer, municipal governments have lead the movement, which is progressing very slowly.

In Regina, Saskatchewan, the Saskatchewan Federation of Labour, the Regina Anti-Poverty Ministry (which brings together faith-based as well as other community organizations concerned with poverty), and the Canadian Federation of Students formed a living wage coalition in 2004. It campaigned initially to increase the minimum wage. Today, the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives leads a campaign whose focus is on research and raising public awareness through the publication of the living wage calculation. The earlier link to the minimum wage is no longer central to the campaign. In 2004 in Winnipeg, Manitoba, the living wage movement began when Vibrant Communities Canada's Living Wage Learning Initiative was launched (Caledon Institute of Social Policy, 2005). Today it is led by the Manitoba office of the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives with support from the Winnipeg Social Planning Council, Winnipeg Harvest, and the United Way. It encourages employers to volunteer to become living wage providers, encouraging municipalities to adopt a living wage policy as part of their procurement practices, and advocates for public provision of various essential goods and services, such as drugs and dental care.

In Ontario, Canada's largest province, there are at least 15 campaigns. Most of these might be termed 'emergent', but others, such as those in Toronto, Hamilton and Waterloo include dense networks linking trade unions, anti-poverty coalitions, community, faith-based groups and some private sector employers. Notable victories include the Hamilton Roundtable for Poverty reduction which succeeded in having the Hamilton school board, one of the largest in Ontario, sign up as a living wage employer in 2013 (Wells, 2016). In Hamilton and the south-western Ontario city of Waterloo, a dozen or so private sector employers have volunteered as living wage employers. In most of the Ontario campaigns, the annual calculation of the living wage is a core part of their advocacy and popular education work. This calculation exercise, supported by the expertise in the Ontario branch of the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives, serves as a heuristic device which demonstrates the inadequacy of the general minimum wage and illustrates what hourly wage a working family actually needs in order to live a modestly comfortable life in a given community. Many of the Ontario campaigns do not address the minimum wage directly, except to say that it is inadequate and that conflating the living wage with the minimum wage serves to only confuse the two issues. Moreover, there is little optimism that the provincial government will ever raise the minimum wage to a living wage so many movements have made the strategic choice not to conflate the two.

Quebec is an interesting outlier in the contemporary Canadian living wage movement. It is the least developed in the country. While both Montreal and

Trois-Rivières signed onto the 2004 Vibrant Communities Living Wage Learning Initiative, a substantial advocacy movement has not emerged.

In Atlantic Canada, living wage struggles are varied and part of a broader anti-poverty movement. To illustrate, the Prince Edward Island Working Group for a Livable Income was established in 2004 as a result of the community organizing work of the Cooper Institute. This group brought together a number of organizations concerned with the minimum wage and low wages. As the name suggests, the focus was on a livable income, whether from employment, social assistance or some other income maintenance program. The group makes deputations on changes to the Employment Standards Act and Employment Insurance. Currently, their advocacy is centred on a Basic Guaranteed Income.

In Nova Scotia there is a convergence of living wage and minimum wage advocacy – that is to say, much of the struggle is built around raising the provincial minimum wage to a level of adequacy corresponding to a living wage. The original Nova Scotia Living Wage Coalition was composed of the Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now (ACORN), the Canadian Federation of Students, the Halifax-Dartmouth Labour Council and Solidarity Halifax. This group became the "Nova Scotia Needs a Raise" campaign, demanding a $15 per hour province-wide minimum wage but also advocating for a municipal living wage ordinance (Enxuga, 2015). The Nova Scotia office of the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives provides leadership on the living wage concept with efforts to secure voluntary employer adoption of the annually calculated living wage for Halifax. However, the CCPA-NS keeps the living wage project separate from minimum wage advocacy in a bid not to create confusion and keep the higher standard set by the living wage in the forefront of the argument.

In New Brunswick the living wage movement is very new though the city of St. John was also a participant in Vibrant Communities 2004 Living Wage Learning Initiative. While there is a history of anti-poverty activism in St. John, the living wage movement is at an early developmental stage. Leadership is provided by Vibrant Communities St. John, Tamarack's 'Cities Reducing Poverty Working Group', the Saint John Human Development Council (the social planning council), and the Business Community Anti-Poverty Initiative which brings together members of local businesses who are concerned with poverty. In Newfoundland and Labrador, there is no living wage campaign although a number of advocacy organizations, specifically Campaign 2000, the Community Services Council of Newfoundland and Labrador, and the Federation of Labour have focused their efforts on raising the minimum wage.

Two of Canada's three Northern Territories – Yukon and Northwest Territories – have living wage campaigns. In 2012 the Yukon Anti-Poverty Coalition initiated a discussion with the Territorial government and the Whitehorse Chamber of Commerce in 2012 on the living wage within the broader frame of food security and affordable housing. In the Northwest Territories, Alternatives North, a social justice coalition of churches, trade unions, environmental organizations, women and family advocates, anti-poverty groups and interested

individuals advocates around issues relating to poverty reduction, improved public services, and greater self-government for Indigenous peoples In August 2015, Alternatives North released the calculated living wage for Yellowknife, the territorial capital (Haener 2015).

This survey of living wage campaigns across Canada raises important strategic questions. First, we must consider the relationship between living wage and minimum wage campaigns. Second, we must examine the capacity to engage in policy advocacy and third, we must consider the implications of grassroots mobilization in contrast to rational policy deliberation, lobbying and advocacy.

Connecting minimum wage and living wage campaigns

A living wage is distinct from the minimum wage. A minimum wage establishes a government mandated and enforced minimum rate of hourly compensation which applies to all employers. In some jurisdictions the regulation allows for certain occupational variance from the general minimum. In this sense, the minimum wage is set as a 'floor' and is not tied to the poverty-line or otherwise determined by some measurement of adequacy. This has not always been the case however. The federal government's Fair Wages Resolution Act of 1900 was among the first attempts at regulating wages. However, it only extended to workers engaged in public works projects and under government contract. The intent was to "protect workers from aggressive competition in the bidding process, which always resulted in corners being cut on wages and safety standards" (Hennessy, Tiessen and Yalnizyan, 2013, 11). Provincial minimum wage legislation was first passed in Alberta in 1917, with British Columbia and Manitoba following in 1918. Saskatchewan followed suit in 1919, with Ontario, Quebec, New Brunswick and Nova Scotia joining over the next decade. It was only in 1959 that Prince Edward Island also established a minimum wage. However, across Canada minimum wage laws applied only to women and was set on an industry-by-industry basis (McCallum, 1986).

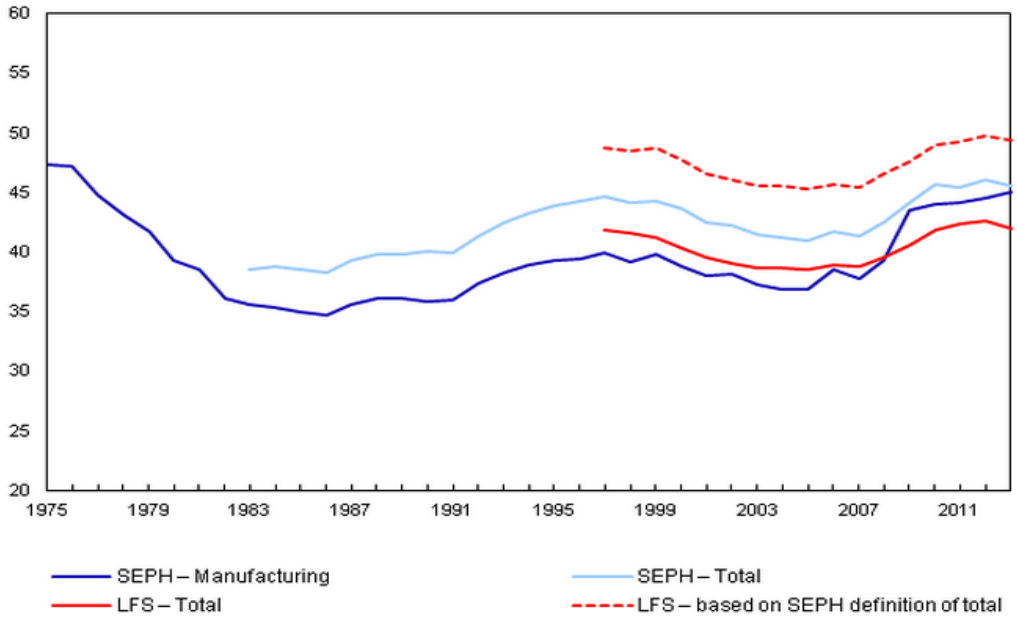
While minimum wage legislation pertained to women, successive provincial Fair Wages Acts regulated conditions in male dominated occupations. Standardizing for hours worked, Russell (1991, 73) notes that the minimum wages established for women workers ranged between one-half and two-thirds of the fair wages that were adopted for a variety of male occupations. The juxtaposition of minimum wages for women's work on the one hand, and fair wages for men's work on the other, underlies the construction of unequal gender relations. Despite male workers' privileged access to higher earning potential and more secure employment opportunities in the construction and trades sectors, women remained relegated to less desirable and lower paid forms of work, most notably in food preparation and retail. Farm labour and domestic servants, then as now, remained excluded from protective legislation. This served to reproduce the male income 'breadwinner' model, relegating women to the sphere of unpaid labour and social reproduction which reinforced male patriarchy. The role of the trade unions on gender and wage policy was mixed, neither actively pursuing

nor challenging a policy of exclusion from higher-paying industrial occupations. Rather, unions pragmatically adapted to the altered social and political conditions, which transformed labour market circumstances (Russell, 1991). While minimum wages legislation served as a form of social protectionism, they were operationalized though successive economic and political struggles led largely by women aimed at improving their life circumstances. State policy, nevertheless, undermined these efforts by reinforcing occupational job segregation.

It was not until the 1970s that gender-based wage discrimination was (legislatively at least) in part eliminated, along with the removal of higher minimum wages for urban workers versus those in rural areas. Notwithstanding these changes, there remains significant exemptions to minimum wage laws, including self-employment, independent contractors, people who work on commission, and those who serve alcohol or work on tips. Some provinces also allow a lower wage for some kinds of workers. For instance, most provinces still exclude farm workers, domestic labourers and live-in caregivers from minimum-wage legislation, while Ontario remains the only province that still allows workers under the age of 18 to be paid less than an adult. Employers have also devised a range of measures to avoid paying the minimum wage, including outsourcing, hiring through temporary agencies, misclassifying employees, and hiring them as independent contractors. In many cases, this excludes workers from employment standards legislation, making them ineligible for overtime pay, paid leave and benefits.

As Figure 1 shows, until the mid-1970s, coinciding with the great stagflation of the era, minimum wages in Canada were much closer to the average industrial wage. Since then, it has varied widely, remaining below its mid-1970s peak.

Figure 1: The Ratio of the Minimum Wage (1) compared to Average Hourly Earnings (2)



1. The minimum wage for Canada is the average of the minimum wages of the provinces, weighted by the number of employees in each province.

2. The average hourly earnings and the minimum wage are expressed in 2013 constant dollars, based on the consumer price indexes of each province.

Notes: The average hourly earnings from the SEPH (manufacturing sector and total) are those of employees paid by the hour, whereas the LFS series for all employees includes both employees who are paid by the hour and employees with a fixed salary. The LFS series based on the SEPH definition of the total includes employees paid by the hour from all sectors, except in agriculture and other services.

Sources: Statistics Canada, Survey of Employment, Payrolls and Hours (SEPH); Labour Force Survey (LFS); Employment and Social Development Canada (minimum hourly rates by year and by province).

A Statistics Canada study by Diane Galarneau and Eric Fecteau (2014) has shown that from 1975 to 1986 the series based on SEPH data for the manufacturing sector declined, with the ratio going from a high of 47 percent in 1976 to a low of 35 percent in 1986. This decrease was the result of a greater decline in the real minimum wage (from $11 to less than $8) than in the ratio of the minimum wage to the average hourly earnings (from $23 to $22). Between 1986 to 1997, the real minimum wage increased by approximately $1 per hour while the ratio of the minimum wage to the average hourly earnings remained relatively stable (at nearly $22 in the manufacturing sector and nearly $20 in all sectors combined), which caused the ratio to rise by 5 to 6 percentage points, depending on the series used. During the third period, from 1997 to 2005, the ratio fell again, dropping 3 to 4 percentage points, since the real minimum wage declined by roughly 40 cents while the ratio of the minimum wage to the average hourly earnings rose from 50 to 80 cents, depending on the series used.

Beginning in 2005, the ratio was generally trending upward, regardless of the series used. The increase mainly occurred from 2005 to 2010, with the ratio subsequently remaining stable through to 2013. According to the SEPH series on all industrial sectors, the ratio went from 41 percent in 2005 to 46 percent in

2013. In the case of the SEPH series on the manufacturing sector, the ratio rose even more (from 37 percent to 45 percent). As for the ratio based on the Labour Force Survey's ratio of the minimum wage to the average hourly earnings, the increase went from 39 to 42 percent for all employees and from 45 to 49 percent for employees paid by the hour. One clear problem these historical variances between the ratio of the minimum wage to average industrial rates expresses is a lack of any explicit policy goal, whether to reflect higher average industrial wages, to ensure work is paid above the poverty line, to keep the real minimum wage from eroding or to take wages out of competition, results in an improvised and politically-driven process in wage determination.

In the context of the failure of minimum wage policy to meet basic levels of income advocacy, the living wage movement emerged. The living wage concept is distinct from the minimum wage in several important ways. The living wage "sets a higher test" than the minimum wage in that it "reflects what earners in a family need to bring home based on the actual costs of living in a specific community." (Living Wage Canada, n.d). With roughly 1 million Canadians earning minimum wage, and close to another million earning less than $15 per hour, the living wage movement is a call to private and public sector employers to pay wages sufficient enough to provide a modicum of social and financial security. In other words, economic need is a central component of the living wage discourse. This reflects the failure of minimum wage policy in the Canadian context to address the issue of income adequacy. The Canadian Living Wage Framework assumes a family unit composed of two working adults with 2 dependent children. A basket of goods and services to meet this family's needs is constructed consisting of such items as food, clothing, rent, transportation, child care, non-government funded health care expenses, adult education and measures that facilitate a decent life which includes the ability to participate in your community or a family night out once per month. The living wage measure does not evaluate need by accounting for debt or interest payments, savings for retirement, owning a home, savings for children's future education, anything beyond minimal recreation or entertainment, the costs of caring for a disabled, ill or elderly family member or available funds in the event of an emergency.

In 2008, women accounted for 60 percent of all minimum wage workers. Between 1997 and 2013, the proportion of minimum wage earners rose from 5 percent to 6.7 percent across Canada (an increase of 34 percent). Tellingly, while the proportion of 15-19 year-olds earning the minimum wage rose from 30 to 45 percent, nearly 40 percent were aged 25 or older. At the same time, the proportion of those who were paid a rate between the minimum wage and 10 percent above, declined from 31 percent to 21 percent. By 2013, the average minimum wage corresponded to just 46 percent of average hourly earnings (Galarneau and Fecteau, 2014).

Proponents of neoliberal public policy argue that legislated wages interfere with market-based transactions by artificially inflating the costs of labour. In turn, employers are forced to freeze or lay off workers, reduce hours, raise the costs of goods and services, and lower planned investments. The anti-living wage camp

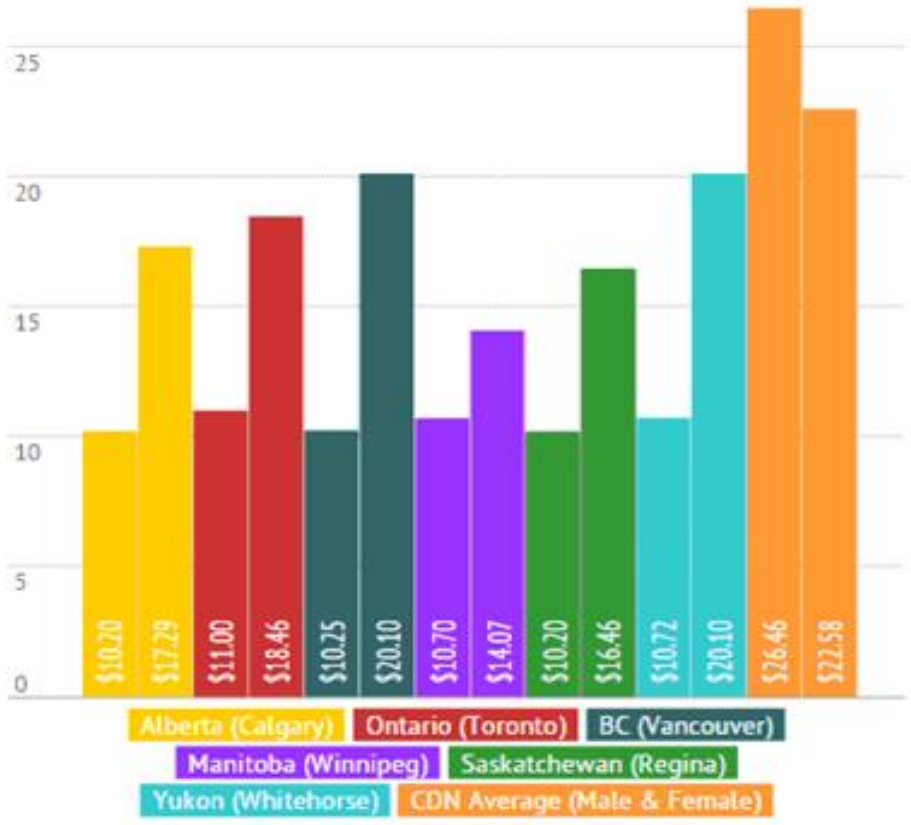
also argues that this will disproportionately hurt small businesses. For instance, in a 2005 paper the Canadian Chamber of Commerce argued that higher minimum wages cost jobs: "It is estimated that a 10 percent increase in the minimum wage resulted in a 2.5 percent decline in employment." They also made the case that higher minimum wages led to more high school dropouts as students were encouraged to leave school (CBC, 2009). There is little empirical evidence, however, both internationally and in Canada to support such a view (ILO, 2015; Manning, 2013; OECD, 2015). In fact, much of the research has found that raising the wage floor has beneficial effects by countering weak demand, increasing productivity, reducing after-tax government redistribution, increasing consumer purchasing power and higher employee retention. Also, minimum wage workers tend to be disproportionately employed in firms of 500 persons or more, particularly in the retail, food and services accommodations industries.

Brennan and Stanford (2014) compared the effect of raising minimum wages on labour market outcomes between 1983 and 2012 across the provinces, and found no correlation between higher minimum wages and reduced employment levels. 90 percent of the cases indicated no statistically significant relationship between a higher minimum wage and labour market outcomes in Canada. In seven of the 70 regressions, the minimum wage was found to be a statistically significant factor: three were found to have a positive relationship leading to higher employment or lower unemployment, while four were found to have led to an inverse relationship. Claims that a higher minimum wage is inevitably a 'job killer' are not consistent with the empirical evidence which found that over a nearly thirty year period net neutral outcomes. In the few cases where an empirical connection was found, they were as likely to be positive as they were negative.

Assessing the strategies of the movement: from grassroots mobilization to professional lobbying

Understanding the distinction between the living wage and the general minimum wage that prevails among many living wage proponents is more than a theoretical distinction. Whether to keep them as separate policy issues has implications for political, organizational and ideological strategies. The central critique of the minimum wage is that it has proven an ineffective policy instrument to address low waged work because provincial governments which set the minimum wage have been unable for political reasons to adjust the rate upward to reflect a sufficient level of income adequacy. The result is that the minimum wage in every province is far from meeting the real needs of low waged workers. This critique has merit. As Figure 2 illustrates, across Canada there is a growing mismatch between minimum wages and living wages.

Figure 2: Minimum Wage vs. Living Wage (Select CDN Cities) Hourly Pay, 2015



Left Sidebar: Minimum Wage
Right Sidebar: Estimated Living Wage
Source: Living Wage Canada, n.d.

However efforts to improve the minimum wage have had some success. In Ontario, where the minimum wage was frozen for 12 of the last 20 years, activists have made important strides. Between 2004 and 2010, the minimum wage was raised from $6.85 to $10.25. It was subsequently frozen for the next three years, however, eroding real purchasing power. In 2012 a coalition of more than a dozen advocacy groups and trade unionists came together to form the Campaign to Raise the Minimum Wage to $14. Under mounting pressure from social justice, labour and community-based organizations, in June 2014 the general minimum wage increased to $11 and in November 2014, following in the footsteps of Yukon, was indexed to inflation. The minimum wage rose to $11.25 in October 2015. Under pressure from poverty reduction and social justice advocacy coalitions, the government of Ontario also established a Minimum Wage Advisory Panel in June 2013 which undertook a formal review of the province's approach to minimum wage setting. The Panel reported its four recommendations in December 2013 which were as follows: 1) the minimum wage be revised based on the change in the consumer price index

(rate of inflation); 2) the minimum wage be revised annually; 3) that there be a full review of the minimum wage rate and the process by which it is revised every five years; and 4) that the Government of Ontario establish an ongoing research program responsible for collecting data and information necessary to inform policy-relevant minimum wage issues (Minimum Wage Advisory Panel, 2014, 4). Even with these improvements in both the level and setting of the Ontario minimum wage, there is no explicit policy objective to use this as a tool to eliminate low waged work.

Long-standing frustration with governments' ad hoc and conservative view of the role of the minimum wage as a floor rather than as a higher standard based on need has contributed to the view among living wage activists that the focus on minimum wage has yielded modest results and has not shifted the policy and ideological debate around the minimum wage to one of adequacy. In this respect, the living wage offers greater possibilities because the policy venue is local rather than provincial or territorial. Second, the living wage serves as a heuristic device to shift the debate to one based on economic and social need rather than a minimum standard wage floor. In this way, the living wage, unlike the minimum wage, can be advanced as offering a very different policy objective.

The limitations of living wage campaigns are three. First, there is a general tendency among many campaigns to establish a sharp distinction in advocacy work between the minimum and living wage. This may be limiting the potential for more broad-based mobilization of low waged workers like those observed in the United States. The power of social movements derives from the broad coalitions they construct which further possess the organizational capacity to pressure recalcitrant governments and employers. Canadian living wage campaigns have, for the most part, chosen to employ a strategy of rational policy deliberation with employers, governments, and the public rather than one centred on 'mobilization from below'. Secondly, the policy venue for living wage campaigns is the local government and employers. While this has had success in the United States, Canadian cities do not have the same legal authority to establish local minimum wage rates. And while Canadian cities can and do, in many cases, have fair wage policies regulating wages paid to the workers of third party contractors, in terms of coverage, the number of workers actually covered is small. Moreover, the local focus, while accounting for real differences between regions and cities, leads to a patchwork of varying wage rates which may apply in very different ways.

Conclusion

By challenging the conventional wisdom of neoliberalism, the living wage movement, wherever it has emerged, has stimulated a public debate about low waged work and social inequality. This is the case in Canada, where campaigns share some similar objectives, tactics and features, despite regional variation.

Where American living wage movements and campaigns for the $15 an hour minimum wage can be largely characterized as grassroots mobilizations of the low-waged, urban and racialized working class, a movement from below, the same cannot be said for Canadian living wage campaigns. As noted, the Canadian campaigns tend to use a shared policy advocacy strategy targeting municipal government and local employers. Municipal government is lobbied to adopt a 'fair wage' policy governing procurement of goods and services. This could include security services, cleaning, construction, and other contracted services. The value of a fair wage is typically a wage rate above the legislated minimum wage rate and where possible reflects the rate paid to that occupation in a unionized workplace. The second strategy is to convince private sector employers of the business case for paying direct employees a calculated living wage for that locality. Unions of course see the value of municipal fair wage policies and have a long history in advocating for such policies stretching back to the 1920s and 1930s. While it is not empirically documented, it can be assumed that unions see less value in the efforts to win employers over to living wage voluntarism.

While the campaign coalitions are generally composed of a diverse range of actors – faith based, anti-poverty, union, and in many cases even employer groups – what is strikingly different from those in the US is that generally speaking there is little material support from the trade unions. What the literature on living wage campaigns and implementation tells us is that campaigns need to be concerned with more than educating employers on the benefits of adopting a living wage policy. As the US experience suggests, mobilization of working class communities, aided in no minor way by the resources of trade unions, are crucial to success. And success, when it does happen, is not a cue for coalition demobilization but rather for ongoing participation in the implementation process to ensure enforcement of the policies. In 2015, the cities of Vancouver and Toronto initiated processes to adopt living policies. It is, at this point, too early to come to any conclusions respecting these initiatives. But if popular, community-based movements do not exist in any meaningful way, with the capacity to apply pressure on government, the likelihood of successful and meaningful implementation is diminished. In other words, grassroots movements must push to ensure that they are implemented.

What requires further interrogation is the relationship between mobilization from below and more technocratic policy advocacy and lobbying. It remains an open question whether or not the presence of a mobilized grassroots movement will enable more effective and successful policy advocacy. With respect to strategic opportunities, beyond the policy and human resources practices reforms, Canadian living wage movements open up space to place a number of important political issues on the table. First is there a way to provide a point of unity between unionized and non-unionized workers. Obviously, four decades of industrial and labour market restructuring and the consequent decline in union density has transformed work and workplaces in Canada. Non-standard, non-union jobs are now the standard. In this respect, the landscape looks much like

it did before the Congress of Industrial Organizations (CIO) organizing drives of the 1930s. Trade union participation in and support for living wage campaigns is critical not only to the campaigns but to the cause of re-sparking unionization efforts.

Living wage campaigns provide ideological and political opportunities by drawing attention to 'free' labour markets as failing economic institutions. Work that does not pay adequately to allow a decent life is both a political and ideological problem for capitalism. In this respect, not only do living wage campaigns highlight the contradictions between an economy based on consumption and falling wages, but also to the need for a broader range of public services. The more that the economy is de-monetized, de-commodified, the need for 'money' diminishes. The need for universal, publically financed and delivered child care, dental care, housing, transportation and more become salient to the idea of an economy that works for everyone. And more specifically, municipal fair wage policies, especially those which extend to third party contractors required to pay living wages to their employees working on a government contract, is a clear statement that employers being paid with public dollars have an obligation to pay their workers a living wage. This is not moralism but good public policy. Poor pay means poor workers who will draw more heavily on public services including health care, social assistance, unemployment insurance and so forth. and will more frequently move in and out of the formal labour market.

In sum, while still in its very early stages, between 40 and 50 living wage campaigns have been launched across Canada and are at varying stages of development. But what shapes any campaign, and coalition carrying the campaign forward, are the conditions on the ground. The absence of broad and deep movements will mean that living wage campaigns will prioritize policy advocacy and lobbying activities, rather than collective mobilization. The result will likely be much more limited success and even those will remain subject to shifting political coalitions within the local city council and bureaucracy. Nevertheless, if the living wage movement continues to evolve and grow, it may well be able to exert a greater influence over public policy, as well as issues of workplace democracy and social justice.

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Activists and philanthropists: understanding the political habitus of Salvadorans in the D.C. Metro area

Karen Tejada

Abstract

Drawing on Bourdieu's work related to habitus and field, this study examines the organizing practices of 45 Salvadoran actors in the D.C. metro area-comparing seasoned activists involved in nonprofit work with philanthropic volunteers managing hometown associations. I assess how homeland and hostland contexts shape organizers, leading them to display a dynamic and flexible political habitus. I find seasoned activists' critical political habitus helps them contest an anti-immigrant climate while philanthropic volunteers maintain a neutral political habitus to collaborate with the Salvadoran government. This case study contributes to discussions of immigrant organizing work, in particular diasporic politics, as well as, bridges work on Salvadorans with social movement theory related to habitus and fields.

Keywords: diasporic politics; Salvadorans; transnationalism; habitus; Washington D.C.; qualitative; social movements

Introduction

> I've been an activist all my life because my mother was an activist and my father was a union organizer so I grew up knowing about unions and ecclesiastical communities. I remember that my generation, it was 1975, we were very aware of the situation and understood social class differences. We knew exploitation and misery should not exist and it was our job to fight against these things. I was a catechist and talked to the kids in a very revolutionary way and told them that because our people needed us we had to be committed to the cause. Then, in college, I joined the Student Revolutionary Movement and I had less time to volunteer in the church. I remember these experiences because I was totally involved. We would do creative flyers, host cultural and political events, and just try to talk to people. We had to work very hard and from what I recall, I have always been an activist [Dora, Seasoned Activist]

> I wouldn't consider myself an activist but rather a community guide of sorts because I simply want to see my community in El Salvador progress, so I try to help out in as much as I can [Lucio, Philanthropic Volunteer]

During 2007-2008, I embarked on a research project to examine the political beliefs and practices of Salvadorans in the D.C. metro area. While I recall my

own experience living in a leftist-oriented Salvadoran household and understanding the roots of the civil war as well as its effects, I was expecting to hear some of these stories in the people I interviewed. However, to my surprise, I found Salvadoran organizers differ in very important ways as highlighted by the narratives above—specifically seasoned activists, like Dora, have a long trajectory of activism, encapsulating a span of twenty years in El Salvador and the U.S., and currently work in nonprofits whereas philanthropic volunteers, like Lucio, entered the organizational scene during the peace treaty (which ended El Salvador's civil war) and joined hometown associations to do charity-driven work in El Salvador. To my knowledge, no one has examined the different types of political actors within Salvadoran communities in general, and specifically in D.C. The purpose of this study is to capture the nuanced political ethos taking place across a group of organizers.

The case study is appropriate since Salvadorans have a longstanding political history in both their homeland and hostland, helping them develop the know-how to engage in organizing work while making sense of governing power structures. To analyze how their diasporic politics[1] takes place, I conceptualize Salvadorans' organizing experience through the lens of political habitus, a reformulation of Bourdieu's theory of habitus (1977). Whereas Bourdieu (1977) employs the term to explain how individuals become accustomed to acting in ways that confirm and change their natural environment and is especially concerned with capturing social class distinctions, my concept of political habitus explores *the dispositions, thoughts, and actions that influence the political choices of an actor and come to underlie the political ethos that a change-agent uses*. This reformulation grasps how Salvadoran agents embody community-based work that is taking place in a transnational terrain.

The theory of habitus has already been proven a useful concept in explaining social practice since it emphasizes that "we make ourselves in particular ways, in response to the conditions we find ourselves in" (Crossley 2002:172). Indeed, habitus captures individuals in a wide-ranging way—as both agents and subjects of 'fields' of power. While the use of habitus and fields in social movement work is not new (see Landy 2015; Crossley 2004; Crossley 1999, 2003), a contribution of this article is that it highlights how and why political habitus operates in a transnational political field, or a field of struggle situated across a transnational space. Such a terrain becomes apparent by comparing the political habitus of both Salvadoran seasoned activists and philanthropic volunteers because each has a unique genealogy affecting how they work. Specifically, seasoned activists sustain, I argue, a 'critical' political habitus to focus on immigrants' rights and distance themselves from their homeland government whereas philanthropic volunteers proclaim a 'neutral' political habitus to do development-based work in El Salvador and cooperate with Salvadoran government officials. In short, I suggest Salvadorans' diasporic politics can be analyzed by exploring actors' political habitus.

[1] Hallett and Baker-Cristales (2010) analyze the attempts of Salvadoran in Los Angeles to gain voting rights in El Salvador and conceptualize this experience as 'diasporic suffrage.'

Habitus and fields

Nick Crossley (1999, 2002, 2003) applies habitus to social movement work, extending Bourdieu's (1977) concept to one that is transformative, that is, habitus can alter social movements as much as change the actors involved in them. In its original formulation, Bourdieu defines habitus as "a system of lasting, transposable dispositions which, integrating past experiences, functions at every moment as a matrix of perceptions, appreciations, and actions" (1977:82-83), and with habitus he is proposing a useful way to bridge agency and structure. Yet, Bourdieu's (1977) habitus remains rooted in reproducing individual conditioning rather than accounting for habitus as a flexible process. As McNay (1999) suggests, habitus can be used creatively to examine individuals and their world. For this reason, it is helpful to draw from scholars who have argued that habitus, in both its theory and method, can be expanded (see Walter 1990; Sallaz 2010, Askland 2007).[2] Crossley (2002) models this in his work on the user movement in Great Britain, pointing to a "radical habitus" moving longstanding activists to form a patient's movement to counter the hegemony of the mental health field. Although I find Crossley's (2002) approach valuable in describing seasoned activists who are predisposed to carry a "radical habitus" committed to social justice; however, I argue that the ways in which seasoned activist put their habitus to practice is an outcome of the field in which they operate, in some instances, their "radical habitus" is attenuated in the hostland to fulfill a goal. Moreover, "radical habitus" is specific to left-leaning activists, those who have been radicalized, while neglecting other actors that are part of a broader social movement (Landy 2015). A case in point are philanthropic volunteers who do not exhibit a "radical habitus" since they prefer to remain "politically neutral" to strategize with the Salvadoran government. In order to generate a theory of habitus that encapsulates both sets of Salvadoran actors and captures the field in which their habitus operates, the concept of political habitus works well because it suggests the path to political action is structured by past and present organizing experiences as well as by field dynamics. In short, political habitus encapsulates the diasporic politics of Salvadorans, paying particular attention to how it functions in the transnational political field.

Though habitus operates in connection to specific fields, Fligstein and McAdam note "[t]he Bourdieusian conception of field thus focuses mostly on individuals gaining position and power and not on collective actors who work to build and then hold their groups together in the face of struggle in a broader field" (2011:20). Indeed, Fligstein and McAdam (2011) push us to think of fields as strategic sites where position-taking happens while Crossley notes: "[m]oreover, different fields, like different games, require different skills, dispositions and resources from their participants. In this way they both shape habitus and elicit and constrain the actions which issue forth from them" (1999:650). Since I show how seasoned activist and philanthropic volunteers embody a political habitus

[2] These authors expand the use of habitus in their work by suggesting new ways of framing it – drawing from their specific case studies – while also showing how habitus can be empirically studied.

that carries specific ways of thinking, acting and interacting so that their practical actions make sense for the field they maneuver, I conceive of this field as a transnational one—this identifies the imaginary of both sets of actors who remain preoccupied with the homeland but attend to organizing work in the hostland. In the next section, I provide an overview of how this transnational political field is comprised of U.S.-El Salvador relations and diasporic organizational life while paying attention to my field site, the Washington D.C. metro area.

Background

The first significant wave of Salvadorans to the U.S. began in the early eighties as a consequence of El Salvador's twelve-year civil war (1980-1992). The roots of the civil war are too complex to explore here but essentially an armed conflict between a military government (backed by the financial support of the U.S.) and a guerrilla group known as, The Frente Farabundo Marti de Liberación Nacional (FMLN), led to a escalated violence that included the political persecution of individuals that were either "suspicious" of aligning with the FMLN and/or being subversives against the government. Upon entering the U.S., Salvadorans did not qualify for refugee rights—fueled by concerns of Communism in Latin America, Mahler (2000) suggests the U.S. took this stance so it could free itself from the responsibility of supporting and funding a regime that was committing violence against its own people and strategically deny its role in creating the mass migration. Since Salvadorans did not qualify for protections conferred under U.S. refugee policy and were subject to deportation, even when repressive conditions in El Salvador escalated, Salvadorans engaged in transnational social movements.

To enact changes in the homeland and hostland, early activists joined solidarity and sanctuary movements, which sought to: stop human rights abuses by the Salvadoran authorities, halt military aid to El Salvador, advocate for a peace treaty, and fight for legal aid for Salvadoran refugees migrating to the U.S. (Hamilton and Chinchilla 2001). Altogether, Salvadorans' prior organizing experience in their homeland, ability to capitalize on local and transnational networks in the hostland, and overall know-how (or what Salvadorans call "chispa") helped them develop an organizational structure that included nonprofits working towards Salvadoran causes and sub-committees organized to support the FMLN. Today, these existing nonprofits have sought to eliminate electoral fraud in recent Salvadoran elections, extend voting rights to emigrants and support immigrant rights.

In 1992, El Salvador signed a peace agreement, leading to several changes both in the homeland and hostland. In El Salvador, the FMLN became an official political party and for the next four presidential elections (until 2009), it fought to gain control of the presidential seat. Similarly, the economic needs of the country pushed it to rely heavily on migrant remittances, allowing for intense outreaching of the Nationalist Republican Alliance (ARENA) government towards

expatriate communities. Consequently, the organizational structure in the hostland expanded to incorporate hometown associations, which are considered "agents of development" (Somerville, Durana and Terrazas 2008:10) because they send collective remittances[3] to their country of origin and often work with their homeland's national and local governments to implement projects. Indeed, as a result of this expanding organizational work taking place across the transnational space, the Salvadoran diaspora, or what Hallett and Baker-Cristales refer to as "a population of displaced people whose residency outside the national territory is due to factors beyond their control" (2010:190), is uniquely positioned to compare the types of organizers and their political experiences.

Washington, D.C. metro area is an excellent site to examine how the transnational political field affects organizers. Apart from its sizeable Salvadoran population, there is a long history of community-based work. According to Benitez:

> The Salvadoran community in the Washington, D.C. area has potentialities, unique characteristics, accumulated experience, and a new generation of young leaders to engender new local and transnational forms of sociocultural expressions and grassroots political processes and practices in the transnational social space (2005:160).

Yet, Salvadorans in D.C. remain unexamined for several reasons. Salvadorans in L.A. tend to have a stronger organizational base thanks in part to the longstanding organizing experience of the migrant arrivals and vibrant FMLN presence in the early migration years. In contrast, those migrating to D.C. did so before the civil war and were generally suspicious of the FMLN. Landolt (2008) finds the D.C. area is less cohesive and more fragmented than its L.A. counterpart because of several issues related to a) divisions in partisan politics b) opposing personalities and interests and c) competition over individualized projects. Yet, I argue that these nuances need to be reexamined. By unpacking actors' habitus and organizing practices in the post-civil war context—one that for twenty-five years (up until the 2009 FMLN presidential win) has been dominated by the right-wing party, ARENA[4]— one gains a better sense of how Salvadorans in D.C. build their political habitus to navigate the transnational political field.

[3] Itzigsohn and Villacres (2008) claim that collective remittances are remittances that are collected by migrant organizations to develop and implement local projects in the hometown.

[4] Wolf remarks that ARENA embarked on electoral authoritarianism to remain in power in the postwar period. She says, "[u]ncommitted to democratic consolidation, successive ARENA administrations maintained an institutional façade of democracy to reproduce authoritarian governance and defend elite interests" (2009:429).

Methodology

This research draws on in-depth, semi-structured and open-ended interviews of 45 individuals whom I interviewed between 2007 and 2008. I initially entered the field site as a volunteer in a nonprofit and made contact with several gatekeepers to access key "names," establish rapport and trust, and gain a sense of the organizational landscape. This eventually allowed me to recruit (through snowball sampling) a host of Salvadoran actors whom I interviewed in their homes or in public settings (such as coffee shops or restaurants). The interviews lasted one hour (on average) and I asked a set of exploratory questions to uncover their migration story, the role of the civil war in their lives, and their organizational involvement in El Salvador and the U.S. In these interviews, the participants were also asked about the role of the Salvadoran and U.S. governments in the internal structure of their organization and to compare organizations in the area (e.g., similarities and differences). Similarly, participants were asked to relate some successes as well as challenges in doing organizational work. While interviews limit one's ability to trace an activists' path and/or movement work in ways that other methodologies can address (see Crossley 1999), they are useful in uncovering the social context and practices as these are taking place. In effect, scholars exploring habitus (see Askland 2007; Sallaz 2010) used interviews to operationalize it in their case studies, particularly since Bourdieu (1977) did not provide ways to measure his concept. In this work, interviews helped uncover 'habitus-in-process,' allowing participants to tell 'their story' and in doing so, reaffirming how they 'play the game' as a diasporic community.

Using Nvivo software, I was able to code, memo and analyze the transcriptions (which I translated from Spanish to English). The data were organized around common themes such as migration histories, the type of organizing work, relationship with the U.S. and Salvadoran governments, motivations for organizing and challenges in organizing. I categorized the political actors based on their different community organizing experiences. Finally, to crosscheck the data, I referred to newspaper sources and relied on my field notes.

Although this is part of a larger project (in which I examine seasoned activists, philanthropic volunteers and critical observers), in this article I analyze seasoned activists and philanthropic volunteers. Seasoned activists (n=25) belong to several community-based nonprofit organizations seeking to alleviate some of the social ills recent immigrants encounter in the metro D.C. area. These nonprofits either have a longstanding presence in the community and advocate on behalf of immigrants on various issues (for example, extending temporary protected status so Salvadorans have a temporary work permit, obtaining driver licenses for undocumented immigrants, opposing raids and the separation of families, and lobbying for immigration reform) or focus on a specific issue related to housing, legal matters or health care. Philanthropic volunteers (n=20) participate in hometown associations (HTAs). Some are members of the umbrella HTA, which oversees the work of other hometown associations, while others work for the HTA that assists their town in El Salvador. Relative to non-

profits, HTAs are smaller-scale associations but are well-known in the area for raising money to embark on development projects in El Salvador.

Although seasoned activists and philanthropic volunteers navigate different organizational circles, compared to the general Salvadoran population in the area, these actors exhibit more privileged characteristics. Seasoned activists are well-educated; nineteen had acquired professional degrees in the U.S. while the rest took basic level English classes. Additionally, twenty seasoned activists had a high school degree from El Salvador. The majority of seasoned activists worked as professionals or in the nonprofit sector and reported earnings of $50,000 or more. On average, seasoned activists had been residents in the metro D.C. area for 20 years. Their median age was 45. Fourteen were married, seven were single, and four were divorced. Nineteen participants were men and six were women. Philanthropic volunteers have a median age of 47. Seventeen participants described themselves as entrepreneurs while three worked in media relations. Eight had university training in El Salvador but many of them did not finish their college degree. The rest obtained a high school degree in El Salvador while four of them did not graduate from high school. Five attended community college in the U.S. and six took basic level English classes. Five of the participants earned less than $50,000 while the rest earned more than $100,000. On average, philanthropic volunteers had been residents in the metro area for 22 years. Fifteen were married, three were single, and two were divorced. Sixteen participants were men and four were women.

My sample is limited to only assessing the experience of "community brokers." This is a limitation of most immigrant organizing studies (see Chung 2005; Bloemraad 2005) in general and habitus work (Crossley 2004;Walter 1990) in particular. Yet, as Mcleod (2005) argues in his study of the Brothers and Hallways Hangers, "...there are intermediate factors at work that, as constitutive of the habitus, shape the subjective responses of the two groups of boys and produce quite different expectations and actions"(2005:141). As such, I argue that although legal and class positions privilege these community brokers, there are mediating conditions causing divergent political paths and contributing to different forms of building political habitus. Additionally, while these actors are now privileged, they certainly did not start off that way; particularly, seasoned activists' longstanding involvement occurred irrespective of their social class and legal status and under clandestine conditions (Perla and Coutin 2009). Indeed, seasoned activists' and philanthropic volunteers' ability to achieve social mobility and legal status shows their incorporation in the U.S. But, to explain their trajectory as activists one must examine how they build their political habitus.

From contentious to "We are all immigrants:" seasoned activists' evolving political habitus

Seasoned activists entered the U.S. with a "radical habitus" in place as many had prior experience coordinating protests, marches, vigils, hunger strikes and boycotts during a time when the Salvadoran government prohibited these activities.

In the following account, Dario relates his reason for leaving El Salvador:

> It might sound like an exaggeration but sometimes I wake up in the middle of the night when I hear a strange noise and think that someone is going to abduct me because let me tell you I lived near places where people would get killed, tortured, kidnapped and you'd never see them again. Of course, the bombings wouldn't let you sleep at night. All this makes it difficult for you to not see the government as your enemy. You become conscientious of the injustices they are creating [Dario]

Fearing for his life (apart from Dario, five seasoned activists were tortured and barely managed to escape the country), Dario migrated to the U.S. and became involved in solidarity work because he "became conscientious of the injustices." In the following narrative, Ricky described his early involvement:

> I almost got killed in 1977 when I was protesting electoral fraud in el Parque de la Libertad. I started to think that if I couldn't exercise my right to free speech there probably was no other alternative than to engage in war…but in order to escape being imprisoned, I had to migrate to the U.S. [Ricky]

Ricky engaged in protest work to counter electoral fraud but at the risk of being imprisoned and escaped his country because his rights were being violated. These seasoned activists left their country with a feeling of indignation towards the "situation" in El Salvador. Nevertheless, they were motivated to fight for change in the U.S. Consequently, with a "radical habitus" already in place, their activism extended into the hostland, which classified them as illegals. Seasoned activists were pushed to engage in a legal fight in order to prove their humanity. Their "critical" political habitus was and still is fueled by being indignant towards the transnational political field.

Seasoned activists maintain their "critical" political habitus by continuing their social justice work in the D.C. area. In the following account, Mauro, whose fear of political persecution pushed him to the U.S., explains what his solidarity work involved:

> In L.A., we organized solidarity committees and then we organized a march in D.C. In 1983, I marched from New York to D.C. and that gave me an idea of how powerful D.C. is because of what this government can do and we found a lot of people who didn't support the politics of the U.S…there was definitely a strong movement against the civil war…we learned about the system through this [solidarity work] and learned about foreign policy…We also felt very responsible for El Salvador's well-being and had a strong sense of patriotism…we implemented very creative ways to fundraise like selling tamales and pupusas so we could help people from El Salvador…there were people who went on hunger strikes and there was an attitude of activism and organizing…even the organizations (in El

> Salvador) had links to those that were here (in D.C.) [Mauro]

Mauro related his experience in marching, fundraising and building transnational alliances, all of which sought to end the Salvadoran civil war and offer refugee assistance in D.C. His ability to maneuver the transnational political field because he "felt very responsible for El Salvador's well-being" demonstrates his commitment to the cause, allowing him to use his political habitus as the driving force for action. In a similar account, Pepe notes:

> Much of the work that we did, we did it with very little economic resources because we had small budgets to work with. [The nonprofit] would charge five dollars to help people fill out their TPS and those five dollars would go to the campaign for legality and that is how we fundraised. I think that we acquired knowledge about politics, of how the system works, how to organize a community…and that allowed us to make demands at a higher level…Somehow we were ingenious about it and got things done [Pepe]

Pepe's work involved filling out temporary protected status (TPS) documents that offered Salvadorans a safe haven to avoid deportation and have a legal right to temporarily remain in the U.S.; indeed, nonprofits spearheaded this work as well as prepared the legal briefs to advocate for refugee rights. Pepe's story matches others who gained different forms of know-how (political, organizing, fundraising, etc) in their early years of activism in the D.C. area. Though learning "how the system works" occurs alongside filling out TPS applications, it is the ingenuity of the actors that builds seasoned activists' "critical" political habitus; with this is place, they are able to access legal channels for their compatriots while "making demands" to the federal government. In the next section, I focus on how the transnational political field changes with the peace treaty, thereby creating new challenges for seasoned activists and forcing them to make transitions and even concessions.

Field shifts in the hostland and homeland

Seasoned activists' organizing experience helped them become full-time staff members or directors of nonprofits in the area but their previous refugee assistance work was replaced by concerns over immigrant rights. This shift in organizing work was the result of field dynamics forcing seasoned activists to decide where best to channel their activist spirit. One of the gains from the solidarity and sanctuary struggles was the expansion of legalizing channels[5] for Salvadorans. This change was significant for two reasons: first, it made the U.S. government appear more "receptive" to seasoned activists' demands and second, it allowed seasoned activists to plant their roots in the area by gaining legal status.

[5] Perla and Coutin (2009) address this in their work.

However, the legal gains did not necessarily reflect better living conditions for the immigrant community leaving El Salvador in the post-civil war period. Indeed, a 1991 riot in the Mount Pleasant neighborhood[6] showed that Salvadorans were being mistreated in the capital of the U.S. and prompted activists to push the local D.C. government to improve Salvadorans' quality of life. Some seasoned activists participated in building the Latino Civil Rights Task Force, now the Office on Latino Affairs (OLA), with a task to administer social programs to Salvadorans in the area. The accumulated experience of seasoned activists (challenging the U.S. federal law and demanding local governments to offer better opportunities to Salvadorans) has ensured that their voices are largely heard in the U.S. context, something that is not commonplace when dealing with their homeland government. To make claims on immigrants' behalf, nonprofits inevitably reorganized their refugee-centered work to one that better suited the population entering the area in the postwar period. By the 90s, people like Salvador, an executive director of a nonprofit, transitioned to immigrant rights issues:

> [The organization] experienced a big change in the beginning of the 90s in the sense that the leaders had one foot here and one in El Salvador. When I came to [the organization] I wanted it to be a space to help Salvadorans that were here in the U.S. and so we did that transition and the directorate was in agreement. It has become part of the mainstream and its nonprofit work that renders services. Like other community organizations we have government-based contracts, get money from private foundations, and we collect small fees for the services we render. We also do activities to fundraise. All of this is typical for a nonprofit organization in this country [Salvador]

As Salvador mentioned, nonprofits focused on hostland concerns related to immigrant rights as these needs become more pressing. Indeed, El Salvador's peace treaty gave the impression that the country was no longer repressive against its citizens. This led private foundations supporting human rights issues to cut back their financial backing of refugee-assistance work. Consequently, nonprofits shifted their scope to become "a space to help Salvadorans that were in the U.S." In doing so, seasoned activists, like Salvador, left transnational activism ("one foot here and one in El Salvador") to engage with local concerns.

Another noticeable change in the post-civil war period was the Salvadoran government's relations with the diaspora. Hallett and Baker-Cristales (2010) contend that ARENA shifted its view towards the diaspora—which went from seeing expatriates as adversarial during the civil war to using them as a resource in the postwar period. Whereas in the civil war period the FMLN had stronger ties to the diaspora, in the postwar era, ARENA strategized ways to connect with some expatriates, particularly those that wanted to give back to El Salvador. ARENA

[6] This is an area with a high degree of Salvadoran concentration where allegedly a local police officer indiscriminately shot a Salvadoran man.

presented itself as "the advocate" of TPS by expanding consular services to include assistance in filling out TPS applications; meanwhile ARENA presidents frequently visited the area to lobby for TPS extensions. ARENA also created the "Directorate General of Attention to the Communities Abroad (DGACE)," an office in El Salvador whose mission is to strengthen ties with expatriates. Finally, ARENA established a funding program in 2003 called "Unidos por la Solidaridad" (United for Solidarity) to "...coordinate the efforts and funds of HTAs, the community, municipal government and national authorities on economic and social development projects..."(Itzigsohn and Villacres 2008, 681). However, while ARENA's outreach efforts won them some supporters, they simultaneously lost seasoned activists who distrusted ARENA's tactics to win over the diaspora. Seasoned activists criticize the party for not conceding voting rights to expatriates[7] [7]even when the homeland is dependent on migrants' economic support. Their sense of powerlessness and feelings of exclusion reinforces seasoned activists "critical" political habitus; that is, in refusing to follow ARENA's, seasoned activists continue their activist path by constructing an alternative narrative premised on a "we are all immigrants" to operate in the hostland.

"We are all immigrants"

When I conducted the interviews, certain counties in Virginia and Maryland passed several ordinances against immigrants; for example, under 287(g) programs, local police officers could exercise immigration enforcement laws and detain people who were suspected of being illegal. Similarly, the House of Representatives also passed the Sensenbrenner bill that included various anti-immigrant provisions and criminalized anyone who provided social services to the undocumented. Moreover, the comprehensive immigration reform bill, a path to legalization for some of the undocumented population, did not receive full support from the federal government and failed to pass. Nevertheless, this situation pushed people like Javier to fight for a cause:

> Let me tell you last year people were furious because the Sensenbrenner HR 4437 law wanted to criminalize anyone who helped the undocumented. People were so angry that it helped mobilize the masses and you know it's always easier to mobilize people when they are angry and against something. We mobilized so well against the bill that it didn't pass the Senate and this is when the community's power became visible. Then, when the immigration reform debate took place, we pushed for reform rather than criminalizing people [Javier]

Javier's "critical" political habitus was reinvigorated by challenging the federal and local governments on their anti-immigrant stances. The "anger" unified and mobilized the community to support immigrant rights and reform. At the same

[7] Salvadoran emigrants were granted voting rights after the 2009 election when the FMLN contender, Mauricio Funes, won the presidential seat.

time this mobilization happened, Salvadoran presidential contenders were campaigning in the area to win the 2009 seat. But, seasoned activists took a backseat from homeland politics to prioritize local concerns. A seasoned activist, Elias, best summarized this in the following statement, "if the community here is being attacked, I care less about who should run El Salvador." By detaching themselves from homeland politics, seasoned activists are able to diffuse pre-existing cleavages and build community support under a "we are all immigrants" banner. In taking this stance, seasoned activists are showing their adaptability, their ability to change from transnational to local actors. However, in prioritizing local work they leave a void in the homeland, which philanthropic volunteers' development work fills. In the next section, I examine philanthropic volunteers' "neutral" political habitus, particularly the ways in which they transform it into a "for El Salvador's sake" narrative to depoliticize their work.

Charity begins at home: philanthropic volunteers' neutral political habitus

> When the natural disasters started, fortunately and unfortunately, it affected the entire region. We started working with the communities affected by hurricane Mitch. We raised funds because people had lost their homes. Then, the earthquakes occurred and so we worked harder. This was a bigger effort because we learned from our experience with hurricane Mitch that we could do more if we collaborated with others. People still had their own association and supported their own community, but it made sense that by working together we could get more done and remain autonomous and independent [Lucio]

Lucio, the director of the umbrella HTA in the D.C. metro area, recalls that hometown work started in the post-civil war era to offer disaster relief in El Salvador. HTA work is Lucio's first organizing experience as he was not involved in anything in El Salvador. Generally, philanthropic volunteers lack prior organizing experience and were not heavily affected by the civil war; that is, none of them claimed to be politically persecuted and highlighted economic reasons for migrating to the area. Furthermore, upon arriving in the metro D.C. area, they did not join solidarity movements or take a political stance because as Humberto, one of the philanthropic volunteers in my study, put it, "I do not like to get involved in politics." This seemingly "neutral" political habitus is embodied by philanthropic volunteers and shows they are less interested in politics even when they want to be altruistic. Similarly, unlike seasoned activists, philanthropic volunteers lack the genealogy to be politically charged but are committed to giving back to their compatriots. In essence, their "neutrality" makes them, at least in the eyes of the Salvadoran government, the most-esteemed "far-away brothers."

Philanthropic volunteers' legal status and social class allows them to give back to El Salvador; that is, having legalized their status they can regularly visit El Sal-

vador, while their upward social class standing gives them the time and money to invest in HTA work. Indeed, their social class positions them differently from seasoned activists (whose longstanding political habitus is not related to their social class as much as it cultivated from their critical stances) since it is the basis for building their political habitus. Some respondents mentioned that since they are better off now, they can help their compatriots in El Salvador; for example, they have built stadiums, cultural centers, and houses and have paved roads to improve their local towns. Philanthropic volunteers juggle multiple roles within the aid-based associations as organizers, leaders, project managers, event planners, and/or the ones who cook and sell food during fundraising events. These aid-based organizations are efficient when it comes to getting financial support from the expatriate community because their efforts are seen as necessary steps to rebuilding post-civil war El Salvador. Humberto coordinates one of the longstanding hometown associations in the area and explained the multiple ways of fundraising, which include: field trips to casinos, boat trips, beauty pageants, galas, and other creative tactics. Additionally, as business owners, they rely on the ethnic business sector to patronize their events and/or donate funds. Apart from being skilled at fundraising, philanthropic volunteers can amass community support by articulating a "for El Salvador's sake" sojourner narrative. Hometown work offers an alternative way to be engaged in the homeland, especially for members of the community who prefer doing charity work and do not want to get involved with the nonprofits and/or politics.

Philanthropic volunteers as the "unintended" political actor

Since hometown associations are successful at dramatically altering the communities they left behind, some scholars (see Landolt 2000) conceive them as grassroots attempts to offer transnational aid. However, I find their grassroots efforts are limited to fundraising and helping hometown communities but do not empower the community in El Salvador and much less the community in the metro area. A grassroots political angle is missing in this work because philanthropic volunteers strategically employ an apolitical discourse to court more supporters, including the Salvadoran government. When I asked philanthropic volunteers if political discussions (such as what to do about the anti-immigrant climate) take place in their organizations, the most common response was that they do not want to get involved in politics; when I asked philanthropic volunteers if they consider themselves activists, most were wishy-washy (responses ranged from 'I just like what I do' to 'I am not political') or said 'no.' Philanthropic volunteers do not bring their politics into the organizational work, shy away from homeland political discussions and do not follow U.S. politics.

There are several reasons why philanthropic volunteers depoliticize their work and in so doing, appear to construct a "neutral" political habitus. First, they purposely avoid partisan politics and the conflicts it ensues because they have seen how ideological cleavages affect seasoned activists. Philanthropic volunteers argue they have better things to do with their time than get involved in the political discussions of El Salvador and/or choose sides. Secondly, philanthropic

volunteers employ a neutral image to recruit nonpartisan members so this becomes part of their recruitment strategy. Since they need the community base to sustain their projects, they adopt a neutral political image to get supporters in favor of doing charity work. Despite philanthropic volunteers' professed neutral political habitus, my contention is that as their organizational work gets co-opted by the Salvadoran government, their "neutral" political habitus is transformed; that is, philanthropic volunteers say they are not political actors but their transnational work transforms them into allies of the Salvadoran government and turns them into the most respected members of the Salvadoran diaspora. The unintended consequence is that by working with the Salvadoran government, philanthropic volunteers become politicized bodies.

Field shifts from working with the Salvadoran government to "they like to salute with someone else's hat"

There are several examples of philanthropic volunteers working with the Salvadoran government. When I asked Humberto how they finance their work, he told me his HTA worked with FISDL to do several things like build a soccer stadium, and a cultural center and paved roads in his town, and that "we became known for the community abroad with the most projects in El Salvador." Without question, such moves have changed the "grassroots" aspect of hometown work because philanthropic volunteers do not have to do so much fundraising since the government matches their contribution. Another philanthropic volunteer claimed the homeland government supported her efforts of converting the HTA into a nonprofit in El Salvador:

> We did feel a lot of support for instance when Calderon Sol was the president he helped us out a lot to build the stadium and supported our efforts and [HTA] is actually a nonprofit in El Salvador and it is registered as such…the creation of the vice-ministry has helped a lot and I think this is a way to keep the communication channels open [Abeliz]

Though philanthropic volunteers claim not to have any loyalty to a particular party, at the very least this narrative attests to reciprocal relationships existing between HTAs and the ARENA government. Indeed, Abeliz's seemingly neutral political habitus can be challenged by her claim that "it's good to keep communication channels open," a statement that reflects the friendliness existing between philanthropic volunteers and their homeland government.

Although philanthropic volunteers profess a "neutral political habitus," I found politics is embedded in the relationship they form with the homeland government, thereby turning them into politicized bodies. For instance, Lucio noted:

> We have to be in good spirits with the government and its ancillaries no matter who is in power and so I do think this is part of [the HTAs] work so I do a bit of

> lobbying and am friendly with them…like I'll salute them, hug them, take pictures because the needs of our country are great and we need to do what it takes to fulfill these projects…but no the government doesn't finance our work [Lucio]

Lucio's narrative shows the way in which he is working the transnational field to his advantage as he is espousing a neutral political ethos while maintaining good relations with the homeland government. Though he claims the Salvadoran government does not finance his HTA work, it can still hinder it[8], and so philanthropic volunteers show their allegiance to government entities. In fact, I attended a campaign event where Rodrigo Avila, the ARENA candidate, was fundraising for his presidential bid in the 2009 election against the FMLN-backed Mauricio Funes. Several philanthropic volunteers attended this event and one of them asked Avila what would the president do for Salvadorans in D.C., Avila said he would continue maintaining amicable relations with hometowns in the same way ARENA has been doing for all these years, a statement that pleased the members of the HTA crowd causing some to stand-up and applaud. I also observed that philanthropic volunteers maintain active ties with the government representatives in the D.C. metro area (many complemented the consulate's work because she was so accessible and willing to help HTAs). Moreover, government representatives are invited to their fundraising activities and honored in their galas. On its part, the Salvadoran government nourishes these relationships by enacting a presidential forum to celebrate HTA work. According to some of the participants who attended the presidential forum, the Salvadoran government uses this opportunity to bombard the attendees with examples of the types of activities they do with the help of their "far away brothers;" in essence, this is a tactical strategy whereby the Salvadoran government can appoint itself as the leader of hometown work.

Yet, this seemingly amicable relationship is unequal on two grounds. Philanthropic volunteers note that while they are putting most of the effort, time, and commitment to do hometown work, the Salvadoran government takes credit for it. As the following participant remarks:

> They [the Salvadoran government] like to salute with someone else's hat. I think it is ridiculous that you are sacrificing yourself here to help out over there…and of course they take the credit. They do publicity stunts that thanks to them and their visits, they help sustain external relations with the expatriate community [Federico]

Federico started doing HTA work in 1992 but his disenchantment with the protagonist role of the Salvadoran government grew overtime. Although Federico's

[8] Peraza (2008) argues that political partisan divisions limit the collaborative relationships between HTAs and municipal governments. In general, municipal governments can create bureaucratic nightmares for HTAs, especially when the two entities do not share political agendas.

critique is uncommon (most did not express conflicting views of ARENA), his viewpoint exemplifies what scholars have criticized about the ways homeland governments take advantage of their expatriates (Mahler 2000; Gammage 2006). Indeed, the Salvadoran government strategically collaborates with philanthropic volunteers to court supporters. For instance, Lucio says:

> They have never helped us except with their appearances at our events. In a certain extent that does help us because they attract potential donors and if you say "oh the president of El Salvador will be at the event" then that draws people in. As does the consulate, vice minister, or the ambassador, they attract people who like to attend events where these personalities show up but no they do not help us in financial ways [Lucio]

Lucio notes that even if it is for appearances' sake, HTAs reach out to government representatives, who in turn, use these events to earn a spotlight in the community. More importantly, the relationship is unequal because philanthropic volunteers lack leverage on the homeland political front (especially since at the time of the study they lacked the right to vote from abroad). Ester, a seasoned activist, was concerned that philanthropic volunteers do not advocate on migrants' behalf and yet recruit immigrants to participate in their projects, she argues:

> I like seeing these associations because that's a way to help each other out and unity brings force but I have a problem with the fact that they don't put a limit on who they ally with and I've seen them fairly closely linked with ARENA and their representatives in this area. I think there are a lot of efforts but unfortunately, the government co-opts them with the money and so these efforts are halted, and this limits the empowering and building consciousness [Ester]

As Ester points out, philanthropic volunteers fail to challenge the Salvadoran government (even when, arguably, they can be the most effective political contenders) because the homeland government co-opts HTA work and in doing so, limits the consciousness-raising that can take place in these charity-driven efforts.

Since philanthropic volunteers have become more reliant on government support, they refrain from demanding political power, choosing instead to profess a "neutral" political habitus. This creates a situation where philanthropic volunteers' political habitus is purposely maneuvered so it has no repercussions on their collaborative work with the Salvadoran government. Though HTA members might display an apolitical stance, their actions are politicized when they show support for the homeland government. At the same time, because they never carried an in-depth understanding of social justice, they cannot make political demands that can be transformative and end up being vehicles of support for the powers that be rather than change-agents.

Making sense of the comparisons

Thus far, I have shown how political habitus continues to evolve in two sets of Salvadoran actors as the conditions of the field in which they operate change. For seasoned activists, the "radical" habitus that opposed the homeland government became more politicized in the U.S. when they tackle U.S.-El Salvador relations. To maintain their "critical" political habitus, seasoned activists move away from transnational work, deciding instead to make demands on behalf of migrants in D.C. and distancing themselves from the homeland government. This important transition in their organizing work moved them from battling homeland politics towards challenging hostland policies, reflecting both their permanency in the area as much as their ability to maneuver field dynamics. Consequently, seasoned activists can capitalize on a "we are all immigrants" slogan to unify the D.C. community and disassociate themselves from ARENA. Meanwhile, philanthropic volunteers' political habitus embodies experiences that (re)shape their neutral political stance. As recent organizers, philanthropic volunteers' work seemingly does not carry a political bent since it is motivated by altruism towards their homeland. They are skilled at recruiting other members by distancing themselves from political orientations and silencing their opinions on Salvadoran politics. This skill is useful in collaborating with the Salvadoran government and makes them the perfect partner with which to work. As strategic political actors, philanthropic volunteers learn to support the Salvadoran government's reach in the community and obtain financial backing for their projects, while still playing a neutral political card. However, their pragmatism limits their ability to exercise clout in pushing for political recognition in the homeland.

Although both actors share an organizational drive to help their compatriots, seasoned activists feel the personal is political while philanthropic volunteers feel politics is too divisive. This difference is important because it means that while seasoned activists have the political drive to create systemic changes, since they operate in a field that seeks to address immigrant rights, they cannot hold the Salvadoran government accountable for its role in fueling the migration flows because they have removed themselves from homeland affairs. At the same time, because philanthropic volunteers work closely with the homeland government, their "transnational grassroots work" is not crafted with an activist and critical mindset and has very little potential for creating systemic changes.

Conclusion

My reformulation of Bourdieu's (1977) habitus captures Salvadorans' on-the-ground efforts to serve their community (irrespective of where that community is located) while highlighting both their sense of agency and the field of struggle they encounter. In effect, I argue that political habitus, in its ability to capture *the dispositions, thoughts, and actions that influence the political choices of an actor and come to underlie the political ethos that a change-agent uses*, shows that Salvadorans' diasporic politics is both a choice and an attempt

to maneuver field dynamics. Indeed, seasoned activists and philanthropic volunteers build interests, strategies, and actions to reposition themselves within the strategic field of action in (more or less) effective ways. While this transnational political field is governed by homeland and hostland dynamics largely reflecting a post-civil war context, Salvadorans' political habitus facilitates doing the balancing act of operating within this layered field.

While this study is limited in examining the Salvadoran migrant community in D.C., I suggest political habitus can account for other marginalized groups' grassroots efforts while bridging the study of immigrants with social movement work. This is especially important in order to capture the experiences of underrepresented groups engaging in diasporic politics. Future research directions for this project aim to merge habitus with other social movement concepts (like identities, collective identity, frames, and/or repertoires of action) while comparing across Salvadoran communities. Moreover, as Salvadorans achieved the right to vote from abroad, it will be interesting to examine how this shift politicizes seasoned activists and philanthropic volunteers.

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Strengthening the climate action movement: strategies from contemporary social action campaigns

Laurence L. Delina and Mark Diesendorf

Abstract

Keeping fossil fuels in the ground and accelerating a just transition to a sustainable energy system remain essential in addressing the climate challenge. Despite the common aspirational goals agreed upon by nearly 200 countries at the 2015 Paris Climate Conference, it is clear that climate activism still needs to be strengthened. Using insights from a qualitative survey of 47 contemporary social action groups from 11 countries, this paper offers strategies for strengthening the climate action movement. Although these approaches vary across respondents and groups, and have been adopted by some activist groups, they offer opportunities for taking stock. We find that social action groups tend to agree that effective campaign strategies – despite their varied circumstances, locations, tactics and agenda – can be seen basically through the lenses of emphasizing a moral message; offering a unified regime alternative; incorporating a diversity of participants; and using innovative public communication. The paper links these results to other empirical studies and to theoretical studies, offering the climate action movement the opportunity to re-examine its own strategies in this critical point in its history. The paper highlights the continuing need for grass-roots social action as fundamental driver of social change and emphasizes the importance of drawing upon strategies common to all social change movements.

Keywords: climate action; activism; social movement; public engagement

Introduction

Ideally the 2015 Paris climate agreement – a result of a long trip that begun in Rio de Janeiro in 1992 with several significant stops in Kyoto, Copenhagen, and elsewhere – should contain a 'legal instrument…to achieve…stabilization of greenhouse gas concentrations in the atmosphere that would prevent dangerous anthropogenic interference with the climate system…[which] should be achieved within a time frame sufficient to allow ecosystems to adapt naturally to climate change, to ensure that food production is not threatened and to enable economic development to proceed in a sustainable manner' (the Ultimate Objective, Article 2, of the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) (United Nations 1992). However, this international ambition remains elusive despite significant advances in scientific understanding that an inadequate climate change mitigation could increase 'the likelihood of severe,

pervasive and irreversible impacts for people and ecosystems' (IPCC 2014:8. While the Paris Agreement is a vital step towards achieving this ambition, it still misses on key aspects of climate action. The national pledges incorporated into it, even if achieved in full, are still too weak to ensure that dangerous climate change is avoided (Climate Action Tracker 2015). The Agreement also fails to incorporate climate justice and a strong review and enforcement mechanism to ensure countries are locked into the UNFCCC's 1992 Ultimate Objective (above) and 2015 aspirational, but not mandatory, target:

> Holding the increase in the global average temperature to well below 2°C above pre-industrial levels and to pursue efforts to limit the temperature increase to 1.5°C above pre-industrial levels (UNFCCC 2015, Article 2)

Absent these and just like its Kyoto Protocol predecessor, the Agreement will likely fail to deliver the necessary climate action and, without strong and active engagement from the public at large, may fail to pressure decision-makers in regional, national and sub-national jurisdictions. Until fossil fuels are kept in the ground, vulnerable countries are provided necessary support to adapt and to contribute to mitigation, and a just transition to a sustainable economy is addressed at a pace suggested by climate science, stronger climate activism remains a key strand in driving climate action. The #D12 protests[1] in the streets of Paris, on the day the Paris Climate Conference concluded, show that organising for climate action continues. Therefore, strategies and other campaign approaches need to be strengthened and aligned to meet the unachieved goals.

Climate activism has already proven itself as a key mechanism for driving climate action. It was essential in, among others, bringing the climate issue into popular understanding, mobilising the 2014 People's Climate March[2] (also see McKibben 2013), stopping the Keystone pipeline project, applying pressure to universities, churches, and other institutions to divest from fossil fuels, and propelling the ongoing small-scale, local-based transitions through households, local communities and businesses. This cache of successes provides evidence that the social movement for climate action is achieving change, albeit slowly.

Studies of the climate action movement have already gained salience, enriching the literature on its strategies (e.g. Delina, Diesendorf and Merson 2014; Klein 2014; Diesendorf 2009), ethnography (e.g. Rosewarne, Goodman and Pearse

[1] The #D12 climate protest, coordinated by 350.org, involved over 10,000 people rallying for climate action and justice.

[2] On 21 September 2014, the power of the networked approach was evidenced in one of the largest gatherings of the climate action movement where 350.org and a number of other organisations coordinated the so-called People's Climate March. *The Guardian* reported that the campaign involved an estimated 570,000 people taking part in 2,700 simultaneous events in 161 countries. In its culminating activity in the streets of New York, an estimated 400,000 people, and 1,573 groups participated, according to the organisers.

2014; Foran 2014), and solidarities and networks (e.g. Routledge 2012; Featherstone 2005, 2008; Cumbers et al. 2008), among others. These works have, in effect, also expanded the already established corpus of knowledge about social movements (e.g. Tilly 1995, 2002, 2008; Moyer 1987, 2001; Mann 1993; Ganz 2004). This paper contributes to this corpus of knowledge by highlighting the continuing relevance of social action – the groups involved in it and their activities – in driving social change. Using insights from contemporary social change groups, the paper confirms fundamental approaches that make campaigns effective and underscores their continuing use in climate activism.

The paper starts by discussing what could be meant by an effective campaign. It then describes its survey participants, selection process, statistical approach, narrative presentations, and limitations. It then presents an analysis of contemporary social activists' know-how and discusses the implications of this experiential knowledge for the climate action movement. A conclusion section wraps up the paper.

Describing effective campaigns

Campaign effectiveness is a broad and contested concept. Since many campaigns may take place over long periods of time before the ultimate goal of the movement is reached, effectiveness is hard to measure (Tilly 2008). This is also true of climate activism, where campaigns are best seen as nodes in a continuum that would ideally culminate in the achievement of a sustainable planet. In some cases, it is not unusual that some goals along this continuum, are unmet, since some of these campaigns may fail or succeed, and some of the goals change (Rosewarne, Goodman and Pearse 2014:81-84). Since the climate action movement may only realise its ultimate goal following a long period of sustained campaigning, its effectiveness can be measured using 'mechanisms' that are visible at the interactional level (Tilly 2002, 2008), i.e. by looking at the dynamics of contentious gatherings and public performances, the campaign per se (cf. Collins 2010).

According to Tilly (2002, 2008), the mechanisms surrounding any campaign remain spatially and temporally constant (cf. Collins 2010). A social action campaign is about communicating what Tilly (2002, 2008) calls WUNC, an acronym for worthiness, unity, numbers and commitment. Worthiness is displayed in the campaigners' sober demeanours by showing the public that they are a decorous people. Unity is achieved by, for example, marching in ranks, singing, and chanting together. Numbers is shown in headcounts, signatures on petitions and/or the capacity of the campaign to fill streets. Commitment is portrayed in campaigners' resolve and willingness to undergo hardships, such as braving bad weather or defying state repression. WUNC establishes the appeal of the campaign and legitimates social movements. As a result, the movements grow and become effective modes of modern politics. The evolution of the climate action movement demonstrates many examples on how

WUNC is creatively and effectively displayed in the many climate action campaigns.

In making recommendations for strengthening climate action campaigns, Delina, Diesendorf and Merson (2014) also focus on 'mechanisms' – which they refer to as dominant dynamics, patterns, elements and key tensions in a campaign – to ascertain effectiveness. That study identifies these mechanisms using comparative analysis of four historical social action campaigns: the 1930 events in the Indian Freedom Struggle; the 1955-1956 bus boycott that catalysed the modern African-American Civil Rights Movement; the anti-Marcos rallies culminating in the 1986 Philippine People Power Revolution; and the 1988-1990 campaigns collectively known as the Burmese Uprising. The study found that the mechanisms for effective and ineffective campaigns in these selected historical moments revolve around: building a new collective identity and a unified regime alternative, communicating the moral message, and enrolling a diversity of participants and networking.

Indicators for 'effective campaigns' can, therefore, be based on their outcomes. These outcomes are spatially and temporally dependent, but can be broadly described when the target audience funds and/or provides other resource support; joins the social action group; and/or actively engages with group activities. The final litmus test for effectiveness, nonetheless, is when campaign objectives are fully realised.

Methods

To substantiate our description of effective campaigns, this paper reports and analyses primary data from an online qualitative survey of contemporary social action groups administered over two weeks in November 2014. The survey determines how these groups build strategies for their campaigns and implement the strategies. The survey instrument is a qualitative questionnaire using a purposive sample. It is not a probability study requiring random sample to statistically represent a given population, but a study where participants are recruited based on a specific purpose and with a specific target audience. In this study, the participants are members of contemporary social action groups, which we broadly define as groups whose lines of activities involve campaigns to affect social change. They include labour unions, professional groups, faith-based organisations, women's groups and environmental groups.

Our survey questionnaire (see Appendix) consisted of open-ended questions asking respondents about: their group's campaign strategies; the elements and characteristics of effective or ineffective social action campaigns; the barriers, limitations and challenges to effective campaigns; and approaches and strategies to solicit and ensure greater public engagement. To assist the respondents with their choices, we have offered a range of choices and used a four-level Likert scale plus an option for 'no experience.' The scale does not have a 'neutral' option. This is done to reduce social desirability bias, the tendency of the respondent to answer questions in a manner that will be viewed favourably

by others (Garland 1991). To allow for a free-flow of additional insights, our instrument contains opportunities for them to voice an opinion, to expand on their answers, or even rebut our predetermined choices. We designed the instrument in this way to allow for some level of interaction.

To this end, we consider the responses to be expressions of personal views or opinions of the campaigner, not of their social action group per se. The responses are interpreted as verbal, rather than numerical statements. To preserve as much authenticity of the statements and narratives and to emphasise contextual respondent-level commentaries, we report the responses as unabridged verbatim quotes as much as possible. Although we let the respondents 'speak for themselves' to reduce interpretive bias, we have also provided active interpretations, analysis and critique of our survey data. As a crude shorthand to refer to respondents' quotes and responses, we use: SAE for a social action group whose focus of campaign is on the environment, SAJ for a social justice group, and SAO for groups that are neither focused on the environment nor social justice.

Since our Likert items and scales produce ordinal data to measure non-numeric concepts, our statistical approach involves calculating the median as a measure of central tendency, not the mean as it would have been for a probability survey. Moreover, the Interquartile Range (IQR), not the variance or standard deviation, is calculated as the measure of statistical dispersion. The interpretation is: the smaller the IQR, the more bunched up the data points around the median; by contrast, the higher the IQR, the more spread out the data points. While this may suggest that the data are quantitative, the reader is reminded that they are primarily verbal opinions.

To further minimise bias, we raise no question involving climate change or climate action. Rather, the topics revolve around broader issues that have universal application to social action regardless of campaign topic. By omitting climate change-related questions, the survey allows respondents, especially those who are neither environment nor climate-oriented, to express themselves freely without making any climate-related assumptions.

Participants

Forty-seven responses were received. Table 1 shows the distribution of respondents according to their location, categories, membership size, and location of work.

Table 1: Respondents

Location	**N**	**%**	**Membership size**	**N**	**%**
Australia	18	38%	More than 5,000	7	15%
U.S.A.	16	34%	1,000 to 4,999	6	13%
Canada	5	11%	501 to 999	6	13%
Nepal	2	4%	251 to 500	2	4%
Hungary	1	2%	101 to 250	5	11%
India	1	2%	51 to 100	6	13%
South Africa	1	2%	Less than 50	15	32%
The Gambia	1	2%			
Turkey	1	2%			
UK	1	2%			
Category	**N**	**%**	**Location of work**	**N**	**%**
Environment	39	83%	Local	35	75%
Health	3	6%	State-wide	28	60%
Faith	2	4%	National	28	60%
Social justice	1	2%	International	15	32%
Education	1	2%	Online	23	49%
Petition	1	2%			

All respondents are involved in education, information and awareness campaigns through lectures, seminars, trainings, workshops, pamphlets distribution, etc. In addition to education campaigns, thirty one or 66% of our respondents are also using non-violent direct action, civil resistance, or civil disobedience such as sit ins, rallies, demonstrations, strikes, workplace occupations, blockades, and hactivism[3]. Thirty-six groups or 77% are using both education and non-violent direct action.

The study intends to generate responses that are diverse in terms of geography, focus of activities, membership size, and location of work to ensure universal application of our findings, and to achieve diversified and rich responses. Except for the Caribbean and South American regions, all world regions have been represented in this study. However, majority of the responses have come from Australia, Canada, and the USA (N=39, 87%) indicating that the majority

[3] Hactivism is the act of breaking into a computer system for a social or political purpose.

of our respondents work within social spaces in the context of highly industrialised societies. Another overwhelming majority have environmental focus in their campaigns (N=39, 83%). Our response rate, 47 out of 1,345 invitations, is also indisputably tiny.

Some may perceive the distribution of respondents and the seemingly limited response rate as imbalances that lead them to question the representativeness of our data. However these have no profound effects on the results. Regarding the small response rate, the respondent size in a qualitative study using purposive sampling need only be sufficient for the investigators reach 'the quality of information…rather than the number per se' (Sandelowski 1995:179). In this paper, 47 responses appear to have given us sufficient variability and richness to be useful. The limited distribution of respondents should not be seen as limitation, but rather as strength, especially when viewed against the paper's current intentions. The three countries where majority of the respondents are located are among the world's high emission states and their approach to climate action is low in effectiveness. Soliciting insights from these groups, therefore, does not necessarily impinge on our conclusions, but most likely leads to more focussed appraisal of social action.

Nevertheless, the survey has several limitations. First, we do not compare or contrast responses from the global north with those of the global south. Spatial comparison is outside the current ambit of the paper. Second, we do not attempt to produce a theory. What we do here is to strengthen an already established understanding about social action movements, particularly their campaigns, by providing contemporary illustrations. Third, the paper, as with other empirical studies, has theoretical and methodological limitations, which cannot be resolved simply by the current data.

Despite these limitations, the identified strategies are consistent with theories and concepts of social movements and social mobilisations (e.g. Moyer et al. 2001; Tilly 1995, 2002, 2008; Della Porta and Diani 2006; Schock 2005; Melucci 1996). We have embedded these established conceptual elements in our narratives to imply the continuing relevance of social action, while aligning them with the strategies suggested by others, particularly those related to climate action strategies.

Practical strategies for effective campaigns

The strategies for effective social action are clustered according to four recurring themes in the response set: the moral message; a unified regime alternative; diversity of participants and networking; and public communication.

Emphasizing moral messages

Psychological stimuli can change people's attitudes towards social change (Markowitz and Shariff 2012; Swim et al. 2011; Haidt 2007). The strategic use of these stimuli in social movements often depends upon people's strongly held

values and moral concerns. Most respondents agree that evoking values and moral concerns in their campaigns has been an effective way to gather support (N=45; median=4 (effective); IQR=1).

When the public realises that their strong sense of right and wrong, and the values they hold strongly, are violated, large-scale activism tends to be ignited (Moyer et al. 2001). Past large-scale social movements strategically used these violations to strengthen social action and mobilise support. Delina, Diesendorf and Merson (2014), for instance, illustrate this in the arrest of Rosa Parks that ignited the modern civil rights movement; the assassination of Ninoy Aquino that spurred the Philippine People Power Revolution; and the violent dispersal of peaceful demonstrators in Dharasana that galvanised international recognition of India's struggle for independence. Tilly (1995, 2002, 2008) associates this part of social action with 'worthiness'.

Common among contemporary values that respondents indicated as important in spurring social action is social justice (N=46; median=5 (strong agreement); IQR=1). Other values that respondents hold on to dearly include: intergenerational equity (N=46; median=5 (strong agreement); IQR=1); conservation of biodiversity (N=46; median=5 (strong agreement); IQR=1); nonviolence (N=42; median=5 (strong agreement); IQR=1); basic human rights (N=43; median=4 (strong agreement); IQR=2); and ecocentric rather than anthropocentric position (N=42; median=4 (strong agreement); IQR=2). The results show that responses congregate between 'important' and 'very important' with low IQRs signifying that most of the responses are bunched towards the median for these values, which is 'very important.' In addition, respondents have also been using the following values and moral in their campaigns: fairness (SAE39, SAO03, SAO04); democracy (SAE35, SAE37, SAE39); integrity (SAE03, SAE37); honesty (SAE37); humility (SAE03); equity (SAE13, SAO03); education (SAO04); love (SAO07, SAE15); faith (SAO07); hope (SAO07); social stability (SAE35); preserving civilisation (SAE35); respect for dignity and rights for all (SAE15); and stewardship (SAE02).

The call for a climate response based on moral values is already embedded in the climate action movement. (The #D12 protest, for example, is hinged on climate justice.) These values include the principle that everyone has the right to life; that justice requires an equitable distribution of benefits and burdens; that humans have obligation to protect children from harm (Dean Moore and Wilson 2013). Since these are all threatened by the consequences of climate change, climate action is also a moral imperative. The moral imperative is key in setting the normative definition of climate action – the way the world *ought* to be (Dean Moore and Wilson 2013) – and in understanding its temporal terms, both intergenerational and immediate (Rosewarne, Goodman and Pearse 2014:91).

Most respondents indicated agreement that their campaigns become more effective if people see that their groups and their members live these moral values in their campaign practices and own lives in general (N=46; median=5 (very effective); IQR=1). Embedding moral values was also a key strategy in past large-scale social mobilisations (Delina, Diesendorf and Merson 2014).

Movements did this by exploiting events, often shocking, to offer clear demonstrations of how regimes violate people's deeply held values, thus triggering despair and anger. Psychological studies, which established that people start realising the inevitability of change following their experience of value violations (especially shocking ones) firsthand, support the strategy of moral benchmarking to trigger provocative direct action (Center for Research on Environmental Decisions, 2009; Weber, 2010; American Psychological Association, 2009).

Most respondents agree that a shocking event could indeed lead to effective campaigns (N=38; median=4 (effective); IQR=0). Ten respondents or 21 have even said that the absence of a shocking event to highlight their campaigns can be perceived as a barrier in seeking public engagement. In the climate action sphere, shocking events may trigger a large-scale change for activating rapid transition (Wagner and Zeckhauser 2012; Delina and Diesendorf 2013). They may occur in the form of extreme weather events, a contention that one respondent agrees with:

> At this point it seems that highlighting recent unpredictable weather and extreme weather events in the context of climate change has gotten people's attention, and explaining the scientific consensus that irreversible and catastrophic global warming is likely within this century if there is not a coordinated global effort to slash greenhouse gas emissions that begins in the next decade is enough to make those we've spoken to support our call for a national climate mobilization (SAE35).

While extreme weather events can provide triggers for confronting the status quo to some people, their reach and extent may be insufficient to drive large-scale effective action. Sometimes debilitating messages from such events can even result in inaction. Although a tipping point may be necessary to catapult climate action, 'the [climate action] movement may not be granted similar pivot events that could highlight the moral basis for effective climate action' (Delina, Diesendorf and Merson 2014:402).

Absent shocking events and the preference for optimism, campaign approaches that offer solutions relating to people's 'personal aspirations, desired social identity and cultural biases', as Delina, Diesendorf and Merson (2014:402) suggest and psychological studies support (American Psychological Association (APA) 2009; Lorenzoni, Nicholson-Cole and Whitmarsh 2007), could be included in the basket of strategies to activate greater public engagement for climate action. Among the strategies – in addition to confrontational protests and demonstrations – are proximate imageries and narratives of effective climate action such as prefigurative energy solutions occurring in communities, towns and cities to demonstrate ethically preferable alternatives to the fossil fuel regime (Delina, Diesendorf and Merson 2014; North 2011; Bulkeley and Betsill 2003). SAE21 supports this, suggesting 'building a better-integrated, more

resilient local community that shares a strong set of environmental values and supports efforts to put them into action.'

Conveying moral messages that imply hope, not just anger and despair is indeed key to mobilising people into action. It addresses a perennial challenge in mobilisation when campaigners need to translate discourses that are especially abstracted into 'the mundane politics of everyday life, into a directly embodied political process of movement mobilisation for a genuine strategy for transformation' (Rosewarne, Goodman and Pearse 2014:17; cf. Delina, Diesendorf and Merson 2014). SAE04 does this by 'pointing out how an issue affects each person – their health, their wallet, their children, the things they value and enjoy. Everyone is an environmentalist when the issue affects them.' In communicating their group's message, SAE37 also invokes proximity:

> I say that "the air I'm breathing in this room is chemically different than it was when I was born" (i.e. 400 parts per million (ppm) today, 360 ppm at my birth). I stress that we have "changed the basic chemistry of our planet" and contextualize it by taking a moment to talk about "this tiny rock hurtling through some random corner of space" and "its thin biosphere that supports all life as we know it," etc. I really speak slowly - with intentional pauses - letting the gravity of our situation sink in (SAE37).

Instigating climate activism is an intensely personal process requiring messages which use experiences that have personal, moral and proximate appeal to the audience. The process of humanising climate change can be done using experiences of moral shock, as illustrated in the case of past large-scale social mobilisations (Delina, Diesendorf and Merson 2014), and in many contemporary social action campaigns (cf. Rosewarne, Goodman and Pearse 2014:86). Motivating people, thus, revolves around personal experiences – often around the nexus of anger and despair and, in most instances, also around hope and optimism.

Building a unified regime alternative

In the continuum that describes social movements, the most important phase is when a large majority of people start to actively respond to the social issue by engaging in political actions and in changing their personal behaviours and mindsets (Moser 2009). People are often provided with this new sense of collective identity and ownership when campaigners offer a clear and unified regime alternative in constructing new ways of living (Della Porta and Diani 2006; Schock 2005; Melucci 1996). In climate action, this involves constructing a new vision for a stable climate era, for instance, an ecologically sustainable energy future (Delina, Diesendorf and Merson 2014).

The respondents support this, highlighting that when groups work together towards a unified alternative that follows towards goals and clear demands,

campaigns become more effective (N=46; median=4 (effective); IQR=1). In past large-scale social action, one critical factor for growing a social cause requires the transformation of citizens from mere participants and followers to active members of 'a collectively organised, self-directing and highly engaged social change group' (Delina, Diesendorf and Merson 2014:400). Unity remains key when delivering a strong public performance (Tilly 1995, 2002, 2008).

The heterogeneity of its approaches, technologies, tools, and tactics is a strong aspect of the climate action movement. Nonetheless, this plurality must be based on a common positive vision (Schock 2005) of how, in general terms, to avoid major climate change. For the climate action movement, Delina, Diesendorf and Merson (2014) suggested that this alternative to the status quo 'may be broad but many groups can agree with, at least in principle.' They determined this to be a low carbon, sustainable future, which can be pursued by various groups using various campaign approaches for climate justice, rapid sustainable energy transitions, and sustainable consumption and production.

Since a unified regime alternative can only be clearly communicated when a group has clear goals, absence or failure to have one, including concrete demands, can be a barrier to effective campaigning, according to SAE33 and SAE35. Aligning group objectives with campaign strategies underscores the necessity of careful planning (N=46; median=4 (effective); IQR=1).

Realistic objectives become essential as SAE36 notes: 'Ensuring that our values, objectives, and messaging are realistic and are about achieving inclusivity with regards to membership, political views, etc. [has led to effective campaigns].' This necessitates 'providing people with concrete ways to take action' (SAE17) and 'encouraging them to take practical steps' (SAE03) on their own (SAE13) and for their own development (SAE15). Some specific strategies include: 'encouraging local communities to undertake environmentally aware projects such as local clean energy and energy efficiency' (SAE11); and 'undertaking projects that capture community interest [such as] getting commitment to community targets, solar bulk buy schemes, and community owned solar farm' (SAE08). There are many other possibilities to construct feelings of shared identities (Della Porta 2005) concerning climate action that campaigners need to visualise and develop at different place-based communities – and to forge meaningful solidarities among these approaches through networks and other forms of interconnections.

Diversifying participation

Fostering diversity of participation, especially in a multi-scale and multilevel social action, is vital. Diversity in gender, age, religion, ethnicity, ideology, profession and socio-economic status of participants leads to greater success in past social mobilisations (Delina, Diesendorf and Merson 2014). Most survey respondents agree that the diversity of their participants has been a factor for effective campaigns (N=42; median=4 (effective); IQR=1). One respondent highlights the significance of diversity:

> Getting people from different constituencies at the table, making sure all voices are heard and all parties are involved in creating plans of action, including implementation accountability [is one of the other strategies that our group is using] (SAE34).

Diversity of participation also increases the likelihood of tactical diversity, since different groups are familiar with different forms of campaigns and bring their own unique capacities to their respective movements (Chenoweth and Stephan 2011; Murphy 2005). To achieve diversity in the movement, respondents underline the importance of affiliating with other social action groups. Of the 47 respondents, 35 or 75% said that their groups are affiliated with networks, coalitions, or alliances. Most respondents, including some of those who do not have any affiliation, indicated strong agreement with the idea that affiliations could result in more effective campaigns (N=46; median=4 (effective); IQR=1). Failure to organise joint campaigns and protest actions with other groups, 24 respondents or 51% said, result in ineffective campaign.

Plurality of participation, indeed, is often achieved through interconnectedness in alliances, coalitions, or networks (Featherstone 2005; Schock 2005; Tarrow 1998; Tilly 1995) to generate productive connections between different places and organisations (Featherstone 2008). Citing examples from their case studies, Delina, Diesendorf and Merson (2014) argue how networks of local-based groups worked with and supported each other to achieve campaign objectives. In their Philippine case study, for example, they highlighted how the Roman Catholic Church mobilised groups of Filipino peasants, farmers, and fisherfolks years before the anti-Marcos movement achieved the generally peaceful People Power Revolution in 1986.

The effects of networks and affiliations on groups, however, have been varied across the responses. Most respondents indicate that affiliations enable their group to make greater impact (N=35; median=3 (agree to the statement); IQR=1). Most of them also feel that they have become a stronger force (N=35; median=3 (agree); IQR=1) as a critical mass is formed around certain goals (SAE03) because of these affiliations. One respondent mentions that legitimacy and credibility are also enhanced with these affiliations (SAE36). Having a shared notion that potentially creates a common ground enables varied themes to be interconnected and for different groups and actors from various struggles and social contexts to join in one common struggle (Della Porta et al. 2006).

Converging around a common struggle (Cumbers, Routledge and Nativel 2008) reduces campaigners' feelings of isolation: a sentiment shared by some respondents.

> The problem is too big to face alone. Coalitions are really the only way (SAE34).
>
> Good to feel [that] you are not alone and that there are other passionate people out there running their own campaigns. Together we make much more noise (SAE08).
>
> Being part of a larger alliance has ... allowed [us] to be part of a bigger campaign, boosting impact (SAE12).
>
> [Being affiliated with other groups results in a] reinforcement of justification for our campaigns (others think the same way, we must be on the right track) (SAE13).
>
> This makes us feel we are not crying in the wilderness and are not mad (SAE31).
>
> I think the greatest benefit of being part of alliances is simply the sense that we're not operating in a vacuum - that there are other people and groups out there who share our concerns, ideals, etc. (SAE33).

The benefits of affiliation are especially present in specific campaign strategies. In relation to climate action, one respondent, for instance, sees the benefit of affiliations in their fossil fuel divestment campaign:

> Divestment necessitates a critical mass to be an effective means of social (or especially financial) stigma, so being intimately involved in coalition with other students, frontlines, and financial campaigns against fossil fuel extraction and consumption is [sic] greatly beneficial. Divestment also acts as an organizing tool more than [an] end-goal; it is a way to build these relationships and coalitions to ensure climate justice and equitable distribution of sacrifice as our climate changes (SAE39).

Another benefit of affiliations is the opportunity to share campaign burdens (SAE22). One respondent explains:

> The crucial value of an alliance is that it can create a larger virtual organisation but has the value that the sub-units can specialise their work (in the knowledge that other crucial functions are being carried out by other members of the alliance) and that each unit can be self-managing thus avoiding managerial overload and excessive concentration of power in the hands of a few (SAE27).

Of these benefits, however, access to resources recurs amongst responses. Because of their affiliations, most respondents agree that their group can now combine their own resources with that of other groups (N=35; median=3 (agree); IQR=1). Some groups have eventually found new streams of resources and strategies because of these affiliations (SAE10, SAE12, SAE25), including sources of funding (SAE11) and opportunities for sharing, learning and collaboration (SAE21).

Despite these benefits, however, some respondents report disadvantages and limitations of their affiliations. For instance, 20 respondents or 57% said that their affiliations with other groups resulted in some feeling that they are losing part of their independence. Retaining a sense of autonomy, while valuing collaboration, is important (Rosewarne, Goodman and Pearse 2014:84-86).

Some respondents see another disadvantage in terms of reconciling varied campaign approaches, as narrated, for example, by SAE01:

> We struggle with the lack of shared values. Yes, we can unite on a specific issue but often our environmental colleagues want us to model corporate hierarchy or privilege in how we deal with aspects of our work together. The members on the frontlines of coalitions have the most difficult time with this and are often tempted to pull out of coalition. Usually feelings calm down and we feel the advantages outweigh the disadvantages, but from time to time we have to question who we are and what we stand for. We have pulled out of some group decisions and limited our coalition involvement in these instances (SAE01).

Other groups, such as SAE04, raise an observation as to who gets the credit at the end of a successful campaign:

> We need to carefully balance each group's claim of credit for successes in our coalition - make sure everyone gets credit. This is the hardest part of the balance. Keeping our board members happy that we are making a huge difference without them pushing or have us claim all the credit, or getting mad when coalition members claim more credit (or can raise more money) (SAE04).

Sometimes, the nature and focus of work that defines a particular social action group is a limiting factor for affiliating with others. A faith-based group shares:

> It is challenging for religious groups to join civil society coalitions - but it is also essential in terms of resources and reach. The difficulty comes from retaining our ethos and ensuring we don't alienate those who support us because we are a religious organisation... while still ensuring that we are relevant, accessible and heard by non-religious members within the coalition and the coalition's supporter base (SAJ01).

Nevertheless, the advantages of affiliation generally outweigh the disadvantages. Skocpol (2013), for example, argues how a networked-based mobilisation is essential for achieving legislation on universal health care in the USA – one that environmental groups, she contends, failed to undertake during the campaign for climate legislation. The variety of participation and the networked approach has already been embraced in the climate action movement with many campaigns occurring across locations and scales arising as results of network-

based mobilisations (e.g. the 2014 People March[3] and the #D12 protests). To further strengthen network-based mobilisations for climate action, survey respondents suggest:

- Building strong commitment within social networks, including close friends and family (SAE35), and then building support network by network (SAE27).
- Getting people from different constituencies to the table, making sure all voices are heard and all parties are involved in creating plans of action, including implementation and accountability (SAE35).
- Building unusual coalitions, e.g. youth and CEOs, of people working together (SAE34).

Numbers are essential in social movements (Tilly 1995, 2002, 2008). The show of force through trans-local or trans-national solidarities is manifest in convergences, affiliations, and networks (Nunes 2009). The present climate action movement – which is constructed as a solidarity of non-government organisations; anarchist and autonomist grassroots groups; traditional labour groups; left political parties; emancipatory movements around questions of identity; religious and faith-based groups; professional organisations; and indigenous peoples – already illustrates solidarities across diversity (Routledge 2012). To retain this success in future climate action mobilisations, a sustained, dynamic, and cohesive public engagement is necessary, highlighting the essential role of communicating the message widely and effectively in a plural society.

Engaging the public

Reaching out to a large proportion of the population was imperative for effective mobilisation in past campaigns (Delina, Diesendorf and Merson 2014; Moyer et al. 2001). In contemporary situations, there is also a strong agreement among most respondents that extensive media coverage (N=42; median=4 (effective); IQR=1) and critical social problem expositions in popular media (N=39; median=4 (effective); IQR=0) make mobilisations easier and quicker. At times when mainstream media provides extensive coverage, most respondents feel that they have been successful (N=42; median=4 (effective); IQR=1). By contrast, unsupportive media, according to 33 respondents or 70%, pose a barrier to campaigning.

While it is ideal to secure mainstream popular media coverage of a campaign, some social action causes, including for effective climate action, are simply unattractive to media in some countries. Bacon (2013), Bacon and Nash (2012), and Feldman et al. (2013), for instance, give empirical examples how low media attention and unfriendly media stance over climate issues have been prominent

in Australia and the U.S.A., where the majority of our respondents are based. For example, the 2014 Peoples Climate March received very little coverage from major media networks, despite the event's huge turnout. The Paris climate talks, nonetheless, gained popular media coverage, with most major networks and dailies providing coverage.

Nonetheless, there is no guarantee for sustained popular media attention in the extended campaigns for climate justice, stronger emissions reduction, the urgency of transition, sustainable consumption, and other aspects of climate action. At times when popular media take little notice, one social action group found that the Ganz model[4] for organising could be helpful:

> Using a Ganz model for building a campaign that has gradual steps of increasing engagement, having the grass roots build movement so that we can pull in more people at every step and build bigger events and actions. Then the media begins to take notice and cover us, and we often get the prominent person endorsement that will boost our campaign further. Sometimes the action puts the spotlight on the issue and the rest follows. We have had good success with this, especially in our oil-by-rail resistance campaign, which began ten days prior to the Lac Megantic rail disaster[5].

To improve the rate of mobilisation in the absence of support from mainstream and popular media outlets, the climate action movement should strengthen its 'non-traditional' means, modes and channels of communication and engagement provided by online and social media, and the traditional means of face-to-face meetings.

> Having strong direct [communications] to supporters is essential, you can't rely on the media alone. Magazines, postcards, films, email, social media and a website are all very useful; meeting up is also indispensible (SAO07).

When asked about the various modes of public communication that groups are using in their campaigns, the majority of the respondents tend to agree on the effectiveness of face-to-face conversations (N=47; median=5 (very strong agreement); IQR=1). To facilitate personal or peer-to-peer meetings, respondents suggest doing it across kitchen tables and in community conversations among friends and neighbours (SAE08, SAO03), and in communities that meet often and share values such as churches (SAO07).

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[4] The Ganz model of organising is a portfolio of organising strategies developed by Marshall Ganz (see http://bit.ly/Qkmrjh).

[5] On 6 July 2013, a freight train carrying crude oil derailed in the town of Lac-Megantic in Quebec, Canada, resulted in a fire and an explosion that killed 42 people.

In these conversations, campaigners could take the following suggested approaches:

> Framing an issue to make it emotive, memorable, with a clear wrong, and a convincing solution that requires the individual to take action. It needs to be simple enough to be easy to communicate quickly to busy people with no prior interest, but the quick and simple version needs to avoid distortions (SAO07).
>
> Reframing questions to take into account 'green fatigue' such as 'do you support renewable energy?' instead of 'do you believe in climate change?' (SAE24).

The focus on solutions rather than on the debilitating pessimism of climate impacts has strong support from the psychology and behavioural studies literature (Stoknes 2015).

Moreover, face-to-face conversations must be clearly organised and facilitated using some creativity to tell the story of people affected by climate change (SAE03) and to communicate the climate action agenda, including 'stories of communities that have responded creatively to the realities of climate change' (SAE03). Some respondents suggest 'using the arts, e.g. theatre, music (SAE30), literature, film and visual art (SAE03, SAE18, SAE21, SAO03), stunts and performances (SAE12), and other [related] events' (SAE36). 'Using analogies with similar issues that do have critical problems such as comparing the fossil fuel industry with tobacco or asbestos industry' (SAE13) is also suggested. What is clear in these strategies, however, is the need to make 'a very clear call to action [such as] education campaign through giving presentations town-by-town on a state-wide issue, where after each meeting the attendees are asked to organise their own (SAE04, SAE05, SAE06, SAO07), and school-based education programs (SAE16, SAE25) that are geared where the audience is at' (SAE37).

Moreover, the majority of the respondents are in strong agreement (N=46; median=4 (strong agreement); IQR=0) on the use of internet-based communication tools in campaigns, particularly social media. For one social action group, 'maintaining a website with resources such as handouts, educational materials, bumper stickers, pins and lawn signals, for groups and individuals to use' (SAE04) remains a key campaign strategy. Of course, social media is already widely employed in climate action campaigns. Their use needs to be sustained and exploited to its full potential.

Nevertheless, many respondents (N=43) strongly agree that traditional, 'offline' materials such as newsletters and other printed materials still have role to play in communicating the campaign (median=4 (strong agreement); IQR=0). To expand reach, conventional approaches that need to be strengthened include writing letters to the editor (SAE31), initiating expert submissions in relation to law reform options (SAE19), and lobbying politicians at all levels, from local government to state and federal (SAE22, SAE25, SAO01, SAO03, SAO06, SAO07). This also includes 'producing media stories featuring well-liked and

well-respected community leaders who will publicly state their concerns about climate change and the need for stronger action' (SAE33).

All the above communication strategies aim at reducing constraints on participation, including public perceptions of the risk of getting involved, which occurs when audiences observe an open and collective act of social action (Chenoweth and Stephan 2011). Also supporting the argument that all forms, modes and channels of communication need to be explored and exploited in social action campaigns, are critical mass theories of social action, which state that audiences base their perceptions of opportunities to get engaged on patterns of the activities by social action campaigners (Kurzman 1996). These strategies remain vital in translating the hopes of the movement into agendas for social and political change.

Conclusion

Addressing the climate change challenge remains a standing goal despite the modest success of the Paris climate agreement. Since key aspects for effective climate action remains inadequately addressed – the urgency of transition to sustainable economy, climate justice, etc. – climate action needs to be strengthened. This paper uses insights from experiences of contemporary social action groups and their campaigns to offer strategies to strengthen the activist dimension of climate action.

The climate action movement has already claimed many successes. Further down the road, long-term campaign strategies must be sustained to ensure that the fossil fuel regime is changed into a sustainable energy regime, and that climate justice and a just transition to a sustainable society are also achieved. Using insights from 47 contemporary social action groups, this paper offers the following strategies:

- Strengthening messages that concern people's deeply held moral values and relating them to the importance of effective climate action.
- Strengthening the process of building a collective identity for the climate action movement and a unified alternative to unsustainable regimes.
- Ensuring diversity of participants in the climate action movement and exploiting the benefits of networking between like-minded groups.
- Strengthening the use of all possible means of public communication channels, both innovative and traditional, to inculcate the climate action message.

These strategies are by no means innovative. Although campaign effectiveness could never be guaranteed by employing these strategies, they highlight the continuing relevance of strategies that were used successfully in past large-scale

social change campaigns. They are consistent with the theoretical and conceptual frameworks established in the scholarly literature on social movements and the empirically understood structure of effective modern social action campaigns.

Climate activism as a creative process needs to experiment with new ways to critically act in the world, but it also needs to critically reflect on the set of tools it currently has. This moment of reflection is critical as the movement builds its strategies for the long haul while mobilising the public around the necessity of urgent action. This paper offers the opportunity for the movement to examine its own strategies in this critical point in its history.

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Appendix: Abridged version of the questionnaire

Part 1: About your group

1. Name of your group, including acronym or abbreviation.
2. Location.
3. Year your group was created/founded.
4. Membership size.
5. Principal category/group orientation: environmental; social justice and/or human rights; other, please specify.
6. Specific social action agenda, e.g. anti-nuclear; religious/faith; civil rights; climate action; Indigenous Peoples; labour.
7. What does your group specifically do?
8. Coverage/extent of work: local/community based; state-wide/province-wide; national; international; online
9. Is your group a member of a network, alliance, or coalition? If yes, please specify.

Part 2: Effective campaign strategies

10. Rate the effectiveness of the following strategies for accomplishing social change. *Scale: No experience; Very ineffective; Ineffective; Effective; Very effective.*
    a. Education, information, awareness campaigns.
    b. Non-violent direct action.
    c. Both.
11. Following on Question 10, what other approaches can you suggest in making social action campaigns effective? Please elaborate on your response.
12. Rate the effectiveness of the following strategies for getting public support and engagement. *Scale: Scale: No experience; Very ineffective; Ineffective; Effective; Very effective.*
    a. Connecting campaigns with moral values.
    b. Involving or engaging prominent people.
    c. Extensive media coverage.
    d. Presence of shocking incident or event that dramatically highlights a critical social problem.
    e. Exposing the critical social problem in popular media.
    f. Careful planning.
    g. Affiliating in an alliance, network, or coalition.
    h. Targeting campaigns towards existing social groups, e.g. faith groups, cultural groups, professional groups.
    i. Engaging a public who share similar interests, or similar faith, or similar profession, or similar age brackets, or similar community or area.
    j. Engaging with friends, family, or relatives.
    k. Engaging in joint activities even though they dare none of the above characteristics.

13. Following on Question 12, what other strategies can you suggest in soliciting public support and engagement? Please elaborate on your response.
14. Rate the importance of the following moral values in your campaigns. Scale: No experience; Not important; Somewhat important; Important; Very important.
    a. Nonviolence.
    b. Social justice.
    c. Right to security.
    d. Intergenerational equity.
    e. Conservation of biodiversity and ecological integrity.
    f. Basic human rights.
    g. Ecocentric rather than anthropocentric position.
15. Following on Question 14, what other moral values can be invoked? Please elaborate on your response.
16. In the absence of a critical social problem highlighted in the media, or exposed by a shocking incident, or supported by prominent people, what other strategies can you suggest?
17. Outcomes from affiliating with a network or an alliance. Scale: Strongly disagree; Disagree; Agree; Strongly Agree.
    a. Our group can create greater public impact since we are now part of a bigger group.
    b. We feel we are now a stronger force.
    c. We can combine our group's resources with that of other groups.
    d. We feel we have lost part of our independence.
18. Following on Question 17, what other outcomes have you experienced from being in a network, coalition or alliance? Please describe these sentiments.
19. Challenges and barriers to effective campaigns?
    a. Lack of funds and other resources.
    b. Unsupportive media.
    c. Absence of prominent persons in campaigns.
20. Following on Question 19, what other challenges have you experienced? Please elaborate on your response.

Part 3: Ensuring public engagement

21. Rate the effectiveness of the following modes of communication in ensuring public engagement as defined above. *Scale: No experience, Very ineffective; Ineffective; Effective; Very effective.*
    a. Face-to-face conversations.
    b. Social media.
    c. SMS or text messages.
    d. All or combination of the above.
22. Following on Question 21, what other communication strategies to ensure public engagement can you suggest? Please elaborate on your response.

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Evolving texture of environmentalism and submergence of justice: a critical note on the Narmada Valley protest in India

Suresh Babu

Abstract

Environmental movements, over a period of time, have articulated the conceptual universes such as justice, equality, citizenship, eco-sensitivity; not only to challenge the dominant paradigm of development, but also to inform alternative strategies for sustainability. Moreover, their persistent usage as a tool for collective consciousness and mobilization in the realm of protests has created a new epistemic site for organizing theory that is necessary for those who participate and study the trajectories of movement. Once they become part of everyday practice, movements acquire new cultural identity among its participants. Similarly, their reflections and translations in different context connect the protestors from local to global.

This study seeks to examine discursive/non-discursive formations of the people's protests in the Narmada Valley in central India. Despite persistent resistance and thereby generating critical discourses on environmentalism globally for the last three decades, people in the dam site were to be uprooted as the dominant paradigm of development submerges the idea of justice. This paper critically examines the dialectics of generic discourses on environmentalism: the movement known for its global strategies on the one side and the displacement that the nation-state required for harnessing the greater common good on the other. In fact it is the new properties of social situations derived from the political culture and their practices that inform and determine the theoretical validity of a universal language of justice as realizable.

Keywords: discourse, protest, environmentalism, displacement justice

Introduction

Scholarship in social movements in general and environmental movements in particular the world over have been conceived of within new theoretical reflections by incorporating conceptual universes such as justice, equality, citizenship, eco-sensitivity. The appropriation and conceptions of such languages by the participants and activists create more intellectual space, not only to mediate the link between local protest and macro institutions nationally and globally, but also oscillating ideas and resources to realize their desirable goals. Reflections derive from the movements; if morally tenable, they will

become new political culture and practice. Eventually, such cultural practices and characterization may become potential conceptual tools for those who stand for social transformation and for a just society (Flacks, 2004). While closely observing the movement trajectories in our times, one needs to examine how often participants appropriate and use certain conceptual categories to relate the problem they encounter and translate in the movement field for collective consciousness and mass mobilization. During the course of mass mobilization, they have recourse to meanings for the participants engaged in collective action in one form or other. Subsequently, those who are in the movements – participants – can engage in producing new discourses that may become reliable inputs for movements' sustenance in the long run. In other words, movements themselves, at times, internalize certain objective conditions by evoking conceptual universes as a reflexive process to negotiate with the state on the one side and to reclaim citizenship rights on the other. This new sensibility brings about a collective identity as a new culture among the movement's participants (Jamison, 2001) in the post-colonial societies.

It is a widely acknowledged fact that environmentalism became a powerful discourse in the movement scholarship; however, for analytical purposes the former is different from the latter. Environmental movements are considered to be one of the vibrant movements in our time as they set the agenda of macro-social and political change. Beginning in the late 1960s, they have acquired unique characteristics of post-industrial society to mobilize varieties of symbolic and material resources that are available both locally and globally; to challenge the destructive logic of market and the state; and to recast civil society at large. The growing number of membership in environmental organization is testimony to the fact that people began to trust movement participants more than governments or corporations. The development of ecology as a new discipline for academic practices, reporting and telecasting environmental issues through mass media and establishment of environmental ministries within uthe state have led to institutionalization of the environmental issue. Moreover, the student revolt and the New Left opened up new political space for environmental movements. Unequal distribution of environmental burden across societies and groups gave rise to discourses on environmental justice in the 1980s. Ever growing environmental degradation has been attributed to the adverse effect of existing structures of social organizations driven by industrialism and global capitalism (Rootes, 2004: 608-616). However, in third world countries, access to resources, deforestation, unsustainable agricultural and industrial practices become relevant issues centered on environment. In fact, grass-root perspectives mean that empowering the local communities through participation can be the best political strategy for sustainability with eco-sensibility.

Sociological studies on the environment in developing societies like India are a relatively recent innovation eclipsed in modern environmental movements in the west. By deploying social movement theory, in fact, one can examine the evolution and articulation of organizations and the location of people who are committed for environmental cause. Of late, environmental movements have

added a new conceptual framework to the way Indian democracy and civil society ought to be, as the former began to challenge the dominant ideological notions of meaning, content and pattern of development driven by the latter (Gadgil and Guha, 2000: 385). As a result, environmental discourses in India have acquired a new meaning which reflected on how people's movements reinforce community rights over natural resources for equal distribution and sustainable use (Sangvi, 2006).

This paper is intended to highlight the effect of discourses that the movements discursively produced in the process of collective consciousness and mass mobilization and their implication for people and groups within and outside of the very movement. The debate here broadly counter-poses two competing discourses – environmentalism and justice – in the field of environmental movement studies as it was necessitated by the properties of the situation itself. Put it more clearly, the conception of justice obviously is subjectively meaningful once rights are denied to the people who were forced to displace. Justice, indeed, is not sheer abstract theory, but an actual reality in the face of injustice. On the other hand, highlighting the discourses on environmentalism was to gain wider recognition and legitimacy of the movement for its global reach. As long as people were evicted by force from the ecosystem they inhabited for centuries in the name of development, obviously, the parallel discourses on environmentalism remain remote and meaningless to the former in context. It is, perhaps, the same way the North began to talk of sustainability for the South once it exploited all resources in the North.

The movement in opposite directions of such conceptions has been a real puzzle in understanding environmental movements in post-colonial societies like India today. Apparently, such protests have been theorized as environmentalism of the poor as the evidence shows that they are more dependent upon natural resources and any change in the eco-system will directly affect their livelihood system (Kadekodi, 200:195). As Eyerman and Jamison (1991) rightly pointed out, environmental movements only remain for a brief period between the constitution of the knowledge interest that define the movement and their institutionalization. Hence, environmental movements can be distinguished from social movements subjected to the act of cognition or network, but our purpose here is not to elaborate this further. However, emergent discourses on environmentalism on the one side, and the submergence of justice on the other seem to be problematic in the context of people who were threatened by the mega dam projects in the Narmada valley.

The Narmada valley protest, led by the Narmada Bachao Andolan and begun nearly 25 years ago, for instance, is an empirical site to describe this dialectical process. Much of the explanations and arguments were gained from the field observation conducted in the project-affected areas of dam site, protest venues and interaction with activists and intellectuals. No doubt, discourses centered on the dam construction in the Narmada valley have been salient for people's collective protest and mass mobilization. A historical sense of the protest in the valley would show how the movement succeeded in articulating the

environmental question and problems of people globally as a new texture in the public sphere. It is the mass media, national and global network that led such discourses to travel beyond its local geography. However, while foregrounding the movement in its geographical location with immediate circumstances, one should rather find out the misplaced polarities of the generic discourses. It is the hegemonic discourses of the state through its stubborn determination that dictate why people in the valley should be uprooted, as the dominant paradigm of development submerges the idea of justice empirically and involuntary displacement as its consequence. Under such conditions, conceptions of justice as properties of fair treatment get exhausted in the name of development once people have been denied the right to live in their habitat. Hence, these discourses remain meaningless for their immediate political context and the potential language for displacement pronounced to make people object of compensation and rehabilitation. In other words, the political culture of democracy failed to unify a linear process to keep the balance of discourses squarely on environmentalism and justice. As a result, people were denied the epistemic privilege to embrace the discourses of justice, and instead sustained victimhood as object of development.

The experimental part of this article would detour into the language of the modern state, its trajectories of developmental thinking and transformation and access on how the political language in the form of public policies responded to the livelihood patterns of subaltern communities on the one hand and the eco-system on the other hand. Sociological insights on the ecology-development paradigm, within the citadel of the state, seem to subordinate the voices of the people who resist the large scale development induced displacement. This means that the hegemonization and patronization of one sided discourses displace another set of discourses. Subsequently, the legitimization of categories and outsourcing discourses such as environmental conservation, protection and regulation led to sustain existing oppressive structures. Discourses on displacement, on the other hand, as a repulsive attitude of the state, become inevitable for the feasibility of development. They eventually form hierarchies of discourses in the backdrop of the political economy led by the nation-state. No wonder it is the state that arbitrarily defines derivative concepts like development subsuming equality and justice to qualify its legitimacy. As a hegemonic institutional apparatus, the state, at times, perpetrates violence against non-violent struggles and hence neutralizes democratic means (Senthalir, 2012). However, the same categories were not allowed for public debate as is essential for democratic practice where people's protests are subjected to. In other words, the derivative characterization of conceptual universes from the state, are only to preserve and hold power with the new elites and, as a consequence, de-politicizing the politics of the masses as led by the movements.

Marginalization of the excluded communities due to uneven development was illustrated in social science discourses as political prisoners. The discourses generated by the movement, in fact, can make thick description to present these subalterns. It is the very act of subalternity as a discourse, in the era of

globalization, that can be a best framework for public policy (Spivak, 2000). Making people an object of reform and target of rehabilitation policy, under the pretext of great common good as a symbol of development and progress, have violated epistemological privilege of the adivasi life-world, in the Narmada valley, whose social-world is organically linked with nature. These undeserved sufferings, not being fault of the victim, detect the logic of oppression. Under such circumstances, there is a need for strengthening theories on oppression as a critical consciousness in the backdrop of the post-developmental state driven by the global market forces.

This article demonstrates the protest, context, and its resultant inter-texuality as an epistemological site in the movement studies that slightly deviates from the conventional approaches. True movements often non-discursively articulate and express people's aspirations as fragments of discourse. In our times, it is this kind of discourses that fundamentally challenge the ideological positions of post-developmental state in the realm of public-policies and seeks to find out alternative vision (Kothari, 1994) for our common future. However, those who challenge the oppressive structures remained as perpetual victims, susceptible to transcending their critical agency as equal citizens due to the hegemonic languages of the state. It is the growing awareness about vulnerability that needs critical attention to capture [un]desirable directions of the movements, in context, in the era of globalization. Hence, this article at one level examines how movements, as a weapon of the weak, created a base for collective awareness, mobilization and protest against these oppressive forces, and at another level investigates its consequences upon them as victims of the same discourse generated within. For our immediate conception, the discourse is narrowed down to investigate how environmental protests engage with the dialectics of complex network on the one side and cognitive formation on the other as a meaningful [dis]location for movement studies.

[Dis] location of movements: discourses on environmentalism and protest

There are conceptual institutions of the politics of nature that regulate human behaviour as critical, reflexive and discursive practice. As an ideology, in the pretext of environmentalism, people were neglected as trouble makers in respect of the former, leading to lack of sensitivity (Gadgil, 2000). From a sociological point of view, nature and eco-system are understood as complex networks associated with society. However, as a body of knowledge, through research activities, this implicitly indicates the potential as well as vulnerability of people to ensure sustainability provided new rules and regulations are imposed upon them. For this purpose, nature was to be introduced as knowable through the disciplinary practices of sciences, protocols, network of data and instruments, intervention of professionals, and learned societies. Hence, it is the learned community that effectively mediates between ecology and society. As a result, people have hardly direct access to nature as such. Of late, environmental movements seek a short-circuit to the third party to inform that nature is

rapidly evading politics, hence, everyone is expected to rally behind it, despite political ecology already existing in countless forms in human history. While undertaking the politics of nature, environmental movements also modify our assumptions and concepts in public life to protect nature from human degradation through the theories of sustainable politics (Latour, 2004). It is a simple logic that nature does not have moral or immoral strands by its own, instead, one needs to understand the fact that the unique discursive power of culture-nature dialectics generates discourses, and for that matter counter discourses as well. No wonder: counter discourses were primarily born out of people's collective mobilization and their constant protest in a democratic society.

It is true that the dominant paradigm of development in post-independent India has apparently proved to affect both people and eco-system adversely as one closely examines the series of protests began in the later part of 1970s. Unlike earlier debates on the competing claims of state vis-à-vis people over resources, now the debate has extended further to the question of access and abuse of resources, particularly forest resources for industrialization. Hence, a new politics and morality is being consciously incorporated in ecology for sustainable development in which environmental movements are largely involved. Although these movements were spearheaded under the rubric of different ideological pre-occupations, their evolution and subsequent forecasting with one another appeared to be a sequential episode of collective struggle that created distinctive ecological consciousness, by questioning the very paradigm of developmental models of the welfare state.

The environmental protests in India began with continuing conflict over access to resources for livelihood. This reflected the dissenting voices against the state sponsored commercialization of these natural resources on the one hand, and the right to preserve and use limited resources for the sustenance of the marginalized majority without harming the eco-system on the other. The scholarship geared to theorize environmental problem and its huge social cost for development thinking by the activists and social scientists has equally understood how the poor is burdened in the name of development as well (Munshi, 2003). It is to be noticed that, from the beginning these struggles were spearheaded by forest dwellers, mostly tribal communities in order to protect and preserve their social relationship with sustained eco-system (Karnik, 2005). Discourses generated out of these struggles, led by the tribal communities, reveal how their life-systems are sensible towards community consciousness with ecological-sensibilities (Omvedt, 1984). Community, a morale terrain of sociability, is being evoked for the sustenance, growth and transformation of the system. It is needless to mention that it is the mass protest through collective consciousness, identity construction, mobilization and art of resistance that evokes the morale of community to negotiate with the sub-systems of society.

Chipko, being a pioneer environmental movement in post-independence India, emerged as a peaceful protest against commercial forestry. In the formative periods of protest with a grassroots perspective, it received little attention by

politicians or scientific communities. However, gradually it became a mass protest once its ideology was articulated in the background of violation of customary rights of the forests dwellers. Commercial timber operations, for instance, unmasked the inherent contradictions and exploitative nature of forest policy of the nation. This, in turn, generated a series of debates over environmental questions for the first time in India (Gadgil & Guha, 2007). In addition to this, discourses were also evolved in parallel to protect the forest and natural resources from commercial exploitation. As a classical example of non-violent resistance, the Chipko movement was not confirmed only in the Himalayan regions, but also inspired spearhead similar struggles in other parts of India; for instance, the protest in Reni forest in the Chamoli district of Uttar Pradesh. As a consequence of such environmental protests, an ideological precept of popular discourses on development was under way to make conscious efforts for ecological sensibilities.

Environmental movements in the formative stage created a discursive space for series of protest and environmental discourses at the national level. To begin with, people mobilized and protested against the construction of Bedthi Dam in Karnataka and the Silent Valley project in Kerala in the southern states of India. The Silent Valley issue, in fact, was conceived differently from Chipko, as it was a network of rural school teachers and local citizens to promote alternative scientific approaches in the domain of development of the state led by the *Kerala Sastra Sahitya Parishad* (People's Science Movement). However, the controversy over the Silent Valley project on the question of environmental dispute in India and the subsequent logical decision to halt the project by the union of India, created an epistemological shift in developmental thinking towards eco-sensitivity.

Successful episodes of this kind, indeed, inspired other environmental groups in the rest of India which culminated in, for instance, a popular protest on the bank of the Narmada valley against multi-purpose dam constructions led by the Narmada Bachao Andolan (NBA). The NBA mobilized a wide range of groups such as adivasis, rural population and activists in the central part of India, to fight against big dam projects being constructed in the Narmada river causing large scale displacement and submergence of agricultural and forest land. Subsequently, in the central part of India, one would see, for instance, Jharkhand and Bastar movements against the state policies to convert mixed natural resources for plantation and fisher-folk fighting against the commercialization of shrimp in Chilika.

In addition to this, in the north-eastern part of India, there has been another group of movements against hydel project in Gangtok and students' resistance in Meghalaya against the mining in the Western Khasi Hill. Similarly, in south India, the Munthanga Land struggle by the adivasis and Quit-Cola-Plachimada in Kerala highlighted development induced ecological problems and displacement threats (Sethi, 1993; Karan, 1994; Zachariah & Sooryamoorthy, 1994; Swain, 1997; Bijoy & Raman, 2003; Pattanaik, 2006; Raman, 2007; Arora, 2008; Sirnate, 2009). In response to the pervasive attitude towards

human and environmental destruction,the emergence of the micro-level localized protests in different parts of India begun to foreground new theoretical location of development at the macro level supplemented with public intellectuals such as journalist, activists groups and academics.

The kind of politics crystallized in the form of environmental protests, emanated from rural and tribal landscape of India, have critically responded to the cost of development (Omvedt, 1984 and 1993; Guha, 1994; Baviskar, 1995; Singh, 1997; Gadgil and Guha, 1998, 2007). There has been anxiety as a result of militant upsurge by the youngsters as they see 'the advocates of nation development would weak/victimize smaller and indigenous communities and right to live in their habitat' (Sirnate, 2009:19). In other words, deprived communities were always remained to be, at the receiving end/victims of environmental problems (Martinez, 2002). This uneven development in no way attributes to a setback of development *per se*. Instead, it was an outcome of unintended consequences of a particular type of the developmental language, for instance, forest conservation and clearance, river pollution, huge multi-purpose dams and highway construction to protect the vested interests of the privileged (Raghunandan, 2003:55).

Given the non-discursive spaces of the spectacular environmental movements and their logic of protests in India, one could sense a collective resentment against undesirable developments from different quarters. It is this non-discursive space that indeed, ingrained impetuses of epistemology for environmental movements in contemporary social science discipline. Moreover, labeling as 'environmentalism of the poor' or 'subaltern political ecologies' fundamentally challenged the dominant way of framing environmental politics. Non-discursive practices in environmental movements constructed political agency to chart out a set of discursive practices in the domain of power, institutions and nation-state. To begin with, a series of policies and programs conceived under sustainable development, environmental protection, regulation and conservation pronounced by the state institutionalize certain practices. Secondly, discourses on movements non-discursively evoked the unequal, unsustainable social and environmental relations of power held with many agencies and institutions. Finally, there have been continuous engagements with dynamic, productive and fissiparous geographies of antagonism and contestation over the nation-centred accounts of politics. Varieties of such complex practices have also exposed the neo-liberal logic of the state in the era of globalization, as a new field of contestation for environmental movements. Politico-ecological conflicts of these kinds, as it appears, are as much struggles over meanings that acquired by environmental movements globally as they are battle over material practices (Bryant, 1998).

No wonder social science practices on environmental movements in India have also critically responded by examining complex forms of network of agencies and groups and cognitive formation. These intellectual engagements examined the emerging challenges and subject matter, for instance, the progress of new social movements (NSM), discourses on ecological problems and sustainability

questions in the realm of development. Moreover, civil society, particularly, voluntary associations, while shaping these discourses through purposive action, attracted the imaginations of social scientists as well. A sizable number of them began to seriously engage on action-oriented research with ethnographic sensibilities. The critical engagements of scholars located in these intellectual spaces opened up a new vista for reflexive thought which radically altered the theoretical frames, concepts and methods (Singh, 2003). On the other side of the spectrum, global discourses on political ecology reinforced research priorities and underlined self-reflexive reasoning such as preservation, conservation, and sustainable use of resources and distributive justice. At a time, when the world is grappling with disastrous consequences of man-made ecological problems, environmental movements worldwide had also underlined the fault lines of humans' perception, attitudes and behaviour. Therefore, 'a harmonious nature-culture relationship can only be made by a conscious approach to balance human society and nature; something of that sort being found in a revolutionary movement' (Omvedt, 1984:1867).

Subsequent scholarship in movement studies has also erupted into controversies in the backdrop of such revolutionary traits, particularly raising he voices over the development induced displacement and ecological problems. Instances of collective protest and mobilization in the Narmada valley, in the middle part of India, for instance, become an empirical field for subjective experiences of displaced communities and objective reality for those construct discourses on environmentalism. In other words, discourses centered on dam construction in the Narmada valley are bound to create dialectics of discourses on displacement on the one hand and environmentalism on the other.

Dislocations of protest in the Narmada valley

As a template of development, the Narmada valley project has been a metaphor of '*the great common good*'. With the intention of multipurpose outcomes, the project was designed to explore and benefit those who did not have access to the scarce natural resources, such as water for drinking and irrigation and electricity. To achieve such goals, uprooting tribal communities from their habitat, who have been living for many generations, submerging of flora and fauna and above all the degradation of the eco-system were seen as a logic of great sacrifice for the sake of the nation's prosperity. This is exactly what is meant by development, as the Chairman of the Narmada Valley Development Agency (NVDA), SC Varma explained:

> ….the uprooting has to be done. Because the land occupied by the family is required for a development project which holds promise of progress and prosperity for the country and the people in general. The family getting displaced thus makes a sacrifice for the sake of the community. It undergoes hardship and distress and faces an uncertain future so that others may live in happiness and be economically better off (cited in Alvares and Billorey, 1999:18).

It is no surprise that the development language underlines its inherent ideology of dispossession by design. No matter that tribal people were uprooted, resettled or rehabilitated, or even for that matter that environmental problems exist, the main exigencies of the development thinking was to create the happiness of the elite minority at the cost of the subaltern majority and those whose livelihood depends on these systems. This was a generic aspect of development questions which have been debated and negotiated in the Narmada valley. The Sardar Sarovar mega project (SSP) has been one of the largest and most contentious of the large dams being constructed in the Narmada River Valley in India. The SSP was planned to build up 30 large, 135 medium and 3000 small dams on the river and her tributaries which would led to the submerging of 40,000 hectares of land including about 13,000 hectares of forest land. An official estimate states that at the full height (138.68 meters) of the dam, will affect 245 villages 7000 families in 1979. But later on the official figures were 41,000 families.

The movement of 'oustees' is known as the *Narmada Bachao Andolan*. At the outset, NBA has begun to raise many critical issues, for instance, mass human displacement, livelihood patterns, human rights violation, ecological degradation etc. With indigenous logics of reason, naturalism and humanism, the collective protest led by the victims of this developmental project, eventually began to encounter established/privileged knowledge claims. To begin with, the movement opposed the very construction of dam by raising ecological concerns and livelihood issues of the tribal communities live in the Valley. Eventually, the voices it raised gained momentum as it reverberated in and outside of India. As a result of its continuous mass protest at the global level, an independent review committee was to be set by the World Bank under the leadership of Bradford Morse (the former chair of UNDP) to assess the problems of rehabilitation including a better standard of living for oustees after displacement. As the review committee strongly criticized inability of the project authorities to rehabilitate all displaced groups, the World Bank withdrew its financial support for the dam and irrigation project in 1993. This was the land mark in the history of people's protest in general and the Narmada Movement in particular.

The dynamics of complex network that the movements are known for, help one's to draw a lesson on the praxis of NSMs in terms of their art of mobilizing people at one level and, challenging/negotiating with the modern institutions on the other. In this regard, NBA made use of available knowledge, both local as well global, from different sources to raise critical voices at the corridors of the national and transnational institutions including the World-Bank and United Nations Commission for Human Rights. Its systematic strategy of mobilization through global network pressurized the World Bank to review the Narmada project (Goldman, 2006). On the other hand, the way the language of protest was articulated by the victims in different hegemonic spaces, led to create a new sensibility among the protestors and led concerned authorities to negotiate with their everyday tyranny. To that extent, the role played by the collective effort of the NBA has been a landmark in the history of new social movements in India.

Intervention of the India's Supreme Court in the backdrop of Public Interest

Litigation (PIL) by the NBA activists led to a stay on the dam construction on the ground of serious social and environmental implications and questioned the viability of dam construction. However, in 2000 a final judgment pronounced by the court permitt the resumption of dam construction as per the Award of the Tribunal only *pari passu* with the implementation of relief and rehabilitation cleared by the Relief and Rehabilitation of Sub-group (Narmada: 2004). In its final verdict, in fact, the court undermined the ecological consequences and displacement threat of the subaltern groups and highlighted the construction of the dam as a life-line of development.

Dialectics of environmentalism and displacement

As the ecological sensibilities of ethnic communities have consciously been brought into the ongoing movement discourses, protests in the valley of Narmada began to show new meanings. Since then, new discourses started to be foregrounded in multiple directions. Obviously, these various discourses changed the course of action, strategy and mobilization of the movement. Consciously, there was a new way of articulating the subaltern politics with eco-sensitivity. It is true that the global discourses on environmental questions have discursively produced when collective mobilization traversed into the terrain of nature-cultural dialectics reverberated in a local geography. As Baviskar (1995:242) rightly points out, the

> Narmada Valley shows, the conflict over nature has several manifestation-from organizing to protect access to local forests to the world renowned across these different, yet connected, levels of action can be understood in terms of the relationship between local communities, activists and intellectuals-groups united in a common cause, yet embedded in different social context and moved by different ideologies.

This self-reflexive thought on the generic aspects of everyday life experiences bring home the idea of cultural identity of the community. During the course of struggle, the attempt has been made to organically link tribal habitions with specific cultural traits. Such a cultural specific linkage gave rise to a normative state as eco-system people. It is this unsettled nature-culture dialectic that sheds light on tremendous cultural resources for resistance and mobilization. However, tribal culture and its quality of life have always been inferior as the dominant culture was detrimental too the former with the dictum of development. While sensing developmental implications led by the state of India on the subaltern groups, social activists articulated environmental issues in the realm of social justice as well. In fact, social justice in the realm of environmental protests has posed two epistemological challenges to the on going strategies of political economy today – inclusive growth and justice.

Though the Narmada Valley protest indicates the conflict over natural resources, it unfolded multiple strands of cause and consequences of the dominant paradigm of development. It is true that the protest in the valley was conditioned/imposed by the political economy of the state dictated by the transnational corporations like World Bank. It was with the support of both national and transnational non-governmental organizations, that the NBA alarmed the voice of the people in the Narmada valley and created a global discourse. On the other side of the spectrum, people in the valley, the indigenous adivasi communities were subjected to cumulative deprivation, as potential oustees, to sacrifice lives and cultural systems for development of the nation.

Citizens have increasingly become the marginalized subaltern under the nation-state once the public policies serve and protect vested interest of the dominant minority. From the point of view of the affected people, victimization was necessitated by the state that pushed the movement from the art of resistance as counter discourse to birth of displacement for rehabilitation. This relatively diverted the movement's attention, from their aggressive campaign for ecological protection and fight against mega projects like constructing huge dams, to resettlement by demanding better rehabilitation packages. As a result of the ecological components of the movement based on reflexive articulation as part of protest, cognitive formation acquired a status of mainstream discourse which could only paved the way for negotiating with the agencies like the state, the court and the World Bank for/with different logic.

Yet, the indispensability of displacement was internally designed in all these discourses on development. In other words, the critical discourses that the movement generated over a period of time were useful neither to civil society nor to the policy makers as relevant knowledge (Oommen, 2006) to protect the victims of development. The multiple frames academic, media and policy makers use to initiate communicative action effective have failed to synchronize discourses. Instead one becomes cost of the other. This was exactly the implication in the Narmada valley, where discourses of displacement become the cost of environmentalism. Broadly speaking, it is the narrow intellectual action that marginalizes the serious discussions once the repressive regime of the state with the market forces silences democratic space and epistemic privilege of subaltern groups. One needs to understand the fact that the new properties of social situations generated from the protest and counter discourses on political culture and their practices inform and determine the theoretical validity of universal language of justice as a realizable one.

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Hunger Power: The embodied protest of the political hunger strike[1]

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Abstract

An enduring form of protest, the hunger strike features in numerous historical and contemporary political and social movements. Yet its simple denial of food is belied by its numerous contradictions. Undertaken by those denied voice it nevertheless can be extremely powerful. It deftly interiorises the violence of the opponent within the body of the protester, affirming and undermining the protest simultaneously. It can be undertaken for highly strategic and rational reasons and yet it is often affective because of the emotional response it provokes.

This paper attends to the hunger strike, focusing upon the three historical examples of political activism provided by the Suffragette, Irish republican and anti-apartheid movements. In particular, it highlights three political aspects of the hunger strike: 1) the facilitation of non-verbal communication 2) the embodiment of collective identifications 3) the disruption of the dominant order. The paper considers how the hunger strike challenges the omission of the body from political theory, displaying the body to be both political instrument and political actor. It also challenges the prioritisation of deliberative discussion over embodied protest.

Key Words: Hunger, embodiment, bodies, politics, protest, violence, collective identification, non-rational.

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'Hunger strikes… are very much about power. It's the attempt of powerless people to exert some power over their circumstances, and states don't like -- governments don't like people contesting their power, particularly if they're prisoners who they want to have complete control over… Part of the point of imprisoning people is to have control over their bodies, and the last thing the administration wants is for the detainees to take that power back.'

Fran Lisa Buntman [2]

'*Hunger felt like a bundle of washing hanging inside me'*

Dan Zwelonke Mdluli

'*It was a surreal game of poker, and the stakes were people's lives*'

Bernadette Devlin McAliskey[3]

Introduction

A hunger strike embodies numerous contradictions. A simple and sustained refusal of food, a spectacle of frailty, it yet wields devastating violence. The painful impact of the strike, however, is not pointed directly towards the enemy, but inverts itself towards the body of the one who is making the protest, necessarily weakening the very ground that sustains it. Often undertaken by those utterly desperate, it can nevertheless appear extreme, a futile suffering only to be terminated by the death it beckons. And while it is undertaken for sharply pragmatic reasons, it is so precisely for the visceral response it elicits. It is unsurprising, then, that the hunger strike is a topic of fascination, attracting investigation from various angles; biological and psychological investigations (Fessler, 2003); historical accounts (Sweeney, 1993; Vernon, 2007) anthropological, sociological and cultural study (Andriolo, 2006; Ellman, 1993; Russell, 2005, Simeant, 1998) alongside political analyses (Anderson, 2004 & 2010; Dingley and Mollica, 2007; Feldman, 1991; Koçan and Öncü, 2006; Yuill, 2007). Academic discussion utilises, discusses and connects with participant and witness accounts (Pankhurst, [1959]1987; Naidoo, 2003; O'Rawe, 2005; Morrison, 2006; Doyle, 2011).

This essay considers the hunger strike in terms of the ambiguous yet powerful role it plays in political protest movements, the questions it poses for conventional notions of politics and the way in which it attests to the insights of work on embodiment. In much socio-political thought, the public realm is populated by disembodied figures, who can transcend particularities of race,

[2] http://thekojonnamdishow.org/shows/2013-05-14/understanding-hunger-strikes-bobby-sands-guantanamo (accessed 11 December 2015)

[3] Quoted in McKay (2008) 95.

gender and ethnicity. But politics is not undertaken by uniform bodies, with identical aims and ideals. Work of feminist theorists reveals how such a putative disembodied neutrality serves to hide the particular types of bodies that dominate within the political realm (Davis, 1997; Grosz, 1994: Pateman, 1989). Relatedly, important research has highlighted the role of the body in social movements. For example, instances of naked protest has been analysed to reveal the possibilities of naked gendered bodies to disrupt political conventions and structures (Sutton, 2007; Tyler, 2013; O'Keefe, 2014).

The hunger striking body reaffirms these critiques through its provocative display of politics simultaneously *by* the body and *on* the body. In contrast to traditional conceptions of politics, the protesting individual is here revealed as importantly embodied. And, in contrast to traditional conceptions of the body as a biologically predetermined and pre-political object, the hunger striking body shows itself to hold potent creativity; it contributes to the political narratives, practices and protests that it is itself constructed by. It is not enough here to reverse the assumption that bodies are biologically fixed, into the suggestion that bodies are always entirely socially constructed. As Barbara Sutton remarks: 'The body is a key vehicle of protest' (2007: 143). She notes that the naked body serves as a *political text* (2007: 143). But, the body also serves as a *political actor*; the one who scrawls the text through a self-directed violence. The body is not simply a 'docile object' that is passively conditioned or violently constructed; it also creatively contributes to political protest itself (Machin 2015). Political subjectivity, as Merleau-Ponty reminds us, is always embodied: my body does not transmit undifferentiated sensation but itself creates meaning (Merleau-Ponty 2002). Through the suffering of their bodies individuals experience themselves as political actors, while at the same time such embodied subjectivity uses and constructs its own body as political object.

One does not have to advocate the use of hunger striking, to condemn its dismissal from serious analysis. Although hunger striking is often portrayed as a primitive instrument of backward communities, this depiction is contradicted by its on-going appearance in contemporary protests (for example, in Gutanamo Bay and even more recently in Calais). It is important to understand what role this form of protest plays in numerous historical and contemporary political movements. And yet it is both difficult and problematic to draw any general claims about hunger striking. Particular instances arise within specific historical, social and political contexts and hold a 'multiplicity of truths' (Feldman, 1991: 220; Koçan and Öncü, 2006). Its affects are contradictory, ambiguous and unpredictable. I do not, therefore, try to reveal the 'truth' of a specific case or to fix the meaning of the hunger strike in general. The claim I do make, however, is that the hunger strike offers a powerful illustration of the body as both political *instrument* and political *actor*.

More particularly, there are three (interconnected) ways in which the body within the hunger strike is politically significant. First, the hungry body draws attention and facilitates *communication* through its performance, which incorporates both rational calculation and non-rational meanings. Waismel-

Manor writes: 'It is time to recognize the hunger strike as a common and legitimate form of collective action – not the act of a crazy individual, but a rational path that follows some deliberation and is based on individuals' socialization and the political action alternatives open to them' (2005: 282). At the same time, however, there are important affective dimension that cannot be fully understood in an account restricted to 'rational' motivations.

One aspect of its communication is the articulation of a political collectivity; its individual sacrifice is both constructed and reproduces a collective *identification*. This is the second political significance of the hunger strike. It may well alienate the political adversary further, but it can strengthen the political 'us'. The 'cause' of the hunger strike is also its *affect*: the collective claims and disciplines the bodies that are symbolically and actively *reproducing* the collective identity. Here national identity intersects with gender identity in contradictory ways: the body in the hunger strike may (re)produce gender, perhaps reaffirming the gender dichotomy but also signalling, for example, the problematic exclusion of women's bodies from the political realm. Hunger striking is particularly potent for women who challenge gender norms through their very protest.

Third, then, the protesting body – in particular the female/feminine protesting body - can *disrupt* the dominant order of the political sphere through the use of self-directed violence. Begona Aretxaga brings to attention: 'the points at which the technology of normalisation breaks down, the moments in which rational disciplines of the body fail to produce docile subjects' (1995: 124). The hunger strike exists in these points. Not only does it radically disorder the conventional disciplining of imprisoned bodies, it also undermines political conventions of prioritising rational deliberative discussion over passionate embodied protest. In summary, then, the hunger striking body *communicates*, *identifies* and *disrupts*.

Hunger as protest

Starvation has many meanings. One can go hungry for different reasons: health, illness, dieting, religion, famine as well as protest (Ellmann, 1993: 4). The impact of lack of food intake upon the body is, biologically, fairly uniform: for the first few days your body uses its stores of glycogen, and then starts breaking down fats. After 20 days, your heart rate and your blood pressure drop rapidly. You feel faint, weak, cold and dizzy. You cannot get out of bed. You may lose your feelings of thirst and hunger and become dehydrated (Peel, 1997). After 40 days, your body starts breaking down protein from unnecessary tissue, such as the muscles in your eyes: 'First you have double vision. Then your sight dims. You vomit green bile. Your speech is slurred. You can't hear very well. You have jaundice. You have scurvy from lack of Vitamin C. Your gums begin to bleed. You may be bleeding into your stomach and intestines' (Russell, 2005: 89). Your body is now quite literally consuming itself. If you are a healthy adult you are given an estimated 60 days to live.

Although the physiological affects of starvation are generalizable, the social impact of different types of starvation is not. The context, motives, status and gender of the person condition the meaning that their hunger is given, by themselves and others. Hunger can connote victimhood. It can also signify power. The extreme suffering and pain undertaken by a hunger striker demonstrates their dedication to the cause as well as their obdurate will and agency. Their body becomes both a weapon and its target. The hunger strike can be a highly significant form of political protest and resistance for those who lack vote, voice and status.

Just as hunger takes numerous forms, so does the hunger strike. The following sections offer a comparative overview of the often conflicting accounts of the hunger strikes by different groups of political activists in the twentieth century: The British suffragettes, the Irish republican prisoners in Belfast and the anti-apartheid prisoners on Robben Island. These examples were chosen because they are all hunger strikes undertaken by an imprisoned group who are part of a broader social movement to challenge and undermine the legitimacy of the state, and thus can illustrate the implications of the individual embodied protest for the collective body. As a spectacle, the reality of the hunger strike exists in its presentation (Passmore, 2009: 37). I investigate the presentation of the hunger-strike, using content analysis of various sources: first hand accounts, academic analysis and journalism that reproduce both the hungry body and the embodied hunger. None of these texts present 'the truth'. I approach them as offering particular perspectives informed by their own embodied position (as is my own). The analysis shows that the examples share common characteristics but also have important differences.

It is important to note that one crucial commonality between these examples of hunger strikes is that their facts, meaning and interpretation are highly contested. The inevitability of contradiction, ambiguity and lacuna regarding hunger strikes must be acknowledged. Fran Lisa Buntman points out, contradictory accounts are inevitable in any attempt to reconstruct political events that took place, for example, behind prison walls (2003: 53). In her account of political imprisonment on Robben Island she explains that this is not just due to 'problems of memory or differential experience' but that 'gaps and silences in accounts of the past also reflect strategies inherent in the nature of the political process' (Buntman, 2003: 12). This is why writing an account of a hunger strike is an on-going process that is never complete. With this in mind, I attempt to describe these contested depictions before going on to consider what they might reveal about the role of the hunger striking body in, and for, politics.

Irish republicans

One of the most well-known occurrences of hunger-striking is that of the Irish Republican prisoners in the Long Kesh/Maze Prison near Belfast and Armagh women's prison during the period of 'the Troubles'. Long Kesh Prison (later renamed 'the Maze') had been built on the old RAF base, in eight separate 'H'

shaped blocks and accommodated over 10,000 men. The prisoners were nearly exclusively paramilitary prisoners, the majority of which were nationalist, or republican (McAtackney, 2008). Armagh prison was the only female prison in Northern Ireland. Between 1972 and 1976 it housed more than 100 political prisoners.[4]

The Irish republican prisoners held that, as members of the paramilitary organisations the PIRA (Provisional Irish Republican Army) and INLA (Irish National Liberation Army), they were due certain rights as Prisoners of War rather than as criminals (Findlay, 1985). They demanded the political status that had been previously granted to them in 1972 following an earlier hunger strike, but then withdrawn in 1976 as part of a 'criminalisation' policy (Bobby Sands Trust 2008).[5] Since then, Republican prisoners at Long Kesh/the Maze had been on a 'blanket' protest in which they refused to wear prison uniforms and were given only blankets to cover themselves. The women prisoners in Armagh were allowed to wear their own clothes, but had begun a 'no-work' protest (Axetxaga 1995). These protests were then intensified into a 'dirty' protest in which the prisoners in both prisons refused to leave their cells to wash themselves and slop out. Instead they smeared the walls with their own faeces: 'excrement and urine literally became weapons in the war between prisoners and prison officers' (McKittrick & McVea, 2001: 140). In Armagh, an additional instrument was menstrual blood: 'under the circumstances, the only weapons the Armagh women had at their disposal were their bodies…. Decorating the cells with menstrual blood was the ultimate act of disruption and empowerment, of women taking control of their bodies to challenge the prison system" (O'Keefe, 2006: 546; Aretxaga 1995). In a place of documented violence and humiliation, the prisoners turned the suffering onto themselves. Stench, maggots, lice and infections filled the cells (Arextxaga, 1995).

These protests drew publicity but did not win the prisoners the recognition and special status they demanded. On 27th October 1980 prisoners in both prisons started a hunger strike, which ended on 18th and 19th December 1980 amid confusion (McKay, 2008). Suggestions had been made that there would be a concession towards special category status, but this did not occur (Bobby Sands Trust, 2008). On 1st March 1981 a new hunger strike began. This time women did not take part and it was staggered: ten republican prisoners in the H-Blocks led by IRA OC Bobby Sands , one after the other, refused food. The decision making behind the strikes is contested. In his account (2005) 'blanket man' Richard O'Rawe who was the IRA PRO in the H-Blocks states that the Sinn Fein leadership took crucial decisions and overruled the H-Block leadership inside the prison. This contradicts the 'official' version. Nevertheless, in popular imagery at least, this was part of a unified struggle, as articulated in the statement released by the hunger strikers at the beginning of this second strike:

[4] http://prisonsmemoryarchive.com/

[5] For a detailed draft chronology see CAIN webservice: http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/

> "We the republican POWs in the H-Blocks of Long Kesh, and our comrades in Armagh Prison, are entitled to and hereby demand political status, and we reject today as we have consistently rejected every day since September 14th, 1976, when the blanket protest began, the British government's attempted criminalisation of ourselves and our struggle… Only the loud voice of the Irish people and world opinion can bring them to their senses and only a hunger strike, where lives are laid down as proof of the strength of our political convictions, can rally such opinion and present the British with the problem that, far from criminalizing the cause of Ireland, their intransigence is actually bringing popular attention to that cause… We have asserted that we are political prisoners and everything about our country, our arrest, interrogations, trials and prison conditions, show that we are politically motivated and not motivated by selfish reasons or for selfish ends. As further demonstration of our selflessness and the justness of our cause a number of comrades, beginning today with Bobby Sands will hunger strike to the death unless the British government abandons its criminalisation policy and meets our demand for political status" (Bobby Sands Trust 2008).

The strikers had five formal demands, which together would constitute the prisoners receiving a special or political status: 1. The right to wear their own clothes. 2. The right to abstain from prison work. 3. The right to free association. 4. The restoration of all lost remission as a result of the protest. 5. The right to educational and recreational facilities. (Morrison, 2006:16.) The British governments intransigence was epitomised in Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher's statement in March 1981: "Crime is crime is crime: it is not political".[6] The resulting standoff between the prisoners and Thatcher's Government, in which ten men starved themselves to death captured attention of the media and the public around the world. The strike was eventually ended on 3rd October 1981 under pressure from relatives of the prisoners, without any of the demands being granted, and apparently without the prisoners being formally given the special political status they had sought. However, the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland announced changes including the granting of the right to wear their own clothes.[7]

In terms of their specific demands then, it may have appeared that the prisoners had been defeated, unable to shirk the criminal status many regarded as entirely accurate (see Mulcahy, 1995). Yet as Patrick Anderson notes in his work on hunger strikes in Turkey, weighing up the 'success' of hunger striking demands attention to its wider implications (Anderson, 2004: 821). In the long term the hunger strike seemed to have boosted the republican movement increasing the number of recruits for Sinn Fein and the IRA (McKittrick & McVea, 2001: 147; Aughey & McIlheney, 1981) and provoking an 'explosion of popular culture' (Rolston, 1987). From inside the H-Blocks, Bobby Sands won the Fermanagh South Tyrone by-election, seemingly proving political legitimacy of the hunger

[6] http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/northern_ireland/4941866.stm

[7] http://cain.ulst.ac.uk/events/hstrike/chronology.htm

strikers, illustrating their widespread support and undermining the policy of the British government (Beresford, 1994: 114). His funeral was attended by an estimated 100,000 people.

The hunger strikes were – and continue to be - the object of contradictory accounts. The national press was generally negative and dismissive, constructing the hunger strike as a republican PR stunt that might precipitate violence (Mulcahy, 1995). The interpretation of the Loyalist/Protestant community appears to have been one of suspicion, cold detachment and disgust, in which the hunger strike was the attempt of criminals to legitimize themselves (Brown, 2006: 119; Aughey & McIlheney, 1981). Accounts from Republican/Catholic activists, on the other hand, regard the prisoners with reverence and gratitude. Republicans asked to talk about the hunger strikes lowered their voices 'their gazes lost in distant space' (Aretxaga, 1997: 83).

Anti-apartheid

The contestation over the meaning of the Irish Republican hunger strikes, parallels the competing interpretations of those enacted on Robben Island, South Africa. In response to the 1989 hunger strike, the Law and Order Minister Adriaan J. Vlok stated that "The hunger strike is an organized and coordinated attempt to cast the authorities in a bad light and to blackmail them… The state cannot allow itself to be threatened by means of hunger strikes.' The authorities stated that 'it does happen from time to time that prisoners go on so-called hunger strikes.'[8] In contrast the hunger strike was regarded by campaigners, as a success in their challenge to the putative absolute power of the state,[9] and their promotion instead of the existence of 'the power of an apparently powerless group' (Merrett, 1990).

Under apartheid South Africa, most black male political prisoners who opposed the apartheid regime between 1962-91 were incarcerated in the prison on Robben Island. The prison contained members of various anti-apartheid organisations: the African National Congress (ANC) together with its armed paramilitary wing (Umkhonto we Sizwe or MK) emerged as the largest (Naidoo, 1995). From the 1960's the rise of legislation designed to suppress anti-apartheid protests and organisations produced a huge number of political prisoners who were sent to the Island. The prison was not just an institution of repression; a 'brutal hell-hole' - but was regarded also as a 'university'. In his letters from Robben Island ANC member Ahmed Kathrada repeatedly mentions his studies, and writes that his mother should think of him as 'not in jail but at

[8] John D. Battersby (1989) 'Hunger Strikes Grow in South Africa Prisons,' New York Times. February 10. http://www.nytimes.com/1989/02/10/world/hunger-strikes-grow-in-south-africa-prisons.html (accessed 14 December 2015)

[9] Scott Kraft (1989) 'Hunger Strike Ends; S. Africa Regime Yields: Government Pledges to Free a 'Substantial Number' of Detainees,' *LA Times*. February 17. Available at: *http://articles.latimes.com/print/1989-02-17/news/mn-2779_1_hunger-strike* (accessed 14 December 2015).

university' (2000: 39) It was here that liberation politics were kept alive; paradoxically, then, the prison 'was continually transformed by its political inmates into a site of resistance' (Buntman ,2003: 5). As part of this resistance, hunger striking, Fran Buntman explains, was a 'critical weapon' (Buntman 2003: 58).

Although numbers were important to the hunger strikes by the Irish republicans, they were dwarfed by the numbers hunger striking in South Africa's Robben Island. Just as the Irish republicans had repeated the strategy of hunger striking, so did the H-block shaped prison on Robben Island. In 1966 almost the entire prison population of over 1,000 embarked on a hunger strike (Buntman, 2003: 36). In 1989 a hunger strike involving hundreds of prisoners across South Africa was carried out in protest of indefinite detention without access to a court.[10]

Another difference between the hunger strikes of Robben Island and that of Long Kesh and Armagh, is that the hunger strikes on Robben Island seemed at one level to be more successful in winning their specific demands. In his account of his imprisonment in Robben Island, Indres Naidoo, a member of Umkhonto we Sizwe who was sent to the island in 1963 and was incarcerated there for ten years, describes two hunger strikes. The most significant one, undertaken in 1966, was sparked in reaction to a reduction in rations (already differentiated by race) but more generally reflected the inmates demand that they were acknowledged as political prisoners, as opposed to criminals. There was no respite from manual labour during the hunger strike, although it was relatively short lived; sustained for days rather than weeks: 'During the hours of work, as we slowly raised our hammers and lolled over our stones, we discussed whether it was correct to continue the hunger strike and if so, for how long. Until death? And how would the world know?' (2003: 160) But the hunger strike stopped when the conditions improved. The 1989 hunger strike, too, ended due to the authorities in partial compliance with the demand for the immediate and unconditional release of prisoners who had been detailed without trial for opposing apartheid.

What is particularly noticeable about reports of the hunger strikes on Robben Island were how they connected to sense of unity between the prisoners (Naidoo, 1995). The attention captured by the Irish republican hunger strikes came, arguably, from *outside* the prison walls (Feldman, 1991: 230). International attention was indeed focused upon the prison on Robben Island in which many anti-apartheid movement leaders (including Nelson Mandela) were incarcerated (Buntman, 2003: 54). However, it appears that hunger striking in this case was particularly potent in utilising and galvanising solidarity *within* the prison. There were disagreements between various different anti-apartheid groups, but despite this, there was a 'high degree of cross-organizational solidarity and unity' (Buntman, 2003: 87). Thus while Kathrada writes 'the

[10] http://www.nytimes.com/1989/02/10/world/hunger-strikes-grow-in-south-africa-prisons.html

general the prison institution is one replete with vulgarity, harshness, violence, filth, corruption, inhumanity' there are also: 'new friends and new relationships, about the need to curb one's individualistic streaks in order to fit into the greater whole, about new responsibilities and new priorities' (2000: 263). He juxtaposes two realities of prison life, one of intolerable deprivation and one of learning, community and solidarity (270). 'Most political prisoners realized… that the enemy was the state embodied in the prison authorities, and that tensions between and among prisoners needed to be resolved or managed to a point where the prisoners could challenge the state in a united front' (Buntman, 2003: 87). On the other hand, as Kathrada notes, Robben Island is where 'ordinary white South Africans' and black prisoners come most into contact; the warders and prisoners frequently converse: 'ironically, it is in jail that we have closest fraternisation between the opponents and supporters of apartheid' (2000: 47). Yet the warders remain 'verkramptes [supporters of apartheid] and rabid racialists' (48). The solidarity of the prisoners arises as an 'us' against the 'enemy' who have rigidly delineated and enforced the dividing line of race.

Suffragettes

The British suffragettes of the early 20th Century used hunger striking as part of their more radical and militant strategy as compared with constitutional and gradualist strategy of other suffragists. The suffrage movement, composed of many organisations with different strategies and ideologies, was one of flux and overlap, which assertions of clear-cut distinctions between groups tend to obfuscate (Stanley Holton, 1986; Mayhall, 2003). Such complexity was further complicated in other parts of the world, such India and Ireland, in which suffrage movements intersected with – and sometimes contradicted - nationalist and anti-colonialist struggles (Ryan, 1995). Feminism and nationalism may both have been emancipatory movements, but since women played a particular role within nationalism they were often 'locked into traditional roles in the name of national liberation' (Ryan, 1995: 489). While some suffragist organisations worked within the parameters of the law, seeking gradual improvement and engaging with the government in order to achieve enfranchisement, others were focused beyond 'votes for women' (Ryan, 1995: 498). In Britain, one of the most militant and prominent groups (although not all members were militant) was the Women's Social and Political Union (WSPU), set up by the Pankhursts in 1903. The WSPU believed that change had to be sought forcefully with 'hard fighting' (Mayhall, 2003). For them, the government that they had not had any vote in whatsoever, was illegitimate and tyrannical, and they rejected its authority. Following their motto of 'Deeds not Words' they carried out a policy of 'sensational public protest' (Kent 1990). The actions arising from their more aggressive stance ranged from civil disobedience to actual violence including arson, window smashing and stone-throwing. For

Emmeline Pankhurst: 'The argument of the broken pane of glass is the most valuable argument in modern politics'.[11]

Many members of the WSPU were arrested for these activities and jailed. In 1909, Marion Wallace Dunlop was arrested for 'wilful damage' after stencilling on a wall in the British House of Commons the words 'It is the right of the subject to petition the King, and all commitments and prosecutions for such petitioning are illegal'. In Holloway Prison she began a hunger strike (Pankhurst,1987: 130). This would have 'immense consequences' (Pankhurst, [1959] 1987: 133), marking the start of a hunger strike campaign that would go on until 1914. Imprisoned for the militant acts that they believed they had been forced into, having been denied constitutional means for getting redress for their grievance (Pankhurst, 1913) the Suffragette hunger strikers continued their protest by turning it upon themselves. In response, the government authorised forcible feeding, a violent practice often described by those who experienced it as an extreme and barbaric violation of their bodies; a form of rape (Kent 1990: 199; Purvis 1995). The process was not only painful but dangerous, since food could enter the lungs causing pneumonia (Purvis 1995; 98) The government also introduced, in 1913, 'the Prisoner's Temporary Discharged for Ill-health Act' otherwise known as the 'Cat and Mouse Act' in which prisoners could be released on ill-health grounds and then re-admit them when they had recovered, although sometimes only partially (Purvis 1995; 97). What is strikingly different about the Suffragette hunger campaign, in comparison to those anti-Apartheid and Irish republican movements, is the prolonged time over which hunger striking was repeated in relatively short but painful bursts, in a tedious, torturous game of will with the British government.

WSPU members arrested for demonstrating in Newcastle laid out their position in a letter: 'We shall carry on our protest in Prison. We shall put before the Government by means of the hunger-strike these alternatives; To release us in a few days; to inflict violence on our bodies; to add death to the champions of our cause by leaving us to starve; or – the best and only wise alternative – to give women the vote' (cited in Pankhurst, 1987: 143). They, too, demanded that they were viewed as political, not criminal, prisoners (Kent, 1990: 198). As we have seen, this claim was later echoed by the prisoners in Northern Ireland and on Robben Island.[12] Their militancy and determination was encapsulated in the issuing of a medal by the WSPU to those who had gone on hunger strike, engraved with the words 'for valour'.[13]

[11] http://womanandhersphere.com/2015/10/16/suffrage-stories-shooting-suffrage-films-that-suffrage-activists-would-have-seen/

[12] The suffragist movement was closely connected to that of the Irish nationalism (Mayhall, 2003: 4) Some claim that it was the suffragette's hunger strikes that inspired those of the Irish Republicans (Ellmann, 1993: 11; Aretxaga 1997) Early twentieth century hunger strikes in Ireland were first carried out by Irish Suffragettes (Sweeney 1993; 424).

[13] http://womanandhersphere.com/2012/08/11/collecting-suffrage-the-hunger-strike-medal/

The suffering of hunger and forced feeding were declared by Christabel Pankhurst to be 'the price of the vote' ([1959] 1987: 146). Yet, it seems that it was not solely the vote that the Suffragettes desired. Many of the more 'constitutionalist' suffragists were focused upon achieving the vote, but they attempted to achieve this precisely by showing themselves to be unthreatening to the status quo, conforming to female stereotypes, emphasising the 'womanliness' of women. More militant suffragettes, however, challenged the beliefs that suggested that women were too irrational and emotional, too prone to hysteria, to be politically enfranchised. Suffragettes sought to redefine what 'woman' actually *meant*. In the words of suffragette Mary Richardson: 'Our suffragette campaign was for much more than 'Votes for Women'. We were women in revolt, led and financed by women. We were inaugurating a new era for women and demonstrating for the first time in history that women were capable of fighting their battle for freedom's sake. We were breaking down old senseless barriers…' (cited in Phillips, 2003: 246). It was not the *extension* of the vote to all women that was the aim of the suffragettes at all, but rather the *breaking down of the barrier* to the vote. 'In order…to be recognised as individuals qualified to participate in political life, suffragists had, necessarily, to challenge and overturn cultural constructions of femininity and female sexuality.' (Kent, 1990: 16).

Susan Kingsley Kent notices that the dominant understanding of the public realm as the space for disembodied deliberation immediately excluded women who were associated more closely with the body, and thus were confined to the private sphere: 'The distinctions between the sexes imposed by society were purported to be those delineated by nature, that the private sphere belonged to woman and the public sphere to men, because of biological and physiological differences between the two.' (See also Pateman, 1989; Sasson-Levy & Rapoport, 2003). It was this very distinction that the suffragettes challenged. As Louise Ryan notices, some parts of the suffrage movement in Ireland contested the separate sphere distinction by raising in public discussion 'subjects which were deemed indecent and unsuitable for 'polite' conversation, challenging the taboos around topics like child abuse, incest, rape and marital violence' (1995: 495). Through their hunger striking the suffragettes disrupted the public/private dichotomy in a different way. Wendy Parkins argues that the fact that women were repressed *because of* their bodies was precisely the reason that hunger strike as an embodied protest was so important to the suffragettes. Hunger striking showed the women who undertook it to possess characteristics regarded at the time, and arguably today, to be 'masculine' in contrast to 'feminine', as 'disciplined in contrast to 'disorderly' as 'self-controlled' in contrast to 'hysterical' (Parkins, 2000: 68). She writes that suffragist protest was 'based on the disjuncture between [a woman] as embodied, dissenting female subject and the liberal political subject, construed as rational, deliberative and, by implication, masculine.' (2000: 70) So it is the very corporeality of hunger striking that made it particularly useful for feminists. Their bodies were what hindered them, and yet they used their bodies to protest. Their statement was doubled up; it proclaimed the injustice of women's

exclusion from politics and it politicised the body inverting the very ground of exclusion. 'The imprisoned suffragette's refusal to eat announced her willingness to use her body as a political stake and so to contest the cultural construction of the middle-class feminine body as marginal to the realm of politics' (Corbett, 1992: 163).

Mary Jean Corbett considers the importance of 'the ethic of personal renunciation' within the suffragette ideology. She explains that this ethic is oddly indebted to the very system it challenges: Victorian ideas of femininity demanded women to sacrifice themselves for others. 'Victorian women's claims to autonomy had always been rejected on the basis of their prescribed part as the servants of others needs and aims, and even independent women were used to defining themselves in terms of self-sacrifice and self-abnegation.' (1992: 158). Was, she asks, feminine self-sacrifice a patriarchal imposition? Yet the sacrifice of the individual woman through this ethic enabled her to experience herself as a political actor. 'While the suffragette ethic of renunciation represented a revision of Victorian ideology rather than a radical break within it, the opening of a specifically political space of women's altruism and activism enabled women to experience themselves as political and public agents of social transformation.' (1992: 159)

The communicating body

Hunger strikers, deprived not only of vote but also of voice, use their bodies to communicate. Theorists refer to the 'textualisation' of the body in the hunger strike (Ellmann 1993; Feldman 1991 250). Bodies can be circulated as text (Feldman 1991: 7). The body becomes part of the narrative, or rather as part of various conflicting narratives. On Robben Island, the hunger strike worked *alongside* negotiations with the prison authorities to improve conditions: 'negotiations were used together with other strategies of resistance like hunger strikes for prisoners to achieve their demands' (Buntman 2003: 171).

The body in the hunger strike protest works beneath and between the text too, in its silences. Feldman notices that the corpse can become a 'fundamental unit of communication' (Feldman 1991: 232). The body is inserted into the text, bringing its creative agency into play. Note that the hunger strike is accompanied by hush, by a *lack* of words. The funeral route of the Irish Republican Bobby Sands was lined by an estimated 100,000 people. Here we are told it was 'the silence of the numbers which made the deepest impression' (Beresford, 1994: 137). One of the hunger strikers in Armagh, Mary Doyle, describes the morning hearing of his death: 'There aren't any words to properly describe the way I felt' (Doyle 2011). From behind prison walls, communication can be difficult. The hunger striking body, however, seems to be able to breach these walls. It communicates in a different way – not with words or text, but through a meaningful performance that is displayed upon and understood by the body. For Karin Andriolo, a protest suicide such as a hunger strike is a radical form of 'embodied minding', since it demands a reaction that cannot be

provoked in any other way. 'Words' she notices 'do not grip unless one gives them hands to do so, unless one embodies them' (2006: 102).

Bodies importantly allow human actors to express themselves in nonverbal ways, through posture, gestures, facial expressions, dress, and appearance (Coole 2005: 129). Though shrugs and shakes, elbows and eyebrows, bodies can supplement verbal communication, but can also distort it; the communications of the body 'exceed explicit speech acts' (Coole 2005: 130). Moreover, such non-verbal communication might not be deliberate: 'Bodies communicate with other bodies through their gestures and conduct to arouse visceral responses and prompt forms of judgement that do not necessarily pass through conscious awareness' (Coole and Frost 2010; Machin 2015).

But it is not only the embodied actor who communicates, but also the embodied actor who responds. The body is not only an *instrument* and the *actor,* but also the *audience* of the political spectacle. As Merleau-Ponty explains, the meanings of bodily gestures and appearances are not abstractly fixed, but hinge upon the social context in which the body of the other and our own bodies are situated: 'It is through my body that I understand other people, just as it is through my body that I perceive 'things'. The meaning of a gesture thus 'understood' is not behind it, it is intermingled with the structure of the world outlined by the gesture, and which I take up on my own account' (Merleau-Ponty 2002: 216).

The hunger strike draws attention from an audience. As the hunger strikers bodies diminish, they seem to grow in the gazes that construct them. As Gooldin points out in her discussion of different types of fasting, the fast has a meaning in so far as it has a *spectacular presence*: 'the 'spectacle' of fasting' she defines as 'the *appeared, performed, visible, gazed-at* phenomenon of fasting' (2003: 32. italics in original). Such a spectacle, Gooldin continues, can be the object of various conflicting, gazes. The depiction of hunger strike as spectacle is affirmed in various accounts of the Irish republican hunger strike: 'No single event' Arthur writes 'invested as much spectacle as did the hunger strike' (1997: 270). Journalists McKittrick and McVea refer to '*the spectacle* of ten men giving their lives in an awesome display of self-sacrifice and dedication' and they claim that 'the hungerstrikers thus won political status *in the eyes of the world*' (147, my italics). In an analysis of the press coverage of the hunger strikes, Mulcahy says that they garnered 'unprecedented levels of media coverage' (1995: 452) and were 'the subject of much public speculation' (1995: 461).

Similarly, the suffragettes are understood to have combining hunger and forcible feeding as a violence suffered by the body to create a spectacle: 'the suffragettes produced themselves as spectacular' writes one commentator, doing 'all they could go maintain a public gaze' (Green, 1993: 1). As Mayhall carefully reminds us, this 'spectacular politics' (2003: 46) was entwined with other forms of protest. Nevertheless she acknowledges that, even if this was inaccurate, the hunger strike came to dominant narratives of the suffragettes (1995). The spectacle was viewed from varied gazes, the medical gaze and sadistic stare competing with the suffragettes own gaze. The hunger strike, then, draws attention, although its meaning is not fixed or predetermined.

The identifying body

Another way in which hunger striking bodies are significant to politics is in the reproduction of a collective identification. The body of the hunger striker is identified as part of a collective for whom its sacrifice is claimed: in its diminishing corporeality it embodies a collective identification. Yet such sacrifice, in turn, affects the meaning of identification. The linkage between the individual body and collective identification is not straightforward: the identification is fed by the hungry body it incorporates.

Joseph Lowndes explains that the American President embodies a national identity, and therefore that the president's body becomes a site of political contest (2013: 470). He explains: "Presidents act as signifiers not only through their policies, philosophies, or partisan alignments… Presidential authority is lodged in - and articulated through – bodies" (2013: 471-2). I suggest that bodies of hunger strikers also articulate identities; but these hunger strikers are not presidents but, on the contrary, ordinary individuals. In the descriptions of hunger striking, 'the ordinary people' are commonly enlisted. For example, in the Irish republican hunger strike: '*The ordinary people* mourned Bobby Sands' (Nelis, 2006: 54. My italics); '*Ordinary Irish people* manifested strong support for the prisoners' (Ballagh, 2006: 113. My italics); 'people who had been living quietly in their communities for many years suddenly came to life' (Kelleher, 2006: 108). In juxtaposition to the intention of the British government to depict the Irish republicans as 'ordinary *criminals'* (Doyle 2011), the hunger strikers themselves are described as 'ten very *ordinary* men' (Beresford, 1994. My italics). While the hunger strike involves an *ordinary* body, this perhaps is precisely why it can come to be identified with the collective; the hunger striker is 'one of us' it 'could be us'. It, too, is a matter of contestation, the ordinary body is a site of politics in which competing gazes prevent the totalisation of its meaning. At the same time, the meaning of this identification was conditioned by both the rational calculation and the affective impact of the hunger strike.

An important question that arises here is whether the 'ordinary body' of the Irish hunger striker is that of a man. Female bodies were involved in the hunger strike too, although their role is often neglected if not entirely written out (Morgan, 1995).[14] Although the H-Block leadership were opposed to women joining the hunger strike, For the Irish republican women in Armagh, it was seen as crucial that they played a role in the protests – partly *because* of their gender - in order to achieve equality with men (Power, 2015). Mary Doyle explains: 'the women were determined to participate as we felt we had an equal stake in achieving the five demands' (2011). On the one hand, these women joined the protests as a way of erasing gender difference (Aretxaga, 1955). On the other, as noted by Theresa O'Keefe, both the oppression *and* the resistance of the prisoners were gendered (2006). Precisely because of their role in reproducing national identification: 'state forces targeted female bodies in a sexual manner as a means of intimidation and humiliation in the hopes of

[14] I nearly reaffirmed such 'writing out' in this piece. Thanks to the reviewers who pointed the crucial role of gendered bodies in the Irish republican hunger strike.

breaking the republican movement' (2006: 539). Their distinctive use of their own bodies, however, meant they 'blurred the public/private divide and transgressed gender norms in the most scrupulous of ways' (551).

This echoes, then, the protest of the suffragettes. At the same time, the issue of gender oppression was seen by many republicans, including the women themselves, as secondary to the republican cause. For example, one of the women hunger strikers, Mairéad Farrell stated: 'I am oppressed as a woman but I am also oppressed because I'm Irish. Everyone in this country is oppressed and we can't successfully end our oppression as women until we first end the oppression of our country' (quoted in Power, 2015). The women's hunger strike both reaffirmed the republican movement and 'brought into focus the role of women and feminist principles within the movement' (Power 2015).

As Dingley and Mollica notice: 'although the government was able to claim a victory in purely legal terms the strikes may well have been a triumph for Republicans in social and political terms, particularly by galvanizing a communal support previously only latent' (2007: 465). This leads them to conclude that while hunger striking may seem to make little sense in terms of the affect on the government or the protestant/loyalist community, it should instead be understood in terms of the affect it had on the hunger strikers *own* catholic/republican community. This impact is the engendering and galvanisation of an identity and collective community strength (Rolston 1987: 26). At the end of the hunger strike the prisoners published a statement in the Irish Times and 'the appeal is to the *whole* nationalist community' (Arthur 1997: 278. Italics in original).

Similarly, hunger striking did not bring the Suffragettes any nearer to their specified goal of political enfranchisement; it did not help them achieve their formal specified aims. At this point, the increasing militancy of the suffragettes was actually alienating the general public, many of whom had initially been sympathetic to the suffrage movement. But what the suffragettes hunger strike *did* do was to establish a strong identification amongst *themselves*. Parkins suggests that: 'the capacity of [a suffragette's] body to communicate dissent, as well as courage and endurance, powerfully interpellated other suffragettes to identify with her commitment to the cause' (2000: 68). Hunger striking symbolised the unity of suffragettes; it asserted an identity that transcended other differences. At the same time, the hunger strike could be sustained because of 'the feeling of sisterhood that united all women [and] offered a spiritual sustenance to the militants as they endured in prison the pain and torment of hunger-striking and forcible feeding' (Purvis 1995: 96).

Corbett's analysis suggests that militant suffragettes fashioned a collective identity through hunger striking: 'the militant suffragettes forged a collective identity and established an intersubjective model for selfhood through the material practices of hunger striking and forcible feeding.' (1992: 150). As Mayhall observes, the suffragettes used and produced historical myths; an apparently important theme in their campaign was the existence of a lost 'golden age' in which women were permitted entry into the political realm. They

referred to the Saxon parliament of women and of the Magna Carta's use of 'homo' to mean both men and women (Mayhall, 2003: 43). The hunger strike, along with forced feeding, was an embodied protest both ignited by and inspiring the identification of suffragette as an embodied female protestor in the public realm.

In the conclusion of his book, Beresford states that 'the hunger strikers died for a cause far more ancient than the grey walls of Long Kesh prison' (1994: 430). What was this 'ancient cause'? The cause here is also the effect. The hunger strike constructed the 'Ireland' that it made its sacrifice for; a particular 'Ireland' that stood alongside alternative and often competing constructions. Identity construction was a key part of the struggle for both Republican and Loyalist organisations. In his analysis Goalwin refers to the instability of the two communities: 'both sides struggled to construct and define their own collective identities and ideological aims' (2013: 190). In her feminist ethnography, Aretxaga explains that the hunger strike stood as a ritual of redemption, aimed at ending the suffering of both the prisoners and Ireland, in so far as 'the prisoners were the embodiment of the nation' (1997: 81). She writes: 'the prisoners perceived themselves as embodying the history of their country and as such, their actions effected as much the existence of the nation as individual lives' (1997: 81). The hunger strike was constructed within the gaze of the community, the 'ordinary people' and at the same time produced what it stood for.

The hunger strikes on Robben Island worked to galvanise the community within the prison – and to strengthen the position of the ANC. 'The survival and indeed the very possibility of the body politics depended on the survival and strength of the individual body' (Buntman 2003: 256) 'The hunger strikes… were critical to maintaining the literal and metaphorical survival of the social body that Robben Islanders had established' (Buntman 2003: 256). This comes across in Nelson Mandela's account of the 1966 hunger strike:

> Through a plastic-wrapped note hidden in our food drums, we learned in July of 1966 that the men in the general section had embarked on a hunger strike to protest poor conditions. The note was imprecise, and we did not know exactly when the strike had started or exactly what it was about. But we would support any strike of prisoners for whatever reason they were striking. Word was passed among us, and we resolved to initiate a sympathetic strike beginning with our next meal. (Mandela 1994: 421)

> Colonel Wessels… demanded to know why we were on a hunger strike. I explained that as political prisoners we saw protest to alter prison conditions as an extension of the anti-apartheid struggle. "But you don't even know why they are striking in F and G," he said. I said that did not matter, that the men in F and G were our brothers and that our struggle was indivisible. He snorted, and dismissed me. (Mandela 1994: 422).

In his analysis of hunger strikes in Turkey, Patrick Anderson notices that they fomented the unification of an otherwise diverse community: 'what is remarkable about the Turkish hunger strike is its development of a large base of strikers and supporters across several traditional divisions.' (2004: 835). While, as Goalwin (2013) rightly points out, the assertion of a mythical unified identity has *depoliticising* affects, we might argue that at the same time it is only with the unity and solidity of identifications that political projects of resistance can be sustained. Hunger striking coalesces a group who were perhaps previously dispersed or galvanises an already existing identification. The body of the hunger strike is both constructed by and contributes to a collective identity: the body is identified and the identity is embodied.

The disrupting body

Not only does the body of the hunger striker reproduce the collective 'us', it also challenges the legitimacy of its opponents and seeks to undermine the status quo. The peculiar power of the hunger strike consists in the body's interiorisation of the violence of the other 'The act of self-directed violence interiorised the Other, neutralised its potency, enclosed its defiling power and stored it in the corpse of the hunger striker for use by his support community' (Feldman, 1991: 237; See also Anderson, 2004: 830). The Irish republicans, anti-apartheid campaigners and the Suffragettes all rejected the state as an illegitimate authority. The hunger strike they embarked upon, however, took the power of the prison and the state and inverted it onto themselves, undermining the dominant order. Naidoo expresses a change in atmosphere after the hunger strike in Robben Island in 1966 created through the (re)claim of power: 'How permanent would be the gains we did not know. But whatever the authorities did to us, they could never take away our sense of victory or our sense of power' (Naidoo 2003: 165).

In Feldman's account of the Irish Republican hunger strike: 'The prison regime… would be exposed as a machine for degradation and abuse. The performance of the hunger strike would stage the abuse and violence of the Other in the eviscerated flesh of the dying protestor … the queue of corpses emerging from behind prison walls would shake the moral legitimacy of the British state' (Feldman 1991 236). Here then it is the actual *production of dead bodies* that poses a challenge to the regime. However, this is not always the mechanism of the hunger strike. For Joanna Simeant the suffering body of the hunger strike embodies pain, and this is just as important as the risk of death. She also explains that the power of the hunger strike can hinge upon the number of individual bodies collectively undertaking it. If a hunger strike is undertaken by those who lack status - precisely *because* they lack status – then numbers count (Simeant 1998). For the Robben Island hunger strike it was the sheer numbers of suffering bodies that augmented the resistance and reinforced the specific demands of the prisoners.

In these ways, the embodied protest of the hunger strike disrupts the status quo. In an environment in which there is little possibility for political action, the body can become a powerful weapon. Buntman explains that even an authoritarian state such as apartheid South African leaves certain spaces for resistance (Buntman 2003: 273). However miniscule these spaces are, it is always possible to protest.

But the disruption that the hunger strike perpetuates cannot be predicted. Using the body to protest may be an entirely *rational* choice for those denied political voice. As Yuill points out, the Irish Republican struggle involved meticulously calculated organisation (2007: 5.17). Thus, for him, the myths surrounding the historical use of hunger striking in Ireland is a *resource* rather than a *determinant*. Feldman supports the claim that the Republican hunger strikers were fully cognisant of the political benefits of the religious iconography (1991: 220). For him, the strike involved the conscious utilization of the body as an instrument (1991: 233). And yet, at the same time, while the hunger strike may well have highly rational motives, these utilise and are partly engendered by non-rational bodily perceptions and pre-reflective communal understandings, producing its affective corporeal power. In hunger strikes 'emotions and rationality work in tandem' (Yuill 2007: 5.16) - they 'combine passion, rage and self-sacrifice with reason and intellect' (Koçan and Öncü 2006: 359). This embodied protest is not entirely rational, nor entirely non-rational.

The hunger strike highlights a particular aspect of violence. Wikipedia defines hunger striking as 'a method of non-violent resistance' but this hardly captures the paradoxical and ambiguous relation the hunger strike has to violence in the contexts I have considered in this paper. These hunger strikes involve a peculiar form of violence, a violence that is seized from the state by an individual who then wields this violence upon themselves. It is a 'self-directed violence' (Feldman 1991: 220). By doing this, the hunger strike does violence to the dominant distinctions of politics and sociology.

Conclusion

The use of the hunger strike is not confined to a particular region, culture or historical era. The use of hunger striking has been seen as a matter of a predisposition of certain groups to utilize this form of protest, but such a 'culturalist hypothesis' needs careful qualification (Simeant 1998). Aretxaga strongly challenges the simplistic and erroneous stereotype or 'colonial trope' of the Irish as violent and irrational myth followers: 'the mythology of sacrifice, ancestral or Christological, as the alleged cause of the current political violence in Northern Ireland seems to me a new origin myth that conveniently permits commentators to ignore the field of sociological and political power relations at play' (1997: 94).

The hunger strike appears as a form of political protest in the contemporary world. Although the response it generates is often steeped in emotions, it can be utterly rational and strategic. And yet, the hunger striker cannot be sure of the

degree or content of the impact of their protest. It may win in its short-term demands but worsen a situation, it might heighten political antagonism, provoking more violence. In becoming part of a political protest the hungry body takes on meaning, and is constructed in different ways by the socio-political gazes within which it is a spectacle. The hunger strike incorporates its contradictions and deftly uses them to configure its protest. But these contradictions undermine any certainty for its outcomes; the spectacle of the hunger strike is ambiguous and contested in its on-going constructions.

Intensely serious, often tragic, the hunger strike also contains an element of the absurd. As Naidoo describes: 'Lots of us laughed at ourselves at the ridiculousness of taking action against the authorities by depriving ourselves of food' (2003: 156). Inverting the violence of the 'other' upon itself, the body paradoxically serves as a powerful weapon that can communicate, identify and disrupt, but in unpredictable and ambiguous ways. The political protest of the collective hunger strike, performed across a disordered dichotomy of body-object and political-subject, attests to the political significance of bodies in social movements and political protests. In its diminishing corporeality, the hunger striking body heightens the urgency of the search for answers, as it simultaneously provokes the posing of new questions.

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The world according to social movement journals: a preliminary mapping

Tomás Mac Sheoin

Introduction

In his recent book on the Movement for the Emancipation of the Niger Delta (MEND), Oriola notes liberal democratic states in core countries constitute the epicentre of social movement scholarship despite the fact that "most episodic or systemic evincing of contentious repertoires of protest takes place in authoritarian regimes, especially in the developing countries of Asia, South America and Africa" (p.9). While he observes a "tremendous increase" has occurred in studies of protest in authoritarian countries since the 1990s, he claims they often confine their scope to state repression of protest. He further claims that 'with very few exceptions, the use of violent repertoires of contention has not garnered sufficient attention in social movement literature' (Oriola 2013:10). On similar lines Dufour, Masson and Caouette (2010; 2) note regarding research on transnational social movement organisations (TSMOs) 'the strong geographical homogeneity of those who have researched and published on the topic of transnational social movements. Most social movement discourse is circulated in the English language, is produced by researchers living in the North (North America or Europe) and privileges Northern perspectives. Yet we know that some of the most radical transformations are occurring in southern countries –in Latin America, Africa and Asia'. There is nothing particularly novel about these claims, which are a manifestation in social movement studies of a general critique in the social sciences as being –in various iterations- colonial, , ethnocentric Eurocentric, imperialistic, Orientalist and/or Western. (Alatas 2000; Atalas 2001, 2003; Connell 2015; Mentan 2015; Mlambo 2006; Wallerstein 1997).

In considering these claims it occurred to me that it should be possible to empirically examine them by looking at articles published in the major social movement journals, selecting *Mobilization* to represent the American tradition and *Social Movement Studies* to represent the English and European tradition. However while beginning this work I discovered that an article examining these journals had already been published in *Social Movement Studies* (Poulson, Caswell and Gray 2014). To add to that contribution, it seemed essential to widen the sphere of investigation to further sources, such as the American *Research in Social Movements, Conflict and Change*, the German journal *Moving the Social* and *Interface* itself, while a number of other newer journals –*Contention, P&C* and *Resistance Studies Magazine*- were available online and were relevant. [1]

[1] Thanks are due to Laurence Cox for drawing my attention to a number of these journals, as well as other sources.

Of course work on social movements is not confined to social movement journals but also appears in journals dedicated to anthropology, area studies, development studies, disability studies, environmental studies, geography, globalization, health, media studies, network studies, peasant studies, political science, social policy and sociology, among others. Nevertheless it may be argued that the journals studied represent the core of attempts to form a social movements sub-field and by looking at the coverage of social movements in these journals it should be possible to produce a preliminary mapping of the world as seen by social movement journals. The chosen journals may also be seen as illustrating various stages in the growth of social movement studies. *Research in Social Movements,Conflict and Change,* established as an annual publication in 1978, shows social movement studies as one of as group of subjects in the sociology of change, before it had solidified into a subdiscipline of its own: its scope was broad enough to include, for example, an article on changing leadership in the Coast Guard. *Mobilization,* with editors in both the US and Europe, though with the senior editor definitely American, can be seen as a result of the intercontinental research project in the 1990s saw the American discipline annex European research on social movements[2] while *Social Movement Studies* represents the English tradition. All of these journals place economic barriers to accessing the knowledge they publish. Individual copies of *Research in Social Movements, Conflict and Change* cost £72.95. A personal sub to *Mobilization* costs $49.50, or $59.50 for subscribers outside the US. For *Social Movement Studies* individual subscriptions cost Euro 212, while purchases of individual articles cost Euro 33. I regret my ignorance of German and Italian research traditions does not allow me to place the journals *Moving the Social* and *P&C* in such a context.

However with the move online by *P&C* and the arrival of the other online journals, we see a new generation in social movement research which is concerned with removing blocks to access research. *Contestation* describes itself as a 'multi-disciplinary journal of social protest' and its editorial board reflects this multi-disciplinary orientation, taking in not only sociology and politics but also –among other- English, history and psychology. The most interesting is *Interface*, which describes itself as a journal *for* as well as *abou*t social movements.

Given I was going to be doing this research it seemed worth adding a number of other questions to the mix, as well as keeping one's eyes open for whatever else might pop up. The most obvious extra question was to look not only at the geographical spread of movements, but also at the type of movements covered. Another interesting question is whether the journals covered left-wing and

[2] The stages in this process are proudly recounted on pp. 2-4 of van Stekelenburg and Roggeband (2013). One edited collection they omit is the collection edited by Diani (1993), presumably on the basis that all its contributors were European. None of the many worthies that contribute to the volume to which van Stekelenburg and Roggeband (2013) is the introduction, on the future of social movement research, appear to raise the issue of the unequal distribution of that research attention to core and non-core regions. (This is based partly on chapter titles and partly on the summary of chapters provided in van Stekelenburg and Roggeband (2013)).

right-wing, reform, revolutionary and reactionary movements equally. I decided to extend the analysis to include conservative or right-wing movements, which are described by some analysts as 'awkward movements' –awkward in a number of ways: first, in that their politics may be distasteful to 'liberal' social movement analysts; second, that their (sometimes illegal) methods and (sometimes covert) organisations may make academic access difficult and third, in particular for illegal and covert activities, ethical issues arise regarding protection of research subjects. I decided to add one further type of social movement to the mix, elite social movements, social movements from above, or movements of the rich and powerful which are extremely underrepresented in the social movement literature.

The article therefore begins by examining the geographical spread of journal coverage of social movements, while also providing a list of the 'top 30' movements studied, as well as the distribution of movements studied across journals, before moving to examine what sorts of movements are covered in articles about movements in the periphery and the semi-periphery. To investigate Oriola's claim that the study of non-core movements is often confined to state repression I look at articles dealing with repression and policing of protest. The article then turns to look at the issue of armed organisations and their coverage in the social movement journals. Following this we look at the issue of repression and continue with a short glance at the efforts the journals have made to cover elite social movements. The intention is to provide an empirical basis to assist further debate and discussion.

Method and sources

Book reviews are not included. Analysis is confined to article titles, abstracts and key words, where available: the articles themselves have not been consulted. This is based on the supposition that an abstract defines the subject of an article, at least to the satisfaction of the author. A number of articles in each journal provided no information on the location of movements studied, while a number of others did not specify the movement under discussion, or used vague terms such as 'civil society' or 'popular struggles'. These were often theoretical or methodological contributions and are not included in this survey. In comparison, some articles either deal with social movements in a number of locations or a number of different social movements: these locations and movements are counted independently. Work has been done by hand and eye, with no use of computer programmes. All numbers have been counted three times, and the author apologises in advance for any errors that may have occurred. No statistical analysis is attempted. I will happily provide the basic data from which the tables were produced on request.

The journals examined are as follows.

Research in Social Movements. Conflict and Change was first published in 1978 and was seen as an annual research publication. The journal's website can be found at http://www.emeraldinsight.com/series/rsmcc I deal with volumes 22 (published in 2001) to 38 (published in 2015), with a total of 162 articles, in 33 of which location is not given and 15 of which do not cite a specific movement.

Mobilization: an international journal is unusual for a journal of its type in its not being published by one of the large academic journal publishers. Its first volume appeared in 1996 and volumes contained two issues until volume 7 in 2002 when the journal began to publish three issues each year. In 2006 with volume 11 the journal moved to its current schedule of publishing four issues annually. The journal's website is at http://mobilization.sdsu.edu/ . Volumes 1 to 20 yield 351 articles, 75 of which do not give location and 80 of which do not give a specific movement.

Social Movement Studies: the first volume was published in 2002, with 2 issues per volume, until volume 4 (2005) at which stage a volume expanded to three issues a volume; with volume 8 in 2009 a volume increased to contain 4 issues; with volume 14 (2015) contents of a volume increased to 6 issues. The journal's website is at http://www.tandfonline.com/toc/csms20/current. Volumes 1 (published in 2002) to volume 14 (published 2015) produced 307 articles, 39 of which give no location information and 25 of which do not specify a movement.

Interface. The first issue appeared May 2009. It accepts articles in many languages, not simply English, and has a wide variety of editors. It is unusual in the involvement of activists as well as academics and in that it publishes more than articles and book reviews, welcoming items produced in the form of action notes, events analyses and bibliographies. The website can be found at http://www.interfacejournal.net/. Volumes 1 to 8 yield 223 articles, 38 of which fail to give location information and 23 of which fail to specify a movement. The multilingual nature of the journal and the bilingual situation of the author means a number of articles in languages other than English have not been included in this survey, specifically those which do not offer an abstract in English or where the non-English-language abstract did not easily yield either a specific location or movement.

Contention describes itself as 'a multi-disciplinary peer-reviewed and open access journal dedicated to research on and about different forms of social protest'. Volume 0 Number 0 appeared in December 2012. Since then a further 5 issues have appeared, with two issues to each volume. Its website is at

http://contentionjournal.org/?utm_content=bufferdc31b&utm_medium=social&utm_source=twitter.com&utm_campaign=buffer. For 27 articles, location is not given in 7 articles and movements are not specified for three articles.

Moving the Social: a Journal of Social History and the History of Social Movements is a journal published by the Ruhr-Universität, Bochum, Germany, which welcomes English- and other-language articles. A number of articles from issues 25, 32, 33, 48-52 were listed on the journal website, eight issues which yielded 41 articles, two of which did not specify social movements. Decisions were made on the basis of article titles only, except in the case of issue 33 which, for some reason, provided English-language abstracts, which allowed the addition of two German-language articles to the mix. The website can be found at http://www.isb.ruhr-uni-bochum.de/publikationen/mitteilungsblatt/index.html.en.

P&C, an Italian journal which 'specialis[es] in social and political studies', was first published in 2008. In 2014 it began a new series with volume 7, switching to the English language and becoming an open access online journal. While abstracts in English for issues published by the previous publisher are supposed to be downloadable from the publisher's website, this proved beyond the technical competence of the author. Thus my analysis is confined to volume 7 (issues 1-3) and volume 8 (issues 1-2). Only one article is included from issue 8(1) as all other articles in the issue deal with political parties rather than social movements; similarly only three articles from 7(3) and four articles from 7(2) are relevant. For the 29 articles of relevance, two do not cite locations and one does not specify a movement.

Resistance Studies Magazine First issue appeared in 2008, during which year three issues appeared. This was followed by one issue each in 2009, 2010 and 2012. The website is at http://www.rsmag.org/. The five issues yield 17 articles, eight (8) of which do not specify location and six (6) of which do not mention a specific movement.

Results

Geographical location of movements studied – core/non-core

Table 1 provides geographical details of the geographical spread of locations of movements studies by journal divided by region.

Table 1: Location of movements studied in articles published by journal

	RSM	MOB	SMS	INT	CON	MTS	P&C	RES	TOTAL
Nth Am	64	93	80	34	3	9	1	-	284
W Eur	22	113	106	62	11	20	21	2	357
Aust/NZ	1	1	20	7	1	-	-	-	30
Core	**87**	**207**	**206**	**103**	**15**	**29**	**22**	**2**	**671**
Cen/LatAm	17	43	28	26	2	9	3	-	128
MidEast	10	20	12	29	5	2	-	1	79
EastEur	11	17	12	18	1	9	3	1	72
E&SE Asia	3	22	12	8	1	1	-	1	48
Sth Asia	3	7	9	6	-	-	2	-	27
Africa	5	19	13	15	-	1	1	3	57
Total non-core	**49**	**128**	**86**	**102**	**9**	**22**	**9**	**6**	**411**

MOB = *Mobilization*; SMS= *Social Movement Studies*; RSM = *Research in Social Movements*. *Conflict and Change*; INT = *Interface*; CON = *Contention*; MTS = *Moving the Social*; P&C =P&C; RES =*Resistance Studies Magazine*.

Nth Am = North America; W Eur = western Europe; Aust/NZ =Australia/New Zealand; Cen/LatAm = Central/Latin America; MidEast = Middle East; EastEur =(central and) eastern Europe; E&SE Asia = East and SouthEast Asia; Sth Asia =South Asia.

If we define the core as consisting of North America, western Europe and Australia/New Zealand, we find the total number of articles on core social movements is 671, while articles on social movements in the periphery and the semi-periphery (or, if you prefer, in the rest of the world) total 411[3]. To be rigorous we would need to subtract from the latter total the small number of

[3] To avoid squabbles over what countries may be considered peripheral or semi-peripheral, I have remained at the level of core and non-core in the analysis.

articles dealing with Japan and Korea (and, probably, Taiwan), but these numbers are small and don't hugely impact on the overall conclusion.

Oriola is thus definitely correct in his claim that the world social movement journals portray is overall more concentrated on core countries, liberal democracies, though it should be noted that the results vary by journal, with one journal –*Interface*- paying pretty equal attention to both core (103 article mentions) and non-core (102 article mentions). This important exception to the rule is obviously related to the journal's political and ideological orientation and the practical measures the journal has undertaken: on one side, the openness to articles in languages other than English has removed one major block to contributions from activists and scholars in non-core countries (Hayes 2014: 245) while on the other the extension of the editorship to scholars (either outside core countries or specialising in studies of non-core country movements) has helped the journal's diversity. However even in this journal we can see gaps in global coverage evident in an uneven distribution of attention to movements by region: coverage of Asia –both South and East and Southeast- is noticeably weaker than that of other regions. Here again however the situation with *Interface* mirrors that of all the journals surveyed: Asia is the least covered of all the continents, despite its global importance.[4]

Geographical location –top 20 countries

The pattern is repeated in the following table which lists the top 20 countries by number of articles across all journals, which lists only seven non-core countries, while also showing the dominance of studies of social movements in the US. The pattern is obvious in the example of the six counties of British-occupied Northern Ireland –with 19 articles- and the 26 counties of the Republic of Ireland –with 13 articles: this small island off western Europe is the subject of 32 articles while the vast People's Republic of China (PRC) –subject of 11 articles- does not make it into the top twenty.

[4] A further question arises as to whether authors of articles on non-core movements are nationals or come from core countries. (I do not wish to denigrate articles written about non-core movements by scholars from the core in raising this issue). One of the more striking observations made in Yeung's editorial of 2001 notes first 'Although three countries (China, India and Indonesia) make up over 40% of the world's total population and a large chunk of the world's total land mass, they are poorly represented in most of the top journals', which is consistent with my findings, before continuing that 'A more disturbing finding is that, barring all language barriers and other difficulties, a large proportion of publications on these four Asian countries (China, India, Indonesia and Japan) originate from scholars based outside Asia, in particular the United States and United Kingdom. Measured by their institutional affiliations and addresses, authors from these four Asian countries make virtually no appearance at all in several leading discipline journals' (Yeung 2001:6)

Table 2: Top 20 national locations of movements studied by journal

Location	RSCC	MOB	SMS	INT	CON	P&C	MTS	RES	TOTAL
US	58	86	63	24	3	1	7		242
UK	2	13	40	12	6		2		75
Mexico	4	15	10	4	1	1			35
Spain	1	7	14	10	1	2			35
Canada	5	7	14	8			2		36
Palestine/Israel	8	8	11	4	1		1	1	34
Italy	1	7	7	6		12			33
France	3	13	8	1	2	3	1		31
Australia	1	1	17	6					25
Brazil	2	6	3	10			7		28
South Africa	1	8	6	9				1	25
India	1	7	9	6		1			24
Germany	1	1	4	9	1	1	4	1	22
Northern Ireland	8	7	4						19
Poland		5	3	10	1				19
Sweden		7	7	1		1	3		19
Netherlands	2	8	6	1					17
Belgium		11	2	1		2			16
Ireland	2	1	1	9					13
Egypt	1		2	7	2				12

Movements studied

The next table lists the top 30 movements studied by journal. The designation of a movement in an abstract is taken at face value: no attempt is made to critically interrogate movement designations. Movement descriptions are hopefully self-explanatory: the one designation I feel requires some explanation is that of 'pro-democracy' which involves both movements for democratisation of authoritarian states (as in the "Orange Revolution" in the Ukraine and the Arab Spring) and attempts to increase public participation in democratic politics in core countries, such as Move.on in the US. Some movements of course cross categories: for example the protests against the wall being constructed by the

Israeli state involves a peace movement (in Israel), a nationalist movement (in Palestine) and also elements of the anarchist movement.

Table 3: Movements studied by journal

TYPE OF Movement	TOTAL	MOB	SMS	RSM	INT	CON	MTS	P&C	RES
Women	139	34	29	30	23	6	4	1	2
Labour	100	22	22	8	27	-	20		-
Environmental	99	45	26	7	17	1	-	2	1
Anti-globalisation	72	20	26	5	20	-	-	-	1
Peace	68	18	15	23	5	1	5	-	1
Pro-democracy	54	20	5	9	15	2	1	2	1
Indigenous	45	7	17	10	9	1	-	-	1
Urban	36	3	11	1	17	7	-	2	1
Nationalist/separatist	30	17	6	5	3	2	2	-	1
Ethnic	29	13	9	6	1	-	-	-	-
Occupy	40	-	28	2	7	2	-	1	-
LGBT	28	5	9	8	6	-	-	-	-
Religious	35	10	9	8	-	1	-	8	-
Student	24	3	10	3	6	1	-	-	1
Civil rights	25	14	1	8	2	-	-	-	-
Anti-austerity	19	3	7	1	4	1	-	2	1
Rural	19	3	1	2	8	-	1	4	-
Cyberactivism	21	6	7	1	7	-	-	-	-
Migration/Refugees	22	7	7	1	5	-	1	1	-
Health	14	1	5	6	2	-	-	-	-
Squatting/housing	13	1	3	2	3	2	1	1	-
Human rights	13	4	4	3	-	-	-	1	1
Animal rights	11	1	5	2	3	-	-	1	-
Youth	15	3	4	1	6	-	-	-	1
Consumer	9	-	5	-	2	-	-	1	-
Anti-privatization	7	2	1	-	2	-	-	2	-
Anti-apartheid	5	4	1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Communist	6	1	1	-	2	-	3	-	-
Media activism	12	-	4	-	8	-	-	-	-
15M	7	-	3	-	4	-	-	-	-

The table shows the extreme diversity of movements studied, though for the full diversity to be seen, movements studied only one single time would need to be listed. It is interesting, in terms of emphasis on the new in social movement studies, that anti-globalisation is the only movement of recent vintage to make it into the top five, with the environment movement seen as appearing in the 1960s, while the other three movements stretch back at least to the beginning of

the 20th century. It is also impossible not to note how little attention the journals have paid to traditionally two of the largest and most powerful movements of all, the socialist and communist movements.

Non-core countries: what movements are studied?

Table 4: Movements by region: non-core regions

Movement	EastEu	SthA	MidE	Africa	LatAm	ESEA	TOTAL
Pro-democracy	8	-	35	4	5	6	58
Women	5	5	13	5	14	4	46
Environmental	7	6	1	2	13	6	33
Indigenous	-	1	-	3	27	-	31
Labour	2	1	3	3	16	6	38
Peace	1	1	14	2	2	3	23
Urban	1	2	4	8	8	-	22
Nationalist/Separatist	2	2	17	-	-	-	21
Anti-globalisation	3	-	1	4	6	-	14
Anti-austerity	8	1	2	-	2	-	13
Rural	1	2	-	2	9	-	14
Religious	-	2	4	-	3	4	13
Others	-	-	7	1	4	1	13
Youth	7	-	2				9
Student	3			1	3	1	8
Islamist			7	1			8
Armed		1			6		7
Human rights			5	2			7
Anti-privatisation		1			5		6
Poor people's				4		2	6
Ethnic	1	1			2	1	5
Anti-apartheid				5			5
LGBT			1	1	2		4
Migrant/Refugee			1	1		2	4
Squatting/Housing	2				1		3
Welfare rights		3					3
Anti-Nazi[5]	2						2
Anti-corruption		2					2
Peasant		1			1		2

Table 4 lists the major movements studied in non-core regions in descending order from the most studied to the least studied movement. It shows a similar diversity of movements as does the list for all movements studied by journal

[5] Anti-Nazi in this case relates to death camp and ghetto resistance in eastern Europe during World War Two.

(Table 3), as well as a commonality: 21 of the movements listed are common to both lists.

To attempt to verify Oriola's suggestion that most protest occurs in authoritarian states is beyond the capacity of the author as an adequate analysis would require correlation between levels of authoritarianism across the regions involved and the historical periods covered. This analysis would also need to be undertaken at the national level, if we wish to distinguish authoritarian regimes from 'liberal democracies'. Similarly one would need to account for changes from authoritarianism to varieties of democracy, for example in Korea. Also countries which are 'liberal democracies' can behave in certain ways, in certain areas and at certain times as authoritarian states: the most obvious example here would be India, a liberal democracy which operates a police state in certain regions of the Indian subcontinent.

However a number of articles specifically present themselves as looking at issues of mobilization under authoritarian conditions. These articles are confined to two regions, both peripheral: the Middle East, with four articles on Egypt and one each on Palestine and Syria, and central and eastern Europe, with two articles on death camp and ghetto resistance during World War Two and one on the 'Orange revolution' in the Ukraine. This needs to be placed in the context of the following table which looks at articles dealing with policing and repression.

Table 5: Repression/policing of protest

Region	NAm	WEu	CEEu	ESEA	LatAm	MidE	SASia	Africa
REpr	22	20	2	5	4	5	2	1
Total	Core	42	Total	Noncore	19			

Articles on repression reproduce the already noted predominant orientation towards core countries, with the US again the most studied country. The figures do not support Oriola's contention that studies of non-core country movements confine themselves disproportionately to state repression of protest.

Table 6: Organisations embracing violent tactics or armed struggle

Region	NAm	WEu	CEEu	ESEA	LatAm	MidE	SAsia	Africa
	4	7	1	4	7	7	1	3
Total	Core	11	Total	noncore	23			

Finally we arrive at a table where attention to non-core is greater than to core countries. For the non-core, there are articles dealing with armed guerrilla groups or national movements in Burma, Cyprus, Guatemala, India, Mexico, the Middle East, Nicaragua, Palestine, the Philippines, South Africa and Turkey, while for the core we have the Republican movement in Ireland, New Left clandestine groups in Germany, Italy, Japan and the US, while for the US we also have 'ecoterrorism' and (nonspecified) extremist groups. The figures support Oriola's position that violent repertoires are under-studied, a problem however that effects not only non-core but also core regions.

Right wing social movements

Coverage of right-wing social movements does not seem to be a priority for any of the journals examined, with a total of 33 mentioned in abstracts, and no right-wing movement making it anywhere near the top 30 movements. The top right-wing movement studied is the anti-abortion movement with five mentions, followed by the Tea Party, the general right wing movement and the anti-immigration movement with four mentions; after this we have the anti-gay and ex-gay movement, on the one hand, and on the other the white power and neo-nazi movements with two mentions each, leaving the rest of the right-wing movements with one each: right wing anti-globalisation and environment movements, anti-Muslim, Ku Klux Klan, fascist (Italy), pro-war, unionism (Northern Ireland), peasant anti-revolutionary (Nicaragua), the America First Committee and the John Birch Society. Here again, the major concern is with movements in the core.

Elite social movements

For social movements from above, the haul is minimal: there are only three articles which fit this description. One article describes how the School of the Americas reframed itself (Gallo-Cruz 2015), another looks at *Fortune 500* corporate responses to campaigns (Banerjee and Buroway 2015), while a third examines Texaco's corporate communications strategy regarding its extraction of oil from the Amazon region of Ecuador (Matelski 2015). These movements are seen as difficult to access, but it is still possible to research them. Editors should be recommended to encourage future work of this type as there is great potential here for expanding the range and scope of social movement analysis.

Possible future research

Among other possible developments of this inquiry, an examination of the academic affiliations of authors could be a useful addition. Similarly an examination of the board of editors of the journals might be revealing, perhaps using the methodology that has previously been used to investigate boards of directors of TNCs. As one example, the list of editors and editorial board of *Mobilization* (taken from the latest issue –vol 20 number 4), while listing no

less than 60 worthies, lists only one editor from an educational establishment outside Europe and North America, that being Israel. A further question worth examining is whether authors of articles on social movements in non-core countries are nationals of these countries or are core country nationals? Another approach would involve examining the details of what funding agencies supported research, if those details were provided by authors. Another possible approach would be to approach the journals through the book reviews that they've published, which might show similar or different patterns in book-length publications on social movements. A very useful addition would be to extend the research to, for example, French and German language journals to see if a similar pattern is exhibited outside the Anglo-American sphere.

Discussion: diagnoses and remedies

This paper now turns to a discussion of the main findings above regarding core and non-core country movements, leaving aside discussion of the minor findings regarding armed organisations, repression, right-wing and elite movements. A useful start can be made by looking at the research of Poulson, Caswell and Gray (2014) which provides a content analysis of articles published in *Mobilization* and *Social Movement Studies* from the years 2002 to 2010. This study, which uses statistical analysis, is much more detailed than mine: it coded 'any substantive discussion (usually two paragraphs) of a movement or a people in a geographic region'. It is also more generous in its inclusion of articles as dealing with non-core countries than I am: their coding decisions 'clearly caused us to overrepresent the geographic diversity represented by studies in these journals' (Poulson, Caswell and Gray (2014:228); as an example of their inclusive approach, they cite Carty's paper on the cybercampaign against Nike. 'The study was almost entirely focused on technological innovation and movement organizing in the global north, but it did briefly mention (in a few paragraphs) a strike in Puebla, Mexico that was the focus of cyber-organizing. In this case, the study was coded as including information about movements in both USA and Mexico even though the information concerning the strike in Mexico was cursory' (Poulson, Caswell and Gray 2014:228). In my reading this study is considered purely as transnational and certainly not included with non-core country articles.

Their results found 'the content of social movement journals is disproportionately focused on the study of Western society' with 72% of the content in *Mobilization* and 77% of the content in *Social Movement Studies* including the study of western peoples, leaving 38% of *Mobilization* and 34% of *Social Movement Studies* including the study of non-western peoples. (Poulson, Caswell and Gray 2014: 230) For the regional breakdown, they give articles dealing with US and Canada 40%, Western Europe, Australia and New Zealand 37%, Eatern Europe/Russia 6%, Middle East 8%, Africa 6%, Asia 10% and Central/South America 16%, with 'the percentages sum[ming] to more than 100 per cent due to comparative studies' (Poulson, Caswell and Gray 2014: 231). While this may be disappointing for two journals that, they point out are

'avowedly 'international' in scope' (Poulson, Caswell and Gray 2014: 225) they note 'the field of social movements is appreciably more diverse than the broader field of sociology' (Poulson, Caswell and Gray 2014: 232), citing figures from a study of the *American Sociological Review* from 1952 to 2008 which found 49% of non-comparative studies focused on the US, while non-comparative studies of sub-Saharan African countries represented 0.1% of articles published in the journal (Poulson, Caswell and Gray 2014:226) . It is indeed a consolation that social movement journals can do better than this.

Poulson, Caswell and Gray also examined awkward or conservative movements as studied in these two journals for the same period, but in a rather strange decision include in their definition of conservative movements the study of policing and state repression. They found 37 such articles in *Mobilization* and 19 in *Social Movement Studies*, with the combined figures over the ten years representing 20% of studies published in both journals (Poulson, Caswell and Gray 2014: 234). However when studies of repression are eliminated 'conservative movements account for 6% of all movements studied' (Poulson, Caswell and Gray 2014: 236).

A judicious rejoinder to Poulson, Caswell and Gray by the editor of *Social Movement Studies*[6] provides further material to support their analysis, noting the journal's 'readership base is essentially located in North America and the UK' (Hayes 2014: 244) while a similar geographical bias towards core countries can be seen in authors of submitted articles: of manuscripts submitted to the journal in 2012 'a third had single or lead authors based in the USA, and a fifth in the UK; the next most frequent countries were Canada (5%), followed by Australia, France and the Netherlands (3.5% each)' (Hayes 2014:245).

To add to these details, it's worth noting that Shigetomi found references to social movements in the developing world in databases of social science literature (Worldwide PolSci Abstracts and EconLit) to amount to 30% of all references to social movements (Shigetomi 2009:6,12); he also found that 30% of articles in the *New York Times* (for the twenty years from I January 1985 to 31 December 2004) 'containing the words 'protest' and 'rally' refer to areas in the developing world' (Shigetomi 2009:1). Thus, research by Poulson, Caswell and Gray, Hayes and Shigetomi confirm my main findings regarding core and non-core movements, while the work of Poulson, Caswell and Gray also confirms that right-wing social movements are a minority interest in the literature.

A partial explanation: parochialism

Poulson, Caswell and Gray attribute this problem to parochialism or isomporphism, the tendency for social scientists to study societies that they know or that are like societies that they know. They use this to explain not only the predominance of core country studies, but also to explain studies of non-

[6] I have not seen any response from the editor of *Mobilization*.

core countries by core country academics, noting that 45% of these academics who study non-core countries have personal or affective connections. (Poulson, Caswell and Gray 2014:233).

Parochialism certainly explains some of my findings: thus it is no surprise that the greatest number of articles on Italian social movements should appear in the Italian journal *P&C*, or that a similar situation exists with articles on Irish social movements and the journal published in Ireland, *Interface*.

One further example of parochialism may be cited, which may help to account for the minimal appearance in core country journals of one non-core region, South Asia, and India in particular. In India there is a strong academic profession, with its own academic apparatus with all the accoutrements, including the publication of many national social science journals, and a strong publishing industry, including local branches of Oxford University Press and Sage. Given this, it would make sense that Indian analysts would prioritise publication in journals from the Indian subcontinent over publication in core country journals. Thus Shah's survey for the Indian Council on Social Scientific Research in 1990 on publications on social movements (when none of the journals analysed here aside from *Research in Social Movements. Conflict and Change* were in existence) details an already reasonably extensive literature in chapters on peasant movements, tribal movements, dalit movements, backward caste/class movements, women's movements, students' movements, middle class movements and industrial working class movements, while noting their authors are mainly historians, sociologists, political activists and journalists, as political scientists, partly due to the influence of the British and American academic traditions locally, have largely ignored the area. (Shah 1990). Since Shah produced his survey, social movement research has continued to expand in India, reflecting the continuing contention that characterises the subcontinent. Interestingly much of the more recent research builds on European theory, but one not often glimpsed in North American social movement research circles –Marxism: opposition to SEZs (Special Economic Zones), mining and other projects has encouraged renewed interest in primitive accumulation or accumulation by dispossession. Indian research on social movements also has its patron saints –like Rajni Kothari- as well as the publication of stunning research –both empirical and theoretical- by authors such as Baviskar and Sethi, while its development of subaltern studies has captured the interest of (part of) the northern academy (see Nilsen and Roy 2015).

Parochialism may also be partly explained by considering the material conditions under which social movement knowledge is produced within the academy. It is cheaper to undertake research on a local/national movement in circumstances where research grants are scarce, postgraduate student fees high, student grants replaced by loans, etc. Mexico's position as joint third most studied country may relate to the simple fact that it is next door to the US and travel and subsistence costs there may be cheaper than in alternative study locations.

However, parochialism strikes me as an incomplete explanation, as it ignores questions of power and the hierarchies involved in the global production of knowledge. It seems to me that wider explanations can be found in a variety of critical analyses of this global structure, as well as of the development of social movement theory. I hesitate to tread in these deeper theoretical waters and so will confine myself to a quick survey of some of these critical positions, beginning with some empirical evidence.

Another explanation: global structures of social science knowledge production

Social movement studies is not the only area in which non-core countries are underrepresented as regions to be studied. Poulson and Campbell have published research on the same subject in the sociology of religion, drawing on data from two journals in the field from 2001 to 2008. Their results found that 'studies of Christianity dominated the content of sociology of religion journals (Poulson and Campbell 2010:38), while 'inclusion of non-Western societies in studies of both journals was 17.4%' (Poulson and Campbell 2010: 87).[7] Murphy and Zhou (2012) in their analysis of authorship and editorship data for 2010/2011 top management journals found that 'world-leading' business and management journals are dominated by Anglo-American scholars, noting that 'the dramatically skewed production of management scholarship is both ethically problematic in terms of Anglo-American domination of leading journals and the exclusion of many developing regions, and anachronistic given the shift of global production away from the North Atlantic in recent years'. Collyer's analysis of articles from Australian, UK and US journals in the sociology of health and medicine found that 'core-periphery relations define significant features of sociological work, impacting on citation patterns, inter-country collaboration and the selection of reference materials' (Collyer 2014). For international relations, Aydinli and Mathews found non-US authors in seven predominantly theoretical US journals to make up 15.25% of all authors, while non-core authors made up 3.28% (Aydinli and Mathews 2000:293), coming to the conclusion that 'the overall picture of the IR [international relations] discipline as revealed over the past decade in its leading scholarly journals remains unchanged, with very little contribution from the periphery being recognized by the core'. (Aydinli and Mathews 2000:297)

It seems then that what we are seeing here is simply a local expression of a structural problem across the social sciences. This structural problem relates to the unequal distribution of power globally, which mirrors/replicates a similar unequal distribution in economic terms. Alatas (2003: 603) summarises this as 'a centre-periphery continuum in the social sciences that corresponds to the North-South divide.' There are a number of material factors that both embody and explain this inequality.

[7] Israel was counted as a non-western society in this study.

First, history appears to be on the side of powerful, that is social science, as Wallerstein argues was a Western creation and remains predominantly western. Wallerstein clarifies the material conditions under which social science was developed when he points out 'as an institutional structure, social science largely originated in Europe… The social science disciplines were in fact overwhelmingly located, at least up to 1945, in just five countries –France, Great Britain, Germany, Italy and the United States. Even today, despite the global spread of social science as an activity, the large majority of social scientists worldwide remain Europeans' (Wallerstein 1997: 93).

Second, reinforcing this latter point, the core has more divisions and, even in the core, the US has the most divisions, or a greater number of social science knowledge workers. As Paasi (2005: 777) notes 'The 'hegemony' of the USA is easy to understand because the total volume of its research activities and the number of researchers is larger than that of the EU countries put together'. The effects of this is shown by the figures given by the International Social Science Council which found the US was responsible for 52% of papers (indexed by World of Science or in journals in Uhlrich's), Europe for 38% and the rest of the world for 10% (Gingras and Mosbah-Natanson 2010: 3-4).

Third, the structural imbalance is underpinned by a global division of labour which to an extent again mirrors that in the production economy, where design, marketing and other higher cognitive (and higher value) work is undertaken in the core, while actual manufacture occurs in the non-core. Connell argues that social science developed with a division of labour between the core and the periphery, with the periphery providing empirical data about which the core theorised. Connell (2015) argues 'the process produces a structural division of labour that is still deeply embedded in modern knowledge systems. The colonized world was, first and foremost, a source of *data*. The metropole where data from different parts of the colonized world were aggregated (a process now automated in databanks) became the site of the *theoretical* moment in knowledge production'.

Fourth, the means of communication (predominantly the 'important' journals, but also international conferences, symposia, colloquia, as well as the funds that sustain the latter and the multinational corporations that publish the former) are in core country hands and again predominantly in American hands. This concentration of control is shown by the 2010 report of the International Social Science Council when it observes 'by publishing more than 1,000 refereed social science journals, the USA is the first country (with one-fourth of the social science journals), followed by the UK, the Netherlands and Germany. Together, the four countries publish two-thirds of all social science journals.' (Gingras and Mosbah-Natanson 2010: 5)

Fifth, the most important measuring system (the former ISI Social Science Citation Index, now reborn as Thompson/Reuters Web of Science) is not only in western hands, but operates in a biased manner in favour not only of the west, but also of one western language, English. As Cameron (2005:110) notes 'The built-in bias of ISI's selection means that many foreign language journals are

excluded. English language journals, as a result, have much higher impact factors. The result is a citation database weighted heavily in favour of English language American journals.' [8]

These then are the key structural and material factors that underlie the 'unconscious'choices of Poulson, Caswell and Gray's researchers.

If I may digress for a moment from the main argument, this western hegemony or American hegemony does not automatically translate into American social science being a creature or servant of American imperial interests. While there is indeed some strong historical evidence for some American social scientists operating for the good of the American empire (with the greatest evidence available in the case of anthropology) (Price 2000, Simpson 1999; for a recent example see McFate and Laurence 2015) this is not inevitable (see Vu (2006)'s excellent work for evidence of this in US research on contentious politics in South East Asia). The obvious illustration here from the social movements journals examined in this paper is the minimal amount of work on armed organisations and, in particular, the little attention paid to Islamic radical movements, especially given the amount of research money that must have been available in the aftermath of the attacks on economic and military targets in the US in September 2001, which gives the lie to the vulgar suggestion that US social science research is at the service of the US imperial project. A similar result was found by Poulson and Campbell (2010:39) which found no appreciable increase in research on Islam in the period following those attacks.

Why does this matter?

Why does this matter? The main reason is that the dominant social movement paradigm may be unfitted to helping explain social movements outside the core. The issue of unequal attention to core and non-core movements in social movement studies is not a new one. The journals have occasionally published articles which critique core-centric theories and examined how such theories succeed or fail in helping to explain social movement developments in non-core countries. Pilati (2011), for example, uses data on protest mobilization in 18

[8] This issue leads to some very interesting questions regarding ranking of articles, authors, research projects, university departments and universities, which are beyond the scope of this article, though of major interest to the increasingly unfortunate employees of universities. Technically much of this relates to citation indices and the use of what is called bibliometrics. Kosmopoulis and Pumain (2007) conclude that 'these instruments give a biased information about the scientific output of research in Social Sciences and Humanities'. Cameron (2005) is a useful examination by a professional librarian of the use of citation data, warning of the troubling trend of using 'citation data, particularly impact factors, as a performance measure by which scientists and faculty are ranked, promoted, and funded. Such ranking has expanded to departments, laboratories, universities, and even countries'. Klein and Chang (2004) provide what appears to be the only critical analysis of the procedures of this private company in deciding which journals to include in its database and rankings. Readers should be aware that this critique is from the libertarian rights, but only a fool would discount it on that basis. For a radical critique, see Sosteric (1999).

African countries 'to test whether Western-driven theories provide useful insights for analyzing protest dynamics in developing countries'. Boudreau (1996), noting that protest outside the core is undertheorized, extended the political opportunity structure approach to non-core protest. In a unique departure from the usual disinterest Anglo-American research on social movements shows in research in non-English languages, Neveu (2002) provided access to French-language research studies 'that are highly relevant to the international community of social movement researchers'. Nor have these issues been raised only in connection with core and non-core countries. Cox and Flesher Fominaya (2013) have critiqued the application of North American models to European movements, while Gyagi (n.d.) has also criticised the use of west European models in relation to movements in eastern Europe.

These problems with the dominant theory can be traced to a number of causes. One is a linguistic parochialism. Flesher Fominaya and Cox (2013:1) note 'the failure of Anglophone social science movement theorists to pay attention to the substantial literatures in languages such as French, German, Spanish or Italian'. Another cause is a result of the global distribution of power cited above, resulting in the core being blind to most work being done in the non-core, thus minimising its chances of adapting the dominant theory to encompass and interpret new evidence and new movements. But the major problem may be related to the effect that the historical situation in which the currently dominant social movement theory was formed had on the development of that theory.

Gagyi, who criticises application of that theory to Eastern European movements, presents a very interesting perspective on the development of social movement theory as a product of a highly specific historical period:

> In both the US and European contexts, the separation of the systematic study of social movements from long-term historical and economic causation happened in an era when, exactly and only in these two locations, the affluence of post-war western societies made it possible for the first time in history for entire populations to participate in material welfare. It also created a so far unseen growth of US and European middle classes –a basis for their paradigmatic participation in non-material movements in 1968, the inspirational moment of both US and European SMS scholarship.
>
> This context of affluence, and consequently, the relative lack of material focus, can hardly be generalized throughout space and time. (Gagyi n.d.: 19)

These might be considered, then, to adapt Murray Bookchin's phrase, post-scarcity movements. Habib and Opoku-Monsah (2009:47) also point to the importance of the context in which social movement theory originated: 'Largely developed to explain the rise and influence of so-called 'identity-based' movements –racial or religiously constructed, women's, gay rights and even environmental collectives- in economically developed western democracies, it

challenged Marxist interpretations that placed distributional issues at the centre of explanations of social movements'.

However it also needs to be pointed out that social movement theory did not provide a full picture of social movement activity at the time it was formulated, specifically by failing to pay sufficient attention to the activities of the labour movement. Cox and Flesher Fominaya point out 'the period under discussion in 'NSM [new social movement] theory' was not only not a 'post-Marxist' period by any means, but the canonical account's caricature of labour movements also fails to correspond to their actual diversity and activities' (Cox and Flesher Fominaya 2013:14). Indeed some would argue that in this period the labour movement at the point of production in the core was approaching its most radical period, exhibited in the 'refusal of work'.

The emphasis on identity and the lack of emphasis on material and distributional factors is one reason for the disjoint between theory and the reality it's supposed to describe/interpret. Habib and Opoku-Monsah note, from a typology of African social movements, the continued importance of distributional conflict for these movements; they further note that, even in the context of 'identity' movements, distributional issues are of major importance: 'The case studies in South Africa of the gay, environmental, women's and refugee movements show that even while identity is an important driver within these movements, distributional questions have by no means been marginalized' (Habib and Opoku-Monsah 2009:56).

Finally, in what seems fitting irony, the dominant theory has also been criticised for failure to account for actual protest in the US itself. In an interesting echo of Gagyi's position, McAdam et al (2005) suggested that social movement theory's roots in the New Left family of movement created a model of contentious activity that was historically limited and did not accord with the (then) current situation in the US: 'contemporary social movement theory is essentially based on intensive interrogation of this new left 'movement family' ' (McAdam et al 2005:4), which they identify as 'the women's movement, the environmental movement, the Vietnam antiwar struggle , the anti-nuclear movement, and the gay and lesbian movement' (McAdam 2005:3). (Funnily enough the civil rights and black power movements seem to be missing here). McAdam et al then proceed to provide empirical evidence from Chicago that they claim contradicts the four essentials of the stylized social movement theory resulting from being 'overwhelmingly rooted in and shaped by empirical work on the cluster of movements identified above' (McAdam et al 2005:4). These authors 'worry that their [those movements'] features and the general dynamics of contention typical of the period are often represented as a set of universals applicable to contentious episodes in all (or most) times and places'. (McAdam et al 2005:4).

What is to be done?

It seems unacceptable to examine this problem without suggesting some remedies for it, yet it also feels presumptuous to make such suggestions. From

the point of view of journals, Poulson, Caswell and Gray suggest 'actively solicit[ing] scholarship that is produced by people who have an intimate association with people in the global south' (Poulson, Caswell and Gray 2014:239), and 'actively forg[ing] connections with scholars who maintain an association with communities in the global south' (Poulson, Caswell and Gray 2014:240) while Paasi (2005: 785) notes that '[s]ome Anglo-American journals (*Social and Cultural Geography*, *Geoforum*) have taken a proactive role in this problem by helping foreign geographers with language problems'. One simple suggestion is that editorial advisory boards be widened outside core country institutions: the example above of *Mobilization*'s board shows the need for this. Here *Interface* seems a model of best practice[9], both through regionalising editorial control and through opening the journal to contributions in many other languages than English, though the former also produces its own particular problems. Of course remedying this problem requires journals to recognise that there is a problem in the first place. If this article has done nothing else, it hopefully has demonstrated the existence of this problem.

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[9] This is not sycophantic but descriptive.

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Review author: Ryan A. Knight

Ana Cecilia Dinerstein, 2014, *The Politics of Autonomy in Latin America: The Art of Organizing Hope*. Basingstoke & New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan (282 pp., hardcover, $105.00).

Autonomous politics have experienced a global resurgence from practice to theory in recent decades. Latin America has been at the forefront of this resurgence where, "radical pedagogies, cooperative work, art and entertainment, care, new forms of defending and revitalizing indigenous traditions and customs, environmental awareness and territorialized resistance [have] developed imaginatively into forms of social, political and economic survival" (pp. 1-2). For Ana Dinerstein, in her latest book, *The Politics of Autonomy in Latin America: The Art of Organizing Hope*, these innovative forms of communal organization have been circumscribed theoretically by the old debates of the political left: reform v. revolution, or taking state power v. not taking state power. Perhaps a sign of the times, "The use of old tools, to judge the politics of autonomy is a symptom of the difficulty of the political left to engage with new visions that might enrich and innovate their revolutionary projects" (p. 9). Dinerstein's book offers the reader a necessary rethinking of autonomous politics, by problematizing "the coordinates of the debate and the terms of the questions" (p. 8).

Dinerstein succeeds in this endeavor, in many respects, providing the reader with three principal theoretical nuances that break the stranglehold on autonomous politics. Firstly, Dinerstein argues that autonomous struggles aren't something new, but since the 1980s they have been marked by what she characterizes as their emerging connection to hope. Drawing extensively from the work of humanist Marxist Ernst Bloch, particularly his Magnus opus three-volume, *The Principles of Hope*, Dinerstein approaches the prefigurative autonomous projects of Latin America as educations in hope - a much-needed alimentation for the radical imagination. She suggests: "Prefiguration, I argue is a process of learning hope. Autonomy is the organizational tool of this process. That is, autonomy is a hypothesis of resistance that encompasses the delineation of new horizons beyond the given truth" (p. 2). Autonomous prefiguration thus challenges the playing field of given reality, engaging in the present possible futures that are yet to be determined; "an unrealized materiality that is latent in the present reality" (p. 62).

Working in what she calls the key of hope – "as a composer, I use hope as my basic material" (p. 58) – Dinerstein investigates four modes of autonomous praxis that make up a second fundamental theoretical nuance in her analysis. Instead of focusing on one specific mode, Dinerstein brings together the politics

of negation, creation, contradiction, and excess to better understand the complexity of autonomous struggles in Latin America. This particular point, guides the reader away from the dichotomous dead-end overwhelming autonomous politics, opening up various lines of thought hidden beneath the conventional approaches to the politics of autonomy. Creatively engaging these autonomous modes within the context of a politics of hope, Dinerstein covers four of the most well-known of autonomous experiments in Latin America in the last few decades: the Zapatista struggle in Chiapas, Mexico; the urban autonomous experiments in Argentina in 2001-2002; the indigenous-popular uprisings in Bolivia; and the MST movement of landless peasants in Brazil.

Dinerstein's third theoretical nuance that persists throughout the book is her insistence on the difference between indigenous and non-indigenous autonomous struggles. This insight again ruptures the occidental autonomous debate, contributing to the growing number of voices that are seeking to decolonize critical thought. Dinerstein makes two important points in this regard. First, Indigenous peoples are located differently in their relation with the state and capital - she argues their subsumption into capitalism is characterized through a specific form of exclusion. She writes, "By real subsumption by exclusion I mean that racial oppression and invisibilization were necessary conditions for the formation of the working class and the foundation and expansion of capitalist modernity in Latin America" (p. 55). In this way, Indigenous peoples are located differently in the process of colonial and capitalist expansion making the position from which they constructed autonomy different.

Considering their location, Indigenous struggles find the affirmation of their identity and their historical traditions as fundamental modes of autonomous struggle and of organizing hope. This is a fundamental point for many on the socialist left, who have failed to engage the politics of identity as a basis for a revolutionary politics. For Indigenous struggles, "the past is mobilized and articulated with political imagination in a new fashion" (p. 51). Thus, identity and historical knowledge serve as active influences in the formation of autonomous organizing. Concluding from this, Dinerstein importantly rejects notions of universalized autonomous struggle, stressing the differences between indigenous and non-indigenous organizing. However, her point might have been better said had she stressed the diversity of Indigenous struggles as well, emphasizing that not all colonialisms are the same, just as not all Indigenous autonomous struggles work from the same location.

Perhaps the most interesting chapter is found toward the end of the book, where Dinerstein offers a 'prefigurative critique of political economy' drawing from the tradition of open or critical Marxism. Following the lead of Marx, who sought to denaturalize the abstract terms of political economy by uncovering the social relations and class struggles from which they emerge, Dinerstein takes the practices of autonomy as real abstractions that are engaged in struggle: "a category and practice that is necessarily embedded within the struggles in and against the value form" (p. 206). As both value and hope, in the Marxist and

Blochian senses respectively, are "unrealized materialities [...] not mental creations, but material dynamics that are not yet" (p. 209); autonomy is the materiality that confronts the production of value with the organization of hope. In the prefigurative autonomous struggles that escape subsumption by capitalist translation, political economy is being critiqued and hope is being organized.

While Dinerstein's book is successful in many respects of undoing the leftist stalemate on the autonomy debate, at times her own location within this tradition weighs upon her innovative approach. One such example is her unproductive attacks on anarchism and autonomism - ideological straw men that allow her to differentiate her own position, while ignoring the complexities and diversity of both traditions. This is not to say that anarchism or autonomism have it all right - for example there is plenty of work being done now trying to decolonize components of the anarchist tradition - but to treat them as static and singular traditions, and to make sweeping claims of their failures, hinders rather than helps a more fuller debate on the politics of autonomy. This particular discussion has deep roots tracing back to the First International where anarchism and Marxism had an unfortunate split.

Another more subtle example of Dinerstein's ideological location is a brief suggestion she makes on the depoliticized history of peasant organizations. She writes:

> Rural workers and families played a significant role in the struggle for the land and agrarian reform against neoliberal structural adjustments. Latin American peasants are now aware of the exploitation they have suffered for centuries and are determined to end it. The politicization of peasant movements began in the 1930s. When their revolts against landowners and local authorities were sporadic, diffuse, and inorganic. Today we see a proliferation of much more formal organizations. (p. 172)

This narrative has been used by various scholars who hold tightly to a certain interpretation of historical materialism that argues specific conditions must be in place in order for class-consciousness and revolutionary organizations to fully emerge. For this reviewer, this is not only historically incorrect, but also works to undermine a fuller understanding of the longer history of prefigurative autonomous organizing that has existed.

Despite this, *The Politics of Autonomy in Latin America: The Art of Organizing Hope* serves as an exciting contribution to emerging discussions, debates, and struggles that go by the name of autonomy. Not only does it provide new trajectories for thinking about autonomous struggles, but it also serves as a review to many of the philosophical debates that have taken up autonomy in the past. Dinerstein's analysis is accomplished through an exciting conversation between her unique theoretical approaches to autonomy, and the on the ground practices of autonomous movements in the Latin American context. It is here

particularly, that the book garners its usefulness from practice to theory and everywhere in between.

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***Interface**: a journal for and about social movements* *Book Reviews*
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Book review: Colin Barker, Laurence Cox, John Krinsky, and Alf Gunvald Nilsen (Eds.), *Marxism and Social Movements*

Review author: Christina Heatherton

Colin Barker, Laurence Cox, John Krinsky, and Alf Gunvald Nilsen (Eds.), 2014, *Marxism and Social Movements*. Chicago, IL: Haymarket Books (473 pp., paperback, $36.00).

Socialism, the pundits tell us, is eking back into fashion. From thousands of young Bernie Sanders supporters, Fight for $15ers (campaign for a $15 minimum wage), and even softened libertarians comes a cautious chorus of chirps. Not quite class struggle, these emerging activists cast their arguments in the more capacious language of "working families," "the middle class," and "the 1%." While the culprit may be capitalism, young scholars and activists find it easier to invoke a more palatable proxy: inequality.

Pulsing beneath the power of Black Lives Matter protests and movements against mass incarceration, mass deportation, mass surveillance, and militarism, is another less obvious form of class outrage. Racialized state violence has mobilized people into U.S. streets in record numbers. After the police killings of Black, Brown, and Native people, commentators like Keeanga-Yamahtta Taylor have concluded that, "freedom and justice aren't compatible with capitalism." Yet without being articulated as class demands, these struggles are often less recognizable as class struggle.

At this moment of intense energy and outrage, we find ourselves in something of a bind. Incipient social movements, while left leaning, remain largely allergic to the language and categories of Marxism. At the same time self-professed Marxists are less willing to recognize movements for racial justice as central to class struggle. Compounding this is a well-documented non-profit industrial complex funding structure, one that apportions movements into separate silos and forces activists to translate their demands into recognizable injuries, fundable grievances, and provable outcomes. The academic study of social movements more often than not follows suit. What then is to be done?

Into this fray come Colin Barker, Laurence Cox, John Krinsky, and Alf Gunvald Nilsen, editors of the volume *Marxism and Social Movements*. This collection is one part guidebook for activists looking for grounding in Marxism and Marxist concepts (what precisely is "the system"?) and one part theoretical study. Taking global, historical, and comparative perspectives, this volume seeks to develop a theory that might explain the "emergence, character and development of social movements." A Marxist theory of social movements, it argues, can expand our capacity to evaluate, compare, and learn from social movements across different contexts.

For the first time since 1848, the editors suggest, the *lingua franca* of emerging social movements is not Marxism. Accordingly the book addresses young activists who have limited familiarity with Marxist concepts. It also addresses young scholars who enter the academy "pre-inoculated against Marxism" and who see as their enemy not capitalism but rather the Marxist straw men of orthodoxy, dogmatism, and economic determinism. To these audiences, the book presents Marxism not as a monolith, but as a "theory of and for movements," dynamic, shifting, and responsive to struggle.

The collection is also directed to self-avowed Marxists. It emphasizes the evolving and dialectical nature of Marxist theory, as "an engaged practice," one that "develops and learns alongside those with whom it participates in the effort to change the world." This mission beautifully reflects Angela Y. Davis' injunction to work with social movements in order to learn and grow, rather than to prove what we already know. This is admirable bridging work, addressing both newcomers and veterans, the fresh faced and the grizzled alike, in an effort to speak across difference and develop language across struggles.

But this is no small task. At the very moment when neoliberalism has accelerated the exploitation, dispossession, immiseration, and premature death of people on a global scale, and while social movements and popular protest have arisen in dramatic response, we, especially in the U.S., find our explanatory frameworks enfeebled. The editors lay fault in the very study of popular political movements. Contained in discrete academic silos, struggles of organized labor and trade unions, for example, are relegated to labor studies; studies of everyday resistance become matters for cultural studies; and revolution becomes an object clinically dissected in subfields of political science. Most pernicious, for the editors, are the offenses committed by mainstream social movement theory.

Rather than seeking to change the world, mainstream social movement theory instead seeks to "explain, celebrate, or condemn." Social movements, under this analysis, appear disconnected and singular, linked with other struggles only in broad thematic ways. While Marxism offers tools for connecting crises and struggles, social movement theory assiduously avoids mention of Marxism or the use of Marxist categories. As Gabriel Hetland and Jeff Goodwin demonstrate in their essay, social movement theory has even abandoned the very term capitalism. This theory, as the editors describe, insists on analytical separation of social movements that are themselves enmeshed in and necessarily responding to a globally interconnected capitalist system.

How then to make sense of popular protests erupting around the world, each pitched against a "system," but often not articulated "in the language of 'class'"? How does a Marxist theory of social movements help us understand the world in which we live and the struggles in which we are engaged? How might such a theory help us change the world rather than interpret it? *Marxism and Social Movements* approaches these questions from multiple angles.

The book is organized in three parts. The first section outlines the theoretical frameworks of Marxism and social movements. It also directly responds to the lapses and limitations of conventional social movement theory. This section offers very helpful groundings in basic concepts: "Theory" explain Alf Gunvald Nilsen and Laurence Cox "is a tool activists use when their movements are not moving." For Colin Barker, movements "are *mediated* expressions of class struggle." Such clarifications are necessary, both as introductions to terminology and also as correctives to the half truths and partial borrowings of Marxist categories which are pervasive in the academy.

The second part of the book raises questions about the organization and institutionalization of social movements, particularly in their various engagements with the state. With a wide range of case studies from: an examination of class formation in local workplace struggles in China by Marc Blecher; popular opposition to the Narmada dam project in the context of broader global South struggles by Alf Gunvald Nilsen (building on from his earlier study *Dispossession and Resistance in India: The River and the Rage*); to Patrick Bond, Ashwin Desai, and Trevor Ngwane's proposal for an "uneven and combined Marxism" to confront the organizing impasse among the poor and working class sectors in neoliberal South Africa; to Chris Hesketh's examination of spatial claims and social relations of the 2006 uprising in Oaxaca, Mexico and the Zapatista movement from Chiapas, Mexico; among others, these chapters offer key insights into the variegated challenges and opportunities confronting social movements at present, when uniquely viewed through a Marxist lens.

The third section offers both historical and contemporary examples of Marxist social movement theory in practice. Several chapters interrogate how our own categories can sometimes interfere with our ability to comprehend struggles unfolding before us. Christian Høgsbjerg revisits C.L.R. James' *History of Negro Revolt*, and notes James' ability to differentiate the form of East African protests, couched in religion terms, from the content of those struggles, which, as James notes, sprang from "forced labour, land alienation, and colonial taxation." Similarly, Hira Singh revisits interpretations of the "Revolt of 1857 in India" which was dismissed by historians in its time (and since) as a singular event, a religiously motivated struggle, or a reactionary fight. Singh analyzes the event and recovers Marx's own assessment that the "mass insurrection" occurred in "response to the action of English bourgeoisie and their agents in the East India Company." This, Singh says unequivocally, "was a class war."

The final chapters invite readers to raise questions about social movements and class formation in relation to currently existing social movements. Chapters such as the conclusion by David McNally, describe the challenge facing Marxist theorists in comprehending social movements which do not articulate themselves or their goals or grievances in terms recognizable as class struggle. McNally's brilliantly describes the dynamics of class movements emerging in different convergences of struggle, particularly those of rural campesinos and indigenous groups alongside urban working class movements in both Bolivia

and Oaxaca. These multi-dimensional dynamics, "co-constituted rather than mutually exclusive," have bearing on the way we understand other struggles, such as those in seen in Tunisia and Egypt. Class, he reminds us, is a relation, not a fixed identity. Being able to comprehend the "changing terrain of class relations" unfolding before us, he describes, is necessary for liberation.

The danger, of course, in any collection that attempts this magnitude of scope, is the potential to offer short shrift to otherwise complicated debates. One subject that would have benefited from deeper elaboration is the critique of "identity politics." The introduction does not fully sidestep the regrettable narrative that identity politics in the Anglophone world was partially responsible for the decline of class-based politics in and out of the academy. Future commentators offering a brief gloss of these developments might refrain from the "identity politics" shorthand as it subsumes the insurgent and radical critiques of capitalism by anti-racist, feminist, queer, and non-normative lenses; critiques which the editors would no doubt agree have advanced not inhibited Marxist theory. Such shorthand is significant since the easy dismissals of "identity politics" have made many social movements perceive Marxism as inhospitable to their struggles. Mainstream social movement theory is but one site of liberal politics that is all too happy to cultivate and nurture this discomfort.

All in all, this important collection could not be better timed. In the present moment of political ferment, young scholars and activists are searching for new language, concepts and political alternatives. Such a search should not be surprising. Given that the most formative experiences young people in the U.S. have had with capitalism are the economic crash of 2008, an obscene absence of the rule of law, and the bloodless promises of debt-laden futures, conservative commentator and former Regan speechwriter Peggy Noonan asks, "What other conclusions could the young possibly come to?"

Should a disavowal of capitalism gain wider consensus among the young, the question will remain, what then? The answer lies in the conversations and conceptual tools that will be available to them. In this respect, *Marxism and Social Movements* is a special collection, offering scholars and social movements not just tools, but also the keys to an otherwise locked box of necessary radical theory and practice.

About the review author

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Book Review: Anne Alexander & Mostafa Bassiouny, *Bread, Freedom, Social Justice*

Review author: Stephen M. Strenges

Anne Alexander & Mostafa Bassiouny, 2014, *Bread, Freedom, Social Justice: Workers & The Egyptian Revolution*. London: Zed Books (400 pp., paperback, $24.95).

With just under two million Egyptians rallying in Tahrir Square, Egypt's 2011 Arab Spring revolution captivated a global audience as the masses demanded the removal of their long-standing ruler, Hosni Mubarak. Yet the revolutionary fervor that removed Mubarak would soon yield to another revolution in 2013, overthrowing Egypt's first democratically elected leader, Mohamed Morsi of the Muslim Brotherhood. This perplexing revolutionary situation, if not revolutionary outcome, is tackled in Anne Alexander and Mostafa Bassiouny's *Bread, Freedom, Social Justice*, which traces Egypt's revolutionary turmoil through an analysis of workers' movements.

This work centers on the authors' observation that Egypt's revolution was not a spontaneous eruption; rather, it grew over the preceding decades. By 'revolution' they thus refer to a long process and not a specific, singular event. Moreover, their main argument is that this was more than a political revolution; it was one requiring the intertwining of the social and democratic souls of the revolutionary process. They state that one of their major goals is to emphasize the importance of the revolution's social soul which they argue manifested itself most strongly in various labor movements. Yet, as they illustrate, the social and democratic souls were not in harmonious synchronization throughout this period; they would soon find themselves in a state of flux and conflict following the initial 18 Days Revolution in 2011.

Broadly, the authors' analysis oscillates between two major themes: the complicated and dynamic relationship between the revolutionary social and democratic souls, and the strategic influence and power of labor movements. At a macro-level, Alexander and Bassiouny frame Egypt's revolutionary process within the intertwining and sometimes conflicting relationship between the social and democratic souls. Their theoretical framework is rooted in Marxist notions of class struggle, Marx and Trotsky's concept of 'permanent revolution,' and Rosa Luxemburg's (1906) notion of 'reciprocal action,' which she describes as:

> the economic struggle is the transmitter from one political centre to another; the political struggle is the periodic fertilisation of the soil for the economic struggle. Cause and effect here continually change places; and thus the economic and political factor in the period of the mass strike, now widely removed, completely separated or even mutually exclusive, as the theoretical plan would have them,

> merely form the *two interlacing sides of the proletarian class struggle*. (cited on p. 13, emphasis in original)

At a micro-level, the authors focus on how organized labor movements formed a strategic core of the revolutionary process, thereby becoming, as Lenin would hold, the revolution's vanguard. In viewing revolutions as a longer-term process, the authors begin by demonstrating how changes in the relationships between state, capital, and labor over the past thirty-five years on both local and global scales fertilized revolutionary fervor by increasing economic inequality. They attribute this catalyst to the adoption of neoliberal economic policies, which disproportionately affected the working class, and a wider culture of protest that permeated the region following the Palestinian Second Intifada.

Chapters 3, 4, and 5 focus on the coordination, growth, and mobilization of labor movements, addressing the latter theme of the strategic importance of workers' movements. With the introduction of neoliberalism, workers lost their collective social power as the working class was restructured through an assault on the Nasserist social contract that managed discontent for decades. During this time workers' protests were isolated, easily contained by the regime, and often viewed as unrelated explosions of anger. However, this would soon change following a reawakening of workers' self-organization that led to a significant eruption of strike activity in the mid-2000s, resulting in, most notably, the Misr Spinning strike of December 2006 (also known as the Mahalla Strike). This eruption resulted in subsequent strikes across the textile industry, particularly in Mahalla, that reached a critical mass in 2008. An analysis of collective action in the preceding ten years of Egypt's revolution shows an average of 319 episodes of "contentious action" occurred per year, with an average of 523 episodes per year in the preceding three years (p. 108). This wave of activity underscores two important factors. First, the Egyptian Trade Union Federation (ETUF), which historically served as an extension of the regime to monopolize workers' organization under the guise of addressing their discontent, critically failed at quelling unrest. Second, it demonstrated the ability of workers to self-organize completely independent of any formal structures as evidenced by the coordination of hundreds of wildcat strikes and the creation of multiple independent unions. The explosive growth and increasing success of these movements, combined with the failures of the ETUF to channel discontent, slowly eroded the powerbase of the regime's control. Crucially, these movements served as an embryonic model for other groups which could trial and build upon the principles and lessons learned from hundreds of mobilizations.

Important as the workers' movements were in heralding forth the initial January 2011 revolution, they failed to unite their efforts into a significant political force. Conflicting economic and political interests allowed better-organized groups to co-opt the revolution's social soul. The latter chapters of the book address the inability of the revolutionary forces to forge a unified message due to 'trade-unionist politics' that were often too narrow in scope, failed

attempts to cleanse the state bureaucracy, issues with Parliamentarianism and the electoral system, and the role of Islamist currents with particular attention paid to the Muslim Brotherhood. Returning to their theoretical framework, Alexander and Bassiouny find that the counter-revolutionary force heralded forth by then-Minister of Defense Abdel Fattah al-Sisi, who is now President, and the military is indicative of the pendulum-like motion of reciprocal action in that it "is not a process that points inevitably in a single direction" (p. 14). Indeed, this counter-revolutionary force actually put the process of reciprocal action into reverse.

The authors conclude by discussing that throughout Egypt's revolutionary period, multiple manifestations of 'the people,' that is, the revolutionary force, appeared. Indeed, society was not in a static state throughout this period and the 'ebb and flow' of the revolutionary process vitalized and activated different segments of society at different levels and times. Building upon the authors' earlier discussion on the intersectionality of local, regional, and global crises, their findings bring them to the broader question of what makes a democracy, specifically what would a democratic Egypt look like? As they reflect, 2011-14 Egypt "confirms that democracy from below needs both practices and institutions of its own: democratic practices which revolutionary activists seek to apply wherever they can, and institutions which are the kernels of alternative organs of state power" (p. 324). Ironically, this mobilization from below, which will likely provide the strongest avenue for the people to shape Egypt's future and the state's transformation, faces its steepest uphill battle not against the state but from within. The key takeaway is that the working poor and middle class (the primary labor force) will likely play a crucial role in how the ship of Egypt's fate is steered but its outcome will depend upon their ability to institutionalize and serve as the kernels of state power–a power whose basis is yet to be determined. Perhaps most importantly, as the authors caution, organizing democratically at the workplace level is not the same as democracy for all of the exploited and oppressed. They must first motivate workers to take action in politics and then to bring those decisions into wider societal struggles.

Bread, Freedom, Social Justice focuses primarily on the historical and contemporary underpinnings and developments of 'revolutionary Egypt,' as opposed to a strong discussion and testing of theoretical frameworks and applications. This makes the book accessible to both the casual reader and the academic. However, those familiar with social movement literature will likely find themselves 'reading between the lines,' applying existing theories and understandings of movement development and will likely gain much more. Those with an interest in class-based analyses of social movements and revolutions will be most interested in this work.

This work does not trace the overall development of Egypt's Arab Spring revolution. Focusing exclusively on labor movements, the authors ignore other mobilizations and their effect on the revolutionary process, though they acknowledge this openly. For instance, they state that they have ignored other forms of 'street politics' (such as those organized at the neighborhood level

instead of the workplace) but argue that workers' movements saw the richest experiences in 'democracy from below.' In all fairness, this is not detrimental as it is outside the scope of this work, which is to illustrate the strategic importance of workers' movements despite their presence as only a minority of those mobilizing.

In sum, Alexander and Bassiouny provide a rich source of empirical data and historical context that offers an unparalleled and much needed insight into workers' movements and their strategic importance to Egypt's revolutionary process.

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Book review: James S. Ormrod, *Fantasy and Social Movements*

Review author: Andrew Kettler

James S. Ormrod, 2014, *Fantasy and Social Movements*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan (308 pp., hardback, $29.95).

James Ormrod's *Fantasy and Social Movements* describes the prominence of fantasy in creating the psychological motivations necessary to instigate collective social movements. Ormrod works to deconstruct the idea, originally found in the work of Sigmund Freud, that fantasy is relatively unimportant in the making of reasoned human action. The essential Freudian idea is that agency in the lived world is not compatible with the irrationality of the unconscious. Ormrod forcefully disputes and deconstructs this long-standing ideal. In this project of deconstruction, Ormrod hopes to expand New Social Movement Theory out of a perceived stasis borne from a lack of engagement with psychoanalytical theory. Though Ormrod understands the advances of New Social Movement Theory regarding the application of subjectivity and concepts of affect, play, and creativity to analyzing social movements, he believes that a prevalent lack of engagement with psychoanalysis has stalled the theoretical field. This has led to fresh utopian discourses that assert narcissism and the exclusion of the other. Essentially, New Social Movement Theory has been willing to become more introspective, but in that introspective search has displaced other perspectives, leading to a narcissistic mode of fantasizing that concentrates performativity in social movements rather than progress for social movements. For Ormrod, attending to the unconscious, as a formative space for fantasy and the social movements that emerge from fantasy, is essential for understanding whether narcissist utopian urges should be a part of New Social Movement Theory and the social movements that theoretical field hopes to articulate.

Fantasy is seen as disengaging in most psychoanalytical analyses, and has therefore been understood as incompatible with social action. By exploring psychoanalytical understandings of the links between unconscious fantasy and conscious thought, Ormrod creates a possible avenue for the conscious commitments necessary for social movements. Ormrod follows in a specific post-Marxist tradition, exposed by Ernesto Laclau, which attends to consciousness as something other than false. Rather than completely a part of hegemonic superstructures, consciousness can be used to resist and strategize, and is not inherently irrational. Though most modern-day Marxists agree that agency can exist outside of false consciousness, Ormrod points to Laclau, and the work of Judith Butler, to expose important dialectical assertions of post-structuralism against older forms of Marxist structuralism. He exposes this dialectic in an effort at historicizing ideas of fantasy and how fantasy functioned

historically to either create, reinforce, or deconstruct different forms of the utopian imaginary. Though much of Ormrod's work, especially his analysis of the Pro Space Movement, has been published elsewhere, readers will find new intellectual force in this edition, especially concerning Ormrod's analysis of narcissism, identity politics, and populism as the contemporary world faces a new political vanity arising in the wake of economic collapse and the decline of theoretical utopianism.

Ormrod's work is separated into three parts. Each of these three sections are proficiently summarized in both brief prologues to each section and in the last chapter of each section. These areas of synthesis offer Ormrod spaces to cogently define new ideal typologies of both fantasizing and the application of fantasy for social movements. The first part of the edition exposes psychoanalytical theories of fantasy in the works of Freud, Melanie Klein, and Jacques Lacan. Despite the intensity of Ormrod's psychoanalytical analyses, this critic was surprised by a curious lack of analysis regarding the work of Gilles Deleuze and Felix Guattari, especially as Ormrod discusses Marxism, the possible force of the unconscious on conscious action, and forms of identity in the neoliberal capitalist moment. Nevertheless, in the first chapter Ormrod offers a deep reading of how Freud understood the manner through which pre-conscious fantasies become conscious by a process of 'reality-testing'. Only through this process, from pre-conscious fantasizing, through 'reality-testing', and into secondary processes of reasoning about potentiality, can a fantasy become a conscious thought about taking social action. Klein's work is analyzed next, especially through the canon of her intellectual progeny, Susan Isaacs. Unlike Freud, Klein and Isaacs understood fantasy as possibly emerging out of something other than a previous repression. Ormrod analyzes Klein's assembling of the 'paranoid-schizoid' position (based on the infant's fear for the self, splitting of good and bad in the child's mind) and the 'depressive position' (based on negative emotions at the loss of the good object when the simple binary of good and bad are transcended) to show how both forms of consciousness can work to create social action. For Ormrod, the 'depressive position' creates the most proper form for social action because that position, unlike the 'paranoid-schizoid', can understand reality through the other, and not simply from the self.

Ormrod next takes on the depths of Lacanian theory to argue that Lacan asserted that fantasy was central to the creation of the self and most forms of identity. For Lacan, meaning arises not simply from language, material conditions, or biology as in Freudian traditions, but from what is included within linguistic structures and what is not or never could be incorporated. Fantasy within the Lacanian Real is therefore about the symbolic order that makes up conceptions of perceived reality, rather than language that produces reality. Ormrod reads Lacan through Christopher Lasch's understanding of narcissism, the work of Slavoj Žižek on the Name-of-the-Father, and Joan Scott's idea of how the "fantasy echo" informs dreams of the future, to show how Lacan conceptualized fantasy through this more prospective form of the symbolic, rather than biological, unconscious. Ormrod combines the analysis of

these three chapters on Freud, Klein, and Lacan and intellectualizes their matters into a new triad of fundamental psychoanalytical modes of fantasy. These three dominant forms are: narcissistic (possible social action, although mostly as part of an agency that includes an ineffectiveness to properly understand the consciousness of the other), hallucinatory (lack of action, dearth of distinction between fantasy and reality), and depressive (best chance for proper action, through a potential ability to transfer subjective fantasies of the self or group to the consciousness of the other). The blurred lines between categories in previous analyses of the psychological motivations for social movements made it difficult for both scholars and social actors to formulate psychoanalytical critiques of social movements that could expose flaws enough to alter social movements to focus more upon accessing the other. By exposing new typologies, Ormrod shows the forms of fantasy that best access the consciousness of the other, therefore exposing the place for social movements to grow, rather than die within their own adulterated forms of narcissistic identity politics.

The second section of Ormrod's work summarizes the successes and failures of New Social Movement Theory through an application of the works of Max Weber, Theodor Adorno, Gustave Le Bon, and Neil Smelser to Ormrod's previous summaries of psychoanalysis and his innovative typologies of fantasy. The first chapter in this section explores an inherent flaw in the categorization of social movements in many historical contexts, not solely within New Social Movement Theory. That theoretical defect is that traits within social movements are commonly shared, and scholars have been unable to classify which traits fit within specific movements as those movement change over time. For many scholars, this lack of clarity emerged because Weber separated rationality and emotion in his original typologies of social action. Though Ormrod disagrees with the most ardent assertions of Weber's lack of precision, he does attempt to address the derivative muddling of categories by placing fantasy as central in his new classification of social movements. Ormrod creates this new categorization that includes less blending and blurring between forms of motivation for collective social action by exposing how the psychological motivations of actors within social movements change over time. To create this typological system, Ormrod explores Smelser's *Theory of Collective Behavior* (1962) to show the important "depth ontology" of psychoanalytical forces within social movement theory, especially how members of a movement apply different levels of fantasy, at different moments in the social movement process, to understand their place in the activist structure. Out of these readings, Ormrod creates a new triad of social movements that he associates to each of his three fundamental forms of fantasy: hedonistic (hallucinatory mode: indulgence, stasis, carnivalesque), hostile crazes (narcissistic mode: binaries of good and bad, protection of the group as essential to continuing action), and institutionalized (depressive mode: understandings of co-dependency, appreciation of the other).

The third section of Ormrod's work analyzes the Pro Space Movement through the different forms of fantasy and social movements that can apply fantasy, which Ormrod categorized in the first two sections. In the most entertaining

section of the book, Ormrod discusses the Pro Space Movement's application of fantasy from the early 1970s until recent years, with a keen eye to analyses of gender, science fiction, and the social construction of knowledge. Through a series of interviews and surveys, Orrmod conceptualizes the movement as part of post-modern narcissism. The movement believes in the idea that man should enter space for colonization and exploration in large numbers. Those within the movement are obsessed with their own private sphere of "filk" music (folk music about space exploration), their highly deferent political hierarchies, and different intensively organized bureaucratic organizations. Through applying these cultural constructs and political bodies, the movement functions as a cyclically reinforced fantasy project. In general, Ormrod sees those who participate in the Pro Space movement as members of a hostile craze. He labels the movement in this manner because the members of the program are incapable of understanding reality due to a group-think mentality that perpetuates fantasies that do not correspond with reality beyond binaries of good and bad. The goal of the movement, in this fantasized understanding, is to recover a lost sense of unity that previously had destined mankind for an eschatological transcendence on earth. This repetitive focus on a flawed historical memory asserts the good of the past as part of a 'paranoid-schizoid' mindset that removes nuanced discussions of reality. The patterns of honest 'reality-testing' that must occur for a movement to properly strategize are not apparent in the Pro Space Movement because the members of the movement share collective images of their utopian dreams without fully testing those dreams within a reality that involves the opinions or consciousness of those outside of the group. Members of the movement are searching for a lost romantic frontier for man to conquer, and the fear of losing that frontier creates a narcissistic mode of consciousness.

Rather than offer how social movements can progress, Ormrod provides an explicitly academic treatment. However, Ormrod's work implicitly shows how essential psychoanalytical theory can be to fully access the motivations of the other, and the fantasizing that underlies all choice, either of the other or the self. Through exposing how movements change over time, and how movements can access different forms of fantasy to create those moments of change, Ormrod prepares the academic, and the willing social activist, to understand the underlying forces driving the self and the other in the postmodern neo-liberal moment where it remains vital to separate identity politics from utopian dreams. Consequently, Ormrod's work offers a central question for modern social movements: to what extent does fantasy obscure or enhance social movements? Ormrod's analyses are often intellectually challenging, exceedingly edifying to those hoping for moments of intellectual pressure and otherworldliness found in works such as Deleuze and Guattari's *Anti-Oedipus* (1972) or Lacan's *Écrits* (1966), and vitally important for academics hoping to understand mass movements and the potentialities that remain for Marxist and post-Marxist praxis. Categorically, this reviewer must applaud Ormrod for his deep theoretical engagement. Especially in the modern political world where insider/outsider identity politics is the Name-of-the-Game, it is essential to

understand the place of the unconscious, fantasy, and imagination in the making of social movements, be they intellectually progressive or simply forms of populist or fascist conceit.

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Book review: Michelle D. Bonner, *Policing protest in Argentina and Chile*

Review author: Tomás Mac Sheoin

Michelle D. Bonner, 2014, *Policing protest in Argentina and Chile*. Boulder, CO: First Forum Press (xiv, 248pp., hardback, $65.00).

Bonner's useful book could do with a subtitle clarifying its subject: many readers would expect a book on policing protest to focus on the history and practice of policing protest – police strategies and tactics, police-protester interactions, differential treatment of different protests and protesters, protesters' experiences and responses and the like. While Bonner provides two excellent chapters on the history of policing protest in Argentina and Chile, the main focus of her book is on what she calls 'discursive accountability' for repressive policing protest, which she studies in the form of discourse among what she calls police experts (drawn from political and administrative structures, police themselves, social movement activists and journalists) and the media. The book's main contribution, then, is the application of a social movement studies method – frame analysis – to discourse about policing protest.. As she writes: "The purpose of this book is to understand the role of discourse in accountability for protest policing" (p. 16).

Bonner sets out her approach in Chapter Two which begins with the statement "Discourse on policing protest matters" and continues:

> debates regarding when policing protest is deemed repressive, who is responsible, why, and how they should be held accountable are important. They reveal dominant and opposing understandings of acceptable and unacceptable policing protest. The dominant frames employed, and the justifications used, help us better grasp why policing protest occurs the way it does in any given country. More importantly, discourse can act as both a precondition and technique for accountability. This is what I call 'discursive accountability'. (p. 19)

Bonner's essential argument is that moving from repressive protest policing requires the development of accountability methods and changes in the framing of policing protest is necessary for these forms of accountability to be put in place: "the possibilities for establishing nonrepressive protest policing begin with reframing repressive protest policing as wrongdoing and establishing democratic discursive accountability" (p. 204). This is also why Bonner looks at her two exemplary protests at which repressive policing protest was condemned, to see what may be learned as to how in these circumstances the frames of policing protest changed so that repressive policing was condemned. The material on which she bases her analysis includes interviews with over one

hundred police experts – 56 in Argentina, of whom two are anonymous, and 48 in Chile, twelve of whom are anonymous – along with an analysis of 64 articles from an Argentine newspaper about an 'emblematic' example of policing protest and a similar analysis of 35 articles from a Chilean newspaper about a similarly 'emblematic' example of protest policing from that country.

The book is structured as follows: the first chapter provides a short introduction to policing protest; the second lays out Bonner's thoughts on accountability; the bulk of the book then consists of separate case studies of Argentina and Chile, beginning with a chapter on the history of policing in each country, followed by a chapter on dominant and counter-frames of policing protest based on Bonner's interviews, a chapter on media and policing protest, and an examination of media framing of an 'emblematic' protest which undermined the dominant policing protest frames. A final short chapter compares the situation with protest policing in Argentina and Chile.

The historical chapters do not hesitate in calling a spade a spade and are particularly interesting as they demonstrate that the role of the police historically has been to protect local state and capital – whether land-owning, extractive or manufacturing – from a variety of threats: anarchists, communists, immigrants, indigenous, peasants, radicals, socialists, syndicalists and trade unionists. Thus both countries' police forces were developed to defend capital and state against the popular classes and, in particular, the 'dangerous' classes, with Bonner's account featuring shocking examples of outrages committed against these classes: one example from many may be cited: "from June to July 1934, the Carabineros [Chilean police] confronted a protest by evicted peasant squatters, killing hundreds of peasants" (p. 124). Bonner notes that "the central historical role of the police in Argentina has been to defend the state or government in power by combating a political 'enemy within' which has always included the repression of protesters" (p. 40). She also reports the existence of international police cooperation as early as 1905, when the first South American police conference was held in Rio de Janeiro (p. 144).

Bonner does not hold back in her descriptions of policing protest recent and current.

> Since 1980, police in electoral democracies in Latin America have used the following tactics and tools to manage protests: tear gas, water cannons (sometimes laced with acid), rubber bullets, live ammunition, mass arbitrary arrests, beatings, clubs, batons, grenades, cattle prods, rubber hoses, birdshot, buckshot, truncheons, and charging with police horses. (p. 2)

For Chile, she shows the continuation of policing tactics used during the Pinochet dictatorship:

> Analyses of protests reveal that police procedures at protests regularly include the use of mass arrests, water cannons, tear gas, rubber bullets, and irritant liquid. Protesters are beaten and sometimes subject to psychological and sexual abuse. Tear gas is often used; sometimes it is thrown into confined spaces or at protesters' bodies. Police have infiltrated protests and instigated violent acts made to appear to be caused by protesters. On occasions, firearms with lead bullets are used. All these procedures have been used to manage both peaceful and violent protests. (p. 144)

While protest policing in Argentina operates under a civil rights frame, police violence also continues with police response to food riots in May 1989 leaving 14 dead and 80 injured, while 39 died during massive protests in December 2001. Bonner's appendix of deaths and casualties from 16 post-authoritarian countries from the 1980s to 2011, based on reports from Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch and the US State Department, provides a total of 1,005 civilian deaths and 13,913 civilian injuries. She also notes that these figures are probably underestimates: "NGOs in Argentina and Chile that collect this information report that the number of protester deaths in Argentina during this period was in fact 60 (not 39) and in Chile it is 12 (not 8)" (p. 215).

These histories, not only of policing protest but of the accompanying political context, set the context for Bonner's investigation of the framing of policing protest in the two countries. Argentina and Chile provide Bonner with contrasting case studies. In Argentina, the dominant frame is that policing protest should not be repressive, though a counter-frame allows for some repression where protesters do not have political protection and when the different responsible groups – judiciary, police and politicians – can obfuscate responsibility through transfer blaming. Some of the causes behind the dominance of that frame are the strength of a human rights movement, a fractured political elite and fragmented and disputatious media. Further, the police are not trusted, not only because of their history during the dirty war, but also because of involvement in various criminal activities, including the bombing of the Jewish community centre AMIA in 1994. Finally social movements are a trusted source for the media, collecting information of police violence that the police understandably fail to provide. By comparison, in Chile the media are predominantly conservative, the political elite are fearful of the return of the military dictatorship and the police are highly respected, though Bonner notes this 'respect' may not be unconnected with fear (p. 138). So the dominant frame here is that repressive policing protest is justified, because it supports public order, it is targeted at groups (shantytown dwellers, workers, indigenous) which threaten public order and protesters are violent. There is a strong argument that the differences in protest policing framing between both countries result partly from the differences in the 'democratic transitions' from authoritarianism both countries experienced: as well as the factors mentioned above, n the case of Argentina, atrocities by the security forces were investigated and perpetrators punished, while strong human rights movements 'eventually captured the support of the majority of Argentines, support they have

maintained to this day" (p. 52). In Chile, investigations were more limited, the army and police were not discredited, the 1980constuitution ensured military regime representation in the senate, the media were dominated by right wing interests and 'many Chileans felt that the human rights abuses were unfortunate but justified' (p. 129).

One surprising omission from Bonner's book is the role of the US, which is mentioned only twice in the book, both times in relation to Chile: a paragraph on page 125 mentions how "as the 1960s progressed, the Carabineros, aided by the US, became more focused on combating 'subversion'", with the US providing $2.4 million worth of equipment, police advisors and training at the US School of the Americas, while page 160 provides details of CIA subventions to the conservative Chilean press, which totalled more than $12 million between 1963 and 1973. While it's good to see a book on Latin America which prioritises local ruling class action and interests rather than presenting everything as a result of US conspiracies, it's going a little too far in the other direction to neglect the role of the US almost entirely, particularly given the US influence on policing in Latin America, especially through training programmes (Huggins 1987, 1998), and its continuing interest in police 'reform' in the continent (Johnson, Mendelson Forman and Bliss 2012).

The book is useful in balancing the recent literature on policing protest, which is heavily weighted towards core countries, and in reminding us of the high stakes involved in protesting in some countries. As to what social movements may learn from the book, the obvious message is the need to contest frames that legitimise, and develop counter-frames that undermine, repressive protest policing, though this is a long struggle: as Bonner notes, "discursive accountability is usually not immediate but rather is accumulative" (p. 27). One specific tactic movements may embrace is to compile information on police brutality and violence, as social movement organisations have done in Argentina, which increases social movements' credibility as sources for journalists, ensures the voices of social movements are covered by the media and thus increases support for the emergence of a civil rights frame on protest policing.

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Book review: Arthur Manuel & Grand Chief Ronald M. Derrickson, *Unsettling Canada*

Review author: Maja Curcic

Arthur Manuel and Grand Chief Ronald M. Derrickson, 2015, *Unsettling Canada: A National Wake-Up Call*. Toronto: Between the Lines (320 pp., paperback, $29.95).

Unsettling Canada: A National Wake-Up Call (2015) is well-documented narrative about the history of colonial and neo-colonial exclusion of Canadian First Nations and their ongoing struggle for self-determination, sovereignty and ancestral land. The book is written by Arthur Manuel, a First Nations political activist, leader of the Secwepemc nation and spokesperson for the Indigenous Network on Economies and Trade (INET). His work has had significant impact on the establishment of the United Nations Permanent Forum on Indigenous Issues (2002) and on both legal and political decisions that acknowledged Indigenous title and status in Canada. His collaborator and author of the afterword is Ronald Derrickson, a prominent First Nations leader and successful businessman who has been named Grand Chief by the Union of British Columbia Indian Chiefs in recognition of his successful political and economic leadership.

The main purpose of the book is to decolonize both Canadian property rights (based on colonial seizure of Indigenous land) and Canadian society that has historically reproduced colonial and neo-colonial system. The book follows, what Maori scholar Linda Tuhiwai Smith (1999, 189) names as a "counter-hegemonic approach to Western forms of research" as it aims to decolonize our minds and create clarity in relationship to our positionality with social justice. *Unsettling Canada* is a valuable work about the active, consistent and strong anti-colonial struggle for political and economic Indigenous rights, both within the system – in the forms of legal acts – and outside of it (e.g. radical Indigenous socio-political movements).

Manuel and Derricksons' book starts with a strong chapter about the colonisation of Canada that has been based on the appropriation of Indigenous land, the oppressive coloniser-colonised relationship and the ongoing struggle of First Nations people for their land and self-determination. He addresses issues of colonialism, racism and capitalist exploitation within a sociological frame: considering historical, structural and cultural factors of social life. The work highlights ongoing social harm such as poverty, unemployment, high incarceration rates and racial discrimination that have significant impact on the well-being of Indigenous communities in Canada. Manuel connects present issues with the colonial past. He has a clear political standpoint in addressing these issues and is never subjected to the pseudo-theoretical and conformist position of 'being objective'. *Unsettling Canada* can therefore be read as

Manuel's autobiography, his journey as a chief and political activist who was strongly influenced by his mother Marceline and by his father George Manuel who was a prominent leader of the National Indian Brotherhood and the founder of the World Council of Indigenous Peoples.

In illuminating the historical and structural system of white privilege on the one side and the accumulation of disadvantages suffered by Indigenous communities on the other, Manuel maintains land acts and other legal decisions by the federal government that appropriated the land from First Nations and consequently, stripped them of their traditional livelihood. He critically analyse strategies, both 'legal' and illegal but in both ways racist and exclusionary, that were used to legitimise colonisation in the 18th and 19th century and neo-colonialism since the 20th century: from the doctrine of discovery and proclaiming 'new' lands as *terra nullius* (an empty land) to legal acts and assimilation policies (e.g. the 1927 Indian Act amendments) that separated First Nations from their land.

Influenced by his father, other First Nations activists and activists around the world such as Malcolm X and the Black Panther Party, Manuel draws on ideas of intercommunal anti-colonial struggle by oppressed communities (see Newton, 1972). Manuel closely describes his domestic and international anti-colonial struggle resulting in the UN Declaration on the Rights of Indigenous Peoples (2007) in which he had a significant role. But although Indigenous peoples in all four Anglophone settler states (Canada, USA, Australia and New Zealand) have been acknowledged by the UN that recognised Indigenous historical grievances Manuel maintains that they continue to struggle both economically and culturally, especially because of the ongoing neo-colonial system and the separation with the land that continues to be, together with self-determination, a focal point of the struggle. In other words, Manuel argues that because of the appropriation of their land, a dominance of a white settler society with its social institutions and political economy, the social harm issues and the accumulation of disadvantages (see Alfred and Corntassel 2005; Workman and McIntosh, 2013) continues to be strongly present within the First Nations communities:

> it is the loss of our land that has been the precise cause of our impoverishment. Indigenous land today account for only 0.36 per cent of British Columbian territory […] In Canada overall the percentage is even worse, with Indigenous peoples controlling only 0.2 per cent of the land […] our lives are seven years shorter than the lives of non-Indigenous Canadians. Our unemployment rates are four times higher […] Our youth commit suicide at a rate more than five times higher. We are living the effects of this dispossession every day of our lives, and we have been living this misery in Canada for almost 150 years. (Manuel and Derrickson, 2015, 7-8)

In multiple places in the book Manuel highlights one of the main social harms that have had significant impact on the First Nations communities – incarceration. He asserts that

> it is not uncommon among Indigenous peoples to have family members go to jail. It is part of the system that we live with, in which a young Indian man still has a greater chance of going to jail than he does of finishing high school. (p. 15)

According to David Garland (2001), this identifies mass incarceration with significant inter-generational impact. Maori sociologist Tracey McIntosh (2011) maintains that all settler societies (Canada, USA, Australia and New Zealand) are characterised by high Indigenous incarceration rates. As is clear in Manuel's narrative, this is paralleled in contemporary neo-colonial policing of Indigenous struggle for self-determination.

Both Manuel and Derrickson went to Native Residential schools. Residential schools were government-sponsored Christian schools established to assimilate Indigenous children into Euro-Canadian culture; they operated from 1830s to 1996 (Miller, 2012). First Nations children were therefore forcedly removed from their families and deprived of their ancestral history, traditions and language. The main assimilation strategy missionaries had was a mission to 'civilize' Indigenous children and to denigrate Indigenous spirituality, their customs and beliefs, and their way of life in order to assimilate them into the mainstream, white dominated capitalist society. For Manuel, this was very sad period of his life. He mentions that sexual abuse was suffered by many children – a well-known fact about the residential schools – "[b]ut even without this extreme abuse, I remember the residential school experience as a time of great loneliness and alienation" (Manuel and Derrickson, 2015, 23).

Throughout the book, Manuel focuses on legal acts and recent historical events in which he has had a significant role. He sees the government's hostile response to strong and consistent political action by the National Indian Brotherhood and contemporary movements such as Idle No More and Defenders of the Land as a continuation of Canadian racist and (neo)colonial politics. He highlights the battle against the Government's 1969 White Paper that "proposed abolishing the Indian Act and at the same time sweeping aside Indian status and Indian lands and turning First Nations people into ethnic group – like Italian-Canadians or Irish-Canadians – to be gradually absorbed into the melting pot" (pp. 29-30). On the other end, he maintains a significant victory for his people in the 1973 Supreme Court Calder decision that recognised 'Indian title' as a property right of First Nation peoples in Canada.

Manuel recounts the 1990 Oka Crisis, a protest by Mohawk protesters against the appropriation of their land (a peaceful protest that was violently suppressed by the police and army) which resulted in establishing the Royal Commission on Aboriginal Peoples. The Commission's findings suggested the assertion of the right of self-determination and sovereignty for First Nations, together with the

rejection of the doctrine of discovery that was historically used to confiscate Indigenous land. He also recounts a range of other acts of activism and direct action that demonstrate the ongoing resistance and struggle of Indigenous peoples to reclaim rights and resources that were alienated from them.

In the final chapters and in the Derrickson's afterword, the book focuses on plans and concrete examples of sustainable economy based on Indigenous knowledge and principles. The main focus is the commitment for the well-being of First Nations communities and the care for the environment:

> We are, after all, the children and the defenders of the land. Our Indigenous economies have been based on cultivation, herding, hunting, gathering, fishing – and their related technologies – all integrated into the natural cycles of the earth [...] If you damage any one of these to satisfy your immediate needs, you are literally harming yourself. Watching today's rapacious industrial development of the land by the Western world is like watching a person with a serious mental illness causing self-harm. But our people, because we are so deeply connected to the land, are generally the first to feel the pain. Our duty to protect our lands is primordial, and the assault on our lands and resources today is unprecedented. (p. 179)

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Book review: Óscar García Agustín, *Sociology of Discourse*

Review author: Alexandra Ana

Óscar García Agustín, 2015, *Sociology of Discourse: From institutions to social change*. Amsterdam & Philadelphia, PA: John Benjamins Publishing Company (xi, 217pp., hardback, €99.00/$149.00).

In Argentina, the *piquetero* movement contested, through road blockades, the neoliberal measures of the 1990s, which favored growth at the expense of social inequality and poverty. Their actions culminated with protests that lead to the resignation of President Fernando de La Rùa. In 2001, in Brazil, The World Social Forum (WSF) opposed a world dominated by capital. In 2011, Chilean students protested against privatization. In Italy, Tute Bianche fought globalization. In Spain, the Indignados camped in Puerta del Sol, to fight for 'real democracy' and, the Platform for People Affected by Mortgages (PAH) fought for the right to housing, with Ada Colau, former spokesperson of the Platform, winning the mayoral elections in 2015, in Barcelona. During the last two decades, social movements have produced discourses that have entailed an alternative conception of society and attempted to create new institutions or substantially modify the existing ones.

But how do social movements bring about social change? What are the ways in which their discourses challenge the existing institutions and build-up new social meanings and collective action? How do their discourses become accepted and articulated in policy documents? How to provide continuity and stability to social struggles? To answer these questions, *Sociology of Discourse: From institutions to social change* develops a comprehensive theoretical framework complemented with rich and up to date empirical examples. The central idea is that discourses produced by collective subjects develop processes of institutionalization to promote social change, by questioning the established institutions and creating the conditions for the emergence of new ones. Discourses constitute alternative institutions that foster and give continuity to social change. Agustín's book ambitiously opens the path towards a 'sociology of discourse' by originally approaching the relation between discourse, institutionalization and social change.

The book challenges the idea of institutions as a constraint for discourse production or social change achievement, and of institutionalization as adapting and neutralizing social struggles. By exploring the ways in which discourses contest dominant institutions, contributing to the creation of new social meanings and collective action, *Sociology of Discourse* shows that institutionalization is actually what makes change possible. The first chapters of the volume are theoretical and match the integrated fields of social change,

discourse, communication and institutions, penetrated by empirical examples of institutionalization originating in two waves of global protests: the anti-globalization movement from the 1990s to Occupy and Indignados in 2011, and the Pink Tide in Latin America in between. The last chapter applies the developed sociology of discourse to explain the institutionalization of the right to housing struggle in Spain. In what follows, the analytical framework of the book is discussed, then its application to the empirical case is addressed, and, lastly, the potential and challenges of the sociology of discourse for analyzing social change are emphasized.

To conceptualize social change, Agustín develops the sociology of discourse based on relations between discourse and institutionalization. There is a widespread view among scholars as well as activists that becoming institutionalized translates into a move towards official politics and equates with social movements abandoning extra-parliamentary mobilization to participate in policy-making. In this way, institutionalization has a negative connotation, as a form of deactivation of social movements, diminishing their contributions to social struggles. The innovation of the sociology of discourse consists of understanding social change in relation to the dynamics of institutionalization, power and linguistic order, in which movements are involved. Institutionalization, in this perspective, means building new discourses that challenge the heteronomous society, opening the path towards social change. This approach moves beyond the critique of the dominant order through lexical production and unveils the capacity of social movements' constituent discourses to generate an alternative scenario that allows for the development of a new discursive and institutional configuration of society in moments of rupture. The emerging institutions can radically question the system and be autonomous, or assume some of its aspects, and incorporate part of the social demands and be integrated. Nevertheless, both are ingrained in a conflictual process of institutionalization where maintaining the balance between stabilization and openness is crucial.

Agustín's analytical model, explains social change through the process of institutionalization, with communication, discourse and institutions, as central dimensions. Discourse is understood as a social practice that opens the possibility to question the dominant order characterized by social closure and to build on alternative claims made by social movements.

Beyond reacting against the dominant order and control, social movements engage in a process of de-euphemization of the language of power and move towards constituent moments of dispute and stabilization of social meanings, as part of the alternative discourse that fosters social change. Agustín gives the example of the "V for Vivienda" platform that in 2006 rose against the high price of housing in Spain and promoted change in public policies. The platform coined the term universal social rent, to grant effective access to housing to every citizen and developed a vocabulary opposed to the dominant discourse on housing, associating universal social rent with expropriation of use or limitation of the right to use.

Discourses take place in communicative events and relations between actors. Government discourses differ from social movement discourses regarding the power relations involved and the social space of production of communication of meaning. Communication becomes another constitutive dimension of institutionalization that either legitimates domination or challenges it. Going beyond the public/private distinction, Agustín proposes an overview of the communication processes composed of official, public and hidden discourses, to account for power relations.

The case of undocumented migrants in Madrid, working as street-sellers of pirate products, shows the importance of hidden discourses and how new collective subjects challenge the dominant public order. The migrant workers, extremely vulnerable because of their double illegality status – as migrants and workers – developed a system of communication to protect each other against the police. This hidden practice contributed to the build-up of an association for undocumented people to contest the system of domination that produces non-citizens through border policy and precarious workers through informal labor market.

Shaped by social practices and open to alteration, institutions are the last dimension of institutionalization. Continuous recognition assures their symbolic efficiency. To create alternative institutions, both new social imaginaries and collective acceptance are required. Drawing on Cornelius Castoriadis' theory of institutions, Agustín underlines institutions' potential towards change, rather than their constraining character. The identitarian and symbolic dimensions of society reflect openness and closure, answering both to the question of unity maintenance and that of change with alternative social meanings and representations building new institutions that break with the dominant order. Making use of imaginary, society self-alters perpetually.

To assess the potential of the theoretical framework of the sociology of discourse, Agustín analyses the institutionalization of the right to housing struggle carried by the Platform for People Affected by Mortgages (PAH). While the economic crisis challenged the neoliberal order, the discourse of PAH questioned the dominant institutions serving capital. The right to housing was the main claim of the movement, complemented with the rejection of illegitimate debts. The Platform aimed to stop evictions, to allow 'dation-in-payment' (a striking of debt for people who have been foreclosed on but still owe on their mortgage), which was supported by citizens and most political parties in Spain, and to establish social rents (the possibility for indebted homeowners to pay whatever they can afford, and the end of utilities cut-offs). Through a discursive articulation based on these demands, PAH enhanced both its collective identity and alternative discourse. For example, unlike the political parties, PAH did not frame evictions as a social problem but as a generalized fraud caused by the bankers. Housing was framed as an essential right, not a commodity used for speculation. This re-framing was part of a 'de-euphemization' through which the discourse of domination was revealed together with the hidden economic interests behind it.

The legitimacy of the demand for dation-in-payment came from the signatures collected to present a Popular Legislative Initiative (PLI)[1]. Although rejected by the parliament, the PLI contributed to solving individual as PAH continued to reclaim dation-in-payment in every day actions without legislative backup. This suggests that people can sometimes act as if an institution exists even if it doesn't. Nevertheless, the lack of support from the ruling People's Party made it necessary to create an alternative social imaginary. Therefore, re-contextualizing *escrache* – a type of protest rooted in the Argentinian political practice of the 1990s – PAH shifted its attention to politicians whom they identified as just as guilty and responsible for the housing crisis as the banks. This contested the dominant order that blames the people for not having a roof over their heads. Moreover, the movement went beyond stopping evictions and engaged in social work. Its project of autonomy aimed at appropriating empty residences belonging to the banks after foreclosure, considered by Agustín a process of collective recovery and claiming of social rents. Through these actions, PAH was successful in articulating a discourse against the economic system, questioning capitalism and property, while offering concrete solutions to the problems created by political and economic elites. The practice and discourse of this alternative social imaginary amount to a process of institutionalization for Agustín.

The innovative theoretical framework proposed by *Sociology of Discourse* is analytically strong, maturely and discerningly complemented by empirical data from a broad specter of social movements. *Sociology of Discourse* reforms the current understanding about social change and institutionalization, fostered through discourses of resistance. It offers a great and novel contribution to the study of social movements, going beyond the diagnosis of institutionalization as depoliticizing and demobilizing civil society.

I would like to end by posing some questions for further development of the sociology of discourse that shed light on some of the themes not dealt with in the book. Since the book addresses social movements coming from the political spectrum of the left, it would be interesting to address the institutionalization of right-wing or extreme-right movements and the kind of social change they produce – does political ideology play a role within the process of institutionalization? Does the degree and distance of frame alignment between social movements' demands for change, and the dominant view of the heteronomous society about those claims, affect the closure and openness? How does time, cross-cutting all the dimensions of institutionalization, affect the possibilities of instituting new social imaginaries? Regarding hidden discourses and transcripts as supposedly free of power spaces, one should self-critically reflect on oppression coming from intersectional subordinate subjects as for example women within migrant movements, Roma (women) within right to housing movements, and so on.

[1] A Popular Legislative Initiative constitutes a procedure where at least 500,000 citizens support a proposal that the parliament is then obliged to debate.

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